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CONTENTS

VOL. XVIII]

[PART II

	PAGES
Vedic Study—Its History and Future; Louis Renou ...	65—83
The Point of View of the Vaiyākaraṇas:	
K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer ...	84—96
Works and Period of Literary Activity of	
Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya: R. C. Hazra ...	97—108
Bhārata Sāvitṛī: K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer ...	109—115
Music and Dance in Kālidāsa:	
K. V. Ramachandran ...	116—135
A Nāṭyācārya from Konārka:	
T. N. Ramachandran ...	136—139
Dancing Devī from Kanyākumārī:	
T. N. Ramachandran ...	140—142
Book Reviews ...	143—156
Supplements :	
Tolkāppiyam-Poruḷ-Kaḷaviyal:	
P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri ...	79—86
Avantisundarikathāsāra:	
G. Harihara Sastri ...	65—72

VEDIC STUDY—ITS HISTORY AND ITS FUTURE*

BY

PROF. LOUIS RENOU

It is exactly hundred years that the scientific study of the Vedas may be said to have begun in Europe and in India. Of course there have been from the 17th century, or even from the 16th, isolated travellers and missionaries who might have acquired some vague acquaintance with the Vedas. A French missionary of south India, Father Calmette, had made copies of numerous Vedic texts in Telugu script. A copy of the Rg Veda, the first of its kind, thus arrived in Paris as early as 1731. But these treasures could not be immediately utilised. The texts which found their way to France were written in characters difficult to read and still more difficult to interpret. There was no commentary, no grammar, no dictionary, not even the help of a living interpreter. The well-known French traveller Anquetil-Duperron, who travelled alone and in no official capacity in India in the middle of the 18th century, rendered signal service to Orientalism by the discovery of a text of the Avesta and by his Latin translation of the Upaniṣad, based on a Persian version. But ardently as he liked it, he could not have recourse to original Sanskrit texts. At the end of the century, one might say, our knowledge had in a way receded back. Some like the traveller Sonnerat began to doubt the existence of the Vedas and were inclined to consider the Vedic texts as mere forgery. Voltaire's denunciation of the Ezour-Vedam or the Rick-Ved as an imposition and his definition of the same as "science of divination" tended to induce some to error and to confirm a sceptic spirit in others.

On the whole, the first really precise information that we possess about the Vedic literature is conveyed to us by Colebrooke in his famous essay "On the Vedas or sacred writings of the Hindus" which appeared in the Asiatick Researches in Calcutta in 1805. It is not without reason that this little book has been considered as the cradle of Vedic studies. Colebrooke had been able to profit by the assistance of several Pandits in India. He could also consult the complete copy of the Vedas which had been acquired several years before at Jaipur and had been deposited in the British Museum. Henry

*One of the lectures delivered by Prof. L. Renou during his tour of India in 1948-1949.

Thomas Colebrooke was indeed the first European to be the teacher of Sanskrit, having been appointed in that capacity, in the Fort William College in 1801.

Thanks to the habitual perspicacity of this scholar of genius, the Vedic texts are described with remarkable precision; the scope and general limits of this literature are well defined. Yet with a fatality which one frequently encounters in Vedic studies, Colebrooke concluded his masterpiece with the pessimistic peroration, "The preceding description may serve to convey some notion of the Vedas. They are too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole; and what they contain would hardly reward the labour of the reader, much less that of the translator.....But they well deserve to be occasionally consulted by the Oriental scholar." This remark was rather calculated to discourage future research.

In fact, several decades were yet to pass before the Vedic studies could be genuinely inspired by the current of scientific progress. As ill luck would have it, incidental preoccupations and then his premature death prevented the eminent French scholar Eugène Burnouf from publishing the work on the Veda which he had prepared and of which the draft still slumbers unedited in the drawers of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Burnouf was passionately interested in the Vedas. His lectures in Paris, in the College of France, had been followed by nearly all who were destined to distinguish themselves one day in the Vedic studies, notably Goldstücker, Roth and Max Müller. One can say, without being accused of exaggeration, that Vedic philology in the first stage of its development centres round Burnouf.

It is now a hundred years that this philology came to be organised. I have been wishing for the past one or two years (and there is still time for it) that the centenary of the Vedic studies should be commemorated by certain articles and reviews. It was in 1846 that Max Müller, on his arrival in London undertook by the incentive of Burnouf the collation of the manuscripts of *Rksamhitā* and the *Sāyanabhāṣya*. The preface to the first Volume of this monumental work dates back to October, 1846. In 1846 also appeared a small book by Rudolf Roth which was a brilliant development of the old sketch of Colebrooke, "*Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda.*" The same year, another grand pioneer of Indology in Germany,

prepared his *Yajurvedæ specimen cum commentario* prelude to his great edition of the Yajurveda. One can ascribe to the same period, if not a year or two earlier, the preparation of the extraordinary edition of the Sāmaveda, procured by Benfey, the preparation of the translations of the Rksamhitā in English by Wilson and in French by Langlois and lastly the commencement of lexicographical research which was to culminate in the publication of the grand Sanskrit-German dictionary by Böhtlingk and Roth, a work unsurpassed till today.

It is not my intention to dwell at great length on the efforts, considerable and systematic that they are, that have been made in the domain of Vedic study both in the West as well as in the East. It has been ascertained that in Europe at least, during three quarters of a century, half of all that has been written on India has been devoted exclusively to the Vedas. One may regard this as disproportionate. One might consider that other branches of culture-history, diffusion of Buddhism, mediaeval Indian literature etc. would have afforded more fruitful fields of enquiry. Without doubt, they would have proved more agreeable and I have hardly the necessity of reminding you of this, that nothing is as severe and furnishes for the layman less interesting reading than the Vedic literature, as a whole. But this monotony of the Vedic literature is a common characteristic of more or less all the great scriptures that constitute the foundation of religions. What is there more monotonous than the sacred texts of Buddhism, of Jainism and should we say, a part at least of the Bible and the Koran as well. The Veda can claim over them the advantage of its antiquity which enhances its value to us. Perhaps they are not in their entirety the most ancient of the texts of the Indo-European world but they are, by all means, the most ancient of literary documents. And from the Indian point of view they form the source and the earliest outline of all the speculations and the various modes of thought that have marked the Indian mind in the course of its long evolution.

The hymns of the Vedas have been justly described by your great poet as "a poetic testament of a people's collective reaction to the wonder and awe of existence. A people of vigorous and unsophisticated imagination awakened at the very dawn of civilisation to a sense of inexhaustible mystery

that is implicit in life. It was a simple faith of theirs that attributed divinity to every element and force of Nature but it was a brave and joyous one, in which the sense of mystery only gave enhancement to life, without weighing it down with bafflement."

It should be noted, in passing, that Tagore was decidedly moved by Vedic inspiration. He has been subject not only to the influence of the Upaniṣad as it goes without saying, but also to that of the antique hymns. Our writer Andre Gide was not mistaken when in the course of translating into French the Gitanjali of Tagore he was struck by the resemblance to one passage of the Ṛgveda. He cites the poem of Gitanjali which opens with "when the creation was new and all the stars shone in their first splendour, the gods held their assembly in the sky and sang "Oh, the picture of perfection; the Joy unalloyed" and adds, "the sudden access of polytheism in this poem, unique as it is in the Gitanjali will not be surprising to those who remember the admirable stanza of the Ṛgveda- "Who verily knows and who can here declare, whence comes this creation? Who knows whence the world first came into being. He whose eye controls the world in highest heaven, he verily knows it, or perhaps he knows not, "yo asyādhyakṣaḥ parame vyoman so anga veda yadi vā na veda."

One may as well compare with the splendid hymns to Dawn, the poems to Light in the Gitanjali, notably "Light, my Light, the world-filling light, the eye-kissing light, heart-sweetening light." It is the 'rodasiprām agnim' of the old Ṛṣis.

Rightly or wrongly, it has been frequently observed that the speculation in Post-Vedic India has been dominated by a pessimistic conception of the world and of human nature. In fact one does not very frequently come across the joyous movement, the happy inspiration and feeling of repose in the literature of India. Now the Vedic poems seem to bear strong testimony, at least in places, to this ardour of living and rapture of happiness which mankind has very often lost, since then. In that remote age, man does not supplicate to the gods for escaping from the redoubtable necessity of rebirth. He prays on the other hand for the full span of existence, the life of hundred years, the joy of having robust sons and beautiful daughters and wealth in the form of cattle and harvest; and he prays for the pleasure of Paradise, to

boot, after his death. Even the language and the style by their extraordinary vitality aim at attesting, so to say, to this exuberance of joy of a people in its youth. They bring into clear relief the exaltation kindled in them when they have newly found access to the rich plains of North-western India after having emerged out of the rugged defiles of the mountains.

German scholars have, for a long time, played a preponderating part in the Vedic studies. Perhaps this preference was due in some of them to the satisfaction of finding in the Vedas, a sort of Aryan Bible which could be legitimately pitted against the Semitic Bible. A racial instinct has unconsciously coloured their work, on occasions. Again the Germans as founders of Comparative Grammar have a taste for linguistic observation which has been flattered by the richness of the forms of language in the Vedas. Lastly the romantic tendency has been particularly powerful in the Germanic territories. It was this tendency which impelled them to search in the Vedas for the ideal vision of what might have formed primitive humanity, an idyllic and pastoral people devoted to the cult of Nature and always prone to adore the dawn, the sun, the fire and water. No one has sought more to emphasise this conception than that scholar of German origin but early naturalised in England, the celebrated Max Müller. A curious and extremely engaging personality, Max Müller is the author of a highly technical work viz. the model edition of the *Prātiśākhya* of the *Ṛgveda*. He is also the author of works deeply tinged with lyricism and poetic fantasy. He has developed in hundred diverse ways, the thesis of the Vedas considered as primitive and almost spontaneous outburst. The reaction against this tendency has manifested itself in the same Germany among savants like Weber, Pischel, Hillebrandt and Oldenberg,—particularly Oldenberg, that impeccable scholar who is the author of the finest book that has been written for the general public on the Religion of the Vedas. In France also, this reaction of a most decisive character has been represented in Bergaigne. The great book of Bergaigne, entitled *La religion Vedique d'après les hymnes du Ṛgveda* has not been received either in France or abroad with the resounding applause which it deserved. It was however an astoundingly original endeavour which has never since been followed up in the same magnitude, the endeavour to

penetrate into the intimate thoughts of the poets of the Vedas. But how confounding it was for the reader, who, hitherto accustomed to find in the Vedas, naturalist poets and the echo of a naïve people was now called upon to look here for a whole mass of abstruse conception, an intense sacerdotalism and a refined scholasticism somewhat given to pedantry. How to reconcile oneself to these contradictions of scientific criticism? And meanwhile it had been incumbent to try to steer one's way clear through the paradox. The exigencies of scientific labour demanded that one should limit himself very often to work which is all the same indispensable *e. g.* editing, literal translation and learned monographs. But when one is in the presence of a document as singular and as unique in its character as the R̥gveda, one is tempted to extract its secret. One would like to understand what the R̥sis had in their mind when they went on accumulating the most strange imagery with the most disconcerting paradoxes. This is precisely what was attempted by Bergaigne towards the eighties of the last century. One may say today that his efforts have partially succeeded in the sense that it is no longer possible to revert to that interpretation of the Veda which he has condemned. It is true that in seeking to fit forcibly all the divine images of mythology into the cadre of Agni or Soma, he has failed to carry conviction. But he was the first to perceive that the authors of the R̥gveda have tried to establish a correlation among the celestial phenomena and human behaviour, that they have wanted by means of sacrifice to reproduce certain aspects of the atmospheric or the planetary world. On the whole Vedic thought at this stage is already on a fair way to the formulation of doctrine and the divinisation of sacrifice which, as Sylvain Levi was to demonstrate, characterise the stage of the Brāhmaṇas. Vedic thought, as it is well established today, is the thought of correlation and connection. It now remains to establish the affinity and interrelationship among these heterogeneous phenomena. This is what, in the Upaniṣads, was to culminate as a result of progressive dichotomy, in a system of generalised identifications, transcribed by the equation *ātman=brahman* or by the famous formula *tat tvam asi*. The word Upaniṣad by itself signifies "approach", that is to say the setting up of a relationship or equivalence, and not "reverence" or "esoteric teaching" as it was once conceived.

But the details of all these still await definition and many indeed are the difficulties yet to be resolved before one could hope one day to accomplish a definitive or even satisfactory translation of a single hymn of the R̥gveda.

I have cited the names of several French and German scholars. Other countries have also produced excellent Vedic scholars. Thus there are Whitney and Bloomfield from the United States, Macdonell and Keith from England, Caland from the Low Countries; and the latter has been, along with Weber, the best European authority on rituals. Strangely enough, the Indian scholars have appeared relatively late in the field. One wonders if an excessive regard for the tradition (a feeling highly worthy of respect, as such) has not prevented them from considering the Vedas with sufficiently objective vision and with the sort of detachment with which the naturalist studies a specimen.

The philologue, most completely divested of all predilections, which India in the last century has produced, I mean the great Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, has written hardly anything on the Veda. He had been interested above all in more positive studies, like history and the classical periods. He has, however, defined with extreme exactitude the linguistic position of the Veda in the first of his Wilson Lectures, written in 1877, styled, 'Development of language and of Sanskrit.'

At the extreme end in opposition stands the work of Dayānanda Sarasvati, the founder of Ārya Samāj. This work would, besides, afford an interesting study. Evidently it does not concern itself with scientific study, it is a matter of faith. Dayānanda, as you know, has fought ardently to restore Indian religion to its pristine purity. In his opinion the various sects have disfigured the ancient monotheism. This purity and monotheism he professes to discover in the Samhitās of the Veda. This appears highly paradoxical when one considers that the religion of the R̥gveda is, at least in appearance as polytheistical as that of the Purāṇas. But Dayānanda reinterprets the Vedas on this basis and is incidentally led to certain conclusions which retain their value still today. He urges a "return to the Vedas with a passionate ardour that is implemented by social behaviour with progressive and democratic leanings. Surprising as it is, it is well understood when we reflect that the social restraints which have weighed

over India, the caste-system and its attendant circumstances, are hardly, if at all, borne out in the hymns of the Vedas.

I would like to pause and ponder for a while on the curious features of another Indian erudite, Bhattacharya Satyavrata Sāmaśramin. I am not aware of any study made in India on the life and work of this remarkable man. Sāmaśramin by profession and typically traditional by education, his activities, I am afraid, have today gone the way of oblivion as has the review *Uṣā* which he had founded. He was acquainted with the main results achieved by Western scientific methods, but his position was always one of complete independence. He would, at his will, subscribe to the opinions generally accepted in learned circles or swing back to the opposite extreme. He would accept, by turns, the reasoning which we may call properly scientific, or again the method of exposition of Indian commentators, the process of argument which is a legacy of the *Mīmāṃsā*. His *Niruktālocana* or considerations on the *Nirukta* published in about 1885 would have attracted more interest if it had been composed in English instead of Sanskrit. It is a work on the whole range of historical problems provoked by the Vedas and we come across many reasonable views. But the chronology he proposes is the most fantastic that one can imagine. It is on the point of chronology that the specialists on Veda divide themselves into adventurous groups. Satyavrata Sāmaśramin starts with the assumption that Pāṇini's date is the 23rd century before Christ. Proceeding from this starting point he makes the authors of the *Kramapāṭha*, then those of *Padapāṭha*, of *Kalpa*, of *Brāhmṇas*, etc., recede back by successive periods of increasing duration till at last he is driven back to an antiquity of numerous millions of years. "Who could have ventured at this distance of time to ponder over such a chronology," he exclaims himself.

Talking of the spirit of adventurous chronology, though however in a much lesser degree, I would like to recall the name of another Indian endowed with a type of genius and more well-known than the Pandit of *Niruktālocana*, I refer to Bal Gangadhar Tilak. His works on the Vedas comprise the *Orion* or *Researches into the antiquity of the Vedas*, 1893 and the *Arctic home in the Vedas*, 1903. Tilak has been, besides, a great political figure and one of the first architects of Indian independence. It is striking to observe how in him, as in

Dayānanda, Vedic studies, have been combined with the temperament of a man of action. He also deserves to be intensively studied. The Orion had created some stir in the scholarly world. With brilliant erudition and profound mastery in astronomy and anthropology, he was led to claim an antiquity of some 45 to 60 centuries for the Vedic literature. In "The Arctic home" he professed to have discovered clearly defined traces of the epoch when the Hindus with their collateral (brethren) groups of other Aryas dwelt in the North Pole some ten or fifteen millenniums before Christ. It was the production of a man of acute intelligence but it illustrates also the danger of building history or prehistory on some mere philological possibilities.

Today the antiquity of the Vedic texts has been considerably reduced, perhaps excessively. So, we do not believe, for various reasons, that the invasion of the Aryan tribes into India can be assigned to a date beyond the second millennium before Christ. One is therefore obliged to place the date of the R̥gveda within the hither limit of this extreme date. For, however much one may have doubted it and inspite of probable reminiscences of an Iranian habitat, the R̥gveda is an Indian document; that is to say, it is not only composed by the Indians, but in India, in the land of the seven Rivers. It may be admitted that the Indus civilisation as it has been revealed to us by excavations at Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa has been destroyed verily by the Vedic tribes. One may detect allusion to this destruction in the Vedic references to strongbuilt forts and to the war of the Ten Kings. But even on this hypothesis we are pushed back to fairly narrow limits. On the other hand, the major portion of Vedic literature had been already composed before the advent of Buddhism. It implies therefore that the mass of this literature has been elaborated and fixed first orally and then in writing during ten to twelve centuries. This however is not impossible to conceive. We have found in other literature linguistic changes within a limited period of time, analogous to what has taken place between the most ancient Mantras and the prose of the Upaniṣad, closely allied to classic prose. But this precludes the chronological vagaries prevailing erstwhile.

Now, therefore, after 100 years of uninterrupted research we are well equipped for the future. We possess good works on grammar, the language of the Mantras is known with a

precision comparable to that of Homer or of Virgil. We have or we are likely to have very soon all the dictionaries we desire, when the grand lexicographic enterprise directed by Visvabandhu Sastri shall be achieved. A great part of the texts is edited and many have been translated, and happily translated into English and German. Nowhere else has a philological work been accomplished more conscientiously. Within the body of Indianists, the Vedic experts, unjustly ridiculed for having formed a somewhat closed coterie with esoteric tendency, are nevertheless distinguished by their probity and their precision. All who were destined to be Indianist, commenced their career in Germany by publishing some Vedic text.

And meanwhile one cannot feel sure that light has dawned in its fulness. There is a sort of fatality that hovers over this study. Without being as nebulous as before, the Vedas rest still impenetrable in parts. I mean at least the R̥gveda and the Atharvaveda, the two bastions that command this literature as a whole. One knows above all, what the Veda is not. It is not, as I have already mentioned, primitive poetry, and naive effusions to Nature. It typifies a symbolic language adapted to certain precise ends. Vedic mythology which is given us in a broadly allusive and fragmentary manner could not be interpreted except by recourse to ritual. Myths and rites are mutually related and one can be explained only as the function of the other. The divinities of the Vedas possess certain ritual functions. They are like the priests of a celestial liturgy analogous to human liturgy. Their behaviour and the myth-making process to which they have been subject, symbolise these functions at least partially. Hillebrandt had clearly noted it before. His *Vedische Mythologie*, one of the major achievements of Indology in the West in the last century, had been conceived in terms of the function of ritual. The difficulty is to ascertain how in each individual instance the relation between what is mythic and what is liturgic presents itself. It is to this aspect that our researches should now be directed. In this respect the efforts which V. M. Apte and his students make for precisely defining the relations between the Mantras and the rites to which they are associated are of extreme interest.

For the successful achievement of research in this direction it would be useful to have a new description of mythology

more complete and should I say, more intelligent, (though it is useful, in a way) than that of Macdonell; Dr. R. N. Dandekar may undertake that work. For the cult, solemn as well as domestic, we have now the excellent analysis recently furnished by Professor Kane in his History of Dharmaśāstra. This great work happily comprehends much more than the title indicates. This is to be one of the source books for the future. Much also can be expected from the preject of the new edition of the Vedic index of names and subjects, if the plan of the same be sufficiently enlarged to embrace the Kalpa and the minor texts which had been unfortunately absent from the earlier edition which has rendered such service. In Poona they have envisaged the compilation of the whole body of rituals under the direction of the Vaidic Saṁsodhaka Maṇḍala. The grand things accomplished in India notably in the critical edition of the Mahābhārata, and the works which have been commenced or planned in the domain of history of India, of Indian philosophy and let us not forget it, the Thesaurus, show what we can anticipate in the near future. The subjects for scientific work in India are practically unlimited and the zeal for grand cultural enterprises shall never be found lacking in a country which has once given birth to literary productions the most exhaustive in the record of mankind.

It should be observed that amidst this medley of work very few Vedic books—and for the matter of that,—very few Sanskrit books in general, have been translated. The only translation of any Śrautasūtra is that in German by Caland. The Indians do not feel as much the necessity of translating undoubtedly because Sanskrit is so much akin to their understanding. When they are at all inclined to translate, they are impelled by the legitimate desire to translate in Hindi, Bengali or Marathi, rather than in English; I regret this tendency. If one wishes to restore to Vedic study the prestige which it once enjoyed and if one wants to open an access to it to the linguists of all the countries, to the ethnologists and historians of religion, more and more annotated translations must be produced. Just regard the extraordinary success even outside the circle of Indianists, achieved by the book of Dumont, the Sanskritist of Baltimore, the book entitled Aśvamedha. It was only the French translation of several passages of the Vedas relative to the sacrifice of the Horse. These texts

had, so to say, passed unnoticed as long as they had been in Sanskrit, scattered in books difficult of access. A new position has been secured for these books in the West among specialists in pre-history of Indo-European world when they are rendered accessible through a modern living language. The same Mr. Dumont has recently undertaken the translation into English of the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa which had been begun before the war by Professor S. M. Katre. It is urgently needed to edit and translate the Jaiminiya which is the richest in legend among the whole range of ancient Brāhmaṇas and which still remains the least known.

Talking of another branch of thought, it is regrettable that the "Vedic Variants" of Bloomfield, continued by Edgerton should be definitely suspended. Would not any erudite Indian like to accomplish the task by keeping himself on a line with Edgerton?

The various branches of the same learning divide themselves voluntarily in ancient India, in different schools. We hear of schools of poetics, medicine, grammar etc. Just as we hear of religious sects or just as one classifies the Purāṇas and the Tantras. In each case this classification should be without doubt, interpreted differently. Certain authors have, in full conscience, composed new treatises which though drawing largely from earlier works treat with the subject more or less independently. In the sphere of smṛti the problem of the schools is already fairly complicated. For it concerns texts which are anonymous or one might say apocryphal, and are of uncertain date and are based frequently on earlier sources now lost. Has it not been long presumed that there existed a Vedic source at the base of the Manusmṛti?

In the Vedic literature, too, there are schools which are here known as Sākhās or branches. This simile recalls the image of a branches issuing from a common trunk. This is just what tradition has sought to imply and certainly this imagery has a substratum of truth. One cannot imagine that the descriptions of rituals that one meets with, in Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja etc., to confine ourselves to the order of Yajurveda alone, should have been made independently. They derive from a common base. But this common base is too remote to be clearly grasped. In other words, I do not believe it possible to rediscover the source of these diverse branches of knowledge and to reconstitute them as one

reconstitutes an archetype when one is sufficiently in possession of manuscripts derived from the common original. One would therefore like to know the reality lurking behind the names of these Vedic schools, their mutual relationship and how it is possible to have a glimpse of the way in which they are constituted, developed or split up. There lies the whole problem of Vedic literature. In spite of the enormous loss suffered by this literature, the attested facts should suffice to launch this study. After Bhagavaddatta who has written in Hindi a primary history of the Vedic schools, I have myself undertaken the task in a book recently published. But I am the first to recognise that the definitive history is still to be written.

Behind all literature there stands a society. Anything concrete that one can elicit from the texts is so much gained out of the conventional. But here also many are the difficulties when one strives to catch hold of the reality behind the texts, strictly religious, elusive by nature and perhaps deliberately so. We would welcome with satisfaction the researches, not yet published, of my colleague Filliozat on medicine in the Vedic age. He demonstrates more precisely than has been hitherto done, that the medical knowledge of the Indians, notably in the age of the Atharvaveda is already highly advanced and that it admits of comparison on many points with the knowledge contained in the classic treatises of Suśruta or Caraka. In more than one instance one can explain by means of Suśruta or Caraka certain obscure data of Atharvaveda, the name of diseases, and even the outline of speculation that is to be utilised in medicine, the doctrine of humour, and the theory of the breath of the body in harmony with the breath of aerial space. We should follow with interest also the researches, in progress, on Vedic society by Dr. U. N. Ghosal. It does not seem possible that, on closer examination of the texts, one will be able to determine if the Vedic regime was normally one of monarchy and if this monarchy was hereditary or elective, despotic or tempered by the assembly or council of ministers. Or if the caste system with all its consequences had been already fixed down.

There are reasons to believe that early Buddhism had utilised and in utilising, had transformed many elements of speculation belonging to the Vedas. Previously it was believed possible to establish certain bonds uniting the Buddhist Sūtras

with the Upaniṣads. Their dialectic methods bear certain resemblance. But it is held nowadays that the ties are stronger though less apparent between Buddhism and the Veda strictly speaking, or the Brāhmaṇas. My countryman Mr. Mus in his work on Borobodur which appeared before the war, has cited certain cosmological evidence to explain the monument of Borobodur in its speculative aspect, of which the origin is traced by him to the Vedas notably in the extraordinary ratiocinations of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa concerning the creation of the altar to fire (Agnicayana). Miss Silburn undertook and has already accomplished in manuscript a magnificent work in which she occupies herself chiefly in comparing the philosophic vocabulary of Buddhism with that of the Brāhmaṇas.

Thus the Vedas slowly emerge out of the splendid isolation to which there were confined by philology of the past. These new efforts, if the truth must be said, are not without possibility of danger or disappointment if one is tempted to exaggerate their scope. The same remark applies where the linguistic comparison is closely pursued. Thus between the R̥gveda and the Gāthās of the Avesta, there is a gulf to divide them from the religious point of view. The Vedas are not an Indo-European document as it was once believed. It is not again, as Pischel was inclined to maintain, an Indian document depicting a sort of court life, as in the Gupta period, with its circle of court beauties and its environment of race course, etc. The sensational excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa will undoubtedly induce some to connect the Vedas directly with this civilisation, however difficult of definition this civilisation by itself may be. The attempt has already been made though I believe that no high hopes should be entertained on this matter.

In the beginning of the war, a German scholar named Benda declared that the Vedas had been entirely misconstrued and that he was the pioneer to make a breach in that fortress hitherto impregnable. How many times have we not read declarations of this nature! Unfortunately I am not convinced by his exposition. His explications, rather obscure, on the nightly march of the sun, and on the unity which can be resolved into seven fractions, do not appear to me to be sufficiently strong grounds to warrant a revolution in the accepted interpretation of the Vedas. How many times have

we not witnessed, since the beginning of the Vedic study, such and such principles proclaimed as the master-key to the problem. Thus libation has been emphasised by Regnaud, the fire by Bergaigne, the solar light by Hertel, wealth by Rajwade and so on.

In this matter we have now the feeling of being before a field of ruins. In my opinion, even among the most traditionalist group of Indological scholars, one does not, however, wish to revert to Sāyaṇa who interpreted the Vedas according to the inspiration of the moment or the light of divergent sources, that is to say, without coherence or necessary relationship. Be it remembered that the interpretation of the Gāthās of the Avesta is made always by a departure from the commentaries of the Pehlevi epoch.

A well-known Indian mystic, Sri Aurobindo, considers that the secret of the Vedas is of a psychological character. "The battle, he says, which is represented between the powers of light and truth and the powers of darkness, that is our own life. The elements of the outer sacrifice in the Veda are used as symbols of the inner sacrifice and self-offering. In images of a physical nature, poets sing the hymns of our spiritual progress. So understood the R̥gveda ceases to be obscure, confused and barbarous hymnal; it becomes the high aspiring song of humanity, its chants are episodes of the lyrical epic of the soul in its immortal ascension."

I do not think, however, that this poetic vision delivers the secret to our hands. I do not believe that the old poets anxious to serve the exigencies of complicated ceremonials would have thought of translating into symbols those mystic aspirations which properly pertain to an age more approaching our own. We should guard ourselves against the tendency of refurbishing the Vedic thought as too young after having, sometimes, rendered it too old.

