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**PART IV**

**ANNALS  
OF THE  
SRI VENKATESWARA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE  
TIRUPATI**

**DECEMBER, 1940**

**EDITOR**

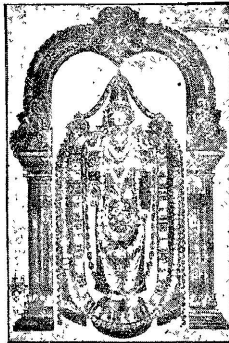
**Sarasvatīhṛdayālankāra, Śāradāvīlāsa  
M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, M.A., M.L., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.**

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अखिलभुवनजन्मस्थेमभङ्गादिलीले  
विनतविविधभूतव्रातरक्षैकदीक्षे ।  
श्रुतिशिरसि विदीप्ते ब्रह्मणि श्रीनिवासे  
भवतु मम परस्मिन् शेमुषी भक्तिरूपा ॥

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## BERNIER AND KAVINDRACARYA SARASVATI AT THE MUGHAL COURT.

P. K. GODE, M. A.,

*Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.*

Bernier<sup>1</sup> in his letter to Monsieur Chapelain<sup>2</sup> despatched from Chiras in Persia on 4th October 1667 describes "the superstitions, strange customs and doctrines of Indous or Gentiles of Hindoustan." This letter is very valuable for students of the history of Sanskrit learning<sup>3</sup> at Benares during the 17th century, which yet remains to be written on the strength of contemporary sources, Indian and foreign. We know from Sanskrit sources many eminent pandits of Benares and their illustrious works, but unfortunately no attempt has been made to reconstruct any biographical accounts of them

1. Vide *Travels* of Bernier (A.D. 1656-1668), Constable, London, 1891 pp. 301-349.

2. Jean Chapelain (A.D. 1594-1674).

3. Bernier's *Travels* deal with the following topics which would interest students of Sanskrit literature :—P. 160—Philosophy of the Hindoos, P. 325 seq—Religious books and beliefs of the Hindoos; P. 341—Nature of Hindoo Gods, chronology etc.; P. 346-349—Doctrines of Hindoos P. 325—Vedas (Beths); P. 328—Creation of the world; P. 339—Hindoos ignorant of anatomy; P. 161-163—Indian belief in astrology; P. 339—Hindoo ideas about Astronomy; P. 483—Religion of Buddha; P. 334-335—Schools of Benares; P. 229-230—Neglect of Education in India, P. 255—Native Painters; P. 300-303—Solar eclipses; P. 304-306—Festival at Jagannath: P. 306-315—Widow burning; P. 325—Indian caste; P. 326—Respect for cow in India; P. 344-348—Nature of Devatas or Deities; P. 343—Hindu *yugas*; P. 356-364—Ganges water, P. 340—Hindu knowledge of Geography, P. 284—Temple at Mathura: Pp. 337, 338, 341, 342—Hindoo Pandits; P. 336—Schools of Philosophy in India. P. 338—Hindoo books on Medicine (Physic), P. 335-336—*Purāṇas*; P. 330—Study of Sanskrit by Jesuit Missionaries, P. 335-341—Books written in Sanskrit.

from sources, other than Sanskrit works, which lack in historical materials, unlike the Persian chronicles or the Travel books of foreign observers which are full of chronological and other details so essential for the reconstruction of history. Bernier, notwithstanding his "ignorance of Sanskrit, the language of the learned and possibly that of the ancient *Brahmens*" has something<sup>1</sup> to say about books written in that tongue. His Agah, *Danechmend-kan* partly from Bernier's solicitation and partly to gratify his own curiosity took into his service one of the most celebrated Pandits in all the *Indies* who had formerly belonged to the house-hold of Dara,<sup>2</sup> the eldest son of king Shah Jehan. This Pandit, Bernier states, was his constant companion during a period of three<sup>3</sup> years and he introduced

1. *Travels*, p. 323.

2. Compare the following reference to *Dara* by हीरारामकवि in the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय ed. by Dr. H. D. Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar, Poona, 1939

Pages 23-24—

“येन श्री साहिजाहाँ नरपतितिलकः स्वस्यवश्यः कृतोऽमूत् ।

किं चावश्यं प्रपन्नः पुनरापिविहितः शाहिदाराशकोहः ।

काशीतीर्थप्रयागप्रतिजनितकरग्राहमोक्षैकहेतुः ।

सोयं श्रीमान्कवीन्द्रोजयति कवियुरु स्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥ १६९ ॥

काश्मीरैराककारस्करदरदखुरासानहबशानजाता

वङ्गारब्बाःफिरडास्तुरुकशकत्रदकूशान मुल्तानवल्लाः ।

खान्दाराः काविलेन्द्रा अपि धराणिभृतस्ते मगा रूमशमाः

श्रीमच्छ्रीसाहिजाहानरपति सदसि त्वां कवीन्द्रस्तुवन्ति ॥ १७० ॥

Verse 169 refers to the influence of Kavindra on *Shah Jehan* and his son *Dara Şako* while verse 170 states that Kavindra was praised by princes from all provinces including *Phirāngas* or foreigners at the court of *Shah Jahan*.

3. Bernier's *Travels* begin with A.D. 1658 the year when *Shah Jahan* was made a prisoner. His son *Dara Shikoh*, a patron of Hindu Pandits was executed in A.D. 1659. "One of the most celebrated pandits in all the *Indies*" who was taken into the service of Bernier's patron *Danishmandkhan* after *Dara's* execution in A.D. 1659 was a constant companion to Bernier for three years. These three years must be say between A.D. 1660 and 1667 (the date of Bernier's letter to his friend).

Bernier to the Society of other learned Pandits,<sup>1</sup> whom he attracted to his house.

The above information given by Bernier himself in AD.

1. Dr. H. D. Sarma and Mr. Patkar (p. VX of Intro. to *Kavindra-Candro-daya*, record a list of no less than 69 Pandits who have paid their tributes in prose and verse to Kavindra for his services to the cause of Sanskrit learning by persuading Shah Jahan to abolish the pilgrim tax imposed by him on the Pilgrims to Benares and Allahabad. This list may be recorded here for reference :—

(1) श्रीकृष्ण उपाध्याय (2) महाराज मिश्र or हेमराजमिश्र (3) जयराम भट्टाचार्य (4) माधवभट्ट (5) रामदेव भट्टाचार्य (6) कूर्माचलवीरेश्वर पंडित (possibly from Kumaun) (7) खड्गमिश्र, (8) रघुनन्दनद्विवेद, (9) रघुनाथदीक्षित, (10) क्षमानन्द बाजपेयिन्, (11) भैरवभट्ट or भय्याभट्ट, (12) केशवमिश्र, (13) सिधेश्वरभट्ट मीमांसक, (14) चक्रपाणिपंडित, (15) गणेशभट्ट धर्माधिकारिन्, (16) नागेश son of सोमराज पंडित, (17) परमेश्वराचार्य, (18) रामकृष्णनागर, (19) विश्वेश्वरमैथिलोपाध्याय, (20) जगदीशजानीक, (21) रामेश्वर पञ्चानन भट्टाचार्य, (22) जयकृष्ण उपाध्याय, (23) गौरीपतिमिश्र, (24) नीलकंठ आचार्य, (25) दामोदरभट्ट काल, (26) विश्वनाथ ज्योतिर्विद्, (27) धर्मेश्वर अग्निहोत्रिन्, (28) दामोदर उपाध्याय मैथिल, (29) ब्रजभूषणकवि, (30) श्रीस्वामिन्, (31) कृष्णचन्द्रभट्ट, (32) बालकृष्ण त्रिपाठीन्, (33) अनिरुद्ध मिश्र, (34) बालकृष्णज्योतिर्विद्, (35) पूर्णानन्द ब्रह्मचारिन्, (36) मुरलीधर grandson of कालीदासमिश्र, (37) कृष्णाचार्य, (38) महादेव पट्टवर्धन, (39) लाला-धरभट्ट, (40) बदरीनाथ उपाध्याय मैथिल, (41) हीराराम कवि, (42) मौनि वीरेश्वर भट्ट, (43) श्रीमहीपति उपाध्याय, (44) शिवदत्तमिश्र, (45) कविशेखर, (46) भूधर पाठक, (47) रघुनाथ उपाध्याय, (48) लक्ष्मण महापात्र, (49) श्रीस्वामिशिष्य, (50) तिलभाण्डेश्वर, (51) ब्रम्हेन्द्र सरस्वती, (52) ब्रम्हेन्द्रस्वामिन्, (53) नारायण चतुर्वेद, (54) मानभट्ट or मानुभट्ट, (55) तैलंग वैकुण्ठभट्ट, (56) गंगाराममिश्र, (57) जगन्नाथ पञ्चाननभट्टाचार्य, (58) मैथिलकायस्थ, (59) गुर्जर, (60) स्वाभिन्ः, (61) दयालुमिश्र, (62) वीरेश्वरभट्ट, (63) कमलनयन दीक्षित, (64) ब्रम्हगिरि, (65) त्वरितकविराय or त्वरितगातिकवि, (66) रामभद्र बाजपेयिन्, (67) मौनिरंगनाथ भट्ट, (68) दिवाकरभट्ट, (69) रंगनाथभट्ट गुर्जर.

These Pandits of Benares were all of them contemporaries of Kavindra who was held in high esteem by Shah Jahan and his son Dārā. We must presume them to be living at the time Bernier visited Benares before A.D. 1667 when he wrote his letter from Shiraz in Persia. It is possible to suppose that Bernier may have come into contact at least with a few of them through the Chief of Pandits at Benares between A.D. 1656 and 1667.

1667 raises our curiosity to know the name of the Pandit who kept company with Bernier for three years as also the names of other Pandits who came into learned contact with this acute Frenchman between A.D. 1656 and 1668. Unfortunately Bernier does not record the names of these Pandits from whom he got his information about Sanskrit learning.

I am concerned in this paper with the question of the identification of the "*Chief of the Pandits*" at Benares described by Bernier in the following extract from Bernier's letter of A.D. 1667 referred to above :

"When going down the river Ganges, I passed through *Benares* and called upon the chief<sup>1</sup> of the Pandits, who resides in that celebrated seat of learning. He is a *Fakire*<sup>2</sup> or *Devotee* so eminent for knowledge that *Chah Jehan*, partly for that consideration and partly to gratify the *Rajas*, granted him a pension<sup>3</sup> of two thousand *roupies* which is about one thousand crowns.

1. Possibly this Chief of the Benares Pandits is identical with Kavīndrācārya about whom M. M. Haraprasad Shastri writes as follows :—

"He journeyed to Agra with a large following and proceeded to the Diwan-i-am and there he pleaded the cause of the Hindu Pilgrims with so much force of eloquence that all the noblemen of the Court from Irak, Iran, Badak-Shan Balkh etc., were struck with wonder. Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh relented and abolished the tax (i.e. the pilgrim tax). That was a day of great rejoicing throughout Hindu India. It was on this occasion that the title of सर्वविद्यानिधान was conferred on him"—*Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 11 (Vide p. iii of Introduction to *Kavindra-Candrodaya* ed. by Sharma and Patkar).

2. In his *Kavīndrakalpādruma* (*India Office Cata.* Part VII, No. 3947) Kavīndra refers to his asceticism :—

“अधीत्यवेदवेदाङ्गकाव्यशास्त्राणि सर्वशः ।

ततः स्त्रीकृत्य संन्यासं ब्रह्माभ्यासं समाश्रितः ॥ ३ ॥”

3. If this grant of a pension to Kavīndra is confirmed by any other independent testimony it would prove beyond doubt our suggested identification of Kavīndra with this Pandit. Kavīndra, though a *Sanyāsīn* as stated  
(continued on next page)

He is a stout well-made man, and his dress consists of a white silk scarf, tied about the waist, and hanging half way down the leg, and of another tolerably large scarf of red silk, which he wears as a cloak on his shoulders. I had often seen him in this scanty dress at Delhi in the assembly<sup>1</sup> of the

by himself in his कवीन्द्रकल्पद्रुम used to distribute gold to learned Brahmins as stated in the *Kavindra-Candrodaya* :—Page 53—“सुरनदीतीरे सुवर्णं ददौ and Page 41—“देतसे कविवरासि मोहरा जो असे प्रसुवरात मोहरा (i.e. Kavindra distributed gold *Mohors* to eminent poets). Evidently he used the royal patronage from Shah Jahan and Dara for rewarding poets and learned Brahmins, though he himself was an ascetic. This reminds me of Kālidāsa's line “त्यागाय संभृतार्थानाम्”

1, The following contemporary references to Kavindra and his contact with the court of Shah Jahan as recorded in the *Kavindra-Candrodaya* may be noted here.—

Page 3—“प्रयागोऽपि चाऽगोपि दिह्नीन्द्रमीतेः”

Page 5—“विधानिधान कृतमानबहुप्रदान दीह्नीश्वरादृत शमत्र भवत्कृपातः”

Page 8—“भूपालाः कतिनागतास्तव गृहे किं वर्णयामो वयं ।

दिह्नीशो यवनाधिपो नरवरो भाग्योदयं वाञ्छति ॥ १७ ॥

Page 16—“दिह्नीश्वराय निगमागमु शास्त्रबुद्ध्या

संबोधयन् प्रतिदिनं त्रिजगत्कवीन्द्रः ।”

—“श्रीविश्वेश्वरकाशिकासुरनदीतीरे सुवर्णं ददौ

श्रीमत्साहिजहांदिलीपकृपया विधानिधानामिधः

—“इन्द्रत्वं तव मस्तके कृतवती श्रीसाहिजाहामुरवात्”

Page 21—“स्वास्ती श्री नृपसाहज्राहविलसच्छ्रीराजधानीधिति-

र्विद्योतद्युतिराजराजमुकुटालङ्कारहीराङ्कुरः ।

Page 33—“दिह्नीशानन्दसातुं पशुपतिपुरपं श्रीकवीन्द्रं नमामि”

Page 36—“श्रीमान्धीमान्कवीन्द्रो जयति परमुदे प्रत्यहं द्वारि साहेः”

Page 44—“दिह्नीशंसदपि पाति कवीन्द्रधाम्ना”

Page 50—“द्रष्टुं वाञ्छसि चेत्तदा बुधवरं दिह्नीपुरं सादरम्”

गत्वा विज्ञकवीन्द्रवर्यं विबुधं दृष्ट्वा सुखी त्वं भव

Page 57—“दृढं योजनं दिह्नीपतिप्रीतिपात्रं”

—“पवित्रोरुगोत्रः सुरत्राणकारी सुरत्राण संसत्कवीन्द्रो विभाति”

—“दिह्नीप प्रीतिकारी विबुधवरविधु प्रीतिधारी कवीन्द्रः”

(continued on next page)

Omrahs and before the king, and met him in the streets either on foot or in a *palkey*. During one year he was in the constant habit of visiting my Agah,<sup>1</sup> to whom he paid his court in the hope that he would exercise his influence to obtain the pension of which *Aurang-Zebe*,<sup>2</sup> anxious to appear a true Musulman, deprived him on coming to the throne. I formed consequently a close intimacy with this distinguished personage with whom I had long and frequent conversations; and when I visited him at *Benares* he was most kind and attentive, giving me a collation in the university library,<sup>3</sup> to which he

Page 63—“कवीन्द्रः श्रीमद्विहीपतीष्टो जयति कलिरिपूरत्नशर्मादराय ”

—“आलम्ब आलम्ब्यतां रत्नशर्मादराय ”

Page 61—(Mss. A and C) verse 18.

The foregoing contemporary tributes to *Kavindra* establish the following points beyond doubt—

- (1) His contact with Shah Jahan's Court and other princes (भूपाला . p. 8.)
- (2) Title विद्यानिधान conferred on him by Shah Jahan (p. 5.)
- (3) His all-sided learning and eminence acknowledged by all contemporary Pandits of Benares.

1. Bernier was in the service of a learned noble with the title *Danishmand Khān*. This patron of Bernier was the only person who opposed the capital sentence against *Dara Shikoh*, passed by the Court of theologians for *Dara's* being a heretic (Vide pp. 415, 425 of *Oxford History of India* by V. A. Smith, 2nd Edn. 1923). *Dara* was executed in August 1659 (p. 422.)

2. *Ibid* p 422—Informal enthronement of *Aurangzeb* took place on 21st July 1658 but he re-entered *Delhi* for the second time in May 1659 and was enthroned in June 1659 with complete ceremonial.

