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VEDIC STUDIES: VI. RADHRA, ARADHRA

BY

DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH

(Continued from Vol. XIX. Pt. 2, p. 123)

The history of the interpretation of these words is of much interest. The word *radhra* occurs, by itself and compounded with other words (including *nañ* or privative *a-*), in the RV only, in eleven verses. Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on nine of these verses derives *radhra* from the root *radha samrāddhau* and explains it as *samrddha*, *rādhaka* or *ārādhaka*; in his commentary on 2, 21, 4, he derives it from *radha samrāddhau* and alternatively from *radha himsāyām*, and explains *radhrāṇām* as *samrddhāṇām* or *himsakāṇām śatrūṇām*, while, in his commentary on 6, 18, 4, he derives it from the root *radha vaśikaraṇe*, and explains *radhrāṇām* as *vaśikaraṇīyāṇām sapatnāṇām*; *aradhra* is explained by him as *śatrubhīr vaśikartum aśakya* in his commentary on 6, 18, 4 and as *asamrddha* in his commentary on 6, 62, 3.¹

In the PW, Roth referred to the above-given explanations of Sāyaṇa and interpreted *radhra* as 'begütert, oder derjenige welcher es den Göttern recht macht, rechtschaffen; der sich in Gunst zu setzen weiss' (i.e., as *samrddha*; *ārādhaka*; righteous, upright; propitiating'), and *aradhra* as 'nicht in rechten Verfassung befindend, oder nicht Genehm'; but later (see Ved. St., 1, 124) he explained *radhra* as 'willing, obedient'. Grassmann, differing from the PW, interpreted *radhra* as 'weary, faint, exhausted, done up', deriving it from *radha vaśikaraṇe*, and *aradhra* as 'not lazy'. Ludwig followed the lead of Roth

1. According to the author of the Dhātupāṭha (no. 1193; *divādi*, *radha himsā-samrāddhyoh*), this root *radh* has the signification, not only of *samrāddhi*, but of *himsā* also; and Sāyaṇa has therefore given the meaning of *radh* as *himsā-samrāddhyoh* in his commentary on 2, 12, 6 and 2, 21, 4, when giving the derivation of *radhra*. Since however there is a great difference between *himsā* and *samrāddhi*, I shall, in order to avoid ambiguity, speak here of the root *radha himsāyām* when referring to *radh* signifying *himsā*, and of *radha samrāddhau* when referring to *radh* signifying *samrāddhi*.

and explained *radhra* as 'active, zealous' in his translation, and as 'pliant, submissive, yielding' in his commentary (V, 53); and similarly, Hillebrandt translated *radhra* as 'rich, fortunate'. Bergaigne, on the other hand, (*Etudes sur le lexique du R.V.*, s. v. *aradhra*) preferred to follow Grassmann and interpreted *radhra* as 'abattu (humbled, depressed)', and *aradhra* as 'indefatigable'.

In Ved. St., 1, 125, Pischel opined that the clue to the meaning of *radhra* is contained in 6, 62, 3: *tā ha tyād vartir yād aradhram ugretthādhiya ūhathuḥ śasvad āsvaiḥ* in which the epithet *aradhra* is applied to the path of the *Āśvins*, which, elsewhere, is described as *gomat* . . *hiranyavat* (1. 92, 16), *gomat*...*āsvāvat*...*nrpāyyam* (2, 41, 7), *āsvāvat*...*gomat*...*hiranyavat* (8, 22, 17), *irāvat* (7, 40, 5; 67, 10), *nrpāyyam* (8, 9, 18; 26, 15) and *uruvyacastamam*...*nrpāyyam* (8, 26, 14). He hence argued that the meanings assigned to *radhra* by Roth, Ludwig and Hillebrandt were untenable, and that *radhra* signifies, primarily, 'poor, miserable, wretched, unfortunate', the exact converse of the meaning given to it by Hillebrandt. From this meaning, he further opined, was developed that of 'miserly, stingy', and he thus arrived at the conclusion that *radhra* signifies '(1) miserable, wretched, poor (2) miser' and *aradhra*, 'rich, liberal'.

These views of Pischel found favour with Max Müller who (in SBE. 34) translated *radhra* as 'wretched, a sluggard', and with Oldenberg who interpreted *radhra* and *aradhra* as 'miserable' and 'not miserable' respectively (ZDMG. 55. 322). Similarly, Geldner too, in his *RV. Ueber.*, translated *radhra* as 'weak', after explaining it as 'slack, indolent, negligent; weak' in his *RV. Glossar*; and this explanation is adopted by Neisser also in his *Zum Wörterbuch des RV* (s. v. *aradhra*). On the other hand, Pischel's interpretation was criticised by Ludwig in *Ueber die neuesten Arbeiten im Gebiete der Rgveda-forschung*, p. 131 ff., where, after repeating his former explanation (given in V, 53), Ludwig, by way of support, connected *radhra* with the root *radha vaśīkarane*. A *radhra*, he said (p. 133 l.c.), is a person who yields to another, and the word signifies 'pliant, submissive, yielding', while *aradhra* signifies 'unyielding'. Similarly, Bloomfield too criticised the views of Pischel in his *RV. Rep.*, p. 287 f. A 'miserly sacrificer' (this

is how Pischel understands the expression *radhro yajamānaḥ*), observed Bloomfield, 'is, in the eyes of Vedic seers, a contradiction in terms'; and after pointing out that the expressions *coda rādhaḥ* and *codaya rādhaḥ* in 1, 48, 2: *coda rādho maghonām* and 7, 74, 4: *codāya rādho gr̥ṇate maghoni* are closely similar to the expressions *radhrasya codaḥ* (in 2, 30, 6: *radhrasya stho yajamānasya codaḥ*), *radhrasya coditā* (in 10, 49, 1: *ahaṃ bhuvan yajamānasya coditā* and 10, 24, 3: *asi radhrasya coditā*) and *radhracodanaḥ* (in 8, 80, 3: *kim aṅga radhracodanaḥ*, etc.), he concluded that *radhra* signifies 'liberal, liberal giver'.²

As admitted however by Bloomfield himself (p. 288 l.c.), this meaning does not suit the context in the two verses in which *aradhra* occurs; neither does the meaning proposed by Ludwig; and it follows hence that they are unsatisfactory. This is the case with the above-mentioned interpretations of Pischel, (Max Müller, Oldenberg), Geldner and Neisser also; they are all mere guesses and have no basis to stand upon.

For my part, I agree with Oldenberg (l.c.) and Neisser (l.c.) that the views expressed by Pischel are, in the main, correct. The meaning proposed by him for *radhra*, is however, as said above, a mere guess; and in place of guessing, I propose to derive *radhra* from the root *radha* *himsāyām*³ and to interpret it as *himsita*. This meaning, as I shall now show, is enough to explain satisfactorily all the passages in which that word occurs.

- (1) 6, 62, 3: *tā ha tyād vartir vad āradhram ugr-
ethā dhiya ūhathuḥ śaśvad āśvaiḥ* |

2. Macdonell, in his Vedic Reader, explained *radhra* as 'rich' and derived it from the root *rādhi* 'to succeed'. It is from this root *rādhi* that *rādhaḥ* is derived; but it is not clear from Bloomfield's observations whether he too derived *radhra* from *rādhi* 'to succeed'.

3. This is one of the four derivations that (as mentioned above) have been proposed for *radhra*. The other three derivations, from *radha samrāddhau*, *radha vaśīkaraṇe* and *rādha samśiddhau*, do not, as we have seen above, lead to any satisfactory result.

ma¹no¹javebhir i¹ṣiraiḥ śa¹yadhyai
 pa¹ri vyāthir dā¹śu¹ṣo ma¹rtyasya||

Regarding the expression *itthā dhiyaḥ* in pāda b, Geldner observed (Ved. St. 2, 30; n. 2): "When one compares this passage with 4, 11, 3: *itthādhiye dāśuṣe martyāya* and 2, 20, 2: *dāśuṣo varūtethādhir abhi yō nakṣati tvā*, one can almost believe that *itthā dhiyaḥ* stands for *itthādhiyaḥ* (which has to be construed with *dāśuṣaḥ*)". Oldenberg (RV. Noten, I, 406) agreed that the reading *itthādhiyaḥ* as also *itthādhiye* suited the context well⁴; but, at the same time, he pointed out that the word *dāśuṣaḥ* in pāda d was much removed from *itthā dhiyaḥ* in pāda b, that it was not necessary to reject the traditional text, and that comparison with 5, 41, 7 (*uśāsānaktā viduṣīva viśvam ā hā vahato martyāya yajñam*), 10, 64, 12 (*tām pīpayata payaseva dhenum kuvid giro adhi rathe vahātha*), and particularly 8, 26, 15 (*asmābhyam sū vṛṣaṇvasū yātām vartir nṛpāyām viśudrūheva yajñam ūhathur girā*) showed that the reading *dhiyaḥ ūhathuḥ* was a very probable one. The meaning of the stanza is, according to him, "The Aśvins, on their path (*vartih*) drive the *dhiyaḥ* so that these 'lie round' the *vyathiḥ* ('waving') of the worshipping mortal".

I agree with Oldenberg that the reading *itthādhiye* would suit the context admirably in pāda b. If however the reading of the Saṃhitā and Pada texts is to be retained, it is better to regard *dhiyaḥ* as an accusative of goal, and to translate the verse as:

"O ye terrible ones, with your fleet horses, swift like the mind, you (two) have often driven to the sincere prayers over that path which is uninjured, in order to lie around the distress of the mortal who is your worshipper".

Regarding the expression *aradhram vartih* 'uninjured path', in pāda a, compare 6, 69, 1: *ariṣṭair naḥ pathibhiḥ*

4. Delbrück (Chrestomathie) opined that *itthā dhiyaḥ* was a corruption of the original reading *itthā dhityā*.

pārāyaṇtā 'carrying us across by uninjured paths'; 6, 51, 16: *āpi pānthām aganmahi svastigām aneḥasam*, 'may we go by the path that is secure and without danger'; 6, 4, 8: *nū no agne vr̥kebhiḥ svastī veṣi rāyaḥ pathibhiḥ pārṣy amhaḥ*, 'O Agni, thou leadest us now to wealth and across difficulties by secure paths on which there is no harm'; and 1, 129, 9: *yāhi pathān aneḥasā puro yāhy arakṣāsā*, 'go by a path on which there is no danger; go before by a path on which there is no harm', where the epithets *ariṣṭa*, *anehas*, *avṛka* and *arakṣas*, applied to *pathin* 'path', are all more or less synonymous with *radhra*. Compare also the compound *ariṣṭagātu* 'whose path is uninjured' that occurs in 5, 44, 3: *ariṣṭagātuḥ sā hotā sahobhāriḥ*.

Compare also 2, 41, 7-8: *gomad ū śu nāsatyāśvāvad yātam aśvinā | vartī rudrā nṛpāyyam || nā yāt paro nāntara ādadhārṣad vr̥ṣaṇvasū | dūḥṣamso martyo ripuḥ* "O Nāsatyas, O Aśvins, go well by the path which brings cows and horses and protection for men, O Rudras, which neither stranger nor friend nor evil-speaking inimical mortal dares to harm, O strong ones", in which the path of the Aśvins is said to be uninjured.

With respect to the expression *aśvaih dhiyaḥ ūhathuḥ*, compare 1, 84, 2: *indram id dhārī vahatō pratidhr̥ṣṭaśavasam | ṛṣinām ca stutir ūpa yajñam ca mānuṣāṇām*, "The two bays draw Indra of invincible might to the prayers of the ṛṣis and to the sacrifice of men"; 7, 24, 3: *ā no divā ā pṛthivyā ṛjīṣinn idaṁ barhiḥ somapeyāya yāhi | vahantu tvā harayo madryāñcam āngūṣām ācchā tāvasam madāya*, "O thou that drinkest the Soma to the dregs, come to this sacrificial straw (*barhis*) from heaven or from the earth, for drinking the Soma juice. May the bays draw the strong one who is turned towards me, to the loud chant, to the intoxicating Soma juice"; 8, 17, 2: *ā tvā brahmayujā harī vahatām indra keśinā | ūpa brāhmāṇi naḥ śṛṇu*, "May the two bay horses with the long manes that are yoked by the prayer draw you, O Indra; listen to our prayers"; and 6, 16, 43: *agne*

yukṣvā hī ye tavāśvāso deva sādhaṇaḥ | āraṇ vahanti manyave
 "Yoke, O god Agni, thy good horses which draw thee quickly to the mantra (prayer)".

pariśayadhyai 'in order to lie around', in pāda d, seems to be equivalent to 'in order to ward off'.

(2) 2, 34, 15: yayā radhraṇ pārāyathāty amho.
 yayā nido muñcatha vanditāram |
 arvācī sā maruto yā va ūtir
 o śu vāśreva sumatir jigātu ||

"That favour of yours, O Maruts, by which you carry over the distressed person across distress, by which you free your worshipper from blame, may it be turned towards us; may your good-will come to us (as quickly) as the lowing cow (to its calf)".

(3) 10, 24, 3: yas patir vāryāṇam
 aśi radhrasya coditā |
 indra stotṛṇām avitā vi vo made
 dviṣo naḥ pāhy amhaso vivakṣase ||

"Thou that art the lord of desirable riches art the helper of him who is distressed. O Indra, thou art the succourer of thy praisers; protect us from the evil caused by the enemy."

I have left untranslated the words *vi vo made* and *vivakṣase* at the end of pādas c and d; these form the refrain of all such pādas in verses 1-3 of this hymn and in all the verses of hymns 10, 21 and 10, 25. See regarding this refrain Ved. St. 2. 226 ff.

coditā signifies 'helper' here and not 'impeller', as believed by Pischel, Bloomfield, and other exegetists. The word is derived from the root *cud* for which the meaning 'to help' is given in both Apte's dictionary (no. 9) and the PW (no. 4); and though this meaning is not given by Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch*, he made use of it in his translation of 1, 42, 5.

(4) 2, 12, 6: yō radhrasya coditā yaḥ kṛśasya
 yō brahmaṇo nādhamānasya kīreḥ |
 yuktagrāvṇo yō 'vitā suśiprah
 sutasomasya sā janāsa indrah ||

"He who is the helper of the distressed person, of him who is poor, of the priest, of the singer who is crying for help, he who is the succourer of him who busies himself with the pressing stones and presses the Soma, he, O people, is Indra".

Compare verse 14 of this hymn (i.e., 2, 12, 14): *yāḥ sunvāntam avati yāḥ pācāntam yāḥ śamsāntam yāḥ śaśamānam ūti | yasya brāhma vārdhanam yasya soma yasyedaṁ rādhaḥ śa janāsa indrah*, which is in many respects parallel to our verse.

coditā, in pāda a, is synonymous with *avitā* in c and with *ūti avati* in pādas ab of 2, 12, 14 cited above.

(5) 7, 56, 20: *ime radhām cin maruto junanti
bhṛmim cid yathā vasavo juṣanta |
apa bādhadhvaṁ vṛṣaṇas tamāmsi
dhattā viśvaṁ tanayaṁ tokam asme ||*

"These Maruts help the distressed person and also the sustainer as it pleases the bright ones. O ye strong ones, remove the evils; confer on us all kinds of children and children's children".

bhṛmih, in pāda b, is a derivative of the root *bhr* (formed with the suffix *mi jāmi*, *raśmi*, etc. like *ūrmi*; see Lindner's *Altindische Nominalbildung*, p. 95) and denotes 'sustainer, protector, *bhartṛ*', that is, 'lord, wealthy person', the opposite of a *radhra* or person in distress; *vasavaḥ* refers to the Maruts; and the sense of pādas ab is, 'these Maruts help the distressed person and the opulent person alike as it pleases them'.

(6) 2, 30, 6: *prā hi krātuṁ vṛthatho yaṁ vanutho
radhrasya stho yajamānasya codau |
indrāsomā yuvam asmān aviṣṭam
asmin bhayasthe kṛṇutam u lokam ||*

"You (two) augment the power of mind of him whom you favour; you are the helpers of the sacrificer who is in distress. O Indra and Soma, protect us; make for us free room in this fearful position".

Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) translates pāda a as: 'You (two) destroy the power of mind of him whom you overcome'.

following Sāyaṇa. I prefer to translate as above, following Grassmann and Ludwig. Compare, in connection with these two interpretations, Mahābhārata 5, 35, 51: *na devā yaṣṭim ādāya rakṣanti paśupālavat| yaṁ tu rakṣitum icchanti buddhyā samyojayanti tam||* and ibid. 5, 34, 82: *yasmai devāḥ prayacchanti puruṣāya parābhavam| buddhiṁ tasyāpakarṣanti sovācināni paśyati.||*⁵

(7) 2, 21, 4: anānudo¹ vṛṣabho¹ dōd¹hato vadho¹
 gaṁbhīra¹ ṛṣvo¹ asamaṣṭakāvyah¹ |
 radhracodaḥ¹ śnathano¹ vīlitas¹ pṛthur¹
 indraḥ¹ suyajña¹ uśasaḥ¹ svar¹ janat ||

“The bull who does not yield, killer of the impetuous, unfathomable, pre-eminent, whose insight is not to be reached, helper of the distressed, smiter, firm, broad, Indra, with the fine sacrifice, engendered (i.e., caused to appear) the Dawns and the sun”.