Comparative mythology of the 19th century would not have been possible without the resources furnished by the Vedas. One has been tempted with Max Müller, Adalbert Kuhn and others to assimilate every divine figure of the Veda with analogous figures found among the Greeks, the Lithuanians or the Germans. The exaggeration has been enormous in this respect the more so when the concordance of the names remained very often approximate. Now comparative mythology has fallen into oblivion, if not into discredit.

However, since twenty years, it is reviving in some vigour with the highly original work of M. Dumézil to whom I would like to make a passing reference in so far as his works concern India and the Vedas.

Dumézil credits himself with having recognised in the ancient literature of the Indo-Europeans the traces of a redivision of society into three groups. One group exercised spiritual functions, the other group was composed of soldiers wielding temporal authority and the third group was devoted to the occupation of cultivation, cattle-rearing and that of the artisan. These are the classes which, in India, have furnished the cadre for the famous division into Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas. Dumézil considers that the Vedic divinities or at least certain among them are the resultant of a mythical transposition of these classes. Thus Mitra and Varuṇa represent the sovereignty under this double forms Mitra, the god of contracts under the juridical form, and Varuṇa, the possessor of Māyā under the magic form. Military force is represented by Indra Vṛtrahan and the myths associated with him, the battle against the demons. The economic function, if one may call it so, is assumed, above all, by the Nāsatya or the Aśvins who symbolise fecundity and accompany the goddess Sarasvatī. Just as religious sovereignty is doubled, it happens that military sovereignty is duplicated and by the side of Indra appears Vāyu who is invested specially with the function of the 'primary god,' 'purvāpā.' The Aśvins who are already double in essence may be connected with Pūṣan, the god of the herd. Several hymns of the Ṛgveda which invoke a series of gods to sacrifice, group and define them according to this hierarchy. The gods of Mittani, ascribed to the 14th century before Christ and of whom the interpretation has been the subject of a long controversy among scholars, reflect similar tripartite division. By the side of Avestic theology, the Amesha Spenta which were once sought to be associated with Āditya, also reflects a similar classification of the divinities, where, for example, Vohu Manah corresponds to Mitra, Asha Vahishta to Varuṇa, etc. In fine, many of the formulae of Veda, which, for instance, enumerate three sorts of welfare or draw our attention to three forms of danger, conserve the memory of this threefold division of cosmic and social functions.

This ambitious reconstruction by Dumézil would not bear its full significance unless one has correlated the Indian

data with the Iranian, the Latin and the Celtic. It does not proceed from an isolated observation of Vedic religion, only, it is the product of comparative study. What appears bold, even improbable on consideration merely of an isolated text finds confirmation by comparison of similar facts elsewhere attested. It is thus that for assimilating the Greek god Ouranos with the Indian god Varuṇa, Dumézil had taken cognisance, on the Indian side, of an episode known by the Brāhmaṇas. In the course of Rājasūya or royal consecration which is again the Varuṇāsava or sacrifice of Varuṇa we find, that at a certain moment, the god lost his virility. This "indriyaṃ vīryaṃ" was concealed in a troop of cows belonging to a near relation of the King. The King falls upon the herd and regains his virility. Dumézil relates it with the Greek episode of Ouranos where Ouranos persecutes his near relations and is emasculated by one of them, and where his virility falling on the earth, renders it fertile. No Indianist would have thought of reconstituting the primitive function of Varuṇa on a similar episode.

For a proper judgment on the work of Dumézil it is necessary to be a specialist in the various domains which he has held under purview. Certain Latinists have expressed vigorous opposition, on finding the question of the origin of Rome treated on an entirely mythical manner. The Iranists appear to have been more favourably disposed. The Indianists have, till now, maintained silence. Future research should not lag behind in an assessment of the hypothesis of Dumézil.

It is clear that in all aspects of Vedic study, problems abound. The results hitherto obtained have far less satisfied us than they have provoked new enquiries. The Vedas have not ceased to be an arena for combat among the linguists, mythologues, ethnographists and prehistorians.

But the Vedas should not remain that alone. For numerous Indians attached to their tradition the Vedas are a religious document of exceptional sanctity, for they pass for *apauruṣeya* or "of no human origin." The Indians are well aware that the whole course of Indian thought would have been other than what it has been, had there not existed at the origin of Brāhmanism this vigorous outburst of hymns, and this liturgical edifice which dominates the whole later development.

For the westerners, the Vedas are also a literary document having its proper value as a work of art. One has given currency to the idea, sometimes in Europe and singularly in France, that the Vedas are illisible. Bergaigne had dismissed them as a string of unmeaning words (jargon) without attaching thereto any sense of reproach. There are undoubtedly many passages in the Vedas which defy all efforts for comprehension and which are repugnant to our instinctive desire for a modicum of clarity. But along with these exist also many magnificent passages which one can well enjoy without the necessity of taking part in the philological polemics. Our age is perhaps more favourable than the 19th century for appreciating certain striking imagery which might have once appeared too bold. Here is the call to mankind at the advent of dawn: "Arise, the breath, the life again hath reached us: darkness hath passed away and light approacheth. She for the sun hath left a path to travel: we are arrived where men prolong existence." (I-113, 16). "Here is the sun appearing. The constellations pass away like thieves together with their beams before the all-beholding sun." (I-50, 2.) Here, again, is the wind: "Along his traces the cohorts of the wind hurry, they come to him as dames to an assembly (X-168, 2)." I regret that the English translation, to my mind, is very insufficient for rendering the magnificence of Vedic images or still more such naive questions as "whither by day depart the constellations that shine at night, set high in heaven above us?".

The Hymn to Earth of the Atharvaveda can be considered as the summit of human literature. I shall content myself only with presenting a few stanzas of this long poem in the translation of Bloomfield. "The fragrance, O! Earth has arisen upon thee, which the plants and the waters hold, which the Gandharvas and the Apsaras have partaken of, with that make me fragrant. That fragrance of thine which has entered into the lotus, that which, O! Earth the immortals of yore gathered up at the marriage of Sūryā, with that make me fragrant. That fragrance of thine O Earth! which is in men, the loveliness and charm that is male and female, in steeds and horses, in the wild animals too, the lustre that is in the maiden, with that do thou blend us!"

Even the magic prayers of the Atharvaveda, which, by the way, are utilitarian works without artistic pretensions are

sometimes exquisitely beautiful; to witness, this brief poem (I, 17) praying for the cessation of haemorrhage, where the veins are compared to young girls "The maidens that go yonder, the veins clothed in red garments, like sisters without brothers, bereft of strength, they shall stand still! stand still, thou lower one, stand still, thou higher one, do thou in the middle also stand still. The most tiny amongst you, stand still; may then the great artery also stand still: of the hundred arteries and the thousand veins, those in the middle here have indeed stood still. At the same time the ends have ceased to flow. Around you has passed a great sandy dike: stand ye still, pray take ease!"

I have quoted earlier a passage of the famous hymn (X-129) the most superb of the philosophical hymns of the Veda, known under the name of *nāsadāsiya* hymn. But how curious and impressive are the other speculative poems like the hymn of *Hiraṇyagarbha* or the hymn to *Manas* in the *Yajurveda* with the refrain, 'tan me manah śivasamkalpam astu' or the hymn to *Vāk* in the *Ṛgveda* where occurs the famous verset "uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam, uta tvaḥ śṛṇvan na śṛṇoty enām uto tvasmai tanvaṃ vi sasre jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ, i.e. one man hath never seen *Vāk* though he seeth, one man hath hearing but hath never heard her. But to another hath she shown her beauty as a well dressed woman, willingly to her husband". Under this ancient poem is contained in highly poetic form all that man has imagined or realised under the concept of the word and the *Logos*.

If today in our literary world there is a trend towards pushing behind the boundaries of thought and art that characterised the classic spirit, if we look for forms of art more naive and primitive in which words would still possess their magic potency and mythic virtuality, where else can we find better means of gratifying this passion than in the *Vedas*?

Inexhaustible as my topic is, I would better stop here. It has been my humble wish to show how for the savants and for every variety of them, for the artists no less than for the historians of literature and of religion, the *Vedas*, in spite of all unmerited contempt, rest and shall remain, one of the magnificent monuments of mankind.

THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE VAIYĀKARAṆAS*

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To explain the forms of a language is the main purpose of the science of grammar. For this, it is necessary to isolate and analyse the notions which are expressed by the forms of that language. As these notions are, to a great extent, the products of the social factors which govern that language, they may or may not be the same as those of other languages. Grammar is not the only discipline which is concerned with notions. Logic and philosophy are equally concerned with them. Hence the influence of logic and philosophy on grammar in the West until the 19th century when the method of observation of facts, already in operation in the physical sciences, was extended to linguistic phenomena. In India, as elsewhere, logic and philosophy share with grammar a partly common vocabulary. Countless are the passages in Sanskrit grammatical literature where the concepts of this or that system of philosophy are brought in for explaining the facts of the Sanskrit language. And yet our grammarians knew that the point of view of grammar was quite distinct from that of the systems of philosophy.

This distinction is pointed out by Helārāja on many occasions in his commentary on the Vākyapadīya. But, before we present his views on the subject, it is necessary to study the few passages in the Mahābhāṣya on which the views of Helārāja are based. Vyākaraṇa is a Vedāṅga, but it is not attached to any particular Veda. It is common to all of them. Patañjali makes this point clear in connection with the use of the word बहुलम् in P. II. 1.58 and P. VI. 3.14. Though the word बहुलम् found in the sūtras is traditionally interpreted in four ways¹ so as to include all the facts and details which can come

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1. कचित् प्रवृत्तिः कचिदप्रवृत्तिः कचिद् विभाषा कचिदन्यदेव ।

विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य चतुर्विधं बाहुलकं वदन्ति ॥

Nyāsa on Pāṇini III.3.1.

under the sūtras in question, Pāṇini actually mentions some of these details in the subsequent sūtras. In addition to the word बहुलम् he sometimes uses other words like वा, उभयथा, अन्यतरस्याम्, ऐक्यम् । Patañjali explains this diversity of usage by saying that the science of Vyākaraṇa is common to all the Vedas and this diversity of usage is necessary to cover all the facts found in the various branches of the Vedas.² All that we have to note here is that, according to Patañjali, the science of grammar is not attached to any particular Veda or to any branch of it, but is common to all. It is सर्ववेदपारिषद् । We will see, in a little while, what form this idea assumes in the later grammatical literature.

Another statement of Patañjali which throws light on the grammarian's point of view is found in the Bhāṣya on vt. 13, of the Paspasānhika. To the objection that if the knowledge of the correct word leads to spiritual merit, a knowledge of corrupt forms, inevitable in a close student of grammar, must necessarily lead to demerit, Patañjali answers:—

शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् । यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम् । शब्दश्च शब्दज्ञाने धर्ममाह नापशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मम्³ ।

Here Patañjali means the Vedas by the word śabda and refers to the well known śruti.

एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः शास्त्रान्वितः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति⁴ ।

The śruti speaks only of merit resulting from a knowledge of the correct words, and not of demerit due to a knowledge of incorrect ones. But in another similar context containing the same words, śabda does not mean the Vedas. It means merely the word in general. The point is raised whether in the sentence अयं दण्डो हरानेन, the daṇḍa is the agent (कर्ता) of the action of 'being', the meaning of the word 'asti'

2. (a) अवश्य खल्वप्यस्माभिरिदं वक्तव्यम्—बहुलम्. अन्यतरस्याम्, उभयथा, वा, ऐक्यमिति । सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् ।

M. Bhāṣya on II. 1.58 (57).

3. M. Bhā. on Vt 13, प पशाह्निक ।

4. M. Bhā. on P. VI. 1.84.

which is understood here or the instrument of the action of taking (हर). Against the view that it is the former, the objection is raised that it is, after all, with the daṇḍa that the action of taking is done and that, therefore, it should be considered to be the instrument of that action rather than as the agent of an action which is not mentioned in the sentence. To this objection the answer is given that, for grammarians, it is the word which is pramāṇa, authority. Whatever the word presents, they accept.⁵ In the sentence in question, the words as they stand, present the daṇḍa as the agent of the action of "being", which, though not mentioned, is understood here, as in all other cases where no other action is openly expressed. Thus the daṇḍa is, at first, the agent of the action of 'being' and then only does it become the instrument of the action of taking. This is at least the case if we go by what the words present, apart from what the reality may be.

Thus we see two ideas in Patañjali: (1) that Vyākaraṇa is not confined to any particular Veda: (2) that the grammarians go by what the words present rather than by how things really are. By śabda, Patañjali means sometimes the Vedas and sometimes the word in general.

These two ideas are made use of frequently by Helārāja while explaining Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīyam and we need not doubt that they were quite familiar to Bhartṛhari himself. But both these ideas have undergone modifications:—

The idea that the science of grammar is common to all the Vedas is changed into the idea that it is common to all the systems of philosophy. It is found that Bhartṛhari in his Vākyapadīya often expounds a grammatical doctrine, not only from his own point of view, but also from the point of view of some system of philosophy or other. Often an idea belonging to some system of philosophy is made use of to explain and justify a particular idea of grammar. The question arises: Why should he do it? Why did he not content himself with explaining it as an Advaitin which he was? Helārāja justifies this by saying that Vyākaraṇa as a śāstra belongs to

5. शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् । यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम् । शब्दश्चेह सत्तामाह - अयं दण्डः । अस्तीति गम्यते । स दण्डः कर्ता भूत्वान्येन शब्देनाभिसंबध्यमानः करणं संपद्यते ।

all the disciplines. If linguistic facts can be explained from as many points of view as possible, so much the better for the science of grammar. This does not preclude a particular author from having a preference for his own point of view. Bhartṛhari, for instance, has a preference for the Advaitic point of view, and he has tried to explain most of the facts and notions of grammar from that point of view.⁶ But his work is remarkable for the bringing in of other points of view on many occasions. A few examples will make this point clear:—

It is the view of the Vaiyākaraṇas that, when words are used, three things are understood by us:—(1) the form of the word, consisting of an entity over and above the sequence of sounds heard (2) the meaning (3) the intention of the speaker⁷. Of these, the first one is closest to the word. It is understood by the hearer in any case, even if he does not understand the second and the third. Between this and the second the meaning the relation is वाच्यवाचकभाव । The first is वाचक and the second is वाच्य. This is usually understood as referring to the objects of the world. Between the first and the third, the intention of the speaker, the relation is said to be कार्यकारणभाव । It is the intention of the speaker which calls up particular words for use. They are, therefore, looked upon as the effects of that intention.⁸ The question now arises: Why should Bhartṛhari speak about कार्यकारणभाव at all, considering that grammar, as a science, is chiefly concerned with the other relation namely, वाच्यवाचकभाव, between the word and the meaning? The answer given is that Vyākaraṇa as a discipline is common to all the systems of philosophy. Its notions and explanations must be such that they can be acceptable to the followers of all the systems of philosophy⁹. Some hold that the word does not point to any external object, but only refers to the intention of the speaker.

6. परमार्थदृष्ट्यात्र सर्वपार्षदत्वात् पुनरस्य शास्त्रस्य दर्शनान्तरोपन्यासः ।
एष च सर्वत्रैवास्य ग्रन्थकारस्याभिप्रायः । पदार्थचर्चाविषये ब्रह्मदर्शननयेनैव
संबन्धादिविचारे विनिगमनात् ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 35.

7. Helārāja on Vāk. III. Saṁ. verse 1.

8. Helārāja on Vāk. III. Saṁ. verse 1.

9. स्वपार्षदं पुनरिदं शास्त्रमिति ये बाह्यस्यार्थस्य शब्दवाच्यत्वं नेच्छन्ति
तन्मतोपस्कारार्थं वक्त्राभिप्रायारूढस्यैव शब्दार्थत्वे तत्र कार्यकारणसंबन्धमाह ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Saṁ. verse 1.

It is in order to respect their views (तन्मतोपकारार्थम्) that Bhartṛhari speaks about कार्यकारणभाव । If meaning is nothing more than the intention of the speaker, the relation between the word and the meaning is naturally कार्यकारणभाव, because it is the intention of the speaker which calls up this word or that in speech.¹⁰

Another doctrine which is expounded in the Vākyapadīya is सत्ताद्वैत, the view that all words, nay, even parts of a word like roots and suffixes, ultimately have सत्ता or "Being" as their meaning. This 'Being' is the Supreme Universal which is found in all the objects of the world and which binds them all together in one reality. The distinctive features of each object are comparatively unreal. In this view, even negative entities are credited with a kind of 'Being'.¹¹ This 'Being' is essentially identical with Brahman. It is clear that Bhartṛhari here speaks as an Advaitin. But he further points out that the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is also in keeping with the doctrine of सत्ताद्वैत. According to this system, the first evolute from Prakṛti is Mahat or Buddhittva, as it is called. It is to be regarded as "the most universal stage which comprehends within it all the buddhis of individuals and potentially all the matter of which the gross world is formed. Looked at from this point of view, it has the widest and the most universal existence, comprising all creation and is thus called 'mahat', (the great one)".¹² All the other evolutes proceed from this principle and are absorbed into it at the time of dissolution. This great principle is essentially 'Being' and all the evolutes proceeding from it share this 'Being'. Thus the Sāṅkhya system also, Helārāja points out, favours the doctrine of सत्ताद्वैत ।¹³

10. प्रयोक्त्रभिप्रायेण सह तु कार्यकारणभावः ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Sam. verse 1.

11. अभावस्यापि बुद्ध्याकारेण निरूपणात् महासत्तयानयाऽवियोगात् प्रातिपदिकमात्रवाच्या सत्ता ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 34.

12. Das Gupta. A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 249.

13. एते सत्तामात्रस्यात्मनो महतो यद्विशेषाः परिणामाः यतः परं विशेषेभ्यो लिङ्गमात्रं महत्तत्त्वं तस्मिन्नेते सत्तामात्रे महत्यात्मन्यवस्थाय विवृद्धिकार्यमनुभवन्ति ।

Side by side with the view that the science of grammar is सर्वपार्षद and, therefore, brings in notions and ideas current in other śāstras to explain grammatical notions, there is the other view that grammar is not bound to accept an idea simply because it is current in some other discipline or in the world. Whether such an idea should be made use of by Vyākaraṇa is a matter of convenience only. It was utilised if it was convenient to do so. Otherwise it was not. Thus the Vaiśeṣika conception of Guṇa¹⁴ has been utilised by Vyākaraṇa in explaining some forms:—The word guṇavacana occurring in P. IV. 1.44; V. 1. 124; in a vār. on V. 2, 94. and in VIII. 1.12. refers to this Vaiśeṣika conception.¹⁵ But this conception is not enough to explain all the forms which occur in the Sanskrit language. Another conception of it is mentioned here and there in the Bhāṣya and it is explained in the guṇasamuddeśa of the 3rd kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadiya. It is a conception peculiar to Vyākaraṇa and it is derived from the forms of the Sanskrit language, and it is meant to explain them.¹⁶ Similarly, the popular conception of 'liṅga'

स्तनकेशवती स्त्री स्याल्लोमशः पुरुषः स्मृतः ।

उभयोरन्तरं यच्च तदभावे नपुंसकम् ॥¹⁷

is found inadequate to explain all the diversity of forms relating to liṅga found in the Sanskrit language. Patañjali therefore rejects it and says

(तस्मान्न वैयाकरणैः शक्यं लौकिकं लिङ्गमास्थातुम् । अवश्यं च कश्चित् स्वकृतान्त आस्थेयः ।)

प्रतिसंसृज्यमानाश्च तस्मिंश्च सत्तामात्रे महत्यात्मन्यवस्थाय यत्तन्निःसत्तासत्तं निःसदसदव्यक्तमलिङ्गं तस्मिन् प्रतियन्तीत्येवं साङ्ख्ये बुद्धितत्त्वं महच्छब्दवाच्यमाद्यं जगत्कारणं निर्दिष्टमित्यतोऽनन्तस्य विकारग्रामस्य कारणरूपानुगमात् सत्तारूपत्वमविरुद्धमिति सत्तारूपं सर्वं जगदाख्यातं भवतीति सत्ताद्वैतवादः साङ्ख्यनयेनाप्युपबृंहितः ।

Helā. on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 34.

14. Kaṇāda-Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra I. 1.16.

15. Kaṇāda-Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra I. 1.16.

16. See the author's paper on "The Conception of Guṇa among the Vaiyākaraṇas" (N. I. A., Vol. V., No. 6, Sept. 1942).

17. M. Bhā. on P. IV. 1.3.

18. M. Bhā. on P. IV. 1.3.

that Vaiyākaraṇas must evolve their own conception of 'liṅga' and proceeds to do so. This idea that Vaiyākaraṇas have a right to evolve their own notions is expressed by later writers also. P. I. 2.58 teaches the use of the plural number after a word which primarily expresses जाति । But for this sūtra, only the singular number could be used, because जाति is one and so it would be normal to use the singular number. Now one can say, ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः or ब्राह्मणाः पूज्याः in the same sense. To this somebody objects that it is wrong to say that 'jāti' is one. Jāti has no number at all. It is the dravya or 'vyakti' in which the jāti resides which has number.¹⁹ This is answered by saying that in these matters grammarians do not accept the views of other śāstras. They evolve their own notions.²⁰ To them jāti is one because the word presents it as such, and it is, therefore, natural to use the singular number after a word expressive of it.

This reference in the Bhāṣya and in the later literature to स्वकृतान्त, the particular doctrine of the Vaiyākaraṇas suggests that they have their own point of view from which their doctrines and notions are derived. What this point of view is has been indicated by Patañjali in that passage where he says:—

शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् । यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम् ।

The idea contained in this passage has been utilised by Helārāja very frequently in his commentary on the Vākyapadīyam. For the grammarian, 'ārtha' does not mean the external reality but whatever the word brings to the mind. Artha does not mean vastvārtha but śabdārtha, not reality, but the meaning of words. Individual words bring something to the mind and the sentence as a whole also brings something to the mind. Both these things are included in the expression 'śabdārtha'. Grammar studies both these things in order to evolve notions which will explain the forms of the language. Grammar is satisfied if these notions conform to what we understand from words, no matter whether they conform to reality or not.

19. ननु जातेर्नैव सङ्ख्यास्ति द्रव्यधर्मत्वात्तस्याः ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 52.

20. नेह शास्त्रान्तरप्रसिद्धा प्रक्रिया प्रमाणम् । अपि तु स्वकृतान्तः कश्चिदास्थेयः । अस्ति च प्रमाणमेकत्वे । जातेः प्रमाणेनैकत्वविशिष्टाया एव सिद्धः ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 52.

Grammar does not look at reality directly in the face. As Helārāja puts it:

शब्दप्रमाणकानां हि शब्द एव हि यथार्थमभिधत्ते तथैव तस्याभिधानमुपपन्नम् । न तु वस्तुमुखप्रोक्षतया²¹ ।

Not to look at reality directly in the face is as good as not philosophising and Helārāja sometimes makes it quite clear that the grammarian is really not concerned with philosophy proper. Thus while explaining the different conceptions of Time mentioned by Bhartṛhari in the Kālasamuddeśa such as that it is an entity which exists apart from the mind or that it is a mere construction of the human mind, Helārāja says that Bhartṛhari is not really concerned with what time is philosophically, but that he is anxious to examine and analyse that something which is responsible for our putting the Sanskrit verb in different tenses as in abhūṭ, asti and bhaviṣyati. That something may not be able to stand close philosophical scrutiny, but if it serves the purpose of explaining the different tenses one would have to accept it.²² Similarly in the kriyāsamuddeśa, the question is: What is action? The answer given by Bhartṛhari on the basis of the Bhāṣya passages is that it is a process, something having parts arranged in a temporal sequence. It is not directly perceptible, but it is to be inferred. Each moment or part may be looked upon as action, in which case, it will also be inferrible only and not directly perceptible. These parts may be further subdivided and the smaller parts will also be actions. There will come a time when the part cannot be further sub-divided. It cannot then be called action at all. Such an atomic point may be directly perceptible but that will not make action so because such a point cannot be called action at all. Only that can be called action which has parts arranged in a temporal sequence. After having clearly explained all this, Helārāja adds that for grammarians the real question is not whether an action has actually parts or not, but whether the verb presents it as such. The answer is that verbs do present action, however momentary, in nature, as something

21. Helārāja on Vāk. III. Saṁ. verse 66.

22. नास्माभिर्दर्शनविवेकः प्रारब्धः । किन्तु शाब्दे व्यवहारे यदङ्गं तत् परीक्ष्यम् । अस्ति च भिन्नकालः शाब्दो व्यवहारोऽभूदस्ति भविष्यतीति । तत्र यथायोगमविचारितमणीयः कालोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः ।

having parts which cannot co-exist, but are arranged in a temporal sequence. And Vaiyākaraṇas go by what the words present to us.²³

It is pointed out that a notion arrived at by the Vaiyākaraṇas from their own point of view, may sometimes agree with popular ideas rather than with those accepted by some system of philosophy. Vaiśeṣikas think of the whole, the avayavī, as existing in the parts, the avayavas. That is an idea to which they have come by a logical analysis of reality. They also specify the particular relation by which the whole exists in the parts. It is samavāya, inherence. The popular conception, however, is that the horn of a cow exists in the cow and not vice versa. The part exists in the whole. Helārāja points out that the language follows the popular conception in this matter. In the expression गवि शृङ्गम् the locative suffix is affixed to the word गो which denotes the whole of which śṛṅga is a part. If one followed the Vaiśeṣikas in this matter, one would have to say शृङ्गे गौः and शाखायां वृक्षः।²⁴

It is mainly this point of view which the Vaiyākaraṇas adopt in defining the various grammatical categories such as the different kārakas, gender, number, person, aspect (उपग्रह) etc. dealt with in the 3rd kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadiya. This naturally results in certain distinctive notions. It will not be out of place here to draw the attention of the reader to a few of these distinctive notions.

Regarding the meaning of individual words, there are two views current among grammarians, associated with the names of two ancient grammarians mentioned in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, namely, Vājapyāyana and Vyāḍi. One view is that all words, nay, even parts of words, denote primarily the Universal and only secondarily the Particular. If we apply the same word, say, 'cow' or 'tree' to a large number of objects it is because we see some common characteristic in all of them.

23. नेह वास्तवो भागभेदश्चिन्त्यते, अपि तु शब्दात् प्रतीयमानः । शब्दाच्च क्षणमात्रस्वभावापि विप्रकीर्णवियवा समूहात्मनैव सर्वा क्रिया प्रतीयत इति सिद्धं शब्दवाच्यतया क्रियाया सक्रमत्वमतीन्द्रियत्व च ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Kri. 10.

24. शास्त्रान्तरे त्वयवेध्वयवीति शृङ्गे गौः शाखायां वृक्ष इति स्यात् ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. 11.

This common characteristic is the universal or 'jāti' as it is called. The word 'aśva', therefore, primarily denotes 'aśvatva', the word 'go' denotes gotva and so on. If this is true, then the word 'jāti' must also denote a universal present as a common characteristic in all the universals. But such a view goes against the Vaiśeṣika view that there cannot be a universal in a universal. They argue that to accept a universal in a universal would lead to anavasthā or 'regressus ad infinitum'. Where would one stop in the process of postulating universals? Why not postulate a third universal in the second one and so on? The best thing would be to stop at the very first universal and not go any further. But the grammarian replies that this kind of reasoning might be all right from the Vaiśeṣika point of view, but not for himself. He has his own point of view. His chief concern is to find out the nature of meanings conveyed by words. What he finds is that in all universals as conveyed by words, there is a common characteristic which can be looked upon as another universal. The existence of the first universal was postulated just because a common characteristic was experienced in the individuals or particulars, followed by the use of the same name to all the individuals. A similar common characteristic is experienced in all the universals as conveyed by words and that justifies the use of the word 'jāti' to all of them. Where there is identity of cognition and of name, a universal has to be postulated and in the universals as presented by words there are both. And for grammarians, it is what words convey which matters.²⁵

If we go by what words present, there can be not only a universal in a universal but many other things which are ordinarily looked upon as guṇa or kriyā may turn out to be universals. If a guṇa is presented by words as something which persists as a common feature in many things, it becomes a universal for the grammarians.²⁶ That is probably the reason

25. वैशेषिकादीनां भवन्तु नि.सामान्यानि सामान्यानि । तानि हि व्यक्तिध्वन्यप्रत्ययावसेयानि परोपाधिरूपाण स्वतन्त्रव्यक्तिवदिदन्तावभासित्वाभावात् सामान्यान्तरेण नोपाधीयन्ते । वैयाकरणानां शब्दार्थोऽर्थ इत्यभ्युपेयतामन्वयिरूपावच्छेदेन शब्दस्य प्रत्ययस्योत्पत्तेर्जातिध्वपि जातिरविरुद्धाऽभ्युपगम्या ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. जा. 11.

