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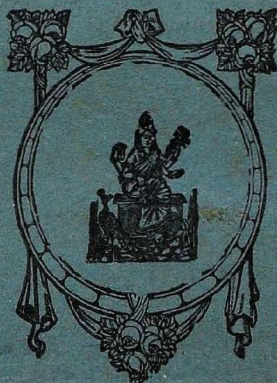
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HISTORIC INDIA AND HER TEMPLES¹

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

RELIGION AND TEMPLE

India was hailed in the classical ages as a "land of wonders". India is still so, because of her large number of temples, both rock-cut and structural. The structural temples fall under three main heads or styles of architecture, the rectangular or *Nāgara* mostly in the north, the circular or *Vesara* mostly on the east coast (Āndhra and Orissa), and the octagonal or *Drāviḍa* in the Deccan and South India. Like West Asia, India is a land of saints and shrines, pilgrims and pilgrimages, festivals (*utsavas*) and rituals (*āgamas*) prescribed by religion. It is even more. Religion is the very frame-work of life, that which inspires Indian Art and Architecture. Sylvain Levi was right in declaring that in India "humanity is steeped in divinity and by whatever name he worships Him, each man sees God, hears God, is a part of God and lives in God every minute of his life; even the humblest are not cut off".

THE HUMAN BODY AND THE TEMPLE

The creation of the Indian temple was the result of man's urge to express *himself* or give expression to *his divine self*. And the temple is but a reflection of the human form. How? The material with which the temple is built—rock, sandstone, marble, stucco or metal—is the skeleton. What is called 'architecture' which in India falls into some recognizable styles (*Nāgara*, *Vesara*, *Drāviḍa*) is the shape, the flesh, nay, the form, of the human body. Figures, such as sculptures and images which decorate the temples, play the role of jewellery, dress and general beauty or anatomical proportions of the human form. And last, but not the least in importance, are paintings, fresco or tempera, wall paintings or mural, which we find on the walls, pillars and ceilings of Indian temples (cf. Ajanta, Sittannavasal, Tirumalai and Palitana). They compare with the complexion, hue and beauty of the human system.

1. Paper presented to the 22nd International Congress of Orientalists, September 1951, held at Istanbul, Turkey.

Does man see God in such a temple? Even as in the case of the human body endowed as above, one has to search for the imperceptible soul, and the God or the presiding deity whose abode is in the interior of the temple is not readily cognizable. But all that the general visitor to a temple derives is spectacular gratification (*sahridayānanda*), while only a select few visualise the God (*brahmānanda*). To get over this defect great temple-builders fitted into great temples scenes drawn from the divine deeds of Gods called *līlās*, principally on the Brāhmanical side of the three major Deities, *Brahmā* the creator, *Vishṇu* the preserver and *Śiva* the destroyer, and on the Buddhist side of the life of the Buddha and his past births (*jātakas*), and on the Jaina side of the lives of their 24 Tirthaṅkaras or 'World Teachers'.

PREHISTORIC INDIA

The religion of Prehistoric India was one of the megalithic period and can best be understood by a careful and comparative study of the barrows, cairns, dolmens, stone circles, menhirs, cists, sarcophagi and cromlechs spread over India which relate to prehistoric man's reverence for the dead and the methods adopted by him for the disposal of the dead.

PRE-VEDIC INDIA

Till 1921, it was believed that Indian history began with the four collections of the Vedic hymns (*Ṛik*, *Yajus*, *Sāma* and *Atharvan*), written in archaic Sanskrit and assigned to the period 1500-1000 B. C. Beyond that, writers thought that India's past was dark. Vincent Smith adds that "dark" was not only the past but also the age between the Vedic times and the invasion of the Macedonian conqueror Alexander. But the clouds cleared in 1921 at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab, where archaeological excavations exposed a highly developed civilisation, rich in works of art, of religion then known and of a pictographic system of writing, dating from the 3rd millennium B. C. The Vedas make no mention of this civilisation which the Vedic Aryan encountered and replaced by his own. While the gap still remains unbridged, there are indications of obvious connexion with the Sumerian and Elamite cultures. Sir John Marshall's attempt to trace out, in the imagery of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa certain features of the subsequent Vedic pantheon or the pantheon of Sanskrit India, awaits further investigation and proof.

VEDIC INDIA

Vedic India had lived in glory. It had produced a golden age indeed. But the Archaeologist is disappointed as all his diggings in prospective Vedic places have only told him that the thread of the story of *archaeology* is lost as the Vedic age has not left any religious monuments and he loses hope of finding any either. Why? Worship, as we understand from the Vedic hymns, was complicated and endless, though refined. Associated as it was with a well-defined and regulated ritual, the Archaeologist finds to his surprise that it never reached the collective stage. The many sacrifices described formed the worship meant for the exclusive benefit of the performer, the *yajamāna*. Every sacrifice was self-sufficient and therefore independent and "could be inserted without further mediation in the web of the greatest sacrifice of all, the life of the Universe itself".

JAINA TEMPLES

A revolution was found necessary in religion so that religious monuments could develop and the thread of the temple could continue. Such a revolution took place towards the 6th century before Christ, in the Gangetic valley, between the River Gaṅgā and the Himālayas. Lord Mahāvīra and Lord Buddha were two of the many Teachers who spread in India a gospel of liberation or *Moksha* based on reason and freedom from ritual and thus laid a firm foundation for a religious renaissance. The advent of these teachers synchronised with a mighty political revolution that shook entire India, a revolution that replaced clans by states, and prepared the way for an *Empire* transcending *States*. Mahāvīra, the 24th and the last Tīrthaṅkara out of a glorious galaxy of 24 such Tīrthaṅkaras or 'World Teachers', founded an ascetic order or brotherhood, governed by a system of rules and standing on the sheet-rock of an edifying doctrine of absolute sanctity of life, called *Ahimsā*. His *Ahimsā* doctrine—*Ahimsā paramo dharmaḥ*—reverberated in the entire Universe and spread like wild fire through the ages (of 25 centuries) till it fascinated Mahātmā Gāndhī, the *Father of Modern India*. It is no exaggeration to say that on this famous doctrine of *Ahimsā* or *Nonviolence*, the Mahātmā built a New India, the *Young India* of today.

Jainism, so called because its founder was a Jina or 'Victor', attempts to raise man to god-hood and to inspire him to reach it by *steady faith, right perception, perfect knowledge* and above all by a *spotless life*. Jainism believes in god-hood and speaks of innumerable gods. The story of the religion founded by Lord Mahāvīra is a story of 25 centuries, spreading over the whole of India, with its centres of activity still maintained in Gujarat, Mathurā, Rajputana, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, the Deccan, Mysore and South India. While saints and scholars ennobled the religion, the Jaina merchants vied with each other in erecting myriad temples, some of which are the glories of the religious architecture of India. For our study of the best Jaina temples we should turn to the places where the Tirthaṅkaras, of whom Mahāvīra was the 24th and the last, were born and attained *nirvāṇa*, as they are just the places of pilgrimage in and around which the Jaina religious following constructed temples and raised shrines for a faithful posterity to admire and adore. Such are Ayodhyā, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, Vārāṇasī or Kāśī, Hastināpura, Mathurā, Rājagṛiha Sauripura or Dvārakā, Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma, Aṣṭāpada, Śatruñjaya, Sammeta-śikhara or Mt. Pārśvanāth, Champāpurī, Mt. Girnar, Pāvāpurī, Chandrapurī, Kākaṇḍī, Bhadrapura, Simhapurī, Kāmpilya, Ratnapurī and Mithilā. Rājagṛiha (Dist. Patna) has been a rich archaeological centre, with many small temples built on almost all its hills. Pāvāpurī, the place of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, and Nālandā, Kollaga, and Balaka which were the places of Mahāvīra's early activities are near Rājagṛiha. Jain literature speaks of Rājagṛiha as the capital of Magadha, the residence of Royalty such as Jarāsandha, Śreṇika, Kunika and as a seat of Jain religion where the Jaina saints ever practised austerities.

The Lomas Rishi cave in Barābar Hills, Bihar, is one among the many chapels or religious dwellings excavated for the Ājīvikas in the hardest rock, with the entrance carved in imitation of wooden forms, and the inside exquisitely finished and polished like glass. The form of the Lomas Rishi cave, which is Mauryan, is evidently that of contemporary structural buildings in indigenous style. Excavations at Muttra have exposed Jaina establishments and sculptures assignable to the beginning of the Christian era.

While structural edifices—*stūpas*, chapels, and monasteries—were being erected in Hindusthān, the Buddhists and Jains of

Western and Eastern India were engaged in fashioning more permanent monuments of the same class by hewing them from the living rock. The practice of hollowing out chambers had been common in Egypt from time immemorial, and by the sixth century B. C. had spread as far east as Persia, where the royal tombs of Darius and his successors of the Achaemenian dynasty up to the time of Codomannus (335-330 B. C.) were excavated in the cliffs of Naksh-i-Rustam and Persepolis. From Persia the idea found its way during the third century before the Christian era into Hindusthān and resulted, as we have seen, in the excavation of dwelling places and chapels for the Ājīvika ascetics in the Barābar hills of Bihar. These artificial caves of the Maurya period were of very modest proportions, and were at first kept severely plain, or, like their Iranian proto-types, adorned only on the outer facade. As time went on the Indian excavators became ambitious and, rapidly expanding their ideas, proceeded to copy their structural *chaitya*-halls and *vihāras* on the same scale as the originals, and to imitate their details with an accuracy which speaks more for their industry and patience than for the originality of their genius. So literal, indeed, was the translation of wooden architecture into the new and more durable material, that infinite toil was expended in perpetuating forms which became meaningless and inappropriate when applied to stone.

Devotional architecture, which had its humble beginnings in rock-cut temples as at Barābar in Bihar and Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri caves of the 2nd century B. C. in Orissa found its fullest expression and development in many other later cave-temples such as the Indra-Sabhā at Ellora, Deccan (8th century A. D.) and Sittannavāsai with paintings of the 7th century A. D. in Pudukkōṭṭai, and Tirumalai with paintings (11th century) in North Arcot, South India. Structural temples became the order now and to the Jains we owe the erection of some which became veritable "dreams of beauty." Sacred places of pilgrimage or *Tīrthas* were put up on hill-tops as in Girnar, Śatruñjaya (Palitana), and Mt. Abu which were "temple cities" or "temple-complexes" whose plan will not find favour with a rigid architect. These "temple cities" were groups of religious buildings arranged on such level spaces as the contours of the hill can provide. Girnar, Mt. Abu, Palitana, etc., reveal an architecture of immensely rich

congregations—marble, precious materials, careful and intricate work with a sense of proportion, but lacking the lyrical spirit which animates stone. It was rather one of those cases where exuberance is beauty. The Mt. Abu group like many other mediaeval master-pieces were the spontaneous expression of each member of the entire Jaina community, be he high or be he low, taking personal interest in the construction. Khajuraho in Bundelkhand, the old Chandela capital, has a group of Jaina (950-1050 A. D.) and Hindu temples which are second in importance and magnificence only to the Bhuvaneśvar temples in Orissa.

BUDDHIST INDIA

The *lyrical* note which was missing in Jain architecture, found its fullest expression in Buddhism. Lord Buddha, Mahāvīra's younger contemporary, spread his doctrine or moved the Wheel of the Law (*Dharmachakra-pravartana*). He stood on the pivot of love and never before had any other human soul contemplated human suffering (the suffering that is inseparable from existence) with such pitiful yet unruffled sympathy. This sympathy or altruism was termed *karuṇā*. His gospel caught the fancy of one and all. The heavenly Devas, already dwarfed by Jainism, paled into insignificance before the *man* Buddha who left his footprints in the *soil* and an indelible mark on the *soul*. His *suttas* swayed the emotional masses who worshipped him as the Master, and after him the saints, apostles and the varied Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The places sanctified by the Buddha's association, such as his place of birth (Lumbinī garden in Kapilavastu), his enlightenment (Buddha-Gayā), his first sermon (*Dharmachakra-pravartana* in Sārnāth near Benaras) and his final extinction or entry into *nirvāṇa* (Kusinara), came to be worshipped. His relics (*śārīrika* or corporeal, *pāribhogika* or associative and *uddeśika* or dedicatory) were enshrined and adored. Originally were raised over pieces of Buddha's bones mounds of earth and stones. On these were planted symbols, such as the wheel of the law, a tree within altar, etc. The mounds were encircled by a railing. Gradually stone replaced wood, and over the mound was raised a hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*) which in turn supported a square pavilion (*harmikā*) on which stood the *chhatra*, the umbrella of sovereignty standing for *Dharmavijaya*. The Buddhist *Stūpa* in its classical form was thus created, of which the best

examples are those of Sāñchi in Bhopal, (3rd-1st century B. C.), Bhārhut (2nd century B. C.) in Central India, Amarāvati (1st century A. D.) and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in South India (3rd century A. D.) The Buddhist Monks (*Bhikshus*) and Nuns (*Bhikshuṇīs*) adopted, like their Master, an itinerant life and moved from place to place, from caves to rock-cut dwellings. The Buddhist *church* grew and merchants and royal votaries, foremost among whom was Emperor Asoka, endowed the Buddhist *Saṅgha* and raised prayer halls or *chaityas* and *vihāras* or monasteries. Caves were hollowed out, divided and decorated. Tradition was respected; primitive worship had developed also. *Corporate life* gave the *monastery* and the monastery needed a temple or chapel. Thus in the cool and peaceful hill resorts of the Buddhist monks and nuns arose marvellous Buddhist cave-temples, as at Karli, Kanheri, Bhāja in Bombay State and Ajanta in the Deccan. Painting and sculpture which evoke the artist's admiration were enlisted for displaying the glory of the Buddha, and the life of the Master; his past births (*Jātakas*) and other edifying legends of moral worth became their subject-matter. In the north-west, owing to Greek and Roman impact a hybrid art developed and a complete Buddhist imagery called *Gāndhāra* was elaborated. Gradually the orthodox Buddhist doctrine underwent change. Popular beliefs, magic and sorcery collectively known as *tantra* began to spread among people, whose genius was foreign to India's, this tantra tending to bring Buddhism and Hinduism closer to each other. It was about to be absorbed into Hinduism when the avalanche of Muslim conquest descended on the scene, swept it from Indian soil, destroyed its *vihāras*, the abodes of the Bhikshus and Bhikshuṇīs, scattered them and broke their hierarchy.

HINDU TEMPLES

Under Hinduism we can group the many cults, which, though believing in a bewildering diversity of gods, have in common a theoretical recognition of the Vedas as the absolute authority and an organisation of society into castes—characteristics which have influenced the Hindu temple and its architecture. The Hindu *temple* expresses the individual character of the Vedic rites. The presiding *deity* or god dwells in it in human fashion, in an image or symbol. The *priest* is an intermediary between the God and the devotee. He provides

the God with the needs of daily life, pleases Him with *upachāras* (which are 16) and recitations of psalms, hymns and litanies (*mantras* and *dhyānas*), bathes Him, clothes Him, decks Him with flowers and jewellery, gets for Him from the world of devotees homage and offerings (*nivedana* and *bhoga*) and arranges for his God (whose agent he is) a calendar of endless festivals, fairs and processions (*utsavas*), which attract pilgrims from long distances. Haridwar, Rishikeś, Prayāg (Allahabad) and Kāśī in U.P., Bhuvaneśvar, and Puri (in Orissa), Kāmākhyā (in Assam), Tirupati, Kāñchīpuram, Kālahasti, Chidambaram, Śrīraṅgam, Madura and Rāmeśvaram (in S. India) are a few out of the many places of pilgrimage, where great temples were built with an eye on temple amenities such as huge bathing tanks, kitchens, rest-halls or *Maṇḍapas* and stables for elephants, horses, bulls, cars, *vāhanas*, etc.

The structural expansion of the temple, and of the South Indian Temple in particular, followed a corresponding expansion of the temple ritual. When the ceremonies and temple festivals (*utsavas*) were elaborated there was a corresponding reaction on the arrangement of the building in which they were held. The main deity (*Mūla-Vigraha*) of the temple, which is worshipped, has a spiritual as well as a temporal capacity and the increase in the temple structures was in proportion to the increase in the powers or capacity associated with the God worshipped. In His spiritual capacity the God reigns supreme in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, in the darkened mystery of a shrine called the *Garbha-griha* where He receives passively the worship of his devotees (*bhaktas*). For such a God of abstract spiritual potentiality, is provided the inner part of the temple, reserved and secluded as the sacred resort of the God. The temporal capacity of the God is manifest on certain occasions called '*Utsavas*' and *Pūjās*, when the God issues from His retreat (from the *Mūla-Vigraha* embodiment) and goes out in procession in a physical form called '*Utsava-Vigraha*', not unlike the monarch of the land. When the God goes out in procession taking part in festivals of a semi-mundane character, the temple precincts correspondingly expand. Thus the South Indian temple resolves itself into an inner, closed and sacred part, and an outer, open, public and less sanctified part. The inner part, generally rectangular, usually consists of two flat-roofed courts one within the other. The

Sanctum Sanctorum (*garbha-griha*) lies in the innermost court and can be made out by its *vimāna* which (usually richly gilt) may be seen projecting over the flat roof demonstrating clearly the focal centre of the temple-scheme. The outer part of the temple consists of a concentric series of courtyards enclosed within high walls (*prākāras*) and in these courtyards are located halls, pavilions (*Maṇḍapas*) and buildings connected with the secular aspect of the temple ceremonial.

Interestingly indeed the sequence of dynasties that ruled South India expanded the structural formation of the temple so as to suit the growth of temple ritual. While cave-temples (cut-in and cut-out) of the Mahābalipuram type were carved by the Pallava Kings in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., structural temples with very high *vimānas* springing over the *Sanctum Sanctorum* as in Tanjore came up during the rule of the early Chola kings of Tanjore (850 A.D. to 1070 A.D.). Huge *Gopuras* or Gateways such as at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Chidambaram came up in the later Chola period (1073 to 1353 A.D.). *Kalyāṇa-Maṇḍapas* and halls as in Vellore were erected under the Vijayanagara Kings (1350 to 1565 A.D.). And great corridors or corridor-halls (*Pudu-Maṇḍapas*) such as in the Madura and Rāmeśvaram temples which typify the latest style of temple development, came up after 1600 A.D. If this Dynastic evolution of temple-style is remembered against the background of an expansion of the temple ritual, which in its turn is dependent on the popular ascription to the God enshrined, of a spiritual unmanifested (*avyakta*) capacity as opposed to a temporal or manifest (*vyakta*) capacity, then and then only the design of any great South Indian temple can be correctly appreciated.

Side by side with structural temples the early traditional mode of rock-hewn shelters also continued. Like Jainism and Buddhism, Hinduism has innumerable cave-temples of its own. Those that take their place among the greatest works of art are the Elephanta caves (8th century) near Bombay, which were mistaken by early European travellers to be monuments of Alexander and Porus, the Kailāsa temple at Ellora (Deccan) of the 8th century A.D. and the famous *Rathas* of the 7th century A.D. and the shore-temple of the 8th century A.D. at Mahābalipuram near Madras. Here, thanks to better tools, superior skill of architects and continued and spontane-

ous patronage of Royal artists, living rock was cut in or cut out, nay literally split to wring out of it shrines, columns, sculptures and images—in short a veritable wonderland, a heavenly retreat, a world of *Moksha*, where mortals associated momentarily with the celestial Gods and Goddesses and their glory rooted in their *līlās* and Purāṇic stories, and thus “far from man ran a godly race”.

INDIAN BRONZES

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

INTRODUCTION

Metal figures, particularly bronzes, have always had a glamour as works of art. This was so even in Caesar's Rome. Corinthian bronzes were then more precious than gold and it is said of Antony, Caesar's friend, that he assassinated the owner of two vases of Corinthian bronze just to possess them. The case is however different in India. Indian bronzes have not only been regarded as works of art but also as objects of religious veneration. According to *Sukranīti*, "that image is not beautiful which is pleasing but only that which is made in strict accordance with Śāstraic injunction". Indian images have now assumed an archaeological and iconographic importance; their aesthetic value appeals to a large degree as well.

PRE-ARYAN

The Indus valley civilization of the third millennium B.C, which is older than the Aryan invasion, and in fact the oldest civilization of India so far revealed by excavations, shows a well-designed and highly artistic culture already at an advanced stage of development in the *chalcolithic age*, when stone and copper were used side by side. That the artists of the Indus valley had fully grasped the essential elements of form and decoration is apparent in the patterns of painted pottery based on geometrical and animal forms and also in the statuary figures of steatite, faience and clay. The art of metal casting as well as carvings in stone had also attained skilled development. At Mohenjo-Daro in Sind, the earliest known Indian bronze statuette was discovered, which represents a remarkable figure of a dancing girl¹. Indeed the sensitive modelling of the back below the waist and the profile of the dancing girl (fig. 1) would do credit to the best modern sculpture. Probably some natural agency was responsible for the burial of this civilization and it is not till centuries later that we again come across any bronze figures.

1. Marshall; *Mohen-jo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 44. pl. CXLIV-5, 6; St. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, fig. 4.

The Mohenjo-Daro figurine is secular, while the bronze images of later historical times are practically all inspired by religion, which is indeed the source of inspiration of all sculpture in India. This bronze dancing girl from Mohenjo-Daro with supple movement, and two male torsos from Harappa¹ with excellent modelling prove that both sculpture and bronze were developed as characteristic art-forms at the very outset of Indian art history.

MAURYAN

Between the proto-historic art of the Indus Valley and the historical Mauryan period (4th-3rd century B.C.) is a big gap awaiting to be filled up by actual remains of material culture. But in the 3rd century B.C. we meet with Indian sculpture springing up into magnificent form like Minerva born in panoply. The lion capital of Sarnāth and the stone bull of Rāmpurwa are masterpieces of Mauryan sculpture informed with vigour and natural expression. Besides this refined *court-art* as exemplified by the lion and bull capitals described here, there also existed an archaic *religious art* based on a wide-spread cult of tutelary deities, such as *Yakshas* and *Yakshis*. The majesty of such figures as the Parkham Yaksha, Patna Yaksha and the female Yakshī figure from Didarganj is apparent in their size, massive volume and magnificent form, rather than in spiritual expression. Bronze images of either the court-art or the archaic religious art of Mauryan times have not been found.