(8) 1, 38, 5: svavṛjam¹ hi¹ tvām¹ aham¹ indra¹ śuśravā-
 nānudaṁ¹ vṛṣabha¹ radhracodanam¹ |
 pra¹ muñcasva¹ pari¹ kutsād¹ iha¹ gahi¹
 kim¹ u tvāvān¹ muṣkayor¹ baddha¹ āsate ||

“O excellent Indra, I have heard that thou art easy to draw (to the worshipper), unyielding, and the helper of the distressed. Deliver yourself from Kutsa and come here; does one like you sit, bound in the testicles?”

svavṛjam=*svvṛjam*; see the observations in VVSt. 1, 41 ff. The incident alluded to in pādas cd is thus described in Tāṇḍya MBr. (9, 2, 22): *kutsaś ca luśaś cendram vyahvayetaṁ| sa indraḥ kutsam upāvartata| tam śatena vārdhribhir āṇḍayor ābadhnāt| tam luśo 'bhyavadat| pra mucyasva pari*

5. The first of these verses occurs in the Pañcatantra (Bühler's edition in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, Tantra III, no. 182) with the reading *vardhitum* instead of *rakṣitum* in c. It is followed by the śloka, *na devāḥ śaṣṭram ādāya nighnanti ripuwat krudhā| yaṁ tu himsitum icchanti buddhyā viśleṣayanti tam||* which seems to be a paraphrase of the second śloka cited above.

kutsāḍ ihā gahi kim u tvāvān muṣkayor baddha āsāta iti | tāḥ
saṃchidya prādravat "Kutsa and Luśa invoked Indra in
rivalry. Indra went to Kutsa. He bound him in the testicles
with a hundred leathern thongs. Luśa said to him: 'Free
yourself from Kutsa and come here; does one like you sit,
bound in the testicles?' Indra cut them, and sped away".

(9) 8, 80, 3: kim aṅgā radhracōdanaḥ
sunvānasyāvited asi |
kuvit sv indra ṇaḥ śakaḥ ||

"Art thou not indeed the helper of the distressed, the
protector of the Soma-presser? Wilt thou not, Indra, help
us?"

(10) 6, 44, 10: indra tubhyam in maghavann abhūma
vayaṃ dātre harivo mā vi venah |
nakir āpir dadṛśe martyatrā
kim aṅgā radhracōdanaṃ tvāhuḥ ||

"No friend is seen among the mortals. Do they not call
thee the helper of the distressed? O bountiful Indra, we have
belonged to thee the giver; do not disappoint us, O thou with
bay horses".

The translation of the second half-verse has been put first
in order to bring out more clearly the meaning of the verse.
mā vi venah, in pāda b, has a causative sense and signifies 'do
not make us yearn, i.e., do not disappoint us'.

(11) 6, 18, 4: sād id dhi te tuvijātasya manye
sahaḥ sahiṣṭha turataḥ turasya |
ugram ugrasya tavaśas taviyo-
'radhrasya radhraturo babhūva ||

"That strength, I think, of thee that art born many times,
that art the conqueror, swift, powerful, stronger than the
strong, uninjured and helper of the distressed, was terrible, O
most strong one".

taviyaḥ, at the end of pāda c, stands for *taviyasah*: com-
pare 6, 20, 3: *turvann oṣṭyān tavaśas taviyān kṛtabrahmēndro*
vṛddhamahāḥ in which too the epithet *tavaśas taviyas* is
applied to Indra: *radhratāḥ*, in d, is a compound of *radhra* and

of the root *tur* which here signifies 'to protect' (see regarding this meaning, Grassmann, tar 13 and the PW, tar 4); it is thus a synonym of *radhracoda* and *radhracodana* that we have met with above.

Regarding the epithet *aradhra* that is applied to Indra in pāda d, compare the epithets *ariṣṭa*, *akṣata* and *anāmṛṇa* that are likewise applied to Indra in 10, 166, 2: *aḥam asmi sapatna-hendra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ* and 1, 33, 1: *anāmṛṇaḥ kuvid ād asya rāyo gavām ketam param āvārjate naḥ*. These words are all derived from roots (*riṣa himsāyām*; *kṣana himsāyām*; *mṛṇa himsāyām*) that, like *radh*, signify 'to hurt', and are synonyms of *aradhra*.

The above comprise all the passages in which the words *radhra* and *aradhra* occur, and the meaning *himsita*, it can be seen, suits the word well in all of them.

SĀRANĀTH LION CAPITAL AND THE ANIMAL CAPITALS OF THE EARLY PERIOD

BY

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The earliest sculptural examples of the Mauryan art are represented by the animal figures carved on the capitals of monolithic pillars that Aśoka caused to be erected at various places in the country particularly in the Gangetic plain. The finest of these sculptures is the Sāranāth lion pillar at the site of the famous deer park where Buddha conducted his first sermon after enlightenment. The quadripartite lion on the capital originally bore a huge dharma chakra or wheel upon it. The animal figures carved in relief around the abacus of the pillar are of special interest to students of Buddhist art. They are the lion, the elephant, the bull and the galloping horse. While there has been universal admiration of the beauty and virility of the delineation of animal figures in this pillar, various interpretations have been offered as regards the significance of these animal representations. Dr. Bloch¹ was of the opinion that these four animals symbolise goddess Durgā, Indra, Śiva and Sūrya—whose vehicles they are—and signify the subordination of brahmanical deities to Buddha's Law. Dr. Vincent Smith thought that they represented the four quarters of the world². Dr. Vogel³ thought that these represented the four noble beasts (Mahājāneya) of the Buddhists, used as mere ornamental motifs. Daya Ram Sahni⁴ held the view on the basis of certain Burmese leaf manuscripts and a terracotta figure in the Lahore Museum that it was a symbolic representation of the Anōtatta (Anavatapta) lake of Buddhist texts where Buddha used to bathe and with whose waters queen Mahā Māyā was bathed before her conception. This lake was supposed to have had four mouths guarded by these

1. *J. D. M. G.* Vol. LXII-1908, pp. 35 ff.

2. Catalogue, Museum of Archaeology of Saranath, 1914, pp. 29 f. n.

3. A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon—V.A. Smith, 1911, Chapter II, sec. 1, pp. 59-60 and footnote.

4. A Guide to the Buddhist monuments of Sāranāth, V Edn. 1933, p. 40.

very four animals, lion on east, elephant on south, etc. Mr. Bells⁵ also held the view that these four symbolical animals which are carved on some moonstones and pillars in Anurādhā-pura in Ceylon as well are those connected with Anōtatta lake. Przyluski⁶ compared the symbolism with a great cosmic pillar which is represented in miniature scale according to him in the lion pillar.

It would however be easier and more pertinent to assume that these four animals stood for four important events in Buddha's life namely, conception, nativity, great renunciation and his preaching of the 'Law'. The elephant would symbolise the dream and conception of Māyādevī, the bull (Taurus) the zodiacal sign under which the great one was born, the horse would suggest his horse Kaṇṭhaka at the time of the Mahā-parinishkramaṇa and finally, was he not the lion among the Śākya? (Śākyasimha). Of these, the elephant and the lion seem to be more important than the other two, probably because they represent the first and the last event of Buddha's life.

It would be interesting, in this connection, to study the pillar capital sculptures of the period between 300 B.C. and 300 A.D. During the early period what we witness is that single animals like bull, elephant or the lion⁷—as at Rāmpurva, Sankisa and Laurya Nandangarh, etc.,—found on the capitals of free-standing pillars and the abacus contains minor decorations like rows of swans. At Sāranāth, the sculpture of the lion—the most important among the animals mentioned—mounts the capital and the four animals are carved on the abacus. It is interesting to observe that as if in conformity with four abacus figures, the capital lion has a quadripartite aspect. As elephants and lions are the more important among the animals,

5. Archl. Sur. Ceylon—1896, p. 16; Ceylon Journal of Science, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 13.

6. Etudes de Orientalisme—Le Musée Guimet (Le symbolisme de pulier de Saranath).

7. The horse is not extant, even though Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim of the 7th century A. D., mentions a horse capital at Lumbini vana, the place of the birth of the Buddha. 'On Yuan Chwang's travels in India' by Thomas Watters—Vol. II, pp. 14.' Yuan Chwang adds that this pillar had been broken afterwards in the middle by a thunderbolt from a malicious dragon.

we see them occupying the top of stele or side jambs of 'Vahalkaḍas'⁸ of contemporary Ceylonese stupas like Abayagiri Dāgaba or the Kaṇṭaka chaitya at Mihintale, etc. The mouldings of the 'Vahalkaḍas' again have as decoration rows of elephants or swans (or geese) or bhūtagaṇas—which are obviously the influences from the Indian school of art of 3rd-1st century B. C. as at Bhārḥūt and other places. At Bedsa, near Poona (2nd century B.C.) in the chaitya caves the capitals of the pillars have bipartite horses and elephants with riders on them. At Karle, in some of the chaitya caves (1st century B.C.) the capital sculptures of interior pillars comprise elephants with riding 'mithuna' couple and outside the cave, on a free-standing pillar we have lion capital similar to the Sāranāth one. At Patherdi (Nāsik) in the cave known as Pāṇḍulena and in other caves there are variously bulls, elephants and lions with single rider depicted on the capitals of the carved pillars in the facade of the caves. At Sānchi, the Tōraṇa gateways are veritable poems in animal life.⁹ Particularly the most prominent and the most arresting among the animal representations are those of elephant in the round or quadripartite (with and without rider) bull or 'zebu' (with rider), horse (with rider) and lion (with rider). They are found on the pillars, capitals, architraves and in between the architraves—taken two by two—on the upright slabs. What one however notices is that in the case of the bull and the lion, a certain extraneous or exotic influence is perceptible and these are denoted by the attribution of wings to animals, and human-like delineation of the face etc.¹⁰ But nevertheless, it will be incorrect to assume on the basis of these that there is a tremendous change brought about by foreign contacts. It is only a slight variation in the outward

8. J. Ph. Vogel-Buddhist Art in India, Java and Ceylon.

9. A photograph of a fragment in the Tōraṇa arch reproduced by V. A. Smith (Pl. XVIII of A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon) datable to the 1st century B. C., from the Kankali mound near Mathura also depicts in the lowest band, this procession of animals (of which unfortunately only the bull and the horse are available) but with this difference that they are yoked to open carts with drivers and also led by men.

10. Even as regards wings etc. we do have the representation of Kāmadhēnu, the divine cow with female face and with wings, and thus there is an indigenous background to this also.

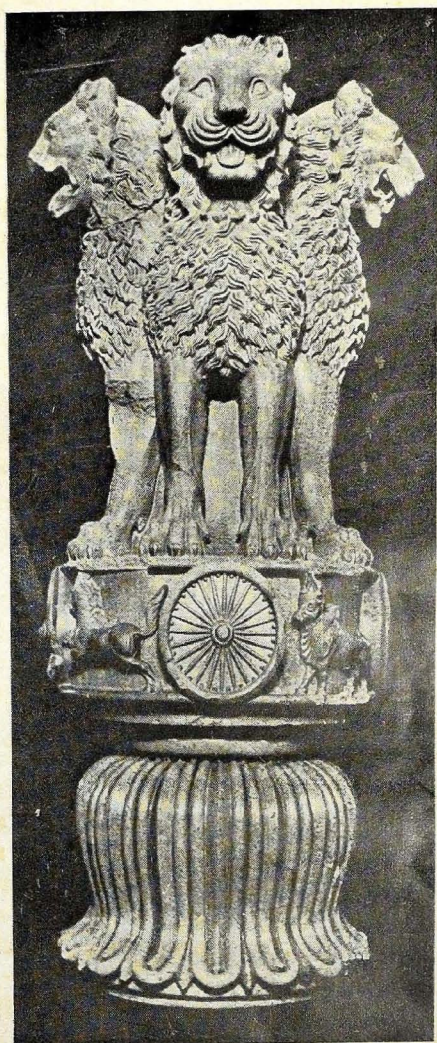
appearance of the figures and in the adoption of certain art motifs. But the main spirit of the objects and the themes are in existence unchanged and it is the four cardinal events in Buddha's life that are again represented by the ubiquitous animal figures of Sānchi main stupa. It is also easy to see the analogous development in Bedsa, Nāsik and Kārle, as at Sānchi as regards the elephant riders, while there are none in the Sāranāth or earlier phases.

Again at Amarāvati in the Andhra country also we have the constant representations as decorative motifs of these animals such as horse, elephant, bull, lion, etc., on the borders of the casing slabs¹¹ in the I period (200 B.C.—100 B.C.) on the uprights of the III period¹² (150 A.D.) and as capital sculptures on the 'bell' capital pillars. Occasionally horses are found with wings. Horses, lions and bulls are often shown in pairs as decorative sculptures both on the coping stones as well as the side jambs at the base of the great stupa.

It is this duplication of the animal sculpture for symmetry that has also resulted in another kind of artistic motif namely the 'pūrṇaghaṭa' ornamentation. Pūrṇaghaṭa or Maṅgaḷa-kalaśa would seem to be common feature of the railing decorations of Buddhistic monuments at Bhārḥūt, Sāranāth, Sānchi, Amarāvathi, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and, in Ceylon, at Mihintale and Anurādhāpura. They have obviously been borrowed from the Hindu conception of an Udakapūrṇa-kumbha with mango leaves or some foliage upon it representing an aṅga of homa and other yajñas. These generally represent and promote prosperity. In the early depictions of this in India, there is a mere foliage or a rising plant pattern. From Ceylon comes a unique example from a stela at Kaṇṭaka chaitya, Mihintale. There a Pūrṇaghaṭa is depicted at the bottom of the stela and on the high stalk rising from it are set, in alternate pairs, animal and human figures—the former comprising the elephants, the bulls, the horses and the lions in the order stated. It would be seen that this is a representation in vertical sequence of the same animals as are found in the abacus of Sāranāth lion capital on a horizontal plane. The dates of both the Sāranāth and Mihintale specimens are roughly contemporary.

11. Bull. Madras Govt. Museum (New Series) G. S. IV, Pl. XIV.

12. *Ibid* Pl. XXX.



Sāranāth Lion Capital
 (Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India)



Stela from Kanṭaka Chaitya,
 Mihintale, Ceylon
 (Courtesy : Archaeological Survey
 of Ceylon)

This would go to show that the Anōtatta lake analogy might not be convincing, as it would be difficult to explain why the animals are placed in vertical scheme and in pairs.

The conclusion would be that the four animals¹³ under discussion are very sacred to Buddhists and so get represented repeatedly in architecture and sculpture as decorative motifs. They are first found on the capitals of free-standing early pillars, then on the abacus of the earlier Sāranāth pillar and thereafter are represented constantly and in composite forms again on the pillar capitals at Sānchi, Bedsa, Kārle, and Nāsik caves, individually, to denote the equal importance of every one of these four. Barring certain superficial foreign influences there is no great provocation to assume much of Persian or any other influence and to bestow on the Indian bull, the exotic name of 'zebu'.

13. Just as the European cathedrals are 'encyclopaedias in stone, so the gates at Sānchi unroll before our eyes the marvellous poem of Indian nature—a very jungle book. . . . As we stand before these scenes with their delicate and tender feeling for nature, Assyrian bas-reliefs seem very conventional and even Greek bas-reliefs almost strike us as cold.'

The Civilisations of the East—India, Rene Grousset, pp. 101-102,

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GUPTA PERIOD—A STUDY OF PROPER NAMES AND REFERENCES TO THE GODS THEREIN

BY

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

An examination of the inscriptions of the Gupta period (from the 4th century A.D. to the 8th century A.D.) reveals interesting information regarding the prevailing predilections in proper names and the various divinities that were prominent in that period. It is common knowledge that in India, except in rare cases as in modern times, proper names are mostly after the various gods and goddesses that are worshipped by persons or their families. Thus if we come across the name Īśānavarman in the inscriptions we have some justification in believing that the kula-devatā of the person is Śiva.

Such an examination may be conveniently divided into two categories, firstly, the occasions on which certain significant proper names occur and secondly those on which references to images and names of gods are made.

In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, a praśasti of great literary flavour composed by one Hariṣeṇa, there are names of the various kings of northern and southern India vanquished by him during his 'digvijaya'. From a scrutiny of these we can surmise that during the middle of the 4th century A.D. in the Āryāvarta, there was the prevalence of Nāga cult as evidenced by the names Nāgadatta, Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena; that Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva had become a divine gaṇa by itself, to merit its acceptance as a proper name; and that in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, Mahendra was a popular name; totem gods like Vyāghra and Hasti were common; minor gaṇas like Kubera (who got established in Buddhism as well by then) were also used as names; and owing to the great valour that is the characteristic of Arjuna (one of whose attributes is Dhanañjaya) people had begun assuming that name. That Nāga names have been assumed by men with its variants is further shown also by the Khoh copper plates of Mahārāja Saṅkshobha (of the Parivrajaka clan, 528 A.D.) whose

scribe was the son of one Bhujāṅgaḍāsa. The Lahore copper seal inscription of Maheśvaranāga which is assigned to the end of the 4th century A.D. (contemporaneous with the Allahabad praśasti) shows a recumbent bull and crescent moon at the top of the seal and at the bottom a curved line obviously in place of a hooded snake. The king is mentioned as the son of Nāgabhaṭṭa and might have belonged to a Nāga clan and might also have been a worshipper of Śiva as his name and the objects on the seal suggest.