3. The Editor of *Bernier's Travels* in footnote 1 on p. 341 possibly identifies this University library with the College at Benares maintained by *Mirza Raja Jaisingh* for the youth of good families. *Tavernier* travelled with *Bernier* from *Agra* to *Bengal* in 1665 and visited this college on 11th, 12th and 13th December 1665 (Vide pp. 234-235 of *Tavernier's Travels*, Vol. II). In this connection I have to point out that *Kavindra* had a Library of his own (See कवीन्द्राचार्यसूचीपत्रम् published in the G. O. Series (No. XVII), Baroda, 1921. This *Sūcī* or Catalogue was obtained from a *Maṭh* at Benares (p. V of Foreword). Dr. Ganganath Jha states that *Kavindra* was a *Sanyā-*

(continued on next page)

invited the six,<sup>1</sup> most learned *Pendets* in the town. Finding myself in such excellent company, I determined to ascertain their opinion of the adoration of idols. I told them I was leaving the *Indies* scandalised at the prevalence of a worship which outraged common sense, and was totally unworthy such philosophers as I had then the honour of addressing<sup>2</sup>

The above description by Bernier of the Chief of the Benares Pandits with whom he came into intimate contact for about three years leads me to believe that this Pandit is none else than *Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī* the object of the innumerable *praśastis* or addresses recorded in the *Kavindrācandrodaya*. It is, therefore necessary for me to state my reasons for this identity of Bernier's Pandit with Kavindra and for this purpose I record below in parallel columns the chronology of the data furnished by *Bernier's Travels* and the *Kavindrācandrodaya* with respect to contemporary events :—

sin and a rich man." It is surmised that this Library of Kavindra was dispersed after the death of its owner, who being an ascetic had no heirs. Several *Kavindrācārya Mss* are in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. These Mss can be identified as they contain an endorsement—“सर्वविद्यानिधानकविन्द्राचार्य सरस्वतीनां पुस्तकम्” on their covers. The B. O. R. Institute contains a Ms of *तत्त्वालोक* of जनार्दन (No. 762 of 1891—95) with the above endorsement. The date of this Ms is *Saṃvat* 1514—A. D. 1458. The endorsement reads :—“श्रीमद्विद्यानिधानकवि आचार्यसरस्वतीनविद्वान्तत्त्वालोकः”

1. It may be possible to identify these Six Pandits with some of the 69 admirers of *Kavindra* who have contributed their *praśastis* to the *Kavindra-Candrodaya* and who were contemporaries of both of Kavindra and Bernier before A.D. 1667.

2. Ibid, p. 342—The reply given by the Pandits to Bernier in defence of idol worship and which Bernier states “was so framed as to correspond with the tenets of *Christianity*” reads as follows :—

“Images are admitted in our temples, because we conceive that prayers are offered up with more devotion where there is something before the eyes that fixes the mind ; but in fact we acknowledge that God alone is absolute, that He only is the omnipotent Lord.”

BERNIER'S TRAVELS = <b>BT</b>	KAVINDRACANDRODAYA = <b>K</b>
Bernier's Travels in India begin A.D. 1655	<p>A.D. 1628—Enthronement of Shah Jahan</p> <p>.....levy of Pilgrim Tax by Shah Jahan</p> <p>.....abolition of this tax by Shah Jahan at the request of Kavindra</p> <p>.....composition of <b>K</b> and its presentation to Kavindra</p>
Bernier a witness to the sad procession of Dara through the streets of Delhi (as recorded in <b>BT</b> ) .....	<p>..... A.D. 1658—Shah Jahan deposed and made a prisoner.</p> <p>A.D. 1659 Execution of Dara Shikoh, the patron of Kavindra.</p>
The <i>Chief of Benares Pandits</i> taken into service by Bernier's Patron Danishmand Khan	<p>.....End of royal patronage from Dara and Shah Jahan to Kavindra.</p>
Bernier's three years contact with the Pandit .....	
Bernier's letter to his friend dated 4th October from Shiraz in Persia A.D. 1667	

The above table shows that Bernier's account of the *Chief Pandit of Benares* begins with A.D. 1658 while the account of *Kavindra* as revealed by the *Kavindrachandrodaya* pertains to a period of Shah Jahan's reign which ends with A.D. 1658. It will thus be seen that, if we accept the identity of Bernier's Chief Pandit of Benares with Kavindra, Bernier supplies to us a sort of supplement to the information regarding Kavindra recorded in the *Kavindrachandrodaya*, the two contemporary sources thus revealing the personality of this learned Sanyāsi in the proper historical perspective. In fact no scholar has as yet identified Kavindra in any other contemporary historical source and so far we are required to be content with the *Praśastis* as found in the *Kavindrachandrodaya*. We must therefore, try to link up the two contemporary sources to enable us to form a picture of Kavindra more full of historical details than what it is at present in spite of the attempts of Dr. Jha and other scholars to bring this personality into historical relief.

The data collected by me in favour of my proposed identification of Bernier's Pandit with Kavindra has been recorded by me earlier in detail in the several footnotes given by me above. I shall, therefore state below the points of identification in brief to warrant the above supposition. These points are as follows:—

BP—BERNIER'S PANDIT AT BENARES	KAVINDRACARYA—KC
BT=Bernier's Travels	K—Kavindrachandrodaya
(1) According to BT, BP belonged to the house hold of Dārā.	(1) According to K (p. 23) KC had influence with Dārā. KC in his कवीन्द्रकल्पद्रुम refers to Dara (महम्मद् दाराशिको कृता : ..... नमस्कारा :)
(2) BT States that BP had a pension of 2000 Rs. from Shaha Jahan (A.D. 1628 to 1658). BT contains no reference to the abolition of the Pilgrim tax which happened earlier than A.D. 1658.	(2) K also states (pp. 3, 5, 8, 16, 21, 33, 36, 44, 50, 57, 61, 63) that KC had much influence at Shah Jahan's Court, that he was an honoured person at this Court and that it was through KC's persuasion that Saha Jahan abolished the Pilgrim tax.

BP—BERNIER'S PANDIT AT BENARES.	KAVINDRACĀRYA—KC
(3) <i>BT</i> States that <b>BP</b> was a <i>Faqir</i> or a <i>Devotee</i> .	(3) <i>K</i> also states that <b>KC</b> was a <i>Yati</i> (= <i>Faqir</i> )
(4) <i>BT</i> Calls <b>BP</b> "one of the most celebrated Pandits in all the Indies," "Chief of the Pandits" at Benares and "distinguished personage."	(4) <i>K</i> States that <b>KC</b> was given the title विद्यानिधान or "repository of learning" by Shah Jahan.
(5) <i>BT</i> States that <b>BP</b> was the "Chief of the Pandits at Benares."	(5) <i>K</i> calls <b>KC</b> as "तीर्थराजाधिराजः" "त्रिबुधवरविधुप्रीतिकारी." <i>K</i> is an anthology of addresses presented to <b>KC</b> by learned men of Benares and Prayag as stated in the following verse in <i>K</i> (p 1) "श्रीमत्काशविकासिमिः सुकविभिस्तद्वत्प्रयागासिभिर्नानादेशनिवासिभिश्च रचिता ... पद्यावली लिरव्यते."
(6) <i>BT</i> States that Bernier saw <b>BP</b> often at Delhi in the assembly of <i>Omrahs</i> and met him in the streets either on foot or in a <i>palkey</i> .	(6) <i>K</i> refers to <b>KC</b> 's contact with Delhi Court —(p. 57) "सुरलक्षणसेत्कवीन्द्रोविभाति" (p. 44) "दिङ्मोक्ष संसदपि पाति कवीन्द्र-" (p. 8) "भूपालाः कतिना गता स्तवगृहे" (p. 57) <b>KC</b> is called "दिङ्मोक्षपतिप्रीतिपात्र."
(7) <i>BT</i> States that during one year <b>BP</b> paid his Court to Bernier's patron <i>Danishmand Khān</i> with a view to use this patron's influence with Aurangzeb to renew the pension of Rs. 2000 stopped by Aurangzeb. <i>BT</i> also states that— <b>BP</b> was taken in service by <i>Danishmand Khān</i> through Bernier's solicitation.	(7) <i>K</i> contains no reference to <b>KC</b> 's contact with <i>Danishmand Khān</i> which was effected after A.D. 1658 when Shah Jahan was made a captive and after A.D. 1659 when his son <i>Dārā</i> was executed. We know from other sources that <i>Danishmand Khān</i> was sympathetic towards <i>Dārā</i> and <i>Dārā</i> 's circle of Hindu Pandits must have been treated sympathetically by <i>Danishmand Khān</i> .

In the light of the above points we may reconstruct a biographical account of Kavindra as follows:—

Kavindra or Ācārya Kavindra was originally an inhabitant of *Punyabhūmi* on the banks of the river Godāvarī. He learnt the *Veda*, the *Vedāngas* and other *Śāstras* and later took to asceticism and commenced meditation on Brahman. He had stu-

died the *Āśvalāyana Śākhā* of *R̥gveda*. In his very childhood he lost his interest in the world and having taken Sanyāsa he made Benares his abode. When Shah Jahan levied the Pilgrim tax on pilgrims to Allahabad and Benares Kavindra, the acknowledged head of the Pandits at Benares, exercised his influence effectively on the Mogol Emperor and made him abolish this tax. It was a joyous occasion for the Hindu community in Benares who felt extremely grateful to Kavindra for his miraculous influence with the Emperor which was responsible for the removal of the tax for good. This gratefulness is reflected in the tributes paid to Kavindra in the *Kavindra-Candrodaya*. Kavindra was well versed in all branches of Sanskrit learning. He appears to have had a fine collection of MSS as proved by the *Kavindra List* published in the G. O. Series, Baroda. In recognition of Kavindra's eminence in learning the Emperor Shah Jahan conferred upon him the title *Vidyānidhāna* or *Sarvavidyānidhāna* as stated in the *Kavindra-Candrodaya*. Shah Jahan had also given him a pension of Rs. 2000 but it was stopped by Aurangzeb as soon as he came to the throne in 1658-59. Dārā Shikoh the eldest son of Shah Jahān who was a lover of Hindu Philosophy had gathered many pandits round him. Kavindra occupied the foremost place among these pandits and he was included in Dārā's household as stated by Bernier.

After the deposition and imprisonment of his patron Shah Jahān in A. D. 1658 the pension of Kavindra was stopped and this misfortune, coupled with the execution of Dārā Shikoh in A. D. 1659 led Kavindra to seek a new patron viz. *Danishmand Khān* who was a patron of Bernier the celebrated French traveller. This patron had a soft corner for Dārā and his associates. It was his voice alone that was raised against the capital sentence passed on Dārā by a council of theologians. He entertained Kavindra in his service for some years at the request of Bernier. Kavindra wanted to use the influence of *Danishmand Khān* to renew the pension of Rs. 2000, stopped by Aurangzed about A.D. 1659.

How far this attempt was successful we cannot say as we have no evidence on the point. *Danishmand khān* was, therefore, a common patron of both Bernier and Kavindra after about A. D. 1658-59 when the patronage from Dārā and Shah Jahān given to him came to an end. For three years Kavindra was a constant companion of Bernier and when Bernier paid a visit to Benares, Kavindra received him warmly in the "University Library" where he had invited six eminent Pandits to discuss many matters of interest to Bernier. Bernier has given us in his letter of A. D. 1667 a detailed account of these discussions. What happened to Kavindra after say A. D. 1667 is a matter for investigation but as *Danishmandkhān* died in A.D. 1670 Kavindra must have been left without any patronage.

The foregoing connected account of the career of Kavindra between A.D. 1628 and 1667 is based on two contemporary sources viz. (1) *Bernier's letter of A. D. 1667* and *Kavindra-Candrodaya* which was composed before A. D. 1658. It is also based on my identification of Kavindra, the head of Benares Pandits with the Chief of Benares Pandits mentioned and described by Bernier. If my identification is accepted by scholars interested in the problem they would be curious to know something about the common patron of Bernier and Kavindra viz. *Danishmand Khān* and I record here some information about this *Khān* as recorded by Bernier himself:—

Bernier states (on p. 4) that he was reduced to penury by adventures with robbers and by the heavy expenses of the journey of nearly seven weeks from Surat to Agra and Delhi. He accepted a salary from the Great Mogol in the capacity of physician and soon afterwards by chance he procured a salary from "*Danechmendkān*" (=Danishmand Khān) "the most

1. Editor's footnote 2 reads :—"A Persian merchant by name Muhammad Shafi, or Mullā<sup>c</sup> Shafi. He came to Surat about the year 1646 from which place he was sent for by the Emperor Shah Jahan who conferred upon him the command of 3000 men and made him paymaster of the army (Bakshī) with the title of Danishmand Khān (Learned Knight). In the reign of Alamgir he received still further promotion and was appointed Governor of Shahajāhanābad or New Delhi where he died in 1670."

learned man of Asia, formerly *Bakchis* or Grandmaster of the Horse and one of the most powerful and distinguished *Omrahs* or Lords of the Court ”

On p. 100 Bernier states : “ *Danechmand Khān* although he and Dara had long been on bad terms enforced this opinion (viz. that Dara should be taken to Gwalior with all his powers of argument but it was ultimately decided that Dara should die.” “Rouchenara Begam betrayed all her enmity against her helpless brother combating the arguments of *Danech-Mend* and exciting *Aurang-Zebe* to this foul and unnatural murder.”

On p. 186 Bernier informs us :—“ *Danechmend-Kān* was appointed Governor of Delhi and in consideration of his *studious habits*, and the time which he necessarily devotes to the affairs of the foreign department, he is exempted from the ancient ceremony of repairing twice a day to the assembly for the purpose of saluting the king.”

On p. 352 Bernier in his letter of 14th December 1664 writes : —“ Besides my Navaab or Agah *Danechmend-Khān* expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with *philosophical studies* in the afternoon than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, Geography and Anatomy are his *favourite pursuits* and he reads with *avidity* the works of *Gassendi*<sup>1</sup> and *Descartes*<sup>2</sup>.”

On page 414—*Danechmend-Kān* made an attempt to induce Bernier to renounce his religion by making him visit a place called *Baramoulay* where he might bear testimony to a miracle and be a convert to Muslim religion, but Bernier detected the cheating process and ran away from the place.

The above remarks regarding his patron *Danishmand Khān* made by Bernier make it abundantly clear that this Khān was

1. Teacher of Bernier who died in October 1655 (p. XX of *Travels*) Bernier owed his great powers of accurate observation to his training under Gassendi the French philosopher.

2. René Descartes (1596—1650).

a very cultured man of literary abilities and attainments besides being an influential person at the Mogol Court during the reigns of Shah Jahān and Aurangzeb. It is therefore, no wonder that he should patronize other devotees of learning like Bernier and the Chief of the Benares Pandits whom I have identified with *Sarvavidyānidhāna Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī*. It was the tie of learning that brought together a Frenchman of Paris, a Muslim of Persia and a Brahmin of Benares actuated by the only motive of exchange of thought, which we value so much in modern times and on which depends all advancement of knowledge. As Danishmand Khān died in 1670 A.D. Kavindra may have lost the patronage he had been receiving from this Khān presuming that he survived after A. D. 1670, when he must have been a pretty old man. I am, therefore, inclined to assign the life-period of Kavindra between A. D. 1600 and 1675.<sup>1</sup>

1. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma in his *Bibliography of Mughal India* (1526-1707 A.D.) published by the Karnatak Publishing House Bombay, 1939 gives an Appendix (III) pp 154-165 on *Sanskrit writers of the Mughal Period* in which we find Kavindra's name (p. 160) among 63 writers of Shāh Jahān's reign —

कवीन्द्राचार्य—He was a Vedic Scholar and wrote a commentary on the R̥gveda of which only a fragment is now available "

Other writers of Shah Jahan's reign are :—

अनन्तभट्ट, अनन्तपंडित अनंतदेव, कमलाकरभट्ट, कमलाकर, कविचन्द्र कृष्ण (1645) कृष्णदत्तमिश्र (about 1650), कालिदास (1632), गङ्गाधर (1633), गङ्गाधर, गोविन्द, गोकुलजित्, गौरीपति (1640), चित्तामणि (1630), जगन्नाथ पंडित, जगदानन शर्मन्, जिनार्जुन, जीवगोस्वामिन्, दयाद्विवेद (1628), दुर्गादास (1628) देवसागर (1630), धनराज, नन्दपण्डित, नित्यानन्द (1629, 1640), नीलकंठभट्ट, नीलकंठ-दीक्षित, पुरुषोत्तम (1628), बलभद्र, भावदेवमिश्र, भावदेव (1649), " भट्टोजि दीक्षित\* the famous grammarian and jurist was still alive (p. 163), मणिराम (1642), मणिराम दीक्षित, माधवशुक्ल (1656), माधवज्योतिर्विद्र, महादेव, मित्तामिश्र, रघुनाथ (1656), रङ्गनाथ ( 656), रामचन्द्र, राजर्षि (1633), रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति, रामाश्रम, दत्त, विजयानन्द, (1641), विद्यानन्द, विद्याधर 1639, 1644), विष्णुपुरि, विष्णु, विश्वराम, विश्वरूप, विश्वनाथ दैवज्ञ, विश्वनाथ पञ्चानन भट्टाचार्य, वेदाङ्गराय (1643), वेणोदत्त, (1644), शिवराम, श्रीधर्मपतिशर्मन्, सहजकीर्ति, हरिदत्तभट्ट (1630), A. D. 1632 अथर्वण प्रतिशारव्य टीका by an unknown writer.