26. तथा चान्वयरूपेण गुणोऽप्यभिधीयमानो जातिरेव यथोपमानसमासे श्यामादिः । तथा चोपमानानि सामान्यवचनैरित्युच्यते ।

Ibid.

why Pāṇini has applied the word *sāmānya* to the meaning expressed by the word 'śyāmā' in the compound *śāstrīśyāmā* formed according to the sūtra उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः।²⁷ *Sāmānya* is another name for 'jāti'. In the compound *śāstrīśyāmā* the word *śyāmā* expresses a *guṇa* and, as it expresses a common feature between a *śāstrī* and whatever is compared to it, the grammarians look upon it as *jāti*.

Similarly, action can be presented as *jāti* by words. We use the expression 'pacati', 'he cooks', in a variety of circumstances. The person who cooks, the thing cooked, the fuel and the utensils used for cooking, may all be different and yet the notion of cooking and the expression 'pacati' persist. This also shows that the word presents action as 'jāti'.²⁸

Even though philosophers like Vaiśeṣikas make a distinction between *jāti*, *guṇa*, *kriyā*, and *dravya*, the grammarians believe that it is all a question of how words present them and the words can present the first three also as *dravya*. They have their own definition of *dravya*. Anything which is presented by words as something to be characterised, distinguished from other things (भेद्य) is a *dravya*. Whatever can be referred to by the demonstrative pronouns इदम् and तद् is a *dravya*.

वस्तूपलक्षणं यत्र सर्वनाम प्रयुज्यते ।

द्रव्यमित्युच्यते सोऽर्थो भेद्यत्वेन विवक्षितः ॥

Vāk. III. द्र- verse 3.

If words present 'jāti' as something to be differentiated, as a *viśeṣya*, then it becomes a *dravya*. सर्वनामप्रत्ययमर्शयोग्यत्वं, the fitness to be referred to by a pronoun as 'this' is the characteristic of a *dravya*. This view is traced by Helārāja to so ancient a writer as Yāska, whose statement: अत इति यत् प्रतीयते तद्द्रव्यम् । is quoted by him²⁹ The expression is significant

27. Q. II. 1 55.

28. (a) एवं क्रियाप्यभेदेनाभिधीयमाना जातिः ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 11.

(b) जातिमन्ये क्रियामाहुरनेकव्यक्तिवर्तिनीम् ।

असाध्या व्यक्तिरूपेण सा साध्यवोपलभ्यते ॥

Vāk. III, Kṛi. 20.

29. Helārāja on Vāk. III, Dra. verse 3,

because it makes the whole thing dependent upon the 'vivakṣā' of the speaker. It makes it quite clear that what is defined in the verse quoted above is not the artha called dravya, but the meaning of the word 'dravya' or rather the nature of the thing presented by the word 'dravya'.³⁰ Anything can be presented by words as something to be differentiated. For instance, movement or action is so presented in "sukham sthīyate" where the action of standing is presented as a thing and it is determined or modified by the word 'sukham'. The meaning of the verb "sthīyate" is, therefore, dravya. In the sentence, "śuklataram rūpam" a quality is so presented. Here 'rūpa', though a quality, is presented by words as a thing to be qualified or determined by white. It is, therefore, a dravya. The action in 'sthīyate' can be referred to by the pronoun "kim" another indication that it is a dravya. It is easy to see that this conception of dravya is very different from the Vaiśeṣika conception of it.

The essence, then, of the Vaiyākaraṇa point of view is that it does not look at reality in the face directly, but only at reality as presented by words. But while they knew this distinctiveness of their point of view, their literature is full of passages which make one wonder whether they did not often forget this and indulge in a direct analysis of reality. Whether they are discussing the nature of 'jāti' or 'guṇa' or 'kriyā', their language often makes one think that they are discussing, not reality as presented by words, but reality itself. It is true that a writer like Helārāja frequently reminds himself and his readers that, for grammarians, artha is 'śabdārtha' and not 'vastvartha'. But this frequent reminder to himself is perhaps the best proof that it is not easy to discuss the nature of 'śabdārtha' without unconsciously straying into a consideration of the nature of 'vastvartha'. Perhaps the fact that the word 'artha' in Sanskrit can and does mean both 'vastvartha' and 'śabdārtha' also made it difficult to separate the two. Some of the problems discussed in Vaiyākaraṇa literature and the answers given also show that the grammarians did not always succeed in keeping the two kinds of 'artha' absolutely distinct. One set of such questions which they have discussed relates to action. What is action? Is it perceptible or can it only be in-

30. विवक्षितग्रहेण नार्थस्येदं लक्षणमपि तु शब्दार्थस्येत्याह ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Dra. verse 3

ferred? Is there such a thing as action apart from that which is active? And they are answered as follows. Action is something which has parts arranged in a temporal sequence. It cannot be directly seen but has to be inferred. It is quite distinct from 'dravya'. These questions are more appropriate to philosophy than to grammar. The same thing can be said of the grammarians' treatment of gender. In languages like English, we have two words, sex and gender, to denote the distinction found in the objects of the world and that found in words respectively. In Sanskrit, 'liṅga' has to denote both and this fact may have ultimately led to the grammarians coming to the conclusion that what is called 'liṅga' is a property of things and not of words. And they have invoked the Sāṅkhya philosophy in determining this property of things. The idea that it is a property of words was also known to them. They discuss it only to reject it.

Thus Vyākaraṇa oscillates between philosophy and linguistics, while it is conscious all the time that its proper sphere is something distinct from that of philosophy.

WORKS AND PERIOD OF LITERARY ACTIVITY OF GOVINDĀNANDA KAVIKAṆKAṆĀCĀRYA

BY

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Govindānanda Kavikaṇkaṇācārya, a Vaidika Brahmin from the west, settled in a village called Bagri in the Midnapur district¹ in Bengal and wrote the following works.

(1) *Mahimnaḥ Stava-kaumudī*.²

1. See *Varṣa-kaumudī* (Bibliotheca Indica edition), Preface, p. ii, and P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, p. 415.

According to Haraprasad Shastri Govindānanda settled in the district of Bankura. See Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereinafter referred to as Shastri, *ASB Catalogue*), III, Preface, p. xxi.

‘Some of the Pāścātya Vaidikas of the Gautama family assert themselves to be descended from Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa (father of Govindānanda). Pandit Hārāṇa Candra Tarkavāgīśa of Bagri traces his descent from Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa as follows : 1. Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa, 2. Govindānanda, 3. Vasudeva. 4. Kavi Karṇapūra, 12. Hārāṇa Candra’.—*Varṣa-kaumudī*, Preface, pp. ii-iii.

2. H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, Second Series, I, p. 284, No. 279.

It begins as follows: Om nāmo gaṇeśāya | śrīgovinda-pada-dvandva-nakhendu-ruci-saṃtatih | asta-cintātisaṃbhrānta-citta-dhvāntaṃ dhunotu me || kriyate śrīmatā tāta-pāda-reṇūpadeśataḥ | govinda-sudhiyā śasto mahimnaḥ stava-kaumudī ||

See also H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, X, p. 123, No. 3384, and Hrishikesh Shastri and Shiva Chandra Gui, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College* (hereinafter referred to as Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue*), II, pp. 366-8, 369, 485, 499, 508 and 510 (Nos. 396, 397, 399, 554, 595, 618 and 624).—No. 397 begins with the verses ‘śrīgovinda-pada-dvandva°’ and ‘kriyate śrīmatā tāta°’ and ends thus: govindānanda-kṛtinaḥ kṛte kṛtadhiyā yutām | nivedayantu vidvāṃso mahimnaḥ stava-kaumudī || sarvāntaryāmine tasmai govindāya namo namaḥ | agrānurāgaṃ dhāsyante yat-prasārad (?°sādād) vipaścitaḥ ||

This is a commentary on a hymn composed by Puṣpadanta in honour of Śiva. That this commentary is one of the early works of Govindānanda is evidenced by its second introductory verse which says that Govindānanda wrote it according to his father's instructions.

(2) *Artha-kaumudī*³.

This is a commentary on Śrinivāsa's *Suddhi-dīpikā*.

(3) *Dāna-kamuudī*⁴.

It is to be noted that the first introductory verse 'śrīgovinda-pada-dvandva^o' agrees almost literally with the second introductory verse of Govindānanda's *Śrāddha-viveka-ṭīkā* (for which see below), and the concluding verse 'sarvāntaryāmine tasmai' occurs, with modifications, at the end of many of the works of Govindānanda.

3. Manomohan Chakravarti informs us that this commentary was printed in Bengali characters (see *JASB*, XI, 1915, p. 355).

For Mss. of this commentary see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, V, p. 1069, No. 3010; Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue*, IX, pp. 130-1, Nos. 131-2; S. Kuppaswami Sastri, *A Triennial Catalogue of Mss. Collected during the triennium 1919-20 to 1921-22 for the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 4356-57, No. 2995.

4. Edited by Pandit Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa and published (under the title *Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī*) in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1903.

For Mss. of this work see Shastri, *ASB Catalogue*, III, p. 722, No. 2691 (this Ms., which is incomplete towards the beginning, is dated 1533 Śaka and 919 of the Malla era); Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 272, No. 643; Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, pp. 548-9, No. 1712; A. B. Keith, *Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 80, No. 643; H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* Second Series, I, pp. 166-8, No. 163 (this Ms., which is dated 1533 Śaka and 919 of the Malla era and has lost the first three leaves, seems to be the same as that described by Shastri in his *ASB Catalogue*); Dacca University Ms. No. 2981 (this Ms. has lost fols. 1-6, 12-15 and 55); *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Private Libraries of North-west Provinces*, Part I (Benares 1874), p. 74.

The *Dāna-kaumudī* is called *Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī* in the introductory verses but simply *Dāna-kaumudī* in the concluding verses and the colophon. It is only in the colophon of the India Office Ms. that the work is called *Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī*.

It is to be noted that whenever Govindānanda has to refer to this work, he mentions it as '*Dāna-kaumudī*' and not as '*Dāna-*

(4) *Kriyā-kaumudī*.

This is a distinct and independent work of Govindānanda and not a general digest comprising the *Dāna-kaumudī*, *Suddhi-kaumudī*, *Śrāddha-kaumudī* and *Varṣa-kaumudī* as Theodore Aufrecht⁵ and P. V. Kane⁶ think. Had it been a general digest comprising the above mentioned works, it would not have been referred to in one of its parts (viz., *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 559) by its general title which would include that part also.

The above mentioned conjecture of Aufrecht and Kane seems to be based on the colophons of the printed edition and some of the Mss. of the *Dāna-kaumudī* wherein this work has been said to be the second Yāma (quarter or part) of the *Kriyā-kaumudī*⁷. But this information contained in the colophons of the printed edition and the Mss. mentioned above seems to be wrong because of the facts that there are other Mss of the *Dāna-kaumudī* whose colophons do not mention any *Kriyā-kaumudī* as the general digest,⁸ that none of the Mss. of the *Suddhi-kaumudī*, *Śrāddha-kaumudī* and *Varṣa-kaumudī* calls these works parts of the *Kriyā-kaumudī* or any other work⁹, and that the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* mentions not only the *Kriyā-kaumudī* but also the *Dāna-kaumudī* and the *Suddhi-kaumudī*, thus showing the distinct and independent character of all these

kriyā-kaumudī'. See *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, pp. 340, 529; *Suddhi-kaumudī*, pp. 160, 162, 174, 325; and *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 216.

5. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pp. 169 (under 'Govindānanda or Govinda Kavi') and 249 (under '*Dāna-kaumudī*').

6. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, p. 415.

7. See the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Dāna-kaumudī*, whose colophon runs as follows: iti śrīgovindānanda-kavikaṇkaṇa-viracitāyāṃ kriyā-kaumudyāṃ dāna-kaumudī nāma dvītiyo yāmaḥ samāptaḥ.

See also Shastri, *ASB Catalogue*, III, p. 722, No. 2691; Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 272, No. 643; H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sankrit MSS*, Second Series, I, pp. 166-8, No. 163; and so on.

8. See Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, pp. 548-9, No. 1712—iti śrīgovinda-kavi-kṛta-dānakriyākaumudī samāptā; Dacca University MS. No. 2981—iti śrīgovindānanda-kavikaṇkaṇācārya-viracitā dānakaumudī samāptā; and so on.

9. For MSS. of the *Suddhi-kaumudī*, *Śrāddha-kaumudī* and *Varṣa-kaumudī* see footnotes 13 and 14 below.

works. It seems that in course of time some scribe of a Ms. of the *Dāna-kaumudī*, who might have heard of a *Kriyā-kaumudī* but was quite ignorant of its distinct and independent character, took its title to be that of a general digest comprising the *Dāna-kaumudī*, *Suddhi-kaumudī* etc. (because the titles of these works, except that of the *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, end in 'kriyā-kaumudī' in the introductory verses) and modified the colophon of his Ms. accordingly. This modification was followed by others, and thus in some Mss. of only the *Dāna-kaumudī* the colophons came to mention the *Kriyā-kaumudī* as a general digest.

That the *Kriyā-kaumudī* is a work of Govindānanda is shown by the way in which it has been referred to in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* in connection with Nitya-śrāddha¹⁰. It is to be noted that, except in the case of this *Kriyā-kaumudī*, wherever Govindānanda has to refer to any other work or works for a particular topic or its detailed treatment, he invariably refers to his own.¹¹ Hence there can be little doubt regarding Govindānanda's authorship of the *Kriyā-kaumudī* which also is referred to in a similar way.

The mention of the *Kriyā-kaumudī* in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* (which, again, is mentioned in the *Varṣa-kaumudī*) shows that it is one of the early digests of Govindānanda, most probably written after the *Dāna-kaumudī* which, being perhaps the first digest, does not mention any of his other works but refers only to itself¹². As there is no second mention of the *Kriyākaumudī* in any of the works of Govindānanda (except in the colophons of some of the Mss. of the *Dāna-kaumudī*) and as no Ms. of this work has been found as yet, it is not possible to say whether the *Kriyā-kaumudī* was preceded in its composition by the *Suddhi-kaumudī* also, which mentions the *Dāna-kaumudī* and is itself mentioned in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī*.

The *Kriyā-kaumudī* must not be confused with the *Varṣa-kaumudī* (as has been done by the learned editor of the latter)

10. See *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 559 - prayogas tu kriyā-kau-mudyām draṣṭavyaḥ.

11. See *Dāna-kaumudī*, pp. 64, 117, 184, 191; *Suddhi-kaumudī*, pp. 160, 162, 174, 325; *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, pp. 85, 323, 340, 342, 348, 380, 440, 483, 529; *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 20, 22, 111, 216, 236, 348, 352, 359, 487, 489, 559.

12. See *Dāna-kaumudī*, pp. 64, 117, 184, 191.

which is a quite different work. The topic (viz., the Prayoga of Nitya-śrāddha), for which it is referred to in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, is not found in the *Varṣa-kaumudī*. Further, the *Kriyā-kaumudī* is mentioned in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* which, again, is mentioned in the *Varṣa-kaumudī*. Hence the *Kriyā-kaumudī* was written earlier than the *Varṣa-kaumudī*.

(5) *Suddhi-kaumudī*¹³.

(6) *Śrāddha-kaumudī*.¹⁴

13. Edited by Pandit Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa and published under the title *Suddhi-kaumudī* in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1905.

For MSS. of this work see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, p. 564, No. 1744 (this Ms. is incomplete at the end); Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 272, No. 644; H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Second Series, I, pp. 370-1, No 367 (this MS. is dated 1715 Śaka); A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of Sans. MSS in the Bodleian Library*, p. 80, No. 644; *A Catalogue of Sans. MSS in Private Libraries of North-West Provinces*, Part I (Benares 1874), p. 100.

The *Suddhi-kaumudī* is so called in the introductory and the concluding verses as well as in the colophon.

It is to be noted that Govindānanda also refers to this work as '*Suddhi-kaumudī*'. See *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, pp. 323, 342, 348, 440, 483; *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 236, 359, 559.

14. Edited by Pandit Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa and published under the title '*Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*' in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1904.

For MSS. of this work see H. P. Sastri, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Second Series, I, pp. 378-9, No. 373; *A Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in Private Libraries of North-West Provinces*, Part I (Benares 1874), p. 140.

The *Śrāddha-kaumudī* is called *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī* in the introductory verses but simply *Śrāddha-kaumudī* in the concluding verses and the colophon (except in the colophon of the MS. described in H. P. Shastri's *Notices of Sans. MSS*, I, pp. 378-9 wherein it is called *Śrāddha-kriyā-prayoga-kaumudī*).

It is to be noted that Govindānanda himself refers to this work as '*Śrāddha-kaumudī*' and not as '*Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*'. See *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 20, 22, 348, 352, 487, 489. See also Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's *Nirṇaya-sindhu* (NSP ed., pp. 291, 294, 335, 347, 432, 433 etc.) for mention of this work as '*Śrāddha-kaumudī*'.

(7) *Varṣa-kaumudī*.¹⁵

It is called *Varṣa-kṛiṣṇa-kaumudī* in the introductory verses but simply *Varṣa-kaumudī* in the concluding verses and the colophon. Govindānanda himself once calls it *Samvatsara-kaumudī* in his commentary on Śūlapāṇi's *Prāyaścitta-viveka*.¹⁶

(8) *Tattvārtha-kaumudī*.¹⁷

This is a commentary on Śūlapāṇi's *Prāyaścitta-viveka*. It seems to be a work of Govindānanda's late age, and is not one of his earliest works as Manomohan Chakravarti thinks,¹⁸ because it mentions the *Samvatsara-kaumudī* (which is, as we

15. Edited by Pandit Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa and published in the Bibl. Ind. Series, Calcutta, 1902.

For MSS. of this work see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, pp. 527-8, No. 1654; Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue*, II, pp. 423-4, No. 473; R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, IV, pp. 117-8, No. 1530 (this MS. is dated Śaka 1766); Shastri, *ASB Catalogue*, III, p. 723, No. 2692 (this MS., which is dated Śaka 1765, is the same as that noticed by R. L. Mitra); Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descriptive Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parisad*, Calcutta, p. 133.

16. See *Prāyaścitta-viveka* with Govindānanda's commentary, ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, p. 286—

‘smṛti-samuccaye—pakṣādaḥ ca ravau ṣaṣṭhyāṃ riktāyāṃ ca tathā tithau | tailenābhyāñjamānas tu caturbhir api hīyate || ityādi samvatsara-kaumudyāṃ vivṛtam asmābhiḥ’.

This reference is made to *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 85 where the above mentioned verse occurs as from the *Smṛti-samuccaya*.

17. This commentary has been published with the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1893.

For MSS. of this commentary see Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 283, No. 661; Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, p. 554, No. 1724; R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, II, p. 63, No. 625; Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sans. College Catalogue*, II, pp. 173-5, Nos. 193-4 (the concluding verse of MS. No. 193 is :

gaṇapati-ṭanujo govindānanda-panḍitaḥ śrīmān |
atinirbandhād viduṣāṃ samakṛta tattvārtha-kaumudīm
ramyām ||) ;

A. B. Keith, *Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 83, No. 661; Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parisad*, p. 155.

18. *JASB*, XI, 1915, p. 355, footnote 2.

have already seen, the same as the author's *Varṣa-kaumudī*) and says in its final verse that it was written by him at the great persuasion of the scholars of his time,¹⁹ thus showing his wide repute in the learned circle. It is to be noted that the *Varṣa-kaumudī*, which is mentioned in the *Tattvārtha-kaumudī*, itself mentions the *Dāna-kaumudī*, *Śuddhi-kaumudī* and *Śrāddha-kaumudī* and is thus a work of Govindānanda's late age.

(9) *Mantra-puraścaraṇa*.²⁰

This work is written in verse and deals with the selection of proper time and place for Mantra-puraścaraṇa, its procedure, etc.

(10) A commentary (called *Artha-kaumudī*, *Tattvārtha-kaumudī* or *Śrāddha-viveka-kaumudī*)²¹ on Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka*.

19. atinirbandhād viduṣām akarot tattvārtha-kaumudīm ramyām.

20. H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, I, pp. 274-5, No. 271 (it is incomplete at the end and bears no date).

21. The MS. of Govindānanda's *Śrāddha-viveka-ṭīkā*, noticed by R. L. Mitra in his *Notices*, IX, p. 251 (No. 3175), calls itself *Arthakaumudī* and is incomplete at the end.

The Dacca University MS. No. 4313 (fol. 118 to the end) of the same commentary calls itself *Tattvārtha-kaumudī* and seems to be incomplete towards the beginning. It ends thus:

kva śūlapāṇer vacanaṃ garīyaḥ kva natih (? no matih)
sūkṣma-vicāra-bhīruḥ |

tathāpi govinda-padāravinda-dhyānāt parāṃ śaktim iha
vyajānīt ||

kecit khyāti-grahilāḥ prācīnācāra-dūṣaṇe paṭavaḥ |
mama mataṃ tiṣṭhāpayiṣor vācam santo 'nugrḥṇantu ||
śrīmac-chrāddha-vivekasya ṭīkā vidvan-manoramā |
govindānanda-kṛtinā kṛtā tattvārtha-kaumudī ||
sarvāntaryāmine tasmai govindāya namo namaḥ |
yeneha tatparāḥ santo dhīmanto modam āpnuyuh ||

Its colophon (iti śrīgovindānandācārya-viracitā tattvārtha-kaumudī nāma śrāddha-viveka-ṭīkā samāptā) is followed by the post-colophon statement :

śāke vasugajeśukṣma nite govindaśarmaṇā |
śūlapāṇi-kṛta-grantha-ṭīkā likhyate yatnataḥ ||

which shows that the MS. is fairly old, being copied by one Govinda-śarmaṇ in Śaka 1588.

The third introductory verse

‘ viracitavān api viduṣām atihṛdyam śrāddha-kaumudī-
tantram |

śiṣyābhyarthana-vaśagaḥ saṃprati Govindo.....śrīmān ||
of this commentary shows clearly that Govindānanda wrote it
after the *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, *Śuddhi-kaumudī* etc. at the
request of his pupils. Thus the *Śrāddha-viveka-ṭīkā* is one of
Govindānanda’s late works.

(11) A commentary (called *Artha-ratna-prabhā* or *Artha-
prabhāvatī* or *Jātakārṇava-kaumudī*) on Varāhamihira’s
Jātakārṇava after supplementing it with a section on solar and
lunar eclipse written in accordance with the *Sūrya-siddhānta*,
as either Varāhamihira did not add any such section to his
Jātakārṇava or such a section, though added by Varāhamihira,
was not much in vogue in this country.²²

Now, a MS. of the *Dāna-kaumudī* is dated Śaka 1533
(i.e. 1611 A.D.),²³ thus showing that the *Dāna-kaumudī* must

See also Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. MSS. in
the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, p. 156 where the commentary is called
Śrāddha-viveka-kaumudī.

22. Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, V, p. 1101, No. 3083.—
The commentary on chap. 5 (dealing with Candra-sūrya-nirṇaya)
begins:

idānīm candra-sūrya-grahaṇam śrīmad-varāhamihirācārye-
ṇopekṣitam racitam vā

deśe asmin na pracarad-rūpam mayā pariśiṣya svayam
eva vivicyate |

ālocya sūrya-racitam siddhāntam jātakārṇava-granthe
pariśiṣyate prayatnād govindānanda-dhīmatā grahaṇam ||
etc.

That Govindānanda added to the *Jātakārṇava* a section on
solar and lunar eclipse written according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta* is
also shown by his statement ‘ sa ca kāla-nirṇayaḥ sūrya-siddhā-
ntānusāreṇāsmābhir jātakārṇava-granthe vivṛto śti ’ made in his
Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 11 in connection with Grahaṇa-kāla-nirṇaya.

See also *Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Sans. College Library*,
Benares, p. 430 (No. 2834) where the commentary is called
Jātakārṇava-kaumudī.

23. Shastri, *ASB Catalogue*, III, p. 722, and H. P. Shastri,
Notices of Sans. MSS., I, pp. 166-8, No. 163.

have been written earlier than 1600 A.D. In connection with the intercalary months Govindānanda mentions the Śaka years 1449-1457 (i.e. 1527-1535 A.D.) in his *Suddhi-kaumudī*, which, therefore, must have been written after, but not very long after, Śaka 1457 (i.e. 1535 A.D.). Hence the *Suddhi-kaumudī* was written probably about 1540 A.D. Now, the *Suddhi-kaumudī*, which mentions the *Dāna-kaumudī*, is itself mentioned in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, and the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* has been mentioned in the *Varṣa-kaumudī* which, again, has been mentioned in the *Tattvārtha-kaumudī* under the name of *Samvatsara-kaumudī*. So the period of Govindānanda's literary activity must have extended to a few years after 1540 A.D., say up to 1560 A.D.

Raghunandana, a resident of Navadvīpa, mentions a *Kriyā-kaumudī* in his *Āhnika-tattva*²⁴. But this *Kriyā-kaumudī* mentioned by Raghunandana is most probably not identical with that of Govindānanda, because there is no second mention either of Govindānanda or his works in any of the numerous works of Raghunandana. In his *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, p. 415 P. V. Kane says that Govindānanda is quoted by Raghunandana in his *Mala-māsa-tattva* and *Āhnika-tattva* and thus makes the same mistake as was done by the learned editor of the *Varṣa-kaumudī* by confusing the *Varṣa-kṛtya* and the *Kriyā-kaumudī* with the *Varṣa-kaumudī*²⁵ (or *Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī*, which is also sometimes called *Varṣa-kṛtya-kaumudī*). As a matter of fact the *Varṣa-kṛtya* is an older work mentioned by Śūlapāṇi in his *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 26 and by Raghunandana as a work of Vidyāpati in his *Mala-māsa-tattva*²⁶, and the *Kriyā-kaumudī* also cannot be identical with the *Varṣa-kaumudī*.²⁷ Moreover, in his *Tithi-*

24. See *Smṛti-tattva* (ed. Jīvananda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta), I, p. 343-kriyā-kaumudyāṃ vasiṣṭhaḥ - 'guvāka-tāla-hintālās tathā tāḍi ca ketakī | kharjūra-nārikelau ca saptaite tṛṇa-rājakāḥ.|| etc.'

As these lines of Vasiṣṭha are not found in any of the extant works of Govindānanda, it is sure that the *Kriyā-kaumudī* mentioned by Raghunandana is a work quite different from the extant works of Govindānanda.

25. *Varṣa-kaumudī*. Preface, p. ii.

26. *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 823 - 'vidyāpati-kṛta-varṣakṛtye'

27. See *ante*. For a detailed discussion on this point see also *JASB*, XI, 1915, p. 356.

tattva Raghunandana quotes from the *Varṣa-kṛtya* three metrical lines of an unnamed author and two of Garga²⁸, but these lines are not found in the *Varṣa-kaumudī*; and in the *Mala-māsa-tattva* two verses of the *Nāradya-purāṇa* are quoted from the *Varṣa-kṛtya* and the word 'Niṣpāva' occurring in one of these quoted lines is said to have been explained there as 'Śveta-śimbi'²⁹, but of the two verses mentioned above the *Varṣa-kaumudī* contains only the second one (vratopavāsa-niyamaiḥ etc.) with the mention of the 'Brahmāṇḍa' as the source³⁰ and explains the word 'Niṣpāva' occurring in the line 'niṣpāvān rājamāśāṃś ca' as 'Devadhānya' and not as 'Śveta-śimbi'.³¹ In the *Ekādaśī-tattva* there is a reference to the *Varṣa-kṛtya* as containing the reading 'pāraṇaṃ tu bhavet katham' for the second Pāda of the line 'saṃkaṭe viṣame prāpte etc.'³² But this reference, though found in *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 62,³³ must not be taken seriously, because Govindānanda also derives the lines 'saṃkaṭe viṣame prāpte etc. not direct from Devala's work but from some other Smṛti Nibandha where these lines with the reading 'pāraṇaṃ tu bhavet katham' was quoted under the name of Devala. In the *Āhnikā-tattva* a 'Kaumudī' is

28. *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 103 - varṣa-kṛtye—vittaṃ brahmaṇi kārya-siddhir atulā śakre hutāse bhayaṃ etc., and p. 141—kalānyūnārdharātre tu yadi, saṃkramaṇaṃ bhavet | tadahaḥ puṇyam icchanti gārgya-gālava-gotamāḥ || iti varṣa-kṛtya-dhṛta-garga-vacanāt.