The Nāga cult which was contemporaneous with the Vedic times, if not even older, was moulded later into a recognised form of worship with a hierarchy of snake gods. Buddhism also was not lacking in readiness to imbibe much of this in its writings and Nāgas were included among the eight demigods of the Buddhist lore. They were generally believed to be watching over treasures etc., and their king was supposed to be Virūpāksha in the western quarter, who was probably the Buddhist form of Śiva, whom Hindus know well as Nāga-bhūshaṇa, Nāganātha, etc. We have the legend in Buddhist lore of Muchilinda, the Nāga chief, protecting Buddha from heavy rains by spreading his hoods above his head. A sculpture depicting this is to be found in the provincial museum, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

Equally promptly have Jain legends claimed the Nāga cult and thus we have an explanation of the origin of the name Ahichchatra, the capital of the Pāñchālas of yore, by Jinaprabha Sūri, in his Vividhatīrthakalpa, wherein Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthakara, was about to be destroyed at Samkhyāvati by heavy floods which were caused by the demon Kāmātha and the serpent king Dharaṇīndra protected the Lord by coiling himself around his body and canopied his thousand hooded crest above the Lord's head. The Udayagiri cave (Central India) Jain inscription, ascribable to the reign of Kumāragupta, records the installation of an image of Pārśvanātha (whose Lāñchana or emblem itself is Śeshanāga) at the mouth of the cave.

Some of the celestials constantly brought in for comparison in all the Imperial Gupta inscriptions are Dhanada (Kubera), Varuṇa, Indra, Antaka (Yama), and the Allahabad praśasti also compares Samudragupta in intellectual and artistic eminence to Tridaśapatiguru (Bṛihaspati), Tumburu and Nārada. These might show that these aforesaid divine

beings had not been metamorphosed into iconic forms at that time and thus were freely compared with mortals.

The Mahādaṇḍanāyaka mentioned in the Allahabad praśasti is one Dhruvabhūti. We have a Dhruvaśarma occurring in the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta; and one Dhṛitisvāmi appears as the dūtaka of the Khoh copper plate grant of Mahārāja Sarvanātha, of the Uchhakalpa clan—feudatory to the Imperial Guptas—(523 A.D.) All these are roughly synonymous names which are not real proper names as such but epithets which have gradually evolved into proper names.

There are many names or groups of names which suggest that consecutive generation of a family keep up one half of their names—generally denoting their presiding deity—intact and only the other (often the first) half undergoes any change. These, of course, are very common in modern times. But in Gupta times also, we seem to have them. There are Indra-vishṇu, Varuṇavishṇu, Hari-vishṇu, Mātṛivishṇu and Dhanya-vishṇu in the Eran pillar inscription of Budhagupta (485 A.D.); Mādhavarāja and Goparāja and Śarabharāja in the Eran pillar inscription of Bhānugupta (510 A.D.); Sōmila, Bhaṭṭasōma and Rudrasōma in the Kahaum stone inscription of Skandagupta; and Mātṛitula, Mātṛidāsa and Mātṛichēṭa of the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula. Besides, whether devotees of Vishṇu or Śiva, the same morphological feature in the names is kept up as in the case of Mātṛivishṇu in one of the aforesaid records and Mātṛiśiva, the dūtaka of one of the Khoh copper plate grants of Mahārāja Sarvanātha (516 A.D.). That Prakritic or dialectal changes have been taking place in the proper names is evidenced by the fact that in the Khoh inscription mentioned above, the father of the Mahāsāndhivigrahika Manōratha is Varāhadinna, which is evidently the dialectal variation of Varāhadatta, just as his uncle's name is Phalgudatta. The names Gallu (alias Manōratha) of the above, Kakka (father of Vāsula) in the Maṇḍāsore pillar inscription of Yaśodharman and Duḍika (the father of Hari-trāta) in the Indore copper plate grant of Skandagupta, indicate that the secondary names or pet names of address, not having any morphological connection with their original names (if any) have been in vogue in the Gupta times. So much regarding the peculiarity of proper names in the Gupta inscriptions.

What information do we get about the devatāmaṇḍala in worship and in popular currency? The imprecatory verse of the Allahabad praśasti¹ describes Śiva beautifully and indicates that He was the tutelary deity of that Gupta king. The Tusām rock inscription in the Hissār district of Punjab, a Vaiṣṇavite record assignable to the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century A.D., deals with the construction of a reservoir and temple for Viṣṇu Bhagavān. The Maṇḍāsore stone inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman has three opening stanzas dedicated to Sūrya, here called variously as Bhāskara, Savitā and Vivasvān respectively. The object of the inscription is the erection of a temple to the Sun god by a guild of silk-weavers who migrated from Lāṭa Viśhaya (Gujarat) to Dāsapura (Maṇḍāsore) or Dāsore in Gwalior state in the year 437 A.D. and a mention of the renovation of this temple thirty-six years later. This is important since we have here in this early period a specific and clear mention of Sun worship and a temple to him. In the same inscription in a comparison of the city adorned by the Sun temple, Viṣṇu as Śārṅgin adorned by the Kaustubhamaṇi is referred to.²

The Bilsad stone pillar inscription of Kumāragupta (417 A.D.) refers to the temple of Svāmi Mahāsenā whom it also calls Brahmanyadeva and tells about the construction of a gateway, Dharma sattrā (choultry) and the erection of this pillar at that temple. It is a coincidence that the name of the king also is Kumāragupta, the same as Mahāsenā and we come to know that the God had been known as Brahmanyadevā even in the north at that period corresponding to the southern variant Subrahmanya. The synonyms of Mahāsenā or Senāpati and Skanda were well known earlier even during Mahābhārata period, as we hear Kṛiṣṇa in His Gītā identifying himself amidst other gods, divinities etc., with Senānī Skanda.³ The Indore copper plate grant of Skandagupta is another instance of solar worship, where donations for oil for lamps in the sun temple at Indrapura are made.⁴

1. Punāti bhuvanatrāyāṃ paśupatiṛ jaṭāntarguhā-nirōdha-parimōksha-śīgram iva pāṇḍugāṅgāṃ payah|

2. Kaustubha-maṇinēva Śārṅgiṇō vakshaḥ (v 42).

3. Senānīnām aham Skandaḥ sarasām asmi sāgarah| Gītā (X. 24).

4. Pratiṣṭhāpitaka-bhagavatē savitrē dipōpayōjyam.

The Bhitari stone pillar inscription of the same king refers to the king restoring the stability of the kingdom which he found badly shaken soon after the passing away of his father Kumāragupta and compares his approaching his mother after that act of resuscitation, to Kṛishṇa approaching Devakī after the killing of Kamsa.⁵ This shows that the composers of the inscription and others as well were quite familiar with the episodes in the avatār of Kṛishṇa. The same inscription has a reference to the erection of the image of Viṣṇu in the form of Śārṅgin, i.e., wielding the famous bow Śārṅga.⁶

The opening verse of the Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta (455-58 A.D.) is dedicated to Viṣṇu wherein an allusion to Bali and so indirectly to the Vāmana-Trivikrama avatār of Viṣṇu is made.⁷ The second verse deals with the effect Skandagupta produced on the various other smaller kings puffed up with pride and hauteur and says that he was 'a veritable Garuḍa to those bhujaṅgas (in the form of kings) who raised their hood of hauteur',⁸ thus happily associating Garuḍa with his master Viṣṇu. At the end of the inscription the building of a temple to Viṣṇu in the form of Cakrabhṛit, by Cakrapālita is mentioned.⁹

The Gadhwā stone inscription, allotted to the time of Skandagupta again, records the erection of the image of Viṣṇu, this time under the name of Anantasvāmī and a grant of some lands in the village for flowers, perfumes, etc., for the temple of Chitrakūṭasvāmī. This would incidentally indicate the manner in which some of the synonyms of gods like Rāma (for instance in the word Chitrakūṭasvāmī) are evolved. Even the places associated with Rāma with an addition of svāmī will be popular synonyms.

The Sāranāth stone inscription of Prakāśāditya which can be dated to the end of the 7th century A.D. is also about Viṣṇu worship and deals with the erection of a temple to

5. Jitamiti....|Hataripur iva Kṛishṇo Devakīm abhyupētaḥ||

6. Kartavyā pratimā kācit pratimām tasya śārṅgiṇaḥ (v 10)

7. Śriyam abhimatabhōgyām naikakālāpanītām|
Tridaśapatisukhārtham yō Baler ājahāra||

8. Narapati-bhujagānām...|pratikṛiti-garuḍājñām nirvṣim
cāvakartā|| (v 2).

9. Kāritam...cakrabhṛitaḥ cakrapālitenā gṛīham (v. 6).
(part II).

that God in the name of Muradvṛṣ (or Murāri). This shows how Viṣṇu worship has been developing unimpeded in the region sacred to the Buddhists and was actually supplanting the latter slowly.

The Gaṅgdhar stone inscription of Viśvavarman, son of Bandhuvarman, (5th century A.D.), informs us how he was comparable in the qualities to Rāma and Bhagīratha¹⁰. This indicates that the exploits of Rāma and Bhagīratha were particularly familiar to the people. One of the officers of the king Viśvavarman, by name Mayūrākṣha, built a sthāna (temple) for Viṣṇu which was as lofty and beautiful as the Kailāsa peak,¹¹ and also a temple for the divine mothers (saptamātrikas). The inscription thus deals with a person of partly Vaiṣṇava and partly Śākta faith and the comparison of a Viṣṇu temple with Kailāsa which is the abode of Śiva reveals the absence yet of any orthodox religious demarcation between Vaiṣṇavites and Śaivaites. That the Kailāsa peak was considered sacred and majestic generally by people is further revealed by the fact that this simile is just an imitation of a similar comparison made in the Maṇḍāsore inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman,¹² the latter of whom was the father of Viśvavarman.

The Eran pillar inscription of Budhagupta records the erection of the dhvajastambha in the Janārdana temple on a Thursday (Suragurōr divasa).¹³ The opening invocatory stanza is to Viṣṇu with four hands, sleeping on the seas and whose vehicle is Garuḍa¹⁴. The reference to viṣṇu as having four hands can be taken as suggesting a good textual familiarity, at least with the Viṣṇu icon by that time. Another case of a dhvajastambha to a Viṣṇu temple is the Mehrauli iron pillar inscription of Chandra (most probably Chandragupta II) and

10. Aupamyabhūta iva Rāma-Bhagīrathābhyām| (v 5).

11. Viṣṇō sthānam akārayat bhagavataḥ śrīmān Mayūrākṣakaḥ (v20); Kailāsatuṅga-śikhara-pratimasya yasya drṣṭvākṛitim. (v 21).

12. Kailāsatuṅgaśikhara-pratimāni chānyāni (v 11).

13. In the Allahabad Prāsasti we have the word 'tridaśapati-guru' for Brīhaspati.

14. Jayati vibhuś caturbhujaś caturarṇava-vipula-salila-paryāṅkaḥ| Jagataḥ sthityutpattivayādihētur garuḍakētuḥ||

the hill itself is called the Vishṇupada in that inscription.¹⁵ The general prevalence of Vishṇu worship is further evidenced by the many terracotta figurines and plaques of this God, got at Ahichchatra and ascribable to the period between 300-850 A.D.

The Eran stone boar inscription of Toramāna the Hun, is very beautifully dedicated to Nārāyaṇa as Varāha.¹⁶ The description of the boar image as the pillar of the mansion, namely, of all the three worlds is apposite as the various deities of the three worlds such as Yaksha, Nāga, Chandra, Sūrya etc., are all on its body. The sculpture is a good example of zoomorphic representation of Vishṇu from North India. Toramāna's son and successor Mihirakula on the other hand, as his name itself symbolises, would appear to have been a sun worshipper and we see that his Gwalior stone inscription is dedicated to Sūrya and records the erection of a stone temple to the Sun God by Mātṛcheṭa.¹⁷ The invocatory verse beautifully describes Sūrya¹⁸ riding his chariot drawn by horses driving out darkness by his rays. The final verse throwing out a pious hope for the immortality of the temple that is built, compares it to Vishṇu eternally enshrining in his chest Śrī or Lakshmi¹⁹ which indicates how the devotion to Vishṇu which his father had was imbibed by Mihirakula also, even though he is a great Sun worshipper.

The Maṇḍāsore inscriptions of Yaśodharman (alone) as well Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana (A.D. 533) which have been dedicated to Śiva reveal the names of Śambhu, Sūlapāṇi, Pināki and Śthāṇu for Śiva, and Yaśodharman compares his own valour with the valiant deeds of the tough bow of Śārṅgapāṇi²⁰ and thus shows how he treats Vishṇu on a lesser

15. Prāmsur viṣṇupadē girau bhagavatō viṣṇōr dhvajah sthāpitah (v 3).

16. Jayati dharanyuddharanē ghanaghōrāghāta-ghūrṇitamahidhrah| Devō Varāhamūrtis trailōkyamahāgrihastambha||

17. Kāritavān śailamayam bhānoḥ prāsādavaramukhyam (v 6).

18. Jayati jaladavāladvāntam utsārayan svaih|
Kiraṇanivahajālair vyōma vidyōtayadbhih||
Udayagiritatāgram maṇḍayan yas turaṅgaiḥ|
cakitagamanakhedabhrāntachañchatsatāntaiḥ||

19. Yāvachchōrasi nīlanīradanibhē viṣṇur bibharty ujj-valām| Śrīm tāvad.....(v 13)

20. Yasya kshmā Śārṅgapāṇēr iva kaṭhinadhanur jyākīṇānt-kaprakōṣṭham (v 2).

pedestal as his equal in valour. It is the proud boast of the same king that his body had not bent in submission to anybody except Śiva.²¹ Incidentally it may be mentioned here that in the Gītā, Sthāṇu was used in its general meaning not particularly as a synonym²² of Śiva, but by the Gupta period it had apparently become a synonym of Śiva. The latter of these two inscriptions also says 'May He Sambhu employed by whom in the work of continuance and destruction and the production of all things that exist, Svayambhu is obedient to command etc. etc.,' and in the third verse refers to Śiva himself as Bhavaśṛik. This would suggest that while the traditional duties of Trinities were there, the Śaivaites and Vaiṣṇavites had invested their own special gods with all the three attributes. In Vishṇupurāṇa, Book I chapter II, Viṣṇu is described as Himself becoming Brahmā and so engaging the creation of the Universe. The invocatory verse about Viṣṇu in the Eran stone inscription of Budhagupta mentioned already is again proof of this. As regards Śiva, Alina Grant of the Valabhi king Śilāditya III (A.D. 766-67) mentions (line 51) Śiva (Paramēśvara) clearly as the creator. Also we have Kālidāsa in Kumārasambhava²³ saying that 'the same mūrti divides himself into three parts with comparative elevation according to circumstances'. The opening verse of the former of the above two inscriptions also has a reference to Devī.²⁴

The inscriptions of the Guptas of Magadha also reveal the general popularity of the Solar worship in their time. Particularly the records of Ādityasēna and Jīvitagupta II are mostly about Solar worship and dedicated to that God. Actually, the name of the former itself is Āditya. Only the Aḥṣad stone inscription of the former is Vaiṣṇava, one recording the building by the king of a temple to Viṣṇu and a monastery by his mother Śrīmātī and the digging of a tank by his wife Kōṇa-dēvī. The Shapur stone image inscription of the above king, on the other hand, is actually on the pedestal of a standing

21. Sthāṇōr anyatra yēna prañatikṛipañatām prāpitam nōṭa-māṅgam (v 6.)

22. Nityaḥ sarvagataḥ Sthāṇur achalōyam sanātanah| (II. 24).

23. Ekaiva mūrtir bibhidē tridhā sa|
Sāmānyam ēśam prathamāvaratvam||

24. Kshitidharatanayādatta-pañcāṅgulāṅkam.

image of the Sun god. While the nature of the grant is not legible, it is fairly clear that Bhaṭṭadhikṛita Śālāpaksha installed the image and granted what is most likely to be the agraḥāra of Nālandā (15 miles from Shahpur). The image probably is dislocated from its original position somewhere near Nālandā.

From the Chammak (ancient Charmāṅka) copper plate grant of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II we can glean some facts regarding the absence of any disruptive or aggressive sectarianism in the religious life of the Vākāṭaka kings. Thus in line 4 of this inscription, there is a reference to Rudrasena I, which calls him a devout devotee of God Mahābhairava.²⁵ We also know that the Vākāṭakas derive their origin from the Bhāraśivas who had been noted for their spectacular display of religious fervour, the reference²⁶ to which is repeated in every Vākāṭaka inscription. Conceding this we are refreshed to find that line 13 of this Chammak inscription referring now to Rudrasena II speaks of his having accumulated Śrī (prosperity and fame) through the blessing of God Chakrapāṇi, i.e. Viṣṇu.²⁷ There must indeed have been a remarkable freedom from religious rancour or fanaticism in those eras. We also note the advent or existence of the worship of Śiva in the form of Mahābhairava (as indicated in line 4) which we know through the terracotta plaques of Bhairava at Ahichchatra as having first started at the time of the Imperial Guptas whose contemporaries are the Vākāṭakas.

The Nirmand copper plate grant of Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrasēna belonging roughly to the 7th century A.D. is a Śaiva inscription which records the grant of the village of Śūlīśagrāma by the king for the purpose of the worship of God Tripurāntaka who under the name of Mihireśvara had been installed by his mother, Mihiralakshmi at a previously established temple of Śiva with the name Kapāleśvara. The occurrence of Mihira as the first component of the God's name would indicate that some form of solar worship combined with Śaiva rites might have been practised at that place and that a part of the name of the

25. Sūnōḥ atyanta-svāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya (line 4).

26. Aṁsabhāra-sannivēśita-śivaliṅgōdvahanaśivaparituṣṭa
.....daśāśvamēdhāvabhṛitasnātānām Bhāraśivānām.

27. Mahārāja-Śrī Pṛthivīsenasya sūnor bhagavataścakrapāṇēḥ
prasādōpārjita-śrīsamudayasya. (line 13).

king's mother herself has been fixed to the God. That Sūrya worship was at the height of popularity in Gupta period and upto mediaeval period is illustrated further by the countless terracotta plaques depicting this god, that occur at Ahichchatra in levels pertaining to the time of 450-750 A.D.