(continued on next page)

Up to now we have recorded the contemporary estimate of the learning and abilities of Kavindra but have made no reference to the works composed by him. So far as I am aware only one work<sup>1</sup> ascribed to Kavindra has yet been published. We must, therefore, record here the MSS of works ascribed to Kavindra for the use of scholars interested in them.

Aufrecht records the following entries in his Catalogue regarding works and MSS of works composed by Kavindra :—

CC I, 88—“ कवीन्द्र आचार्य सरस्वती

—Kavindra Kalpadruma<sup>2</sup>

I don't think that Bhaṭṭoji was alive after A.D. 1628 as his guru नृसिंहाश्रम composed a work in A.D. 1547 (Vide my paper on Bhaṭṭoji in S. V. O. Institute, *Annals* Vol. I, pp. 119-127)

1. Vide *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin with the commentary *Paḍacandrikā* of Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī, Ed. by N. B. Godhole and K. P. Parab, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1883. In the Introduction the Editors state that the following MSS of *Paḍacandrikā* have been used by them for this edition :—

- (1) MS in the possession of Govinda Śāstrī Niramtar
- (2) MS in the possession of Appa Śāstrī Khāḍilkar which is a copy of the above original
- (3) MS from the Elphinstone College Library lent to the Editors by Shridhar Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhandarkar
- (4) MS from Ganesh Narasimha Kirkire of Indore.

The *Paḍacandrikā* comments only on the 8 *Ucchvāsas* of the *Daśakumāracarita* and not on the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* and the *Uttarapīṭhikā*. The Editors express surprise why Dr. Buhler did not publish this and other two commentaries on the text then available to him for his edition of the work (1872). They refer to earlier editions of the work viz., (1) By H. H. Wilson (1846), (2) By Bābu Bhuvancandra Basak (1869-1870) and (3) By Tārānath Tarka Vācaspati (about 1873).

2 cf. Aufrecht CC I, 88—“ कवीन्द्रकल्पद्रुम—tantra, Mack 137, K. 56, Oudh VIII, 28 (bhakti).

CC II. 17—कवीन्द्रकल्पद्रुम on poetical composition by Kavindra L. 4028. This is “neither tantric nor bhakti” (Vide p. 163 of *Notices* by H. P. Shastri Vol. X, 1892) This MS consists of 1572 Slokas. The topics of the work are गणेशस्तोत्रकौर्तनं, गंगास्तोत्रकथनं, यमुनास्तोत्रं, वितस्तास्तोत्रं, सूर्यस्तोत्रं, शिवस्तोत्रं, भवानीस्तोत्रं, नृसिंहरूपवर्णनं, श्रीकृष्णरूपवर्णनं, रामचन्द्ररूपवर्णनं, हनुमत्स्तोत्रं, प्रास्ताविकश्लोककथनं, शिवरामवर्णनं, पत्रावलम्बनपद्यकथनं, पत्रप्रशस्तिवर्णनं.

The Ms ends :—

“ तत्त्वज्ञानदूरीकृतमहामोहसमगतसप्तभूमिकासमारोह महम्मददाराशिकोकृता नारायणेत्यक्षाश्रमन्त्रपूर्वका नमस्काराः सन्ति ॥ ” This reference to दाराशिको son of Shah Jahan is important as it shows the contact of Kavindra with this prince.

—Padacandrikā Daśakumāra ṭikā<sup>1</sup>

L. 3041. K 60. Bühler 558.

—Yogabhāskara Oudh XIX, 112

—Śatapathabrāhmaṇabhāṣya<sup>2</sup> Bik 71.

—Hānsadūtakāvya<sup>3</sup>, Burnell 163<sup>a</sup>."

I have recorded the above entry from Aufrecht's catalogue with a view to indicate what works have been attributed by Aufrecht to Kavindrācārya. It is not possible for me to examine all the items of this entry by a personal access to the MSS recorded by him. Such work must be left for future study but in the meanwhile, I take this opportunity of requesting scholars interested in this historic personality to throw more light on the problem of the present study from any source whatsoever which would be helpful either for contradicting my hypothesis or corroborating it on the strength of contemporary evidence.

1. Vide p. 139 of Mitra's *Notices*, IX, 1888—MS 3041 of पदचन्द्रिका ends:—  
“इति श्री सकलशास्त्रार्थसार्थकीकृतशेमुषीविलासरससान्द्रप्रवर्तिताशेषयशः समुद्रपरिषच्चन्द्रयतीन्द्रसर्वविद्यानिधानश्रीमत्कविन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीकृतायां दशकुमारव्याख्यायां पदचन्द्रिका-  
मिधानायां विश्रुतचरितं नाम अष्टम उच्छ्वासः ॥”

There are two MSS of the पदचन्द्रिका at B. O. R. Institute

Govt. MSS Library { No. 128 of 1866—68 }  
{ No. 129 of 1866—68 } . Mr. M. M. Palkar has published an article on this commentary (Vide *Poona Orientalist* Vol. IV, No. 3 pp 134-135, 1939).

2 Vide p. 71 of *Cata. of Bikaner* MSS by R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1880—MS No. 179—The MS is described as “A commentary on the 6th book of the शतपथब्राह्मण by कवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वती” The extracts given make no reference to कवीन्द्राचार्य.

3. Vide Burnell's *Cata. of Tanjore MSS* (1879), p. 163a—हंसदूतकाव्य—  
This MS described in *Des. Cata. of Tanjore MSS*, Vol. VII, 1930 pp. 2893—96. The endorsement “सर्वविद्यानिधान कवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वतीनां” indicates that the MS once belonged to Kavindra. The year of the copy is 1650 (Śakā? or Saviyat?) If Saviyat the year would correspond to A.D. 1594. The author of the work is unknown. Burnell's description “*Hānsaduta* by Kavindrācārya Sarasyatī” is misleading as it is not a work of Kavindrācārya.

## THE PSYCHO-PHYSIOLOGY OF THE MINOR UPANIṢADS: (I)

K. C. VARADACHARI, M.A., Ph.D.

The psycho-physiology of the Upaniṣads is as a rule considered by most thinkers to be speculative and mystical and unreal. But the amount of knowledge displayed by them regarding this subject is so very vast, and though obviously unscientific in the modern sense of the word, that it seems to have considerably influenced all the other schools of thought which proliferated from it.

The nādis and the cakras are psycho-physiological structures, and deserve to be studied from the material available in the minor Upaniṣads. We may affirm that though these Upaniṣads cannot be placed alongside the Upaniṣads of the earlier age, and though these are not all of the same quality as those earlier outpourings and thoughts, yet they at least reveal a vast amount of speculation during the period anterior to the Upaniṣads and prior to classical literature. That at places these might have borrowed ideas from the medical sciences needs no saying. Some of them are frankly sectional, some others are mainly Yogic, still some others are devoted to affirming certain physiological ideas of the Ancients.

The nādis (nerves) are psychical as well as physical structures conveying impressions from the centre to the periphery and from the periphery to the centre. Infinite are these nādis in the human organism and these have the property of air (vāyu)<sup>1</sup>. They are vital in their function and are good (*hitā*) to the system. Some of these are gross, but most of these are extremely subtle. But all of them are placed in the *sukṣma*

1. *Movement or motion, spandana.*

*śarīra*. The concept of the Śūkṣma śarīra is most clearly presented in the Sāmkhya system. It is true that the medical writers like Suśruta have developed a system of diagnosis on the basis of nādis, but these nādis are of physiological nature such as bile, phlegm and wind. These nādis are not subtle in the psychical sense but in the physical sense of being very minute. Yoga seeks to remove the centre of activity from the nervous system of the physical body to the Nādi-system of the psychic body. The entire body is pervaded by nādis of both varieties, and there presumably exists correlation, if not actual contactual relation, between these two systems. In this connection it must be mentioned that there is absolutely no reference to these psycho-physiological apparatus in the Yoga-Sūtras of Patanjali.

The *Sāndilya* Upaniṣad says "As the leaf of the Asvattha tree is covered with minute fibres, so also is this body permeated with nādis." The *Trīśikhi* Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣads says that the 72,000 nādis are both gross and subtle: *dvāsapṭati sahasrāṇi sthūla śūkṣmas ca nādayah*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Garbha* Upaniṣad states that there are seventy-two tubes with seventy-two nādis between them, of which three are important, namely, Ida, Pingala and Suṣumna, the fourth is Purīṭati and Jīvata is the fifth. Above Jīvata is the bile (liver) and near the bile (liver) is Purīṭati." The *Sāndilya* mentions fourteen nādis "Ida, Pingala, Suṣumna Sarasvati, Vārūni, Puṣa, Hastijihva, Yaśasvini, Viśvodhari, Kuhuḥ, Śankhini, Payasvini, Alambuṣa and Gāndhari."<sup>2</sup> Of these the Suṣumna is the supporter and sustainer of the Universe and the path of salvation. *Dhyānabindu* mentions only ten nādis, leaving out Viśvodhari, Payasvini, Sarasvati and Vārūni.

1. cf. Bṛ. Up. II. i. 9 ; Subāla. Up.

2. Marici Śamhita, p. 503 ed. (Tirupati T. T. D.)

कन्दोद्भूता [सि] द्विसप्तति स्रष्टाणि नाड्यः तासु मुख्याश्चतुर्दश, इडा कुहू  
शंखिनी पयस्विनीपिंगला सुपुम्ना, सरस्वती वारुणी, पूषा हस्तिजिह्वा यशस्विनी विमोधरि  
अलंबुषा गान्धारीति. cf. Ahirbudhanya Samhita. XXXII, 12-18,

The enumeration of the nādis we have stated was 72,000 in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, and 72 in the *Garbha*, which is a physiological Upaniṣad. The *Kaṭopanīṣad* mentions this number to be 100. "The heart has one hundred and one nādis ; of them one has issued through the head. The self comes and goes up through it and attains immortality, while the rest going differently ways help to make it go out (into existence." (II. 3. 6). All the Upaniṣads agree in treating Suṣumna to be the most important ; next in importance come the Ida and the Pingala. It is not only said to be the supporter of the body as spinal cord but also the whole microcosm. It is claimed by certain Upaniṣads and Yogic treatises to be the channel of the Kundalīni śakti. So much so it is described as follows *Suṣumna viśvadhārīne mokṣamārga cacakṣate*.

The *Varāha* Upaniṣad mentions Jvalanti, Nādarūpini, Para-randhra and Suṣumna as the supports of Sound, Nāda. Nāda or sound thus is said to be causative of the physical or psycho-physical tracts. The motion of akāśa or prāṇa which is indicative of the movement of the impulses of life beget the psycho-physical paths and the physical basis also. *The need produces the organism for the perpetuation of the movement.*<sup>1</sup>

The three nādis Ida, Pingala and the Suṣumna are said to carry prāṇa always. It would not be correct to say that the same kind of Prāṇa flows through all these three or ten or hundred and one, and seventy-two or seventy-two-thousand. The types of Prāṇa are five. The Ida is said to be the vehicle of Prāṇa, the Pingala of apāna, and Udāna is carried by Suṣumna. The Ida is said to have the Moon as its *devatā*, it conveys cold air or *amṛta*, whereas the Pingala has as its

I. Cf. *Introduction to the Prapañcasāra*. "By the action of vāyu in the uterus a straight long nadi (nerve or artery) called Suṣumna is produced. The mouth of the nādi is downwards (that is in the Mūlādhāra).<sup>a</sup> There is a nādi on each side of it. That on the left is Ida and that on the right is Pingala... Ida connected with the left scrotus encircles Suṣuma passes by the right and goes to the heart and thence passing by the left side re-proceeds to the right nostril. The Pingala originating from the right scrotus goes in a similar manner to the left nostril" p. 9. (*Tantrik texts*, ed. A. Avalon).

*devata* the Sun the hot air and *mṛtyu*. The *Suṣumna* conveys *Agni*, and it leads to salvation.

These *nādis* have several colours, as the *Garbha* says: *nānāvārṇas samsṛtaḥ*. *Prāṇa* is the primeval force through which the vital movements of the body and its growth are achieved. The courses of *prāṇa* are described in various ways. The diversifications in functions have entailed the formations of these sound-courses and vital-paths and even fluidic ducts and endocrine channels.

These *nādis* meet one another or constellate and form plexuses. That is to say, they form nerve-centres. Or rather these *nādis* are found to proceed from and return to certain definite number of nerve-centres called plexuses and *cakras*, (lit. wheels). The *Upaniṣads* liken these to the spokes of a wheel. The integration of the nervous-paths resembles cloth-mesh to some others—*paṭavat samsthitam*.

A complete description of these radiating neural paths and the *cakras* is given by the *Śāṇḍilya Upaniṣad*.

“The body of every sentient being is ninety-six digits long. *Prāṇa* extends twelve digits beyond the body. He who through the practice of *Yoga* reduces this *Prāṇa* within his body so as to make it equal to or not less than the fire in it becomes the greatest of *Yogins* .....<sup>1</sup>. Two digits above the anus and two digits below the sexual organ is the centre of the body and four digits in length and breadth is situated an oval form. In its midst is the navel. ...Lying in the middle of the navel and above it is the seat of the *Kundalinī* .....Depending upon the *Kundalinī* which is situate in the centre where are fourteen principle *nādis*. *Suṣumna* is said to be sustainer of the Universe and the path of

1. The extension of *Prāṇa* over the body is significant. It reveals the yet unharmonised state of the physical and the psychical bodies. When once the *Prāṇa* is made to come into line with the *Suṣumna* in the body, then the body becomes completely identified with the psychical nature, that is say, organized.

salvation.<sup>1</sup> Situated at the back of the anus, it is attached to the spinal column and subtle and is *vaiṣṇavi*. On the left of the six Suṣumna is situated Ida and on the right is Pingala.

The moon is of the nature of *tamas* and the sun of *rajas*. The poison-share is of the Sun and nectar of the moon. They both direct time, and Suṣumna is the enjoyer of time. To the back and side of Suṣumna are situate Sarasvati and Kuḥuḥ respectively. Between Yaśasvini and Kuḥuḥ stands Vāruṇī. Between Puṣa and Sarasvati lies Payasvini.<sup>2</sup> Between Gāndhāri and Sarasvati is situated Yaśasvini.<sup>3</sup> In the centre of the navel is Alambuṣa. In front of Suṣumna there is Kuḥuḥ which proceeds as far as the genital organs. Above and below Kundalini is situated Vāruṇī which proceeds everywhere. Yaśasvini which is beautiful proceeds to the great toe. Pingala goes upward to the right nostril. Payasvini goes to the right ear. Gāndhāri goes from the back of Ida to the left eye. Alambuṣa goes upwards and downwards from the root of the anus. From these fourteen nādis spring others..."

Almost an identical description is given of the cross-section of the nādi system at the Kanda or nābhi cakra by the *Varāha* Upaniṣad. It affords a corrective to the *Śāndilya* description. It will be noted however that in the *Śāndilya* description Hastijihva and Viśvodharī are not located. The *Varāha* gives this description.

"Nine digits above the genitals, there is a kanda (plexus) of Nādis which revolves oval-shaped, for digits high and four digits broad. It is surrounded by fat, flesh

1. *Kaṭo*. Up. III. 16. *Garbha Up.* mentions Suṣumna as Brahmanādi. So also the *Advayatāraka Up.* Brahmanādi suṣumna sūryarūpini pūrṇa-candrabhā vartate.