29. *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 822 - varṣa-kṛtye nāradyam—avratena kṣīped yas tu māsaṃ dāmodara-priyam | tiryag-yonim avāpnoti sarva-dharma-bahiṣkṛtaḥ || vratopavāsa-niyamaiḥ kārttiko yasya gacchati | devo vaimāniko bhūtvā sa yāti paramāṇi gatim ||
.. tathā, niṣpāvān rājamāśāṃś ca supte deve janārdane |
.. niṣpāvaḥ śveta-śimbir iti varṣa-kṛtyam |

30. *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 456.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 458-9-nāradye—niṣpāvān rājamāśāṃś ca supte deve janārdane | niṣpāvo deva-dhānyam |

32. *Smṛti-tattva*, II, p. 100 - saṃkaṭe viṣame prāpte dvādaśyāṃ pārayet katham | 'pāraṇaṃ tu bhavet katham' iti varṣa-kṛtye pāṭhaḥ |

33. Yat tu—saṃkaṭe viṣame prāpte pāraṇaṃ tu bhavet katham | adbhīs tu pāraṇaṃ kuryāt punar naktam na doṣa-kṛt || iti devalanāmnā vacanaṃ tad yadi samūlaṃ syāt tadā |.

referred to,³⁴ but this reference also is not found in the extant works of Govindānanda.

That Govindānanda's works were not known to Raghunandana is also shown by the fact that though the former severely criticises, and very often refutes, with unfair remarks, the views of Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍamaṇi by calling him 'Ādhunika', Raghunandana does not say even a single word against all these. Had Raghunandana known Govindānanda's works, he would never have spared the latter for such objectionable remarks. On the other hand, Govindānanda also does not mention Raghunandana or any of his works. This silence of both about each other shows that they were contemporaries and that either they did not like to add importance to each other or their works, being contemporaneous, did not reach each other.

Even if the *Kriyā-kaumudī* mentioned by Raghunandana be taken to be identical with that of Govindānanda, there being no second *Kriyā-kaumudī* mentioned in the works earlier than those of Raghunandana, it does not go against the contemporaneity of these two writers. It only shows that Govindānanda wrote his *Kriyā-kaumudī* some time earlier than Raghunandana's *Āhnika-tattva* (which is one of his early works but not the earliest).

As Govindānanda mentions the *Madana-pārijāta*, the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, Rudradhara and Vācaspati-miśra, the period of his literary activity cannot be placed earlier than 1500 A.D. Hence we shall not be very far from the truth if we place Govindānanda's literary activity between 1520 and 1560 A.D.

The above date for Govindānanda may also be arrived at from that of his father Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa who wrote his *Jyotiṣmatī* in the 4613th year of the Kali-yuga i.e., about 1510 A.D. The concluding verse of the *Jyotiṣmatī*,³⁵ wherein the

34. *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 376—

'śūdrodakair na kurvīta tathā meghādi-niḥsṛtaiḥ' iti darśanād iti kaumudī.

35. viśvāṅga-śruti-sammite 4613 kali-yugasyābde prasiddhā-hvayo bhaṭṭaḥ khyāta-guṇottaro gaṇapatir jyotirvidām agraniḥ | lakṣmī-nandi-purandarānuja-pada-dvandvāra-vindārpita-svāntaḥ saṃtatam indirā-parigato jyotiṣmatīm ātanot ||

above mentioned date occurs, contains for Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa the adjectives 'Prasiddhāhvayaḥ', 'Khyāta-guṇottaraḥ', 'Jyotiṛvidām agrāṇīḥ' and 'Bhaṭṭaḥ' (the title Bhaṭṭa being awarded generally to reputed scholars in those days), which show that the *Jyotiṣmatī* was the product of Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa's mature age. Hence if we allow a decade more to have elapsed before Govindānanda could begin to write his works, we arrive at about 1520 A.D. as the starting point of the latter's literary activity.

It should be mentioned here that I have not yet been able to find any MS. of Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa's *Jyotiṣmatī* or any reference to it anywhere except in the Preface to the Bibl. Ind. edition of the *Varṣa-kaumudī*.

“BHARATA SAVITRI”

BY

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER

This attractive, meaningful and intriguing phrase is not as well-known in the south of India as it ought to be, and as it is, in western India. Towards the end of the Mahabharata in the Svargarohana Parvan there occur four slokas of great verve, beauty and terseness to which Vyasa, the immortal bard of the epic, has given the name of ‘Bharata Savitri’. This set of four slokas is to be found in all the recensions of the Mahabharata, northern and southern, except in the P. P. S. Sastri edition of the Southern recension. The poet himself in the sloka next to these four states that the preceding set of four slokas is known as Bharata Savitri and adds that he who, every morning, reads them obtains the fruit of the Bharata and realises the Supreme Brahman.

इमां भारतसावित्रीं प्रातरुत्थाय यः पठेत् ।

स भारतफलं प्राप्य परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥

By naming this Catussloki or collection of four slokas, Bharata Savitri, the author establishes clearly that it contains the essence and the moral of the Great Epic. It is well-known that the word ‘Savitri’ is only another name for the ‘Gayatri’. Etymologically, Savitri means the hymn dedicated to the worship of the Sun or Savita and as the Gayatri is par excellence the Mantra dedicated to the Sun, it has appropriately come to be known as Savitri also. The Gayatri Mantra is declared by the Vedas themselves as their essence. Hence the word ‘Savitri’ added to the word ‘Bharata’ gives the meaning ‘essence of the Bharata’. The Bharata is regarded as the fifth Veda (*Vide* Mahabharata Parvan 18, Adh. 5—sl 79). The Bhavishyat Purana also declares thus: “What is known as the Mahabharata is the fifth Veda pertaining to Krishna or Vyasa.”

कार्ण्यः पंचमो वेदः यन्महाभारतं स्मृतम् ।

As the Bharata is Veda, the word ‘Savitri’ in conjunction with it, can quite appropriately mean the essence of the Bharata. That the meaning of the word ‘Savitri’ is ‘essence’ in this

context is also confirmed by the commentary of Nilakantha on the Mahabharata. Nilakantha observes as follows:

संध्यायां भारतं पठनीयमित्युक्तं तत्र पठनयोग्यं भारतसारसंग्रहं चतुः-
श्लोकीरूपमाह मातेति ।

He is of opinion that the Catussloki is the 'Bharata-sara-sangraha'. There is also another appropriateness in the appellation given by the author. The poet exhorts the reader to recite these four slokas and meditate upon them every morning in the same manner as the Gayatri Mantra is done daily morning. The late reputed scholar Mr. C. V. Vaidya, in his valuable book entitled "Mahabharata—a Criticism", refers to the custom among Pandits in western India of reciting the Bharata Savitri as part of the morning prayer.

The four verses known as Bharata Savitri are the following and they may be translated thus:

- (1) मातापितृसहस्राणि पुत्रदारशतानि च ।
संसारेष्वनुभूतानि यान्ति यास्यन्ति चापरे ॥
- (2) हर्षस्थानसहस्राणि भयस्थानशतानि च ।
दिवसे दिवसे मूढमाविशन्ति न पण्डितम् ॥
- (3) ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येषः न च कश्चित् शृणोति माम् ।
धर्मार्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥
- (4) न जातु कामान्न भयान्नलोभात्
धर्मं त्यजेत् जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ।
नित्यो धर्मः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये
जीवो नित्यः हेतुरस्यत्वनित्यः ॥

- (1) "Thousands of fathers and mothers and hundreds of sons and wives were known and had gone, are going and will go in the future, in the course of Samsara."
- (2) "Thousands of occasions for joy and hundreds of causes of fear, engross every day the mind of the ignorant but not that of the man of wisdom."
- (3) "With uplifted arm I shout, but none hears me: from Dharma result Artha and Kama, why then is Dharma not observed?"
- (4) "Not out of passion or fear or avarice, not even for the sake of life, should one ever abandon Dharma."

Dharma is eternal, Happiness and misery are not eternal. The soul is eternal. That which embodies it is not eternal."

The second of these four slokas is also to be found earlier in the Anusasana Parva Adh. 244, sl. 3.

Let us now analyse the import of these four slokas and see how they form the essence and the moral of the Epic. From the impassioned way in which the poet speaks of the supreme value of Dharma, in the third sloka, one can clearly realize that it is his profound conviction that Dharma is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the world and that it is the essence of his teaching in his immortal epic. He regards Dharma as the one supreme value of life and gives his reason for it. It is only from Dharma that the other two Purusharthas or values of life *viz.*, Artha or material prosperity and Kama or enjoyment of desires, result. The poet argues that as it is the natural instinct of man to yearn for Artha and Kama and as both these can be attained by the observance of Dharma, it is essential for man to follow the dictates of Dharma. He adds another potent reason for his emphasis upon Dharma. Dharma, he says, is eternal and undying while happiness and misery are momentary and changing. Hence he would exhort every man never to abandon Dharma even if his passion, avarice, fear or attachment to life come into conflict with his observance of Dharma. He proclaims in no uncertain terms the fundamental truth that the eternal Dharma sustains the soul of man which is also eternal while Artha and Kama pertain to the impermanent and decaying human body and, that during the course of the endless cycle of births and deaths, the soul takes many bodies. Vyasa's conception of Dharma, we see, therefore, is based upon and is closely bound up with, the fundamental belief in the eternity of the human soul and its incarnation in many bodies during its long pilgrimage through Samsara and on the conviction of the impermanance of worldly existence and of the evanescence of earthly objects and pleasures. The first two slokas clearly enunciate these two fundamental doctrines.

The conception of Dharma, its purpose, significance and basic principles have been fully enunciated and developed in this great epic and the poet uses the word 'Dharma' in the Bharata Savitri with its full implication and significance. The

derivation of the word, its meaning and purpose are pointed out in the Karna Parva of the Mahabharatha as follows:—

धारणात् धर्म इत्याहुः धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ।

यः स्यात् धारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥ (69, 59)

It is explained herein that the word 'Dharma' comes from the root 'Dhr' 'to hold' or 'uphold' and that all human beings are held together by Dharma. The test of Dharma is this holding together. According to Vyasa, therefore, the purpose of Dharma is the stability of society and the general welfare of mankind and whatever conduces to the fulfilment of this purpose is called Dharma. A similar definition of Dharma and its purpose is also given by him in the Santi Parvan (Adh. 109, sl. 14).

It is Vyasa's firm conviction that Dharma is based fundamentally upon truth, truth about man, truth about the soul and truth about God. That the meaning of Dharma is really the pursuit, in actual conduct, of truth or the 'anushthana' of truth is well borne out by the use of the word in our religious literature in conjunction with two other important words, Rta and Satya. All these three words Rta, Satya and Dharma have a very ancient history going back to the Rg Veda. Both the words Rta and Satya are found in the Rg Veda in the following text:—

ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात् तपसोऽध्यजायत । (Rk. 10, 190, 1)

Explaining the meaning of the word Rta, Vidyaranya, the learned commentator of the Rg Veda, says that it is मानसं यथार्थसंकल्पनम्, the mental perception of truth. The words Satya and Dharma are found together in the following lines of the Taittiriya Upanishad "Satyam Vada" and "Dharmam Chara". In the Bṛhadaranyaka Upanishad the intimate connection between Satya and Dharma is clearly pointed out in the following lines: यो वै स धर्मः सत्यं वै तत् । (Bṛh. Up. 1-4-64)

Sankara in his commentary on this text explains that Satya is the speaking of truth while Dharma is the observance of truth.

सत्यं यथाशास्त्रार्थता, स एव अनुष्ठीयमानो धर्मनामा भवति ।

An analysis of the significance of these three words shows that Rta denotes the mental perception of truth, while Satya connotes the accurate and true expression in words of the truths perceived by the mind and that Dharma is the observance

in conduct of the truths so perceived and expressed. In fact, Dharma is the way of life which translates into action the truths perceived by the man of insight. In short, Rta is truth in thought, Satya is truth in word, and Dharma is truth in deed. That the real test of Dharma is its efficacy to contribute to the prosperity and well-being of mankind is affirmed in sl. 10 Adh. 104 of Santi Parvan.

प्रभवार्थाय भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।

यः स्यात् प्रभवसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

Vyasa, further says, in the Tuladhara-Jajali-samvada, Adh. 268, sl. 9, that he knows Dharma who is always the friend of all and who is devoted to the welfare of all, in deed, thought and word.

सर्वेषां च सुहृन्नित्यं सर्वेषां च हिते रतः ।

कर्मणा मनसा वाचा स धर्मं वेद जाजले ॥

Unlike Marxian Communism or totalitarian Fascism whose avowed object is also to bring about the welfare of mankind, Dharma operates to achieve this object in the spirit and atmosphere of Ahimsa or non-violence. In Santi Parvan Adh. 109, sl. 15, Vyasa declares that, for the purpose of ahimsa of all beings, Dharma has been enunciated. 'That which is imbued with Ahimsa is decided to be Dharma'.

अहिसार्थाय भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।

यस्स्यात् अहिसासंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

The reign of Dharma is based on the negation of the doctrine "Might is right", and rests on spiritual efficacy and not on brute force or military power. This is beautifully expressed in the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad in the following text:—

स नैव व्यभवत् तत् श्रेयोरूपम् अत्यसृजत । धर्मं तदेतत् क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यत् धर्मः । तस्मात् धर्मात्परं नास्ति । अथो अबलीयान् बलीयांसम् आशंसते धर्मेण, यथा राज्ञा । एवं यो वै स धर्मः । सत्यं वै तत् ॥

"After creating mankind, Prajapati felt this insufficient and he therefore proceeded to create, over and above, Dharma of the form of highest welfare. This Dharma is the controller of the Kshatriya. Therefore, there is nothing higher than Dharma. So even a weak man seeks to control a stronger man

through Dharma as one does through the King. That Dharma is truth."

In his commentary on this text, the great Sankara makes a very pregnant observation explaining why the Lord felt His work insufficient and proceeded to create Dharma over and above the Kshatriya or Ruler and Warrior. He says that merely because of the brute force of a Kshatriya, doubt arises that he cannot be depended upon always for the stability of society.

उग्रत्वात् क्षत्रियस्य अनियताशङ्कया ।

In the Santi Parvan, Parasara Gita, Adh. 300, sl. 29 to 31, Vyasa declares that it is the observance of Dharma that distinguishes man from the beast and that the wise man observes Dharma in life, works among men in the spirit of Ahimsa and with the full realisation of his own self, whether he be actuated by desire or has renounced the world. He further says that man of Dharma removes all the good and bad vasanas from the his mind, is never swayed by falsehood and attains the highest good. Dharma is not humanitarian materialism. It is something loftier than that. The concept is spiritual and moral, and is based upon the truth of the realisation of the Supreme Reality and belief in the evanescence of all earthly existence and worldly pleasures. In the Yakshaprasna Chapter of the Mahabharata, in the form of questions and answers, this is made abundantly clear : 'The intellectual man who fully enjoys life, who is honoured among men and is the friend of all, still cannot be called a man of Dharma if he does not discharge his religious duties to the Devas, to his ancestors, to the guests, to his dependants and to himself'.¹ The concept of Dharma is spiritual and moral and comprehends the entire gamut of man's duties to God, to his fellowmen and to his higher self. It does

यक्षः—

इन्द्रियार्थानुभवन् बुद्धिमान् लोकपूजितः ।

संमतः सर्वभूतानां उच्छ्वसन् को न जीवति ॥

धर्मपुत्रः—

देवतातिथितिभृत्यानां पितृणामात्मनश्च यः ।

न निर्वपति पंचानां उच्छ्वसन् न स जीवति ॥

(Vana, Adh. 314, sl. 59, 60)

not emphasise rights, and the insistence on duties serves the same purpose as the assertion of the corresponding rights. It is not mere humanitarianism or social well-being. It is this conception of Dharma as leading to Moksha or the realisation of God, as contributing to the stability of society and the welfare of mankind and as based upon truth and Ahimsa that Vyasa has enunciated in his epic. This Dharma concept is the essence and the moral of Mahabharata. The 'Bharata Savitri' declares this Dharma as the pivot of life and sustenance of the soul and exhorts every man not to ever abandon it, even though passion, avarice, fear or attachment to life may dictate otherwise. Vyasa is fond of proclaiming often "Where there is Dharma, there is Victory". "Yato Dharmah tato Jayah". In the true spirit of non-violence and spirituality, Dharma overcomes evil and attains victory. Hence, the Mahabharata is itself called 'Jaya' and we find it so named both in the beginning and the end of it.

(1) नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।

देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

(2) जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो मोक्षमिच्छता ॥

MUSIC AND DANCE IN KALIDASA.*

BY

K. V. RAMACHANDRAN

I

MUSIC

My first duty is to thank Mr. K. Balasubrahmanaya Iyer, Mr. K. Chandrasekharan and Dr. V. Raghavan for their kindness in giving me this opportunity to talk to you on Kalidasa today. Secondly, I have to request your indulgence and patience for my shortcomings, due to which, intending a sonnet, I happen to give you instead, an ode. You are all familiar with the poetic and dramatic genius of Kalidasa. Today I wish to stress his mastery of Music and Dance and the excellent use he finds for this knowledge, though we have all but lost the rich music that went into the making of his plays, and have to build up his dance medium tardily from sources like the Natya Sastra and the oversea traditions of the art. We know that music, dance and other fine arts reached undreamt of heights of achievement in ancient India, but do not know how exactly they had worked themselves into life at courts and palaces, what birds and animals the members of that sophisticated society petted, what costume and jewelry they wore and what sports and pastimes they favoured. But when the Hindus colonised countries like Java, Siam and Cambodia, they carried many of their art traditions and customs overseas; and these afford invaluable sidelight into the social history of our remote past, which I have utilised here and there, getting my data from friends like Dr. J. Kunst.

In his description of Narada's descent, Magha has the following verse:

रणद्विराघट्टनया नभस्वतः पृथग्विभिन्नश्रुतिमण्डलैः स्वरैः ।

स्फुटीभवद्ग्रामविशेषमूर्च्छनामवेक्षमाणं महतीं मुहुर्मुहुः ॥

When thus Magha described Narada's harp, the Mahati breaking into the soprano music of the Gandhara Grama at the touch of breeze, he did not indulge in poetic exaggeration, but described with cold precision, the Aeolian harp—an instrument in common use in ancient India, China and Greece. In this harp, wires of varying thicknesses were stretched over bridges

* Text of a Talk at the Kalidasa Day celebrations of the Madras Sanskrit Academy on 19-10-50.

at varying tensions, within a box frame oblong or triangular; in a current of air, the strings vibrating variously according to their thickness and tension, generated a variety of high fluty tones of a mysterious timbre and beauty known as 'harmonics', which modified themselves in a variety of shades, according to the force of the draught, producing an ethereal and elusive melody. Kalidasa refers to the Aeolian harp in his description of Narada; there the gust of wind that awoke the trembling strings of the harp, detached also the celestial flowers on its scroll, at sight of which Indumati closed her eyes in eternal sleep, even as she lay on the lap of Aja. Ancient musical theory grouped Ragas into three Gramas according to their pitch level: the Ragas of the Shadja Grama had the range of the deep bass and baritone; those of the Madyama Grama that of the heroic tenor; and those of the Gandhara Grama that of the lyric soprano. This high pitched Ga Grama was probably assigned on the stage to the Gods and heavenly beings, the Kinnaras and Gandharvas and characters like Narada and Urvashi—a circumstance that would explain the association of this Grama with heaven, in later musical literature. The Aeolian harp was perhaps tuned to the Ga Grama even as the drums and flutes were, by human hands, but played upon by the invisible hands of Wind when installed in a breezy niche of the palace or temple.

Then there was the Aeolian flute referred to thus by Kalidasa:

यः पूरयन्कीचकरन्ध्रभागान्दरीमुखोत्थेन समीरणेन ।

उद्गास्यतामिच्छति किन्नराणां तानप्रदायित्वमिवोपगन्तुम् ॥

K. S. 1. 8.

"As though desirous of accompanying the soprano music of the Kinnaras, Himalaya blowing from a cave mouth filled the holes of the dry bamboo". According to the commentator this meant that either the bamboo provided the characteristic *Amsa Swara* or phrase (*Tana*) Or that the bamboo accompanied the singing of the Kinnaras; I prefer the latter interpretation, which suggests a fitful kind of accompaniment, now anticipating, now following—a felicitous touch as the playing was dependant on wayward gusts of wind. Nor should we lose sight of the subtle suggestion as to how much more beautiful the harmonics of the Kinnaras' high-pitched vocal singing were,

स कीचकैर्मरुतपूर्णरन्ध्रैः कूजद्विरापादितवंशकृत्यम् ।

शुश्राव कुञ्जेषु यशः स्वमुच्चैरुद्गीयमानं वनदेवताभिः ॥

R. V. 2. 12.

“Dilipa heard the sylvan deities intone his fame from within the bowers at a high pitch, to the warbling accompaniment of the Aeolian flutes, (when he entered the forest).”

शब्दायन्ते मधुरमनिलैः कीचकाः पूर्यमाणाः

संरक्ताभिस्त्रिपुरविजयो गीयते किन्नरीभिः ।

निर्हादस्ते मुरज इव चेत्कन्दरेषु ध्वनिः स्यात्

संगीतार्थो ननु पशुपतेस्तत्र भात्री समग्रः ॥

M. S. 1. 57.

“As the Kinnari women sing Hara’s victory melodiously, the Aeolian bamboos resonate delicious music; and if friend Cloud, you resound in the caves like a Muraja, then Siva’s concert would be complete”.

In all these verses the Kichaka—dry bamboo is said to play the role of the flute with this difference, that while the flute was played by the human breath, the bamboo was played by the breeze. Instead of taking the passages to mean that the wind whistled through the bamboo, even as it rustled through the leaves, I prefer to take the bamboo as the Aeolian flute—a wind instrument, fashioned by human hands, but played upon by the breeze. According to Dr. Kunst, it consisted of a length of bamboo usually placed high on a tree, having holes bored between its various knots. The wind playing through the holes, produced a very melodious sound that could be heard from a great distance. Dr. Kunst adds that this was illustrated in the 9th century sculptures of Barabadur adorning the Kalpaka trees; and alluded to in the 11th century poem ‘Arjuna Vivaha’ where it accompanies the blandishments of the celestial damsels when Arjuna is in meditation. The Aeolian flute has survived in Java to this day and is known as Sundari. It may be recalled that the magic harp Ghoshavati tempts a Gandharva to Udayana’s service (in the guise of an elephant) and when Udayana loses the harp to a bamboo, the Aeolian harp and bamboo make a symphony of string and wind in high air, leading eventually to the discovery of the harp. What could be more appropriate than the elusive beauty of the ‘harmonics’ fashioned into a gossamer mantle for fairy spirits floating

down the air in graceful undulations, in the first act of Vikramorvasiya? Not only has Kalidasa given us fairies, but also a fairy music in which to clothe and present them on the stage, made up of misty tone-colours that melt and dissolve in the air. Kalidasa has, therefore, made music itself more musical, in introducing heavenly beings. Tones of such extraordinary delicacy, shaded by more delicate overtones, are yet to be met with in the bamboo chimes accompanying the Balinese shadow play, retaining at least in part the magic of the Aeolian tones.

Then came the Tympani—the drums that articulated a whole series of sounds—the pianissimo patter of raindrops on water, the melodious bubbling as water enters a narrow pot, the lapping sound of wavelets and the deep rumble of clouds. The name Pushkaram meant, air, water, cloud as well as a drum; and the early drums, were all pot drums. The term Marjana frequently used by Kalidasa, referred to the tuning of the drums according to the Grama. The Mayuri which to the peacocks sounded even as the rumble of clouds, had according to one commentator the right surface as Sa, the left as Ga and the top as Ma, with Ma as the chief note, which in the love context of Malavika's dance, was most appropriate there. From the definition it is inferable that the drums had three surfaces. The Panchamukha which I equate with the Bhandavadya which Bharata prescribes for the Angaharas of Siva, had its five surfaces tuned to the five notes of the Raga Nata, so that on this drum as on the Dhakka, there was an interplay of two impulses—the melodic represented by the notes and the rhythmic by the syllables modelled on air-water-cloud effects. The sound of drums had as unique a fascination for Kalidasa as that of clouds and they seem to him to be interchangeable.

Kalidasa describes another kind of water-music in canto 16 of Raghuvamsa. The Goddess of Ayodhya laments

आस्फालितं यत्प्रमदाकराग्रैर्मृदङ्गधीरध्वनिमन्वगच्छत् ।

वन्यैरिदानीं महिषैस्तदम्भः शृङ्गाहतं क्रोशति दीर्घिकाणाम् ॥

“When formerly struck by the palms of sportive women, the pleasure ponds emitted deep resonant drum tones, now emit a melancholy sound when struck by wild buffaloes.”

And when Kusa re-establishes Ayodhya as his capital and re-initiates the water sports

तीरस्थलीवर्हिभिरुत्कलपैः प्रस्निग्धकैरभिनन्दमानम् ।

श्रोत्रेषु संमूर्च्छति रक्तमासां गीतानुगं वारिमृदङ्गवाद्यम् ॥

“The enchanting sound fills the ears; the sound of women singing and the water mridanga accompanying, which the peacocks on the banks hail with their outspread plumage”.

Here is an extract from Dr. Kunst: “Chiblon is the rhythmic beating with the hand in different ways either with the crooked or flat of hand on and in the water, producing in this way a surprisingly good ensemble effect. The Chiblon has also given its name to a certain way of drum playing; thus the Chiblon afterwards became the name of one of the drum forms themselves.”

The name Pushkara denoted the aquatic birds also; and to them were assigned the role of the Ghana vadya—the inter-punctuating bells and jingles of the girdle and anklet. Travellers were said to mistake the sounds of the infatuated swans for the jingling golden girdle of their beloved; and in the cold season, it was said, the swan’s music resided in the anklets of women. And in the pretty fable of the Rishi Mandakarni, Kalidasa following Valmiki combines all these various musical sounds—Aeolian flute, harp, wavelets, birds—in a convincing symphony in the pleasure pond named Panchapsaras, where continual strains of instrumental music and drum notes blended with the tinkling sound of ornaments, though there was no human agency at the place. And in a dramatic moment in the Sakuntalam, Kalidasa makes the cuckoo the mouthpiece of the sylvan deities, when Kanva seeks their permission for the heroine’s departure. Kalidasa is partial to this feathered warbler, through whose blithe notes, Spring mocks woman’s sweet words and whose measured notes at the season’s beginning resemble the Mugdha’s shy words. The background of nature in Kalidasa would provide materials for a separate thesis.

Then there were the songs that awakened the sleepers:

उषसि स गजयूथकर्णतालैः पटुपटहध्वनिभिर्विनीतनिद्रः ।

अरमत मधुराणि तत्र शृण्वन्विहगविकूजितवन्दिमङ्गलानि ॥

In the forest Dasaratha was awakened by the drum like flapping of the elephant’s ears and the warbling of the birds. The Kalinga prince was awakened every morning by the deep

baritone of the sea. But the Kinnaras awaken Siva on his nuptial morning by a Raga called Kaisika. The ragas named Kaisikas were among the most beautiful and were specially set apart for the Ramayana, the musical exponents being known as Kaisikacharyas. The raga Mangalakaisika was possibly one of the ancient Kaisikas. But I am disposed to think that the Kaisika that awoke Siva early in the morning was of the type of Bauli. At the birth of Skanda, the celestial dancers interpret certain songs, which the lutes followed in the beautiful Mandra register¹; may I suggest that the Ragas in question were of the Shadja Grama group with predominant Mandra Sanchara like Kuranji and Navaroz? Nor does Kalidasa forget the folksongs of the field-women, watching the Sali corn under shadow of sugarcanes recounting the deeds of Raghu from his youth²; nor the continuous fanfare of the instruments and drums during coronations; nor the victorious conch privileged to share Aja's lips with Indumati.