The Dev-Baranark record of Jivitagupta II (about the 8th century A.D.) is a charter issued from Gōmatikōṭṭaka regarding the continuance of a grant of village to the Sun God entitled as Varuṇavāsin in the inscription. This indicates the continuing presence of Sun worship in that area at this late period.

The three cave inscriptions of Anantavarman Maukhari, all of which are undated though they must belong roughly to the 7th century A.D., reveal that Viṣṇu as Kṛishṇa, Śiva as Ardhanāri and Śakti as Kātyāyanī were popular deities in worship at that time. The Barābar cave record of this king mentions the installations of a Kṛishṇa image. One of the Nāgārjuna hill caves known as the Vadathi cave alludes to the setting up of an image of Śiva as Bhūpati and his consort Pārvatī as Dēvī, as a kind of Ardhanāri form.

The second record from the same Nāgārjuna hill, from the Gopi cave is concerned with the setting up of an image of Śakti as Kātyāyanī and a grant of some village to this goddess under the name Bhavānī. The period c.550-750 A.D. was the time when goddess Kātyāyanī as a form of Durgā enjoyed great popularity as the constant literary references to her by poet Bāṇa show. This further indicates a developed state of Śākta or Tāntric worship in this part of the country which was contemporaneous also with the steady evolution of the Bhairava and Bhairavī cults in this and other parts of India through the Pāśupata sects.

The foregoing investigation has shown how in the Gupta times (as far as revealed through the inscriptions ranging from the middle of the 4th century to the end of the 8th century A.D.) we find a general prevalence of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Śiva and Śakti worship, more predominant over any other form of worship and we know that during this period literature and iconic representation go hand in hand with inscrip-tional references, in dealing with that stage of evolution in early Indian Art commonly known as Purāṇic Hinduism.

BUDDHAGHOṢA—HIS PLACE OF BIRTH

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The name of Buddhaghosa, the great commentator and exegesist of Buddhist literature, has been the subject-matter of great controversy in recent times. While some doubted his very existence as a historical personage, others like Mr. Nagai attempted to identify Buddhaghosa's '*Visudhimagga*'¹ with Upatissa's '*Vimuttimaggā*'. But, thanks to the labours of Dr. Bimal Charan Law, it has been proved beyond doubt that Buddhaghosa was a historical personage, and that he was himself responsible for the numerous Buddhist commentaries,² which are now current in his name. Though much has been written about his work, still some points regarding his life are obscure and debatable. The place of his birth has not been definitely located and identified by any scholar so far.

Buddhaghosa was one of those many Indian celebrities who left no records pertaining to themselves, except the record of their inner life and experience. But for the stray references made in his own commentaries, and the meagre account given by Dhammakitti in the Ceylonese Chronicle, there is nothing authentic to go upon for reconstructing an account of his early life and parentage. An attempt is made in the following pages

1. Visuddhimagga or "The way of purity" is Buddhaghosa's independent work. The teachings of the Buddha are treated here systematically and thoroughly in a philosophic way.

2. The commentaries written by Buddhaghosa are : (1) Samantapāsādikā commentary on Vinayapiṭaka. (2) Kankhāvitaraṇī comm. on Pātimōkkha (Vinayapiṭaka). (3) Sumangalavilāsini comm. on Dīghanikāya. (4) Papañcasūdanī comm. on Majjhimanikāya. (5) Sāratthapakāsinī comm. on Samyuttanikāya. (6) Manorathapūraṇī comm. on Anguttaranikāya. (7) Paramatthajotikā comm. on Khuddakanikāya. (8) Aṭṭhasālinī comm. on Dhammasaṅgaṇī. (9) Sammohavinodinī comm. on Vibhaṅga. (10) Pañcappakaraṇāttakathā comm. on Abhidhamma Piṭaka.

to identify the place of his birth from the information supplied by these sources.

The *Mahāvamsa*,³ while recording the events of the reign of Mahānāma, who ruled in Ceylon in the early years of the 5th century, records that Buddhaghoṣa, a Brahman youth, born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great Bo-tree, being well founded in all the branches of 'Śāstrās' and the three 'Vedas', soon attained great fame as an indefatigable schematic disputant. A certain Mahāthera Rēvata⁴ finding in him the qualities necessary for an expounder of the "Words of the Buddha" initiated him into Buddhism and charged him with the work of translating the Sinhalese version of Aṭṭhakathās into Māgadhi for the 'welfare of the whole world.' It was in that connection that he went to Ceylon. Thus, the details regarding the place of his birth in *Mahāvamsa* are quite meagre and vague. Curiously the Burmese tradition seems to strengthen the version given in *Mahāvamsa*. Bishop Bigandet in his 'Life and Legend of Gautama' alludes to the voyage which a Religious of Thaton, named Buddhaghoṣa, made to Ceylon in the year of Religion 943 (400 A.C.). The object of his voyage was to procure a copy of the scriptures. He made use of the Burmese or rather Talaing characters in transcribing the manuscripts etc. Dr. B. C. Law accepting the version of Dhammakitti considers Buddhaghoṣa as a native of Magadha.⁵ Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi also discussed this point at length in his preface to *Visuddhimagga*.⁶ While discussing the relative merits of the accounts preserved in

3. *Mahāvamsa*: Turnour, pp. 250-253; B.C. Law. "The Life and Work of Buddhaghoṣa" pp. 3-6.

4. One of the Prākṛt inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Palnad Taluk, Guntur District (Epi. Ind. Vol. XX) refers to one Rēvata and his daughter Bodhisiri, wife of Buddhimnaka, and the building of Chaityagriha with all the necessities for the acceptance of the theras specially of Tāmbapanni or Ceylon. This is dated in the 14th regnal year of Mahārāja Virapuruśadatta of the Ikshvāku family who ruled in the Krishna and Guntur districts during 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. and patronised Buddhism after the fall of Śātavāhanas.

5. Life and Work of Buddhaghoṣa—B.C. Law.

6. *Visuddhimagga*: Part I Text published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, p. xii ff.

Mahāvamsa and Burmese tradition, Prof. Kosambi observes that "from the narrative of *Mahāvamsa* one fact remains—that Buddhaghōṣa came from India to Ceylon in the reign of Mahānāma" (end of 4th century A.D.). This is confirmed by Burmese authorities but the latter say that he went to Ceylon from Thaton, being a *Talaing* by birth. Prof. Kosambi believes that he was a Telanga from the Telugu country of South India and not a Burmese Talaing, that Telaing was only a corruption of the original name, that Buddhaghōṣa was a *Telugu* by birth and came from Telugu country (Āndhra, in Southern India) and that an archaeologist familiar with the Telugu country should be able to identify his place of birth. In support of the above surmise, he adduced much internal evidence⁷, from *Visuddhimagga* and other books of Buddhaghōṣa. His pointed reference to Thera Viśākha's story and his absolute silence about the North Indian tradition of Patañjali, observes Prof. Kosambi, "give evidence to my belief that Buddhaghōṣa was a South Indian by birth". The geographical knowledge displayed by Buddhaghōṣa, specially his definition of Dakṣiṇāpatha, his elaborate description

7. Buddhaghōṣa could not be a native of Buddhagayā for not a single scene of the numerous contemporary stories is set in Magadha. On the other hand he pointedly referred to the story of Thera Viśākha, rich merchant of Patna, who lived at Viśakha-patnam, a sea port town on the east coast, doing business before he sailed for Ceylon for Ordination.

8. Page 580—1, Suttanipāṭa commentary, Pt. II, P.T.S. Edition "So Assakassa visaye Alakassa samāsane ti brāhmaṇo Assakassa ca Alakassa ca ti dvinnam Andhakarājānam (dvinnam ratthānam abbhantare rājānam) samāsanne visaye āsanne ratthe, divinnam pi ratthānam (rajjānam) majjhe ti adhippāyo; Godhāvarikūle ti Godhāvarinadikūle (nadiyā kūle), yattha Gōdhāvarī dividdhā bhijjivā tiyojanappamānam antardīpam (dīpakam) akāsi sabbam kavittāvanasanchannam, yattha pubbe Sarabhangādayo" (J.A.V. p. 132).

"evam me sutam, Gōdhāvaritīre yeva kira so evam assosi" page 602, *Ib.*

"Atha Bhagavatā anuññāto nānagamaneneva Godhāvaritīram gantvā pādagamanena assamābhimukho agamāsi" page 604, *Ib.*

"Dantapuram Kālingānam Assakānañ ca I ōtanam
Māhissati Avantīnam Sovirānañ ca Rōrukam
Mithilā ca Vidēhānam Champā Angesu Māpitā
Bārānaśi ca Kāśīnam, etc Govinda-māpitā ti.||

of the island in the middle of the river Godāvārī,⁸ which only an eye-witness familiar with the land could give, and the details regarding the Āndhra kingdom given by him, lend support to his South Indian origin. All his contemporaries and associates, *Buddhadatta*,⁹ *Dharmapāla*,¹⁰ *Buddhamitta*,¹¹ *Jotipāla*¹² are without exception South Indian Buddhist scholars. The places and Vihāras in which he is said to have lived are all in South India: *Mayūrasuttapattana*¹³ (Modern Mylapore near Madras), Kanchīpura (Modern Conjeevaram in the Chengleput district), etc., and there is absolutely no evidence forthcoming except the vague references in *Mahā-*

(P. 662, *Mahāgovindasutta* Vaṇṇanā, *Sumangalavilāsini*, Part II, P.T.S. edition).

Tattha Kambojo *Assānam* āyatanam gunnam dakkhiṇāpatho ti sañjatiyam vattatī sañjāti-tthāne ti attho.

(Page 124-5, *Brahmajālasutta* Vaṇṇanā, *Sumangalavilāsini*, PTS edn., Pt. I.)

Esa nayo sabbattha ; Anga, Māgadha, Yōnaka, Kamboja, *Assaka*, Avanti raṭṭhesu pana chasu na vyākaroti.

(Page 637, *Janavasabhasutta* Vaṇṇanā, *Sumangala Vilāsini*, Part II, P.T.S. edition.)

9. Buddhaghosuppatti has given an account of the meeting of Buddhaghoṣa and Buddhadatta. The learned Pāli scholar, Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta, Mahathera of Ambalangoda, Ceylon, in his note on 'Buddhadatta' also has shown that Buddhaghoṣa and Buddhadatta were contemporaries and fixed Bhūtamangalam (Palivritti) six miles from Mannārgudi in Tanjore district as the birthplace of Buddhadatta.

10. Sāsana-vamsa informs us that Āchārya Dharmapāla dwelt at 'Padaratittha' in the Kingdom of Damila near Ceylon. T. W. Rhys Davids, B. C. Law, 'Life and Work of Buddhaghoṣa'.

11. Ayāchito sumatinā therena bhadanta-Buddhamittena |
Pubbe mayūrasuttapattānamhi saddhim vasantena ||
Paravādivāda-viddhamsanassa majjhimanikāyasetṭhassa |
Yam aham papañcasūdanam atṭhakatham kātum āradhho ||
(*Visuddhimagga* B. V. B. Edition, Preface, Page xvii).

12. Ayāchito sumatinā therena bhadanta-Jotipālena |
Kāñchīpurādisu mayā pubbe saddhim vasantena ||
(*Visuddhimagga*, B.V.B. Edition, Preface, page xviii).

13. Tatahprai rṣṭau carametarāmbudhes-
tapodhanau pāścimatīrasīmani |
Mayūranāmo nagarasya maṇḍanam
tamōpaham kairavatīrthamāpatuḥ ||

(*Divyasūricharitam*, Canto III, Śloka 13).

vamsa, pointing to either his associations with North Indian Buddhist scholars of his period or his personal knowledge of the places of Buddhist learning in the North¹⁴. Prof. Kosambi therefore seems to be not far from truth when he said that Buddhaghoṣa was a South Indian.

His colophon in *Visuddhimagga*¹⁵ informs us that he was a native of Moraṇḍakheṭaka and that he lived at Mayūrasuttapattana or Mayūrarupapattana for some time. And from there he proceeded further south to Kañchīpura where at the request of Jotipāla he composed *Manorathapūraṇī*, Aṭṭhakathā of *Anguttaranikāya*. This village Moraṇḍakheṭaka, which he says was his native place, appears to be the Prākṛit form of the name of some local village. During our recent study tour in the Guntur District, we had occasion to visit a number of Buddhist sites like Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, etc., and in our itinerary we happened to touch two places in close proximity called Kōtanemalipuri and Gundlapalli in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur District. These are situated at a distance of 51 miles from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and 58 miles from Amarāvati as the crow flies. '*Nemali*' is the present Telugu equivalent of the original 'Mora' (Sanskrit: *Mayūra*; Pali: *Mora*; Hindi: *Mor*) and means a peacock and 'gundlu' or 'gudlu' means eggs. Moraṇḍakheṭaka appears to have been the original name of the modern Kōtanemalipuri and Gundlapalli. These places are full of antiquarian remains and their proximity to the powerful centres of Āndhra-Buddhism tempts us to identify it as the birth place of Buddhaghoṣa. Āndhra country proved very

14. In all his works there is no description of N. India such as an eye witness would give. "While commenting upon the protection against heat given by a *Civara*:

HEAT:—"Uṇhassā ti aggisantāpassa. Tassa vanadāhādisu sambhavo veditabbo". "The heat of fire such as occurs at the time of forest fire, etc., is ridiculous. It is not known to Indian southerners that a bare skin sometimes blisters in the northern summer." *Visuddhimagga*, B.V.B. Edition, Preface, page xiii.

15. Paramavisuddha-saddhā-buddhiviriyapaṭimaṇḍitena.....
theravamsappadipānam thērānam mahāvihāravāsīnam
vamsālankārabhūtena vipulavisuddhabuddhinā Buddha-
ghoso ti garūhi gahitanāmadheyyena thērena Moraṇḍa-
khēṭakavattabbēna kato visuddhimaggō nāma.
(*Visuddhimagga*, B. V. B. Edition, page 506).

fertile soil for the growth and propagation of Buddhism and perhaps that explains the existence of numerous Buddhist monuments. Right from Sālihundam on the Vamśadhāra on the north to the Krishna or to be more precise Chinna Ganjam in the south, and from Gooty in the west to Bhattiprolu in the east, the soil of Āndhra was trodden, by the selfless monks and nuns from centuries before Christ¹⁶. Most of these Buddhist foundations continued till as late as the time of Huentsang's visit.¹⁷ Telugu language, literature, architecture and sculpture developed under Buddhist auspices. The discipline and regulated life of the Buddhist monks, their normal and intellectual pursuits and their missionary zeal made them enter into the very heart of the people and moulded the character of the Āndhra race as such. The celebrated Āchārya Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Madhyamika school of Mahāyānisim, made Nāgārjunakoṇḍa his seat and by selfless efforts propagated the creed of the Lord.

Buddhaghoṣāchārya who thus had the benefit of two mighty centres of Buddhist thought soon entered the novitiate learning, accepting Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. The Bhikku Sangha of the Vihāra (probably Sīhala Vihāra at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) gave him the name of Buddhaghoṣa. He composed a treatise called *Nānodaya* and a commentary on Dhammasaṅgaṇī known as *Aṭṭhasālinī*, whence Mahāthera Rēveta charged him with the task of translating the Ceylonese *Aṭṭhakathās*¹⁸ for the benefit of all. While in Ceylon he composed his *Visuddhimagga*, an epitome of Tipiṭaka to qualify him-

16. K. R. Subrahmanyam, *Buddhist remains of Andhra-desā*, Page 12.

17. Ibid. Page 28. According to Huentsang there were 10 monasteries with 500 monks in Kalinga, 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks in Andhra, 20 monasteries with 1,000 monks in Dhānyakaṭaka.

18. The *Aṭṭhakathās* which existed at the time when Buddhaghoṣa lived in Ceylon, are no longer extant, but the names of some of them have come down to us mainly in Buddhaghoṣa's own works which supplanted them elsewhere. The names as given by Mr. Rhys Davids are—The Andha *Aṭṭhakathā* handed down at Kañchīpura, the Samkhēpa *Aṭṭhakathā* or short commentary which is being mentioned together with the Āndhra commentary and may possibly also be South Indian.

B. C. Law: "The Life and Work of Buddhaghoṣa."

self for getting access to the Buddhist lore in Ceylon winning the acclamation of the Ceylonese order. "Sitting in that pure Vihāra, rich in all such books, he translated them from Sinhalese into the original language for the benefit of all people" and his work was honoured as a sacred text by all the teachers of Thēravāda.

His colophon in *Visuddhimagga*¹⁹ informs us that he was a native of Moraṇḍakheṭaka and that he lived at Mayūrasuttapattana or Mayūrarupapattana for some time.

19. See fn. 15 above.

TANTRIC CULT IN EPIGRAPHS

BY

P. B. DESAI, *Ootacamund*

The origin and growth of the Tantric cult is obscure; but it seems fairly certain that it had gained popularity by the 10th century A.D. The *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, the earliest treatise of the Tantric school so far discovered, is ascribed to the authorship of Matsyendranātha who is acknowledged to be its founder.¹ Matsyendranātha has been placed in the beginning of the 10th century²; but it looks probable that he flourished about a century prior. This fact is indicated by the famous Bhērghāt temple of sixty-four yōginīs with labelled sculptures which have been assigned to the early 10th century.³ It is interesting to note that the sculpture of a deity in the above temple bears the name Gahanī.⁴ According to the Marāṭhi work Jñānēśvarī Gahanī-nātha was a grand-disciple of Matsyendranātha.⁵ References to the Mahā-yōginīs in Sōmadēva's *Yasastilaka*,⁶ composed in A.D. 959, lend further support to the prevalence of the Tantric cult prior to the 10th century A.D.