BUDDHISM

Indian art entered a phase of intense activity in the 2nd century B.C., when under the direct influence of Buddhism a synthesis between the higher and lower forms of beliefs suitable to Indian genius resulted in very rich sculpture preserved on the railings and gateways of the *stūpas* of Sāñchi (Bhopal) and Bhārhut (Central India),—Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Guntur, S.I.). Some bronze images of Buddha, not earlier than the 2nd century A.D. are also known from Amarāvati and its vicinity. From the 2nd century A.D. onwards the image of Buddha afforded sufficient theme for the artists to carve or cast and we have today a good sculptural sequence of the Buddha image (figs. 2, 4 and 6).

1. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, fig. 1; Pt. M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXXX.

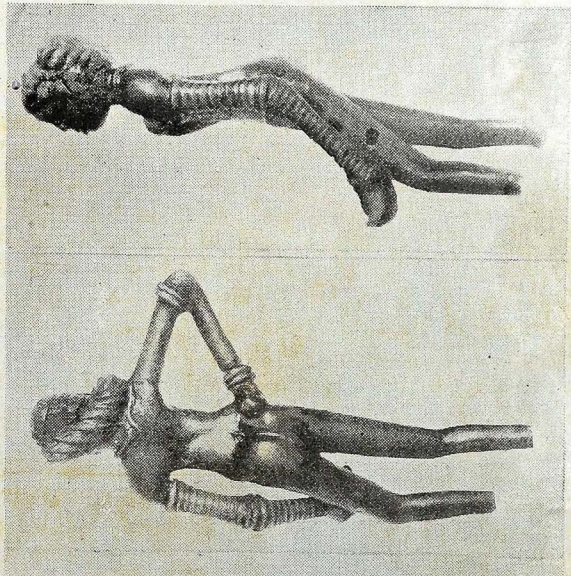


Fig. 1. Dancing girl from
Mohenjo-daro, Sind. 3rd Millennium B. C.

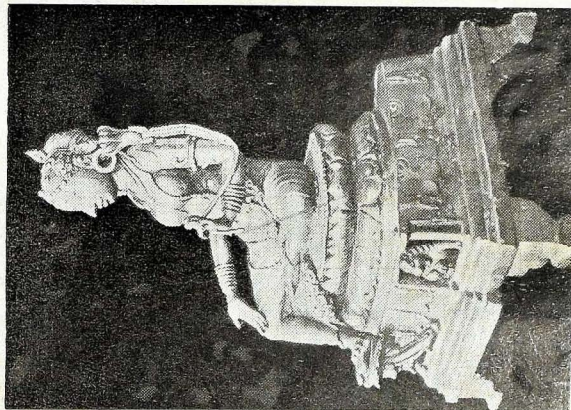


Fig. 2. Tārā, from Kūṛkibār, Bihar.
9th cent. A. D.

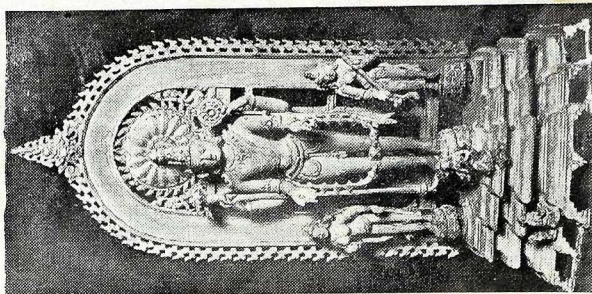


Fig. 3. Vishṇu, from Rangpur,
East Bengal. 10th-11th cent. A.D.



Fig. 4. Buddha, from Chittagong.
10th cent. A. D.

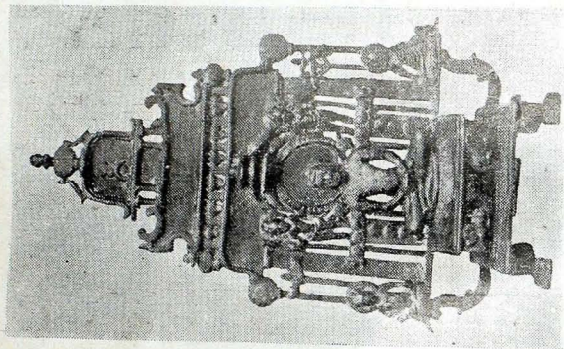


Fig. 5. Jina Vardhamāna, from
South Kanara. 11th cent. A.D.

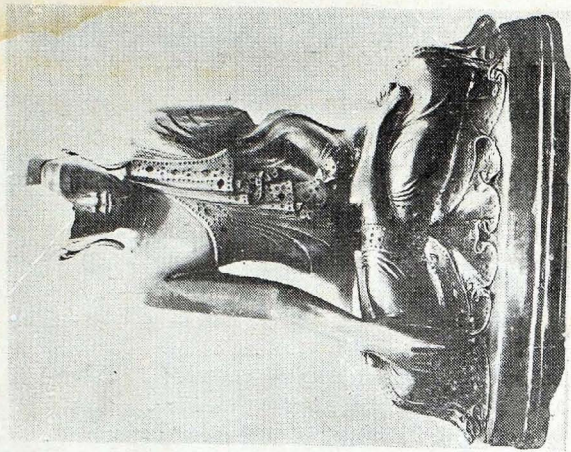


Fig. 6. Buddha, from Dibrugarh, Assam.
Late mediaeval.

TAXILA

Though the art of metal casting is of great antiquity as shown by the first example of the dancing girl from Mohenjodaro we do not come across any metal images till the 1st century A.D. when, early small figures hail from Taxila of about the 1st-2nd century A.D.

MATHURA

A vital and prolific school of Indian Sculpture sprang up at Mathurā in the 1st century A.D., distinguished on the one hand by remarkable statuary illustrative of sectarian belief, and on the other by a common heritage of beautiful figure sculpture of which the best examples are women carved on railing pillars, in the company of birds, flora, fauna and flowing streams portraying happy female life.

GUPTA

The formative school of Mathurā found its fulfilment in the Gupta age (4th-5th century A.D.) which ushered in the golden age of Indian art. The sensuous freedom and plasticity of Mathurā figures were now replaced by restraint, elegance of form and spiritual expression. Examples are the great Buddha figures of Mathurā, Sārnāth, Ajanta and Bihar which represent immortal specimens symbolising the ideals of a whole age. The faces are robed in spiritual ecstasy and the smiling countenance with downcast eyes adequately conveys the divine compassionate love (*karuṇā*) of the Buddha towards all beings. To the Guptas, we owe the perfect visual image of the Buddha type of *Being*, hailed as the greatest creation of Indian Art.

Bronzes in the Gupta period attained a rank equal in merit to the best pieces of sculpture and painting, as typified in the life-size Buddha image from Sultanganj, Bihar (5th century A.D.), now in the Birmingham Art Gallery and in the beautiful Brahmā image from Mirpur-khas *stūpa*, Sind¹. From about the 8th century A.D. onwards metal images became specially popular.

PALA OR THE EASTERN SCHOOL

Elegance of form and spiritual expression show the superior standard of the bronzes from Nālandā and Kūrkihār (both in Bihar) of the Pāla period (9th-12th century A.D.). The development of Pāla school, the eastern school of Tāra-

1. Coomaraswamy, *H.I.A.*, fig. 168.

nātha, is typically illustrated at Nālandā, the importance of which as a centre of Buddhist learning (University) continued undiminished by the political decadance of Magadha, until the destruction of the monasteries by the Muhammadans at about 1197 A. D. Nālandā has been the richest source of the well-known smooth black slate images and has also yielded a very extensive series of Buddhist bronzes (Fig. 2). The importance of Nālandā as a centre of Buddhist culture and a source of iconographic and stylistic influences throughout the East is well illustrated by the close relations existing between it and Sumatra-Java in the 9th century, as revealed by the copper plate of Devapāladeva wherein references are made to the important monastery at Nālandā built by *Bālaputra of Suvarṇadvīpa in Circa 860*¹. *Nepal and Burma too had close connections with Nālandā*. The East—comprising Bihar and Bengal as one art province under Pāla and Sena rule, Orissa and Mayurbanj—carries all the classical traditions as framed within the Gupta period.

Another remarkable large series of metal images from Kūrkīhār in the District of Gaya, Biḥār, (as many as 240 pieces), have close affinity with the Nālandā ones and belong almost to the same period and school. A Tārā image illustrated here (fig. 2) is a masterpiece of the Pāla style of 9th century A. D. Yet another large series of metal Buddhist images, perhaps of Nālandā origin, has been found at Chittagong, E. Bengal, and appears to date from the 10th to the 13th century (Fig. 4). Some others now in Kashmir are evidently of the same type².

A great school of sculpture in bronze and stone existed in Eastern India during the Pāla empire (9-12th century A.D.) and all finds of metal images of this period, Buddhist, Brāhmanical or even Jain,—for images of each of these religions of the Pāla school have been found—whether made at Kūrkīhār or Nālandā in Bihar or at Rāngpur, Rājshāhi, Dinajpūr, Dacca, or the Sunderbans in Bengal are examples of Pāla art. Modelling of Pāla bronzes is good though not a predominant feature as in those of the Gupta period; the lines and soft curves of the figures are at once felicitous, and their expression makes an

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, Pt. VII.

2. Coomaraswamy, *H.I.A.*, fig. 232.

appeal which justifies the modern enthusiasm for Pāla bronzes. Buddhist images found at Jhewari in Chittagong (9th-13th century A.D.) are however marked by a ruggedness and constraint (fig. 4), though they are but provincial variations of the Pāla school and are akin to the school that flourished in Burma and Assam (fig. 6) during the period. Small metal images particularly of Buddhist divinities found at Nālandā and Kūrkihār are again the source of inspiration of Nepalese copper gilt images. No doubt Buddhist and Hindu metal images were borne by pilgrims from Java while visiting the sacred shrines in Eastern India.

MEDIAEVAL

The Mediaeval period (8th-12th century A.D.) marks a revival and outburst of Hindu cultural resurgence. The temples of Ellora, Mahābalipuram, Elephanta (8th century A.D.) and of Khajuraho and Bhuvaneśvar (11th century A.D.) are rich in splendid sculpture. The figured reliefs in these temples constitute a national epic illustrating the theme of the eternal struggle of the Devas and the Asuras in which Śiva and Viṣṇu take their share and triumph over the forces of darkness and evil. The mythical themes are significant as explaining the patterns of human actions.

The sculpture of the mediaeval period merged into and indeed shaped the character of its architecture as one can see from the Pāṇḍya, Chola, Chālukya, Hoysāla and Vijayanagara temples in South India. The stream of Indian sculpture (bronzes) however dries up so far as North India is concerned during the Mughal period, but is transfigured into vital and extensive schools of pictorial art.

TECHNIQUE OF BRONZES

In North and East India metal images of Hindu deities were consecrated and worshipped as at the present day. It would not be strictly correct to say that the metal images of South India were "in Pūjā". South Indian bronze images had a special character. They too were votive images in as much as they were dedicated to the temples by worshippers but they were "*Utsava-Vigrahas*", i.e., they were images carried in procession on festival days of the deity or deities so that those who could not visit the temples should have an opportunity equally with all others of beholding the sacred image of the divinity and thus attain religious merit. That the images were

meant to be carried is clear from the fact that they are, except in the case of small images, provided with holes in the pedestal through which rods could be inserted for the purpose of carrying them.

The finest examples of bronzes, however, were made during the Chola period in South India, between the 9th and the 13th century A. D. The majority of South Indian metal images are made of copper with a small admixture of alloy and are therefore not "bronze". According to the *Silpa Śāstras* and tradition they should be made of *pañcha-loha*, a compound of 5 metals, (copper, silver, gold, brass and white-lead). But in North India and particularly in Bengal they are made of "ashṭa-dhātu" or 8 metals including a small quantity of the precious metals. The process of casting employed by the craftsman (*sthapati*) is that known as 'cire perdue', an ancient method employed by the Chinese and the Greeks. The 'cire perdue' or 'lost-wax' process, is so called from the fact that the wax model which served as the core of operation was lost or drained out before the actual casting took place. The subject was first modelled in wax, then coated with clay. Next the wax was melted out leaving a mould behind into which liquid metal was poured to cast a solid image. But if a hollow image was intended, the subject would be first modelled in clay and then the core was coated with wax, and the wax in turn covered with a negative of clay. This was used for casting after the wax was drained out by heating. With the former single method have been produced the masterpieces of South Indian bronzes.

NATARAJA

The main types include images of Brāhmanical gods and goddesses, Vaiṣṇavaite and Śaivite, benign and terrible, of Pārvatī, Śrīdevī, Viṣṇu, Kṛishṇa, Rāma, and of saints and royal donors. In representations of Umāsahita (Śiva and Pārvatī) or Somāskanda (Śiva, Skanda and Pārvatī) the austere countenance of Śiva as a great *Yogī* contrasts with the feminine delicacy of Umā or Pārvatī. The most outstanding of the masterpieces is Śiva as Natarāja (fig. 7) illustrating the process of world creation and dissolution in terms of dance and rhythm. Encircled within a halo of flames, the god sounds the *ḍamaru* with one hand, bears the consuming fire in the other, and the two other hands are held in the pose of protection (*abhaya*) and energising (*kriyā*). His right foot tramples



Fig. 7. Natarāja, from Tiruvelaṅgāḍu,
near Madras, 12th cent. A. D.



Fig. 8. Janguli, from Nepal.
Late mediaeval.

upon the demon of ignorance and the left leg swings in the air in token of rhythm. The Naṭarāja image is the greatest creation of Indian art, a perfect visual image of *Becoming*, an adequate complement and contrast to the Buddha type of pure *Being*. The movement of the dancing figure is so balanced that while it fills all space it seems nevertheless to be at rest.

Though Buddhist metal images from Amarāvati, Buddhapada in Guntur and the famous Sultanganj Buddha image of Gupta times (now in Birmingham) show that hollow casting on a core of earth was employed at an early period, a large number of South Indian bronzes were cast solid, the pedestals (*padmāsana*) alone being cast hollow. The images were probably cast in one piece. After being cast, the whole work, including details of decoration, in relief or incised, was finished with the hammer and chisel or other graving tool. With what skill this delicate work was accomplished will be appreciated from the chasing of the back of Naṭarāja images of South India. The art continued to flourish during the period of the Vijayanagara Kings (14th to 16th century) and even later, but in a heavy and conventionalised form only.

JAINA BRONZES

South Indian Jaina and Buddhist bronzes are not many. Jaina bronzes, some of the 10th and 11th century A. D. and the rest of later periods representing the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, their *Śāsana-devatās* and Bāhubali are known from South and North Kanara (Fig. 5), Chingleput, Bellary and North and South Arcot Districts. Jaina metal images are also known from Paharpur East Bengal (11th century A. D.), Sunderbans, West Bengal, from Orissa (7th-11th century A. D.), most of them representing Ṛishabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, and from Gwalior (9th-11th century A. D.). An inscribed bronze image of Mahāvīra, (12th century A. D.) from Nahar collection, Calcutta, is of the class popular in South Kanara (Fig. 5) and, being inscribed, helps dating Jaina images.

NEGAPATAM BRONZES

Buddhist bronzes, though rare in South India, are occasionally found mostly in Tanjore District, dating from 11th to 15th century A. D. From Nāgapatnam, since 1856, about 380 Buddhist bronzes of the Mahāyāna, some inscribed, were recovered from a *Vihāra*-site raised by the Śailendras of Sumatra in the time of the Chola Kings Rājārāja I and



Fig. 8. Janguli, from Nepal.
Late mediaeval.

Rājendra Chola I; some of these bronzes belong to early Chola (871-1070 A. D.) and a large number of the rest to the later Chola period (1070-1250 A.D.).

OTHER BUDDHIST BRONZES

Other important centres for bronze images in North and East India are Paharpur or ancient Somapura monastery found by Devapāla with images of the three faiths represented (10-11th century A. D.), Rangpur, Bengal, with Viṣṇu (Fig. 3) images in the style of Nālandā, Patharghata (Vikramaśīla monastery founded by Dharmapāla) in Bihar with Buddhist and Brāhmanical images (10-13th centuries A. D.), Rājshāhi, East Bengal, and Nepal (Fig. 8) and Tibet where, from the middle ages onwards to recent times, as a result of the play of Tantrism, images of Brāhmanical and Buddhist Tantric pantheons occurred in equal numbers side by side.

THE UDAYENDIRAM PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II —A NEW STUDY OF THE PLACE NAMES.*

BY

K. R. VENKATARAMAN AND K. R. SRINIVASAN

The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman II were first published by the Reverend Foulkes¹, and later edited by Hultzsch². Lines 46 to 61 deal with the exploits of Udayacandra, a general in the service of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who is also the *ājñāpti* in the grant.

Shortly after a vain attempt to stem a formidable Cālukya raid into his kingdom led by the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II, Paramēśvaravarman II Pallava died without an heir, and the ministers and nobles of the realm in consultation with the *ghaṭikā* (college of learning) and the leading citizens crowned Nandivarman, who belonged to a collateral branch. The boy-king had to face another formidable foe in the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha I. Kōccaḍayan Raṇadhīra Pāṇḍya (710-730)³, Rājasimha's predecessor, had subjugated his Cēra and Cōla contemporaries, and even raided the west coast as far north as Mangalore⁴. Rājasimha, who had won further successes, lent his powerful support to Citramāya, the pretender to the Pallava throne, thus forcing Nandivarman to shut himself within the fort of Nandipura until he was liberated by Udayacandra, who further defeated the hostile armies on a number of battle-fields enumerated in the inscription.

Following Gopalan⁵, writers on Pallava history identify Nandipuram with the village of Nāthankōvil near Kumbhākōṇam. According to the Vaiṣṇava saint and hymnist, Tirumaṅgai, a late contemporary of Nandivarman, this Nandipura (Nāthankōvil) and the Viṣṇu temple in it were founded by Nandivarman⁶, but it should be considered whether, soon

* Paper read at the 16th All-India Oriental Conference, Lucknow.

1. *I.A.* VIII p. 273 ff.

2. *S.I.I.*, Vol II, Part III, p. 361 ff.

3. Prof. K.A.N. Sastri's chronology is followed—See his *History of India* Vol. I, p. 300—Genealogies.

4. Sastri-*The Pandyan Kingdom*. pp. 55-56.

5. *History of the Pallavas*, p. 124.

6. *Nandi paṇi śeyda nāgar Nandipuravinnagaram*.

after his accession, Nandi could have founded a town to the south of the Kāvērī, at a time when Pallava authority was definitely on the wane in that region. The proper location of Nandipura should therefore be looked for farther north; it must be the village of *Nandivaram* (Chingleput District) which occurs in its Samskrit form *Nandipura* in the inscriptions⁷. Once this is fixed, most of the other places can easily be located, and they are distributed in *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam* comprising Chingleput, and parts of Chittoor, Nellore, North Arcot and South Arcot districts. *Nimba(vana)*⁸ is *Vēppaṅgulam* near Kāñchī, from the Tirukāliśvara temple of which five Cōla inscriptions⁹ have been copied, and *Cūtavana*, *Māṅgādu*¹⁰ (Śrīperumbudūr taluk) which contains inscriptions¹¹ dated in the reigns of Nandivarman III and Aparājita, and is later called in Cōla inscriptions¹² *Aḷagiyaśōlanallūr* situated in the *Puliyūr-kōttam*, *Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōlamaṇḍalam*. *Śaṅkaragrāma* is obviously *Śaṅkarampādi*¹³ in the Arkonam taluk (North Arcot district), and *Sūrāvalundūr* is easily the village of *Sūrāvilundūr*¹⁴ in the Chidambaram taluk (South Arcot district.)

Then comes the engagement against Udayana, the leader of the Śabara army at *Nelmali*¹⁵ or *Nenmali* (*Nemmali*). It is near Tiruttani, about thirty miles to the north of Kāñchī,

7. 255 of 1910 and 34 of 1134-5 (Also called *Adhirājēndraśōlanallūr* in Kumilīnādū, Āmūr-kōttam, *Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōlamaṇḍalam* in the reign of Rājakēsari Kulōttunga II, 165 of 1932-3 from *Tirukaḷukkunṇam*). *Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōlamaṇḍalam* was a Cōla territorial division extending from the Tirukōyilūr taluk of South Arcot to Nellore, and from the coast to Kālahasti.

8. *Vana* is conj-cturally supplied, by the editor. *Vēppai* is Tamil for *nimba*.

9. 416 to 420 of 1902.

10. Tamil for *Cūtavana*.

11. 352 of 1908 (S.I.I. XII-53) and 351 of 1908.

12. 348, 349, 353 and 357 of 1908, and 176 of 12 in the local *Valliśvara* temple.

13. *Pādi* (Tamil) stands for village or military camp.

14. It is rather far-fetched to identify it with *Tiruvālundūr* (*Tēraḷundūr*) near Māyavaram.

15. In Tirumaṅgai's hymn *Paramēśvaraviṇṇagara paḍigam* (*Periyatirumoli*) it is specifically *Nelmali* and not *Neloeli* as copied in the text of the copper plates.

and was famous even in Pallava times. Its Viṣṇu temple, now called Vaikuṇṭhavāsa temple, was formerly called Tirumēraḷi, and is a Pallava structure¹⁶ of the apsidal type, on the walls of which are early inscriptions of the reigns of Aparājita Pallava, the early Cōlas of the tenth century and Kriṣṇa III. (Rāṣṭrakūṭa). Situated in a hilly country, this village may well have been the scene of a battle where Udayacandra met a wild śabara chief. Nellore, where the next battle was fought, is to the north-east.

Dr. Venkataramanayya's account¹⁷ of the battle of Nellore and the subjugation of the districts (*viṣayas*) of Viṣṇurāja is perhaps the most satisfactory one so far given. He points out that the *aśvamēdha* horse sent out by Nandi was sought to be intercepted at Nellore by a Bōya (*Niṣāda*) chief, named Pṛthvivīyāghra, probably a feudatory of the Eastern Cālukya Viṣṇuvardhana III. Udayacandra put the Bōya chief to flight, and then marched against another chief who bore the surname Niravadya, from whom he exacted pearl necklaces, gold and elephants, and finally captured 'the districts' (Bōya country) belonging to Viṣṇuvardhana. Dr. Venkataramanayya suggests that this Niravadya was Vijayāditya of Bādāmi, and 'that it is not unlikely that Vijayāditya came to defend his territories (which then included the present Ceded Districts) or joined his cousin Viṣṇuvardhana III against their common enemy.'