In early sculpture the bow-shaped harp and the lute shaped like the Sarode are the most common. The lute on lap is a favourite idea of Kalidasa: thus Indumati lay like a stringless lute on Aja's lap; Agnivarna's lap was never empty—it had either a lute or a sweetheart (वल्लकी च हृदयंगमस्वना बल्लुवागपि वामलोचना); and his lute player though hurt in the thigh, continued to play as though unhurt. The term 'Ankyalingyordhvakah' in the verse referred to above has been taken by the lexicons to refer to three kinds of drums; but may I hazard the view that it was a lute of the Sarode type installed on thigh and held upwards and the playing hand held as though embracing it and its scroll reaching up to the shoulder region? The Yaksha's wife was so overwrought, that she was hardly able to tune the Murchana and when she did, found it hopelessly out of tune; this was also perhaps a kind of Sarode in which the substrings constituted the Murchana and had to be tuned afresh to suit the raga. Songs with Kakali are said to awaken Cupid and lovers even if asleep; the Kakali of Kambhoji does

1. ध्वनस्तु तूर्येषु सुमन्द्रमङ्कयालिङ्गयोर्ध्वकेष्वप्सरसो रसेन ।

सुसंधिवन्धं ननृतुः सुवृत्तगीतानुगं भावरसानुविद्धम् ॥

2. इक्षुच्छायनिषादिन्यस्तस्य गोप्तुर्गुणोदयम् ।

आकुमारकथोद्धातं शालिगोप्यो जगुर्गशः ॥

it even now. Prof. Ranade reads a pun in the raga name Sarang in the Nati's song; if it was a Sarang, it could well have been Gauda Sarang. If Kalidasa meant a similar pun, he must have been familiar with Lalit which concludes the second canto of Ritusamhara. Among the raga names of the songs of Vikramorvasiya mentioned by the commentator, Gunakari is our Suddha Saveri employing Suddha Dha and Suddha Ri as in the gita of Purandara; and Patamanjari is a raga resembling our Ritigaula.

Then there was a convention that divided ragas into masculine and feminine groups. Thus Madhyamavati was forceful, energetic; Sri dainty, feminine and graceful; Kedara manly, Surati feminine; Kedara masculine; Kuranji feminine, etc. The Hindustani ragas also divide themselves into these basic types—masculine and feminine. For raudra, veera and adbhuta rasas, the manly ragas were considered appropriate; and for sringara, hasya and karuna rasas, the feminine ragas. For the entrance songs and exit songs of the male and female characters also these ragas would be found appropriate. Then there were ragas relating to the morning, midday, evening and night; and also those appropriate for the various seasons, spring, summer, etc. With all this rich material we could inform the drama with a new musical life in terms of the character, hour, season and rasa; and recapture the languid dawn in a Bauli; make bright morning music with Bilahari; project a starry night in the solemn nocturne of Malkaus; serenade a golden evening with Gaulipantu; and recapture fun and frolic with Hindolavasanta; and vernal splendour and the nuances of sringara with Vasanta. In the Sanskrit drama we have a type of play that lends itself to musical treatment; and in our music whether Hindustani or Carnatic, we have an art that could give the verse a new expression, atmosphere and life or if so intended to merely follow the inflections of the poetic text and translate it into a new medium. But for such a consummation—the marriage of poetry with music—the foremost impediment is our ignorance of that music brought about by concepts like the Melakarta and the superstitions—theoretical and practical—we labour under today. We should visualise and understand our Ragas as living entities with anatomies and souls of their own before we restore them to the drama. Till such a time, we have to put up with the anaemic and impoverished thing that passes for music and leave Kalidasa alone.

If on voices the ragas became impassioned with human emotion; on instruments they developed a new impersonal ethos that varied with the timbre and idiom of each instrument and voiced unearthly sorrows. If voice music was lyric poetry, vadya music was a kind of dramatic poetry that was set apart for the great divisions of the play—the Sandhis—in an art practice as old as Bharata by which a few select ragas adumbrated the mood of a whole act through poignant instrumentation, that stirred the listener to the depths of his being. It was some of these that the Pallava king Mahendravarma tried to perpetuate in the Swara notation of Kudumiyamalai. If a mutilated inscription could be relied upon, he probably staged Vikramorvasiya and was so impressed by the Sandhi instrumentation of Rudracharya that he had them etched on stone. To attempt to identify some of those ragas would be beyond the scope of this talk; but without doing so, may I point out, how expressive the departure of Sakuntala would be if Suddha Saveri (Gunakri) was played by instruments, giving vent to a cosmic pathos, through swaras, even as the Greek chorus attempted to do through words. Tranquillity, solemnity, majesty, tenderness, joy, beauty and every mood of nature could be recaptured on instruments and made to background the interplay of human emotions. How appropriate would Vasanta be for the prelude and Mangalakaisika for the beatific reunion of Sakuntala, on instruments? But all these are mere dreams of beauty and difficult of realisation under present day conditions,

II

DANCE

If there is an unconscious obtrusion of the sensuous and voluptuous in Kalidasa's delineations of women, it is the result of a spiritual—aesthetic intention, that had to express itself through the medium of the body, even as sense has to seek expression in sound. An ardent woman-worshipper, Kalidasa, never tires of posing women singly or in groups and in all their beauty and grace and in the exquisite attitudes and movements of Dance, not as creatures of the earth, but as the manifestations of a divine power. While Kalidasa's heroes are all human beings—Pururavas, Agnimitra, Dushyanta—his heroines are mostly celestial beings—Urvashi, Sakuntala, Indumati. The human heroes long for superhuman partners

and having obtained them, invariably lose them as though they were too good for them and do not regain them till after a long travail or not at all. Though Malavika was a human princess, her beauty and gifts were, Kalidasa suggests, superhuman. If Lasya emanated from the limbs of Parvati, new poetic graces came into play, when Malavika repeated a prosaic dance lesson of her teacher, who felt abashed that his gifted pupil had reversed the role of the teacher and the taught. What an idyll the poet fashions round Malavika's shapely foot, from the point of view of the decorator and the decoration and the silent watcher, the king, at a touch of which the Asoka tree that had resisted the blandishments of Spring, thrilled into flowers. The queen with her auspicious decorations accompanied by the Parivrajika, appears to the king as though she were the three Vedas incarnate accompanied by Atmavidya. Sakuntala's beauty was neither of the earth nor of the human kind:

मानुषीषु कथं वा स्यादस्य रूपस्य सम्भवः ।

न प्रभातरलं ज्योतिः उदेति वसुधातलात् ॥

"How could any woman give birth to such a superb form? The tremulous beam of the lightning does not arise from the earth's surface". Again, when Sakuntala is afraid that the king may not reciprocate her love, the king exclaims

लभेत वा प्रार्थयिता न वा श्रियम्

श्रिया दुरापः कथमीप्सितो भवेत् ॥

"He who seeks may or may not find Sree; but could Sree seeking, fail to find?" The words Prarthana, Prarthayita, Aradhayita, etc., deliberately employed by the poet are ensouled with an ecstasy and adoration that break into the spiritual overtones of an erotic mysticism, culminating in the penitent ritual of prostration. Inferring from his name, one may deduce that though his devotion was shared by Siva and Vishnu, Kalidasa's intimate personal devotion was claimed by Sakti, the principle and embodiment of all beauty and mercy, reflected in his women characters, more seraphic than human and who therefore represented a higher and more refined type than man. Neither the courtly elegances of a sophisticated society nor the literary convention that exalted separation in love, would explain this personal creed of the poet. And the marriage finds fulfilment in the heroic and semi-divine children on whom Kalidasa loves to pause, little Bharata pouting at the



lioness, little Ayus bending the victorious bow, the six-year-old Sudarsana dangling his little foot from a throne much too large for him, the boy Vasumitra smashing the Huns and the little girls of Alaka at the usual sand-games, to gain whose hands the very gods lay in ambush (अमरप्रार्थिता यत्र कन्याः १) ; something of the divinity of the child Krishna and Skanda cling to these children and bits of heaven do seem to lie about them.

Urvasi and Malavika were dancers and Sakuntala born of a dancer. In Vikramorvasiya, the poet portrays the origin of dance in heaven under the guidance of the sage Bharata and the descent of the art to the earth through Urvasi. Though we do not see the dances of Urvasi, we are allowed to see distorted reflections of them in the fourth act when the king addresses swan and stream, reproducing in his pathetic hallucination, the postures and movements of Urvasi's dance, the Nandyavarta, Ardhamattalli, etc., which could all be reconstructed. But it is in Malavikagnimitra that dance provides the *motif* for bringing together the hero and heroine under the pretext of a contest between two rival teachers, when Malavika delivers a covert love message, singing and interpreting through dance, a little masterpiece of a song and in a costume that more revealed than hid the shapeliness of her beauty and the lovely attitude of dance called Ayata¹, one hand on hip and the other relaxed creeperwise and chest raised gracefully. (See illustration I).

दुर्लभः प्रियस्तस्मिन् भव हृदय निराशं
अहह अपाङ्गको मे स्फुरति किमपि वामकः ।
एष स चिरदृष्टः कथं पुनर्द्रष्टव्यो
नाथ मेां पराधीनां त्वयि गणय सवृष्णाम् ॥

“Your lover is difficult to obtain; so oh heart! give up all hopes of him. Lo! my left eye throbs for some reason! This lover was seen by you long ago. But how to see him again?

-
- I. वामस्तालान्तरसूयस्त्रो दक्षिणश्चरणः समः ।
प्रसन्नं वदनं वक्षः समुन्नतमनुन्नता ॥
कटीनितम्बगो हस्तो दक्षिणोऽन्यो लताकरः ।
यत्रायतं तदाख्यातं कमला चात्र देवता ॥

Lord, consider me a helpless dependant, drawn towards you by love”.

The poignant longing of a woman separated from her lover, clothes itself in the first foot of the song in a variety of shades of despondency ; and then brightens into moods of pleased surprise and joy-tinted hope of the second foot; and is followed by pensive recollection and doubt; and ends with the despair of the pathetic appeal. Malavika exteriorises this inner agitation by a wan face and listless head lowered to side, lips contracted in pain and a variety of glances tender and pathetic, pupils languid, lids weary and drooping, punctuated by sighs and tears, followed by slow-play of eyebrows and the flicker of a smile and opening eyes of wonder and sweet breath encouraged by the throbbing eye, passing on to the distant eyes of reverie and vacant ones of perplexity, ending in the unmitigated despair of the final appeal, gliding from one exquisite posture to another, feet stepping gently, wrists curling and uncurling like flowers as she gestures, all which complex ensemble of movements was called Abhinaya. When Malavika has finished and sets about departing, she is stopped by the clown; and as she stops in the attitude of dance, Ayata, eyes downcast, toe playing on ground, in semi or three-fourth profile, she presents an exquisite half vision of herself, which the king finds irresistibly beautiful, even as the digit of the moon is more captivating than the full moon.

Another subtle suggestion is that the king who is as intensely agitated as Malavika, covers it up in the presence of the queen, who half suspects his infatuation, by pretending to be a disinterested connoisseur of the sculpturesque in dance, as though the direct love message did not touch him. To relieve the immobility of the statuesque posture of Malavika, the clown cracks a joke at which Malavika's lips part in a fleeting smile, for the exclusive delight of the king. In her comment on the dance,

अङ्गैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः

पादन्यासो लयमनुगतः तन्मयत्वं रसेषु ।

शाखायोनिः मृदुरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ

भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबन्धः स एव ॥

the Parivrajika hit off all great art when she said that Malavika replaced her own personality with that of Sarmishta as though she was possessed by her and was therefore able to infect the audience with her feelings. She also employs two technical terms, Sakha and Soochi. Sakha was a school of dance that employed certain stylised whole arm movements, as in the traditions of Indonesia. The Soochi was the expressive foreshadowing of unuttered thoughts by an expert dancer, through mere posture and expression, a suggestive fragment that hinted at the whole, a single mango blossom lurking in a corner of the landscape holding the promise of a whole season. The Parivrajika's statement

अङ्गैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः

is just the definition of Soochi. If the same technique is employed is recollecting or narrating events that had happened previously in an allusive manner or the whole episode portrayed through Abhinaya, it was called Ankura. Kalidasa is fond of word-play on these dance terms—Soochi, Ankura and Sakha—which we meet again in Sakuntalam, when Sakuntala pauses to beckon Anasuya—

अनसूये, अभिनवकुशसूच्या परिक्षतं मे चरणम् । कुरवकशाखापरिलग्नं

च बल्कलम् ।

and bends down with a lovely turn and Soochi hands darting down as though to extract the thorn from a Soochi foot and stretches herself with a toss of arms as though to disentangle her garment from imaginary branches—the whole movement is a delicious bit of Soochi abhinaya eloquent of the state of her feelings to her lover, the king, through the whole arm movements of Sakha. This very Soochi becomes Ankura when the King recapitulates it:

दर्भाङ्कुरेण चरणः क्षत इत्यकाण्डे

तन्वी स्थिता कतिचिदेव पदानि गत्वा ।

आसीद्विवृत्तवदना च विमोचयन्ती

शाखासु बल्कलमसक्तमपि द्रुमाणाम् ॥

Kalidasa was thus not only a great poet, but also a great master of Dance and his plays are a floreation of the triple arts of Music, Dance and Poetry in dramatic form.

In understanding his mastery of the dance medium, we are fortunate in having the notes of Raghavabhatta—a scholar

well versed in the intricacies of dance; the notes though all too few, are exceedingly valuable for staging the great play. According to Raghavabhatta 'Prayoga' meant the fourfold abhinaya known as Angika, Vachika, Aharya and Sattvika, the interaction of which was Natya through which the poem was made visible. Of these the abhinaya of speech and delivery—Vachika—involving the rise and fall of voice, highpitched and tremulous or deep and low with appropriate inflections to suit the characters and a variety of rhythmic pauses, has survived in Bali and Java to a great extent, though forgotten here. How tellingly the toss of the curtain seconds Anasuya's impetuous words in Act IV that the king had let Sakuntala down shamefully (Pravisya a patikshepena). But for data about the curtain, parasol, costume, masks and make-up, we have to resort to the oversea traditions mostly. Sattvika abhinaya referred to certain emotional tensions manifested through change of hue, change of tone, impediment in speech, —tears, horripilation, etc., utilised for portraying frustrated love either actually or through angikabhinaya. For the present we shall visualise certain actions of the play through the resources of Angikabhinaya, under the guidance of Raghavabhatta.

It is worth remembering that dance constitutes a spiritual world of its own, governed by laws of its own in contrast to the world of actuality; and is therefore able to retrieve idealistic plays like Kalidasa's from theatricality on the one hand and stage realism on the other. The illusion that dance creates is dependant on the aesthetic factors—rhythm and an elaborate dance language and the imaginative response of the audience who could follow both; and not because the representation was based on and resembled the actual. In the restricted floor-space of the stage, the dancer had to establish a palace or court or forest or fire sanctuary; and this he did by a convention called Kakshyavibhaga suggested in the first instance by the words or verse, supplemented by appropriate actions and glances and deviations on the ground through dance. For example the progress of Dushyanta's pursuit of the deer are suggested by the charioteer's verse 'Krishnasare' कृष्णसरे and the King's 'Grivabhangabhiramam' ग्रीवामङ्गाभिरामं accompanied by their eyeing the deer a great way off; then the car movement is impeded by the uneven ground suggested again by the Suta's word 'Ayushman, Udghatini Bhumiriti etc.,' (आयुष्मन्, उद्घातिनी भूमिरिति) indicated by tightening of reins



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and slowing of movement through dance, when the deer escapes again, followed by the glances of the hunters; then follow quicker movements suggested again by the verse 'Mukteshu ras-mishu' (मुक्तेषु रश्मिषु) of the Suta and 'Yadaloke Sukshmam' (यदालोके सूक्ष्मं) of the king, in a mad pursuit till finally is produced the illusion of arriving at a point within shot of the prey, when the king aims an arrow in the Alidha posture and appropriate arm movement. The deer would be represented not by an actual deer but by a dancer wearing a deer mask, furtively peering and frisking and gambolling in fright in terms of the Harinapluta movement. A pair of Katakamuka hands crossed at wrist, relaxed or taut would indicate speed or slow motion of chariot; and if horse and chariot were not among the stage properties, they could well be portrayed by appropriate dance movements. A reference to the scene would reveal the minute data for abhinaya provided by the poet for the transition from the chase to the precincts of the Asrama—the last indicated by verse 'Nivarah Sukagarbhakotara'—(नीवाराः शुक्रगर्भककोटरमुख) all of which deserve the most careful study. The Oordhvajanu movement would suggest a hill or flight of stairs; by gazing into the air, could be suggested a Vimana or celestial being according to context. For these conventions also, the oversea traditions have plenty to teach us.

Contexts in Sakuntalam for which Raghavabhatta has given Natya directions.

Act I-(i) *Vrikshasechanam rupayati*—portrays watering of plants: Do the *Nalinipadmakosa* hands, take them to the shoulder region, do the *avadhuta* head, bending body gracefully a little, bring down the hands and release. That is, do a pair of *Sukatunda* hands, keep them crossed at wrist, fingers and palms facing down; lower them, body bending to suit and by a turn of the wrists, make them into a pair of upfacing *Padmakosa* hands; take them across breast to shoulder region, lowering head to side, and flexing body, bring the hands to knee region when releasing. (See illustrations 2—6).

(ii) *Bhramarabadham rupayati*—portrays annoyance by bee: by the *vidhuta* head and tremulous lips and quickly moving *Pataka* hands facing outward. That is, the head is turned quickly across in fright, lips quivering, and the *Pataka* gesture facing outward moving quickly hither and thither protecting the face and impeding the bee.

(iii) *Sringaralajjam rupayati*—portrays bashful love confusion: by the *Paravritta* head and *Lajjita* glance i.e., face averted and turned back, eyelids lowered and pupils looking down and I would add an eyebrow raised. (This access of modesty occurs when Anasuya exclaims 'So we do have a protector').

Act III. The King's love distraction: by *Lolita* head, *Dola* hands and *Sunya* glance i.e., by an agitated restless movement of head aimlessly shifting position, eyes vacantly staring, shoulders drooping, arms relaxed and dangling, the fingers of *Pataka* relaxed and loose. Another suggestion is the chin resting on back hand of a pair of interlocked *Karkataka* hands, for the melancholy reverie.

Act III. The king attempts to raise the face of Sakuntala which she evades. The king's action is portrayed by means of the *Tripataka* gesture upfacing, brought under the chin, especially the forefinger and its neighbour; and Sakuntala's by averting head and face and folding lower lip in mouth.

Act IV. Decoration of Sakuntala: The ring-finger of *Tripataka* is employed to portray tears when kept near eye, to mark *tilaka* on forehead; and *Sandamsa* and *Bhramara* hands for decorating with garland and ear ornaments; and *Katakamukha* and *Hamsasya* for lac painting.

Act IV. A little doe clings to Sakuntala's garment, impeding her movement. This was to be portrayed by the *Urudvritta* movement: the foot with heel raised is planted behind the other foot, the body turning with flexion; this is only a semi-turn. When Sakuntala turns back to see, it is in terms of the *Apakranta* movement in which the feet cross each other as she pirouettes in a full turn and lifts foot and releases herself from position. (See illustrations 7—9).

Act IV. *Arala* and *Hamsasya* hands for plucking and gathering flowers.

Act VIII. Sanumati ascends by the *Bahyabhramari* and descends by the *Gangavatarana*. The first is a gyrating movement; there are three views as to how the second could be rendered: one was the curling of the leg behind like a scorpion's sting and *Tripataka* hands held down, breast protruding and head lowered; the other was the *Vishnukranta Karana* and *Tripataka* held over the uplifted

foot to denote Ganga flowing; the third was the acrobatic *Karana Gangavatarana* in the Chidambaram sculpture.

It is possible that in depicting aerial movements, devices of magical illusion were resorted to, also invisible pedestals, or steps, dim lighting, etc.

But the most consummate application of Kalidasa's knowledge of dance is in Act I in portraying the blossoming of love in Sakuntala attended by the interplay of all her natural and spontaneous graces—*Bhava*, *Hava*, etc.,—which dance had converted into its own special resource in *Sattvabhinaya*; an excess of these graces constituted *Abhinaya*'s supreme merit and their absence made *Abhinaya* empty. Needless to state that all modern attempts at *Abhinaya* belong to the latter kind. It was with this *Sattvabhinaya* that Agnivarna was able to contest with and score over the dance-masters.¹ Centuries of rough and indiscriminate usage has emptied these beautiful terms of their rich and varied content and made them hackneyed and stale; and they are to-day thought of either as a vague amorous or amatory gesture or an indefinite label for an indefinite inventory and schedule of woman's charms. In reality they were the ripples and eddies awakened by the love emotion in the depths of a girl's consciousness, revealing themselves through ripples and eddies of eyebrows and eyes, and subtle changes of facial expression and movement, in a natural and spontaneous manner. As Kalidasa said elsewhere 'Strinamadyam pranayavachanam Vibhramo hi priyeshu', (स्त्रीणामाद्यं प्रणयवचनं विभ्रमो हि प्रियेषु) these were the primary expressions of a woman's soul. It was these that were thematically worked into a *Lasya* sequence to form a panorama of graces; it was these that Bharata seized as the supreme resources of *Abhinaya* and like a master jeweller fashioned the peerless crown for the dance art called *Sattvabhinaya* inlaying it as though with the glowing fire of the ruby, the shifting lustre of the diamond, the pearl's mellow sheen and the sapphire's sombre mystery. But not all the gems which Ujjain dispossessed the sea of, could match one of these natural graces of women.

1. अङ्गसत्त्ववचनाश्रयं मिथः स्त्रीषु नृत्यमुपधाय दर्शयन् ।

स प्रयोगनिपुणैः प्रयोक्तृभिः संजघर्ष सह मित्रसंनिधौ ॥

Let us remember that Sakuntala was a woman of extraordinary beauty; and therefore every little action of hers from a frown or knitted brow to a finger lifted in warning and contrary shake of head, would be pervaded by her beauty. Sakuntala is presented to us first as an innocent maiden—*Mugdha*—on the verge of youth, giving herself up to vague romantic yearnings and delicious reveries, as she gazes at the Vanajyotsna clinging to the Sahakara, every fibre of her body tingling at the magic of touch of Spring—it is the picture of a wistful, preoccupied, girlish beauty we see first. From this she is rudely disturbed by the pursuing bee and the emotion of fear throws her beauty into an entirely new focus, lips quivering, eyelids lowered, face averted and hands hastily impeding, picturing the grace *Chakitam* which forms the theme of the verse '*Chalapangam*' चलापाङ्गम्. This is the second vision of her beauty. Then when the king intervenes, she is speechless with bashfulness and if she could talk at all, it could only have been some sweet incoherence; this is a composite picture in which up to a point her childlike artlessness is presented under an urge of modesty, suddenly giving way to an adult bashfulness—*Vihrita*—which remodels her posture and expression into one of sculpturesque immobility: but this very reticence adumbrates her inner love, whose arrival is quite near. Then as the king and the girls seat themselves and Sakuntala asks herself "How is it that at the sight of this person, I feel an emotion scarcely consistent with a grove devoted to piety?" we have the bodily manifestation of Bhava—just a faint suggestion of the intangible emotional disturbance, not clear, just arisen, like the sky brightening as the moon is about to rise; indicated by a puzzled facial expression of pleasure, with just a touch of a fleeting doubt. Under the influence of this newborn emotion—*Bhava*—her beauty appears to us in quite a new irradiation and setting. Then when Anasuya is curious as to who the stranger was and Sakuntala tells herself 'This Anasuya speaks your very thoughts, Oh Mind! be not uneasy' there is a slight revelation of the love emotion like the silver rim of the emerging moon and indicated by slow graceful modulations of eyebrows and furtive glances and turns of head and neck and mild horripilation; this *Hava* presents Sakuntala's beauty in a yet newer facet. And when Anasuya says 'We have indeed found a protector' the love emotion of Sakuntala is fully manifested by quicker rippling

movements of the eyelashes and a variety of love glances and play of head and neck, it is the grace *Hela* which contradicts her child nature and finds consummation in the *Sringaralajja*, bashful confusion of love, to portray which Raghavabhatta gave us a few tips. As these natural graces are called into play on the lineaments of Sakuntala aglow with love, she develops a new sheen (*kanti*) and lustre (*dipti*) and her natural movements develop new poetic graces, all without any conscious effort on her part and marvellously transfused by proximity to lover, articulating the soul's most intimate message, through the body's most exquisite language, for the lover's sole delight. And when she pretends to be angry and knits her brow and lifts a warning finger at Anasuya and would fain go away, yet tarries, it is an exquisite endearment in the guise of a slight, comprehended by the grace *Bibhoka* under the twin urges of *Vibhrama* and beauty-consciousness and revealing new facets of *Vilasa* as she steps and turns and moves. When she directs her ears to what Dushyanta says, in intense absorption and surrender, it was still another grace, *Mottayitam*; it was a continuation of this mood that earned her a dreamy ecstasy and Durvasa's curse. And the affected, agitated repulsion of a caress at the end of Act III was yet another delicate grace—*Kuttamitam* (sweet reluctance) with an added touch of flurry. All these lead to the consummate pretence of removing the thorn followed by a meaningful turn and sidelong glance, referred to as *Soochi* earlier. And in the king's retrospect of Sakuntala, (*Ankura*), he recalls her soft glances, leisurely movements, feigned angers, delicious evasions, fine reticences and fugitive smiles and like a miser at his hoard, lingers lovingly over every vision of her that his memory conjures up, with the interplay of all her airs and graces and unconscious glows and sheens and nuances of facial expression, the mere recollection of which throws him into an ecstatic absorption.

The supreme merit of Kalidasa is that he has caught and fixed forever, these fleeting and intangible graces as evanescent as a ripple, and fugitive as twilight tints as a great love budded and blossomed on the lineaments of Sakuntala; and has made us watch their interplay in flurry and shyness and agitation as her love unfolds and blossoms, against a background of peerless feminine beauty. In Sakuntalam Kalidasa has immortalised the feminine graces; and if he had not been

the master of dance that he was, he could not have spoken in the intimate accents of the soul's own language.

From these we pass on to the emotional prostration of Sakuntala relieved by the timely arrival of the king. In passing I would refer to an extra passage quoted by the *Sahitya Darpaza* as an example of love banter Sringarahasya (or *Narma*) not found in other texts of the play:

स शृङ्गारहास्येन यथा शाकुन्तले राजानं प्रति शकुन्तला—
असन्तुष्टो (मधुकरः) पुनः किं करिष्यति । राजा-इदं । (कमलं) इति
व्यवसितः (कृत्निश्चयः) शकुन्तलावक्त्रं दौकते । (प्रविशति)

When the king likened himself to a bee and attempted to raise the face of Sakuntala, we saw that she repelled it. This would make us think that she was seriously angry and would have avoided the king if she could. But the passage quoted above is one of delicious playfulness. Sakuntala wants to know what the disappointed bee did; and the bee *i.e.* the king makes one more attempt to approach the lotus *i.e.* Sakuntala's face. It was at this point presumably that Anasuya and Priyamvada gave timely warning to the lovers about the approach of Gautami.

We may now glance back to the Nati's song about the youth-intoxicated maidens with Sirisha blossoms on their ears, at the beginning of the play. Kalidasa was probably alluding to the *Lasya* sequence¹ I had mentioned, in which the feminine grace *Hava* had been thematically worked in, in addition to the Sirisha flowers on ears. Installed at the beginning of the play, it was perhaps meant to indicate the importance of the beauty factors—Women, Music, Dance and the atmosphere of love, the so-called *Kaisiki Vritti* pervading this great play.

In discussing the dance-lore of Kalidasa, may be mentioned verse 38² of *Megha Sandesa* in which he refers to the tired temple dancers of Mahakala's shrine gracefully waving chamaras whose gemset handles scintillated and whose girdles

1. कर्णव्योर्हविवहुलं लसल्लोलावतंसयोः ।

विलम्बेनाविलम्बेन सूकं तल्लयचालनम् ॥

2. पादन्यासैः कणितरशनास्तत्र लीलावधूतै

रत्नच्छायाखचितवलिभिश्चामरैः क्लान्तहस्ताः ।

jingled as they stepped in dance. In these ritual temple dances the various *Upacharas* had been worked in. Similar dances were being rehearsed in most of our temples within living memory. These were also known as Desi dances and had motives like the sword, lamp, garland, vina, fan, parasol, etc. (See illustrations 10—13). Indonesia yet remembers whole groups of these.

Before concluding may I refer to the doctrine of reminiscence which Kalidasa is never tired of proclaiming, especially in the verse 'ramyani' even as Wordsworth said :

Oft over my brain does that strong fancy roll
Which makes the present (while the flash doth last)
Seem a mere semblance of some unknown past
We lived ere yet this robe of flesh we wore.