2. cf. *Yoga Cūdāmaṇi Up.* 18-20. The description of *Varāha up.* V. substantiates the *Śāndilya Up.*

3. Yaśasvini undoubtedly should be Sankhini here as Mr. K. Narayana-swami Iyer holds,

bone and blood. In it is situate a nādi-cakra having twelve spokes. Kundalini by which this body is supported is there. It is covering by its face the the Brahma-randhra of Suṣumna. By the side of the Suṣumna dwell the nādis Alambuṣa and Kuhuḥ. In In the next two spokes are Vāruṇi and Yaśasvini..... On the spoke south of Suṣumna is in regular course. Pingala. On the next two spokes are Pūṣa and Payasvini. On the spoke of Suṣumna is the nādi called Sarasvati. On the next two spokes are Śankhini and Gaudhari. To the north of Suṣumna dwells Ida; in the next is Hatijihva, and next to it is Viśvodhara."

There is possible a misunderstanding here regarding the exact location of the Kundalini. The same Upaniṣad however dispels it thus: "In the centre of the anus and the genitals, there is a triangular Mulādhāra. It illumines the seat of Śiva on the form of bindu (point). There is located the Parāśakti named Kundalini." This passage clearly states that the place of Kundalini is not the solar plexus (nābhi cakra or kanda) but the centre lower down namely the Mulādhāra. All this physiological speculation reveals a body of belief that there were other channels of transmission of activity than the merely physical motions or even the mental currents. The fact of correspondence is fully recognized, and the parallelism that haunted the theorists of matter and mind finds a counterblast in this psychonic interpretation of the relationship that subsists in the human organism. The spirit manifests itself as matter whilst retaining its power and control over it.

*Suṣumna*: The Prāṇa which has brought it into being continues to sustain it. Prāṇa moves here upwards as udāna as<sup>1</sup> a spider flies to and fro within a web of fine threads. *Tāmtu*

1. Cf. *Kṣūrīka* Up. quoted by A. Avalon in his *Serpent Power* "Prāṇa moves in the Suṣumna. It also moves in Sarasvati, Pingala, Ida and the Yaśasvini. Vyāna moves in the Śankhini, Payasvini and Gāndhāri. Āpāna moves in Alambuṣa and Kuhuḥ. Udāna moves in all vāyus (airs). Samāna moves in the Vāruṇi which moves everywhere in the body. All prāṇas meet at the Maṇipūra." *Maṇipūra*.

*pañjara madhyastha lūtika yathā bramati tathāsou tatra prāṇa-scasati, dehosmin Jīvaḥ prāṇārūdhō bhavet.* The Suṣumna alone is situated within the spinal cord and vertebral column. (vīṇā-danda). It alone passes through all the ganglia of the spinal cord. There are six such ganglionic structures.<sup>1</sup> It passes through all of them like the shining thread of lotus, or rather like the lotus-stalk.<sup>2</sup>

“The Suṣumna which runs from the Muḍādhāra to the Brahmarandhra has the radiance of the Sun. In the centre of it is Kundalini shining like crores of lightning and subtler than the lotus stalk.”<sup>3</sup>

All the plexuses are turned downwards. This downward bent of the Cakras is said to explain that evolution that has happened has been downwards from the highest spiritual height of the Sahasrāra to the lowest material muḍādhāra. The fulfilment of the Pravṛtti so to speak of evolution, lies in the upward movement of the Kundalini through the aforesaid cakras which now have to be inverted or made to have their face upwards, ūrdhva-mukha. This reversal of the faces of the lotuses called cakras, is achieved by the special methods of awakening the Kundalini in the Suṣumna.

Each of these nādis is said to have a presiding deity. We have already mentioned that Moon is the deity of Ida and Sun of Pingala. Śiva is said to be the Devata of Suṣumna.<sup>5</sup> But Agni is mentioned as the deity by other Upaniṣads. Hari for Ida and Brahma for Pingala,<sup>4</sup> are claimed to be the deities of the nādis by the *Darśana* Upaniṣad which reveals its aim to synthesize the three gods. This is the *ādhi-daiva* aspect of the nervous organization.

*Cakras* : So much has been written on these plexuses that it appears really necessary to ask the question : what do these

1. *Dhyānabindu* : Muḍādhārāt Suṣumna ca padmatamtu nibhā śubhā.
2. *Mandala Brāh.* Up. I. Mṛṇāla sūtravat sukṣmāṅgi kundalini.
3. *Darśana* Up. IV. 35-58 cf. *Trīśikhi Brāh.* Up. 8.
4. *Ibid.*

plexuses mean? But the meaning of the question appears not to need any explanation when we consider that most Yogic schools accept these centres of psychic force as typifying the contact-point with the physical and neural and other functions. The Cakras or wheels or lotuses are six. The seventh is the thousand-spoked Sahasrāra, in the Brain. The *Nṛsimha-pūrvataṭaṇiṃyā* Upaniṣad mentioned<sup>1</sup> that all the cakras have evolved from the Sudarśana (the Mūlādhāra) which changes or undergoes transformations into six, eight, twelve, sixteen and thirty-two spokes or petals respectively.

“In the six-petalled lotus the six-lettered mantra of Nārāyaṇa, and the twelve-petalled lotus had the twelve-lettered mantra of Vāsudeva. And in this case ordinarily in the sixteen petalled lotus are the sixteen kalas (vowels) sounded with bindu or anuswara. The thirty-two petalled lotus is really two-petalled because there are two mantras here each of sixteen letters of Nṛsimha and his Śakti.”<sup>2</sup>

The evolution of all the cakras are also said to be due to the evolution of the Śrī Cakra which is described by the *Tripura-taṭaṇiṃyā* Upaniṣad. The Śrī Cakra which is horizen-tal at first, evolves vertically and realizes planes of consciousness and manifestations. The human organism is the result signifying this microcosmic development of the Śrī Cakra. The whole description is so very mystical that it is impossible to unravel the mystery of this description.

The first cakra is the Mūlādhāra, situated between the anus and the genitals. The second is the Svādhisthāna, the third is the Maṇipūṛaka, the fourth is the Anāhata, the fifth is the Viśuddha, the sixth is the Ājñā. The place of the Kanda is the navel, and is also identified with the Maṇipuraka or Nābhicakra.<sup>3</sup> There are many more centres mentioned such as nine by the *Soubhāgyalakṣmi* and the *Mandala Brāhmaṇa*

1. V. Section.

2. Cf, *Serpent Power* Intro. p. 266. *Nṛsimha pūrvataṭaṇiṃyā* Up. V, 3,

3. cf, Appendix and table,

Upaniṣads including the Sahasrāra. The *Soubhāgyalakṣmi* mentions Ādhāra, Sudarśana, (2) Svādhīsthāna, (3) Maṇipūra-ka, (4) Hridaya, (5) Kanṭha, (6) Tālu (a cakra at the end of the Uvula),<sup>1</sup> (7) Bhrūcakra (*tadeva kapāla kandaṁ vākṣiddhi bhavati*). (8) Ājñā, (9) Ākāśacakraṁ navaṇṭam.

In the above list we find that an unusual distinction has been made between the Bhrū cakra and the Ājñā cakra, and an additional cakra at the Uvula is mentioned. The *Yogarāja* Upaniṣad calls the eighth cakra Brahmarandhra, which intimates the Nirvāṇa state: *Brahmarandhram syāt param nirvāṇa sūcākam*. The same Upaniṣad calls the seventh cakra Bhrū cakra, and does not mention the name Ājñā. The two cakras Bhrū and Tālu are placed below the Ājñā by the *Soubhāgyalakṣmi* Upaniṣad. Proceeding further into the analysis of the descriptions of the cakras, we find that the *Soubhāgyalakṣmi* Upaniṣad calls the final cakra not Sahasrāra descriptively, but as Ākāśa-cakra, Etheric centre, thus giving support to the *Mandala Brāhmaṇa* Upaniṣad description of the Highest Consciousness as Ākāśa or Parāmākāśa-consciousness. It also mentions this cakra to consist of sixty-petals, which are up-turned and possessing ūrdhva-śakti, upward moving power.<sup>1</sup> The *Varāha* Upaniṣad mentions a *dvādaśānta*. This dvādaśānta or twelfth centre is usually identified with the Sahasrāra or Parama-ākāśa.

It is, however, very difficult to state exactly this differences between the bhrū and the Ājñā cakra. From the *Yogarāja* Upaniṣad we find that even the names of Brahmarandhra and Nirvāṇa-cakra are applied to the sixth centre, the Ājñā and not to the Sahasrāra, which is said to be legitimately that.

The *Yoga cūdāmanī* mentions the number of petals of the several cakras. The petals might be treated to be spokes also or nerve radiations. The Ādhāra has four petals, the svādhīsthāna has six petals, the Maṇipūraka has ten, the Anāhata

1 *Yogarāja* Up. (Adyar Library Mss.) mentions this Tālu cakra,

has twelve, the Viśuddha has sixteen and the Ājñā has two Petals. The Sahasrāra has a thousand petals.<sup>1</sup>

It would be of great interest to find out the actual relation between these cakras and the centres in neurology. An attempt was made by Dr. Vasant Rele in his *Mysterious Kundalini*. The notion of centres involves the diversification of functions and elements within the body, into different types of energy in the organism. The doctrine of Cakras could be compared favourably with the functions of the endocrine system. But it must remain a speculation as to how the upaniṣadic writers were able to identify the functions of the body and develop a doctrine of integration within the body.

*Mūlādhāra* :—This is the first cakra. It is called the Mahācakra (śūdarśana).<sup>2</sup> In the Ādhāra of the anus, there is a lotus of four petals (caturdaḷam). In its midst is said to be the Yoni, the womb, called Kāma.<sup>3</sup> It is worshipped by the siddhas or those who have attained the highest conquest of life. The mūlādhāra is in the anus.<sup>4</sup> “In men two digits above the anus and two digits below the sexual organ in the centre of the body.” Here is a region of fire which is triangular in form and brilliant as molten gold. In the centre of the anus and the genitals, there is a triangular Mūlādhāra. It illumines the seat of Śiva of the form of bindu. There is

1. *Yogini Hridaya* mentions eight centres beyond the Bhrū cakra viz., Indu, Rohini, Nāda, Śakti, Vyāpika, Samanam, Unmani, Mahābindu. The tantra view also holds that there are centres below the Ājñā such as *Lalana*, etc. He also mentions that there is a centre Manas between the Ājñā and the Sahasrāra, and also a centre called Soma which is perhaps the Indu. Cf. *Saṅgīta Darpaṇa*, v. 18.

*Yoga Cūdāmani* Up. Caturdaḷam syād ādhāram, Svādhīsthānam ca śaddalam, Nābhau daśadalampadmam, Hrdayam dvadasārakam, Śodasāram Viśuddhākhyam Bhrūmadhye dvidalam; tataḥ sahasradalasamkhyātam Brahmaṇdreh mahāpatil. Cf. *Saṅgīta Darpaṇa* of Dāmodara mentions the Ājñā cakra as possessing three petals. This is perhaps to signify, mystically speaking, the triplicity of the Ida, Piṅgala and Suṣūmna at that place.

2. *Dhyānabindu* Up. Yoga Kundalini II: Hamsa, Bhāvana, Yogacūdāmani, Yoga Śikha Upaniṣads.

3. *Dhyānabindu* 44, 45: *Yoga Cūdāmani* Up.

4. *Varāha* Up.

located the supreme Śakti named Kundalini. From that seat arises Vāyu (wind) From that seat fire increases. Hamsa is born from that place. From that seat Manas originates. Kundalini assumes the eight forms of Prakṛti namely Mūla-prakṛti, Ahamkāra, Manas, and the five elements<sup>1</sup> and attains Śiva by encircling and dissolving itself in Śiva<sup>2</sup>. This Kundalini sleeps there like a serpent and is luminous by its own light ..... Full of energy and like burning gold know this Kundalini to be the power of Viṣṇu.<sup>3</sup> It is the mother of the three qualities. It embraces all the nādis and it closes by its head the opening of Brahma-randhra of the Suṣumna.<sup>4</sup> This Mūlādhāra in men is triangular in form and is brilliant as the molten gold is situated in the middle of the body.<sup>5</sup> This centre is usually said to be the seat of earth-element, but interpreted by the symbol of the triangle, it is the seat of Fire.<sup>6</sup>

It would appear from the foregoing that Kundalini is the power of Viṣṇu that seeks union with Śiva, illumining as it does the seat of Śiva who is of the form of point-focus.

It is also clear from the above description that Kundalini is so to speak the mother or parent of all evolution of the body. This initial nucleus of life whilst evolving the several planes, yet contains within it all the potencies of unity. This Kundalini is not only the parāśakti, it is also the prakṛti.

Thus the theory of the Minor Yoga Upaniṣads reveals the stress laid on the form by which the individual organism begins to grow into the human body, or for that matter, any material body. The germinal nature of the Mūlādhāra is as clearly pointed out just as the power of manifestation into the varied physical elements as much as Fire and Air, and Earth

1. *Yogakūṇḍalini* Up. I. Śāṇḍilya I.

2. *Yogacūḍāmaṇi* Up. Aṣṭadākūṇḍalākṛtiḥ. cf. Bh. Gītā which mentions that the lower nature becomes eight-fold. VII. 4.

3. *Yogakūṇḍalini* Up. I.

4. *Dhyānabindu* Up.

5. *Yogakūṇḍalini* Up. I.

6. *Yogatattva* Up.

as well as the psychic centres called cakras or *kandas* are formed by it. The importance of this centre lies in its being the centre of physical manifestation, itself a combination of Earth and Fire forces. The individual body is thus developed from this seat. Alice. E. Bailey in her book *The Soul and its mechanism* holds that Mulādhāra corresponds to the Adrenal gland. But neither from the stand-point of function nor from the point of view of location is it correct.

All these it may be readily admitted are speculative and fanciful. But we have later Yogins also holding the view that behind all those fanciful structures there lies an element of truth. This element of truth, they hold, could only be discovered by introspection and in Yogic trance. That the whole attitude is far removed from objective observation and experimentation seems immensely clear. That however need not invalidate the psychological truth behind this scheme or description. Despite the claim made for chemistry and physics, we find that the modes of perception are not more than the five enumerated by Indian Psychology. We also find that the plexuses and glands (endocrine) are placed in close juxta-position in the body and mutually re-enforce the activities of one another. Prof. Sajous<sup>1</sup> has clearly pointed out the integration of the endocrine systems with the neural. He has demonstrated the importance of the harmony between the two. The movements in the neural systems are suggested to be of the chemico-electrical kind. The endocrine system operates on the lines of fluidic injection, whereas we can assume fairly rightly that the operation in the cakra-system is by means of vital-psychic force of concentration, which includes within it control of the activities of all the sense-organs, the heating of the body through Prāṇa, and damming of all energies and forcing them to move in the spinal cord and through it urge it to move upward to the crown of the head or brain so as to reënforce consciousness.

2. *Svādhīsthāna* : The plexus at the genitals is spoken of as the Svādhīsthāna because prāṇa is here with its own

sound.—*sva śabdena prāṇa svādhīsthāna tadāśrayam*. It is said to be the genital organ itself. The cakra is in the sphere of the basic plexus and it has a figure of molten gold and shining like streaks of lightning. It is the seat of the water element. This cakra has six petals (*śad-dalām*)<sup>1</sup>

3. *Maṇipūraka* : This important cakra is usually identified with the solar plexus even as the previous one is identified with the genitals. The name Maṇipuraka is given to it for the reason that the 'body at this point is pierced through by vāyu (prāṇa) like gems by a string (the Suṣumna). "Like a gem pierced through by a thread the Kanda is pierced by the Suṣumna. This cakra in the region of the navel is called maṇipūraka," says the *Yoga Cūdāmani Upaniṣad*. "The soul is urged to actions by its own karma, virtuous and sinful, it whirls about in this great cakra of twelve spokes, so long as it does not grasp the truth," says the *Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad*.<sup>2</sup> This centre is the centre of fire, Agni—*pāvakaśśāktim adhyetu nābhicakra vyavasthitah*, as the *Brahmopaniṣad* says.

The *Varāha Upaniṣad* places the Kundalini at this centre, and remarks that Jvalanti, Nādarūpini, Pararandhra and Suṣumna are the basic supports of Nāda (Kundalini). These four are said to be of ruby colour. Though Kundalini is at the Mūlādhāra, it is also at every other centre including the Maṇipūraka, being supported by the Suṣumna which extends the whole length of the vertebral column (*vinādanda*). The meaning is that Kundalini in its present pravṛtti aspect stands coiled up at the three lower centres, the Mūlādhāra, Svādhīsthāna and Maṇipūraka, and has control over the physical, vital and neural centres of the body.

1. cf. *Cakras* monograph by C. W. Leadbeater who mentions Svādhīsthāna Cakra to be unknown to the Western Occultists. They, he states mention a Spleen cakra. There is no reference to this cakra in the Yogic writings.