The record then speaks of the destruction of Kālīdurga, a fort under the protection of Kālī Bhagavatī, which *Tirumaṅgai*¹⁸ describes as a fort on or near a wooded hill, and the

16. S.I.I. XII. Introduction p. VII. There is another Nemmalī near Chingleput on the road to Tirukkalikunṅam and Sadras, and in its temple there are two late inscriptions (14 and 15 of 1932-3). The one near Tiruttani is just the place where a chief of the hill tribes would have offered battle.

17. *Eastern Cālukyas*, pp. 75-76. Lines 55 to 59 of the inscription have been corrected by Dr. Raghavan (see f.n. pp 74-5 op. cit.)

18. *Tēṇṇolil kunṇeyil* (*Periyatirumolī* 2. 9. 5). Perhaps the only place in Tondaimaṇḍalam that fully answers to this description is in the vicinity of the modern village of Kempulapālaiyam, 3½ miles north-east of Nārāyaṇavanam, not far from Tiruttani. Here are the remains of an old fortress, near which stands a temple of Bhagavatī, locally named Āmnāyākṣhi Ammā ('the

roul of the Pāṇḍya army supporting the Pallava pretender, at the village of Maṇṇaikkūḍi. It is difficult to locate the position of this fort. Maṇṇaikkūḍi may be identified with *Maṇṇi-vāḱkam*¹⁹ (Chingleput taluk), the temple in which is called *Maṇṇīśvaram*.

Leaving aside such fanciful identifications as Tirunelvēli (Tinnevely) with Nelmeli, and Kaḷḷikōṭṭai (Calicut) with Kālidurga, it should, however, be observed that writers on Pallava history were generally obsessed with the notion that the battlefields should be looked for in the Tanjore district and its neighbourhood. They have obviously overlooked the historical background against which Udayacandra's campaigns, which must have terminated long before the date of these plates, the twenty-first year of Nandi's reign, should be viewed. We know of no record of Nandivarman II anywhere near the banks of the Kāvēri until late in his reign except perhaps a much mutilated one²⁰ at Tiruveḷḷarai on the northern bank of the Koḷḷidam (Coleroon), dated in the tenth year (?) of his reign. Pūvālūr, just a few miles to the east of Tiruveḷḷarai, was the scene of a decisive victory of the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha over

Mother whose eyes are the Vēdas'). The temple is of more than local renown. The fortress stood on the northern bank of the river which here flows through a gap in the Nagari hills. On the opposite bank are the ruins of another fortress. The place is of considerable antiquity, and local tradition associates it with the capital of Ākāśarāja, the legendary father of the Goddess Padmavati. *North Arcot Manual*, 1894 Edition, Vol. II. pp. 380-2.

19. See 169 of 1929-30. *Pāḱkam* and *Kūḍi* are names given to villages which have extensive fields. Maṇṇaikkūḍi seems to have been the scene of some decisive battles. 257 of 12 from Paramēśvaranaṅgalam dated in the reign of Nripatuṅga mentions a son of a Viḷuppēraraiyar, who checked the valour (of his foe) at Maṇṇaikkūḍi (*Maṇṇaikkūḍi maramaḍakkiya*). 342 of 04 of the reign of a Parakēsari mentions a Viḷuppērarayar Vēḷān Puḡaḷan of Maṇṇaikkūḍi, and in 103 of 12 of the reign of Rājādhirāja I, there is a reference to a *maṇḍapam* in the Tiruvorriyūr temple, *Maṇṇaikoṇḍa Cōḷan maṇḍapam* called after a Cōḷa king who conquered Maṇṇai (Maṇṇaikkūḍi). It is sometimes identified with Maṇakkūḍi near Māyavaram, the correct name of which is Maṇarkūḍi (35 of 1925) which is different from Maṇṇaikkūḍi.

20. 537 of 1905 (S.I.I. XII No. 32). We are not sure that the regnal year is correctly given.

the Pallavas; and the series of further Pāṇḍyan victories enumerated in the Vēlvikuḍi and Sinnamanūr grants supported by contemporary Western Gaṅga records leave us in no doubt as to who really held the primacy over the Cōḷa and Cēra countries throughout a major period of Nandi's reign. In the Kasākuḍi plates dated in the 22nd year, though discovered near Kāraikāl, the donee and the grant belonged to Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. We have to wait till the 58th year to get to the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates, which definitely belong to the South, and three years later we have the Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam grants. In the interval we meet with a record²¹ at Śendalai that narrates the sequel to Udayacandra's conquests, the gradual reconquest of the south for the Pallavas by their Muttaraiya viceroy.

21. *Sendalai Pillar Inscriptions* (E.I. XIII p. 134 ff. (65 to 68 of 1897)). Date not known.

MURĀRI AS A POET¹.

BY

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI, M.A., B.L.

Murāri has not won universal approbation as one of our greatest poets. He has been the Pandit's favourite until very recently. But the Western critics dismissed him with contempt. The only work of his known to us is the drama *Anargha Rāghava* in seven acts. It is a long and tedious dramatic poem. This single work contains 567 verses. For the sake of comparison it may be noted that the *Sākuntala* contains less than 200 verses only. The play could not have been a stage success. There is very little of action in it; and the dialogue is clogged at every step with a surfeit of verses. But the pleasure of the scholar and man of taste in reading the play in his closet need not be denied. A nominal *dr̥śya-kāvya* may often be a valid *śravya-kāvya*. It is not often that we see plays enacted. Even the best of plays are for the most part enjoyed only in the reading. The mental vision of the reader can assist him to see the play enacted before his mind's eye. Thus there is no bar for a reader with advanced *vyutpatti* to enjoy a reading of the play and visualizing the action as in a dream. The Pandit's partiality for *Murāri* was due to the recondite style fraught with curiosities of grammar. From Kashmir to the extreme south, *Murāri* has always won the esteem of the redoubtable man of letters.

DATE

It is generally agreed that *Murāri* might be placed about the middle of the 8th century A.D. *Bhavabhūti* was a little earlier in the same century. There are indications of *Murāri*'s acquaintance with *Bhavabhūti*'s works as we shall see later. In the VII Act of the *Anargha Rāghava* *Murāri* refers pointedly to the Kalachuri Kings of Chedi and their Capital *Māhiṣmatī*. By the evidence of history this reference is supposed to point out to a date approximating to the middle of the 8th century A.D. In the 12th century A.D. *Maṅkhaka* and *Rāmacandra* refer to him by name. If *Ratnākara*'s supposed

1. A paper read at the Poet *Murāri* Day celebration of the Madras Saṁskṛta Academy.

reference to him in the 9th century A.D. could be accepted, our conjecture receives a strong confirmation. But the reference is incompatible with the *Anargha Rāghava*. We will have to presume that *Murāri* wrote another Rūpaka of the *Aṅka* type which as a tragedy destroyed the hero in the conclusion. The reference has been doubted by a few, though Prof. Keith and others have relied upon it. It is safer for us to go upon the external evidence. That the poet meant this as a historical reference will be clear when we consider how the other references to places etc. rising to the view of the riders of the aerial car are merely of geographical, religious or poetical interest. It is possible to infer that *Murāri* had his patron in a King of the *Kalachuri* line at *Māhiṣmatī*.

About the personal life of *Murāri* we know little. From the prologue we learn that he belonged to the मैदगल्य gotra and was a son of *Bhaṭṭasrī Vardhamāna* and *Tantumati*. *Bālāvalmiki* and *Mahākavi* seem to have been titles added to his name. That he was a man of deep learning is certain. In speaking about himself he says:—

चेतःशुक्तिकया निपीय शतशः शास्त्रामृतानि क्रमाद्

वान्तैरक्षरमूर्तिभिः सुकविना मुक्ताफलैर्गुम्फिताः । I. 5.

He had drunk deep from all the *śāstras*.

TRADITIONAL APPRECIATION OF MURARI

Tradition has recorded a few verses in appreciation of *Murāri* as a poet. A dictum which itself has been quoted by *Maṅkhaka* and others as an example of fine poetry, says:—
“Many have been the recipients of the grace of the goddess of poesy; but to *Murāri* alone were vouchsafed the most secret treasures which the Muse had to bestow on her devotee; for none had worshipped her so arduously as he did. The monkey warriors indeed leapt over the ocean, but the Mountain Mandara alone which served as the churning rod and dived right down to the very bottom with the weight of its ponderous form, knew how deep was the ocean.” It is obvious that this verse speaks of depth of thought, sincerity of feeling and rare chasteness and dignity of expression as the remarkable features of his poetry; for सारस्वतसार and गंभीरता respectively characterize Expression and Sense. *Murāri*’s natural poetical gifts were considerably strengthened by his hard-earned and strenuously cultivated *vyutpatti*.

Another anonymous verse prefers Murāri's composition to that of Bhavabhūti or even to that of Bāṇa. A comparison between *Bhavabhūti* and *Murāri* is not without justification. Both could lay claim in a large measure to a combination of पाण्डित्य and वैदग्ध्य in their poetry. In Bhavabhūti शब्दव्युत्पत्ति is less obtrusive but he is too much preoccupied with his Pāṇḍitya in Kāmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra and Rasaśāstra.

In *Murāri* सौशब्द्य is a more conscious effort. Yet while it contributes a great deal to the elevation of the manner, it never spoils the charm of his verse or impedes the free wings of his fanciful flights. In both the poets पाण्डित्य is not felt to be an egregious over-weight as in the Naiṣadha.

The पाण्डित्य element in Murāri's poetry, far from being cumbersome fortifies it and facilitates its voyage to the fairy-land of fancy like the steel body of modern ships, floating or flying.

A comparison of the two plays *Bhavabhūti's Mahāvīracarita* and Murāri's *Anargha Rāghava* will show how much Murāri was influenced by Bhavabhūti.

Prof. Keith is also of opinion that Murāri made a determined effort to vie with the *Mahāvīracarita* of *Bhavabhūti*. The theme is the same. The plan of treatment of the story is similar. *Murāri* himself apologizes in the prelude for choosing a theme so frequently dramatized by earlier writers. He should then have had in his mind the *Rāmabhyudaya* of Yaśovarman, the *Mahāvīracarita* of *Bhavabhūti* and the *Udatta Rāghava* of *Anaṅgahaṛṣa Māyūrāja*, all of which preceded him by only about a century. But the question is whether he has excelled Bhavabhūti as the anonymous verse would make us understand. Prof. Keith answers this in the negative as far as taste and ability of Murāri as a dramatist are concerned.

With reference to Murāri there is another traditional critical dictum: "Murāri treads a third path" "सुरारे: तृतीयः पन्थाः".* The dictum seems to imply that two paths were already familiar to the critical world and that Murāri's poetic method defied classification as belonging to either. What were the two paths? We are left to speculate. Looking at the question from either of the view-

* This saying applies to the Mīmāṃsaka Murāri, author of the Tripādīnītinayana. Vide J.O.R. II. pp. 206-278.—V.R.

points, we will have to concede that Murāri cut a new path and set a new model in poetic composition. The manliness of his style shows it to be different from the वैदर्भीमार्ग which is all grace and sweetness. Identification of his style with the *Gauḍī*, is out of the question, because, far from being heavy and vexing, it is brilliant with fancy and full of vim, and perspicuity is never lost for all the learning displayed. His वक्ष्यवाक्त्व is of a peculiar type. In Kālidāsa the medium was twin-born with thought. In Bhavabhūti the thought was a magnetic force which attracted the medium whichever way it turned. Murāri subjugated his medium to attune it to his whims and caprices. If Kālidāsa's method can be characterised as suggestion, and Bhavabhūti's effusive, efflorescent expression, Murāri achieved great efforts through compression. It is not a little facilitated by his extraordinary व्याकरणव्युत्पत्ति for Pāṇini's special forms aim at compression. In those poetical phrases which Murāri coins by virtue of his genius, his compression has for its necessary corollary, explosion. Each chastened word is a bit of the explosive powder in contact with the live spark of a novel idea. The words are packed together with uncanny sureness as to their precise effect. Murāri had no predecessor for him in this respect. He cut a new path for himself. He was undoubtedly a prince of poets.

परेषां तु यदाक्रान्तः पन्थास्ते कविकुञ्जराः ।

"They whose footsteps others follow are princes among poets." *Maṅkhaka* in his *Srikanṭhacarita* mentions a contemporary writer named Jalhana (other than the anthologist) who imitated Murāri in his diction. *Maṅkhaka* himself can be presumed to have been an admirer of Murāri. In his characterisation of Murāri's poetic style what *Maṅkhaka* says is not only interesting but also instructive.

प्रक्रमैर्हठवक्रिणो मुरारिमुधावतः । S.K.C. XXV. 74.

He calls Murāri's literary method by the name of हठवक्रिम-प्रक्रम । Now we shall try to understand what *Maṅkhaka* means by this strange description of *Murāri's* style.

We are already familiar with the word वक्रता. Kuntaka, the famous literary critic has elucidated the idea of Vakratā in his वक्रोक्तिजीवित । "Vakra" means "crooked" or "bent". The

poetry that is वक्र is unusual (as distinguished from the ordinary or commonplace) and therefore "striking" or "charming". It is this वक्रता that distinguishes poetic expression from ordinary speech. In his treatise he emphasises the aspect of beauty being indispensable for the delectation of वक्रता. He illustrates his position by a simile. The crescent moon is crooked, the dog's tail is also crooked; but the one is charming and the other is far from being charming. Now Kuntaka borrowed this वक्रता theory from Bhāmaha the oldest of our Ālaṅkārikas and elaborated and systematised it in his work. Kuntaka brings all अलंकारs under वाक्यवक्रता and propounds an उपचारवक्रता to comprise certain instances of Dhvani. Maṅkhaka seems to think that Murāri's *Vakratā* has a special feature of its own and as such demands a specific creation of a third type called इडवक्रता. We may give it the name of कार्मुक (the bow) वक्रता as the bow is forcibly bent before action. If the crescent-vakratā has beauty, the bow-vakratā has power. Kuntaka specified as a noteworthy feature of वक्रता the state of the expression and the sense in a verse being found vying with each other for predominance. This condition of equilibrium in high tension imparts to the verse a throbbing life, a power and a perpetual attraction. We find this feature of वक्रता nowhere better illustrated than in the verses of Murāri. This active principle of mutual स्पर्धा, something like the incessant atomic vibration, is naturally more in evidence in the कार्मुकवक्रता than in the इन्दुवक्रता. In the latter the same principle seems to assume the negative side through लय; and hence follows the contrast between manly vigour and alluring grace. In another way also the contrast may be expressed. The softer aspects of poetry conduce to द्रुति, the melting of the heart; the assertive and bolder type causes विकास, the expansion of the heart in wonder. In the whole of the drama the verses which contribute to *Sṛṅgāra* and *Sōka* delectation can be counted on the fingers. This itself was a bold departure from traditional poetry. This may be the reason why the rhetoricians, especially of the Dhvani and Rāsa schools, never turned to Murāri for their citations of illustrative verses. They ignored Murāri while they cited from Yaśovarman and Māyurāja. A poet in Sans-

krit who worked in utter indifference to *Vipralambha* and *Sambhoga Sṛṅgāra* and *Karuna* delineation had few chances of becoming a favourite with the *Ālankārikas*. But non-constricted criticism gave great preference to Murāri. The anthologies cite from him copiously. In the *Sākti-Muktāvalī*, the most precious of the Anthologies, Murāri heads the list of poets, except for Bilhana, in point of the number of verses for which anyone of them has been laid under contribution. 88 verses of his are included there while the levy on Kālidāsa is only for half the number. While the Pandits preferred him for his mastery over grammar, the Anthologists were partial to him from the point of view of the surprising originality of his fancies.

We shall now have a taste of a few verses of Murāri before concluding.

(1) There is a verse of Murāri which has become almost a household word with us and which puts in a nutshell the ethical message of the Rāmāyaṇa:—

यान्ति न्यायप्रवृत्तस्य तिर्यञ्चोऽपि सहायताम् ।

अपन्यान् तु गच्छन्तं सोदरोऽपि विमुञ्चति ॥ I. 4.

“Even the beasts become the allies of one who treads the path of righteousness. On the other hand, even a brother abandons one who treads the path of unrighteousness.”

(2) There is a penetrating observation in:

सन्तो मनसिकृत्यैव प्रवृत्ताः कृत्यवस्तुनि ।

कस्य प्रतिश्रुणोति स्म कमलेभ्यः श्रियं रविः ॥ V. 35.

“Great men resolve in their own mind and do good things. To whom does the sun declare that he intended to invest the lotus with beauty !”

(3) The following is Murāri’s description of the serpent in a humorous mood:

द्वे तावत् करणे रसान् रसयितुं शब्दांश्च रूपाणि च

श्रोतुं द्रष्टुमथैकमिन्द्रियमुरोगल्यै निगूढं पदम् ।

अन्येष्वप्यशनेषु सत्सु जगतः प्राणाः स्वदन्तेतरां

मातः कद्दु यदि प्रसौति भवती भूयः सुतानीदृशान् ॥ VII. 8.

“For tasting there are two tongues, for hearing sounds and seeing objects there is only one sensory organ. For facili-

tating motion by crawling, the feet are hidden. When there are innumerable edible objects, the vital airs of beings constitute their food. Oh, mother *Kadru*! you alone can bring forth such children once again!"

(4) Among the verses which describe the construction of the dam across the ocean, there is a fine fancy in:

सेतुबोगे सपदि लवणादन्यमन्तस्तिमिभ्यः

कालेनापां मधुरमपि हि स्वादमुद्भेदयन्त्यः ।

शैलक्षेपोच्छलितसलिलव्यूहतुच्छे समन्ताद्

वारां पत्न्यौ पटुतरयं निम्नगाः संनिपेतुः ॥ VII. 21.

"During the construction of the bund, the rocks which were thrown in displaced vast volumes of the saltish water and into the void thus created poured forth with mighty speed the rivers from the several directions so that the whales in the deep tasted for once sweetness in water as opposed to saltishness."

(5) In describing the earth as it appeared when being viewed from the aerial car, *Sugriva* pays a nice compliment to *Śrī Rāma*:—

अयमनेन महोदधिभोगिना वलयितो वसुधाफणमण्डलः ।

जगदनर्धमवाप्य भवादृशं किमपि रत्नमहंकुरुतेतराम् ॥ VII. 28.

"The earth is the hood and the oceans are the coils. On the head of this serpent you are the jewel of the rarest quality."

(6) That the poet struggled through poverty and neglect in his life can be fairly inferred from the acerbity of the following accusation directed against the goddess of wealth. *Rāma* is describing the *Mandara* mountain:

तत्तादृक् फणिराजरज्जुकषणं संरूढपक्षच्छिदा-

घातारुन्तुदमप्यहो कथमयं मन्याचलः सोढवान् ।

एतेनैव दुरात्मना जलनिधेरुत्थाप्य पापामिमां

लक्ष्मीमीश्वरदुर्गतव्यवहृतिव्यस्तं जगन्निर्मितम् ॥ VII. 41.

"How, indeed, did he endure the irksome chafing of the serpent-rope particularly agonizing over the healing wounds at the sides from which the wings had been chopped off! It was this wicked *Mandara* mountain who raised from the ocean this damned goddess of wealth and inaugurated the

splitting of humanity into two distinct groups namely the rich and the poor."

(7) There is facetious description of the moon.

कर्णोत्तंसयवाङ्कुरं करतले कृत्वा हसित्वा मिथः

संहृतः पुरुहूतपौरयुवतीवर्गेण कौतूहलात् ।

प्रासार्तिक्षुभितोऽयमंकहरिणः कुर्वीत किं किं कला-

कन्यामिन्दुमयीमजस्रघटनोद्धाटश्चयावस्थिताम् ॥ VII. 63.

"The young women of the City of Indra (in the Eastern Mountain) in a playful mood take the cornblade from their ears and placing the same in their hands exchange a mischievous smile among themselves and beckon to the deer on the lap of the moon temptingly; and the deer being eager to get at the blade so bestirs itself that the rickety pile of the digits of the moon already loosely clinging together on account of the frequent joining and disjoining, is threatened with utter dissolution."

(8) The desert is thus described from the aerial car.

तर्कुटंकलिखितार्कमण्डलप्रेच्छलत्कणकदम्बभासुरम् ।

शिल्पशालमिव विश्वकर्मणः किं विभाति मृगतृष्णिकामयम् ॥ VII. 85.

"What is this which looks like the workhouse of Viśvakarman lit up as if with the volumes of sparks flying from the disc of the sun being carved by the lathe and which seems to consist of the essence of the mirage."

(9) In the description of Ujjain we have a pleasant fancy in:

अधस्तात् सौधानामिह हि चरतामिन्दुकिरणान्

घनोदश्चञ्चूचूटनिहितनेत्रा युवतयः ।

चकोराणां ज्योत्स्नारसकुतुपकौतूहलकृता-

मुदीक्षन्ते नश्यत्तिमिरविशदाभोगमुदरम् ॥ VII. 109.

"The cakoras drink the rays of the moon beneath the high-storied houses of Ujjain. The young women (occupying the upper halls), looking down note the birds opening and closing their beaks again and again. They see the interior of their bodies luminous and mentally compare them with the small leather vessels containing mercury, namely the moonlight".

We shall advert to two verses of the V Act touching the pathetic and the erotic sentiments,

(10) Lakṣmaṇa tries to draw the attention of Śrī Rāma to a scene of interest in the forest during the search for Sītā.

भयभ्रष्टप्रेयोविरहनिरहंकारहरिणी-

मुखालोकोन्मीलदूगुरुकरुणरुणां सहचरीम् ।

विलोक्य म्लेच्छन्तीमलमलमिति प्राक् प्रणिहितं

शरव्याल्लुब्धानां हृदयमपराद्ध न तु शराः ॥ V. 29.