Out of his spiritual intuition Kalidasa has flashed a beam from the realms of the sub-conscious to illumine those of the super-real. A poet of the senses that he is said to be, he has so intensified and refined the sensibilities of the senses, that we could now perceive and comprehend the ultimate through these finite media; and like his Pururavas and Dushyanta enter heaven with this very body, unlike Yayati and Trisanku who tumbled down for want of such a guide. For has he not pierced the veil with his flashes of music and poetry and dance, bringing within reach of mortal eyes and ears and minds, a beauty that is immortal?

And when he sees the lovely form of Krishna in a dusky, cloud bejewelled with rainbow and Vishnu's spanning foot in an oblique streak of it and his illimitable form in the vast expanse of the ocean, he speaks not a local language but an universal one, at least to those familiar with the symbols of his faith.

A NĀṬYĀCĀRYA FROM THE NĀṬAMANDIRA OF THE SŪRYA TEMPLE, KONARKA (1238-64 A.D.)*

BY

T. N. RAMĀCHANDRAN

The temple of Sūrya at Konarka built by king Narasimha I (1238-64 A. D.) of the Ganga dynasty and situated 20 miles north east from Puri, has been justly claimed as "the grandest achievement of the eastern school of Architecture", constituting as it were, the quintessence of the Kalinga type of temple architecture. The Orissan devotional architecture with its humble beginnings in the rock-cut Jaina caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhuvaneswar in the second century B.C. rolls on over 1500 years or so and culminates in the temple of Konarka which, though in utter ruins to-day and in a desolate corner amidst drifting sands, evokes our admiration. It is like a ripe fruit matured in breathless air. The cosmic significance of the monument, with every nook and corner richly decorated, seems to be that the worshipper or the visitor should be instructed ocularly in the whole doctrine of Hindu cosmology, mythology, iconography, the fine arts, the muses, in short, of every day life. The temple which consists of the Devī or Śrī Mandir or *Vimāna*, *Jagamohana*, *Nāṭa-mandira* (Plate I) and a shrine for Māyā Devī is filled with sculptured panels which if placed end to end would extend for miles. The sculptures bespeak a luxurious experience and open out an encyclopaedia of edifying legends told with moving eloquence and in the plastic language of a singularly chaste and refined diction, elaborated with rich and exquisite imagery. Incidentally, these "speaking pictures" afford glimpses into the details of the life of the times. Humble dwellings, pompous palaces, court-scenes, assemblies of both the spiritual and the worldly-minded human beings, temples, conveyances, household articles and utensils, forest scenes, hunts, love-making both refined and otherwise, flora and fauna, everything in fact is here pictured in stone eloquently and in overwhelming profusion, yet with refined restraint. In contrast with the moving compositions of life in its variety, are the static images of a series of Sūryas, Dikpālas, Viṣṇu and semi-divine beings.

* Paper read at the All-India Music Conference, December, 1950, Calcutta.

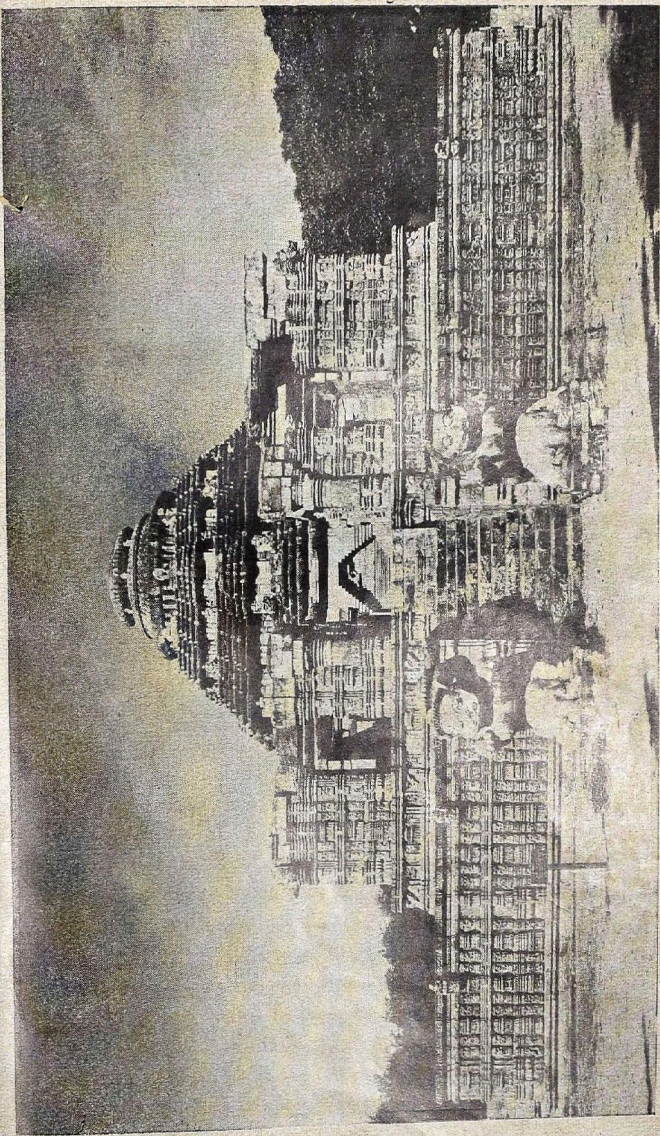


Plate I

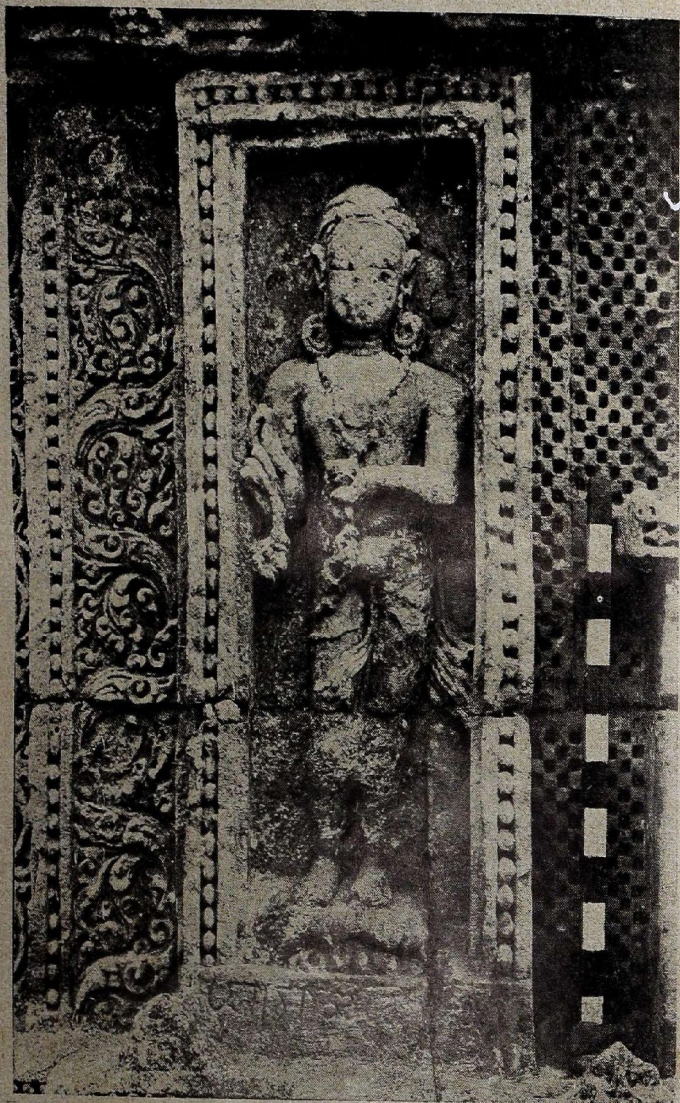


Plate II

Sahṛdayānanda or spectacular gratification which is the main purpose of the monuments is readily achieved by the sculptured galleries of the entire monument and in particular by the *Nāṭa-mandira* which contains a series of dancing scenes in which dancing girls and dancing men bring into display elegant poses and musical instruments such as would make the *Nāṭa-mandira* a living paradise. Even a casual visit to the *Nāṭa-mandira* will bring before the visitors' mind a visual orchestra. Visitors, particularly those accustomed to western musical and orchestral performances, will look for the dancing-master who guides the performances. Is there one at the *Nāṭa-mandira* of Konarka?

The answer is supplied by the sculpture of a *Nāṭyācārya* figured in this article (Plate II). The sculpture occupies a prominent place in the upper gallery of the *Nāṭa-mandira* and, facing east as it does, greets the visitor who ascends from the east where the main gateway of the whole monument was originally located. In a niche 1' 9" x 9" stands with perfect equipoise a *Nāṭa*, let us call him a *Nāṭyācārya*, the dancing-master of the show who guides the performances. Around him in various separate alcoves and niches are the various dancing girls and men in various dancing poses, mostly with some musical instrument or other. In contrast to the spirit of rhythmic motion around him the *Nāṭyācārya* stands almost erect (*sama-bhaṅga*) on a base formed by foliage. His hands hold a pair of cymbals (*tāla*) with silken ribbon fastenings for holding. The left hand is bent against his chest and the cymbal held in it is upturned, as it should be, to receive the beat of the other cymbal. The right hand which is in *Kaṭaka-mudrā* (a hand-pose suggesting holding), holds the other cymbal. Both the hands jointly suggest the zero-hour or the animated suspense which is to be followed the next moment by the actual beating of the cymbals to signal the commencement of the dance show. An under-garment with tassels and folds arranged in the *kaccha* fashion, a low and close-fitting turban on the head, big-sized *kuṇḍalas* in the ears superficially resembling *patra-kuṇḍalas* but actually designed as *makara-kuṇḍalas*, and a long necklace (*hāra*) elegantly poised and enclosing a circular medal on a powerful chest, add dignity to the person portrayed. The medal bespeaks his standing as that of an expert or leader or chief. As the purpose of the *Nāṭa-mandira*

(dancing hall) is only to illustrate dancing, the person meant can be readily recognised as the dancing-master, the *Nāṭyācārya*. The medal and the big-sized *kuṇḍalas* suggest that they were perhaps presents in recognition of his superior skill and expert knowledge of the *Nāṭya-kalā*. The wrists are, however, free from any wristlets or chains of honour (*vīra-śrṅghalā*) and this can best be explained as due to the necessity to keep the hands free for both the volume and the velocity and quickness of the hand-movements and wrist-motions that the cymbal-player will soon bring to bear on the dancing show.

As though these details were not sufficient for us to recognise readily the importance of the *Nāṭyācārya* portrayed, the architect, who designed the *Naṭa-mandira*, labelled the figure of the *Nāṭyācārya* as well, for, what is it we discern below the *Nāṭyācārya*'s legs, but an inscription in *Kaliṅga-Nāgarī-lipi* of the 12th-13th centuries A.D., recording the name of the *Nāṭyācārya* under description as “सौम्य श्रीदत्त” *Saumya Śrīdatta*. His name is either “*Saumyaśrīdatta*” or “*Śrīdatta*”, if we take “*Saumya*” as an honorific term meaning “good or auspicious”. That *Nāṭyācāryas* occupied high and respectable place in ancient Indian society is well-known. *Kālidāsa*'s *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the two dancing-masters, *Gaṇadāsa* and *Haradatta* who figure in it, afford sufficient documentation. Also the name “*Saumya Śrīdatta*” with its termination as “*datta*” irresistibly draws our attention to the name “*Haradatta*” of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, with a similar termination (*datta*). Even as *Haradatta* was a *Nāṭyācārya*, our *Saumya Śrīdatta* was in all probability a *Nāṭyācārya*. Is the termination “*datta*” just accidental, a coincidence or does it denote a class of society, may be of artists including music and dance-masters, in the same way as definite orders or classes of society are suggested by the terminations, *Śarma*, *Varma*, *Gupta*, *Dāsa*, etc? We may not be altogether wrong if we surmise on the parallel of *Kālidāsa*'s *Haradatta* who received royal patronage for his skill in dancing, that our “*Saumya Śrīdatta*” was an equally meritorious *Nāṭyācārya* probably patronised by the Ganga King *Narasimha I*, who built the *Konarka* temple. Both have earned niches in the temple of fame, the *Nāṭyācārya* has a literal niche of fame in the very *Naṭa-mandira* with his name inscribed below in stone (but actually in *gold letters* in the history of Art), while King *Narasimha I*, has earned in addition a place in the hearts of all

Sahrdayas as an accomplished Royal Artist and intrepid Architect.

That no other sculpture is inscribed either in the *Nāṭa-mandira* or in any other part of the temple, goes to prove that the sculpture in question has been singled out for special treatment and attention in view of the importance and standing of the person portrayed, *viz.*, the *Nāṭyācārya*, Saumya Śrīdatta, against the background and environment of his own creation and activity, the *Nāṭa-mandira*.

The erection of the *Nāṭa-mandira* in front of the *Jagamohana* of the Konarka temple, the embellishment of every inch of space in it with dancing damsels, dancing men, musicians and other orchestral paraphernalia, and lastly the enshrining of the *Nāṭyācārya* in a niche with especial care on recording his name below his portrait for a grateful posterity to appreciate—all these prove beyond doubt that our ancients of Mediaeval India (of the 13th century A.D. when the Konarka temple was built) believed like the still earlier ancients of Kālidāsa's times and like lovers of Art of all times that *Nāṭya* was the sole *Kalā* that could entertain one and all:

Nāṭyam bhinnarucer-jānasya
bahudhāp-yekam samārādhakam ||

DANCING DEVĪ FROM KANYĀKUMARĪ (13TH CENTURY A. D.)*

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

The dances of Śiva, popularly known as *Naṭarāja* or *Nāṭeśa*, are as interesting as they are varied, and examples of every type of his dance are known from South India. It is true that South India has yielded the largest number, particularly in metal (bronze), but examples, mostly in stone also hail from other parts of India such as Badami, Ellora, Aihole, Pattadakal, Bhuvaneshvar, Gwalior and Rajshahi and Dacca in Bengal. The various classes of *Tāṇḍava* or "virile male dance" or "violent dance" described in *Saivite* works and *Āgamas* appear to have grown out of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* which describes the dances of Śiva. Bharata has 108 poses of *Tāṇḍava* while the *Śaiva Āgamas* associate Śiva with 64 in 64 different shrines.

Tāṇḍava is to be distinguished from '*Lāsya*'. *Tāṇḍava* is associated with Śiva and is so called because the various dance poses, which were as many as 108, were observed and classified by Taṇḍu, Śiva's attendant. These poses form the subject-matter of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, chapter IV, and luckily the eastern and western Gopurams of the famous Naṭarāja Temple at Chidambaram, South India, contain a large number of Bharata's verses incised below carvings which the verses appear to describe. The dances of Śiva fall mainly under seven groups, viz., (1) *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*, (2) *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*, (3) *Gaurī Tāṇḍava* (also called *Umā Tāṇḍava*), (4) *Tripurā Tāṇḍava*, (5) *Kālī Tāṇḍava* (also called *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*), (6) *Maunī Tāṇḍava* and (7) *Samhāra Tāṇḍava*. The most popular form of Śiva's dance which occurs in sculpture and bronze is the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* form of Naṭarāja in Chidambaram. The *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* of Naṭarāja is also called *Sadā Tāṇḍava* as it is in eternal progress on the wheel of cosmic process. And *Saiva* literature tells us that Pārvatī or Umā or Gaurī was witnessing it, thereby giving it another attractive name *Gaurī Tāṇḍava*.

* Paper read at the All-India Music Conference, December 1950, Calcutta.



Plate I



Plate II

Tāṇḍava is thus a 'violent or virile male dance', promulgated by Śiva while *Lāsya* is "graceful female dance" promulgated by Pārvatī. As Śiva is said to have performed all his dances in the twilight of the evening, his dances are termed *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava* which includes a special pose called *Ūrdhva-Jānu* with the right knee up. The Śaiva Āgamas describe elaborately the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* in which Śiva vanquishes Kālī in a dance contest with her. Tiruvelangadu near Madras is said to be the centre for this type of dance in which the right leg is raised right upto the head. Śiva is said to have defeated Kālī by this trick and Kālī, being a woman, could not emulate him out of modesty. Another explanation is that by raising his leg right upto his head Śiva restored to his ear an ornament that had slipped during the special dance which, being terrible, is also termed as *Caṇḍa Tāṇḍava*. As Kālī participated in it it is also called *Kālī Tāṇḍava*. The "Vaṭaraṇya Māhātmya" according to Dr. V. Raghavan describes the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* which Śiva performed at Tiruvelangadu as the same as *Samhāra Tāṇḍava*, the dance of destruction; but, according to Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra, the same scholar points out, this *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* corresponds to the Karaṇa *Lalāṭatilaka*.

No example of the *Lāsya* or 'graceful female dance' is known from South India until now except the *Satī-dance* in association with Śiva occurring in a bas-relief in the temple of Pattadakkal, Dt. Bijapur. Examples of Pārvatī or Gaurī or Umā standing by the side of Naṭarāja and witnessing the dance are known from Ellora, Bhuvanesvar, Kanchipuram, Dharasuram and Bengal. The Bronze specimen illustrated in this article (Plate I) will therefore be welcomed by all lovers of Art and of South Indian Bronzes in particular. As *Gaurī-Tāṇḍava* and *Umā Tāṇḍava* relate to the special dances of Śiva described above, not of Pārvatī, the specimen will have to be identified as representing "*Lāsya*" or "graceful dance" which Pārvatī performs bringing into display what is called the *Ūrdhva-Jānu* pose, with the right leg raised and bent at the knee. The hands are free to swing as Pārvatī would please. The swinging right hand is held in *Gaja-hasta* pose simulating the extended trunk of an elephant. The left hand is in *Kaṭaka-mudrā* (the *mudrā* which suggests holding) and Pārvatī is here actually holding a lotus by its stalk.

The image hails from somewhere near Kanyākumārī (Cape Comorin), the southernmost point of South India. It

has suffered heavy incrustation (salt) such as contiguity to the seashore would suggest. Some of the decorative features rather unusual for typical South Indian bronzes of the Chola period are claw-like fingers (Pl. I), long festoon-like *kunḍalas* made of foliage hanging from the ears (Pl. II), a long necklace (*hāra*) extending far below the breasts and supporting three pendants, the central one looking like a dagger (Pl. I), the peculiar form of the lotus flower held in the left hand, flanking tassellated knots in loops and hanging brocaded ends of the under-garment (pl. II) and lastly the very copper casting of the image with claw-like features that the hands and feet present. These present some points of resemblance with the important find of South Indian bronzes in Polonnaruwa of Ceylon. Cape Kanyākumārī being only within a few miles' distance of Polonnaruwa (Ceylon), it will be easy to discern points of resemblance between the dancing Pārvatī under description and the Polonnaruwa bronzes, particularly Pārvatī, Natarāja and Sūrya of the Polonnaruwa Group (Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plates 95(b), 95, 107 (a—b), 108(b), 109(b). As history has recorded emphatically the Chola occupation of Polonnaruwa, the association of the image with the Polonnaruwa bronzes is readily recognisable. The *Śiva Devalas* of Polonnaruwa which yielded the bronzes appear to have an earlier date as 1012 A.D. (Rājendra Chola I) and a later date as 1215 A.D. But stylistically there are some among these Polonnaruwa images which are more comparable to those of the subsequent Vijayanagar period of the mainland. As I have proved elsewhere (*vide*, T. N. Ramachandran, *South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Museum*, page 46) this suggests that the builders of the temples at Polonnaruwa put all their available resources into the buildings and that in each case a considerable interval may have elapsed before any metal images were installed in them. No conclusive evidence as to the latest possible date for the latest of the Polonnaruwa images seems, however, to be available. Thus in all probability the image under description may be ascribed to the very latest phases of Chola activity, *viz.*, 13th century A.D.

Justice A. N. Sen of the Calcutta Bench is the lucky owner of this rare bronze which measures 1'9" high and would welcome its inspection by all lovers of Art at his home (4, Hungerford Street, Calcutta—16).

BOOK REVIEWS

ASPECTS OF ADVAITA by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Retired Professor of Philosophy, Madras. Sri Krishna Series No. 8. 1949. pp. 20+112. Price Rs. 3.

Professor P. N. Srinivasachari is one of the living exponents of Indian philosophy in the South, particularly of the system of Ramanuja. He is also a careful and thorough student of other schools of Vedānta like Sri Sankara's absolute monism and Bhaskara's Bhedābheda. The present work is the result of his historical and comparative studies of various systems of Indian philosophy. It has four chapters besides an Introduction which emphasises the importance of Advaita as a system of philosophy on the basis of the integral unity of the Advaitic pramāṇas of *sruti* (revelation), *yukti* (reason) and *anubhava* (intuition). It also explains the different aspects of Advaita which the learned author chooses to call *pure Advaita*, *pure practical Advaita* and *practical Advaita*, the detailed elucidation of which is found in the first three chapters of this work. Though these three aspects of Advaita vary in their starting points, the final is the same, viz., the identity or oneness of *Jīva* and *Īśvara* as implied in the *mahāvākya* "Tat tvam asi".

Pure Advaita is described as a critical enquiry into the nature of the self by the psychological and logical study of pure consciousness as absolute truth. Practical Advaita accepts *śāstra* as the ultimate authority for Advaita, recognises degrees of Truth and Reality (*satya*) and expounds the progression of consciousness from the moral level of *Vyavahāra-satya* and finally to *jñāna*, the true level of *Paramārtha-satya*. In between the two systems comes Pure Practical Advaita which utilises *śāstra* and reasoning. The different expositions of Pure Advaita such as Gauḍapāda's in his *Māṇḍūkyakārikās*, stress the idealistic view of experience and as such are said to have a close affinity with *Vijñānavāda* and *Śūnyavāda* of Buddhism. It is often remarked that Gauḍapāda follows the negative logic of Buddhism. Śaṅkara who follows the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta-sūtras rejects all the schools of Buddhism as mutually contradictory. The distinction between Buddhism and Advaita lies in the important fact that one

denies completely the phenomenal reality and refers to *nirvāṇa* *negatively* while the other stresses *positive* reality and refers to *brahma-nirvāṇa*. The need for supplementing subject philosophy is supplied by Pure Practical Advaita which therefore marks the transition from the logical and psychological side. It deals with the relation between *Brahman* and *Māyā*, and *Īśvara* and *Jīva* and such other important questions like *adhyāsa* and *mukti*. It also deals with the theories of *illusion*, *limitation* and *phenomenon*. *Practical Advaita* is not in favour of idealism and relationism implied in Pure Advaita. It insists on the need for the realistic ethico-religious approach of Advaita. It accepts the compromise between the esoteric and the exoteric—*parāvidyā* and *aṣṭāvidyā*—, and the various stages of *mukti*—*kramamukti* and *jīvanmukti*. The book ends with an important observation on the need of spirituality and service which every work on Indian philosophy emphasizes and it is quoted fully here for the advantage of the readers. "It fits in with the twin religious truths of spirituality and service and the innate hospitality of the *Gītā* as the essence of the Upaniṣads. The wisdom of the Upaniṣads is a Philosophy of Religion which satisfies the three *pramāṇas* in their integrity, equates the absolute of metaphysics with the God of religion, recognises the value of all the four *yogas* and the unity of the contemplative and the active and the aesthetic ideals of truth, goodness and beauty, and points to *mukti* as the direct realisation of *Brahman* in the transcendental and immanent aspects of *Brahmānubhava* and *Brahmanisation* of all *jīvas* in the twin aspects of spirituality and service."

The work deals briefly with all important topics connected with Advaita and is bound to be a valuable guide not only to students of Advaita but to all who are interested in a comparative and analytical study of other systems of Vedānta also. The learned author deserves our thanks for having published this handy volume which is the result of his long experience as a Professor and original writer in Indian Philosophy.

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.

LITERARY CRITICISM IN SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH. By Prof. D. S. Sarma. The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras. Re. 1.

When a literature has given the best of it to mankind, certainly criticism also should have grown with it. It is there-

fore not a matter for surprise that in Sanskrit literary criticism has existed, and that too the best of its kind. But what could not have been anticipated by the present-day intellectuals, who have had a course of study in Western literary criticism alone, is the fact that valuable thought both upon the approach and method of assessing literary works has already been bestowed by our ancients. Indeed, it must seem even a kind of inferiority-complex to some, at any rate, that the adequacy of the function of literary criticism in Sanskrit should be sought to be made out by its comparing favourably with literary criticism in the West.

Nevertheless, the service that Prof. D. S. Sarma has done to us in providing in the brief span of a paper, read at the Kuppaswami Sastri Institute of Research, his mature considerations of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit is not altogether untimed. On the other hand, his stressing the point how literary criticism in Sanskrit "at its best, was never dogmatic, and the popular view that our *Alankara Sastra*, as its name unfortunately suggests, gives only some rules on the use of the figures of speech is quite wrong" has to be further driven home into the so-called *litterateurs* of today, who begin to deride the ancient culture as having very little to contribute to modern thought.

Now turning to the paper itself, Prof. Sarma in his characteristically analytic manner has reduced to five main headings the happy comparison between the conclusions of the English Romantic School and those of the Dhvani School in Sanskrit and set down his commendably brief opinions under each head in the succeeding pages. Necessarily Anandavardhana, the arch-priest of literary criticism, and his equally celebrated commentator Abhinavagupta have been drawn upon to prove Rasa-dhvani as underlying all literary excellences, thereby liberating immortal spirits imprisoned in the finite for a moment at least, and making them taste of the Ananda of being one with the Infinite. One may notice here, Prof. Sarma has perhaps merely touched upon the originality of Anandavardhana in having worked out an elaborate thesis on the Dhvani theory. But one who deeply studies Dhvanyaloka would be prompted to say that in his inviolable arguments towards establishing Rasa-dhvani as what essentially makes poetry or literature ever abiding in human hearts, he resembles out and out Sankara, the philosopher, who makes out his

case for the grand concept of the one and indivisible soul in all life.

It is hardly necessary to dwell at length on all the aspects of Prof. Sarma's important contribution. Suffice it to say that in undertaking the task he has not only succinctly presented his views but also taken care not to omit anything of significance in the short compass of his endeavour. Perhaps, Prof. Sarma, if only he had the time or space for it, could have shown further the great synthesis of all arts in this country in the matter of self-expression. Otherwise the author of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*, as Bharata is reputed to be, need not have been depended upon as the prime source of arts and poetry by every one of the later poets and writers.

In conclusion it may be useful to remember some of Prof. Sarma's sentences as marking the correct line of envisagement of any great literature. The following are samples of his profundity in a discussion of the true understanding of literature:

(1) "A poet is not a photographer but a painter. Even in the most realistic compositions we find there is a good deal of omission compared with actual life".

(2) "In a good drama we prefer expectation to surprise. Surprises and accidents are the stock-in-trade of the melodrama—the illegitimate brother of the true drama".

(3) "In a word, life gives us facts, literature reveals to us their values".

(4) "Indeed, in all the great dramas of the world the situations are highly improbable. Their improbability is the price which the dramatist pays for their heightened emotional effects".

(5) "One has also to acquire considerable experience of the world through some kind of active life and try to correlate the beauty and harmony experienced in literature with the beauty and the harmony (or the lack of it) experienced in the world".

K. C.

PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES IN RASA. By Dr. Rākeśa Gupta, M.A., PH.D., Assistant Professor in Hindi, Benaras Hindu University. Published by Mr. S. Taravali Gupta, C/o B. Lakshmi Narayan Agrawal, Mansing Gate, Aligarh (India), pp. 180. Rs. 5.

The present work is a doctoral thesis, wherein an attempt has been made to study and interpret, in the light of modern psychology, the subject of Rasa. The author, for his purpose, has chosen to consider Rasa in two aspects, in the two sections of his book: (1) Rasa as Relish and (2) Rasa as emotion. As Rasa, in its first aspect, means Relish of poetry, the question that naturally arises is 'What is poetry?' After examination of fifty definitions of poetry given by both the Eastern and Western critics, the writer concludes that none of the definitions of poetry leads to the understanding of poetry except for the information about the personal views of the framers. He has then offered his own definition of poetry with full knowledge of its defects and limitations. '*That which is relished or taken interest in, as poetry is poetry*'.