2. *Soundaryalahiri* : verse 9 mentions this to be the third cakra and as of the nature of fire.

*Varāha Up.* V. "In it is situate a nādi cakra of twelve spokes."

On this point Arthur Avalon writes that the two descriptions are not conflicting. "The Merudanda is the vertebral column which is the axis of the body is supposed to bear the same relation to it as does the Mount Meru to the Earth. It extends from the Mūla or Mūlādhāra to the neuk. Suṣūmna is undoubtedly a nādi within the vertebral column and as such is well described by the books as the principal of all nadis runs along the length of the Merudanda as does the spinal cord of western Physiology if we include the *filum terminale*. If we include the *filum* and take the Kanda to be between the anus and the the penis, it starts from practically the same (sacrococcygeal) region, the Mūlādhāra, and is spoken of as extending to the region of the Brahmarandhra or to a point below the twelve-petalled lotus, that is, at the spot below but close to the Sahasrāra or cerebellum where the nerve Citrini ends"<sup>1</sup>. Thus it is explained that the coiling serpent is stretching from the Mūlādhāra to the Maṇipūra.

*Anāhata Cakra* : From this cakra begins the subtle or psychic regions of evolution. More correctly, we may regard this as the cakra of mind, *citta*. This cakra has not been adequately described by many writers. The Older Upaniṣads speak about a heart centre, but that does not easily tally with this. The Minor Yoga Upaniṣads do not describe the Upaniṣadic centre of the heart. The Author of the *Serpent Power* has given a full description of the centre in both the aspects, and it is extracted here for the sake of clarification.

"The heart lotus is of the colour of *banduka* flower (red) and on its twelve petals are the letters Ka to Tha with the *bindu* over them, of the vermillion colour. In its pericarp is the hexagonal vāyumandala of a smoky colour and above it sūrya-mandala with the trikoṇa lustrous as ten million flames of lightning within it. Above it the vāyu with the bija of a smoky hue is seated on a black antelope fourarmed and carrying a goad (*angkusha*). In his (*vāyubījas*) lap is three-eyed

1. *Serpent Power*.: Arthur Avalon.

Īśa, like Hamsa (*hangsabha*) his two arms are extended, in the pericarp of this lotus seated on a red lotus, is the Śakti Kakini. She is four-armed, and carries the noose (*pāśha*) the skull (*kapāla*) and makes the boon (*vāyu*) and fear-dispelling signs (*abhāya*). She is of golden hue, is dressed in yellow raiment, and wears every variety of jewel and a garland of bones. Her heart is softened by nectar. In the middle of the trikoṇa is Śiva in the form of Vanalinga with the crescent moon and bindu on his head. He is of golden colour. He looks joyous with the rush of desire. Below him is Jīvātma-like Hamsa. It is like the steady tapering of a lamp. Below the pericarp of this lotus (*anāhata*) is the red lotus of eight petals with its head upturned. It is in this red tree that there are Kalpa trees, the jewelled altar surmounted by an awing and decorated by flags and the like, which is the place of mental worship”<sup>1</sup>

This long description reveals that there are two cakras really, one major and the other minor, the first the centre of the Suṣūmna, the second the place of mental worship, *upāsana* cakra or *sthāna*. A doctrine of this kind of two centres is substantiated by the *Dhyānabindu* Upaniṣad.

“In the seat of the heart is a lotus of eight petals.<sup>2</sup> In its centre is the Jīvātma of the form of jyotis and atomic in size, moving in a circular line. In it is located everything. It knows everything. It does everything. It does all these actions attributing everything to its own power. (thinking) I do, I enjoy, I am happy, I am miserable, etc.”

This same Upaniṣad also mentions that the lotus has eight petals and thirty two filaments, confirming the tantric description of the lower cakra. This lower cakra according to the description of the *Dhyāna-bindu*, *Nārada-parivṛāja* and

1. *Serpent Power* : A. Avalon. p. 150 Ganesh & Co. Madras.

2. *Hamsa Up.*

the *Hamsa* seems to be the seat of Citta or cintana and of emotive ahaṁkāra,<sup>1</sup> which is declared to be below the heart. This lower cakra is certainly below the position ascribed to the Anāhata. In a psychological consideration we find that this cakra is an Upāsana cakra. Thus the *Dhyānabindu* Upaniṣad writes :

“ When it (the Jīva) rests on the eastern petal which is of white (*sveta*) colour, then it has a mind to bhakti and dharma. When it rests on the south-eastern petal which is of blood colour than it is inclined to sleep and laziness. When it rests on the southern petal which is of black colour then it is inclined to hate and anger.<sup>2</sup> When it rests on the southwestern petals which is of blue (*nīla*) colour, then it gets desire for sinful and harmful actions. When it rests on the western petal which is of crystal colour then it is inclined to flirt and amuse.”

The *Nārada-parivrājaka* Upaniṣad in its sixth Upadeśa describes this lotus, and takes it to possess eight-fold vṛttis or changes of temperament which the Jīva undergoes as it restlessly flies, in addition to the *Dhyāna-bindu* statement. “ Staying at the middle it gets, vairāgya, renunciation, it knows everything, sings, dances, speaks and is blissful.” It is likely that the *Hamsa* Upaniṣad mention centre when it describes the threefold changes of states of consciousness. “ In the filament (of this lotus) there arises the svapna (dream-state): in the Bīja (seed of the pericarp) arises suṣupti (dreamless sleep-state): when leaving the lotus there arises the turya (fourth state).”

All these descriptions most likely applies to the dahara lotus in whose centre is the Īśa or Pundarika or Viṣṇu or Antaryāmiṇ, as the Upāsana Avatār. The Dahara Lotus be

1. cf. Sri Aurobindo's location of the psychic organs : *Yogic Sādhana*. Śrī Ramana Maharshi places the lotus of the heart (psychic heart) on the right chest.

2. *Nārada-parivrājaka* Up. (to cruel actions),

the place of mental worship. The *Subāla*<sup>1</sup> Upaniṣad says "In the middle of the heart is a red fleshy mass in which is the Dahara Lotus. Like the lotus, it opens into many (petals). There are ten openings in the heart. The prāṇas are located there..." "Now the Dahara lotus has many petals like a lily... The Divine Ātma sleeps in the Ākāśa of the heart, in the supreme kośa." In conformity with this the *Chāndogya* passage runs thus.<sup>2</sup> "There is in this city of Brahman the small lotus house and in it that small ether, that should be sought for," The *Kṣūrika* Upaniṣad describes the Dahara lotus in the passage:

"Tato raktotpala bhāsām bṛdayāyatanam mahat, pundarikam tad vedānteṣu nigadyate."<sup>3</sup>

The *Dhyānabindu* also mentions that the lotus it has described is the seat of Viṣṇu. "One should contemplate upon the Omkāra as Īśvara resembling an unshaken light, as of a size of thumb and as motionless in the middle of the pericarp of the lotus of the heart."<sup>4</sup> This same is described as the seat of the Jivātma also, as evidenced by the following statement;

"Hṛdi sthāne aṣṭama dala padmam vartate, tanmadhye rekhavalayam kṛtvā jivātmārūpam jyotirūpam aṇumātram vartate."<sup>5</sup>

The *Soubhāgyalakṣmi* Upaniṣad mentions that the Hṛdi cakra has got eight petals.

"Hṛdaya cakram aṣṭamadalam adhomukham.  
Tan madhye jyotirmaya lingākāram dhyāyet."

1. *Sūbala* Up. IV, VIII, XI.

2. *Chandogya*, VIII. i. 1. Cf. *Vedānta Sūtras*, I. iii. 13. "The small (ether) (is Brahman) on account of subsequent arguments."

3. *Kṣūrika*, Up. 10. Cf. *Brahma*, Up. "All devas are in the heart: in the heart are all the prāṇas; in the heart of prāṇa, jyotis, and the three-ply holy thread." Cf. *Kaivalya* Up.

4. *Dhyānabindu* Up. 19. Cf. *Atmabodha* Up. "Hṛd-padma madhye sarvam tatprajāñānetram."

5. *Dhyānabindu* Up. 93.

The *Yoga Cūdāmaṇi* and the *Yoga śikha* alone describe the Anāhata cakra, and assign to it twelve petals,<sup>1</sup> in consonance with the view expressed by the tantras and the *Gheranda* and *Śiva Samhitas*.

Thus there is disparity as between the upaniṣads themselves. The Upaniṣads which speak of the Hṛdaya padma as the dahara Lotus, as the seat of Pundarī *daharam pundarikam veśma*,<sup>2</sup> intend to speak about the seat of meditation, and not about the psycho-physiological cakra, the Anāhata.

Some of the Upaniṣads which mention the names of the cakras do not describe all of them; they describe the lower centres only. To this class belong the *Varāha*, *Śāndilya* Upaniṣads. The *Yogarāja* Upaniṣad which does not belong to the orthodox 108 Upaniṣads, of which there is a copy in the Adyar Library, mentions this centre apparently,<sup>3</sup> and calls this the seat of the Jīva, thus making it identical with the Dahara lotus. The *Yoga Kundalini* merely mentions<sup>4</sup> the number of cakras without describing them. The *Hamsa*<sup>5</sup> mentions the path of ascent through the centres from the Mūlādhāra to the Sahasrāra, but it does not describe the centres. The *Yoga tattva* Up. speaks of this cakra as established in the heart and that it is inverted—*hṛdi sthāne sthitam padmam tasya vatkrām adhoumukham*.<sup>6</sup> The Physiological Upaniṣad, *Śārīraka*, does not mention the centres at all, and the *Garbha* Up. mentions them without describing them.

All this shows that tantric influences might have been at work in regard to the *Yoga Kundalini*, *Yoga Cūdāmaṇi* and *Yoga śikha* Upaniṣads, whereas the Upaniṣads which declare only the Dahara lotus might conceivably be nearer to the older Upaniṣads.

1. *Yoga Cūdāmaṇi* Up. 10-11. Cf. *Yogā Śikha* I. 173. "Dvādaśāra mahācakram hṛdaya cāpy anāhata.

2. *Paingala* Up.

3. *Yogarāja* Up (Adyar Mss.) 10-11.

4. *Yoga Kundalini* Up. III-11.

5. *Hamsa* Up. 6.

6. *Yogatattva* Up. IV.

The twelve petals of the Anāhata are assigned to the twelve letters. The attribution of eight petals to the Dahara lotus represents the eight-fold *vṛttis* of mind. In either case the attributions of petals or rather spokes (afferent or efferent nerves) to them is significant.

*Dahara Lotus* : The *Paingala* Up.<sup>1</sup> declares it to be the place of the Antaryāmin Viṣṇu. "It is the actual Nārāyaṇa alone that is established in the heart." Says the *Subāla*<sup>2</sup> "Within the body is the one eternal unborn located in the cave of the heart. The earth is his body..". The *Nṛsimha* Up.<sup>3</sup> says that the objective forces of nature are symbolically referred to in relation to the human form as being seated in the navel, the will to be live in the heart, and subjective states of mind between the eye-brows." The importance of this centre in meditations is greater than that of the Ājñā cakra (the centre between the eye-brows or on the forehead) for important reasons.

- I. It is the residence of the Antaryāmin (and the Jīva) from which He pervades the entire body. The Jīva is moving round and round the petals of the lotus, whereas the Supreme Divine is in the centre established as its lord.
- II. It is the source of prāṇa, vāyu and by the union of prāṇa and apāna, samādhi results. And it is from this centre the Jīva (*hamsa*) moves up and down. But one has to make it not merely to move upward alone but also be able to lose oneself in the central Sun of its life.
- III. This is also the centre of Citta which has eight-fold *vṛttis* or changes. To control the citta is the function of Yoga according to Patanjali—*Yogas cittavṛtti nirodhah*.

1. *Paingala* Up. IV.

2. *Subāla* Up. VII.

3. cf. Sūrya Gīta of *Tattvāsārāyaṇa* III. 56.

*Viśuddha Cakra.* This cakra is not described as fully as others. This is said to have sixteen spokes or petals and situated at the throat (*kanṭhakūpa*). It is said to be the seat of vowel sounds. This is the centre of Ākāśa, (*kha*) important for *khecari-vidya*.<sup>1</sup> It is here that Nāda (sound) for the first time becomes manifest, individuated, *vaikhari*.

The *Yoga tattva* Up. mentions that the eye-brow centre is the centre of Ākāśa.

The *Tālu cakra* is situated very near the Viśuddha, Referred to only in a few Upaniṣads, it is not an important centre at all. Perhaps from a physiological consideration it might stand for the *parathyroid* gland.

*Ājñā Cakra.* The two petalled lotus which is between the eye-brows, *bhrū-madhyā* is also described as possessing thirty-two petals by the *Nṛsiṃha-pūrvatapanīya* Upaniṣad. The reason assigned for this discrepancy is that the two petals possess two *mantras* of sixteen letters each. It is the meeting place of the two important nādis, Ida and Pingala, and since the Suśumna passes through this as it does through others, it can be considered to have the two spokes or petals of Ida and Pingala.

The *Śāṇḍilya* Up. refers to this conjunction of the Ida Pingala and Suśumna which parted at the Mulādhāra (or Maṇipūṛaka). "The Moon moves in Ida and the Sun in the Pingala. As these circle round the Ājñā cakra the Ājñā is legitimately called the Mahākāla," (Breath being the measurer of time). The *Jabāla* Up. confirms the Śiva Samhita view of the Ājñā cakra as Vāranāsi. "The Lotus which is situated in the Mulādhāra has four petals in the space between them dwells the Sun. From that sphere of the Sun poison exudes continuously. That excessively heating venom flows through the Pingala. The venom (the fluid of mortality) which flows here continuously in a stream goes to the right nostril as the moon-fluid of immortality goes to the left."<sup>1</sup>

1. Śiva Samhita 96-109.

The movement of the Ida and Pingala around the Suṣumna is almost like the *Cadaceus* of Mercury.<sup>1</sup> “Pingala is the Asi and Ida the Vāraṇa.” One should know that the middle of the eye-brows in the forehead which is also the root of the nose is the seat of nectar. That is the great place of Brahman.” says the *Dhyānabindu* Up. All sins are annihilated here—*sarvendriya pāpān nāśayati tena nāsi bhavati*.

This Bhrū madhya is the place one is asked to fix one's attention on in meditation, if it is impossible to fix it on the heart lotus. This is, physiologically speaking, the centre for the optic nerves, and is invariably focussed upon in all cases of voluntary and involuntary attention. It is declared to be the centre of thought, manas, sensorium as distinguished from emotional *citta*. It is here that the knot of mortality is placed. This is place of Ether—ākāśa—according to the *Yogaśikha* Up. *Ākāśa mandalam vṛttam devatasya sadāśivah, nādarūpam bhrūvormadhye manaso mandalam vidīḥ*.<sup>2</sup>

The Tantric literature suggests other centres namely Lalana, Manas, Soma and others.<sup>3</sup> These centres are not mentioned by the Upaniṣads, but the *Varāha* and the *Śāndilya* Upaniṣads do mention a twelfth centre which means that they are aware of other centres also. This twelfth centre is Sahasrāra,<sup>4</sup> therefore there should be five centres between the Ājñā and the Sahasrāra.

A description of the stages of Omkāra in the *Nāḍabindu* and *Nārada-parivṛājaka* Upaniṣads reveals the names of Nāda, Nādānta, Unmani and Manonmani. Now Unmani is considered to be a centre equal to the Sahasrāra, and to reach that stage of Yoga means *Amanaska* Yoga.

From all these it is clear that the centres of consciousness of the high level as in the case of the lower have been speculatively localized and identified with certain plexuses.

1. *Cakras* : C. W. Leadbeater.

2. *Yoga Śikha* Up. I.

3. *Shakti and Shakta* : Arthur Avalon 1st. ed. p. 413.

4. *Nṛsiṃhapūrvataṭṭapaniṣa* Up. IV.

*Sahasrāra*:—This is the highest centre capable of being identified with the entire brain. Rich with petals and nerves it is here that the greatest activity of the psychic is available. This is the centre of integration of personality not only with itself and its body but the Divine itself plays the chief rôle. It is here that Śakti and Śiva are in constant union. It is here the Hamsa (jīva which discriminates) remains in mystic union with its Īśvara. It thus becomes the Parama-hamsa. This is the highest fruit of Samādhi, of Turiya consciousness. Such then is the importance of this centre from the psychological as well as neural levels of consciousness that it is not surprising that it is considered to be the pathway to the Supreme—the Brahma-randhra. This is the centre of Ānanda—bliss of the Divine. Thus we find that all siddhis come about to him who has by dint of his asceticism been able to unite himself with his inner seer and Lord at the heart. For it is only in the company of that Lone One that one reaches the highest centre—not by oneself, however wide awake and full and persevering. It is the important point about this centre that it means all or none. No partial attainment is possible, that is, the centres presumed to exist in its wide bosom are of the transcendental integrating variety. They form a unity in multiplicity.