“Sir, please see here; the male deer took fright and instantaneously vanished, the female deer stands helpless before the hunter. The hunter’s wife is moved to pity and indistinctly utters the word “stop, don’t strike”. The hunter turns aside to listen to her. His heart consequently turns away from the target but his arrow strikes it unerringly.”

(11) स्ववपुषि नखलक्ष्म स्वेन कृत्वा च पत्या

कृतमिति चतुराणां दर्शयिष्ये सखीनाम् ।

इति रहसि मया ते भीषितायाः स्मरामि

स्मरपरिमलमुद्रामङ्गसर्वप्रहायाः ॥ V. 23.

(12) We shall conclude with Murāri’s salutation to Parameśvara. Mahākāla of Ujjain is thus addressed with devotion:

नमस्तुभ्यं देवासुरमुकुटमाणिक्यकिरण-

प्रणालीसंभेदस्त्रापितचूरणाय स्मरजिते ।

महाकल्पस्वाहाकृतभुवनचक्रेऽपि नयने

निरोद्धुं भूयस्तत्प्रसरमिव कामं हुतवते ॥ VII. 112.

“Salutations to you, the victor over Smara, whose feet were washed by the confluence of the rays of the ruby stones on the crowns of the Devas and Asuras who offered as oblation the worlds at the end of the Mahākālpa into his fiery eye and further threw Kāma into it, as if to prevent their re-emergence.”

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE DEPARTMENT
OF HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES
AND NARAYANI HANDIQUE RESEARCH INSTITUTE
AT GAUHATI, ASSAM¹

BY

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In 1930 Calcutta University published a Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts compiled by Hemchandra Goswami. It contains an account of seventy-seven Sanskrit manuscripts most of which are preserved by the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati, and some are in the possession of private individuals. Two years before the publication of this Descriptive Catalogue the Government of Assam established at Gauhati the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies. In 1934 Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Handique to whose munificence Gauhati, and for the matter of that, the whole of Assam, owes so much and whose illustrious son, Sri Krishnakanta Handiqui, is now the Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University, made a donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Department which was thus enabled to build its own beautiful house called after the donor's wife, the Narayani Handique Research Institute. This institution has been practically, since its foundation, under the able guidance of Dr. S. K. Bhuiyan, M.A., PH.D., D. LITT. (LOND.). During the twenty-three years of its existence this Research Institute has collected 705 manuscripts of which one hundred and ten are in Sanskrit. None of these Sanskrit manuscripts was consulted by Hemchandra Goswami when he compiled his Descriptive Catalogue. A note, therefore, on the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the possession of the D.H.A.S. and Narayani Handique Research Institute at Gauhati (Assam) may not be uninteresting to Sanskritists.

These Sanskrit manuscripts deal with different branches of Sanskrit learning—astrology, grammar, lexicography, medicine, sexology, charms and incantations, poetry, drama, music, purāṇa, history, philosophy, ritualistic rites and religion.

1. Paper read in the Classical Sanskrit Section of the 16th All-India Oriental Conference, Lucknow.

None of these Sanskrit manuscripts is in Devanagari script. This circumstance may be borne in mind by the sponsors of the movement for introducing the Devanagari script all over India.

The nature of the subjects represented in these manuscripts may next be noted. The collection does not contain any manuscript on Jainism and Buddhism nor does it include any book on the Six systems of Indian Philosophy like Sāṅkhya, Nyāya and Vedānta, and on abstract politics. The absence of any book on Jainism and Buddhism is easily explained. Jainism is not known to have ever made any converts in Assam, and Buddhism, which was certainly preached in Assam, never became a strong force there and ceased long ago to be professed by anybody in the State. The absence of any manuscript on any one of the six systems of Indian philosophy is more difficult to explain. Perhaps it shows that mere speculative philosophy never became very popular in Assam.

Among the Sanskrit manuscripts collected in the Narayani Handique Research Institute, (I am using the simpler name), the largest number deals with astrology. These are Jyotiṣa-Gaṇanā (420), Haraphala-Gaṇanā (421), Jyotiṣa-Āryā (427), Jyotiṣa (500), Praśna-Gaṇanā (502), Chousatti-churā (507), five separate manuscripts (508, 510, 558, 566 and 583) all bearing the name Jyotiṣa, Svarodaya (563), Daśākāla (565), Somasiddhānta (580) and Mukṭāvali (662). Some of these deal with the art of casting horoscopes, and some with the calculation of almanacs. Of these fifteen manuscripts on astrology Chousatti-Churā (507) is the most interesting. It contains sixty-four diagrams by a reference to which sixty-four different types of questions may be answered.

On Grammar there are five separate manuscripts of Prayogaratnamālā (460, 541, 550, 551 and 703), one copy of Padamañjarī (468) and one copy of Napuṃsaka-liṅga samgraha (667). The number of the copies of Prayogaratnamālā proves the popularity in the State of this work of Sanskrit grammar. One manuscript copy of Prayogaratnamālā is dated Śaka 1699, *i.e.*, 1777 A.D. and is the oldest manuscript in the collection.

Two copies of Amarakośa (461 and 543) show the interest in lexicography. Bhāvapraśāsa (536) and Rājavalabha (568) deal with the Ayurvedic system of treatment

and medicine. Ratisāstra (122) shows that the subject of sexuality was not tabooed. This manuscript is dated Śaka 1794, i.e., 1872 A.D. It is not a learned treatise like that of Vātsyāyana. It contains only 126 verses. The author is not mentioned. It is in the form of a dialogue between Garga Muni and Pārikṣita.

On charms and incantations there are ten manuscripts (489 to 498), all called *mantras*, besides a number of manuscripts in Assamese. These mantra books claim to contain incantations (*mantras*) which will render ineffective poisons and charms and drive away ghosts and other evil spirits. Evidently this branch of knowledge was much studied in Assam and is largely responsible for its reputation as a land of magic and witchery.

Five different manuscript copies of Gītagovinda (77, 107, 119, 120 and 188), *one of which is illustrated* and another annotated, show how this lyric won much popularity in Assam. An incomplete copy of Śiśupālavadha (469), of which a complete copy is in the Kamarupa Anushandhan Samiti and has been noticed by H. C. Goswami in his Descriptive Catalogue, shows that epic poetry was also diligently studied. The manuscript, however, which testifies to the popular love of poetry is in Assamese. It is a fine rendering in verse of Kālidāsa's Śākuntala and is called by the same name (658). The author was a Brahmin named Rāmnārāyaṇa who was honoured by the king with the title of Kavirāj-Cakravartī. He states that the poem was composed by the order of King Shiva Singh who, according to Sir Edward Gait,¹ ruled from 1714 to 1744, and his queen Phuleśvarī. The manuscript itself is dated Śaka 1725, i.e., 1803 A. D. The original must have been written about a hundred years earlier. The poem begins with Duṣyanta's hunting excursion and ends with his demise which took place sometime after his abdication in favour of Bharata. I do not know if Kālidāsa's immortal drama was rendered in verse in any other Indian vernacular in the first half of the eighteenth century. Another interesting manuscript is Patra-Kaumudī (66). It contains directions as to the modes in which letters are to be addressed to various persons like kings, ministers, gurus, merchants, parents, husbands, wives and sons.

A small manuscript of only twenty-five pages deals with music as a science. It has the poetical name of Śrī Hari-

smṛtisudhāṅkura (569). It describes the nature of various *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* and illustrates some of them with songs in Bengali, rather Braja-buli. The author is called Śrī Raghunandana of Gaura (Gauḍa-deśīya Śrī Raghunandana-viracita). Unfortunately the sentence which contains the date has been largely obliterated and it is now possible to decipher it only partially (Śake bāṇa.....cāpam gate dyumaṇis).

A complete copy of the Upāsanākhaṇḍa of Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa (615), a copy of Padma-Purāṇa (614) of which the first page is missing but which is dated Śaka 1728, i.e., 1806 A.D., an incomplete copy of Liṅga-Purāṇa (547) from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the twenty-seventh chapter, three copies of Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (291, 550 & 551) and a copy of the Sabhā-Parvan of the Bṛhaddharma-Purāṇa (532) show that Purāṇic literature was also read with reverence.

Two manuscripts are of semi-historical character. One is Vaidika-Samvādinī-Pustikā (151) and the other is Hara-Gourī-Samvāda (147 and 456). Vaidika-Samvādinī-Pustikā is a very late manuscript, having been composed and written by Kalikumar Sarma in 1309 B.S., i.e., 1909 A.D. It is like the Kula-pañjis found in Bengal and relates how Vaidik Brahmins belonging to five different gotras were brought from village Itā in Kanauj with the permission of Balabhadra Singh, King of Mithilā, and were settled in Sri-hatta (Sylhet) by an ancestor of Viracandra Māṇikyā, the contemporary Maharaja of Tipprah. There still exists a large settlement of Vaidik Brahmins in the Itā pergannah of Sylhet district. Evidently the Brahmin settlers named their new homeland after the old one. The date of this settlement cannot be fixed, but the tradition that Brahmins were brought into Kāmarūpa from Kanauj is also testified to by the Hara-Gourī-Samvāda which states that Dharmapāla (Vajradatta of the inscriptions),¹ the son and successor of King Bhagadatta who ruled over Kāmarūpa at the time of the war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas, brought to Kāmarūpa a hundred Brahmins from Kanauj.

भगदत्तसुतो धीमान् धर्मपालनृपो भवेत् ।

चतुःपीठान्वितं कामं धर्मतः पालयिष्यति ॥

1. Sir Edward Gait, Hist. of Assam, p 28.

शतविप्रान् समानीय कान्यकुब्जादिदेशतः ।

यज्ञकर्म स्वयं कुर्वन् स्वप्रजाः पालयिष्यति ॥

Further in delimiting the boundaries of Kāmarūpa the Vaidika-Samvādinī-Pustikā does not simply follow the traditional conception, as laid down in the Kālikā Purāṇa (39 122) and in the Yoginī Tantra (1.11-18), that the kingdom extended from the Karatoyā in the west to the Dikrang in the east but also states that it is divided into seven parts by seven hills.

करतोयां समारभ्य यावद्विकरवाहिनीम् ।

उत्तरे बटवीनामा दक्षिणे चन्द्रशेखरः ॥

तन्मध्ये योनिपीठञ्च नीलपर्वतवेष्टितम् ।

शतयोजनविस्तीर्णं कामरूपं महेश्वरि ॥

सप्तखण्डन्तु तन्मध्ये तत्रैव सप्त पर्वताः ।

विन्दुरिसिन्दुर्जयश्चन्द्रः कच्च सिद्धश्च सौमरः ॥

The second semi-historical manuscript in the N. H. Research Institute is Hara-Gaurī-Samvāda. This work was edited by Dr. P. C. Bagchi in Vol. XVIII of the Indian Historical Quarterly (1942). Dr. Bagchi, however, depended on a single and incomplete copy sent to him by a friend from the district of Faridpore in East Bengal. In the collection in the N. H. Research Institute there are two manuscript copies (147 and 456) of this semi-historical work. Besides stating that Kāmarūpa extended from the Karatoyā to the Dikrang, the Hara-Gaurī-Samvāda adds that the region lying between the two rivers is divided into four *pīṭhas*, viz., (from west to east) Ratnapīṭha, Kāmapīṭha, Svarnapīṭha and Saumara, each being separated from the other by a river. It then proceeds to state that the first king to rule over Kāmarūpa in the beginning of the Kali age will be Bhagadatta.

कलेरादौ महीपालो भगदत्तो भवेन्नृपः ।

चित्तपीठं कामरूपं धर्मतः पालयिष्यति ॥

In the fourth chapter called Rāja-Cakravartī-Nirṇaya it gives some data for dates in the following verses:—

कलेरादौ भवेद्राजा धर्मपुत्रयुधिष्ठिरः ।

चतुर्दशशतवर्षद्वादशाब्दमतः परम् ॥

नन्द पञ्चशतज्ञेयगौतमश्च चतुश्शतम् ।

मयूरश्च करोद्राज्यं षष्ठ्युत्तरशतत्रयम् ॥

(द्विषष्टि-चतुरत्रयं Dr. Bagchi's reading)

सप्तोत्तरशतं पञ्च सोमो राज्यं करिष्यति ।

अतः परं शको राजा भवेत् सर्वगुणाकरः ॥

Nothing is known as to who the Gautamas were nor is anything known of the Soma kings, or of the Pañca-soma kings, as Dr. Bagchi reads the term. But the figures as quoted above, when added, make a total of 3179 years. The text proceeds to state that Śakāditya will be king in the Kali year 3179. And if, as Dr. Bagchi holds,¹ "the Kali year 3179 corresponds to 78 A.D.," the dating in the manuscript ceases to be entirely mythical or imaginative. There are, however, obscure and conflicting statements and a comparative study of the different copies of manuscripts may lead to definite historical and geographical data regarding ancient Assam. In passing it may be mentioned that in one verse in the sixth chapter of Hara-Gauri-Samvāda the origin of the name Kāmarūpa is explained. The land is called Kāmarūpa because deeds performed here are fruitful.

कृते कर्मणि सिध्यन्ति कामोऽर्थश्च सुरेश्वरि ।

अतो मनुः कामरूपमिति रूपमकल्पयत् ॥

It is this belief in the effectiveness of offerings made in Kāmarūpa that attracts even at the present time hundreds of pilgrims to the sacred temple of the goddess Kāmākhyā, the presiding deity of Kāmarūpa.

There is quite a number of manuscripts on rituals and rites. Sandhyā-paddhati (291), Raghunandana's Suddhi-tattva (585), Piṭṛkṛtya-Kaumudī (585), Ādityahṛdaya-stotra (587), Narasimha-mantra (588), Pūjā-vidhi (589) Āhnikā-prayoga-tattva (590), Devī-mānuṣi-pūjā (643), Vivāha-vidhi (573) and an un-named manuscript (101) which deals with the *Samskāras* like Jātakarma, Nāma-karaṇa and Upanayana. The manuscript of which the writer was Lakṣmīnāth Dvija is dated Śaka 1727, i.e., 1805 A.D.

On philosophy there are Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa (549) and three manuscript copies of the Bhagavadgītā (572, 575 and 577).

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVIII, p. 235.

Assam is generally believed to have been the land where Tantrism was most popular, but strangely enough in the Narayani Handique Research Institute's collection works on Tantra are not numerous. There are of course four copies (76, 88, 126 and 157) of the Yoginī Tantra, but the number is hardly proportionate to the strength of the general idea as to the universality of the Śakti cult in the land of the Mother Goddess Kāmākhya, to borrow the very felicitous caption of an illuminating book written by Dr. B. K. Kakati on the fusion of Aryan and primitive beliefs of Assam. Besides the four copies of the Yoginī Tantra there is in the N. H. Research Institute's collection no other work on the purely Tantric cult. But there are in the collection three very interesting manuscripts which throw a welcome flood of light on the later religious history of Assam. These are Śaraṇa Samhitā (458), Gautama Tantra (611) and Sāttvata Tantra (101 and 454).

The Śaraṇa Samhitā is a small manuscript of 23 folios. It is written in Assamese script on country-made paper and its language is Sanskrit. It is divided into seven chapters. It is undated and in the colophon the authorship is attributed to Śuka who cannot be identified with any historical person:

इति श्रीशुकविरचितायां शरणसंहितायां सतां निर्णयो नाम

सप्तमोऽध्यायः । श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।

As stated in the opening sentences the book was compiled by consulting various other books and collecting the essence therefrom,

नानाग्रन्थान्समालोच्य सारमादाय यत्नतः ।

and the Bhāgavata, Skanda, Nārada, Garuḍa, Padmottara and other books are profusely quoted as authorities in support of its view that the worship of Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa is the one form of worship to be practised by all. It clearly and emphatically enunciates (page 11) the principle that by worshipping Viṣṇu all the *devatās* are worshipped.

श्रीविष्णोरर्चनेनैव सर्वदेवार्चनम् भवेत् ।

The Gautama Tantra (611) is a larger work. It runs into 51 folios of Sānchi barks. It is completed in 32 chapters. Its language is Sanskrit though the script is Assamese. It is undated and its author also is not named. It is presented as a dialogue between Gautama who puts questions and Nārada

who answers them. It also, like the Śaraṇa Samhitā, emphasises the importance of worshipping Kṛṣṇa in the form of Gopāla as the sole God and it asserts that Kamalā resides permanently and enjoys the company of Kṛṣṇa in the house where a copy of the book is kept.

यद्गृहे विद्यते ग्रन्थो लिखितस्तस्य वेश्मनि ।

कमलापि स्थिरा भूत्वा कृष्णेन सह मोदते ।

The Sāttvata Tantra is a dated Sanskrit manuscript. It is dated Saṅkarābda 450 which is equivalent to 1899 A.D. The date is significant, for it shows that the author, whoever he might have been, was a follower of Saṅkara Deva, the founder of Vaiṣṇavism in Assam. The Sanskrit manuscript is no doubt a recent copy but it has an Assamese version bearing the same name, Sāttvata Trantra (73). This Assamese version is dated Śaka 1762, i.e., 1840 A.D. The copyist of the Sanskrit version frankly states that he has copied what he has seen and therefore prays that his mistakes may be ignored.

यथा दृष्टमित्यादिना दोषो हेयः ।

It may therefore be concluded that the original Sāttvata Tantra was written much earlier than 1840. The precise date, however, cannot be ascertained with the materials at present at our disposal.

Sāttvata means a devotee of Viṣṇu. The Padmottara¹ says:

सत्त्वं सत्त्वाश्रयं सत्त्वगुणं सेवेत केशवम् ।

योऽनन्यत्वेन मनसा सात्त्वतः समुदाहृतः ॥

Undivided devotion to Kṛṣṇa is also the theme of the Sāttvata Tantra. Its opening verse explains its whole purpose:

य एको भगवान् कृष्णः सृष्ट्यादौ बहुभेयते ।

तमहं शरणं यामि परमानन्दविग्रहम् ॥

We are told that once upon a time when Nārada was sitting in the company of Śiva on the mount Kailāsa Nārada expressed a desire to hear of the unprecedented deeds of Hari:

भगवन् श्रोतुमिच्छामि हरेरद्भुतकर्मणः ।

1. Quoted in the Viśva-Kośa.

Siva was pleased with the question and began by saying :

जयपूर्वं नमस्कृत्य गोपरूपिणमीश्वरम् ।

वक्ष्ये सात्त्वततन्त्राख्यं भगवद्भक्तिवर्धनम् ॥

यदासीदेकमव्यक्तं नित्यं चिद्रूपमव्ययम् ।

ब्रह्मेति यद्विदुर्विज्ञाः भगवानिति सात्त्वताः ॥

The book then proceeds to a philosophical disquisition as to the creation and follows, more or less, the Sāṅkhya school of thought in describing *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* and the origin of *ahaṅkāra*, *śabda*, *sparsa*, *marut*, *rūpa* and *tejas*. It then traces the origin of Nārāyaṇa.

नारायणेन रूपेण विराजमविशत् स्वयम् ।

Then it tells how Nārāyaṇa was pleased to create the great ṛṣis Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu.

The second chapter relates the story of the different incarnations of Nārāyaṇa till he was born as Kṛṣṇa in the house of Vasudeva at Gokula. The heroic activities of Kṛṣṇa both as a boy and as a youth are also told.

In the third chapter it is shown how Kṛṣṇa is Brahman himself born as a human being and is the object of worship by all.

अतः कृष्णस्य देवस्य ब्रह्मणः परमात्मनः ।

वस्तुतो नैव भेदोऽस्ति वर्ण्यते तैरपि द्विज ॥

यथार्थो बहुधा भाति नानाकारणभेदतः ।

तथा स भगवान् कृष्णो नानेव परिचक्षते (?) ॥

.....

स एव सर्वलोकानामाराध्यः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥

The fourth chapter describes *bhakti-bodha*, *mukhya-sādhana* and *bhakti-lakṣaṇa*. In the fifth chapter it is declared that the method of worship best suited to the age (*yugānurūpam*) is *nāmakīrtana*, recital of Kṛṣṇa's name, and it is averred that in the Kali age salvation is achieved by the mere recital of Kṛṣṇa's name.

मुक्तिं प्रयास्यति कलौ नामकीर्तनमात्रतः ॥

कलेर्दोषसमुद्रस्य गुणो ह्येको महान् स्मृतः ।

नाम्नां सङ्कीर्तनैव चतुर्वर्गं जनोऽऽनुते ॥

The sixth chapter enumerates the one thousand names of Kṛṣṇa by reciting which He can be best worshipped. In this

connection it is interesting to note that while names reminiscent of Kṛṣṇa's married love and of affection for the ladies of his family circle (*Rukmiṇī-vadanāmbhoja-madhupāna-madhuvrata*, *Rohiṇī-hṛdayānanda* and *Revatī-pṛitida*) are included in the list there is in it no name to tell us of Rādhā's passionate love for Kṛṣṇa which plays such an important part in the Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal but which is conspicuous by its absence from the literature of Vaiṣṇavism founded by the great Śaṅkara Deva in Assam. The sixth chapter is concluded with the declaration that in case one is incapable of reciting the entire list of the thousand names one should then recite the name of Kṛṣṇa only and that will serve all purposes.

यदि सर्वं न शक्नोषि प्रत्यहं पठितुं द्विज ।

तदा कृष्णेति कृष्णेति कृष्णेति सततं वद ॥

एतेन तव विप्रर्षे सर्वं सम्पद्यते सकृत् ।

किं पुनर्भगवन्नाम्नां सहस्रस्य प्रकीर्तनात् ॥

The seventh chapter dilates upon the merits of reciting the name of Kṛṣṇa, explains what constitutes true *vairāgya* and warns against certain unclean practices (*aparādhas*) which must be avoided. In the eighth chapter the devotee of Kṛṣṇa is strictly forbidden to worship any other deity.

अन्यदेवानां पृथक्पूजां न स्मरेत् ।

Further

कलत्रपुत्रमित्रादीन् हित्वा कृष्णं समाश्रिताः ।

हरिकीर्तिरता ये च तेषां कृत्यं न विद्यते ॥

कृत्वान्यदेवतापूजां सकामां बलिना द्विज ।

भक्तिभ्रष्टो भवेदाशु संसारान्न निवर्तते ॥

The book then proceeds to condemn strongly animal sacrifice and it warmly praises undivided devotion to Kṛṣṇa.