In the following two centuries the cult appears to have spread in many parts of Mahārāshṭra and Kārṇāṭaka. This is largely attested by epigraphic evidence. An inscription from Ankajgi in the Jatin taluk of the South Satara District, Bombay State, dated A.D. 1179, refers to the village Ankulage as the abode of Mahāyōgēśvarī Ugrachāvunḍe, the presiding deity of the sixty-four yōgapīṭhas.⁷ Mahāsāmanta Chāmunḍarasa, a

1. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, edited by P. C. Bagchi, 1934; Preface, pp. vi-vii, Introduction, pp. 6ff.

2. *Ibid.*, Intro. p. 28.

3. Smith, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 132; *Arch. Surv. Memoir*, No. 23, p. 78.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

5. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, Intro. p. 21. It is obvious that the teacher took his name after the Yōginī.

6. K. K. Handiqui: *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*, Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā, 1949, pp. 204 ff. and 396.

7. Bombay-Karnatak collection, No. 93 of 1940-41,

subordinate of the Western Chālukya King Vikramāditya VI, is described as "one who had obtained the gracious boon of the sixty-four yōginīs" in an epigraph from Haḷagondi⁸ in the Hadagalli taluk of the Bellary District, Madras State, dated in A.D. 1093. The expression "sixty-four yōgapīṭhas" is of frequent occurrence⁹ in the *praśasti* of the great mercantile corporation Ayyāvaḷe Five Hundred figuring in the inscriptions of Karnāṭak.¹⁰

The numerical figure sixty-four of the yōginīs or their *pīṭhas* appears to be rather conventional though it is met with in the earliest Tantric treatise named above.¹¹ This is seen from the number of sculptures of the female deities which is eighty-one¹² in the so-called "sixty-four yōginī temple" of Bhērghāt. An epigraph from Terdāl in the Kolhāpur District, Bombay State, containing the *praśasti* of the Ayyāvaḷe Five Hundred, noted above, mentions the yōgapīṭhas as *sixty-two*¹³ instead of sixty-four. It is gathered from the works on Tantric literature that the number of *pīṭhas* which were only four to start with, varied according to different versions and attained the maximum of one-hundred and eight¹⁴ which is again a conventional figure.

Inscriptional evidence is available to show that with the growth and popularity of the cult there developed fresh centres of Tantric worship and all such places do not find mention in the extant literature on the subject. This may be illustrated by a few instances. Āmbē Jōgāi in the Usmanabad District of the Hyderabad State was a stronghold of the Tantric school in the period 11th to 13th century A.D. This is revealed from a scrutiny of the antiquities of the locality including in-

8. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 163.

9. The terms *Yōgapīṭha*, *Saktipīṭha* and *Siddhapīṭha* are used synonymously in the Tantric literature and they denote the seats of the Śivaśaktis or Yōginīs; see Ankalgi inscription cited above, *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, paṭala viii, etc.

10. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 139; Vol. XI, Pt. II, No. 148, etc.

11. Paṭala viii, verse 14.

12. *Arch. Surv. Memoir*, No. 23, pp. 78ff.

13. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 19, line 60.

14. D. C. Sircar; *Śakta Pīṭhas*, *J.R.A.S.B.*, 1948, pp. 11ff.

scriptions¹⁵ one of which contains a reference to the shrine dedicated to the deity Yōgēśvarī. Ankalgi in the South Satara District was another centre of Tantric worship as noticed above. These two places, it may be noted, do not figure in the known lists of Śakti-pīṭhas. Karavira or Kolhāpur was an ancient and important seat of Tantric devotion. It is mentioned in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*¹⁶ and also met with in the inscriptions.¹⁷ A list of eighteen Śakti-pīṭhas, ascribed to the authorship of Śaṅkarācārya, but ostensibly a late compilation contains a reference to the deity Yugalā of Ālāpura.¹⁸ This Ālāpura may be identified with Alampūr in the Raichur District, Hyderabad State, and Yugalā with Jōgaḷāmbā of local fame, who is said to be the consort of the god Brahmēśvara.¹⁹ This place too does not occur in the enumeration of Śakti-pīṭhas by other sources. Kukanūr in the Kopbal District of the same state is described as an inspired stronghold of Śiva and Śakti (*Śiva-Śakti-sphurat-samputa-kshētra*) in an inscription²⁰ in the local Mahāmāyā temple, dated in A.D. 1178. The present-day deity Mahāmāyā²¹ is praised under the name Jyēshthā in the epigraph which records other interesting details about the Śaiva divinities and their merits. This place has not found recognition in the Tantric works.

Highly illuminating is the information furnished by an inscription²² from Dēvīhosūr in the Ranebennur taluk, Dharwar District, Bombay State, dated A.D. 1148. After narrating the legend that king Janamējaya made a gift of the village as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇas following the performance of a sacrifice, the epigraph states that the place which had been only a *yāga-pīṭha* (sacrificial seat) formerly, attained

15. *Arch. Surv. West Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 49ff; *Sources of Mediaeval History of Dekkan*, Vol. I, p. 75. I had an occasion to examine an epigraph from this place, which contains allusions to the Tantric divinities, Bhūcharanātha, Kāmākhyā and sixty-four Yōginīs.

16. Paṭala viii, verse 16.

17. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XI, Pt. II, No. 137.

18. *Śākta Pīṭhas*, op. cit., p. 19, n. 1.

19. *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka*, Mysore University Journal, Vol. XXV, No. 2, pp. 25ff.

20. Author's own collection (unpublished).

21. Mahāmāyā, it may be noted, is the name of a Tantric deity; see *Śākta Pīṭhas*, op. cit., pp. 35, 49, etc.

22. Bombay-Karnatak collection, No. 34 of 1932-33.

greater eminence as a *pīṭha* of the goddess Mālachi. Now this Mālachi, Sanscritised into Mālatī and known in Mahārāshṭra as Mālasā, is the consort of Mallāri Mārtaṇḍa²³ who is believed to be an incarnation of the Bhairava form of Śiva and whose cult is widely prevalent in Mahārāshṭra²⁴ and Karnāṭaka. Dēvaraguḍḍa in the Dharwar District and Mailār in the Bellary District, are the two renowned centres of the Mallāri Mārtaṇḍa²⁵ cult in Karnāṭaka. These places are not far away from Dēvīhosūr. Thus the cult of Mallāri Mārtaṇḍa appears to be an offshoot of the Tantric worship and from the instance of Dēvīhosūr we see how ancient places of sacred associations were being transformed into popular centres of devotion of the later Śaivite divinities. This light, we have to observe, is shed for the first time by the above inscription alone and no other source.

23. According to *Maṅgarāja-nighaṇṭu* of Abhinava-Maṅgarāja Mālachi was the wife of Maylāri (i.e., Mallāri); *Karnāṭaka Kavicharite* (revised edn., 1924), Vol. I, p. 417; Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, p. 1246.

24. Mallāri Mārtaṇḍa is commonly called Khaṇḍōbā in Mahārāshṭra. A famous shrine dedicated to this deity exists in the village Jejuri near Poona; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 229.

25. The account of the incarnation of Mallāri Mārtaṇḍa is said to be found in the Kshētrakhaṇḍa of *Brahmapurāṇa*. For a description of the popular aspect of the Mallāri festival, see *Bellary District Gazetteer*, 1916, pp. 252-54.

PRABHĀVALĪ

(A Rare work dealing with Sanskrit Roots)

BY

DR. K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

The *Prabhāvalī* in *Mīmāṃsā* is well known. A hitherto unknown grammatical work having the same title is quoted as an authority by the scholar-poet Rāmabhadra Dīkṣitā, who lived towards the close of the seventeenth century, in his *Uṇādimanīdīpikā*¹ which is an elaborate commentary of the *Pañcapādī* text of the *Uṇādi Sūtras*. No manuscript of it is available, and I have not come across any reference to it through quotation elsewhere. So I give below all the quotations from it found in the *Uṇādimanīdīpikā*.

1. “यवादेराकृतिगणत्वात् संज्ञायामिति वत्त्वं न भवति” इति प्रभावल्या-
मुक्तम् (Discussing हनूमान् under Uṇ 1—10).
2. मृदुः । “वोतो गुणवचनादिति ङीपि मृद्वी । संज्ञायां कनि
ह्रस्वे ‘मृद्विका गोस्तनी द्राक्षा’ इत्यमरः” इति प्रभावल्यामु म् ।
(under Uṇ 1—28).
3. माधवोऽपि ‘परान् शृणातीति परशुः । उपसर्गस्य बाहुलकाद्भव
इत्याह । अत्र प्रभावल्याम्—“परानिति शसन्तस्य माधवेन
कथमुपसर्जनत्वमुक्तम् ? न चाडा साहचर्यात् परेत्युपसर्गस्य ग्रहणमिति
वाच्यम् । साहचर्यन्यायस्य व्यवस्थापकत्वज्ञापनात् । परान् शृणातीति
परशुरिति भाष्ये प्रदर्शनाच्च ।” इति गुरुचरणैरुक्तम् ।
(Uṇ 1—32).
4. “मन्दिवाशीति किरच् । वाशिर” इति प्रभावली चिन्त्या ।
(Uṇ 1—37).
5. प्रभावल्यां हि “ईदित्वान्मस्तः मस्तवान्” इत्युदाहृतम् (Discussing
the root मसी परिमाणे under Uṇ 1—41)
6. “धुर भीमार्थशब्दयोः तौदादिकः । तस्मात् पचाद्यचि धोरः” इति
प्रभावल्याम् । (Uṇ 1—56).

1. S. M. Library, Tanjore, Ms. No. 5675. I am obliged to Dr. V. Raghavan for giving me a copy of it. It is an incomplete manuscript extending only up to the middle of the second *Pāda*.

7. “दृक्षु शब्दे” इति धातुव्याख्यावसरे “अतिस्तुस्त्विति मन् । क्षुमा अतसी” इति प्रभावल्याम् । (Uṇ 1—119).
8. प्रभावल्यां “शेवं सुखम्” इत्युक्तम् । (Under शीङ् स्वप्ने while discussing Uṇ 1—125).
9. “शेवा लिङ्गाकृतिः” इति प्रभावल्याम् । (Uṇ 1—127).

From No. 7 of the quotations it seems that *Prabhāvalī* is a work discussing the roots in Sanskrit. And from 3 it is clear that its author was Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita's preceptor. We know that Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita was the pupil and son-in-law of the great grammarian Cokkanātha, author of (a) *Śabd-kaumudī*,¹ a commentary on the Sūtras of Pāṇini arranged under several Prakaraṇas, (b) *Bhāṣyaratnāvalī*,² an elaborate commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and (c) *Dhāturātñāvalī*,³ a short work in 430 verses dealing with Sanskrit roots and their meanings. Quite possibly the *Prabhāvalī*, discussing the roots in Sanskrit elaborately, like the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti*, is also from the pen of that great grammarian.

1. Madras Govt. MSS. Library, R. 3316; Tanjore No. 5855; Travancore Curator's Office Ms. No. 547.

2. Hultzch, No. 1063.

3. Tanjore 5697-99.

GELDNER'S R̥GVEDA*

BY

D. D. KOSAMBI

This long-awaited translation of the R̥gveda should have appeared twenty years ago, to have saved many a scholar's travail over the years. One volume containing the first four maṇḍalas in translation did appear in 1923 being, even by itself, of immense help towards the understanding of the oldest Veda. The history of this publication is long, involved, not always pleasant nor edifying. The translator, the first editor, as well as the whole academic tradition in which they grew up, have passed away in the interval between Geldner's translation and its printing. Even so, the work is not really complete. It was promised in the foreword to the first volume that the third and concluding volume would contain a retrospective introduction to the R̥gveda, with a set of indexes for words, names, etc. This has yet to appear, presumably in another volume. The helpless reader can only hope that the wars, revolutions, economic crises and other upheavals of the contemporary world will not further delay the publication of this indispensable guide.

The work has been attractively printed. Geldner's successor J. Nobel is to be congratulated for supervision in press after the death of Geldner. No attention in this respect could be excessive, for this translation, without any doubt, is the best in existence in any language. The older German translations of Ludwig and Grassmann, besides being long out of print, are unsatisfactory. The former is often inconsistent, though a meritorious effort for its time and place. Grassmann's is better in many ways, as he had made a complete word-index of the whole R̥gveda. Nevertheless, his insistence upon reproducing the Vedic metres meant use of German archaisms, shifting of emphasis, and at times serious change of meaning. Many passages, whether individual ṛks or entire hymns were summarily relegated to the appendix because Grassmann

* A Review-article on *Der Rig-Veda* aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen, von Karl Friedrich Geldner. Harvard Oriental Series vols. 33, 34, 35; Cambridge (Mass.), 1951.

considered them late; thus reading the whole of any really interesting hymn in that translation means a search over a considerable number of pages. Then there are some deliberate mistranslations, such as Büffel for *uṣṭra*. In English we have the rendering of Griffith and another by Wilson, neither of which can be relied upon in the really obscure passages with which the *R̥gveda* bristles; without an accurate or at least convincing interpretation of these passages, a great deal of India's past will remain hidden.

Geldner generally does not gloss over any of the difficulties. His profound study (a great deal of which had been demonstrated in the *Vedische Studien* in collaboration with Pischel) along with mastery of all that had been published by his predecessors enabled him to point out the parallels between any given phrase and several others. His footnotes, the 'running commentary' of the title-page, are in many ways the most valuable aid towards the study of the book, which necessarily means comparative study. The *R̥gveda* is without any doubt a very difficult text; to grasp its meaning unaided is virtually impossible. The best-known aid, the commentary of Sāyana, so persistently interprets in the light of Śaṅkara's doctrine that it is a poor guide for drawing any material, historical conclusions from the document. Yet Geldner was careful enough not to discard Sāyana altogether, deriving many useful interpretations from the great Indian commentator; these had been missed or scorned by other western scholars, less careful or less meticulous than Geldner, who was one of the last (but for Lüders) to work in the great German tradition.

When all this is said, we come to the salient fact which no reviewer can ignore. The thirty years that have passed since Geldner's translation was first ready for the press have been full of discoveries that materially affect *R̥gvedic* studies, though not in the direct line. These have been in the field of anthropology, and even more archaeology. To Sāyana, the Veda was a mysteriously worded document for spiritual guidance. For Geldner, the Vedic puzzles were purely a philologist's affair, problems to be solved by word-interpretation, though on the human level. To-day we go much further studying ritual and sacrifice in other cultures; we ask ourselves a new but absolutely fundamental question: what is the relationship of the various *R̥gvedic* people to the extinct civilization of the Indus valley cities, which had a greatness compara-

ble to the Mesopotamian. Were not the R̥gvedic Aryans just the people who destroyed this great civilization? But if so, is the conquered people represented by *dāsa* or *paṇi* in the Veda? Harappa is obviously the Hariyūpīya of RV. vi, 27.5, presumably Sanskritized from some pre-Aryan name. But what then is the city Nārmiṇī of i. 149.3, lighted up by Agni, which might mean burned down. Vaśa Aśvya says in viii. 46.32 *śataṁ dāse Balbūthe vipras Tarukṣa ā dade*. The locative is a very difficult usage here, but Grassmann takes Balbūtha and Tarukṣa as two separate king-names, while Geldner has passed the ṛk by without comment, translating 'Hundert bekam ich, der Redekundige, bei dem dāsa Balbūtha Tarukṣa'. The point in either case is that a brahmin of the Bharadvāja gotra served, and received gifts from, one *dāsa* king, or two. What happens to the caste system in that case, and the origins of brahminism? It is clear from viii.102.19-21 that some brahmins would pray for release from abject poverty; there the indigent seer humbly prays Agni to accept the sacrifice of wormeaten firewood, as he has no cow, not even an axe. Yet Geldner ascribes iv. 18.13 to Indra, making the dread god proclaim that at one time he cooked a dog's entrails from need, found none among the gods to take compassion on him, and beheld his own wife in degradation. This is quite preposterous. On the other hand, the brahmin tradition is uniform, whether in the Manusmṛti (10.106) or Sāyaṇa, that the speaker is the seer Vāmadeva, who suffered this extreme poverty; the verse is thus a *dānastuti* of Indra. The answer to such questions is closely bound up with the axioms, the tacit or explicit hypotheses which one makes as to the origin of the R̥gveda, and its main function at that period when the text was fixed. If it be admitted—as seems beyond the possibility of doubt to the present reviewer—that the function was liturgical, that the sacrifice as ritual (not as philosophical symbolism) was essential while the hymns were chanted as accompaniment, it then follows that the mysterious RV. x.95 (Urvaśī and Purūravas) cannot be labelled a ballad as Geldner has done, that some deeper significance attaches thereto.