The study of the Cakras inevitably leads one to the study of the so-called knots of existence. The knots are of three kinds, the knot of creation, the knot of sustenance, (permanence) and the knot of destruction, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra. The Brahma Granthi is placed rightly at the centre of procreation the svādhīsthāna, the Viṣṇu grānthi appropriately at the heart, and the Rudra grānthi at the Ājña cakra of tapas of asceticism that burns up all ignorance. *Brahmagrānthi rakāro ca viṣṇugrānthirhr̥dasamsthitaṁ Rudragrānthirbhr̥uvormadhye...*<sup>1</sup> These are three inverted triangles in the primary cakras, Mūlādhara, Anāhata and Ājña. Belonging to the three planes physical-vital and mental-vital and supramental-mental.

1. *Yoga Kundalīni* Up. I. cf. Ānandalahiri : Śrī Sankarācārya.

The Brahmagranthi is placed just about the space between the Mūlādhāra and the Svādhīsthāna.<sup>1</sup>

“Really speaking these (six) (cakras) signify the roots or origins (of the Universe) as said in the fourth chapter of the Dattātreya Samhita. The Mūlādhāra and the other five cakras are together called *Kula*: there are three knots among them. These three are called *Devi cakras*. The earth and water cakras<sup>2</sup> are indicated by the Brahmagranthi. The next two powerful and shining cakras are fire and sun, these two are indicated by Viṣṇu-granthi, this shining one confers all the siddhis. The next two cakras in the form of air and ether are indicated by the Rudragranthi, the seat of mighty benefits.”<sup>3</sup>

All the cakras (lotuses) are inverted with their faces turned downwards. As Kundalini passes through them with terrific velocity she upturns them and in this correct position or Ūrdhva-mukha they are very beneficial and powerful. The *Varāha* Up. mentions this process. “At first in this brahmagranthi there is produced a passage. Then having pierced the Brahmagranthi, he pierces the Viṣṇugranthi and then he pierces Rudragranthi.” The *Yoga Kundalini* Up. says “Kundalini being heated by heated by Agni and stirred by Vāyu, extends her body in the mouth of the Suṣumna and pierces Brahmagranthi formed of Rajas and flashes at once like lightning at the mouth of Suṣumna. Then it goes it goes up through Rudragranthi<sup>4</sup> and above it to the middle of the eye-brows having pierced this place<sup>5</sup>, it goes up to the Man-

1. *Brahma Vidya* Up. cf. *Lalitāsahasranāma* (names 101, 102, 104.) “Brahmagrathi is below the Maṇipūra at svādhīsthāna (100). Above the Maṇipūra is the knot called Viṣṇugranthi. The two Rudragranthis are in the Anāhata of the heart.” But the last is not in conformity with the statement given by it in 104.

2. Mūlādhāra and Svādhīsthāna.

3. *Lalitāsahasranāma*. 104.

4. This should be Viṣṇugranthi.

5. *Yoga Sūtras*. II. iii. 9. mentions afflictions of man which are due to the knots of obstructions to progressive integrality viz. Ignorance, *Asmita* (egoism) *Rāga* (desire) *dveṣa* (hate) and *Abhiniveśa* (desire to live.)

dala (sphere of the Sahasrāra)." The same Upaniṣad gives an identical description at another place. The knots are knots, are knots of māyā-śakti movements towards externalising and objective attraction, attachment and egoism. The knots are the 'points of convergence of the three groups of our life-activities' and are "points at which converge of each of the three groups" taken two by two.

The sketch we have given of the nature and location of the Cakras and the granthis is what we find to be at once speculative and mystical. But there is here to those who see beyond the efforts to localize functions and spheres, an amount of truth. The whole group of cakras are the subtle counterpart of the physical sheaths (levels) and reveal an activity of integration of the functions belonging to the several sheaths (levels). The knowledge of one sheath is impossible without a corresponding and increasing knowledge of the others. The higher the development, the greater the recognition of the partialitas-nature of knowledge that one has. The spheres called granthis really are crucial points. Note has to be taken of the fact that they are called Devi-cakras, though named masculinely as the knots of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra.

The aim of a realized consciousness is to organize integrally all the planes of human being. This aim is said to be mainly of the Hatha-Yogi. This shows that the Hatha-yogi felt the need for a more fine understanding of the psych-physical relation than the other Yogins who grasping the truth of the higher condemned all these types of Yoga to the illuding category. The integral Yogi on the other hand does not sacrifice the body or the mind but tries to make them the temple of the indwelling spirit. This is the integral possibility. It is not purification that is sought after by the Yogi, but transformation of the human nature itself so that on all planes and at once the highest Consciousness, might act even like the devas, or rather more correctly, like the eternals who are greater than the gods.

The physiological descriptions are psychonic descriptions and tally well with the physiological theories of the plexuses and the glandular organization as demonstrated by Professor Sajous and Prof. Dakin.<sup>1</sup> It should not be forgotten that the descriptions are not of the physiological material order but of the vital and subtle order. Having opened the heart you cannot ask for the anāhata cakra; it is *in situ* that you must find it, and the *in situ* in this case means the *living* being. It is difficult enough in psychology to find adequate explanations for mental processes, it is still more difficult when one is asked to correlate the psychic behaviour with the psycho-physical apparatus of the subtle order of electric movements and etheric impacts with a lot of sectarian and mythological figures thrown in.

## APPENDIX.

The cakras are accepted by the systems of Vaikhānasa and their accounts agree with the account given in the Minor Upaniṣads.

*Sri Bhagavadarcāprakaraṇam* (Vaikhānasa Granthamāla ed. p. 60 ff). The order of arrangement in mentioning them is not clear. The adhi-devatas of the centres (cakras) however are different according to the theory of Arca followed by the Vaikhānasa school. Nārāyaṇa is situated at Sahasrāra, Ādi-mūrti at the Ājñā, Aniruddha at Viśuddha, Acyuta at the Anāhata (Hṛdi cakra), Sudarśana at the Maṇipūra, Puruṣa at the Svādhīsthāna and Viṣṇu at the Guḍasthāna.

*Marīcī Samhita* (another Vaikhānasa text) give the description of the body describing the several centres : P. 500ff.

Guḍasthāna vahni-maṇḍalam, hemabhām trikona vahni-maṇḍalam *Puruṣa* Kandasthānam dvādaśarayutaṁ cakram, tatra cakre puṇyapāpa pracoditas tantu pañjara madhyasthe lūtika iva prāṇārudhaḥ pravartate (bhramati) *jīvaḥ*. Nābhaur ūrdhve kundalīni *śaktiḥ*.

1. Modern Biological Problems ; Dakin p. 27.

Hṛdayas ārkabimbam tasmin sakārabijānvitam sahasra-jvālāyutam jyotirjvalati. Tanmadhye mandala puruṣe viṣṇumurtiḥ. (Sūrya mandalam).

Nāsāgre śuddhasphaṭikasamkāsam candrabimbam. ... Tanmadhye mandala puruṣe Nārāyaṇamūrtiḥ.

*Marīcī Samhita* describes the yogi siddhis that accrue from the meditations on the several centres : p, 502-ff.

The *Jayākhya Samhita* (Baroda ed.) (an important Pāñcarātra work) does not mention the names of the Cakras. It gives a detailed account of the Bhūta-śuddhi and Deha-śuddhi and also the formation of the subtle mantric body which is of great importance in worship. It mentions the six steps of the Ātman : *ṣaṭpadi hyātmatattva*. (X. verse 64 pp. 90).

It mentions only one cakra mainly the prabhā cakra which is situated at the Nābhi (verses 25 and 68). *Prabhā-cakre*, whose śakti is the *Vaiṣṇavi-prabhācakram-nābhisthitam*. There is mention of the Suṣumna and its upward path.

*Ahīrbudhanya Samhita* : a very important Pāñcarātra work, (Vol. II, 31st Chapter, Adyar Edition). There are 72,000 nādis established in the human body. The Mūlādhāra is called the Vāhni-mandalam or the region of fire. The Nābhi cakra of twelve spokes is declared to be the place where the Kundalini resides. It is there that one should meditate on the Sudarśana, the power of Īśvara.

śikha sthāne nābhi cakre hṛdayāmburuhe tataḥ,  
Kāṇṭakūpe bhruvormadhye jihvamūle tathaiva ca,  
manoḥ ṣaḍakṣaranyeṣu kramenaiva vicintyayet.

(XXXII chap. 50 verse).

Cakras are dealt with generally in extenso in the tantrik works, Pratyabhijñādarśana, *Soundaryalahiri*, *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*. Kundalini is the most important principle of power of creation and realization. Cf. *Kāśmiriyan Śaivism* : J. K. Chatterjee.

*The System of Cakras according to Gorakhnāth* : Gopinath Kaviraj : P. W. S. B. Studies Vol. II, p. 85.

*Śiva Samhita*, *Gheranda Samhita* and *Sūta Samhitas* make mention of the Hatha Yoga or Kundalini Yoga.

*Sangita Darpana*, of Damodara mentions the cakras (13ff-24 verse) thus :

Gudalingāntara cakram ādhārākhyam caturdalam.....

It thus includes *Lalana* a cakra of 12 petals at the Uvula, and also states that the *Ājñā* has three petals instead of two ascribed to it by all other writers. Further it states that there are higher centres like *Soma* and *Manas*. We find also that in the states of consciousness, there are stages corresponding to these like *Unmani*, *Manonmani*, *Amānaska* etc. The aim has been localization of states of consciousness in the material subtle or gross or mantric (etheric) body.

Table of description of the arrangement of the Cakras and their colour qualities as described in the Upanisads, Samhitas and Puranas.

Name of Cakra.	No. petals.	Upaniṣadic view.	Śiva Samhita.	Satcakra-Nirūpana.	Garuda Purāṇa.	Physiological plexus.	Glands.
1. MŪLĀDHARA ...	4	Burning gold	Red	Red		Sacral plexus	
2. SVĀDHIŚTHĀNA.	6	Molden gold	Vermilion	Vermillion	Sunlike	Genital	Gonad.
3. MAṆIPŪRAKA ...	10	Red	Golden	Blue	Red	Solar	Adrenal.
4. ANĀHATA ...	12	Red : <i>Kṣu Up.</i> . Red fleshy mass : <i>Subāla Up. Ban-</i> <i>duka: Dhṛ. B. Up.</i> Very red : <i>Mun-</i> <i>daka II 4.</i>	Deep red	Vermillion	Golden	Cardiac	Thymus (?)
5. VÍSUDHA ...	18	Smoky or grey : <i>Sudhāmra-varna:</i> (Mundaka II. 4).	Brilliant gold	Smoke purple	Moonlike	Pharyngeal	Thyroid.
LALANA ...	(12) S.D.						
6. ĀJÑA ...	2	<i>Sphulinginī</i> : <i>Mun-</i> <i>daka II. 4.</i>	White	White	Red	Brain centres }	<i>Para-thy-</i> <i>roid (?)</i>
(a) MANAS ...	(3)						Pituitary.
(b) SOMA ...	(6)						Posterior pituitary (?)
7. SAHASRĀRA ...	1,000						Pineal (?)

1. *Mundaka II.*, 4, names of the seven *arcis* might suggestively be identified with the seven flaming centres or cakras.

1 काली 2 कराली 3 मनोजवा 4 सुलोहिता 5 सुधूम्रवर्ण 6 सुफलिङ्गिनी 7 विश्वरवि ...

## A FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF SOME BHARATA NĀṬYA POSES\*

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The expressions *Abhinaya*, *Nāṭya*, *Nṛtta* and *Nṛtya* have puzzled many a lay reader of popular treatises on dancing and drama. Sometimes the words have been used indiscriminately, each being made to stand for any or all the others. A clear understanding of the different connotations of these words may be secured through a careful study of verses 268 to 272 of the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*. (The Gaekwad Oriental Series).

*The Rṣis asked Siva 'Gesticulatory action has been created for the realization of its object. What is the purpose of Nṛtta? It has no relation with the subject matter of the song, nor does it appear to be the representation of the meanings of words. Why then is Nṛtta performed in singing and Asarita?'*

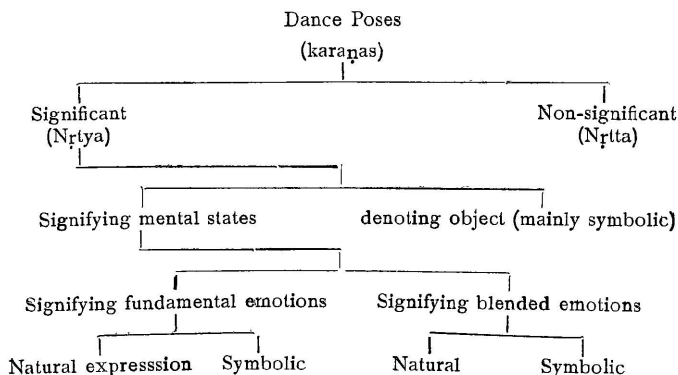
*In reply it was stated that Nṛtta does not look to the meanings of the words (of the song), but it is practised as it enhancēs the elegance and excellence of singing. Usually Nṛtta by its very nature, is pleasing to the whole world. It is highly esteemed as betokening auspiciousness in marriages. It is also practised as a source of merriment.*  
(*Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇam*, p. 58)

*Abhinaya* derives its meaning from the root *ñi* (*ni*, *nai* to lead). It stands for significant gesture or expository dancing.

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But the most comprehensive of the four words is *Nāṭyam*. It stands for drama and dancing of all kinds. We may define it as a dramatic representation proper, comprising dancing, or gesticulation with appropriate speech, song, musical accompaniment, costume, stage effects etc.' *Nṛtyam* contains all these elements but speech and song, while *Nṛttam* is simple gesticulation without any significance. *Nṛttam* is not the expression of any emotion or sentiment, nor is it meant to convey any idea. The dance is indulged in because, the movements are graceful and pleasing in themselves.

The poses or *karaṇas* which are the foundations of dancing may also be divided on the same principle as that used for dancing. The following table exhibits the relationship between the various types of poses used in Hindu dancing.



The one hundred and eight *karaṇas* described in the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* are not classified systematically, but they may be fitted into the above frame-work without much difficulty. We shall select a few significant examples of the main heads of our scheme of division, and study their outstanding features.

In the first place we have *Nṛtta karaṇas*, that is, poses which are not means for an end, but ends in themselves, as

they are beautiful and pleasing by their very nature. The first figure of this group, known as *Lalita*, is a striking representation of gracefulness. Both by its name and function, it is associated with beautiful movements in dancing. The coquettish expression on the face, the pose of the right hand, and the entire posture of the *danseuse* are pretty and attractive. In the second *karana*, called *Lalāṭa Tilaka*, there is greater vigour, yet it is also suggestive of grace and beauty. The third and the fourth are very difficult dances involving intricate movements produced by the trained *danseuse* who has marvellous control over the muscles of her limbs. Both poses are to be used in delicate dancing. There are several other poses of this class, but these four are adequate to give us an idea of what the *Nāṭya Śāstra* means by *Nṛtta karaṇas*.

Among the *karaṇas* denoting objects and ideas, mainly through conventional symbolization of dance movements, we have chosen four for discussion, one representing an idea, two indicating animals, and one standing for a natural object. The first of these is meant to convey the idea of reconciliation between two lovers who have quarrelled and separated. The hands indicate, in an unmistakable manner, the idea of union, which is supposed to be achieved through the strategem of the friends of the lovers. But what is of greater significance is the smile of satisfaction which plays on the beaming face. In the Purāṇic stories, which are the most appropriate themes for *Nāṭyaic* representation, Lord Viṣṇu's *vāhanam* figures very frequently, and the king of the jungle too appears now and then. Bharata muni has provided, therefore, for the representation of these two creatures.