The ninth and the last chapter discusses why animal sacrifice which is prescribed and recommended in the Vedas is to be strictly avoided and establishes the conclusion:

अहिंसा परमो धर्मः सर्ववर्णाश्रमाश्रितः ॥

The Sāttvata Tantra as well as the the Gautama Tantra and the Śaraṇa Samhitā may be and very probably are apocryphal and cannot claim much of importance as old sacred religious books. But whatever may be their age and the dates

of their composition these three manuscripts show that Assam was never completely won over to the cult of Tantra and Śaktism, as is often stated. The great Śaṅkara Deva (1449-1574)¹ breathed such a religious fervour over the land that a pure form of monotheism remained flourishing in the north-easternmost part of India. This religion of Śaṅkara Deva which insists on devotion to one God (*ekaśaraṇa*) found many champions who wrote both in the vernacular and in Sanskrit and gave to the system of Śaṅkara Deva all the glamour of an ancient religion that could be gained from the authoritative support of Samhitās and Tantras and thus enabled it to resist the challenge of Śaktism. If, as Dr. N. K. Bhattasali remarks,² ancient Kāmarūpa, the land of Naraka and Bhagadatta, was the last and most impregnable stronghold of the Vedic religion against the great flood of Buddhism, mediaeval Assam which was pre-eminently the land of Śaṅkara Deva valiantly opposed the hideous bloody sacrifices, indecencies and obscenities of Tantraism and stood forth as the champion of a pure form of monotheism based on no ritual but the devoted recital of the name of Lord Kṛṣṇa and on the abjuration of all bloody sacrifices.

N.B.—The numbers quoted within brackets are those used in the manuscript catalogue maintained by the D. H. A. S. & Narayani Handique Research Institute, Gauhati. The catalogue is, however, not always dependable for information about the contents of the manuscripts.*

1. Sir Edward Gait, History of Assam, p 58.

2. Bhattasali, N. K., New Lights on the History of Assam, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, p. 252.

* [Note:—When work was started on the New Catalogus Catalogorum, contact was established with Sri S. C. Goswami, Inspector of schools at Jorhat at that time, and he prepared for us a descriptive list of Sanskrit manuscripts in private possession in Assam. Later, Prof. K. K. Handiqui, now Vice-Chancellor, Gauhati University, sent a short list of the Mss. in the private possession of Pandit Dharmanath Sastri, Sanskrit Teacher, Government High School, Mangaldai, Assam. Both these lists, which are used in the New Catalogus Catalogorum, do have a fairly good number of Tantra works; in the former, there are some Navyanyāya works as also an epitome of the Yogavāsiṣṭha; a more intensive Mss. survey will therefore serve to fill the subject-gaps indicated in the above paper.—V. R.]

GAME PRESERVES IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

ADRIIS BANERJI, *Museum, Sarnath*

Protected parks or game preserves are 'areas' in which the killing of animals and birds is prohibited. In ancient India, evidence exists for certain areas having been declared as 'game preserves'. Such a practice is even now followed with great success in the American and African continents. The most prominent example is Sarnath from which I am writing. We are very familiar with the story of how King Bramhadatta of Banaras being charmed by the attitude of the *Bodhisattva* issued an edict prohibiting killing of the beautiful animals in the primeval forests that stretched from the banks of Varuṇā river to Lashkarpur in the Cholapur *thana* in the Kātehar *tahsil* of Banaras district. During my enquiries about the sites associated with the Buddha at Rajgir, I was surprised to find references to places in which different *genera* and *species* of animals were preserved and I thought that some discussion about these might be of interest to the learned scholars as well as the intelligentia.

Let us take the Rajgir examples. The name 'Veḷuvaṇa-Kālandakanivāpa' is well-known as a place of great sanctity to the Buddhists. But the scholarly world seems to have failed to appreciate the implications of the term 'Kālandaka-nivāpa'. Kalandakas are squirrels and there was a woodland in this very area (*Nivāpa*) for squirrels. Of course there was a tradition. After it became associated with Buddha's life human faculty was able to impart a historico-mythical quality. The Pali texts *Udāna-Commentary* (60), and *Suttanipāta Commentary*, record that there was once a king who went to Veḷuvaṇa for holding a picnic, and having taken too much liquor fell asleep. His retinue observing that the King was sleeping, wandered away for fruits and flowers. In the meantime, a snake, attracted by the smell of the wine, 'came out from a tree trunk, and would have bitten the sleeping monarch but for the fact that a tree-spirit woke up the King by taking the form of a squirrel and chirping. In grateful recognition of the service rendered by this dumb creature, the King issued a command that killing of squirrels was prohibited in that particular area

of Veḷuvaṇa, and that they should be fed at royal expense. Parenthetically, we might note that Veḷuvaṇa was in those days a wooded area, full of flowers and fruit plantations. Samuel Beal however quotes a tradition that the name was derived from the fact that it was the gift of a merchant named Kālan-daka,¹ while late Tibetan tradition informs us that the king referred to in the Pali texts was no other than Bimbisāra, and the snake was a reincarnation of the owner of the land whose property the king had confiscated.²

In the neighbourhood of Grīdhakūṭa there was a place known as Moranivāpa, which was a free feeding ground of peacocks and a game preserve too.³ It was also a grove on the banks of the Sumagadhā. It contained an *ārāma* (monastery) for *Paribbājakas*. In its neighbourhood was the ground sacred to *Udumbarikā devī*, a tree-goddess, the tree, in this instance, being a big one. According to Pali tradition Sumagadhā was the name of a pond, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* knew it as a river.⁴ The famous *Moranivāpa Sutta*, which deals with qualities that make a man proficient in monastic life was preached here.

The third instance was the famous Maddakuchchi park near Grīdhakūṭa. It was here that the mother of Ajātaśatru, tried to make an abortion by violently getting her belly massaged when she learnt that the baby in her womb would be responsible for the death of her beloved husband—King Bimbisāra. It was a protected Deer Park, like Sarnath, where hunting of deer was prohibited (*Migadava*).⁵

The fourth instance was in the ancient Kosala country—modern Basti, Gonda, Gorakhpur etc. with portions of Bihar and the Terai territory, now included in the Nepal kingdom. This was known as the Migadava at Kaṇṇhakatṭhala in the suburbs of a city named Ūjjuṇṇā. This city was probably the headquarters of a *vishaya*. It was at this place that Prasenajit visited Buddha, when the *Kaṇṇhakatṭhala Sutta* was preached.⁶ It was also at this place that *Nigaṇṭha*

1. S. Beal-*Romantic Legends*, p. 315.

2. *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, vol. iii, p. 835; *Papañchasudāni*, vol. ii, p. 694.

3. *Rockhill-Life of Buddha*, p. 43.

4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, (Baṅgavāṣī edition), *Ādikāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 32, *śl.* 9.

5. *Vinaya*, ii, p. 193 ff.; *Dhammapadatthakathā*, ii, p. 164 ff.

6. *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. ii, pp. 125 ff.

Kassapa visited the Buddha which is recorded in the Kassapa-Sihanāda Sutta.

The *Koṇḍhaṭṭha Sutta* was preached, because Prasenajit asked the Buddha whether it was true that no recluse or Brahmin could claim absolute knowledge or insight. The Buddha answered that no one could answer or see everything at one and the same time. So no individual Brahmin or recluse should be regarded as omniscient. The Kassapa-Sihanāda Sutta on the other hand clarifies his attitude towards asceticism. It gives a very good account of the some of the practices of Ajivikas. Gautama claims, that mere physical practices are not sufficient to qualify as an *arahanta*. Self-mortification was an actual hindrance rather than aid to spiritual practice.

Only in some cases a religious import had been given to these animal sanctuaries. The best possible explanation is probably to be found in the words of Hopkins:¹ "Such in brief is the philosophy of animal-worship. Animals are worshipped, as great living powers and as ghosts, just as men are worshipped, while in addition there is something more mysterious in an animal, powers of strength and cunning to which men cannot attain".*

1. E. W. Hopkins, *Origin and Evolution of Religion*, New Haven, 1923, pp. 32 ff.

* [Note:—According to the evidence of Sanskrit texts, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Mahākāvyas, all the Āśramas and Tapovanas, where hunting of animals was prohibited, were similar game preserves, if such a term could be applied to them. There was also the interdiction of Dharma and Artha Śāstras against killing by kings of certain wild animals. See Rāmāyaṇa, Śākuntala and Raghuvamśa.—V. R.]

A SĀTTVIKA GIFT

BY

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, *Ootacamund*

In the Ōṁgōḍu grant of Pallava Vijaya-Skandavarman (II)¹ the following passage occurs:

Ōṁgōḍu-grāmaḥ *sāttvikēna dānēna* dēvabhōga-hala-varjjaḥ
brahmadēyikṛitya aṣṭādaśa-vidha-parihārais=saha samprattaḥ
(i.e., The village, Ōṁgōḍu has been given as a *sāttvika*-gift
with the eighteen kinds of exemptions and has been converted
into a *brahmadēya* village excluding the ploughed fields
(given already as *dēvabhōga*).

The main purport of the passage is that the village of Ōṁgōḍu was given away as a *sāttvika* gift. The donor of the benefaction was king Vijaya-Skandavarman (II) of the Pallava dynasty of Kāñchī whose period of rule lay roughly in the 5th century A.D. The recipient of the gift was a brāhmaṇa, Gōḷaśarma by name, who was a student of two Vēdas and was well versed in the six *āṅgas*. The unique feature of the donōtion was that it was a *sāttvika* one. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri who edited this charter draws pointed attention to this word *sāttvika* in a footnote² thus:

“Monier Williams gives for *sāttvika* the meaning ‘an offering or oblation (without pouring water)’; this may be the kind of gift that was meant here; for the inscription omits the usual reference to the pouring of gold and water, a necessary accompaniment of *dāna*”.

It is not known how Monier Williams arrives at this interpretation of *sāttvika* as a ‘gift or oblation (without pouring water)’. Evidently he must be aware of some good authority which he omits to quote and which I am unable to trace at present. However, I believe that the interpretation

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, p. 251.

2. *Ibid*, p. 250 f.n. 4.

of *sāttvika-dāna* mentioned in the Pallava inscription may be sought for in quite a different direction from its purely ritualistic aspect. One may recall here the three kinds of *dāna* which Lord Kṛishṇa expounds in the *Bhagavadgītā*, viz., the *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*, in the following verses of Chapter XVII:

dātavyam iti yad-dānaṁ dīyatē 'nupakārinē |

dēśē kālē cha pātrē cha tad-dānaṁ *sāttvikam* smṛitam ||
v. 20 ||

Yat tu pratyupakār-ārthaṁ phalam uddiśya vā
punaḥ |

dīyatē cha pariklishṭaṁ tad-dānaṁ *rājasam* smṛitam ||
v. 21 ||

Adēśakālē yad-dānaṁ apātrēbhyaś cha dīyatē |
asat-kṛitam avajñātaṁ tat-*tāmasam* udāhṛitam ||
v. 22 ||

Applying the definition of a *sāttvika-dāna* as given in the *Gītā* to the instance occurring in the Pallava inscription, it may be seen that this interpretation also fits in this case. For, the record, while specifically describing the donation as a *sāttvika* one very appropriately and significantly omits the usual reference to any *phala* or *punya* (merit) that is to accrue to the donor by the benefaction. It was generally with a view to obtaining some tangible benefit or religious merit that the vast majority of gifts were made by the rulers of old who recorded them on imperishable material to last as long as 'the sun and moon endure'. The simplest or rather the very primary *phalas* sought after by kings while making gifts occur in terms such as *āyur-bala-vijay-aishvaryy-ābhivṛiddhayē* and such expressions are augmented according as the desires of the donor are augmented too. In the present instance where the king expressly states that he is making the gift in the form of a *sāttvika-dāna* and omits all reference to any benefit he expects to gain by this pious act, he is evidently engaged in performing the highest type of benefaction as expounded in the *Gītā*. There have been innumerable instances recorded in inscriptions of gifts made by pious donors, king and ministers to Brāhmaṇas, temples and religious institutions; but they were all made either by way of expressing thankfulness to God for

some danger averted,¹ or for allaying the malefic influence of some planet (usually Saturn or Mars),² or for securing the prosperity of the whole kingdom,³ or for the return to good and adamantine health (*kālyāṇa-tirumēṇi* or *vajra-kāya*) in the case of ailing rulers (*pariklīṣṭas*)⁴ or for the fulfilment of the wish for a successful *digvijaya*⁵ or for universal sovereignty.⁶ Such purely personal desires of this existence (*aihika*), not to speak of more pious wishes to ensure heavenly bliss, are all met with in inscriptional records. Gifts made with desires of this kind are to be considered as belonging to the *rājasa* category according to the definition found in the *Gītā*. In refreshing contrast to these is the one to which attention has been drawn above, *viz.*, the *sāttvika-dāna* of the village of Ōṅgōḍu made to a learned brāhmaṇa by the Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman (II), a king who belonged to a dynasty whose high ideals and purpose of kingly existence have been so beautifully expressed in their records as:

(a) *nirākṛit-āśēsha-prajā-vipal-lavānām Pallavānām anvayaḥ*⁷ and,

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX, p. 210. King Jājalladēva II, a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur is stated to have made a gift by way of thanksgiving on an escape from a great calamity, when the donor had almost lost his kingdom in a battle with one Dhīrū.

2. *Pudukkotta State Inscriptions*, No. 461.

3. *ARE*, No. 357 of 1922.

4. *ARE*, No. 60 of 1940-41. This record belonging to the time of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya and dated Śaka 1366 (= A. D. 1444) registers an endowment made by a certain official with the prayer that the king's body might be restored to adamantine health.

5. *ARE*, No. 190 of 1940-41. This inscription registers a donation made by Salakayadēva-Mahārāja with the prayer that the king (i.e., Immaḍi Narasimha of Vijayanagara) may perform a successful *digvijaya*.

6. *ARE*, No. 61 of 1940-41 of the time of Immaḍi Narasimha. It records the donation made by Rājanārāyaṇa-Vēlār, the agent of Īśvara-Nāyaka with the prayer that the king (i.e., Immaḍi Narasimha) might obtain universal sovereignty (*sakala-sāmrājyam paṇṇi arulavēṇum enru.*)

7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 6 and n.

(b) sarva-prajā-saṁrañjana-paripālan-ōdyōga-satata-satya-vratā-dikshita-Kaliyuga-dōsh-āpahṛita-dharm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddhaḥ.¹

It is no wonder, therefore, that a scion of such a distinguished dynasty of rulers should have made a *sāttvika-dāna*, i.e., a gift for gift's sake, according to the injunction of the *Gītā*.*

1. *Journal of Sri Venkateśvara Oriental Institute*, Vol. X, (Telugu Section), p. 27.

*[*Note*:—According to Devala, Dānas are of six kinds by reason of the circumstances prompting them: Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Vriḍā, Harṣa and Bhaya; of these the Dhārmika dāna is one that is given without intending any personal benefit; Devala's Dhārmika Dāna would correspond to the Sāttvika Dāna explained above. See Devala quoted by Lakṣmīdhara in the Dānakāṇḍa of his Kṛtyakalpataru, GOS. XCII. p. 5:

पात्रेभ्यो दीयते नित्यमनवेक्ष्य प्रयोजनम् ।

केवलं धर्मबुद्ध्या यद्धर्मदानं तदुच्यते ॥

V. R.]

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES: KAIYAṬA AND DHANAÑJAYA

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

I

No specific or clear evidence has so far been cited for the date of Kaiyaṭa, the well-known author of the Pradīpa on the Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya. Belvalkar refers us in his Systems of Sanskrit Grammar (p. 42) only to the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha (cir. 1300) which quotes from Kaiyaṭa. In his detailed account of the history of Grammar in the Preface to his Catalogue of the Manuscripts on Grammar, Poetics and Lexicography in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Haraprasad Sastri says (p. xxv): "Kaiyaṭa's date is not known, but he probably flourished in the 10th century of the Christian era." According to Keith, "Kaiyaṭa's commentary on the Mahābhāṣya", "which tradition places earlier," "may belong to the 12th century." (HSL. p. 429).

In view of this indefiniteness, it may be useful to point out that Kaiyaṭa is quoted by Ruyyaka in his Alaṅkāra-sarvasva. Towards the end of his work in the section on Saṅkarālaṅkāra, Ruyyaka cites the quarter-verse, "भाष्यान्विः क्रातिगम्भीरः" among examples of Rūpaka (p. 254; N. S. edn. of 1939; p. 224, TSS. edn.); this is the first quarter of the sixth introductory verse in Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa.

Ruyyaka was Maṅkhaka's teacher, and Maṅkhaka's elder brother Laṅkhaka was minister under Sussala of Kashmir (died 1128) and his son Jayasimha (1128-1149). Therefore 1150 A. D. may be taken as a definite lower limit to Kaiyaṭa's date.

II

Dhanañjaya, author of the *double entendre* poem Rāghavapāṇḍaviya and the lexicon Nāmamālā is taken as the Digambara Jain teacher Śrutakīrti Traividya and stated to have written "between 1123 and 1140 A.D." (See Keith, HSL. pp. 137, 414, and S. K. De, p. 340 of the recent HSL., Calcutta University). As writers continue to repeat this information, it may be pointed out that this Dhanañjaya is

earlier than King Bhoja who mentions his poem, along with Daṇḍin's, to illustrate Dvisandhāna, 'the two in one.' The Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa mentions the author and his work to illustrate what Bhoja calls the Ubhayālaṅkāra of Dvisandhāna and its third variety extending over a whole work (Prabandha):

द्विसन्धानमित्यनेन वाक्यप्रकरणप्रबन्धानामनेकार्थानुसन्धाने कवेः शक्ति-
विशेषं व्यञ्जयति । तत्र * * * तृतीयस्य यथा दण्डिनो
घनञ्जयस्य वा द्विसन्धानप्रबन्धौ(धो) रामायण-महाभारतार्थावबुधव्रति ।

p. 444, ch. IX, vol. 2, Madras MS.

A. Bhoja's successor Jayasimha has inscriptions dated A. D. 1055 and 1056 and as Bhoja must have passed away at this time or a little later, Dhanañjaya could not have been later than the middle of the 11th century.

KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

UNVEILING OF THE PORTRAIT OF THE RT. HON.

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI AND RECEPTION TO

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

On 8th April 1951, the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute held a memorable function when the first President of the Indian Union, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, visited the Institute and unveiled the portrait of the first President of the Institute, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. A specially decorated pandal was put up in front of the Institute premises in the grounds of the Sanskrit College. Among the distinguished gathering were H. E. the Maharajah of Bhavanagar, Governor of Madras, Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, the Hon. Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Judges of the Madras High Court, members of the Government of Madras, scholars, educationists and publicists. Solemn and well-organised, the meeting was easily the best and most impressive of the functions held during the President's visit to the city.

On arrival with H. E. the Maharajah of Bhavanagar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad was received by Messrs K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer and V. Raghavan and led into the Institute premises where the office-bearers of the Institute were introduced to the President and the President saw the Institute's Library. The President was then conducted to the dais.

Srimati Jayam sang a verse of prayer in Sanskrit specially composed by Dr. V. Raghavan. The verse which applies to Mother Goddess, Bhāratamātā and Saṁskṛta Bhārati runs thus:

स्वातन्त्र्यस्फुरदात्मशक्तिविसरैर्यो विश्वमुल्लासय-

न्यार्षज्योतिरुदारचारुकलया दत्तापमोहापहा ।

संस्कारातिशयोदयेन सुषमागुन्मीलयत्यद्भुतां

वन्देमह्यजरामरां भगवतीं तां मातरं भारतीम् ॥

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer then read messages received from Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, a Vice-President of the Institute, the Hon. G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker of the Parliament, the Hon. K. M. Munshi, a Patron of the Institute, Mr. K. Santhanam, Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary to the Ministry of Educa-

tion, Life-Members of the Institute like Sri C. Jinarajadasa, Srimati Rukmani Devi, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Raja Bahadur S. Aravamuda Iyengar, and Sri V. S. Tyagaraja Mudaliar, and the Bihar Research Society, Patna, Nāgari Pracāriṇī Sabhā, Banaras, Oriental Institute, Baroda and other Institutions.

On behalf of the Institute Dr. V. Raghavan then read and presented to Dr. Prasad the following Sanskrit Address written by him :

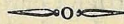
॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ सत्यमेव जयते ॥

राष्ट्रपतिभ्यो डाक्टर राजेन्द्रप्रसादमहोदयेभ्यः

श्रीकुण्डस्वामिशिक्षाविमर्शसमित्या समर्पिता

स्वागतपत्रिका



वन्दे संस्कृतमातरमङ्कललक्ष्मिभारतीवत्साम् ।

निहतपृथग्जनदुःस्थितिमुत्तमविद्यार्पिताद्वयालोकाम् ॥

मान्या ! भारताध्यक्षा ! डाक्टर राजेन्द्रप्रसादमहोदया !