The next problem that the writer deals with is the perception and relish of poetry. (Rasa-Nishpatti and Rasasvāda). Here, also, he examines, with disapproval, all the theories that the Sanskrit and Western critics of note have advanced; and comes forward with his new view that 'the secret of the Relish of poetry consists in our interest to perceive it'. This new theory, the writer thinks, marks a clear advance over what he calls the Hedonistic theories which emphasize pleasure as the end of poetry and labour under the supposition that we undertake to do only pleasing things. The author, next, proceeds to consider the component feelings of poetic Relish which, as he classifies them, are sympathetic, antipathetic, recollectional, reflectional, critical and those pertaining to curiosity. His complaint against the Sanskrit writers is that they had a narrow view about these feelings and therefore, they recognized only the sympathetic type of them. This led to an equal narrowness, on their part, in considering the elements that determined the poetic relish. The author's broader conception of these elements consists of eight entities (detailed out on page 93).

In considering Rasa as emotion, the writer has, on the threshold, given an idea of the terms—feeling, emotion and sentiments—according to their accepted meaning in modern psychology, and has then examined the Sanskrit terms Bhāva. Sanchāri Bhāva and Sthāyi-Bhāva in that light. His findings in this respect, are that these Bhāvas are neither emotions nor sentiments but are simply the mental affections forming the

psychic sides of the emotions and that Rasa is essentially an emotion. With respect to the difference between the Sthāyi and Sanchāri Bhāvas as conceived by Bharata and Abhinavagupta, the author emphatically states that it is groundless and unreal. He is equally sceptic about Rasābhāsa, Bhāvābhāsa and things of this type. Rasa-Doshas as mentioned by our critics, also, suffer from errors of judgment and inaccurate thinking.

These are, in short, the contents of the book. In the valuation of his own research (given on page 5) the author says that the present thesis is an advancement in the study of Rasa.

The author has 'severely' criticized Sanskrit writers (and if I may say so, gloats over his performance) even without correctly representing their views in some places. He may or may not be mindful of this when he says, with commendable frankness, that it is his turn now to be criticized. I join with the author in thinking that true criticism is necessary for any real advancement of knowledge. Therefore, I now proceed to make a few observations on the positions taken by him.

(1) The author has needlessly entered into a lengthy discussion, covering 27 pages, on the definition of poetry. Consistent with his purpose, he should have only considered the emotional element. Even after his mighty attempts, the author gives us his definition that is practically useless and logically faulty. Because, in the first instance, it leaves too much scope for personal bias, in the absence of an objective standard; and in the second instance, the author has to use the very word in defining it! Before I know what poetry is, how can I 'relish or take interest' in a composition 'as poetry'? It is, however, useful to him because, therein, he talks of 'poetic interest' instead of 'poetic pleasure'; for the author believes that it is neither pleasure nor enjoyment which attracts us towards poetry.

(2) The author has elaborated his own theory on poetic relish with the phrase 'poetic interest' instead of 'poetic pleasure' just to avoid, get over or explain away the knotty problem of the unpleasant, ugly, horrible and the like being relishable in the perception of poetry. To this, I have to say that the pleasure-theory, if properly understood, is not wrong and that the author's new theory takes us nowhere. We ought, first, to bear constantly in mind, whenever we talk of poetic experience, that it is purely an aesthetic activity and

that rules of general psychology should be applied with great caution in its explanation. It is common knowledge that we indulge in all aesthetic activities with a clear anticipation of pleasure, satisfaction or enjoyableness resulting from their experience. The aesthetic experience is, on the whole, always pleasurable, satisfying and enjoyable. But to rank the rather peculiar and unusual pleasure of aesthetic experience with the pleasure meant in the Benthamian doctrine of Hedonism is a grave misrepresentation of both.

In the pleasure of the aesthetic attitude we turn away from the useful, personal and the concrete towards the fanciful, the impersonal and the abstract. The abstract, far removed, non-practical and impersonal meanings in this experience call forth mental activities like memory, judgment, imagination or rather the total unified being and are characterized by breadth, distance, and largeness; and even the ugly and unpleasant pale off and acquire aesthetic quality. The pleasurable feeling involved in the aesthetic representation of Sita's suffering by Kalidasa, is due to the reflective attitude called forth, which unfolds the stern Reality and the inexorable destiny of man, to a heightened feeling of reverence for her virtues, to the perception of the artistic beauties of form and content of the composition and lastly to the richness and unusualness of the experience in general. Here the suffering of Sita is shifted from the focus to the margin of the consciousness of the Rasika.

Even, supposing, for a moment, that such and the like explanations of the nature of the pleasure, are not satisfactory, the reader may ask, 'what advance is marked, in this respect, by the new theory of the author?' The only apparent merit of the author's theory of 'Interest' is that he seems to state, like the authors of Nāṭya Darpaṇa, that the poetic experience is a mixture of pain and pleasure. But when he tries to show that the reader 'relishes' such an experience because of his 'interest' ('Interest' and 'relish' are synonymous with the author. p. 81) he entangles himself in the very difficulties of his opponents! His 'interest' must mean either a feeling of sympathy or active concern or a feeling of passive curiosity almost amounting to indifference. If it means sympathy the reader must experience pain and cannot relish scenes of suffering. If it means passive curiosity or indifference he would not be sufficiently interested in poetry at all. In his attempt to com-

bine the desire to cling to a phenomenon of pain and the feeling of 'relish' (which means nothing but enjoyment, pleasure or satisfaction) derived from the experience, he has invented the phrase 'feeling painfully interested' which must mean 'feeling painful pleasure or relish'! But I question the very sense in which he has used the psychological term 'interest'. Interest, in its psychological sense, 'being conative, is a matter of the enduring settings of our conative tendencies or impulses and is, therefore, determined by our instincts and our sentiments' (Outline p. 276). If interest is, thus, determined by sentiments, the problem of pain and pleasure in the 'interest' again crops up. For, then, our 'interest' in a person for whom we have developed a sentiment of love must make us feel pain in his misery and pleasure in his happiness. We can't remain either only passively curious or indifferent to either of them. If the author sees the possibility of a person 'feeling painfully interested and relished' ('for he voluntarily invites this pain because his nature is such'—p. 77) why should he deny the same to the upholders of the pleasure-theory in aesthetic experience? Then again even if the reader voluntarily invites pain because of his 'interest', how is that going to solve the problem of a reader suffering from palpitation of heart? Would his 'interest' save him from the shock of reading grim tragedies? (p. 80). The fact of the matter is that even the upholders of the pleasure-theory, do not and can not deny the existence of the element of pain and ugliness, etc., in a work of art and consequently in its effects. Their only contention is that the unpleasant element is either submerged or neutralized in the totality of the aesthetic experience and the final result is an impression of pleasure or sense of satisfaction. The author is, also, trying to make an adjustment between pain and pleasure without using the last word. But he has to use the word 'Relish'. But what is relish? It is, as we have seen, enjoyment, taking pleasure or being pleased. Thus the new theory takes us nowhere.

(3) Regarding some of the other important issues raised by the author:—

(i) His criticism on Abhinavagupta, more particularly, is, in the main, groundless. Let me make it clear that I also, like the author, have no faith in the mysteriousness of the phenomenon of poetic Relish, but I do hold that it should not be interpreted on the sheer strength of general psychology

alone, which is useful for daily life-problems of practical utility, but, mainly, on the strength of Aesthetics which is a special field of psychology. I am afraid, the author in his enthusiasm of basing the poetic Relish on his own observations, has depended too much on general psychology and has reduced his 'relish' to a very low common level of experience. And as a result, he has consulted the experience of even untrained village-boys; but is inclined to call in question the qualifications of an ideal aesthetic attitude of a trained Rasika as given by Abhinavagupta. What I mean is that there are grades in the capacity of aesthetic appreciation and Abhinava has referred to the highest of them as his ideal. That is not his fault.

(ii) About his severe attack on the theory of Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa I have to say that ancient Sanskrit authors are not to be understood and interpreted literally but in spirit. Looking to the spirit of the theory, it is real, sound on the whole, and perfectly psychological. It is based on the principle of the sympathetic induction of emotions advocated by McDougall on the instinctual level in his 'Group-mind' and by Prof. P. S. Naidu, on the Sentimental level, also, in his 'Hormic Theory' (p. 65-68). Abhinava admits both these levels in his Vāsanā-Samvāda and Hrdaya-Samvāda respectively. Primitive passive sympathy, which is the basis of the formation and development of group-life or society, is the liability to be stirred to that kind of instinctive behaviour whose signs are displayed by other members of the same species. Subjectively it involves the sharing of the emotional excitements that accompany instinctive behaviour. The secret of the induction of the same emotion, therefore, is the expression of the emotion (or Anubhāvas) of the fellow member of the same species. The released energy arouses the 'idea' of the object which is the natural excitant of that emotion. Now, in the case of a love-scene between Dushyanta and Śakuntalā, Śakuntalā (for whom Dushyanta has a sentiment of love) is only useful to me in order to arouse in me the 'idea' of the class or type of similar women for whom I have developed a sentiment of love. The particular object of my sentiment of love would not suit. Because, in that case the pleasure would be personal and no aesthetic attitude would develop. The idea of the types or classes of similar women would secure this impersonality. Now, I have very little to do with Śakuntalā as an individual,

her surrounding, her love, and her particular behaviour. Of course, I will catch her individual traits of character and her other details or surroundings that ultimately make her the representative of a type of women. The need of Sādhāraṇī-karaṇa is greater when, on the strength of human appeal alone, a reader highly or lowly placed, living in a different country and in different times has got to relish a piece of poem depicting details of persons and situations entirely alien and dissimilar in outer details.

By the word Samvid-Carvanā, Abhinava allows the reader to dwell on or revolve in his mind his generalized emotional experience arising out of his own concrete general sentiments. By Samvid-viśrānti he means the calmness which is the result of mental equipoise, balance, synthesis or synasthesis.

(iii) A word about the conception of the author of the psychological nature of the Sthāyin and its relation with the Sanchāri Bhāvas. The Sthāyin is located in the mind of the Rasika or it remains related with the perceiver. In him it is evoked by the reading of poetry and develops into final Rasa leading to aesthetic enjoyment par excellence (Alaukika Rasa)—(see D. R. 4. 1, S. D. 3. 1, etc.); the Sanskrit writers believe that Sanchāribhāvas and Anubhāvas remain related with the depicted characters. They have not stated in clear terms, that the depicted characters, also, have their sthāyins (although some of them are conscious of this fact) because they saw that the pātra-cittavṛtti (by which they mean the pātra-sthāyin) was not the source of real Rasa. Hence it was only Laukika Rasa, as it was personal. Sometimes, also, the pātra-cittavṛtti did not at all correspond to the Sthāyin of the Rasika (as in Hāsyā Rasa, where the weeping of a character evokes the laughter of the Rasika). Sometimes the citta-vṛtti of the character corresponds to the sthāyin of the Rasika as in śṛṅgāra and vīra. Therefore, they have taken the correct position of neglecting the mention of the sthāyin in a character (although it is there.) The Rasika has his own evocation of his sthāyin according to the attitude of the poet. (Abhinava rightly says—*Kavistu Sāmājika-tulyaḥ*). As we read a poem we are sympathetic towards some characters and apathetic towards some others according to the depiction of the poet. The Rasika has acquired through individual experience his own sentiments of love, fear, hatred, friendship, self-regard, laughter, wonder, etc.. which are always in a quiescent condition.

They are awakened or brought into activity by the idea of the object which they get from the Anubhāvas of the characters according to the principle of the sympathetic induction of sentiments or emotions as the case may be. Rāvaṇa, for us, is a type of a cruel person and his behaviour may rouse in us an idea of a class or type of such persons for whom we have formed a general sentiment of hatred. It is a mistake on the part of the author to suppose that our old writers have recognized only the sympathetic class of feelings. (p. 83 and 91). The recollectional feelings are taken account of in the carvanā of a sthāyin and the reflectional ones in Śānta Rasa mainly. All the feelings that the author mentions are meant, if not clearly stated, in the totality of the Rasāsvāda.

It is not possible to meet in a review all the arguments of the author point by point in his attitude towards the sthāyi and the sanchāri bhavas. Here I only state my conclusions, (the grounds for which I have discussed in my Marathi work on Rasa *Rasa-Vimarsh* (1942), in my English articles in B.O.R. Institute Annals (4-1-1943) and Karmarkar Commemoration Vol. 1948). The sthāyins are sentiments (with one or two exceptions like śoka) with an instinctual base (the Prāktanī Vāsanās). They are acquired (Idānīntanī vāsanā of Viśvanātha) within the experience of the Rāsika. When they are evoked they give rise to their specific emotions. At least seven of the sancāri bhāvas are of the nature of the Derived Emotions of McDougall. The rest are either organic states, cognitive mental conditions or blended emotions, all of which, as the author also remarks, are 'subsidiaries to the emotional experiences'. Their one common characteristic, however, is that they arise in the course of the operation of the sthāyins as they imply the existence of sentiments. (Outline p. 345, social p. 117). If understood in his spirit, Abhinava is right in making the kind of distinction he has made between these two. The attack of the author on this (chapter IV) appears to me to be groundless, in the main.

There are many other points on which we do not agree. The author has not considered Rasa in relation to Dhvani, Aucitya, Alankāra, Guṇa etc., which consideration would have thrown greater light on the conception of the old Rasa-theory.

Let us first try to understand very clearly the recondite Sanskrit texts, like the Abhinavabhāratī in their traditional setting. For this first-hand knowledge, we shall have, all of

us, to sit at the feet of Sanskrit scholars. We shall, then, know that it is not so very easy to differ from such prodigies as Abhinavagupta, the great philosopher-critic and an aesthete of his times. I do hold that there are bound to be points of serious disagreement between the new psychological outlook of the present day and the old philosophical or traditional way of looking at the working of the human mind in aesthetic experience. But that should not keep us from a sympathetic understanding of their views. Nay, our admiration for their genius ought to grow deeper by our realisation of their limitations. Whatever deficiencies we find in the old views should, nevertheless, be critically pointed out and, if possible, made good in the light of our knowledge of the modern literary psychology or aesthetics and the principles of Western criticism. Before we give out to the English-knowing world our final views on the Rasa theory, we ought to come together for an exchange of views in order to have some degree of finality at least for them. Mere isolated attempts, though useful in their own ways, would involve duplication of work, waste of labour and the expression of ill-formed or unripe ideas about the subject. I take this opportunity to request scholars, working in this field, in different provinces in India, to put themselves in communication with one another for a hearty co-operation in the new work of re-orientation of this important branch of Indian lore, the common stock-in-trade of all regional languages.

K. N. WATWE.

Poona.

LES INSCRIPTIONS D'ASOKA by Jules Bloch, Pp. 219, Société D' Edition Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1950.

Professor Jules Bloch has earned the gratitude of all students of ancient Indian history and culture by his very handy edition of the inscriptions of Asoka, published recently. He has himself explained the scope and aim of the work in these words: "A new scholarly edition of the inscriptions of Asoka is not necessary at the moment. Informed workers find all the useful documentation and the most satisfying interpretation possible in Hultzsch. The discoveries at Gavimath and Yerragudi have not added any new elements of importance. On the other hand a handy tutorial edition may enable students of language to consult and criticise with ease the

works of specialists, and at the same time give to the historians access to an important document while warning them of the obscurities that persist. Such is the double object of this work". But even the work of recapitulation and summarising of high-grade research becomes an original work in the hands of a master like Prof. Bloch.

A brief general introduction (pages 13-42) is in five compact sections, entitled, the heritage of Asoka, Asoka of legend, the inscriptions, the content of the inscriptions, and conclusion. In these luminous pages the student will find a succinct and up-to-date account of the topics dealt with. Then follows a magistral linguistic introduction (pages 43 to 88) of the high quality of which the name of the author is sufficient guarantee. The text of the inscriptions occupies pages 90 to 172. The romanised text in its different versions is given on the right hand pages and the translation in French on the opposite left hand pages. There are a large number of notes commenting on the linguistic features giving also the necessary minimum of historical and critical information besides drawing attention to unsettled problems of interpretation. There is a copious word index, pages 173-216 and a map at the end. The only regret of the present reviewer is that an English edition of this excellent manual has not been published at the same time to make it accessible to scholars who do not read French.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

ENTREIENS DU MAITRE DE DHYANA CHEN HOUËI DU HO-Tso (668-760) by Jacques Gernet. L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi.

Those who are interested in the school of Yogic Buddhism that developed in the Far East will find this book to be of special interest as it deals with the subjects, Sat, Cit, Dhyāna, etc. Chen Houei was a great philosopher of the Yoga School that flourished in Indo-China. The contents of the book are in the form of conversations between the master and his disciples. They have been well translated by the author.

AMALENDU GOSWAMI.

INITIATION A L'HISTOIRE DE L'ART HINDOU by Suzanne Karpeles. D'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, 1948-49.

The book contains six lectures on Indian Art in general. The author with her wide knowledge of Indian art reviews its development from the days of Mohenjo-daro to the period of Abanindranath Tagore. Her reference to the influence of the Indian art on the art of the Far East, especially on Indo-Chinese Art, is of special interest for us. The book contains a bibliography which will be of help to the students of Indian art in its various phases.

AMALENDU GOSWAMI.

EDUCATION SPECIAL NUMBER. Chief of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, 1, Rue Garcerie, Saigon.

This is the annual report of the Director of the Public Instruction of French Indo-China for the year 1949. It deals with all forms of Education and Educational Institutes in that country, their work, and improvement during the year 1949. Even a cursory glance through the contents shows that the French authorities of Indo-China are doing better in the field of Education compared to other colonial powers.

AMALENDU GOSWAMI.

LA DOCTRINE CLASSIQUE DE LA MEDICINE INDIENNE—SES ORIGINES ET SES PARALLELES GRECS, Jean Filliozat. Imprimerie Nationale (39, Rue de la Convention), Paris xv. 1949.

In this book the learned author has very admirably traced the origin of Ayurveda from its legendary beginnings to the peak of its development in India and has drawn a comparative picture of ideas of ancient India on this subject with those of the Greeks and their respective influences on each other. What strikes the reader is the clarity of the exposition and the depth of the knowledge of the author on the subject.

His chapters on the pre-Aryan and pre-Iranian people's gift to the medical science in the days of yore is of great value to the students of anthropology.

The book needs to be translated into English and the regional languages of this country so as to enable the students of Ayurveda to read it as a history of Indian medicine. The book fills a long standing gap in the study of a department of the culture of the country.

AMALENDU GOSWAMI.

பல்வேறு கவர் பொரு ணட்டத் தானும்
 குறையுறற் கெதிரிய கிழவனை மறையுறப்
 பெருமையிற் பெயர்ப்பினு முலகுரைத் தொழிப்பினும்
 அருமையி னகற்சிபு மவளறி வுறத்தப்
 பின்வா¹ வென்றலும் பேதைமை யூட்டலும்
 முன்னுற புணர்ச்சி முறைநிறுத் துரைத்தலும்
 அஞ்சியச் சுறுத்தலு முரைத்துழிக் கூட்டமொடு
 எஞ்சாது கிளந்த விருநான்கு கிளவியும்
 வந்த கிழவனை மாயஞ் செப்பிப்
 பொறுத்த காரணக் குறித்த காலையும்
 புணர்ந்தபின் னவன்வயின் வணக்கற் கண்ணும்
 குறைந்தவட் படரினு மறைந்தவ ளருகத்
 தன்னொடு மவளொடு² முன்னமுன் றுளேஇப்
 பின்னிலை நிகழும் பல்வேறு மருக்கினும்
 நன்னயம் பெற்றுழி நயம்புரி யிடத்தினும்
 எண்ணரும் பன்னகை கண்ணிய வகையினும்
 புணர்ச்சி வேண்டினும் வேண்டாப் பிரிவினும்
 வேளாண் பெருநெறி வேண்டிய விடத்தினும்³
 புணர்ந்தழி புணர்ந்த வறிமடச் சிறப்பினும்
 ஒம்படைக் கிளவிப் பாக்கின் கண்ணும்
 செக்கடு மொழியாற் சிதைவுடத் தாயினும்
 என்புநெகப் பிரிந்தோள் வழிச்சென்று கடைஇ
 அன்புதலை யடுத்த வன்புறைக் கண்ணும்
 ஆற்றது தீமை யறிவுறு கலக்கமும்
 காப்பின் கடுமை கையற வரினும்
 களனும் பொழுதும் வரைநிலை விலக்கிக்
 காதன் மிகுதி புளப்படப் பிறவும்
 காடு மூரு மில்லுக் குடியும்
 பிறப்புஞ் சிறப்பு மிறப்ப நோக்கி
 அவன்வயிற் றேன்றிய கிளவியொடு தொகைஇ
 அனைநிலை வகையான் வரைதல் வேண்டினும்
 ஐயச் செய்கை தாய்க்கெதிர் மறுத்தப்
 பொய்யென மாற்றி மெய்வழிக் கொடுப்பினும்
 அவன்⁴ விலக் குறினுக் களம்பெறக் காட்டினும்
 பிறன்வரை வாயினு மவன்வரைவு மறுப்பினும்
 முன்னிலை யறனெனப் படுதலென் றிருவகைப்
 புரைதீர் கிளவி தாயிடைப் புருப்பினும்

1. வா (இளம்.); வரவு (நச்.)
2. முன்னமுன் (இளம்.); முதன் மூன்று (நச்.)
3. இடத்தினும் (இளம்.); இடத்தும் (நச்.)
4. அவன் (இளம்.); அவன் (நச்.)

வரைவுடன்¹ பட்டோர்க் கடாவல் வேண்டினும்
ஆக்கதன் நன்மையின் வன்புறை யுள்படப்
பாக்குற வந்த நாடுவெட்டு வகையினும்²
தாக்கருஞ் சிறப்பிற் ரோழி மேன.

Nārram un tōrram-u m-olukkam-u m-unṭi-y-um
Cey-vinaṭi maraiṭṭinū celavinū payilvinū
Puṇarcci y-etirppā t-ulluruttu varūm
Uṇarcci y-ēlin-u m-uṇarnta pinrai
Meyyin-um poyyin-um vali-nilai pilaiyāti
Pal-vēru kavar-ṭoru nāṭṭat tān-um
Kuraiyurar k-etiriya kilavanai marai-y-ura-ṭ
Perumaiyir peyarṭṭinu m-ulak urait t-oliṭṭinū
Arumaiyi n-akarciyu m-aval-ari v-uruttu-ṭ
Pin-vā v-enṛalum-pētaimai y-ūttal-um
Mun-n-uru puṇarcci murai-nirut t-uraittalum
Añci-y-ac c-uruttalu m-uraittuli-k kūṭṭamoṭi
Eñcātu kilanta v-iru-nānku kilavi-y-um
Vanta kilavanai māyañ cepṭi-ṭ
Porutta kāraṇai kuritta kālai-y-um
Puṇarnta-pin n-avan-vayin vanaṅkar kaṇṇum
Kuraintavat paṭarinū maraint-ava ḷ-aruka-t
Tannoṭu m-avalotu² munna-mun r-aḷai-p
Pin-nilai nīkalum pal-vēru maruṅkinū
Nannayam perruli nayam-puri y-itattinū
En-n-arum pannokaṭ-kaṇṇiya vakaṭyin-um
Puṇarcci vēṇṭinū vēṇṭāṭ pīrivin-um
Vēḷaṇ peru-neri vēṇṭiya v-itattin-um
Puṇarntuli y-uṇarnta v-arimaṭa-c ciraṭṭin-um
Ōmpaṭai-k kilavi-ṭ pānkin kaṇṇum
Ceñ-kaḷu moliyār citai-v-ūṭai-t-tāyinū
Enṭu-neka-ṭ pīrintōḷ vali-c cenru kaṭai
Anṭutalai y-aṭutta vanpurai-k kuṇṇum
Arratu timai y-ariv-uru kaḷakkam-um
Kāppin kaṭumai kai-y-a ra varinū
Kalan-um polulum varai-nilai vilakki-k
Kātan mikūṭiy-ulaṭṭa-ṭ pira-v-um
Nāṭu m-uru m-il-l-un kuḷi-y-um

1. பட்டோர் (இளம்.); பட்டோன் (நச்.)

2. வகையினும் (இளம்.); வகையும் (நச்.)

Pirappuñ cirappu m-irappa nōkki
Avan-vayir rōnriya kilaviyotu tokaii
Anai-nilai vakaiyān varaital vēṇṇinum
Aiya-c ceykai tāykk-etir maruttu-p
Poy-y-ena mārri mey-vaḷi-k koṭupṇinum
Avaḷ¹-vīaṇ k-urīnuṇ kalam-pera-k kāṭṭinum
Piraṇ-varai v-āyīnu m-avan-varaiṇu marupṇinum
Munṇilai y-aṇaṇ ena-p paṭutal-en r-iruvakai-p
Purai-tir kilavi tāyitai-p puṭupṇinum
Varai-utan² paṭṭōr-k kaṭāval vēṇṇinum
Āṅk-atan raṇmaiṇ vāṇpuroi y-uḷappaṭa-p
Pāṅkura vāṇṭa nāl-eṭṭu vakaiyīnum³
Tāṅk-aṇuñ cirappir rōḷi mēna.

The lady-love's friend has her fine sayings on the following thirty-two occasions after she decides that the lady-love had conjugal union with the lover through the seven things scent, appearance, behaviour, food, forgetting what she should do, walk and action:—(1) When she, without exceeding the limits of her position, probes into the lady's heart through ambiguous expressions both true and false, (2) when she, pretending ignorance, evades the lover through her expressions of the lady's greatness on his approaching her to state his grievances, (3) when she dismisses him advising him to abide by the ways of the world (*i.e.* to request the lady's father for her hand), (4) when she makes him return on saying that it is not easy to see the lady, (5) when she asks him go to her after informing the lady of his arrival, (6) when she convinces him of the lady's credulousness, when she asks him to arrange for meeting her in the same way as he arranged for the previous meeting, (7) when she informs him of her fear (that she would be taken to task by her relatives), (8) when they meet on her information (about the time, place, manner etc., of their meeting), (9) when she, pretending ignorance of the lover's arrival, makes him understand how the lady bore patiently his absence or when she noted the patience of the lady, on his coming with false excuses, (10) when she makes obeisance to him after their meeting, (11) when she approaches the lady with her misgivings, (12) when she addresses the lady in diverse ways when she stands hidden from the view of the lover making the intention of both the lady and herself

understood through suggestion¹ (13) when she informs the lover of the lady's gratifying words (14) when she informs the lover of his becoming the laughing stock in diverse ways (15) when the lover wants union with the lady, (16) when he wants to go away, (17) when she expects help from the lover, (18) when she gracefully loses her discrimination when they are together and tells the lover to look after the lady, (19) when she affirms the love of the lover by approaching the lady who is skin and bone on being disheartened by the displeasing words of the lover² (20-25) when she requests the lover to propose for the marriage, considering their anxiety due to the unsafety of the way, the strict watch, the failure to meet at the proper place and time, growth of the love etc., and with reference to the greatness of his country, village, habitation, family, heredity, nobility and influence, (26) when she removes the doubt from the mind of the lady's mother and make her confide in her words, (27-30) when she addresses the foster mother that the meeting of the lover and the lady-love is in accordance with Dharma while the lady is kept under restraint³, while the mother seeks the help of the diviner and the priest in possession of Skanda, while the parents propose to give the lady in marriage to another and while they do not accede to the proposal of the lover, (31) when she informs the lover of the consent of the lady's parents (for the marriage) and (32) when she asserts the same to the lady.

What are the occasions for the foster-mother to have her say?

113. ஊவல ராயினுக் காமமேற் படுப்பினும்⁴

அளவுமிகத் தோன்றினுத் தலைப்பெய்து காணினும்

கட்டினுக் கழுங்கினு வெறியென விருவரும்

1. For the reading *Mutan-mūnru alaiyi*, *Iḷampūraṇar* gives the meaning "having considered through mind, word and deed" and *Naccinārkkiniyar*, having made them understand through suggestion that she was aware of the three stages commencing with *iyarkai-p-punarcci*.

2. *Naccinārkkiniyar* means "when the lady is disheartened at her harsh words and when she affirms the love of the lover while she is much emaciated.

3. According to *Naccinārkkiniyar*, the meaning is when the over brings in obstacles for the marriage.

4. மேற்படுப்பினும் (இளம்.); மெய்ப்படுப்பினும் (கச்.)

ஒட்டிய திறத்தாற் செய்திக் கண்ணும்
 ஆடிய சென்றழி யழிவுதலை வரினும்
 காதல் கைம்மிகக் கனவி னாற்றலும்
 தோழியை வினவலுந்¹ தெய்வம் வாழ்த்தலும்
 போக்குட னறிந்தபிற் றோழியொடு கெழீஇக்
 கற்பி னாக்கத்து நின்றற் கண்ணும்
 பிரிவி னெச்சத்து மகணெஞ்ச வலிப்பினும்
 இருபாற் குடிப்பொரு ளியல்பின் கண்ணும்
 இன்ன வகையிற் பதின்மூன்று கிளவியொடு
 அன்னவை பிறவுஞ் செவிலி மேன.