We pass on now to the significant poses which express the fundamental emotions. It is not possible to deal with all the *Bhāvas* here, and so, that one has been chosen which displays best the skill of the sculptor as well as the insight of the author of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*. The 'fear' (*bhaya*) series is the most striking of this group, and there are four *karaṇas* denoting fear at different stages of evolution. The first is mild fear (such as

that which Śakuntala experienced when she was pestered by the bee in the forest), the second is fear generated by fire, and is certainly more intense. The third is the most marvellous pose. It represents fear produced in the mind of a person who has seen a venomous reptile at close quarters, and is about to take to his heels. The bodily attitude and the facial expression are clearly indicative of intense fear, while the posture of the legs is most appropriate to one who is about to run away. The last pose represents one of the last stages of intense fear, namely reeling. When fear develops into terror or dread of the most intense type, then the organism is reduced to immobility and may become unconscious. Just before the last stage sets in, reeling movements are noticed. It is worth while making a careful study of the facial expressions of these sculptured *karaṇas*. In the four poses under discussion there is a clear indication of successively increasing gradation of the intensity of fear, and the last portrays the stage where the emotion has become intolerably painful and nature is, therefore, about to open her usual safety-valve under such conditions.

The *karaṇas* that we have chosen as example of blended and complex emotions of the sentiments are as striking as those representing fundamental emotion. The first expresses supplication. The attitude of submissiveness is brought out clearly by the folded hands, the shrinking body and the drooping face. In pronounced contrast to this *karaṇa* stand the two others. They represent the hauteur of the new rich. In *Unmatta* the uplifted hands, the upturned head, and the 'nose in the air' speak for themselves. The next one indicates sorrow, and the last is a beautiful representation of the ecstatic joy which a person experiences when he is absorbed in the passionate adoration of his favourite deity (*iṣṭa devatā*).

The last group is composed of a peculiar type of *karaṇa*. The poses are called after the venomous creature, the scorpion, and all of them are meant to indicate flight in air. Ascent to and descent from heaven in *vimānas* and without *vimānas* are

common enough incidents in our classical legends, and here are the poses to signify this extraordinary method of transit.

In addition to those that we have discussed, there are *karaṇas* to express the elemental emotions of anger, wonder, disgust, self-assertion etc., and the blended emotion of jealousy, envy, pity, humility and others. We have an entire series representing various kinds of gaits, the gait of Lord Viṣṇu and other gods, of the haughty person, and of the afflicted and the humiliated. War and retreat too have their appropriate poses. And as we wade through the intricacies of the *karaṇas* and the *angahāras* we are lost in admiration for the great sage, legendary though he be, who has had such profound insight into the psychology of the human mind. But our admiration is transformed into mute wonder when we gaze at the handiwork of the inspired sculptor who has with consummate skill, managed to depict the myriad coloured emotions of the human heart in the hard, cold, lifeless, medium, the granite walls of our temple.



## RĀMĀNUJA'S PHILOSOPHY OF THOUGHT AND ACTION

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Rāmānuja, the chief exponent of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of thought, was an yajurvedic brāhmin born at Śrīperumbudur near Madras, in 1027 A.D. Asuri Keśavacārya was his father and his mother was Kāntimati. After receiving general education given to the boys of his age, he was placed under the tuition of Yādavaprakāśa of Conjeevaram. He lost his father while he was very young. Ālavandār, the famous head of the mutt at Śrīrangam wanted to instal this precocious youth in his apostolic seat. So when Ālavandar was on his death-bed he sent his pupils to fetch him, but by the time they returned with Rāmānuja, the master breathed his last. Tradition says that when Rāmānuja approached his master's dead body he saw three of the five fingers of the right hand folded. It was interpreted that these three fingers indicated his three desires that remained unfulfilled. The chief of these was the composition of a commentary on Brahma Sūtras. One day Rāmānuja heard the Divine voice telling him that Peria-nambi was the best teacher. Immediately he went in search of him, and met him at Madhurāntakam and was initiated by him into the mysteries of the doctrine. Rāmānuja was a master of the purāṇic and occult literature. The foremost of his disciples was Kurēśa. Besides a Bhāṣya on the Gīta, he wrote to elucidate his exposition of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, Vedāntasāra, Vedāntasaṅgraha, and Vedāntadīpa. Rāmānuja's commentary on Brahma Sūtras is known as Śrībhāṣya.

Philosophy has its roots in man's practical needs. If any system of thought fails to respond to the fundamental human instincts and to interpret the deeper spirit of religion, it can

never meet with general acceptance. Those speculations of a philosopher which do not give us relief in our stress and suffering will be mere intellectual diversion. The Absolute of Śaṅkara, which is rigid, motionless, in short a 'mere void', followed by his description of the visible world as unreal, fails to attract our assent. Śaṅkara's exposition of the Brahma Sūtras as inculcating advaita, non-dualism or monism had long since obtained a hold in the minds of people and the consequential representation of the world as a myth, a day-dream and unreality came to cause havoc in society. Serious thinkers have felt at all times that the propagation of such tenets would lead to social cataclysm. Rāmānuja stood up against it.

Briefly stated the main theme of the Rāmānuja's system of philosophy is that there exists only one All-Embracing Being called Brahman, the Lord who is omniscient, and omnipotent. "The omnipotence of God is manifested in different ways in different things." Matter (Prakṛti) and souls (Puruṣas), as constituting the body, as it were, of the Lord, exist always in two different, periodically alternating conditions of creation and involution. They are co-eternal and co-existent. This duality of Matter and Soul reminds us of the duality of mind and matter advocated by Descartes, the father of modern philosophy of the West. Whereas for Śaṅkara, Brahman (Absolute) is the only reality, for Rāmānuja, Brahman (Personal God) and the universe are both equally real. For the one, perceptual evidence is of weaker authority than the scriptural testimony, and for the other, Experience is stronger than śruti. Śaṅkara holds that Absolute Existence and Pure Consciousness are identical, and Rāmānuja says that they are different. Monism holds that self-luminous pure consciousness is non-different from Ātman and is eternal, immutable and is one without a second, and Dualism holds that consciousness is not self-luminous but only an attribute of the self and that consciousness is not eternal but changing and manifold. The one believes that falsity has practical efficiency while the other

says that no false object possesses practical efficiency. The former advocates Anirvacanīya khyāti and the latter advocates Satkhyāti. It is certain that both the vedāntins regard Brahmin as the substantive cause i.e. Upādāna. But in explaining it they differ. The monist accepts it as upādāna in the sense that it is screened by the veil of Nescience or avidya which alone undergoes real transformation; and the dualist says it is upādāna in as much as it is the self of Prakṛti—the body of Brahman—which constantly changes itself in the form of the universe.

Rāmānuja also accepts the law of karma. It has, no doubt, a beginning which, it is impossible to trace. It is this karma of a man that decides his position in life, happiness or joy whatever may it be. The Lord in Viśiṣṭādvaita is a personal being. Bhakti receives more prominence at the hands of Rāmānuja than in the Gīta. Bhakti is loving God with all our heart and soul. It culminates in an intuitive realization of God. According to Rāmānuja, one who is keen on getting spiritual emancipation should acquire the seven qualities namely: Vivēka, Vimōka, Abhyāsa, Kriya, Kalyāṇa, Aṇavasada and Aṇidharsa. He considers that contemplation, to be effective, must be continuous and ceaseless like a stream of oil. He advocates two kinds of contemplation (viz.) apratikōpāsana and pratikōpāsana. The one directly leads to final release, and the other leads to fruition other than mōkṣa and finally to mōkṣa. He admits three kinds of mōkṣa (1) Sālōkya, (2) Sārūpya and (3) Sāyujya. He contends that bhakti combined with karma and jñāna is the real means to the salvation.

Rāmānuja was the spokesman of his age. He was a teacher not by precept but by example. The one remarkable event that accounts for his success was his admission of the śūdras and outcastes into Vaiṣṇavism. Caste and creed are of no consideration for him when spiritual aptitude predominates. But he was never a red-hot reformer. He was bringing only such reformation as was suited to the then society, and that too not at the cost of religion and spirituality.

He directed his attention towards the temple worship. He accepted the worship enjoined in 'Pāncārātra', and created different orders of priesthood and established monasteries in various centres. His mastery of occultism is evidenced by an incident; when, once he was surrounded by the troopers of Chola king, he took some sand in his hand and repeating some mantras, threw it against the enemies and this made the troopers turn away. His invitation to the Mussalman Imperial Combat and Rāmapriya's marriage with the Royal princess are to this day commemorated at Melkote, Mysore.

His 'Last words', or more commonly called his 'Eighty-two aphorisms', are meant to be moral aids to his disciples in their relations to God, man and devotees. They can shortly be enumerated thus. One should be equally devoted to the service of one's own guru, God and any bhāgavata or devotee. Yield not to the five senses; overcome the passions. Learn social etiquette (i.e.) not to speak disrespectfully to Śrīvaiṣṇavas and to do namaskārams when you meet elders and respecting your guests. Be charitable to the poor. A true devotee should possess the eight flowers of worship. These are tolerance, control of senses, philanthropy, forbearance, knowledge, devotion, contemplation and truthfulness. Repeat every day the 'aṣṭākṣara mantram.' Keep yourself aloof from the wicked. Study the sacred literature.

In conclusion, it can be said that Rāmānuja's view is the highest expression of the truth. In modern times we find some of the principles of Rāmānuja re-taught in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. To-day we notice the water mark of our Indian philosophical status—loyalty to tradition and devotion to faith to be considerably low and the one probable reason may be our association with the spirit of the West.

## ARAVANAṆAVADIGAL

BY

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No reader of the Tamil Epic, Maṇimekhalai will fail to notice that the sage Aṛavaṇa is one of the most important figures in the poem. He is introduced there as a venerable and learned teacher of the heroine, Maṇimekhalai. The historical character of the events narrated in the poem has been well discussed by Dr. S. Krisnaswami Iyengar<sup>1</sup>. But it is doubted by Prof. Jacobi<sup>2</sup> whether Aṛavaṇa is an historical personage and not an imaginary figure introduced by the poet. This doubt however will disappear, if we go through the whole poem carefully. For wherever he is referred to in the Maṇimekhalai he is described as a real person in flesh and blood, having noble qualities characteristic to a Buddhist teacher. He is spoken of, for example, in the chaps. II, X as “a man who has completely dispelled all the human evils and possessed a good deal of spotless learning.”

மறவண நீத்த மாசறு கேள்வி

யறவண (வடிகள்).—II. 60, X, 57.

Again the poet hints that Aṛavaṇa's residence is the same as the heroine, Maṇimekhalai's as below :

நின் னுராங்கு அறவணன் தன்பால் கேட்குவை.—XI, 51.

“Pray ask into Aṛavaṇa of your own place.”

His extreme old age is again spoken of in the following lines :

நரைமுதிர் யாக்கை நடுங்காநாவின்

உரை மூதாளன்.—XII, 3-4.

1. In his “Maṇimekhalai in its Historical Setting.”

2. See his letter, Ibid, p. 93,

“He is a glorious and elderly man, with aged body of gray hairs and tongue never trembling.”

நாத்தொலை வில்லை ஆயினும் தளர்ந்து

மூத்ததி வ்யாக்கை.—XXIV, 99-100.

“He is free from the lapse of the tongue, yet his body is extremely grown up and loose-limbed.”

From these and other similar passages,<sup>1</sup> we may guess that he might have been an historical personage even as Maṇimekhalai and other characters of the poem. Further we may gather from the narratives told of Aṛavaṇa that he was very old when Maṇimekhalai and Mādhavi approached him for ordination in the Buddhist Order. Let us take note of such narratives in brief.

When Mādhavi, the mother of the heroine, Maṇimekhalai heard that her beloved, Kovalan was put to a cruel death, she, along with her daughter, in extremity of sorrow, took herself to the hermitage of the Buddhist monks and bowed at the feet of Aṛavaṇa, who, hearing the cause of her distress, preached the four Truths of Saints and instructed her to take up five morals (ஐவகை சீலம்) which are regarded as the means of escaping from the world of sorrow. In the technical expression of the Buddhists, this is her ordination into the Srāmaṇera stage of the Order. Though it is not clearly stated that Maṇimekhalai, too, obtained this ordination, we may assume that she did so, since it has been specifically so stated in the *Silappadikāram*. This is in conformity with the description given of her in the chap. III of the Maṇimekhalai :

அணியமை தோற்றத்து அரிய தவநெறியிற்

சேர்த்த தாயோ கொடிய டகவிலன்.—149-150.

It is stated in the chap. X, in the words of Goddess, Maṇimekhalai, that Mādhavi, Sutamati and Maṇimekhalai were in previous births daughters of Ravivarman and his wife

1. தவநெறி யறவணன் XXVIII, 150.

அல்லவை கடிந்த வறவண வடிகள் XXVIII, 236.

அறந்திகழ் நாவின்றவணன்.

Amudapati, king and queen of Yasodhara Nagara ; their names were Tārai, Vīrai and Lakṣmi. Tārai and Vīrai married the king of Kaccaya Nagara in the kingdom of Anga by name Dujjaya who took them one day to see the hills in his kingdom and was with them on the banks of the Ganges. Aṛavaṇa came there to his camp, and in reply to his enquiry as to what brought him there, he said that he had come there in order to worship the foot-prints on the hill, Pādapankaya (Gṛdhra-kūṭa). He advised the monarch also to go and offer worship at it. By the merit so acquired by the worship at the feet of the Buddha, both these sisters, Tārai and Vīrai are now born respectively as Mādhavi and Sutamati, Maṇimekhalai's mother and her companion. This story has been again told by Aṛavaṇa himself to Maṇimekhalai when she returned from Island, Maṇipallava (= Ceylon) and approached him to enquire about the narratives of Āputra as Tīvalilakai instructed. Further Aṛavaṇa reports to her that on one occasion he visited the hill, Gṛdhra-kūṭa and on his return he met the king Dujjaya in a grove, and came to know from him that Vīrai, one of his wives, was killed by going unguardedly before an elephant as a result of drink and that her sister, Tārai died by throwing herself from the terrace of the palace on hearing of her sister's death. It is clear from this part of the narratives that both Mādhavi and Sutamati died quite young in their previous births. According to the rebirth theory of Buddhists, a living being may be reborn after 7 or 21 days' interval from his death. Therefore if we assume that Mādhavi entered into the Buddhist Order roughly at 40 and that Aṛavaṇa was about 40 years old when he met them on the banks of Ganges, his age may, at the time of admitting Mādhavi into his religious fold come roughly to 80—an age which might have commanded great respect among the people.

In describing the story of Āputra, Aṛavaṇa says that he met the former in Maṇipallava when he (Āputra) took to fasting unto death so that he might incarnate in the kingdom of Sāvaka, and save the living beings who were suffering there

on account of famine, and that he, being born as an adopted son of the king, Bhūmicandra, by name puṇyarāja, had just then, attained youth and was ruling that kingdom in the city called Nāgapura. (S. chaps. XV, XXIV). It seems, therefore, that some 20 years had elapsed since Aṛavaṇa met him there.

For both Buddhists and Hindus the belief is that one could, by dint of some mystic powers, know about one's own previous birth as well as other's. Though we may not accept as correct the statement of Aṛavaṇa in regard to the identification of Mādhavi, Āputra, etc. with somebodies in previous life, yet we may not be in error, if we assume that Aṛavaṇa frequented sacred places like Gṛdhrakūṭa and Maṇipallava (=Ceylon) preaching Buddha's sermon everywhere.

That he was constantly in touch with Maṇimekhalai from her early years is well expressed in the Silappadikāram, another Tamil classic of the same age as the Maṇimekhalai itself. It is stated there that Mādhavi in her agony of separation from her beloved, Kovalan, "yielded her daughter to a Buddhist Saint of great glory"<sup>1</sup> and that in doing so she addressed her mother (Citrāpati) saying: "I am in duty bound to live a virtuous life. Do not allow Maṇimekhalai to take to the life of a courtesan which leads to a great suffering." Aṛavaṇa admitted Maṇimekhalai to the Order only after obtaining her consent. This is clearly stated in the Silappadikāram. Devan-dikai reports to the king among other things thus; The well-spoken saint (செம்மொழி மாதவர்)<sup>2</sup> said very kindly: The lovely girl expressed to me her wish for renunciation."<sup>3</sup> It can hardly be doubted that the saint described above as "of a great glory" and as "the well-spoken" is naturally Aṛavaṇa. His existence therefore, may be well admitted as true even like that of Maṇimekhalai and Mādhavi etc.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Śāstrigal ad-

1. வணிகிழ் பேரடியறவோன, சிலப். XV, 105, English Trans. p. 214.