निखिलभारतमहनीयाः स्वतन्त्रभारतप्रथमाध्यक्षाः भवन्तः इमामस्मदीयां विद्याविमर्शसमितिमस्मदभ्यर्थनानुरोधेन समागत्य धन्यीकृतवन्त इति सत्यं सर्वे वयं प्रमोदमहे ।

ये ते महात्मानः सत्यरथसारथयः अहिंसाचक्रपाणयः भारतविजयं समपादयन्, तेषामाशयानुविधायिषु ज्येष्ठा भवन्तो राष्ट्रस्यास्य आधिपत्यमलङ्कृतं समुचिता इति नात्र कोऽपि सन्देहः । यद्विदितसञ्चयसुखभोगादीनां त्यागे भवतां सहोद्योगिभ्यः किञ्चिदपि अपरिहीयमाणा एव भवन्तः, कोपावेगाद्यान्तरदेष-परित्यागेन समुदितात्मगुणसम्पदः, तथा सनातनभारतसम्प्रदायसंमतं महापुरुष-लक्षणं विभ्रति यथा वयमेककण्ठेन भवन्तः ‘अजातशत्रवः’ इति उत्कीर्तयितु-मुत्कण्ठामहे । धन्या हि सा विदेहस्थलो या राजर्षि जनकं सुषुवे, धन्या हि सा विहारभूः या भूतानुकम्पावतारं भगवन्तं बुद्धं जनयामास, धन्या हि सैव भूमिः या भवन्तमपि प्रसादमिव मूर्तिमन्तमस्मभ्यं प्रायच्छत् ॥

येयमस्माकमद्य पाश्चात्याक्रमणाद्विमुक्तिभौतिकी समधिगता, सा च आध्यात्मिक्या विमुक्त्यामेव परिपूर्तिं भजते, सा च भारतीयविद्यासंस्कृत्योः

पुनरुज्जीवनविकासाम्यामेव सम्पद्येत । प्राचीने च काले जगति भारतदेशस्य यद्विश्वव्यापि माहात्म्यं प्रससार, तच्च भारतीयविद्यागौरवणैवेति नैतत्परोक्षमिति-
हासविदां विदुषाम् । तादृशविद्यासमुन्नतिधुरामुद्बुध निरन्तरं परिश्राम्यन्तो
वयं केवलराज्यतन्त्राभिनिवेशिभ्यो देशसेवायां न परिहीयामहे इति दृढं
विश्वसिमः । विद्याभिवृद्धिश्च मुख्येति चिरादेव गणयन्तो भवन्तो यद्
भारतीयेतिहासपरिषदः आध्यक्ष्यमङ्गीकृत्य नूतनभारतदेशचरित्रसम्पादनकार्य-
मासूत्रयन्, यच्च तस्मिन् प्रवरे कलाव्यापारे सम्प्रत्यपि दत्तावधानाः तत्सर्वेषा-
मेवास्माकमुत्साहं समुपबृंहयति ॥

भारतीयराज्यविधानक्रमस्य संस्कृतभाषानुवादोऽपि भवतामेव दृढाभि-
सन्धिना समपद्यतेति सर्व एव संस्कृतलोको भवद्भयोऽधमर्णः । विविधभाषादि-
विशेषैश्च बहुधा आपाततो भिद्यमानेव या भारती संस्कृतिः तस्या आन्तरै-
कात्म्यापादनेन निखिलस्य राष्ट्रस्य ऐक्यसंरक्षणे संस्कृतविद्याया या शक्तिः सा
नास्त्येवान्यत्र । तादृशीमैक्यबुद्धिमेवोपोद्वलयितुं वयमिह विमर्शसमित्यामुद्युज्जमहे ।
तमस्माकं प्रगुणं व्यवसायं भवन्तो गुणज्ञा अनुगृह्णन्तिवति प्रार्थयामहे ॥

८-४-५१
मयूरपुरी, मद्रास्

इत्थम्

श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिशस्त्रिविमर्शसमित्यङ्गभूताः सुहृदः

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund,
read and presented to Dr. Prasad a Hindi version of the
above address prepared by him.

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ सत्यमेव जयते ॥

राष्ट्रपति श्रीराजेन्द्रप्रसादजी को कुप्पुस्वामिशस्त्री
अनुसन्धान समिति से दिया हुई

स्वागतपत्रिका

—:o:—

जय राजेन्द्र प्रसाद मद्रपुरी स्वागत करे ।

भारत के आह्लाद जनता की ममता तुम्हीं ॥

माननीय भारताध्यक्ष डाक्टर राजेन्द्रप्रसादजी,

आपने हमारी प्रार्थना स्वीकार करके इस अनुसंधान समिति में
पधारने की जो कृपा की है, इससे हम लोग अपने को धन्य मानते हैं ।
हमारा हृदय गद्गद हो रहा है ।

पूज्य बापू ने सत्य और अहिंसा के हथियार से भारतवर्ष को आज़ाद बनाया था । आप उनके सच्चे अनुयायी हैं । अतः यह अच्छा ही हुआ, अपा स्वतंत्र भारत के प्रथम अध्यक्ष बन हैं । आप इस पद के लिये योग्य से योग्य हैं ।

देश के हित के लिये ऐश व आराम को त्याग देकर, फकीराना बाना पहनने में आप सदा अगुआ रहे हैं । आपने अपने गुस्से को काबू में रखा है । आप किसीसे घृणा नहीं करते हैं । हम आपको “अजातशत्रु” कहें तो अत्युक्ति न होगी ।

बिहार सदा से स्वर्णभूमि रहा है । वहाँ राजर्षि जनक ने जन्म लिया था । वहीं अहिंसा की मूर्ति बुद्ध भगवान् पैदा हुए । उसी पवित्र भूमि ने आपके रूप में भारत की जनता को “प्रसाद” दिया है ।

अंग्रेज चले गये । हिन्दुस्तान को भौतिक मुक्ति मिली है । लेकिन यह पर्याप्त नहीं है । हमें आध्यात्मिक क्षेत्र में भी आगे बढ़ना है । भारत इस क्षेत्र में संसार का नेता रहा है । देश की विद्या तथा संस्कृति को नयी स्फूर्ति तथा नयी जाग्रति प्रदान करने से ही देश इस दिशा में प्रगति कर सकता है ।

ऐतिहासिक लोग यह भली भाँति जानते हैं कि भारत को पुराने जमाने में देश-विदेशों में जो शुहरत मिली थी, उसका कारण भारत की ज्ञान-विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में प्रगति ही है । साहित्यिक तथा सांस्कृतिक उन्नति के लिये दिन रात जी तोड़ परिश्रम करनेवाले हम लोग, प्रसिद्ध राजनीतिक नेताओं से कम देश-भक्त नहीं हैं—यह हमारा दावा है ।

हमें बड़ी खुशी है कि आप राजनीतिक हलचल के साथ साहित्य - कला वृद्धि को अहम समझकर, भारतीय इतिहास समिति के अध्यक्ष रहना मंजूर किया है । और अब भी इतिहास के संपादन के साथ साथ कला के अनुसंधान में आप दत्तचित्त रहते हैं । आप ही की जबर्दस्त इच्छा से स्वतंत्र भारत के संविधान का संस्कृत में अनुवाद हुआ है । इससे हर एक संस्कृत प्रेमी अपने को आपका बड़ा कृतज्ञ मानता है ।

आप जानते ही हैं, भारत की भिन्न दिखनेवाली भाषाओं तथा संस्कृति को एकता में पिरोनेवाली धागा संस्कृत भाषा है । इसी एकता को देश में कायम करने के ख्याल से इस अनुसंधान समिति की स्थापना हुई है । आपसे प्रार्थना है कि आप, गुणज्ञ, हमारे शुभ काम में हमें प्रोत्साहन व बढ़ावा दें ।

८-४-५१

मैलापूर, मद्रास

आपके

सदस्य, श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिशस्त्री अनुसन्धान समिति.

Then Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, President of the Institute, spoke, presenting the portrait of the late Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and requesting Dr. Rajendra Prasad to unveil it. Sri Sastriar said:

The Hon'ble the President of the Indian Union, your Highness the Maharaja of Bhavanagar, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This Institute is named after Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastriar, a man of profound learning, equally at home in ancient Sanskrit lore and modern Philology, who as Principal of Sanskrit Colleges and as Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, the premier Government College of this city, turned out a whole generation of grateful Sanskrit students in this Presidency. In the founding of this Institute, the late Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar took a great deal of interest and became its first President. The late Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar and the Mahamahopadhyaya were intimate friends, having worked together in the Annamalai University. I have the honour to be the second President of this Institute.

The late lamented Mahatma Gandhi, who was a loving friend of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, said that the most appropriate memorial for him would be an Institute of Indian Culture. Such an Institute is this one, founded and fostered by Sastriar himself. As a pupil of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, at school, who had the rare privilege of becoming an increasingly intimate friend and associate of Sastriar, I am presenting this portrait as a memento of his connection with this Institute. Many are aware of his profound knowledge of English and of his powers of speech admired in the English-speaking world. But few are aware of his devotion to the study of Sanskrit in which he was as proficient as

in English. Some time before his death he delivered a course of thirty lectures on the Ramayana collected in the form of a volume and published by a sister Institution, the Samskrita Academy, (of which Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastriar was the first President), a copy of which I request you to be pleased to accept. Of his place as the successor of Gokhale and of his work in South Africa as Agent which are well known to all there is no need for me to speak.

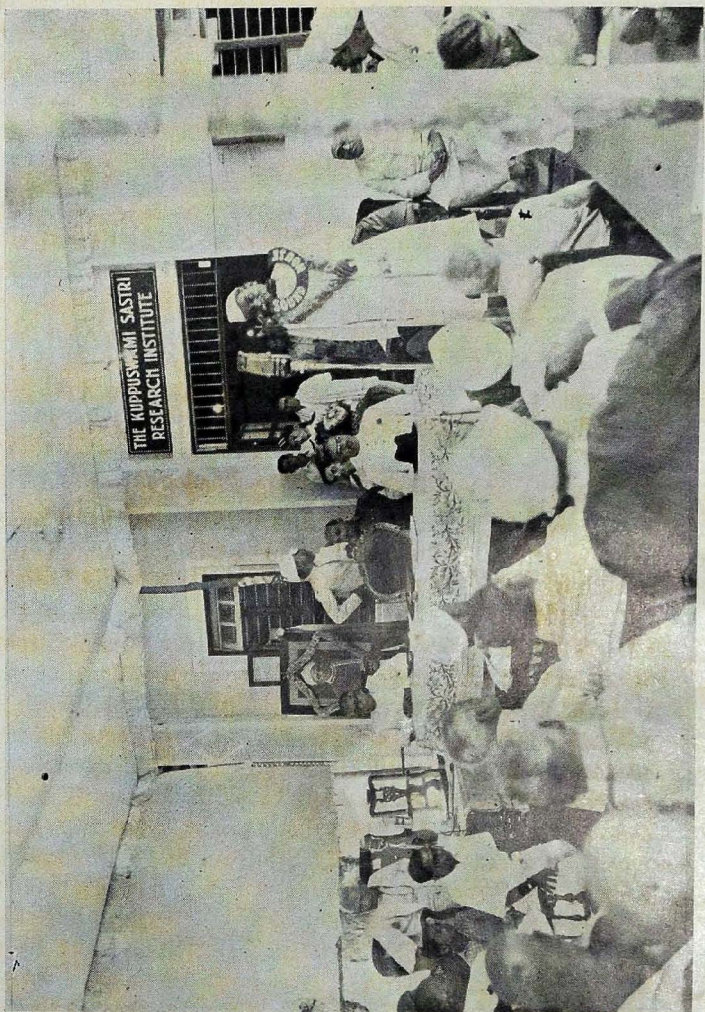
Now it only remains for me to request you, honoured Sir, to unveil the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar's portrait. You have known the late Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar and you are most fitted to unveil his portrait. Had the Mahatma been alive he would have gladly undertaken the task of unveiling Sastriar's portrait. After his lamented death what can be more appropriate than that his ardent and devoted friend and disciple should in his stead unveil the portrait.

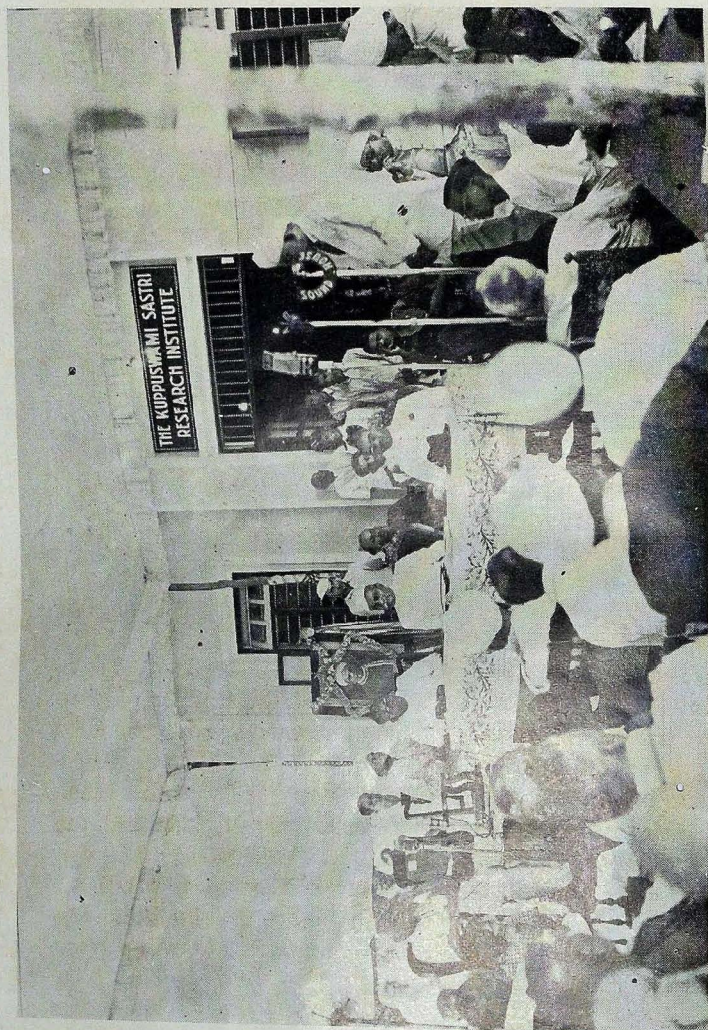
SPEECH BY RAJENDRA PRASAD

Dr. Rajendra Prasad said at the outset that he deemed it a great honour and privilege to be asked to unveil the portrait of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. "In India", Dr. Prasad said, "we are apt sometimes to forget the services of those who worked for many years before some of us strayed into the field of public activities. It is really a great pleasure to be reminded of the services of men like Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, who followed in the footsteps of Sri Gokhale. The history of the Congress for nearly 30 or 35 years of its existence before Mahatma Gandhi came into the field, is the history of those stalwarts who built up this great organisation. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was one of them. He had chosen, rather at an early age, the path of sacrifice and service to the country. Giving up his profession as a teacher, he went into the larger field of politics and there devoted himself, as he would have devoted himself, when he was a teacher, to studying things and making them easily intelligible to others who were not as well placed as he himself was, with regard to many questions of public importance".

A GREAT ORATOR AND APOSTLE OF CULTURE

"Anyone who has had the opportunity and privilege of listening to Mr. Sastri", Dr. Prasad continued, "would have at once recognised in him not only a great orator but a great





master of the facts with which he was dealing. And it was because of these great qualities of his that he was recognised not only by the people of this country but also by the then Government of the country as one of the leaders of India. His services were recognised in many ways. He was returned to the Assembly—Legislative Council as it was called—on many occasions, and there he remained serving and working for the people for many years. He was sent to South Africa as India's representative and there he established amongst a people none too friendly to us, a reputation for himself and for this country. The prestige which he then acquired, not only for himself but also for this country, has lasted even after his death. I had the privilege of knowing him but I cannot claim that I knew him anything like you gentlemen and ladies present here. The little that I knew of him, however, showed to me his greatness, his kindness, and his affection. I remember I had an occasion to visit Chidambaram while he was Vice-Chancellor of the University there. I was then touring in these parts as President of the Congress. He had written to me before I went there that I should stay with him as his guest, and I stayed with him for two days. Within those two days, I could see the amount of affection which he could shower upon one who had the privilege of coming into close contact with him. From what I had known before, especially in my contact with Mahatma Gandhi, while he used to meet not only Mahatma Gandhi but others who happened to be in the entourage of Mahatma Gandhi, I had come to regard him as one of our great leaders. The feeling which I then conceived continued to grow stronger and stronger until the last days of his life on this earth. It is fitting that you should have a portrait of him in an institution with which he was so closely associated. He was a great politician but as you have said he was not only a politician, but he was a great apostle of culture also."

STUDY OF SANSKRIT

Continuing, Dr. Prasad said, "Here in this Institute you have workers who are working at that culture and are trying to bring the old to the new and to revitalise the old with the new. In this country to-day, we need nothing more than revitalising of our own culture. We are apt to be carried away by things of the west of the present day. There are so many things which



are likely and which are very often able, to carry us away on account of their glamour and their shine. And we are very often misled into thinking that all that glitters is gold. But, that is not always so. There are many things which are of very great value, which are embedded in our culture and which are found in the daily life of even the common people of this country which are of the greatest value to humanity. Let us not despise those things because they are old. We sometimes feel that if you call a man a reactionary, you have condemned him for good and for ever. I believe we have really to define what is progress, and I personally do not always feel that what we call progress is always progress. I sometimes wonder if in speaking of progress, we are not mistaking what is really not progress, for progress. The best corrective for that kind of mistake is to have our roots in our culture, to have our roots in our past. There is nothing which can help us more to have such root than the study of our ancient literature and of Sanskrit in which that literature is enshrined."

WORK OF THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Paying a tribute to the work done by the Institute in promoting research and study of Sanskrit, Dr. Prasad said: "This Institute has been trying to serve the people, revive the old culture, and make them study the Sanskrit language in which our culture is embodied and also to enable the people to drink deep of that fountain of learning which is contained in such a vast number of books which are not even known today. I know that all over the country there are hundreds and thousands of manuscripts which nobody has seen and which nobody of modern days has studied in the modern way. An Institute like this serves the useful purpose not only of popularising the study of Sanskrit but also of bringing to light many valuable old books which are forgotten and which are likely to be lost for ever. If this Institute succeeds in bringing together scholars who will devote themselves to the study of these things and to the revival and preservation of many of these manuscripts which are otherwise likely to be lost, it would have done a great service. I have no doubt that you are engaged in this work. It has, therefore, been a piece of good fortune for me to be asked to associate myself with this function which is a function at once connected with this Institute which has been doing such fruitful work, and with the great name of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri."

On behalf of the Institute, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University and a Vice-President of the Institute, accepted the portrait of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar. He expressed the gratefulness of the members of the Institute and its Governing Body to Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri for the gift of the portrait of one who, he said, expounded, as few could, the culture of this country, its traditions, hopes and outlook on civilisation.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer thanking the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, for participating in the function said that there existed abiding love, affection and regard between Mahatmaji and the Rt. Hon. Sastri, and as Gandhiji's foremost disciple, it was fitting that Dr. Prasad should have unveiled the portrait. Mr. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar also thanked H. E. the Governor for his presence on the occasion, and Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri for the gift of the portrait.

OBITUARY NOTICES

DR. C. NARAYANA RAO

Indological studies, especially those pertaining to South India, sustained a great loss in the death of Kalāprapūrṇa Dr. Chilukuri Narayana Rao who passed away on 22nd June 1951 after a brief illness. Dr. Narayana Rao was a versatile scholar. Though mainly interested in linguistic studies, he was quite at home in the fields of historical, epigraphical and literary research and his contributions on these subjects, though unfamiliar to people not acquainted with his mother tongue, Telugu, are noted for their originality and boldness. Dr. Narayana Rao was a lover of ancient learning, and was indefatigable in his search for ancient records, manuscripts, copperplate and stone inscriptions bearing especially on the history of Āndhra and Kāliṅga. A vast collection of Mss. which he collected in the Rayalaseema, his adopted home, he handed over to the *Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry, of which he was one of the founders. Dr. Narayana Rao's name, however, is closely associated with two important literary movements in the Andhra country. He was a great admirer and devout follower of the late Rao Saheb Gidugu Ramamurty Pantulu; and he espoused with enthusiasm the linguistic movements originated by him. In the first place, Dr. Narayana Rao undertook to investigate the origins of the Telugu language. After a careful study lasting over several years, he came to the definite conclusion that Telugu was an Indo-European language derived from Sanskrit and Pāṣāṇī and not a member of the Dravidian group of languages as Dr. Caldwell and his followers would have us believe. The result of his investigations are embodied in the two volumes of his monumental *History of the Telugu Language*, published by the Andhra University. Secondly, like his guru Ramamurty Pantulu, Dr. Narayana Rao was a zealous advocate of the *vyāvahārika* as opposed to the *grānthika* or conventional language in which all the Telugu works were written until almost the beginning of the 20th century. Almost all his literary productions are written in the *vyāvahārika* or the spoken dialect, though his mastery over the *grānthika* or the conventional literary style entitles him to a high place among

the modern Telugu prose writers. He was a brilliant literary critic, and an erudite expounder of ancient classics which he attempted to popularise by means of critical editions. Dr. Narayana Rao found time to interest himself in historical studies specially connected with South India and the Andhra country. He translated the inscriptions of Aśoka into Telugu, edited and published several E. Ganga copper-plates in the *Gidugu Ramamurty Pantulu Commemoration Volume*, and the inscriptions of some other South Indian dynasties in the *Bharati* and the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*. He had also prepared an analytical list of all the South Indian inscriptions which, like some of his other valuable works such as the one on Telugu Proverbs, remains unpublished. Dr. Narayana Rao was a devoted student of religion. Though a Mādhva by birth, he was free from all narrow-minded bias; his views were catholic; he interested himself in Islam and Christianity. To familiarise Telugu people with the tenets of Islam, he wrote a translation of the Quran in Telugu which is read with interest not only by the Hindus but by Andhra Muslims. Dr. Narayana Rao was a good poet and talented dramatist. His plays *Achchi*, *Ambā*, and *Aśvatthāmā* are works of considerable literary and artistic merit; and they secured for him a high place among the new school of dramatists of the 20th century.

N. VENKATARAMANIAN

DR. ABANINDRANATH TAGORE

On 4th December, 1951, Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, nephew of Poet Rabindranath Tagore and well-known painter passed away at the age of 81 in Calcutta. He collaborated with the Poet in the building up of the Viśvabhāratī and was the pioneer of the Bengal school of painting. He was the President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, and was also editor of the *Journal of the Society*, along with Dr. Stella Kramrisch. Among his valuable writings may be mentioned his work on anatomy in Hindu Art.

DR. N. MACNICOL

The well-known missionary Dr. Nicol Macnicol passed away at the age of 81 in Scotland in February 1952. He came out to India when he was very young and became a keen student of Indian languages, literature and school of philo-

sophy. *Indian Theism* and *Psalms of Marathi Saints* are two of his widely used books.

PROF. R. KRISHNAMURTHY

Sri R. Krishnamurthy who passed away on the 3rd March 1952 was Professor of Mathematics at the Nizam's College, Hyderabad. He had interested himself in Vedic astronomy on which the published some papers.