To illustrate how this affects the translation now being considered, take the word *ibhya*, which occurs just once in the book, where Agni eats up the woods like a king the *ibhyas*: RV. 1.65.7 *ibhyān na rājā vanāni atti*. This is translated following Sāyaṇa, as "wie der König die Reichen, frisst er

die Hölzer auf"; in the note, Oder, wie ein König seine Vassallen. This means that the *ibhya* is a rich man, one who possesses elephants. Now *ibhya* is again found in the Chândogya Upaniṣad 1.10.1.2, where the famished priest Uṣasti Cākṛāyaṇa passes a night in an *ibhya-grāma*, refreshing himself with some leavings of *kulmāṣa*-broth given by an *ibhya*. Śaṅkara's commentary again takes *ibhya* as rich, *īśvara*, one who owns elephants; in this sense the translators Deussen and Hume seem to accept it. But this does not make sense, for *kulmāṣa* means wild beans or rotten beans, food of very low quality. The point of the story is that the brahmin had to accept the poorest food soiled by a person of low caste, in the hour of need. Thus Gopālānanda Svāmi comments on the same passage, taking *ibhya* as elephant driver, which makes real sense. The word is again found in Asoka's fifth rock edict, clearly as antithetical to *brāhmaṇa*, hence denoting a person of low caste. Presumably, these were originally tribesmen with the elephant totem, who had been degraded by conquest. It is thus that we find, for example, the Mātāṅgas. A king with vassals who are rich in the sense of possessing elephants but powerless against the king's exactions, surely cannot belong to the Ṛgvedic period. Geldner would have been justified in examining the word more closely.

Such examples can be multiplied, and some more have to be given if only to stimulate the reader to think for himself when reading Geldner's generally satisfactory translation. In commenting on 3.4.7, he gives a comprehensive note on the seven sages of legend as exemplified in Ṛgvedic citations, and represented in the seven sacrificial priests with different functions. But then why did he not consider whether these were related to the original of the ādityas, the *saptārdhagarbhāḥ* of 1.164.7. Were they not also the seven killed by Indra, who brags of being *saptahā* in x. 49.8; in viii. 96.16 Indra is from birth the enemy of 'the seven' who had had no enemy. Why are these not to be identified with the other seven, beginning as enemies and finally surviving as "priests" of the Aryans. With this assumption goes a complete theory of Ṛgvedic development.

Both Grassmann and Geldner take x.108 as the demand by Saramā for return of cattle *stolen* by the Paṇis. Actually, it is very clear from the hymn that Saramā bluntly demands the cattle but there is not one word in the hymn itself of their

having been stolen or Indra's having any title to them. The story belongs to the later period when Indra had become established as the undisputed chief god, his enemies the Paṇis as thieves; on the other hand, the hymn derives from an earlier period when the aggressive demand for wealth, uttered in so many words, had come down to a ritual, somewhat like the *sīmollāṅghana* and "looting of gold" at Dasarā commemorating the fortunately brief period of Marāṭhā robbery.

Nevertheless, Geldner brings the R̥gveda within the reach of all of us, and makes a really critical study possible for the first time. As such, this translation is to be welcomed by all interested in Indic studies, whether for their own sake or in the comparative field. Even more welcome is the resurgence, under the editorship of Prof. D. H. H. Ingalls, of the Harvard Oriental Series which had so long been dormant.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

On 23rd April 1951, Prof. D. D. Kosambi of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, spoke at the Institute on "Manuscripts and Textual Problems". Sri N. Raghunatha Aiyar, Asst. Editor, The Hindu, presided.

Dr. V. Raghavan introduced the lecturer as a distinguished mathematician who had taken a keen interest in Sanskrit research and referred to his most important work in this field, the critical edition of the *Subhāṣitas* of Bhartṛhari.

Prof. Kosambi dealt with the question of manuscript and textual problems confronting research in Sanskrit, with special reference to his work on the Bhartṛhari *Śatakas*, and said that in all such work one should start with the manuscript evidence. It was necessary to collect as many manuscripts as were available and that too from different localities, and group them together on an appropriate regional basis, in order that a picture of the textual variations resulting from provincial influences might emerge. There were, in respect of many Sanskrit works, North Indian and South Indian versions. Therefore, in research work or critical study, tradition was a factor which should not be ignored. Proceeding on such basis, it would be possible to arrive at correct versions and also find a rational explanation for variations in or additions to texts wherever these existed.

Prof. Kosambi related his experiences in collecting manuscripts and pointed out that this was, in the case of a writer like Bhartṛhari, an endless quest. In this connection he acknowledged the great help he had received from Dr. V. Raghavan and the New Catalogus Catalogorum prepared by the Madras University.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar referred to the superb work which Prof. Kosambi had been doing and said that he had brought to the work the "critical imagination of the mathematician." Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar commended Prof. Kosambi's example to other workers in the field.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar proposed a vote of thanks.

OBITUARY

DR. C. ACHYUTA MENON

It is with a deep sense of sorrow that we report the sad demise of Dr. Chelangat Achyuta Menon, B.A., PH.D. (London), Reader and Head of the Department of Malayalam, University of Madras, on the 6th of February, 1952, after a brief illness. Dr. Menon joined the department in 1927 when the Oriental Research Institute was started in the University and he had been the Head of the Department of Malayalam up to the time of his demise.

He did valuable work in the field of the folk-lore of Kerala. Ballads of North Malabar and Kali Worship of Kerala may be considered his best works in that branch. His thesis for the Ph. D. Degree of the University of London, *viz.*, 'Ezhuttacchan and his Age' is a scholarly study on a poet in Malayalam ever written in English. Dr. Menon's contributions to Malayalam literature embrace all the fields, short story, drama, novel, essay and poetry.

He served on various official and non-official committees: As member of the Film Censor Board, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, member of the Translation Committee of the Indian Constitution and various other academic bodies, Dr. Menon earned the love and regard of everyone who came into contact with him.

He could write simple and lucid prose in a flowing style in Malayalam. He had been elected President of the Dravidian section of the 17th All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Ahmedabad in 1953.

In Dr. Menon's death, the world of Malayalam letters has suffered irreparable loss.

S. K. NAIR

BOOK REVIEWS

NEW LIGHT ON THE GATHAS OF ZARATHUSHTRA:

By Ardeshir Framji Khabardar. Author,
114, San Thome High Road, Mylapore, Madras.
Pp. 780. Rs. 25.

Mr. Khabardar's book shows him to be an extraordinary man. The learning that he has been able to acquire in an advanced age of life, this monumental work on the Gāthās, the glossary of equivalent words in the Gāthās and the Ṛgveda added to the work occupying forty-five pages and containing about one thousand five hundred words, the further volume on the Avesta he proposes to bring out evidence remarkable energy and youthfulness. It is all the more remarkable that an eminent poet in Gujrati like him should have engaged himself in a work of this nature requiring prodigious, scholarly industry. This book calls for examination and appraisal by competent scholars well equipped with knowledge of both Ṛgveda and Gāthās. Few are such scholars and the reviewer cannot claim to be among them.

This book, however, is not the first one to draw attention to the early connection between the two branches of the eastern Aryans, the Mazdayasnians and Devayasnians. The history of the words *Asura* and *Sura* holds the key to their early relation and subsequent parting. '*Asura*' in the Veda, like the corresponding Parsi word *ahura*, had an appreciative meaning. The word *Sura* does not occur in the Vedas but was a lately coined word under the mistaken impression that '*a*' was a negative particle and that *asura* was meant to be the opposite of *sura*. Later lexicographers like the author of Amarakośa gave *suradviṣaṇ* as a synonym of *asura*. The real derivation was *asu* plus *ra*, *asu*, *ahu*, meaning life and the root *rā* meaning 'to give', a sense which that root still retains in classical Sanskrit. The word meant 'life-giving' as an epithet of God. Agni, Rudra and Varuṇa among others are given the epithet in the Vedas. The modern bad meaning of *Asura* is late. When *asura* became degraded and *sura* was coined, the schism was complete. In the Vedas the conflict is described as between Devas and Asuras which meant the conflict between their respective worshippers. Words passed through strange vicissitudes. Indra was not a good god in Parsi religion. Vṛtraghna,

another name for Indra in the Vedas had a good meaning in the Parsi books.

Incidentally I may say that during their common period, women had initiation as well as men and when they separated, the Indian Aryan dropped initiation for women, while the Parsis retained it as the Kusti ceremony in which the girdle was important and not the sacred thread which the smṛti, and not the śruti, prescribed.

The author puts the age of Zarathushtra at 6500 B.C. The Avesta and Ṛgveda come, according to him, two thousand years later. Haptanhaiti Yasna is put in between, but nearer to the Gāthās because in language it partakes of the peculiarities of Gāthiç and later Avestan forms. The western scholars give him a date not earlier than 1000 B.C. but some regard the Gāthiç language as more archaic and the author points out the inconsistency.

The author conducts a calculation of dates on the lines of the "Orion" of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The Kṛttikās begin the list of asterisms in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and there is a Śatapatha passage stating that Kṛttikās rose due east. Perhaps without much justification the meaning of that passage is disputed. The Kṛttikā equinox period is put thus on 50" precession.

Uttarapros̥thapada years	792	past
Revatī period earlier	960	
Aśvatī period	960	
Bharaṇī period	960	
Kṛttikā period	960	
	<hr/>	
	4632	
	<hr/>	

That is, it started 4632 years ago or from 2680 B.C. and lasted 960 years. The equinox in Mṛgaśīras is derived from the Gītā which says that Śrī Kṛṣṇa was Mārgaśīrṣa among the months. Mārgaśīrṣa is so called because the Full Moon of that month falls in Mṛgaśīras or Orion. It is said that Mārgaśīrṣa was a mistake. He cannot be Spring among seasons and Mārgaśīrṣa among months and what he should have said is the equinox in Mṛgaśīras or Orion. As that was his intention add two 960s for that period and you get near 4600 B.C. Then Aditi period is conceived as about 6600 B.C.

I think the author accepts the same Puñarvasu period for Zoroaster also. Apart from this what scripture did Zoroaster revolt against? What the author himself implies is that there were hymns in use for ceremonies and it is against that system he rebelled and after his Gāthās, the Deva-worshippers collected their hymns and added to them and created their Ṛgveda canon. The hymns in use, the sacred mantras, were surely not changed into current language before the canon was formed. Gāthās, the author says were composed in the then spoken language. If the hymns then in use were not altered, it cannot be that the scripture controverted is later, whatever refinement in language there may be in the controverted literature. The place in which each scripture was composed may account for the difference, or if the Ṛgveda composition was by a class already engaged in Samskritising the language, its language might be more developed. In any case schismatic Gāthā cannot be earlier in time than what it differs from. Reason for their difference in language though contemporaneous in time must have some other explanation. Tamil is spoken now in Jaffna and in Madras. They show so much difference that they may be said to be different. Differences of dialect exist in the southern districts but Jaffna does not speak a dialect of Madras Tamil. Vast differences may arise at different times or in different places at the same time. It is nothing to me if the Gāthās were earlier. I only point out difficulties in conceiving the priority of the critic to the system he controverts.

If both were of the Punarvasu period, their priority and posteriority become a very difficult question. I am not pleading for the priority of the Ṛgveda in its present form. I am only saying that it requires examination by competent scholars.

I am not sure that the Ṛgveda has any reference to the equinox in any asterism. No reference is given for verification.

I know even less about the Gāthās and cannot say about references in them. I can only say that the suggestion that Ahura and his companions represent the Solar System seems far-fetched. Was there any reason to conceal the reference to the Solar System? During the long period of 8500 years none suggested the interpretation of the Solar System. All other explanations given are rejected as due to ignorance. The Āditya interpretation is rejected. An unthought of meaning suggested after 8500 years may not claim ready credence.

I recognise the strength of the author's conviction on the basis of the inspiration he has derived from Zoroaster himself and from Ahura. As the author himself says it is to be examined and judged as to what is valuable and what is not.

There is the contention of the author that astrology is the foundation of the Gāthās and that it was on the knowledge of astrology gathered in South India that the true interpretation came to the author. I am not going to discuss the credibility of astrology about which experiences differ and cases are cited on both sides urging belief or disbelief. I have not heard any one say that the Ṛgveda required an astrological key to unlock its secrets. Of the lecture at the Darbhanga Conference about astrology in the Ṛgveda, I learn only from the book under review. The first reason for doubting it is what reason can there be for not disclosing it clearly? The reviewer has no doctrine or theory of his own to push forward. Astrology is sure to affect before all else the sphere of marriage by suggesting comparison of horoscopes. The Smṛtis have no reference to it in their elaborate instructions for the choice of a wife. I am inclined to infer that either astrology was not then so well known or that if they knew of it they attached no importance comparable to our judgment now in its favour. It has never been thought till now that the Gāthās were based on astrology; it *might* be a case of reading a modern thought into an ancient subject innocent of any such idea. What was the asterism under which Sītā, Rukmiṇī, Draupadī, Damayantī or Sāvitrī was born? The great sages who conducted those marriages do not seem to have compared horoscopes nor even to have asked for them. Those are my reasons for not readily accepting an astrological basis for the Gāthās or the Ṛgveda.

The Gāthā script of 8500 years age is referred to as unknown. As the author himself says, oral instruction from teacher to pupil has been the mode of preserving the text as well as the rhythm of both scriptures. Even as to Pāṇini's time within 1000 B. C., Max Muller and Goldstücker differ as to whether there was writing known. Whether 8500 years ago there was any script must again be decided by those who know the subject.

◦ From the beginning, the interval of 2000 years between the Gāthās and the Ṛgveda, the contemporaneity of the Avesta

and Ṛgveda seem to be the theory which the argument works towards.

As to svaras, I am under the impression that the same words in different passages have different svaras, udātta, anudātta or svarita and they are not permanent accents of words in the same way as English words. I can only recite as I have been taught. Mr. Khabardar has corrected texts in accordance with the number of letters of the metre employed. Whether the Dasturs will accept the corrections of text and svara, I should be curious to know from a Parsi Priest. As for the Indian Vaidikas, I know they will not alter one syllable or intonation for anything in the world. It is an old saying that by mis-rhythming the word Indra-śatru Vṛtra was destroyed because instead of the killer of Indra the actual meaning became one killed by Indra and its effect was accordingly that the Vṛtra was killed. As for statement that Yāska or Pāṇini regretted the loss of tradition it will be answered that they corrected the errors and all is recited now as settled by them.

There are passages where alteration is indubitably indicated but no one will agree to change. The reading in the Tamil districts is 'āpādatalamastakaḥ' while the Mahārāṣṭra recites 'āpādatalamastakam'. The latter is correct grammar, but each keeps to his version. Another more flagrant case is 'sa Brahmā sa Śivaḥ sa Hariḥ Sendraḥ so' kṣaraḥ paramaḥ svarāt'. The verse is anuṣṭubh and consists of eight letters. The first line contains eleven letters and either *sa Śivaḥ* or *sa Hariḥ* should be omitted. Lest omission of either degrade the omitted deity or raise him above the other, the eleven letters remain in our version uncorrected.

By the by, are the week days bearing the names of the Sun and Moon and the planets referred to in any book of the Parsis? What is the date of the book in which they are first referred to? That may have a bearing on the astronomical and astrological theory of the Gāthās. I may have to return to this interesting subject after a more intensive study of the volume.

Nothing here said detracts from my statement that this laboriously prepared book demands examination and appraisal. What has been expressed here is only the tentative ideas in the mind of the reviewer after reading the material part of the book.

THE HOLY LAKE OF THE ACTS OF RAMA (A COMPLETE TRANSLATION OF TULASI DAS'S RAMA-CARITAMANAS): By W. D. P. Hill. Oxford University Press. 1952; Rs. 15.

A poet, as we know, is not only the mouthpiece of the people but also an inspirer, a guide and a teacher. Tulasīdās was one of this type. He brought out the epic Rāmacarita-mānasa and eleven other works. His purpose was beyond doubt the preservation of the Vedic Dharma in all its perspective. Though the poet was a master in Sanskrit versification, he took to the medium of Avadhi, the spoken dialect of Hindi at Ayodhya, which would readily be understood by the common man. His language is homely, idiomatic and full of poetic suggestion.

The story as set out by Tulasīdās differs from that of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, the original story of Rāma over which the superstructure of the work under review stands. This is due to the fact that this work echoes the influence of more than sixty works (cf. Growse's translation, Introduction, p. ii). Tulasīdās has, however, absorbed the spirit of the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa which goes to give it a highly spiritual fervour. The digressions and differences brought in by Tulasīdās go to give a new glow to the work, and make it an epitome of Rāmāyaṇas. We cannot but relish very many of his original touches in several significant places. As an example, the element of *pūrvārāga* (pre-matrimonial love) may be cited.

So far as characterisation is concerned, the Rāmacarita-mānasa is a reservoir of ideals. We find in Rāma the consummation of an ideal son, husband and king, master, friend and foe. Tulasi has identified Rāma with Viṣṇu and even with the Absolute Brahman.

Rāmāyaṇa is something more than a master-piece of letters. It is a teacher of morals in the ideal sense of the term. Very many people whose mother-tongue is Hindi take Tulasi's work as their *Dharma Guru*, religious teacher, and worship it.

The place of Rāmāyaṇa in Indian literature, in all languages of India, stands supreme. Truly speaking, it has a message for the whole world. Hence it is all the more essential that translations rendering the true perspective of the epic should come out and make available to the world at large

the memorable morals and minute shades of the Man of India in Oriental Mythology.

It goes to the credit of Mr. W. D. P. Hill to have brought out such a true and readable translation. Readers are already acquainted with Mr. Hill through his translation and commentary on the Bhagavad Gītā. The present volume is an English prose rendering of the greatest Hindi epic. Various translations have come out practically in all the well-developed languages of the world and especially in English. Mr. F. S. Growse brought out a complete English translation for the first time in 1877 "under serious disadvantages." (Introduction, p. xxiii). Recently in 1951, another complete translation was brought out by the well-known scholar Sri Hanuman Prasad Poddar from the Gītā Press, Gorakhpur. Hill's translation is the latest attempt to show the importance of the epic to the English world at large. He deserves our sincere congratulations for this scholarly work.