Kaḷa vala r-āyinun kāmamēr paṭuppinum
Aḷavu-mika-t tōṇṇinun talai-p-peytu kāṇinum
Kaṭṭinun kaḷañcinum veri-y-eṇa v-iruvvarum
Oṭṭiya tirattār ceyti -k kaṇṇum
Āṭiya cenruli y-aḷivu talai varinum
Kātal kai-m-mika-k kaṇavi n-ararralum
Tōḷiyai viṇaval-un teyvam vālttal-um
Pōkkuṭa n-arintapir rōḷiyotu keḷi-k
Karpi n-ākkattu nirrar kaṇ-n-um
Pirivi n-eccattu makaneñcu valippinun
Iru-pār kuṭi-p-poru ḷ-iyalpin kaṇṇum
Inna vakaiyir patin-mūṇru kīḷaviyotu
Annavai pīravuñ cevili mēna.

The foster-mother has her say on the following thirteen occasions and more; when she questions the lady's friend (1) on the *kaḷavu* becoming the object of common talk, (2) on the lady's love exceeding the bounds² (3) on the lady's limbs (like breasts) having a greater growth, (4) on seeing the lover and the lady together, (5-7) on seeing the attitude of the lady when both the mother and foster-mother take recourse to divination with *kaṭṭu*, *kaḷañci* and *veri-yāṭu* (8) on the lady becoming unnerved when there is *veri-yāṭu* (9) on the lady prattling in dream on account of the mind being steeped in love, (10) when she prays to God (11) when she, on learning that the lady has gone with the lover, appreciates the sense of chastity of the lady along with her friend (12) when she sees the strength of

1. வினாவும் (இளம்.); வினவலும் (நச்சு.)

2. Since the meaning of *kāmam mey-p paṭuppinum*, the reading of *Nacciṇārkkiniyar*, is expressed by *aḷavu mika t tōṇṇinum*, *Iḷampū-ṇarar*'s reading is better.

mind of the lady when she was left alone by the lover¹ (13) when she compares the heredity of both the lover and the love.

Has the lady's mother occasions for her say?

114. தாய்க்கும் வரையா ருணர்வுடம் படினே.

Tāykkum varaiyā r-uṇarvuṭam paṭin-ē

They permit the sayings noted in the previous *sūtra* to the lady's mother also, if she feels in the same way as the foster-mother.

Note 1.—This *sūtra* suggests that the lady's mother does not have as many opportunities as the foster-mother to watch the lady and hence she may be ignorant of many things with reference to the lady.

What do the mother and the foster-mother do after they are aware of the lady's deep love towards the lover?

115. கிலாவோ னறியா வறிவின ளிவனென

மையறு செறப்பி னுயர்ந்தோர் பாங்கின்

ஐயக் கிளவி யறிதலு முரித்தே.

Kilavō n-arīyā v-arivina l-ival-ena

Mai-y-arū cirappi n-uyarntōr pānkin

Aiya-k kiḷavi y-arital-u m-uritt-ē

The mother and the foster-mother deserve to understand (the real nature) from the ambiguous saying of the great men with unsullied magnanimity '*kiḷavōn arīyā arivina! ival!*' which means "this lady completely knows the nature of the lover and this lady does not know the nature of the lover."

Note 1.—The words *arīyā* may be taken in the senses of *arintu* and *arīyāta*.

Note 2.—The meaning given above belongs to *Iḷampūraṇar*. *Nacčinārkkiniyar*'s meaning is this:—Both the mother and the foster-mother clear their doubt whether the lady loved the lover who is not worthy of it from the sayings of the great.

Note 3.—*Cevili* and *tāy* are taken from the previous *sūtras* and form the subject of *arital*.

Does the lady express her love to the lover openly?

1. The line 10 is taken by *Nacčinārkkiniyar* to express two things:—when the foster-mother does not go after the lover and the lady-love and when the lady-love is so strong in mind as to follow the lover. There are two defects here:—(1) the number *thirteen* becomes *fourteen* and the latter part is unnecessary since line 8 says the lady's going away with the lover.

116. தன்னுறு வேட்கை கிழவன்முற் கிளத்தல்
எண்ணுங் காலைக் கிழத்திக் கில்லைப்
பிறரீர் மாக்களி னறிய வாயிடைப்
பெய்க்கீர் போலு முணர்விற் மென்ப.

Tan-n-uru vēṭkai kilavan-mur kilattal
Enṇun kālai-k kilattik k-illai-ṭ
Pira-nīr mākkali n-aṛiya v-ā-y-iṭai-ṭ
Pey-n-nīr pōlu m-unarvir r-eṇṇa.

They say that, on examination, the lady-love does not express openly her love in the presence of the lover like low-class women and it is understood like the water that oozes out of the unburnt pot of mud.

Note 1.—The expression *kilavan-mun* suggests that the lady may express her love openly to the friend and *kilattikkū* suggests that the friend may express the same openly to the lover.

Is there need in all cases for the intervention of the lover's friend and the lady's friend to bring about their union?

117. காமக் கூட்டத் தனிமையிற் பொலிதலின்
தாமே தூதவ ராகலு முரித்தே.
Kāma-k kūṭṭan taṇimāyir pōlitālin
Tām-ē tūtuva r-ākal-u m-uritt-ē.

Since union out of reciprocal love is *par excellence*, it is possible for both the lover and the love to serve as the carriers of message between themselves.

Who is to suggest the place of their second meeting?

118. அவன்வரம் பிறத்த லறத்தனக் கின்மையின்
களஞ்சுட்டுக் கிளவி கிழவிய தாகும்
தான்செலற் றுரியவழி யாக லான.
Avan-varam p-iṛatta l-aṛan-tanak k-inṇmaiyn
Kalañ-cuṭṭu-k kilavi kilaviya t-ākum
Tān-celar k-uriyavali y-ākū-lān-a.

Since it is not *dharma* for the lady to go against the wishes of the lover, it is her duty to suggest the place of their meeting since she alone knows where it is possible for her to go.

Who else can suggest it?

119. தோழியின் முடிபு மிடனுமா ருண்டே.
Tōḷiyin muṭiyu m-iṭan-um-ā r-unṭ-ē.

There are cases where the lady's friend also suggests the place of meeting.

120. முந்நா எல்லது துணையின்று கழியாது
அந்நா எனத்து மதுவரையின்றே.

Mu-n-nā ḷ-allatu tunai-y-inru kaliyāti
A-n-nā ḷ-akattu m-atu-varai y-inr-ē.

• The meeting does not take place without the friend on any day other than the three days (when the lady is in her periods.) It is not prohibited even on the day following the three days (*i.e.*), on the fourth day.

Note 1.—The word *an-n-āḷ* may be taken to refer to the fourth day for two reasons:—(1) the word *annāḷ-tiṇṭal* is used to refer to the pollution of women on the fifth day morning and (2) that day (the fourth) also is prohibited for meeting in *karpu* since only 12 days are prescribed for meeting in the *sūtra*, “*pūppin purappā tir-āru nālum*” (*Karpiyal*, 46).

Note 2.—*Tunai* is taken to mean “the lover’s friend” by *Iḷampūraṇar* and *kūṭṭam* (meeting) by *Naccinārkkiniyar*. It is better to take *tunai* in the sense of the lady’s friend, since the same word in the following *sūtra* has that meaning.

121. பன்னாறு வகையினுந் தன்வயின் வருடம்
நன்னய மருங்கி னுட்டம் வேண்டலின்
துணைச்சட்டுக் கிளவி கிழவிய தாகும்
துணையோர் கரும மாக லான.

Pannūru vakaiyin-un taṇ-vaṇṇin varūm
Nannaya maruṅki nūṭṭam vēṇṭalin
Tunai-c-cuṭṭu-k kiḷavi kiḷaviya t-ākum
Tunaiyōr karuma m-āka lāna.

Since it is the duty of the lady to investigate into all the benefits that may accrue to her in diverse ways, she has to address her *tunai*, since it is their duty to look after her.

Note 1.—*Tunai* in this *sūtra* also means, according to *Iḷampūraṇar*, the lovers’ friend; but *Naccinārkkiniyar* takes it to mean the lady’s, *tunai* (*i.e.*), her friend and foster-mother. Since it is not in the nature of high class ladies to address the lover’s friend, *Naccinārkkiniyar*’s meaning seems to be sound.

Who is called *tāy*?

122. ஆம்பெருஞ் சிறப்பி னருமறை கிளத்தலின்
தாயெனப் படுவாள் செவிலி யாகும்.

Āy-peruñ cirappi n-arum-harai kiḷattalin
Tāy-eṇa-p paṭuvāl cevilī y-ākum.

तदनुज्ञाय रम्या सा राजपुत्रीति मे श्रुतिः ।
किं तथेति ब्रुवाणं सा भणति स्म नृपात्मजम् ॥ ८३ ॥

ततोऽपि रमणीया सा न दृष्टा सृष्टिरीदृशी ।
ततस्तामादिशद् भर्ता तद्रूपा लेख्यकर्मणि ॥ ८४ ॥

तया न शक्यमित्युक्ते कुमारः कन्यकाकृतिम् ।
ज्ञास्यन् यज्ञवतीरूपं लिलेख फलके क्वचित् ॥ ८५ ॥

दृष्ट्वा पुष्पोद्भवे चित्रं चित्रीयाविष्टचेतसि ।
स्मित्वा विस्मयमाना सा बभाषे बालचन्द्रिका ॥ ८६ ॥

अशक्यारम्भपक्षे यन्मया रूपं निरूपितम् ।
तत्तथैवेदमापन्नमुत्कण्ठा त्वत्र भिद्यते ॥ ८७ ॥

आकर्ण्य कृतिसंवादं मत्वा यज्ञवतीति ताम् ।
कुमारः स्वैरमातस्थे तत्रेत्यं कथयानया ॥ ८८ ॥

अथ द्वित्रिदिनापाये कुमारं बालचन्द्रिका ।
सचित्रफलकागत्य प्रियोपान्ते व्यजिज्ञपत् ॥ ८९ ॥

तदाकृत्य^१ विसंवादं वेत्तुं तच्चित्रकं मया ।
निन्ये कन्यापुरं दृष्ट्वा व्यस्मेष्ट च सखीजनः ॥ ९० ॥

सविक्रि^२यं मृगाक्षी तन्निरीक्ष्य स्मरमन्थरम् ।
लिलेख तत्र तद्रूपं कुमाराच्चैव भिद्यते ॥ ९१ ॥

इत्यर्पितं निरूप्यैतद्विस्मयस्तिमितेक्षणः ।
पुष्पोद्भवः सुहृद्रूपान्न विवेद तदा भिदाम् ॥ ९२ ॥

राजपुत्रोऽपि मन्ये सा स्मरत्येवान्यजन्मनः ।
अन्यथा कथमित्यं मद्रूपसिद्धिरिति स्वयम् ॥ ९३ ॥

चिन्तयित्वा चिरं भूयः सुहृदा सह तद्गृहे ।
नीत्वा दिनं दिदृक्षुस्तां निनाय क्षणदामपि ॥ ९४ ॥

अपरेद्युः सहस्रार्चिष्युदयाचलचुम्बिनि ।

समादिष्टोत्सवं द्रष्टुं ससुहृद् राजवाहनः ॥ ९५ ॥

निष्क्रम्य नगरद्वारात् सिप्रावप्रगतो ययौ ।

पश्यन् पौरजनारब्धं तस्मिन्नुत्सवसंकुलम् ॥ ९६ ॥

पूर्वोजयिनिकां रम्यां वीक्षमाणः क्रमेण सः ।

बाह्योद्यानानि रम्याणि क्रीडास्थानमथाययौ ॥ ९७ ॥

देवस्थानतटाकस्य निष्कुटे तटवर्तिनि ।

कन्यापरिजनस्त्रीणां ददर्श विहृतिक्रियाः ॥ ९८ ॥

कन्दुकेन त्रिभिश्चरैः करणैरपि षड्विधैः ।

चित्रदुष्करमार्गेषु क्रीडन्तीरपराः स्त्रियः ॥ ९९ ॥

पाञ्चालिकादिकाः केलिपत्रच्छेद्यानि चापराः ।

दुर्वाचकानि कुर्वन्तीरष्टादशविधान्यपि ॥ १०० ॥

लिपिभेदांश्च ^१सिन्ध्वादीन् काश्चिन्मलेच्छाक्षराणि च ।

प्रहेलिकादिका वाचः पराश्च परिचिन्वतीः ॥ १०१ ॥

सङ्गीतगीतवादित्राण्यभ्यस्यन्तरिनेकशः ।

तस्मिन्नवन्तिसुन्दर्या ददर्श परिचारिकाः ॥ १०२ ॥

अवतीर्य रथात्तामामभिरामैः क्रियान्तरैः ।

विलासैर्विस्मितस्तस्मिन्नुद्याने निषसाद सः ॥ १०३ ॥

विचित्रपुष्पोपहारे निषण्णं दृष्यमण्डपे ।

बभाषे दयितोपान्ते कुमारं बालचन्द्रिका ॥ १०४ ॥

प्रबुद्धपद्मगन्धाढ्या वार्षिस्पर्धिजलर्धयः ।

देवस्थानतटाकस्य प्रेक्षन्तां देव ! सम्पदः ॥ १०५ ॥

^२दीव्यन्मन्दोदकानीति प्रायो दिव्यसरांस्ययम् ।

अवन्तिपुरमाश्रित्य क्षितीश इव तिष्ठति ॥ १०६ ॥

नौविमानान्यमून्यस्मिन् संचरन्ति सहस्रशः ।
देवता इव दीव्यन्ति प्रीतास्तेषु पुरन्ध्रयः ॥ १०७ ॥

इत्यस्मिन्नन्तरे सान्द्रः सौरमातिशयोऽभवत् ।
तमाघ्रायाललापेत्थं व्याकुला बालचन्द्रिका ॥ १०८ ॥

योऽसावुदकसंचारी प्रासादः स्फटिकोज्ज्वलः ।
रजताद्रिसमः श्रीमानत्नास्ते राजकन्यका ॥ १०९ ॥

तावता शुश्रुवे युक्तः श्रावकत्वादिषड्गुणैः ।
काकादिदोषैरस्पृष्टः स्पृष्टद्वविंशतिश्रुतिः ॥ ११० ॥

द्विग्रामयोनिस्त्रिस्थानः सप्तस्वरसमुद्भवः ।
द्विसप्तमूर्च्छनायुक्तः स्पष्टाष्टादशजातिकः ॥ १११ ॥

तानैश्चतुरशीत्या च त्रिधावस्थस्त्रिवृत्तिकः ।
षोडशलंकृतिस्तालैर्विंशत्या च समन्वितः ॥ ११२ ॥

हृद्यो गीतध्वनिश्चित्राण्यातोद्यानि च सस्वनुः ।
नेदुर्मृदङ्गवाद्यानि रेणुर्मूषणराशयः ॥ ११३ ॥

प्रकीर्णकप्रभृत्यष्टप्रभेदैर्बन्धनैर्युताः ।
विचित्रनृत्ताभिनया बभूवुर्वरयोषिताम् ॥ ११४ ॥

प्रहृष्टनरनारीकनौविमानशतैर्वृतः ।
आससाद स तं देशं प्रासादः प्रमदामयः ॥ ११५ ॥

तरन्तीमिव तन्मध्ये स्वलावण्योदका^२म्बुधौ ।
इन्दुमण्डलनिथ्यन्दधारामिव निरन्तराम् ॥ ११६ ॥

केशेषु कृष्णां चरिते सुभद्रां चित्राङ्गदां दोष्णि च वाचि सत्याम् ।
वर्णे च गौरीं^३सरसां सखीषु सर्वोत्तमस्त्रीसहितामिवाङ्गे ॥ ११७ ॥

अचिन्त्यरूपरूपां तामवन्तिनृपतेः सुताम् ।
अवन्तिसुन्दरीं दृष्ट्वा कुमारः परिष्वजे ॥ ११८ ॥

पूर्वजन्मप्रियामेनां जानन्नपि नृपात्मजः ।

धैर्यराशिरनाश्लिष्यन्नतिष्ठत् कथमप्यसौ ॥ ११९ ॥

सापि जन्मान्तरस्मृत्या दूत्येव दृढमासया ।

प्रेर्यमाणापि धैर्येण प्रत्युत्थानादि नाकरोत् ॥ १२० ॥

जृम्भितोत्कम्परोमाञ्चस्वेदश्चासादिविक्रियात् ।

दृष्ट्वा तां क्षणनिष्पन्दां ववन्दे बालचन्द्रिका ॥ १२१ ॥

उत्थाय परिरभ्यैनामन्यव्याजान् नृपात्मजम् ।

सविभ्रमं प्रणम्योर्व्या निषसाद् नृपात्मजा ॥ १२२ ॥

स राजवाहनं पश्यन् सर्व एवाङ्गनाजनः ।

पुष्पधन्वानमेनैतं मूर्तिमन्तममन्यत ॥ १२३ ॥

वसुमत्यामयं जातो राजहंसान्महीपतेः ।

येन त्वं लिखितेत्येवं व्याचख्यौ बालचन्द्रिका ॥ १२४ ॥

तयोरनङ्गसङ्गीतमङ्गीरङ्गायितात्मनोः ।

विकारा विविधाकारा बभूवुर्बहुविभ्रमाः ॥ १२५ ॥

ततो हंसप्रसङ्गेन व्याजहार नृपात्मजः ।

न पीडनीयाश्चक्राङ्गास्तथा हि श्रूयतां कथा ॥ १२६ ॥

आसीत् कंसरिपोः पुत्रः साम्ब इत्यस्य बलुभा ।

अभूत् त्रिभुवनस्त्रीणां भूषणं भौमनन्दना ॥ १२७ ॥

स तया सरसि क्रीडन्मृणालैर्निगलं ददौ ।

हंसाकृतेर्मुनेः शापान्मानुषत्वमभूतयोः ॥ १२८ ॥

अभिन्नरूपतां तत्र स्मरणं दर्शने तयोः ।

अल्पकालं च विश्लेषं कलयामास तन्मुनिः ॥ १२९ ॥

श्रुत्वा नृपसुताप्येवं यज्ञवत्यपि तत् फलम् ।

भुङ्क्त एव तथाभूतेत्यतिगम्भीरमभ्यधात् ॥ १३० ॥

ततो मातृनिदेशेन व्यथमाना कथञ्चन ।

तद्गतेनैव चित्तेन प्रतस्थे नृपकन्यका ॥ १३१ ॥

तया चित्रायमाणः स प्रवृत्त्या नृपनन्दनः ।

चकाराभ्यवहारादिष्वाभिमुख्यं सुहृद्गिरा ॥ १३२ ॥

अथाम्बुविहृतिं पश्यत्यनुरक्ते दिनश्रिया ।

विहर्तुमिव मार्ताण्डेऽप्यवतीर्णेऽरारणवम् ॥ १३३ ॥

क्रमेण तरुणीभूते तमसि ग्रहमण्डले ।

मण्डयत्यम्बरं चन्द्रेऽप्यैन्द्राविदनचुम्बिनि ॥ १३४ ॥

प्रदोषसमये प्राप्ते निवृत्ते जनसंकुले ।

कथंकथमपि प्रापत् कुमारः ससुहृद् गृहम् ॥ १३५ ॥

चक्रे शय्यागतश्चिन्तां चिरदृष्टापि मे प्रिया ।

न पृष्टा कुशलं कष्टं दूरे कण्ठग्रहादयः ॥ १३६ ॥

सा राजकन्या संवृत्ता वयं च गुरुयन्त्रिताः ।

असह्यः स्मरसन्तापः किमत्र कराण्यहम् ॥ १३७ ॥

अदत्तां गुरुभिः कान्तामदृष्ट्वा च पुरोधसम् ।

न शक्यं परिणेतुं तत् सर्वथा दुर्वहो भरः ॥ १३८ ॥

चिन्तयन्तममुं दृष्ट्वा सन्तप्तेव ततो गता ।

अवश्यायाश्रु वर्षन्ती नमदिन्दुमुखी निशा ॥ १३९ ॥

मुखमाखण्डलाशया मण्डयत्यर्कमण्डले ।

प्रभाते सुहृदभ्येत्य व्याजहे राजवाहनम् ॥ १४० ॥

देव ! जागरकारी ते विकारः किमकारणम् ।

अकस्मादियमङ्गानां कथय ^१क्षामता कथम् ॥ १४१ ॥

इत्युक्तः प्रत्युवाचैनं कुमारः श्रूयतामहम् ।

साम्ब एवास्मि सा कन्या यज्ञवत्येव मे प्रिया ॥ १४२ ॥

अद्यैनामनवद्याङ्गीं प्रसङ्गात् पश्यतः प्रियाम् ।

सुप्तोत्थित इवात्यर्थं जृम्भते मे मनोभवः ॥ १४३ ॥

विमृद्न मृदुवतीक्ष्णैर्विशिखैर्निखिलं जगत् ।

दुरात्मा कारयत्येव प्राणिनः किं न पातकम् ॥ १४४ ॥

भ्रूक्षेपवर्ति त्रैलोक्यं कुर्वता क्रूरकर्मणा ।

असंख्याः खण्डितप्राणाः पुण्डरीकादयोऽमुना ॥ १४५ ॥

अनेनैव प्रियाहेतोरत्यर्थं चित्तजन्मना ।

अविषह्यस्मरावस्था वयं चेत्थं कदर्थिताः ॥ १४६ ॥

करपत्रायते वायुः शिखिपुञ्जायते शशी ।

रम्यभूतानि वस्तूनि व्यत्यस्तानीव भान्ति मे ॥ १४७ ॥

किं कर्तव्यमिति श्रुत्वा हृष्टः पुष्पोद्भवोऽभ्यधात् ।

सत्यं सर्वं इमे दोषाश्चित्तजन्मनि किन्त्विह ॥ १४८ ॥

श्लाघ्याभिजनशीलायां प्रियायां प्रथमं तव ।

युक्तं चित्तभुवारब्धं सदृशस्नेहकारिणा ॥ १४९ ॥

व्यतिरिक्तविकारैव त्वत्तोऽपि नृपकन्यका ।

तदत्राभिमतप्राप्तौ विषादस्तव किं कृतः ॥ १५० ॥

दर्पसारमवज्ञाय स्वसुरस्याः करग्रहः ।

तेजोऽनुरूपं तत् सर्वं कल्याणमिव लक्ष्यते ॥ १५१ ॥

इत्यस्मिन्नन्तरे प्राप्ता विविक्ते बालचन्द्रिका ।

आचष्ट कुशलं पृष्टा सप्रत्ययमिदं वचः ॥ १५२ ॥

देवाद्य कुशलं देव्या यथावस्था निशम्यताम् ।

त्वद्दर्शनात् प्रभृत्यस्या विरक्तिः सर्ववस्तुषु ॥ १५३ ॥

तयाहूता सखीं द्रष्टुं तुङ्गतोरणगोपुरम् ।

लक्ष्मीमयमिवाश्चर्यं प्राविक्षं नृपतिक्षयम् ॥ १५४ ॥

गत्वा कन्यापुरोद्देशं तत्रोद्यानगता गिरः ।

चित्राः परिजनस्त्रीणामश्रौषं तापशंसिनीः ॥ १५५ ॥

ततः क्रीडासरस्तीरे धारागृह्मतां सखीम् ।

अन्यामिव शुचा शोच्यामपश्यं नृपकन्यकाम् ॥ १५६ ॥

सा ना समीक्ष्य संप्रान्ता चिन्ताभारकृशा भृशम् ।

अपृच्छन्मां परिष्वज्य त्वद्वृत्तान्तमनन्तरम् ॥ १५७ ॥

मयोक्तं देवि ! सोऽप्येवं किमपि व्यक्तविक्रियः ।

गतायां त्वयि संतापादकरोद् वासरक्रियाम् ॥ १५८ ॥

गते सुहृद्गृहं तस्मिन्नाहूताहमिहागता ।

भद्रे ! कथमियं जाता त्वदङ्गे कथय व्यथा ॥ १५९ ॥

इति पृष्टा परिष्वज्य प्रेमगाढं चिराय माम् ।

अतिगम्भीरमारेभे विविक्ते वक्तुमित्यसौ ॥ १६० ॥

सखि ! पश्याप्रकाश्येयमावयोः श्रूयतां कथा ।

स एव साम्बः किं गुप्त्या यज्ञवत्येव सास्म्यहम् ॥ १६१ ॥

त्वयापि श्रुतमेवावामेवं देवापुरेशयोः ।

जनित्वा मुनिशापेन प्र^१यावां विरहव्यथाम् ॥ १६२ ॥

अहो ! मे हृदि नै^२ष्ठुर्यं यच्चिरोपनते प्रिये ।

नाश्लिष्टं कष्टमौचित्यं चिन्तितं पापया मया ॥ १६३ ॥

इत्यालपन्ती संतापे^३मज्जन्ती मदुरःस्थले ।

मूर्च्छया पतिता भूयः प्रत्याश्वस्येदमभ्यधाम् ॥ १६४ ॥

^४न युक्तं सखि ! संतप्तुं संतोषविषये त्वया ।

किं ते जन्मान्तरप्रेयानचिरादनुभूयताम् ॥ १६५ ॥

अनुरूपवरप्राप्तिः पितृभ्यां तेऽनुमन्यते ।

चण्डवर्मा विरुन्ध्यात्तत् कर्तव्यो गूढसंगमः ॥ १६६ ॥

इत्यादि चिरमुक्तवैनामाश्वास्याहमिहागता ।

दुर्वचा वर्तते तस्या न जाने कीदृशी दशा ॥ १६७ ॥

इति मृदु कथयित्वा लज्जयानम्रवक्त्रां

वरतनुमभिधाय स्वैरमात्मीयवार्ताम् ।

1. साहं. खं.

2. धृण्य. ख. ग.

3. पैर्म. क. ग.

4. गच्छ त्वं सखि संतप्तं. क. ग.

निपुणमिति कुमारः पूर्वजन्मोचितार्था
रमयितुमथ गाथां प्राहिणोत् प्राणनाथाम् ॥ १६८

अरुन्धती^१ मारिशरपीडितात्मनो
यदाश्रमे तरुणि ! पुराप्यदर्शयः ।.....
तदद्य ते हृदि मदनान्नमुद्रितं
मृदुस्मिते ! लिखितमिवात्र तिष्ठति ॥ १६९ ॥

इत्येनां तदनु विमृज्य सोपचारं
यत्रास्य प्रियजनदर्शनोत्सवोऽभूत्
आनन्दस्तिमितमना विनोदनार्थी
तं देशं ससुहृदुपाययौ कुमारः ॥ १७० ॥

॥ इत्यवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारे षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ अथ सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ॥

अथालोक्य द्विजं कञ्चित् प्रभाते देवमन्दिरे ।
सज्जं प्रायोपवेशाय प्राप्यैनं तावपृच्छताम् ॥ १ ॥

अकस्मात् किमयं कायस्त्यज्यते को भवानिति ।
पृष्ठः प्रान्तोपविष्टाभ्यां ताभ्यां भूतार्थमभ्यधात् ॥ २ ॥

अग्रहारोऽस्त्यगस्त्याशामूषणं चोलभूमिषु ।
व्याघ्रग्रामाह्वयः सोऽयं तद्देशाभिजनो जनः ॥ ३ ॥

विप्रो विद्येश्वराख्योऽस्मि ज्ञात्वा मन्त्रं कुतोऽप्यहम् ।
गारुडं तेन वित्तार्थी लब्धविद्यालवोऽभवम् ॥ ४ ॥

सर्वेषां पुरुषार्थानामर्थाधीनतया पुनः ।
अशिश्रयममर्यादं राजवेश्म किमप्यहम् ॥ ५ ॥

तत्र क्षुद्रान् पशुप्रायानपश्यं पार्थिवब्रुवान् ।
उपचीयन्त एवेषां मलानि त्वमिषेकतः ॥ ६ ॥

येषां दोषेषु सौहार्दं साहसेषु सहायधीः ।
नयज्ञबुद्धिर्मायाविष्वक्श्रीलोक्तिषु वाग्मिता ॥ ७ ॥

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.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

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Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory..... A Journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.—..... This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly articles: a very pretty start!

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