V. SWAMINATHAN

The K. S. R. Institute has sustained loss in the premature death of Sri V. Swaminathan, B.A., G.D.A., who was doing honorary auditing work for the Institute and had made presentation of books to the Institute's Library.

V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

We record with great regret the untimely demise of Sri V. Ramaswami Aiyar, a leading Advocate of Madras High Court, on March 16, 1952. He was a Life Member of the K. S. R. Institute.

BOOK REVIEWS

YOGA, THE METHOD OF RE-INTEGRATION: By
Alain Danielou (Shiva Sharan). Christopher Jhonson,
London, 1949. pp. 165. 16sh.

The work under review by a practical student of Yoga attempts to give an authentic exposition of the principles and practice of yoga, basing itself on the many original treatises on the subject. The author makes an intelligent and judicious approach to his vast material and interprets the subtle points in the theory and practice of yoga in a rational manner. With rare penetration, uncommon among Western students of Eastern thought, the author observes: "The realization of supra-sensory perception is one of the stages of that particular training which the Hindus call yoga.....Its method is a sort of physico-mental gymnastic, through which the Conscious, carried by the subtle body, is withdrawn from its physical envelope, without however destroying it, and after having cognized all things, comes back into the physical envelope with its prodigious harvest. The whole civilization has from its very beginning been pervaded by this mode of knowledge, and one should realize this before trying to assess the value of Hindu traditional knowledge and of the ancient Hindu sciences. All the Vedic scriptures are considered to have originated through this process and it is therefore only in yoga that their key is to be found." (p. 5).

The author has shown how yogic exercises, uniformly prescribed in the Purāṇas, Itihāsas and Smṛtis, can be widely practised with advantage. The author's treatment of such topics as diet, Jñānayoga, Karmayoga, Bhaktiyoga, Breath control, the Yogāṅgas (Yama and Niyama) and Dhāraṇā-dhyāna-samādhi are very satisfactory. In certain places, however, the treatment differs from orthodox views. Thus passing through Haṭhayoga to attain Rājayoga is not accepted by the orthodox sect as essential. As against the author's statement that the Āsanas are limited, it may be said that they are infinite. Bath is of ten kinds and not seven (p. 21). The Śaṭkarmas are eschewed by Patañjali and even in Haṭhayoga are prescribed only for certain types of persons and not for all in general. The Śaṭcakra sketches given in the book (pp. 28, 29, 30, 122),

might be said to accord with the Yoga Upaniṣads but do not tally in all details with actual experience. The interpretation of the eight Siddhis is different from that in Pātañjala-Yoga-sūtra. In the interpretation of Kuṇḍalinī-yoga, the author's treatment differs considerably from that of other authorities. In treating Prāṇāyāma according to Haṭhayoga, the author has left out the anuloma, pratiloma and viloma variations. Also in the elucidation of this topic, Sama and Viśama vṛtti distinctions (See also Gītā iv-vi) could have been given.

The five Appendices at the end are very useful, especially those giving the Bibliography and the original Sanskrit passages made use of in the text. One, however, misses a general index.

It is also to be noted that in South India Yoga philosophy was greatly in vogue and that works like the *Yogarahasya* of Nāthamuni elaborated a system of Yogic practices particularly adapted to householders.

The book deserves the study of all serious students of Indian thought and not only of Yoga.

T. KRISHNAMACHARYA

(*Samkhya-Yoga-Sikhamani, Director of Yoga, Mysore*)

A VEDIC READER FOR STUDENTS: By A. A. Macdonell. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1951. pp. xxxii+263. Rs. 4.

The present edition of Macdonell's Vedic Reader, which has become a classic among the annotated selections from the Veda and which has been for some years past out of print, is most welcome. The book contains thirty hymns selected so as to represent most of the deities of the Vedic pantheon and the Vedic metres. To each hymn is affixed a prefatory note in which are collected particulars about the deity or other subjects dealt with, from the other parts of the R̥gveda and other Vedic sources. After every *ṛk* are given its transliteration, the *pada* text and literal translation, after which follow adequate notes on matters concerned with grammar, metre, accent, syntax and exegesis.

Besides hymns on the deities, a few on other topics like the hymn of Creation, the Gambler's hymn and the Funeral hymn have been included. The exhaustive vocabulary given at the end is specially noteworthy for the cognates of each word from

Avestic, Greek, Latin and English. Besides this there is also a General Index. The Introduction forms an analytical study of the R̥gveda from different aspects and prepares the student for the detailed study of the selected hymns which follow. The book is in a way self-contained and the popularity it has been enjoying with both students and teachers of Sanskrit, is, therefore, quite natural.

This second edition has been brought out by the Madras Branch of the Oxford University Press and all thanks of the lovers of Sanskrit studies are due to them.

K. V. SARMA

THE NARRATIVE OF BHOJA (BHOJAPRABANDHA)
BY BALLALA OF BENARES: Translated from Sanskrit
by Louis H. Gray. American Oriental Society, New
Haven, Connecticut, 1950. pp. 109. \$ 2. 25. American
Oriental Series No. 34.

King Bhoja of Dhārā (1010-1055 A. D.) is the brightest star in the firmament of royal patronage to learning, for which India was renowned even from the Vedic times. The name of Bhoja has become proverbial on account of the warm patronage extended by him to poets and the munificence lavished on them. Tradition has heaped up anecdotes upon anecdotes illustrating this trait of his in such measure and in such exaggerated manner that it is difficult to pick out the facts from these stories. A number of traditional accounts about Bhoja and his lavish patronage, both Jain and Brahmanical, are known. Among the former are the Bhoja-Prabandhas of Merutuṅga, Vatsarāja and Padmagupta and the account contained in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga. The Bhoja-Prabandha of Ballāla is the best known of Hindu accounts, and of this there is also an epitome, the Bhoja-Prabandha-sāra. Then we have an anonymous poem Bhojarājaviṇaya and two dramatic compositions, the anonymous Bhojarājatarāṅgiṇī and the one-act play Bhojarājāṅka by Sundara Vīrarāghava (19th cent.)

The account of Ballāla (16th-17th cent.), the most popular of all, is a pseudo-historic narration of the anecdotes of Bhoja's munificence held together within a frail framework. Ballāla often draws upon Merutuṅga. But his account of the history of Bhoja, and the attribution of verses to poets and the relation between poets, hardly stand the test of critical investigation, but provides a general idea, with some exaggeration, of

the distinguished patronage extended to learning and poetical talents during the golden ages of India and the respect and regard with which scholars and poets were treated in the land.

Dr. Gray has provided the present book with a brief but scholarly Introduction in which he deals with the author, and the sources, nature and recensions of the work. The Translation has been uniformly well done. Translation of verses are printed in smaller type and ample Notes are given as footnotes to explain allusions, *double entendre*, etc. The list of Poets quoted in the work, about a hundred, (of which nearly half, quoted anonymously, are traced to their authors by the translator), with indication of the occurrence of the verses in anthologies and other works (often under different authorship), is very useful for the chronological study of Sanskrit poets. Two other appendices are added, one on the metres used in the work and the other on the lexicographical additions from the work, mainly with reference to Böhlingk's Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (Petrograd) and R. Schmidt's Nachtrage zum Sanskrit Wörterbuch (Leipzig).

K. V. SARMA

SELECTIONS FROM CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE: By John Brough, D. Litt. Luzac & Co., London, 1951. pp. viii+157. 16 sh.

On the same plan as that of Lanman's Sanskrit Reader, but on a more modest scale, Dr. Brough, Sanskrit Professor at the University of London, has brought out this small Sanskrit Reader to help the student with selections from classical literature representing the leading characteristics of Sanskrit literary composition. The Sanskrit texts, printed in Roman script, and corresponding English translations are given face to face and in the end brief Notes on the authors, works and points of grammar and construction are added.

Unlike Lanman's work which comprises selections from Veda and Dharma Śāstra also, the present Reader is confined to classical literature. The selections open with one from canto xxvii of Jayaratha's Haracaritacintāmaṇi, which is practically a reproduction from the corresponding portion of the opening book of Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara; this has been included here, probably because of its interest as a traditional literary history of the language, narrating as it does the stories of Pāṇini and Vararuci. However this is the section which has

not come off well. The other selections are the Story of Sāvitrī from the Great Epic, a few Subhāṣitas, three songs from the Gītagovinda, the third canto of the Kumārasambhava, three from the Bhaṭṭikāvya and a section each of the Daśa-kumāracarita and the Rāghavapāṇḍavīya of Kavirāja. One from Bāṇa and a few more to show better the metrical variety and the constant play of figures could have been thought of, but as it is the passages do form a representative collection.

As the book is to be used by students, some errors may be pointed out for correction: In the first selection, even as they stand in the Kāvya-mālā edition, certain lines of Jayaratha are defective; Jayaratha's abridged reproduction of Somadeva had not been well done. Metrically lines 266, 267, 268 and 273 require transposition of the words. Lines 268-271 are a clumsy reproduction; there is no need to explain 270 (Notes p. 147) by the suggestion of an admixture of two constructions: One said (*avadat kaścīt*) that it took twelve years to master grammar; another equal to Skanda (*i.e.* Śarvavarman) said (*avadat* is *adhyāhārya* from 268) offered to teach it in six months. 'Princes' on p. 5, line 4, might have been 'masters.' Guha might have been retained as elsewhere and not given as 'the Secret One' on p. 7, line 4. Lines 87-93 have not been well understood and correctly rendered or explained. Firstly there is no Levirate here which the Notes assume; line 87 simply means that the more intelligent and affluent brother asked his own wife to manage the domestic affairs of the less endowed brother too; the custom referred to here is also not correctly understood; the cake is said to have been in the shape not of the *liṅga* but of the *yoni*. If *cūrṇīkṛtya* is the correct reading in line 160, it is not known how 'ground to dust' forms a correct or satisfactory meaning; *cūrṇī* here may refer to 'gloss' and Vararuci's Vārttikas are perhaps referred to here as *cūrṇī*, though it is more usual to refer to Patañjali's work by that name. 'Laid claim' on p. 11, last line, might have been 'agreed to accept.' In Subhāṣitas 1, the *śleṣa* in *pada*, 'feet' and 'words', is not brought out; the rendering of 2 is to be recast, for it means that someone, by a rare stroke of fortune, gets blessed with a wife or expression endowed with those qualities; and *kāntihārīṇyaḥ* is simply, in the case of women, 'captivating by reason of brilliance' and not 'with pretty necklaces.' 'Kalaṅka-kalā' in Gītagovinda I. 3 is not 'the

obscure digit' but 'the streak of the dark spot.' In Kumāra, III. 1, 3, 7 (including the Note) require improvement.

V. R.

HOMAGE TO ANANDA COOMARASWAMY (PART II: A MEMORIAL VOLUME): EDITED by S. Durai Rāja Singam. Illustrated. 1952, Kuantan, Malaya, pp. xxiv + 333. Price Rs. 15. (Copies to be had of the Author, Abdulla School, Kuantan, Malaya).

This Garland of Tributes to the great Indian savant, late Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, with its rich and sumptuous collection of portraits, sketches, photos and woodcuts, has been brought out by its author, Sri S. Durai Raja Singam as a companion volume to the earlier Volume under the same title produced in 1947 as a *festchrift* gift to the savant on his 70th birthday. The tributes gathered into this Volume come from the New World and the Old, from scholars, poets, artists as well as from statesmen and men of religion. They illustrate vividly the matchless versatility and distinction of the savant as well as the extraordinarily wide range of his appeal. Dr. Coomaraswamy was a man of encyclopaedic learning and of a more than Aristotelian comprehensiveness and width of intellectual interests. And an artistic and spiritual insight unusually sharp and acute vivified and enlivened this vast learning. As Eric Grill points out in his brief contribution, there was in Dr. Coomaraswamy an almost unmatched combination of unusual abilities and qualities. Others have expounded the doctrines of Buddhism and Hinduism, interpreted the significance of the rich symbolism of the art of South-east Asia and shown a deep awareness of an essential bond between art, morals and religion. There have not been wanting men of learning as vast as Dr. Coomaraswamy's in the somewhat neglected field of oriental thought and art. But Dr. Coomaraswamy united in himself all these various gifts, any one of which would have been sufficient to win him or others worldwide renown and respect.

Many contributors have drawn attention in this Volume to the greatness of the service Coomaraswamy rendered in interpreting the immemorial East to the West and in compelling the West to realise the immensity and value of the treasured insights and achievements of the East. Others have, taking due account of the invaluable liaison function he performed, claimed

him as a great Oriental. Still others have paid tribute to the vast scholarship and learning of the man and the ready, willing helpfulness he showed in clarifying and resolving disputed points of interpretation, and the even more cheerful readiness with which he allowed bright young scholars in his own field to put even him right in this or that particular detail of interpretation. These separate assessments of Dr. Coomaraswamy's varied gifts however, in this Volume, harmonize into a singularly rich and inspiring portrait of one of the rarest beings that have ever walked this earth. We have no doubt lovers of culture will cherish this book and be grateful that these appreciations have been brought together with so much loving devotion to the great Kalā-yogi. And they will look forward eagerly to the promised full-length biography of Dr. Coomaraswami, for which Sri Durai Raja Singam is gathering material and for which he invites the co-operation of all who may have anything to contribute, in the way of letters, reminiscences and photos.

S. R.

ALANKARATILAKA OF BHANUDATTA: Ed. by
G. V. Devasthali.

Bhānudatta, well-known Ālaṅkārika and author of the Rasamañjarī and Rasataraṅgiṇī, wrote also the Ālaṅkāratilaka in which he dealt with poetics and rhetoric proper. The credit of editing this work goes to Dr. G. V. Devasthali of the H. P. T. College, Nasik, who has already shown his ability for good work in his two volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Saṁskṛt Mss. in the Bombay University Library.

The present edition appeared in two parts in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. 23 (1947) and Vols. 24-25 (1948-1949). The edition was based on three Mss., only one of which was complete and good. The variants are given at the end; sometimes the readings noted in the end are better; e.g., 'bandhakāvya', ch. II, p. 64, last line, and 'śabdālaṅkārah' ch. IV, p. 93, first line. Ch. I, p. 59, in the 3rd line from bottom, a short and a long letter are missing between 'dig-gaja' and 'prārabdha'.

While in his Rasamañjarī and Rasataraṅgiṇī, Bhānudatta dealt with the Rasas, here he speaks of poetry, its definition, its classes, doṣas, rītis, vṛttis, guṇas and alaṅkāras. We are

also told here by Bhānudatta that on *citra*, he wrote a separate treatise called Citracandrikā. The illustrative verses are either his own or his father's.

Bhānudatta is noteworthy for the logical *lakṣaṇa-pariṣkāras* he attempts at every step, for the material he draws from Bhoja, and for his views, some of which are striking, and a few, as on *doṣa*, revealing his true literary perception; but there are also cases of mechanical adjustments which are removed from reality; reserving a detailed review of the contribution of Bhānudatta in his *Alaṅkāratilaka* to a separate paper, I shall content myself here with this short notice and the expression of the hope that, after collating a few more Mss., Dr. Devasthali would soon issue an edition of the work in the form of a separate book.

V. R.

TAMIL CULTURE: Vol. I, No. i. Edited by Mr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, M.A., M.LITT. Tamil Literature Society, 52, New Colony, Tuticorin, S. India.

We extend our hearty welcome to this new periodical which answers to a real need. There is an earnest desire on the part of non-Tamil-knowing scholars to know more about Tamil literature, and great difficulty is felt by them in getting at the original material. There is no doubt a great deal of awakening among the Tamils and the Tamil literary world, but systematic scholarly work of critical value on literature and language requires to be put forth; English renderings of all the main works would serve to place in the hands of research scholars the required source-material. The Editor enunciates the ideals and aims correctly when he says (pp. 2-3): "And that diffusion cannot hope to achieve success unless the centres of Tamill research set before themselves the highest standard of scholarship. The more such scholarship embarks on *comparative studies* the greater will be the benefit to the world at large." "Scholars in Tamil should be better conversant with the language and literature of the other 'cultivated' and 'uncultivated' Dravidian tongues, and of Sanskrit and English if they are to make their work truly worthwhile." The same call for increased equipment is made by Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai in his Presidential address to the Dravidian Section of the last All-India Oriental Conference

which is reproduced in this Number: "We are in a measure responsible for this neglect, for we are generally lacking in breadth of vision.....We have been systematically refusing to study Sanskrit and other languages and our equipment for research has been far from satisfactory." When research work of scholarly value is regularly flowing, its effect will be far more striking and substantial than that of writings based more on patriotic feeling against which Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai rightly enters a caveat (p. 19).

The editorial and Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai's survey of recent work in the Dravidian field are followed by S. Gnana Prakasar's article on Ceylon as originally a land of the Dravidians; F. Legrand writes on the Todās and Dr. Arokiaswami, on the dolmens in Pudukottai region. There are also some articles of general interest on Sangam poetry, Bhārati, the services of Dr. G. U. Pope to Tamil, etc.

It may not be possible to combine in the same journal learned as well as popular matter, scientific as well as public questions. Considering the forum already available for popular writings and accounts of public activities, we would welcome this new periodical to concentrate on learned research work in Tamil language and literature.

V. R.

THE ANJANAPAVANANJAYA AND SUBHADRA-NATIKA OF HASTIMALLA: Ed. by Prof. M. V. Patwardhan. Māṇikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā No. 43. 1950, Bombay. pp. 68+119+108. Rs. 3.

In the vast amount of Jain literary and philosophical output during the mediaeval ages, the part played by South India had been considerable. Like some of the other prominent figures in Jain literary history, the present author, Hastimalla, too belonged originally to a Brahmanical family, his father, Govinda of Vatsagotra, from the Kanarese country, having adopted Jainism. Hastimalla (9th-13th cent.) was an *Ubhaya-bhāṣā-cakravartin*, who besides works in Sanskrit, wrote in Kanarese, the Kanarese *Ādipurāṇa* being one of his contributions in that language. His name was given to him for subduing a mad elephant set on him by the Pāṇḍya king.

The book reviewed here is a critical edition of two of his four available plays, the other two, *Maithilikalyāṇa* and

Vikrāntakaurava having been already issued in the present series. A fifth play, *Arjunarājanāṭaka* has not yet been recovered. The themes of all the plays are derived from the Paumacaria and Ādipurāṇa, representing generally Jain versions of the well-known Purāṇic stories. Verses are very frequent in the dramas and the author is facile at versification; and in prose he emulates the style of Bāṇa. Hastimalla is quite at home in Jain mythology and theology to which he makes very frequent allusions; Brahmanical ideas also occur, though rarely. The author uses many obscure words. Subhāṣitas and worldly maxims abound in the plays.

The works have been very well edited with a detailed Introduction which forms a critical study of Hastimalla and his four plays from various aspects, and the Index of verses given at the end includes also the two plays not edited here.

K. V. SARMA

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MRCCHA-KATĪKA: By Dr. G. V. Devasthali. Poona Oriental Book House, Poona-2, 1951. pp. 184. Rs. 3-12-0.

This book, mainly written for University students, is a detailed analysis of this, the most popular of Sanskrit *Prakaraṇas*. The work has been herein studied from various aspects. Though it has not been possible to identify either the author or settle his date, possible conjectures and all that can be gathered from the text are put forth in the first chapter (pp. 1-9). Then follows a full length account (pp. 10-44) and detailed appreciation (pp. 45-86) of the plot. The next section on Characters (pp. 87-100) indicates briefly the salient points of each, and the student can find the same in longer detail in the previous section on Critical Appreciation. The sources of the drama (pp. 101-06) are next traced, in which the inter-relation between the Bhāsa-play and the Mrccchakaṭika is reviewed; the author's view is that Śūdraka has recast the Cārudatta. In the last two sections of the book are recapitulated the several factors that combine to raise Śūdraka to the unique position he holds in the realm of Sanskrit drama (pp. 107-32) and the social conditions in Śūdraka's times (pp. 133-46).

We may draw the author's attention to a few points for increasing the utility of the book. The "Notes" (pp. 147-175), mostly of the form of references to authorities cited and

original Sanskrit passages referred to, could have been given as foot-notes to the respective pages, instead of in a lump at the end, the difficulty of locating an item being aggravated here by fresh serial numbers for each chapter. The Index at the end is meagre. A select Bibliography should also have been added for the use of the more advanced students of the work.

K. V. SARMA

SRI K. M. MUNSHI DIAMOND JUBILEE VOLUMES,
PARTS I & II—BHARATIYA VIDYA, VOLS. IX
(1948), X (1949): Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

These two volumes contain very learned and interesting articles contributed by many distinguished scholars in the field of Indological studies. They were published in commemoration of the great services rendered by Sri K. M. Munshi, in connection with his sixty-first birthday celebration in the month of December 1949. The first volume was presented to Sri Munshi on the occasion of his sixty-first birthday and the second volume was published later in 1950.

Sri K. M. Munshi is one of the greatest sons of India. His is a vivacious and versatile personality. He is a distinguished scholar, patriot and statesman. His contributions to literature and Indological studies are very well-known. His talents and achievements in various fields of activity, such as law, politics, diplomacy, education and social service have earned for him a unique place in our national life. It is, indeed, fitting that the distinguished editors of these two volumes should have collected learned articles from many scholars, both in India and outside and presented them to Sri Munshi on the occasion of his sixty-first birthday. The variety of subjects dealt with in these learned articles is indeed very great and in every one of the articles, the writer has tried to present some new aspect of the various problems of Indological studies.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan conceived the idea of presenting to Sri Munshi these two volumes. We all know that the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is an outstanding monument of the great love which Sri Munshi has for Sanskrit language and for oriental learning. This one institution itself will make his name immortal in the annals of our country. The two volumes will repay amply careful study. They will also bring

to our mind the picture of the great personality in commemoration of whose services these volumes have been published. We commend them to the public and express our great debt of gratitude to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and to the editors of these volumes for the great services they have done to the cause of Indological studies.

K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER

MIRALAHARI: by Pandita Kshamā Row, with a Foreword by Amaranatha Jha. Bombay, 1944. pp. 56+24. Rs. 2-8.