The Rāmacaritamānasa with the peculiarities of Oriental expressions and the onomatopoetic magnificance of its diction cannot easily be dressed in an occidental language. One cannot but appreciate Mr. Hill for a greater degree of accuracy over the previous translations, including that of J. M. Carpenter and Sir George Grierson. Mr. Hill had before him practically all the important editions of the Rāmacaritamānasa and has based his translation on the commentary of Sri Poddar. He has taken much pains to bring out the ideas of the original in true colours and has achieved success to a very great extent. His language is chaste, lucid and flowing. Another remarkable characteristic of the translation is that it is wholly unbiassed. Mr. Hill has endeavoured to express the Hindu spirit exactly as it is. The Introduction gives a fairly elaborate account of the life and works of Tulasi together with a concise exposition of his philosophy. The work, on the whole, is very commendable.

The Oxford University Press also deserves a word of praise not only for the neat get-up and print, but for taking up a work of this nature and value for publication.

S. SANKARA RAJA NAIDU
(*Senior Lecturer in Hindi, Madras University*)^o

THE INWARDNESS OF BRITISH ANNEXATIONS IN INDIA (Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures, 1948-49): By C. S. Srinivasachari. University of Madras, Madras, 1951. Rs. 10/-

This book is devoted to a full, critical and documented discussion of the grounds and circumstances under which British annexations in India, other than those resulting from wars and conquests, were made by Lord Dalhousie during the period of his Governor-Generalship. It is based on six lectures delivered by the author under the Sir William Meyer Lectures Endowment for the year 1948-49. The publication of this work has a melancholy aspect, for the author passed away while the book was in the course of printing.

Though there is some truth in the remarks that the foundation of British power in India "was an unconscious lapse into greatness" and that England acquired this country "in a fit of absent-mindedness" so far as they relate to history of the British East India Company up to the middle of the eighteenth century, it is not true of the subsequent period, for from the years following the end of the Carnatic Wars the Company definitely worked with a resolve to acquire territory and build up revenues. In spite of Pitt's India Act (1784) which contains the following preamble, namely, "whereas to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and policy of this nation" and discountenances unprovoked and unauthorised hostilities, the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors departed from it even so early as 1786 and asked the Governor-General "to unite our Indian possessions by an acquisition of Cuttack if any favourable moment, should arise for obtaining it by negotiation". The Charter Act of 1793 reiterated the policy of non-annexation proclaimed in 1784, but at the beginning of the next century Lord Wellesley justified his annexation of territories in India on the ground that "no inference can be drawn from the letter or spirit of the Act of 1793 to preclude the extension of British territories in India by just and legitimate means unconnected with schemes of conquest and irregular ambition". The policy was pursued by Lord Hastings also though his dictum was one of non-interference in the internal administration of the Indian States and scrupulous regard for Indian laws and usages and the letter of the treaties which should be interpreted in favour of the princes,

In 1834 the Court of Directors passed a resolution that when a Hindu prince in subordinate relation to them died, his territories and revenues should escheat to the Company, but they might at their discretion, permit the adoption and succession of the adopted heir to the *masnad*, and in 1841 they resolved to "persevere in the one, clear and direct course of abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue, while all existing claims of a right are at the same time scrupulously respected". The highest watermark of this policy, quite contrary to the parliamentary enactments, was reached during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie who was clear about the duty of the British Government "not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves". During his time Satara, Jaitpur in Bundelkhand, Udepur in Bengal, Nagpur, Jhansi, Tanjore and the Carnatic besides Oudh and Berar were annexed. The author discusses in detail the political, moral and legal aspects of the annexations and says that no paramount power, Mughal, Maratha or British had the right to refuse to recognise adoptions. The policy of the recognition of adoptions and successions by Indian princes was reversed from 1841 with the annexation of Colaba by the application of the doctrine of lapse. When Appa Sahib of Satara died in 1848 after adopting a son to whom he wished the *raja* to be transmitted, Dalhousie refused to recognize it and annexed the state though the Resident at Satara and the Governor of Bombay were both of opinion that the adoption should be confirmed. Despite the fact that the ruler of Jhansi had rendered great services to the British in 1825, when the *raja* died after adopting a son, the state was annexed with the words "the adoption was good for the conveyance of private rights, though not for the transfer of the principality". When Raghujii III died in December, 1853 without leaving or adopting an heir, Lord Dalhousie declared that the sovereignty of the Bhonsle Raj had consequently lapsed to the paramount power. The annexation of the Carnatic is dealt with at some length. When the last titular Nawab Muhammad Ghaus Khan died in 1855 without leaving any son, the Carnatic was annexed on the ground that Azim Shah had no title to the Nawabship, and the deceased Nawab had abused the dignity of his position. Likewise the death of Sivaji, the last *Raja* of Tanjore, in the same

year leaving only a daughter led to the mediatisation of the raj on the ground "by no law or usage has the daughter of a Hindu raja any right of succession to the raj". Oudh was annexed in 1856 on the ground of bad administration, as a result of which the country swarmed with disbanded troops and supplied fuel to the rebellion of 1857. The acquisition of Birar in 1853 destroyed the cordial relations between the British and the Deccan nobility. All this drama of annexation is dealt with in all thoroughness and mastery of detail in the course of six lectures. The volume contains a detailed bibliography and an analytical index.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

EARLY GANGAS OF TALAKAD: By Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri. (R. Hari Rao, 10-11, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore 2). 1952. Price Rs. 2 8-0.

The history of the Gangas of Talakad has not so far met with proper and full treatment at the hands of historians. Basing his conclusions on the evidence of some spurious grants of the dynasty Dr. Fleet thought years ago that the Ganga grants were in general undependable and doubted the historicity of the early members of the dynasty. But since then the discovery of a number of Ganga grants has rendered a re-examination and revision of early Ganga history possible and necessary. One such is the Hebbata grant of the Ganga king Durvinita which is edited by Dr. Srikantha Sastri in this booklet under review with valuable discussion and notes. In it the author attempts to reconstruct the history of the Ganga dynasty from about c. 300 to 600 A.D. in the light of all the Ganga records published till now with special reference to the Hebbata grant of Durvinita and the chronology of the important dynasties of South India during the period. On an examination of the Ganga records he comes to the conclusion that "it is possible to accept some of the chronological data found in early Ganga records as reliable in spite of slight differences which apart from other considerations need not invalidate the charters". According to the author, Durvinita must be assigned to the close of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth century (491-535). But this seems to be too early a date for him in view of the fact that Chalukya Vikramaditya I, the grandson of Durvinita is said to have restored his dynasty in 655 A.D. with his grandfather's help.

Further if Bharavi is taken to be a contemporary of Pulakesin II, Vishnuvardhana, Simhavishnu and Durvinita, the last of them has necessarily to be placed about the first half of the seventh century. So Dr. Sastri's suggestion that Vishnuvardhana whose court was visited by Bharavi was not Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the brother of Pulakesin II, but Vijayaditya who fought with Trilochana Pallava (p. 29) requires further investigation. It is not known why the author should identify Panarashtra with the Pandya country. He suggests that Durvinita's wars with the Pallavas and Kadambas were fought after 510 A.D., twenty years subsequent to his succession. But there is reference to the battle of Andari fought by him against the Pallavas even before his fourth regnal year (M.A.R., 1942, No. 31).

The last section in the booklet is devoted to a careful examination of the palaeography, language and orthography of the grant under consideration and an account of the chronology of the reign of the king. At the end is given a synchronistic table of the different dynasties that ruled over different parts of South India between 300 and 600 A.D. such as the Gangas, Kadambas, Punnadu chiefs, Vakatakas, Pallavas, the Chalukyas of Vatapi and the Eastern Gangas.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF AVICENNA ABU ALI
AL-USAIN IBN ABDALLAH IBU SINA, 980-1037
A.D.: By H. J. J. Winter, M.Sc., Ph. D. Indian,
Institute of Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore.
Price Re. 1.

It is very unfortunate that in these days of mutual misunderstanding and lack of goodwill we are not only prejudiced against each other politically but in the sphere of learning also. An average Hindu scholar does not like nowadays to study the classical literature and philosophy of the Muslims. Similarly Muslims do not care to study the ancient lore of the Hindus, altogether forgetting that learning is a sacred thing and one should not be prejudiced against any literature or school of thought.

Avicenna was born at Afshana near Bukhārā in 980 and died in Hamadān in 1037 A.D. His erudition revealed itself early in life, for he was thoroughly familiar with the *Qurān*

and the standard classics of Arabic literature at the age of ten. After eight more years in which he directed his efforts mainly to the understanding of Greek astronomy, mathematics and deductive logic, and also Muslim philosophy and jurisprudence and the advances made upon Greek Science especially in medicine, he presently found himself with a reputation as a physician. Avicenna was a founder of medical science and psychology. In short there was no branch of learning in which he was not interested and to which he did not contribute his own adequate share.

He was a profound thinker of his century whose original thought continued to influence scholars of the subsequent ages. It is the genius like Avicenna who transcends all restrictions of race and creed and breaks down all geographical frontiers, that may be rightly said to belong to the whole of humanity. His literary and philosophical output was vast, and there exists much valuable material in Arabic and Persian manuscripts requiring careful translation and evaluation. What we do know of Avicenna and his stupendous work are sufficient to occupy most modern scholars a life time.

Dr. Winter has laid us under his obligation by writing this valuable brochure. It gives us some idea, however faint it may be, of the wonderful range of knowledge which Avicenna possessed and which later on served to develop various branches of learning.

M. HAFIZ SYED

THE BANAS IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY: By Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. 1952.

While small local powers that rose to eminence and built up empires have been fully dealt with in major books of history, there are those that played throughout only a subordinate role, and kept themselves up by changing their allegiance from one sovereign power to another, and whose histories, forming part of the history of the imperial dynasties, require to be written out in detail. The Sankara-Parvati Endowment of the Madras University had usually borne excellent fruit and thrown into full view the histories of these local powers and smaller principalities. Dr. Mahalingam's two lectures under this endowment in 1950-51 represent the fruitful use of this endowment for the elucidation of a chapter of South Indian history.

It is interesting and highly enlightening to trace the fortunes of the Bāṇas, as Dr. Mahalingam has done. Coming into view in South Indian politics in the 4th century A.D. in Kolar and Kurnool Districts, the Bāṇas shift not only their allegiance, but also their territory, till they fade out in Southern Pandyan country as petty poligars. Discussing their original home, the author explains clearly the significance of the Tamil territorial name *Perumbāṇappāḍi* in North Arcot-Chittor area which the Digambara Jain work *Loṅkavibhāga* also calls *Pāṇarāṣṭra*, and rightly discounts Rice's suggestion of any connection between the Bāṇas, who claim descent from Mahābali, and Mahābalipuram. The main part of the account is devoted to the political career of the Bāṇas who began as feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, then of the Pallavas, and then of the Kadambas of Banavāsi; after a gap of about two centuries they are seen again as subordinates of the Cālukyas of Vātāpi; more eventful periods follow, and the author traces the part played for three centuries by eight important Bāṇas in the politics of the Pallavas, the Gaṅgas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cōḷas. As an illustration of how such a detailed examination of the subordinate powers helps the study of the events of the sovereign dynasties may be cited Dr. Mahalingam's successful identification, as against the inability of a succession of writers, Keilhorn, Bhagavan Lal Indraji, Bhandarkar and Altekar, of the Meru defeated by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III as Vikramāditya I Jayameru of the Bāṇas (pp. 178-9).

Some of the general considerations on the career of the Bāṇas reveal the significant facts of a fair amount of local autonomy which the subsidiary powers and territories always enjoyed under the ancient Indian empires, and of the fair share they had in the patronage afforded to cultural activities, in religion, art and letters. The author draws attention to the fact that the earliest mention of provision for singing *Devāram* in the temples is in a Bāṇa inscription in the Bilvanātheśvara temple at Tiruvallam; not only do epigraphs mention their *Brahmadeyas* to scholars, but we may add that from the side of literature too, we have evidence showing their *Tittakuḍi* or *Vasiṣṭhakutī* as a centre of Sanskrit literary activity. Devasena, pupil of Bhavanandin (who has nothing to do with the late North Indian navya-nyāya writer Bhavānanda) who was the spiritual

THE SOCIAL PLAY IN SANSKRIT: By V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D. Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, 1952.

In this brochure entitled "The Social Play in Sanskrit," Dr. V. Raghavan has compressed new and valuable material, from published and unpublished sources, which is not easily accessible to the students of Sanskrit drama. The point of view that the Sanskrit Drama has not neglected the social life in preference to the court-life has been clearly brought out in this lecture by a critical analysis of what is known as the *Prakarāṇa* form of drama and its specimens actually in existence as also those that are available in stray allusions only. Every student of Sanskrit Drama will read with profit and interest the views expounded herein by Dr. Raghavan.

Dr. Raghavan includes *Prakarāṇa*, *Prahasana*, *Bhāṇa* and *Vithi* under the social type as different from the heroic under which are classed *Nāṭaka*, *Vyāyoga*, *Samavakāra*, *Ḍima*, *Īhāmṛga*, *Aṅka*, the *Prakarāṇa* and the *Nāṭaka* being the best representatives of the two types respectively. According to him "the aim of the poet in the *Nāṭaka* is to present what has been conceived as the highest type of human personality, whereas in the *Prakarāṇa*, it is to hold up the mirror to the world, to depict society as it is in its rank and file". In his opinion, the sources upon which these two types draw are also different, the heroic upon the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and the social on the *Bṛhatkathā*.

Compared with the *Nāṭakas*, there are only a few well-known *Prakarāṇas* available, such as the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Mālatīmādhava*, and Dr. Raghavan has retrieved from oblivion

some of the most important dramas of the social type by piecing together bits of the remnants of some of the lost plays, by filling in the details and raising the super-structure with the help of his powerful imagination. His reconstruction of the plot of Devicandragupta of Viśākhadatta is an instance in point. He has also cited many interesting examples from various sources, not easily available to the public, of about a dozen dramas of the Prakaraṇa type and other minor varieties, furnishing many interesting details wherever possible. This is the most valuable part of the lecture both for the scholars as well as for the general readers who will ever remain highly indebted to Dr. Raghavan.

If it is granted that in this most intellectual and artistic form of literature, the drama, the mind and movement in society is deeply reflected, the representation of the different phases of life in society depends upon the dominant factors of that particular epoch or the evolutionary stage of that society. When the King was the irresistible centre of attraction, power and patronage, Court-life was being prominently represented on the stage, but when the accent was shifted from royalty to aristocracy and thereafter to bourgeoisie and proletariat, we find consequential changes in the stage also. What is important from our point of view is that the original conception of Hindu Drama takes note of the ever-widening field of the complicated social life and allows a free play to the genius of the artist. At the request of Bharata, Brahmā explains in unmistakable terms: "Enriched with varied emotions, depicting all kinds of states and imitating the life of the people, this Drama has been created by me. It encompasses within its purview all the actions of men, whether they belong to the Higher, the Middle or the Lower class in society.....In short, whatever is worth imitating in this world, which consists of the seven islands, should be considered fit for representation on the stage."¹

European scholars, however, have judged Sanskrit dramatic literature from their own point of view and not from the point of view of the standards laid down by Bharata. The most crying need of the moment is therefore the study of our own theatre from our own point of view, both in theory and in practice, and the writing of a History of Sanskrit

1. Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata, K.S.S. No. 60, p. 9, (I. 108-109 and 116).

Drama. How long are we to teach, at our Colleges and Universities, Keith's book on the subject and ask our students to reproduce the prejudiced and disparaging remarks of that author? It is high time now that a scholar of such great erudition and mature genius as Dr. Raghavan should undertake the work to vindicate our authors.

The Indologist's great obsession is the study of the language, its grammar, interpretation and translation, but it requires the gift of imagination and a poetical mind to be able to appreciate a piece of dramatic art and it would be very interesting in this connection to quote the impressions of one of the greatest French poets, Lamartine, who had a different appreciation altogether of some of our Sanskrit dramas:

“La vertu, et non la passion, est le but moral des dramas poetiques de l'Inde; leur poesie, plus philosophique que la notre, tend a calmer l'ame du spectateur, et non a la troubler. L'equilibre des sensations, qui est la sante de l'ame, y est promptement retabli apres les peripeties moderees de la curiosite. Les regles de leur litterature theatrale...revelent, dans ces temps recules, de profondes notions sur la maniere de l'emouvoir, d'interessier, de tendre et detendre l'esprit des hommes rassembles, et de les faire sortir de ces representations dans un etat d'edification morale en le plaisir meme profite a la sante.” (Cours Familier de Litterature-Entretiens iii-iv, 1856, Page 437.)

“Virtue and not passion is the moral aim of the poetical dramas of India; their poetry, more philosophical than ours, tends to soothe the mind of the spectator and not to disturb it. The equilibrium of the sensations (feelings), which is the health of the mind, is promptly established therein after the catastrophe tempered with curiosity. The rules of their dramatic literature...reveal, in those far-off times, the profound notions on the manner of affecting, interesting, stretching and loosening the spirit of the assembled people to make them come out, from these representations in a state of moral edification in which even pleasure profits the mental health.”

In Dr. Raghavan ripe scholarship is combined with poetical talents and if he undertakes to write a History of Sanskrit Drama it would be meeting a desideratum.

R. G. HARSHE

(Registrar, Deccan College Research Institute, Poana)

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Note 2. This *sūtra* classifies *ayan-ena-p-paṭutal* mentioned in line 41 of the 24th *sūtra* of *Kaḷaviyal*.