SRI TUKARAMACARITA: by Pandita Kshamā Row, with a Foreword by M. R. Jayakar. Hind Kitabs, Bombay, 1950. pp. 43+60. Rs. 5.

Pandita Kshamā Row, author of more than half a dozen poetical works in Sanskrit, is no stranger to the Sanskrit reading public and has secured a place among original writers of Sanskrit to-day. Her intimate acquaintance with different Indian and European literatures has enabled Sou. Row to make a rational approach to her themes and to infuse into them a life and vivacity which appeal to the modern mind; and her knowledge of Sanskrit inherited from and nurtured by her distinguished parent, the late S. P. Pandit, coupled with her natural talents, has given her a graceful style, elegant expression and command over the metrical form. Again the themes that she takes up for exposition have their special appeal. The two works reviewed here retell the lives of two of the most popular of the saints and sages of mediaeval India, who, by their lives and works have greatly influenced the religious life of their times and after, and whose memories remain still green all over the land.

Mirālaharī is on the life of the devotee-queen of Chitor, who is one of the most fascinating figures of India's legend and history. The story is told in two *khaṇḍas*, the first treating it up to the repudiation of Mīrā and the second to her final union with the Lord.

In the second work in nine cantos of about 450 verses, the poetess narrates the life of Śrī Tukārām, the renowned devotee of Mahārāṣṭra, in which she redacts dozens of anecdotes from his saintly life, each illustrating and instructive of a high moral, a divine truth or the greatness of God.

Both the works are couched in lucid Sanskrit, in diverse metres, using profuse figures of speech which but enhance the charm of the verses. Pithy moral sayings and shrewd observations on the Hindu philosophy of life find expression in telling similes, *virodhābhāsas* and *arthāntaranyāsas*. Characters appear real and true to life through Sou. Row's pen.

Both the books have the author's translations in English and the former a lucid Sanskrit commentary as well. The printing and get-up of the books are excellent.

K. V. SARMA

SRI BHARATI GITA: THE MESSAGE OF MOTHER INDIA, THE LAND OF THE BHARATAS: by V. R. Lakshmi Ammal. Madras, 1950. pp. viii + 43.

This small book in about 350 verses advocates the restoration of the old order of things. The lady author pleads for that unity amidst diversity, which, she shows, characterised the golden ages of this land.

Affixed to the beginning of the book is a panegyric in nine verses on Mother India. The work proper is in three cantos. In the first, the Goddess recounts her greatness of yore and names some of her illustrious sons. In the second is related how her present downfall has been brought about directly and indirectly by her own sons by their folly, mutual jealousies, neglect of the ordained duties of life, resort to alien habits, and all round general dissipation. In the third canto Mother India exhorts her sons, now that foreign domination is at an end, to raise the country to its former level of greatness and suggests in detail ways and means to achieve that end. She also exhorts the heads of religious institutions to give a lead to the public. The book is written in easy elegant verse.

K. V. SARMA

CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT, PALI AND PRAKRIT BOOKS, Vol. I (A-G), National Library, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 333. Rs. 4-5-0.

The National Library, Calcutta, (formerly the Imperial Library), fostered under Governmental patronage, is one of the oldest and biggest public libraries in India, rich in all branches of literature and science. The book under review is the first volume the Catalogue of Sanskrit and allied books in

the Library, comprising letters A to G, collected upto 31st March 1947. It has been well prepared on the model of the British Museum catalogue with full details of books, ample cross-references, transliteration of titles and typographical distinctions for the various items. Some of the noteworthy features of this compilation which enhance its usefulness are the individual cataloguing of works edited collectively, indication under the edition of a work monographs or studies on it, and brief description added to obscure and non-descript titles, e.g., पञ्चकर्मग्रन्थ, a book of Karma philosophy based on Jainism (p. 231); देवत्रविधि, an attempt to prove that the priest has the sole proprietorship of the property dedicated to a deity (p. 281); कवितातरङ्गिणी, a poem lamenting the death of the author's wife (p. 273).

Students of Sanskrit, and especially those engaged on bibliographical work, would be much thankful to the authorities of the National Library and the compilers of this catalogue for this publication and eagerly look forward to further volumes of the same.

K. V. SARMA

YANTRAS OR MECHANICAL CONTRIVANCES IN ANCIENT INDIA, by Dr. V. Raghavan, being Transaction No. 10 of the Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, 1952, pp. 1-31, price Rs. 1-8-0.

The brochure contains a very informative dissertation on an aspect of life in ancient India, which is as 'out-of-the-way' as it is fascinating. By tracing the history of machines invented and used by Indians in the past, Dr. Raghavan demonstrates the fact that, side by side with her spiritual advancement, India progressed materially as well. There was no dearth of scientists who probed into the secrets of nature for material benefits.

Is it indeed characteristic of man that he invents first for destruction and later thinks of employing his inventions for utility and comfort? For, this is what we find to-day, and this is what the history unearthed by Dr. Raghavan shows, too.

The invention of wheel is heralded as the first achievement of practical science. Beginning, thus, from the simple wheel-wright of the Vedic period, we are introduced to the

skilful wonder-worker of each succeeding age, down to the 12th century A.C. about which time a progressive decadence set in, from which it is only now that India is struggling to rise. But for that decadence, India would have been in the forefront to-day so far as advancement in science is concerned.

On reading the booklet under review, one cannot help feeling that almost all the modern weapons of warfare, including tanks, time-bombs and aircraft, had their fore-runners in the numerous devices employed by our ancients. Even the parachutist of to-day has his prototype in India, going as far back as the 8th century A.C. The same ancients show themselves to be equally adept at manufacturing machines of more romantic types—amusing toys, labour-saving gadgets, intricate fittings and what not. And Dr. Raghavan does not quote from tradition or mythology, but from works the relevant descriptions in which ‘pertained clearly to fact and not to mere imaginative fiction.’

The information is derived not only from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, but also from such matter-of-fact works as Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Bhoja's *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*. The latter has a lengthy chapter specifically on the subject of *yantras*. Classifications of *yantras* under different heads, methods and material employed in their manufacture, and similar other details are all culled from Sanskrit writers of yore. The numerous references, testifying to the use of various mechanical devices in ancient India, not only lend authority to the statements by the writer, but also bear testimony to his deep familiarity with the ocean of Sanskrit literature. He has, besides, access to much of the relevant material buried in the yet unpublished works of Sanskrit. The chief merit of the present exposition lies in the fact that one finds in it all the data, bearing on the subject, briefly surveyed at one place.

B. CH. CHHABRA

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184. கிழவி நிலையே வினையிடத் துரையார்
வென்றிக் காலத்து விளங்கித் தோன்றும்.
Kiḻavi nilai-y-ē viṇaiyiḻat t-uraiyār
Venri-k kālattu viḻaṅki-t tōṇrum.

They do not describe the condition of the wife during war, but it will be clearly seen after victory is won.

When is the husband invariably with the wife?

185. பூப்பின் புறப்பா டுரறுநாளும்
நீத்தகன் முறையா ரென்மனார் புலவர்
பரத்தையிற் பிரிந்த காலையான.¹
Pūppin purappā t-ir-aru nāl-um
Nitt-akan r-uraiyā r-enmanār pulavar
Parattaiyir pirinta kālai yān-a.

Even when the husband is prone to enjoy the company of concubines, he does not avoid the company of his wife for 12 days after she takes her bath after monthly periods.

Note. • Since it is considered the duty of every householder to bring forth at least a son to continue his line and the said twelve days are considered to be the period fit for conception, there is the injunction for the husband to be with his wife.

What is the maximum period of separation for study?

186. வேண்டிய கல்வி யாண்டுமூன் றிறவாது.
Vēṇṭiya kalvi yāṇṭu mūn r-iravātu.

The period of separation on account of study does not exceed three years.

What is the maximum period of separation on kingly errand?

187. வேந்தறு தொழிலே யாண்டின தகமே.
Vēnt-uru tolil-ē yāṇṭina t-akam-ē.

The period of separation on account of kingly errand does not exceed one year.

1. Rtuḥ svābhāvikaḥ strīnām
Rātrayaḥ śoḍaśa smṛtāḥ |
Caturbhir itaraiḥ sārḍham
Ahōbhiḥ sadvigarhitāiḥ ||

What is the maximum period of other kinds of separation?

188. ஏனைப் பிரிவு மவ்விய னிலையும்.

Ēnai-p-piriv-u m-a-v-viya nilaiyum.

Other kinds of separation also are of the same nature, (i.e.) their period is one year.

189. யாமுங் குளனுங் காவு மாடிப்

பதியிகந்து துகர்தலு முரிய வென்ப.

Yāruṅ kuḷaṇ-un kā-v-u m-āṭi-p

Pati-y-ikantu nukartal-u m-uriya v-enpa.

They say that the husband and the wife may leave their home to spend their time sportively in rivers, tanks and gardens.

What is the fruit of *illaram*?

190. காமஞ் சான்ற கடைக்கோட் காலே

வமஞ் சான்ற மக்கனோடு துவன்றி

அறப்புரி சுற்றமொடு கீழுவனுங் கிழத்தியும்

சிறந்தது பயிற்ற விறந்ததன் பயனே.

Kāmaṅ cāṇra kaṭai-k-kōṭ kālai

Ēmaṅ cāṇra makkaḷoṭu tuvaṇri

Aram-puri curramoṭu kilavaṇ-un kilatti-y-um

Cirantatu payirra l-irantatan payan-ē.

The fruit of what is said before is that the husband and the wife having spent after their youth their time with their children in prosperous condition and with their righteous relatives, have to think of *mōkṣa*.

Note 1. The word *cirantatu* and the word *śrēyas* in the *Kaṭhōpaniṣad* connote the same.

Who are the interceders?

191. தோழி தாயே பார்ப்பான் பாங்கள்

பாணன் பாடினி யினாயர் விருந்தினர்

கூத்தர் விறலிய ரறிவர் கண்டோர்

யாத்த சிறப்பின் வாயில்க னென்ப.

Tōli tāy-ē pārppāṇ pāṅkan

Pāṇan pāṭini y-ilaiyar viruntinaṇ

Kūttar viraliya r-arivar kaṇṭor

Yāttacirappin vāyilka l-enpa.

The prominent interceders are the wife's friend, her foster-mother, brahman, husband's friend, he-bard, she-bard, young servants, guests, dancers, female dancers, learned men and passers-by.

Does the husband tarry on the way while he returns from war?

192. வினைவயிற் பிரிந்தோன் மீண்டுவரு காலே

இடைச்சுர மருங்கிற் றவிர்த வில்லை

உள்ளம் டேபால வற்றழி யுதவும்

புள்ளியற் கலிமா வுடைமை யான.

Vinai-vayir pirintōṇ mīṇṭu-varu kālai

Itai-c-cura maruṅkiṛ ravirta l-illai

Uḷlam pōla v-urruḷi y-utavum

Puḷḷiyar kali-mā v-uṭaimai yāṇ-a.

When the husband returns after war, he does not tarry on the way, since he has strong horses flying like birds at the same speed as that of the mind.

Note. It is probable that the *sūtras* 192, 191, 189 and 190 might have been read as 189, 190, 191 and 192.

Karpiyal ends.

V. PORUḶ-IYAL.

(Supplement to other iyals.)

Since all the *iyals* in the *Poruḷ-atikāram* deal with *poruḷ*, the name *Poruḷ-iyal* for this *iyal* alone may appear to be inappropriate. This *iyal* is only a supplement generally to all the other eight *iyals* and chiefly to the four *iyals* that precede this. Hence *Ecce-v-iyal* may be an appropriate name; but that name has been given to the last *iyal* of the *Collatikāram*. Hence *Ḵampūraṇar* suggests the name *Oḷipiyal*. But this name may be justified through *brāhmaṇa-vaśiṣṭha-nyāya*.¹ *Naccinārkkiniyar*, on the other hand, tells us that, since this *iyal* deals with *poruḷ* conveyed by single words and sentences which are not strictly their own, this is given the name *Poruḷ-iyal*. *Ḵampūraṇar*'s opinion seems to be happy.

193. இசைதிரிந் திசைப்பினு மியையுமன் பொருளே
அசைதிரிந் திசையா வென்மனார் புலவர்.

Icai-tirin t-icaippinu m-iyaiyuman poruḷ-ē
Acai-tirin t-icaiyā v-enmanār pulavar.

Learned men say that, if expressions pronounced in the usual way without any change in the metrical syllable, convey meaning other than their own, such meanings also come under *poruḷ*.

Note 1. The words *icai* and *acai* respectively mean suitability and metrical syllable. *Naccinārkkiniyar* takes *acai* to mean *nāṭaka-valakkū* and *ulakiyal-valakkū* and *icaiyā* to be a positive infinitive in the sense of *icaintu*. His interpretation is far-fetched.

Note 2. This *sūtra* sanctions suggestive and ironical expressions in Literature.

194. நோயு மின்பமு மிருவகை நிலையின்
காமம் கண்ணிய மரபிடை தெரிய
எட்டன் பகுதியும் விளங்க வொட்டிய
உறுப்புடை யதுபோ ஓணர்வுடை யதுபோல்
மறத்துரைப் பதுபோ னென்சொடு புணர்த்தும்

1. When one says *Brāhmaṇā āgataḥ Vasiṣṭhōpi āgataḥ*, *brāhmaṇāḥ* refers to brahmans other than *Vasiṣṭha* since *Vasiṣṭha* also is a brahman. Mention of *Vasiṣṭha* is to show his superiority.

சொல்லா மரபி னவற்றொடு கெழீஇச்
 செய்யா மரபிற் றொழிப்படுத் தடக்கியும்
 அவரவ ருமுயினி தம்போற்¹ சேர்த்தியும்
 அறிவும் புலனும் வேறுபட நிறீஇ
 இருபெயர் மூன்று முரிய வாக
 உவம வாயிற் படுத்தலு முவமம்²
 ஒன்றிடத் திருவர்க்கு முரியபாற் கிளவி.
Nōy-u m-iṇṇam-u m-iruvakai nilaiyin
Kāmaṇ kaṇṇiya maraṇ-iṭai teriya
Eṭṭaṇ pakuti-y-um viḷaṅka v-oṭṭiya
Urupputai yatu-pō l-uṇarvuṭai yatu-pōl
Marutt-uraip patu-pō neṇcoḷu ṇuṇarttum
Collā maraṇi n-avarroṭu keḷi-c
Ceyyā maraṇi roḷiṇṇaṭut t-aṭakki-y-um
Avar-ava r-uru-ṇiṇi tama-pōr cērttiyum
Ariṇum ṇulaṇ-um vēru-ṇaṭa niri
Iru-ṇeyar mūṇru m-uriya v-āka
Uvama vāyir ṇaṭuttal-u m-uṇamam
Oṇṇiṭat t-iruvarkku m-uriya-pār kiḷavi.

Such peculiar expressions are within the province of both (the lover and the lady-love) as those addressed to their minds as if they have organs, the sense of feeling and the capacity to refute, in literature wherein the eight *rasas* are suggested with reference to love-affair where there is pleasure and pain, as those wherein objects which have no capacity to speak are made to discharge functions which they cannot do, as those wherein they identify other's suffering as if it is their own and as those wherein, whenever there is an opportunity to compare, two objects are compared with reference to three points of comparison by viewing knowledge and the object of knowledge as separate entities.

Note 1. Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkkiṇiyar differ in their interpretation of the words *iru-ṇeyar* and *mūṇrum* in line 10. *Iru-ṇeyar* according to the former, refers to the subject of comparison (*upamēya*) and the object to which another is compared (*upamāna*) and according to the latter, *oṇṇaṇṇār-ṇeyar* and *ṇaḷaṇṇār-ṇeyar*; *mūṇrum* respectively refers to the three points of comparison (*colai*, *ṇaṇṇu* and *ṇayan*) and *āṇṇār-ṇeyar*, *ṇeṇ-ṇār-ṇeyar* and *ṇaḷaṇ-ṇār-ṇeyar*.

1. போல் (இளம்.); போல (நச்.)

2. உவமம் (இளம்.); உவமமோடு (நச்.)

Note 2. This *sūtra* sanctions soliloquies, love-messages through birds and inanimate objects and the use of figures of speech most of which come under simile expressed or suggested.

195. கனவு முரித்தா ல்விடத் தான.

Kaṇavu m-urittā l-a-v-iṭat tān-a.

Dream also is within their province.

Note 1. This *sūtra* sanctions the description of dream in Literature. From this one may understand that *rasa* is suggested not only from the description of one's experiences in the state of waking, but also from that of dream.

Note 2. *A-v-v-iṭam* refers to *iruvvar* in the previous *sūtra*.

196. தாய்க்கு முரித்தாற்போக்குடன் கிளப்பின்.

Tāyṅku m-urittār pōkk-uṭan kiḷappin.

Dream is within the province of the mother when elopement is described.

Note. *Tāy* refers to *mother* according to Iḷampūraṇar and *foster-mother* according to Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar.

197. பால்கெழு கிளவி நால்வர்க்கு முரித்தே

நட்பி னடக்கை யாங்கலங் கடையே.¹

Pāl-kēḷu kiḷavi nālvarṅku m-uritt-ē

Naṭpi naṭakkai yāṅk-alan kaṭai-y-ē.

The peculiar expressions (mentioned in *sūtra* 2) are within the province of four except with reference to the conversation between friends.

Note 1. *Nālvar* refers to lady-lover, her friend, mother and foster-mother according to Iḷampūraṇar and to lady's friend, mother and foster-mother and lover's friend according to Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar.

198. உயிரு நாணு மடனு மென்றிவை

செயிர் தீர் சிறப்பி அவ்வர்க்கு முரிய.

Uyir-u nāṇ-u maṇu-u m-enṇ-ivai

Ceyir-tīr ciṇappi nālvarṅku m-uriya.

Life, shyness and credulity of superior type free from flaws are within the province of the four.

¹Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar reads this as two *sūtras*.

Note 1. This suggests that the interest of the lady, her friend, mother and foster-mother is one and the same with reference to the three mentioned.

Note 2. According to Iḷampūraṇar *nālvar* refers to the same four as are referred to by *nālvar* in the previous *sūtra*. Naccinārkkiniyar, on the other hand, takes *the lover* in this *sūtra* in the place of *lover's friend* and then says that since *um* in *nālvarakkum* denotes *doubt*, *nālvar* refers to only the three. Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation both here and in the previous *sūtra* is natural.

199. வண்ணம்¹ திரிந்து புலம்புங் காலை
உணர்ந்தது² போல வறுப்பினைக் கழிவி
புணர்ந்த³ வகையாற் புணர்க்கவும் பெறுமே.
Vaṇṇan tirintu pulampun kālai
Uṇarntatu pōla v-uṟuppinai-k kilavi
Puṇarnta vakaiyār puṇarkkav-um perum-ē.

When the lady is alone with change of complexion on account of her separation from the lover, she may describe her limbs as if they too are aware of it.

200. உடம்பு முயிரும் வாடியக் கண்ணும்⁴
என்னுற் றனகொ லிவையெனின ல்லதைத்⁵
கழிவோற் சேர்தல் கிழத்திக் கில்லை.
Uṭampu m-uṟir-um vāḍiya-k kaṇ-n-um
En-ṇ-ur raṇa-ko l-ivai-y-eni ṇ-allatai-k
Kilavōr cērtal kilattik k-illai.

Even when the lady has her limbs in an emaciated condition and her mind devoid of spirit, she can say only what a situation have these arrived at? and can never go where the lover is.

201. ஒருசிறை நெஞ்சோ டுசாவுங் காலை
உரிய தாகலு முண்டென மொழிப.
Oru-cirai neñcō ṭ-ucāvun kālai
Uriya t-ākal-u m-unṭ-ena molīpa.

-
1. திரிந்து புலம்புங் காலை (இளம்.) பசந்து புலம்புறு காலை (நக்.)
 2. உணர்ந்தது (இளம்.); உணர்ந்த (நக்.)
 3. வகையான் (இளம்.); வகையின் (நக்.)
 4. வாடியக்கண்ணும் (இளம்.), வாடியக்காலும் (நக்.)
 5. அல்லதை (இளம்.); அல்லது (நக்.)

They say that she may be considered to be within her province if she is in her mind in the company of her lover when she sometimes argues with her mind.

Note. *Kiḷavōṟ-cērtal* is taken here from the previous *sūtra*. It forms the subject of *uriyatu*.

202. தன்வயிற் கரத்தலு மவன்வயின் வேட்டலும்
அன்ன விடங்க ளவ்வுழி யெல்லாம்
மடனோடு நிற்கல் கடனென மொழிப.

Tan-vayir karattal-u m-avan-vayin vēṭṭal-um
Anna v-iṭaṅka ḷ-alvali y-ellām
Maṭanoṭu nirral kaṭan-ena molipa.

They say that it is the duty of the lady to preserve her modesty on all occasions, except when the lover conceals from her his illicit company with a courtesan and when her yearning towards him gets mastery over her.

Note 1. The reading *avaḷ-vayin* found in the Iḷampūraṇam should be a misprint.

203. அறத்தொடு நிற்கும் காலத் தன்றி
அறத்தியன் மரபில டோழி யென்ப.
Arattoṭu nirkuṁ kāla-t t-anri
Arattiyan maraḇ-ila ṭōli y-enpa.

They say that the lady's friend is not entitled to inform the lady's mother or foster-mother of her love towards her lover, unless the lady wants her to do so.

What are the ways of informing them of her love?

204. எளித்த லேத்தல் வேட்கை யுரைத்தல்
கூறுத லுசாஅத லேதிடு தலைப்பாடு
உண்மை செப்புந் கிளவியோடு தொகைஇ
அவ்வெழு வகைய வென்மனார் புலவர்.
Eḷitta l-ēttal vēṭṭakai y-uraittal
Kūruta l-ucāata l-ēṇṭu talaipṭāṭi
Uṇmai ceppuṁ kiḷaviyoṭu tokaii
A-v-v-elu vakaiya v-enmanār pulavar.

Learned men say that *arattoṭu-nirral* is of seven kinds:— Speaking low of the lover, speaking high of the lover, mention of his intense love, mingling in the conversation of others, presentation of causes, their meeting (without her knowledge) and the statement of the actual fact.

Note 1. *Arattiyal* is taken here from the previous *sūtra*.

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