Note 3. The reading *tokaiya v-ēlu* found in the *Ḥampūraṇam* seems to be a misprint.

205. உற்றுழி மல்லது சொல்ல லின்மையின்
அப்பொருள் வேட்கைக் கிழவியி னுணர்ப்.
Urruli y-allatu colla l-inmayin
A-p-poruḷ vēḷkai-k kīlaviyi n-uṇarṇa.

Since it is not expressed except at the critical situation, the lady's love towards the lover is inferred by others through her features etc.

Note 1. The subject of *urruli* is inferred from the context. *Arattiyal* is taken here also from the *sūtra* 11.

Note 2. The subject of *uṇarṇa*, according to *Ḥampūraṇar* is *tōḷi*, *ceṇḷi* and *narrāy* and according to *Naccinārkkiṇiyar*, *tōḷiyar*.

206. செறிவு கிறைவுஞ் செம்மையுஞ் செப்பும்
அறிவு மருமையும் பெண்பா லான.
Cerivu kiṇaiṇ-ūñ cemmai-y-uñ cepṇ-um
Ariṇu m-arumai-y-um peṇṇā lāṇ-a.

Fullness, modesty, straightforwardness, skill in speech, keen knowledge and depth of mind are the qualities of women.

207. பொழுது மாறுங் காப்புமென் நிவற்றின்
வழுவி னாகிய குற்றங் காட்டலும்
தன்னை யழிதலு மவணு¹ தஞ்சலும்
இரவினும் பகலினும் நீவா² வென்றலும்
கிழவோன் தன்னை வார வென்றலும்
நன்மையும் தீமையும் பிறிதினைக் கூறலும்
புரைபட வந்த வன்னவை பிறவும்
வரைதல் வேட்கைப் பொருள் வென்ப.
Polutu m-āruṇ kāppum-eṇ r-iṇarriṇ
Valuvi n-ākiya kurrañ kāṭṭal-um
Tannai y-alital-u m-aṇ-ū r-añcal-um
Iraṇ-um pakaliṇ-um ni-vā v-eṇral-um
Kīlavōṇ raṇnai vāra l-eṇral-um
Naṇmai-y-um timai-y-uṇ piritinai-k kūral-um

1. அவண் (இளம்.); அவன் (நச்.)

2. வா (இளம்.); வரல் (நச்.)

Purai-paṭa vanta v-annavai pira-v-um
Varaital vēṭkai-p poruḷa v-eṇṭa-pa-

They say that the mention of the dangers due to inopportune time, inconvenient path and watch, mention of her diffidence, mention of the difficulties she (lady-love) will be put to, telling him to come at night and at day, asking the lover not to come and mention of the merits and the defects, etc., at the *kaḷavu* stage are intended only to make him approach the bride's father to give her in marriage to him.

Note. This *sūtra* is the supplement to ll. 29 to 34 of the *sūtra* 112.

208. வேட்கை மறுத்துக் கிளந்தாக் குரைத்தல்
 மரீஇய மருங்கி னுரித்தென மொழிப.

Vēṭkai maruttu-k kilantāṅ k-uraittal
Marīya maruṅki n-uritt-eṇa molipa.

They say that it is also proper to avoid the suggestion of *varaital vēṭkai* and to express it clearly when *kaḷavu* exceeds the time limit.

Note 1. *Vēṭkai* means *vēṭkai-p-poruḷ*.

Note 2. Naccinārkkīṇiar's interpretation is totally different. It is this:—It is proper for both the lover and the love to narrate to the other their sufferings during separation in *kaikkilāi* and *peruntinai*.

209. தேரு¹ மியானையும் குதிரையும் பிறவும்
 உளந்தன ரியங்கலு முரிய ரென்ப.

Tēru m-i-yānai-y-ūṅ kutirai-yum pīravum
Ūrntoṇa r-iyankal-u m-uriya r-eṇṭa.

They say that the lovers may come riding on chariots, elephants, horses, etc., (during *kaḷavu*).

210. உண்டற் குரிய வல்லாப் பொருளை
 உண்டன போலக் கூறலு மரபே.

Uṇṭar-k-uriya v-allā-p poruḷai
Uṇṭana pōlak kūṛalu maraṭ-ē.

There is tradition to describe an object which is not capable of eating, to have eaten.

Ex. Pacalai uṇṭatū (Beauty spots on the skin of a woman ate.)

1. தேரு மியானையும் (இளம்.). தேரும் யானையும் (கச்ச.).

211. பொருளென மொழிதலும் வரைநிலை யின்றே
காப்புக் கைம்மிருத லுண்மை யானே.

Poruḷ-ena molital-um varainilai y-inrē
Kāppu-k kai-m-mikuta l-unmai yān-ē.

When the watch is severe, it is not forbidden to mention about wealth to the lover.

Note. Telling the falsehood that the parents want money when she is under strict watch is sanctioned by this *sūtra*.

212. அன்பே யறனே யின்ப நானொடு
தறத்த வொழுக்கம் பழித்தன் ருகலின்
ஒன்றும் வேண்டா காப்பி னுள்ளே.

Anp-ē y-aran-ē y-inpa nāṇoḍu
Turanta v-olukkam paḷittan r-ākalin
Onrum vēṇṭā kāppi n-ul-l-ē.

Behaviour beyond the limits of *anpu* (love), *aran* (dharma), *inpaṁ* (pleasure) and *nāṇ* (modesty) is not objectionable (in *kaḷavu*) and is hence admissible. Hence consideration of them is not necessary when there is strict watch.

Note 1. This *sūtra* is tacked on to the previous one in the Iḷampūraṇam.

Note 2. The subject of *onrum* is *atu* (understood) which stands for *turanta olukkam* and the subject of *vēṇṭā* is *anpu*, *aran*, *inpaṁ* and *nāṇ*.

213. சுரமென மொழிதலும் வரைநிலை யின்றே.
• *Curam-ena molital-um varai-nilai y-inr-ē.*

It is not prohibited to say that it is the desert (to pass through).

Note. Iḷampūraṇar tells us that this *sūtra* sanctions the lover saying to the love that it is the desert that he has to cross when he goes to gather money. According to this, this *sūtra* becomes the supplement to *sūtra* 44 of the *Akattiṇaiyiyal*. Naccinārkkiniyar takes this sanctioning the lady-love and her friend dissuading the lover from going away by saying that it is the desert he has to cross.

214. உயர்ந்தோர் கிளவி¹ வழக்கொடு புணர்தலின்
வழக்குவழிப் படுதல் செய்யுட்குக் கடனே.

1. கிளவி (இளம்.); கிளவியும் (நச்சு.)

Uyarntōr kilavi valakkoṭu puṇartalin
Valakku-vali-p paṭutal ceyyutku-k kaṭaṇ-ē.

It is incumbent in Poetry to take recourse to the ways of the high class people when the ways of the world are described.

Note 1. *Sūtra* 14 of the *Marapiyal* tells us that *valakkū* mentioned here refers to *uyarntōr-valakkū*. 56th *sūtra* of the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* tells us that the description of *akam* in Literature should be based on *nāṭaka-valakkū* and *ulakiyal-valakkū*. Hence this *sūtra* may be taken to suggest that in *puram* also, *uyarntōr-valakkū* alone should be described.

Note 2. *Valakkū*, in this *sūtra*, is interpreted by Nacci-nārkkiniyar to refer to *Vēta-neri* (ways sanctioned in the *Vēdas*).

215. அறக்கழி வுடையன பொருட்பயம் படவரின்².

வழக்கென வழங்கலும்³ பழித்தன் மென்ப.

Arakkali-v-utaiyana poruṭ-payam paṭa-varin

Valakk-ena valaṅkal-um paṭittan r-enpa.

It is not to be despised to take under *valakkū* that which is against *dharma* if it comes under *akam*.

Note 1. The readings of *Ḵampūraṇam* and Nacci-nārkkiniyam are diametrically opposite. Since in Poetry the ways of the low class people also are described, Nacci-nārkkiniyar's reading alone is sound. Only then *um* in *valaṅkalum* has appropriate meaning.

Note 2. One may think that this *sūtra* sanctions that a king may attack his enemy to get wealth by taking *poruṭ* to mean wealth; it is not correct since it is taken under the *dharma* of a *kṣatriya*.

216. மிக்க பொருளினுட் பொருள்வகை புணர்க்க

காணுத்தலைப் பிரியா நல்வழிப் படுத்தே.

Mikka poruṭinuṭ poruṭvakai puṇarka

Nāṇu-t-talai-p priyā nal-vali-p paṭutt-ē.

When *akam* is described, attention is to be paid not to dispense with *modesty* (of women).

Note 1. This *sūtra* suggests that, even when the incidents against the rules of *dharma* are described, *modesty* in women should always be preserved.

2. வரினே (இளம்.); படவரின் (சு.)

3. பழித்தது (இளம்.); பழித்தன்று (சு.)

217. முறைப்பெயர் மருங்கிற் கெழுதகைப் பொதுச்சொல்
கீலக்குரி மரபி னிருவீற்று முரித்தே.

Murai-p-peyar marunkir kelu-takai-p potu-c-col
Nilaike-uri marapi n-iru-vīrru m-uritt-ē.

When word of relationship is to be used, an appropriate common word may be used both by men and women.

Note 1. Commentators say that the word *ellā* may be, used by the lover to address the lady and by the lady to address the lover.

218. தாயத்தி னடையா வீயச் செல்லா
வினைவயிற் றக்கா வீற்றுக் கொளப்படா
வெம்மென வருஉங் கீழுமைத் தோற்றம்
அல்ல¹ வாயினும் புல்லுவ வுளவே.

Tāyatti n-aṭaiyā vīya-c cellā
Vinai-vayir rankā vīrru-k koḷa-p. paṭā
Vem-m-eṇa varūn kiḷamai-t tōṛram
Alla v-āyinuṁ pulluva v-uḷa-v-ē.

Objects which one cannot claim to be his, since it is not inherited from parents, it is not given to him by others, it is not earned by him through his own work and it is not got by him by other ways, may be described to be his or her own if it suits the context.

Note. Lady's companion referring to the lady's shoulder to be hers is an instance in point.

219. ஒருபாற் கிளவி யேனைப்பா² கண்ணும்
வருவகை தாமே வழக்கென மொழிப.
Oṟu-pār kiḷavi y-ēṇai-p-pār kaṇ-n-um
Varu-vakai tām-ē valakk-eṇa molīpa.

Valakkū (usage) is that which is universal.

Note. According to Iḷampūraṇar *pāl* refers to *class* and according to Naccaiṇārkkiniyar it refers to *number*.

220. எல்லா வுயிர்க்கு மின்ப மென்பது
தானமர்த்து வருஉ மேவற் றாகும்.
Ellā v-u-yirkeku m-iṇpa m-eṇṇai
Tān-amarntu varū mēvar rākum.

Pleasure for all beings is in the region of mind.

1. அல்ல (இளம்.); அல்லா (நச்.)

2. ஏனைப்பால் (இளம்.); எனைப்பால் (நச்.)

Note 1. Nacčinārkkiniyar's meaning is this:—Unlike *dharmā* and *artha*, *kāma* is in the reach of all living beings.

221. பரத்தை வாயி னுல்வர்க்கு முரித்தே
நிலத்திரி பின்றசி தென்மனார் புலவர்.

Parattai vāyi nālvarkku m-uritt-ē
Nilattiri p-inṇ-a. t-enmanār pulavar.

Ūṭal due to the lover's connection with courtesan is found among the women of all the four castes. They say that it happens in the same region.

Note 1. This may be considered to be the supplement of 11.22 & 23 of *sūtra* 44 of the *Akattiṇaiyiyal*.

222. ஒருதலை யுரிமை வேண்டி னு¹ மகடேப்

பிரித வச்ச முண்மை யானும்

அம்பல மலரும் களவுவெளிப் படுக்குமென்று

அஞ்ச வந்த வாங்கிரு வகையினும்

கோக்கொடு வந்த விடையூறு பொருளினும்.

போக்கும் வரைவு மனைவிகட் டோன்றும்.

Oru-talai y-urimai vēṇṭinu makatūu-p

Pirita l-acca m-unmai yān-um

Ampal-a m-alar-un kalavu veli-p paṭukkum enri

Añca vanta v-āṅkiru vakaiyinum

Nōkkoṭu vanta v-ṭaiyūru poruḷin-um

Pōkkum varaiyu manaiṇikaṭ tōṇrum.

It may happen that the wife volunteers to go along with the husband or to ask him approach her father for marriage when she wants to decide her right of becoming the wife, when she fears his separation and when she fears that their intimacy may become known to all through *ampal* and *alar* and when there are obstacles for their meeting in the form of other's observation.

Note 1. Though it is against the nature of women to take the lead, it is allowed in these cases.

223. வருத்த மிகுதி சுட்டுங் காலே

உரித்தென மொழிப வாழ்க்கையு னிரக்கம்.

Varutta mikuti cuttūṇ kālai

Uritt-eṇa molipā vāḷkaiyu l-i-akkam.

They say that the married life deserves to be pitied when the misunderstanding between the husband and the wife is very great.

1. வேண்டினும் (இளம்.); வேண்டியும் (நச்.)

224. மனைவி யுயர்வுக் கீழ்வான் பணிவும்
நினையுக் காலைப் புலவ்யு ளூரிய.
Manaiṇi y-uyarvuṇ kīlavōṇ paṇivum
Ninaiyuṇ kālai-p pulaviyu ḷ-urīya.

Wife's getting the upper hand and husband's submission are found, on examination, during love-quarrel.

225. நிகழ்த்தகை மருங்கின் வேட்கை மிகுதியின்
புகழ்த்தகை வரையார் கற்பி னுள்ளே.
Nikal-takai maruṅkin vēṭkai mikitiyīn
Pukal-takai varaiyār karpi n-uḷ-ḷ-ē.

They do not prohibit the husband and the wife after marriage to speak in eulogistic terms at the height of passion.

226. இறைச்சி தானே ¹புரிப்புறத் ததுவே.
Iraicci tān-ē-y-uri-p-purat tatu-u-ē.

Iraicci is that which is not related to *uripporul*.

Note 1. ḷampūraṇar tells that *iraicci* denotes the adjunct of *karupporul*. But Nacciṇārkkiniyar takes the reading *porul* in place of *uri* and takes it to be the literal meaning and hence *iraicci*, according to him, means the implied meaning. In the *sūtra* classifying *uḷḷurai* he tells us that *uṭṭanurāi* and *iraicci* are one and the same. But in the following two *sūtras* he takes *iraicci* in the sense of *karupporul*.

227. இறைச்சியிற் பிறக்கும் பொருளுமா ளுளவே
திருத்தியன் மருங்கிற் றெரியு மோர்க்கே.
Iraicciyir pirakkum porul-um-ā r-uḷa-u-ē
Tirattiyaṇ maruṅkir reriyu mōrkē-ē.

There are meanings suggested by *iraicci* and they are understood only by the learned at the proper context.

228. அன்புறு தருவன விறைச்சியுட் சுட்டலும்
வன்புறையாகும் வருத்திய போருதே.
Anpuru takuvana v-iraicciyuṭ cuṭṭal-um
Vanpurai y-ākum varuntiya poluṭ-ē.

When (the lady) is in distress, it is a source of comfort to her to point out in *iraicci* the love of the husband towards her.

229. செய்பொரு ளச்சமும் வினையிற் பிரிவும்
மெய்பெற வுணர்த்துக் கிழவி பாராட்டே.
Cey-poru l-accam-um vinaivayir pirivum
Mey-ṭpera v-uṇarituṇ kilavi pārāṭṭ-ē.

Fear to do a thing (lest she should meet with an obstacle) and separation to gather wealth clearly tell us his love for the lady.

Note 1. *Kilavi-pārāṭṭu* is the object of *uṇarttum* according to *lāmpūraṇar* and the subject of *uṇarttum* according to *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar*.

230. கற்புவழிப் பட்டவள் பரத்தையை யேத்தினும்
உள்ளத் தூட லுண்டென மொழிப.
Karpu-vali-p paṭṭaval parattaiyai y-ēttinum
Uḷlat t-ūṭa l-uṇṇena molipa.

They say that a wife after marriage, though she extols a courtesan, has in her mind the feeling of jealousy and the consequent love-quarrel with her husband.

231. கிழவோள் பிறன்குண மிவையெனக் கூறிக்
கிழவோன் குறிப்பினை யுணர்த்தற்கு முரியள்.
Kilavōḷ piraḷ-kuṇa m-ivai-y-eṇa-k kūri-k
Kilavōṇ kurippinai y-uṇartarku m-urīyal.

She deserves to gauge the mind of the husband by extolling another woman.

Note. This is a supplement to the *sūtra* 6 of the *Karpiyal*.

232. தம்முறு வீழும் பரத்தையர் கூறினும்
மெய்ப்மை யாக வவர்வயி னுணர்ந்தம்
தலைத்தாட் கழுற்றம் மெதிர்ப்பொழு தின்றே
மலித லு மூட லு மவையவக் கடையே.
Tam-m-uru vilumam parattaiyar kūrinum
Meymmai y-āka v-avar-vayi ṇ-uṇarnium
Talai-t-tāṭ kaḷarram m-eṭir-p-polu t-inrē
Malital-u m-ūṭal-u m-avai-y-alāṇ kaṭai-y-ē.

Though the wife considers the complaint effected by the courtesan against her husband to be true, she does not openly accuse him when he goes before her. She does so only when she is not in a happy mood and in love-quarrel.

Note. This is a supplement to *sūtra* 24 of the *Karpiyal*.

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

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