2. சிலப். XXX, 32. Engl. Trans. p. 338,

3. Ibid.

mitting the historical character of Aṛavaṇa, has made an attempt to identify him with Dharmapāle of Kāuchi. His plea for this identification is that the Maṇimekhalai following Diñnāga in its logical theories, has made certain improvement upon his logic, but differs from Dharmakīrti in the scheme of *anaikāntika* and *viruddha*. The improvement that is introduced in the Maṇimekhalai is the expression, “*etamil*” = *samyak* or *samyakjñāna* in connection with *aḷavai* = *pramāṇa*. Diñnāga’s definition of perception, “*pratyakṣam-kalpanāpoḍham*” is criticised by Udyotakara on the ground that it is defective because of its lacking in the word *jñāna*. Dharmakīrti has removed the objection by introducing the phrase, *Samyak-jñāna* before defining the perception. As the similar phrase, *etamil* has also been used in the Maṇimekhalai “it would be easy to see how during the transition period between Udyotakara and Dharmakīrti, a few amendments like “*etamil*” might possibly have been introduced by some of the less combative and more loyal followers of Diñnāga like Dharmapāla who came between Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti.”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer has, on the other hand, strongly objected to Prof. Sastriar’s interpretation of the word “*etamil*” and stated that the word “*etamil*” must be construed along with the following word “*ṭirattiyam*” (*pratyakṣam*) and not along with the preceding word “*aḷavai*” (*pramāṇa*). He further points out that the expressions like *etamil* are not infrequently employed as merely intensive words of emphasis, and quotes several instances from the Tiruvācakam.<sup>2</sup> I may also add some more instances from the Maṇimekhalai itself:

ஏதமில் குணப்பொருள், V. 11.

ஏதமில் ஜைமினி. XXVII. 6.

ஏதமில் திட்டாந்தம், XXIX. 156.

Apart from the above argument, Prof. Sastriar has assigned no reason why Aṛavaṇavadigal should be equated with

1. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. 1, p. 197.

2. Ibid. p. 327.

Dharmapāla. So far as I can see we could not point out to any word in the Maṇimekhalī which might look like a Tamil translation of the Sanskrit word. We can find, on the other hand, that the author of the Maṇimekhalai has kept all the Sanskrit or Pāli personal names in *toto* though in forms that are suitable to the Tamil phonetics. The following are some of such names:—அசலன், அத்திபதி, அபஞ்சிகன், அக்கபாதன், உதயகுமான், காஞ்சனன், கேசகம்பளன், சங்கதருமன், சந்திரதத்தன், சனமித்திரன், சாதுசக்கரன், சுதமதி, தருமத்தன், தருமசாவகன், பிருமதருமன், புண்ணியராசன், பூமிசந்திரன், மா(=மகா)சாத்துவன், மாருதவேகன், மண்முகன், மா(=மகா)பலி, முனிசந்திரன், etc.

Now, if Aṛaṇavaḍigal is the same as Dharmapāla, it is not clear why the author should resort to a method of translation in the name of this teacher alone instead of adopting the original Sanskrit name as in the case of other persons. It would not, therefore, be possibly easy to support the supposed identity of these two teachers. That they both are different persons will also be evident, if we analyse the compound “aṛaṇavaḍi” which comprises of three words; viz. *ara*, *aṇa*, (or *vaṇa*) and *aḍi*. The first and last word, ‘*aram*’ and ‘*aḍi*’ are equivalent to ‘*dharma*’ and ‘*pāda*’ in Sanskrit. It is difficult to determine what the middle part of the compound exactly means. It may be derived either from (1) *aṇ* (or *aṇavu*) meaning “to discern” “to analyse”, etc. as in *andaṇa*, or from (2) *aṇṇal* meaning “superior” “head”, etc., or from (3) *aṇ*, a formative suffix meaning “place” (இடம்) as in the compound, நடுவண்து (See Nālaḍiyār, 114). In neither case we have the word in Tamil corresponding to the Sanskrit *pāla* “to protect”, “to sustain” etc. If we take it to be a second derivative, it would be corresponding to *dharmottarapāda* in Sanskrit. Or if we split the compound into *ara* and *vaṇa*, the latter meaning “nature” “self substance”, etc. as in the compounds, பிறவணம் (XXI, 156) and மறவணம் (II, 60, X, 57), then it may be equal to *dharmasvarūpa* or *Dharmātman*, etc. Thus we have seen that there is hardly any connection between

these two words, *aṛavaṇa* and *dharmapāla*. I, therefore, believe that *aṛavaṇa* is a local name given to a local Buddhist teacher whose birth place must be somewhere in the Tamil country. We do find in the Tamil Literature many teachers or authors bearing such local names as Sekkiḷar, Perāḷvār, Ilango, Tiruvalluvar, Avvaiyār, etc. That *aṛavaṇa* is a name of local origin and not a translation of some Sanskrit word will also be evident from the examples of those names like *vaḷaivaṇar* referred to in the Maṇimekhalai itself.

Moreover the biographical accounts of these two teachers, too, do not lend support to their identity. For, Aṛavaṇa is described in the Maṇimekhalai as originally belonging to Puhar, the ancient capital of Cola-kings. He is said to have left it when the city or a part of the city was destroyed by an inundation of the sea, he went to Kanchi and settled there. Though he is spoken of as having visited Northern India and Ceylon more than once, he is nowhere mentioned as having settled in the North. If the destruction of Puhar in 170 A.D.<sup>1</sup> is an historical fact, Aṛavaṇa must have been flourishing during that period, because he is spoken of as a contemporary of the event; therefore he cannot be removed to 600 A.D., the date of Dharmapāla. As regards the latter's account, we are told that he was born at Kānchi as the eldest son of a great minister and ran away to the North on the eve of his marriage and eventually became a great logician and rose to the high rank of the abbot of the Nālanda University. According to the Chinese tradition he died in the 32nd year of his age, while the Tibetan tradition asserts that he lived very long age, ie. about 180 years. I-tsing speaks of him as a contemporary of Bhartṛhari who died in about 651-2 A.D., Thus in view of these circumstances, we cannot subscribe ourselves to Prof. S. K. Śāstrigal's opinion in regard to the identity of Aṛavaṇavadiḡal and Dharmapāla. Nor is it possible to admit his suggestion that the latter might have returned to

1. Diksitar, Silappadikāram, p. 32,

2. More about Dharmapāla, see my forthcoming paper on the subject,

Kānchi after his retirement from Nālanda and might have resuscitated Buddhism in Kānchi and further south ; because we have a strong Javanese<sup>1</sup> tradition to the contrary effect, namely, that he spent his last days in Java and Bali.

1. Himamsu Bhusan Sarkar, Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali, p. 51. Calcutta 1934.

# PARAMATA BHANGA.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### ŚRĪ VEDĀNTA DEŚIKA

ON

#### THE PRACCHANNA BAUDDHA SCHOOL<sup>1</sup>

DR. K. C. VARADACHARI, M.A., PH. D.

1. We now refute the veiled-Buddhist who accepts the Vedānta (Veda-authority), in the same way as we have refuted the Yogācāra, who accepting only Consciousness (as real) declares the knower the object, and the qualities of Buddhi (consciousness such as sorrow, joy etc.) to be merely imaginary constructions (*kalpita*), and Vaibhāṣika, his colleague, who declares only one thing to be eternal, and the rest to be non-eternal.<sup>2</sup>

2. The momentariness and manyness of the Buddhist, the eternity and oneness of the Māyā-vadin, are, according to their own tenets, in relation to the Undifferentiated Consciousness, imaginary constructions, and consequently, they

1. This term is applied to the Māyāvāda by Śrī Venkatanātha. The intimate relation between Buddhism and Māyāvāda has been a well recognized fact, even by Śrī Harṣa, the author of *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍakhāḍhya*. (p. 19 & p. 29 Chowk. ed.) that it is not surprising that they are called veiled-buddhists.

2. *cf* Vibhajya-vaibhāṣika's views are referred to here. The Yogācāra holds that Consciousness, *buddhi*, alone is real, and all others, including its own states are constructions. Advaita also holds the same view. For the Vaibhāṣika one thing alone is eternal and all else momentary, and this is Buddhi, consciousness. Advaita also holds a similar tenet. Ātman, which is mere consciousness, undifferentiated and unqualified, is eternal. All else are constructions which are false.

Śrī Vedānta Deśika shows briefly the intimate relationship if not identity in the views of Māyāvāda and the Buddhist schools,

(Buddhism and Māyāvāda) are one (school of thought) when we closely inspect these two schools.<sup>1</sup>

3. Since what these two schools separately affirm (as valid testimony) namely, the Buddhāgama and the Veda, for demonstrating their respective tenets, are false in themselves, in their truthness, in regard to the knower and the fruits of cognition, these (two, the Yogācāra and Māyāvādin) who have learnt these (doctrines) at the Mādhyamika's shop, must only follow his foot-steps (towards utter annihilation) Since the Mādhyamika's statement that knowledge is non-existent is false (according to his own tenets), knowledge is existent (is real). Since what these persons seek to establish on the basis of the (evidence of) consciousness is (also declared to be) false, itself is non-existent (false).

4. Between the Buddhist who says that all activities of life are phenomenally real (*samvṛti satyam*) and the māyāvādin who says that they are pragmatically real (*vyavahāra satyam*), there is no difference in what is taught except in the language (to wit, the essential import is identical).

5. As between the words, indescribable, and non-existent etc., (also) there is not much difference, when we look into their inner meaning.

6. Since all the Vedas are proved to be illusory sources of knowledge, and since the attainment of fruits of vedic works is (declared to be) false, these are activities of illusion: and since to the knower of Brahman who being able to burn them up (with his knowledge), resides on the head of the Veda, there is no subordination to scriptural authority (*śāstra*), there will not come about any sin due to acting contrary to the Veda—such a one who argues to this effect is fit to be

1. Momentariness and Manyess are imaginary constructions according to Yogācāra. Eternity and Oneness also are imaginary constructions according to Māyāvāda, since they too are qualities of consciousness and as such mere constructions. Thus the identity between Yogācāra and Māyāvāda is established, their differences are due to imaginary constructions and hence non-ultimate,

kept at a distance by him who knows the Veda (in the proper manner).

7. If it be sought to prove merely on the basis of desire (*kāma*), accepting that which is not at all a testimony, Brahman's truthness, self-luminosity, infinity, indivisibility, unqualifiedness and the world's illusoriness etc., (and other attributes of reality and etc.) it becomes an over-application (*ati-prasaṅga*).

8. Since it is said that all that is other than Brahman is illusion, there is no testimony at all by which to intimate that thing. Nor could the *transcendent* Brahman prove any of these. Even if the testimony of the phenomenal consciousness is accepted, soon after the phenomena have ceased to appear as true, there can be no adherence to one's own tenets, as they are said to become false (through sublation), and are (said to become) identical with dream-evidence. Further they themselves have surrendered the validity of testimonies as something not belonging to the transcendent being (*paramārtha-dharma*).

9. Even in the view which holds that the validity of knowledge is due to the truth in the object's nature, is something attributed by illusion (*āropita*) in knowledge (*jñāna*) or in its instruments, since it states that Brahman's truthness etc., qualities and the world's illusoriness etc., qualities are infected with illusion, there is absolutely no way by which to establish validity its own conclusions.

10. Because of the illusoriness of both the unqualifiedness (of Brahman itself) and the world-illusoriness, the knowledge of other systems, the knowledge of the world etc., thereby becoming true, these (other and opposite views) would become valid knowledge!

11. If it be said that these which appear as *pramāṇa* get sublated, (we reply that) the scriptures also which appear as *pramāṇa*, get refuted by the Māyāvādin's statement by

itself, and the Nihilist's statement by itself. There is no other sublato beyond it.

12. If it be sought to affirm that these are untrustworthy on account of their being received through faulty instruments, it is equally so in the Veda, in its own system. Just as there is no validity for words experienced in dreams, because of having illusoriness in their essential nature, so also in regard to the Veda, this defect occurs.

13. To this thinker (Māyāvādin) who affirms that through the false, the truth is gained, (we have to say that) not one of the examples he brings forward his own and his opponent's doctrines.

14. To him who accepts the illusoriness of the characters of truthness consciousness etc., in respect of Brahman itself, apprehended in the Vedānta passages which he has himself selected as particularly informing the truth, it is impossible to differentiate Brahman from the world with the help of these qualities. As the falsity and etc., (qualities affirmed) of the world are declared to be illusory (also), there can be no differentiation of the world from Brahman. (That is to say, the world and Brahman have as much reality or unreality as one another)!

15. The faults mentioned (by you) regarding perception which apprehends the qualified being,<sup>1</sup> would equally apply to Illusion.<sup>2</sup> (Therefore the objections against Savikalpaka pratyakṣa and Saṁyama Brahman are pointless).

1. Savikalpaka-jñāna.

2. The question arises whether there are two moments of perception when a thing is apprehended as qualified. Some theorists hold that there are; the first moment being the moment of perception of the thing-in-itself, the second moment being moment of perception of difference. This view contradicts the axiom of momentariness of perception, since there can be no possibility of perception of difference, at all, and therefore we must conclude that this difference is something attributed and not perceived. This is an argument brought against the *savikalpaka* and also that there can be no perception of difference at all, the truth being that Perception is always of the undifferentiated. Śrī Vedānta Deśika says that their whole psychology of

16. To say that pure perception or that perception which is accompanied by examination, reveals (only) the unqualified is contrary to all knowledge.

17. The refutation made in regard to difference (*bheda*) as to whether it is the thing itself or its quality (*svarūpa-dharma-vikalpa*) can equally be made to apply to *abheda*, non-difference.

18. To one who asserts that all differences are illusory, there will result contradiction with oneself in regard to one's activities due to non-availability of distinctions between one's own valid sources of knowledge and non-valid sources of knowledge, reason and the conclusion, truth and untruth, one's side and that of the opponent, proof and counter-proof, plaintiff

perception, is wrong. The first perception itself is perception of the thing as qualified by qualities which cannot exist apart from their substrate. Thus what appears at the moment of perception which is momentary is a unity of substance-qualities, a *saṁsthāna-sthiti*. This quality is the differentiating factor, undoubtedly in relation to other things, that is to say, the process of comparison is undoubtedly an act of imagination and inference (*kalpitam*), but not the quality as in relation to its substrate which is a unity that cannot be divorced. Thus there are not two moments for the perception of quality. The differentiating attribute of a substance is not an additive feature, or an *attribution* of a quality to a *qualityless* thing.

Śrī Vedānta Deśika proceeds further and says that if *bheda* is said to be an attribution, those who hold *abheda* to be true of a thing should be prepared to consider it as an attribute, and as such, to make it an equally imaginary construction of the illuding avidya and thus equally invalid. Nor should a further resort to the doctrine of infinite regress, *anavastha*, be made such as, whether there is not needed an attribute of *bheda*, difference, to *bheda* itself, which distinguishes it from its substance and so on and so forth, since this equally applies to the doctrine of *abheda*. The fact is that objections based on seeking relations to relate things are vitiated by false psychology. Relations relate, that is all there is to say about them. To treat them as terms *relata*, is illogical and unsustainable.

Śrī Vedānta Deśika's psychology of Perception follows the lines laid down by Yāmūnācārya, Rāmānuja and others and points out that there is no perception of the unqualified Being or undistinguished being at any moment. Even a snatch of perceptive experience reveals as the modern psychologists affirm, a gestalt, a configuration, a patch of colour, a location, and these are sufficient distinguishing properties in the unity of the experience,

cf. Śrī Bhāṣya Mahā Siddhānta. I. i. 1.

(*vādi*) and the defendent (*prativādi*), success and failure, eatable and non-eatable.

19. In regard to the inferences which (they think) establish non-knowability and unqualifiedness etc., (regarding the Highest Brahman), contradictions with their own statements, it is impossible to avoid.

20. With the help of the inference which consists of reason and major term (*sādhya*) (which are qualifications as such), to seek to establish the Non-qualified Being etc., will be like trying to get rid of itching by rubbing oneself with nettle (*tragia involucrata*) (*kāñjuri*).

21. To him who declares that we can know the entire nature of Brahman such as eternity, unqualifiedness, self-luminosity etc., with the help of inference, there can possibly be no necessity for the *Apaśūdra-adhikaraṇa*<sup>1</sup> in regard to Brahma-knowledge.

22. Further, since there happens the giving up of one's own scriptures (as they are declared to be *ultimately* false), for these triple castes even, the Vedānta becomes worthless.

23. In the scriptures which have come into existence having the form of words and sentences, it can be seen both by the ordinary men and learned scholars that it does not speak about the Unqualified Being.

24. Where there is declared Unqualifiedness etc., in the scriptures, they refer to the negation of the lower qualities alone, according to correct interpretation.<sup>2</sup>

1. This *adhikaraṇa* in the Vedānta sūtras (I. iii. 33-39) prohibits the śūdras from eligibility to study upaniṣadic knowledge (Brahma-vidya). If inference can prove that which the Scriptures are alone held to prove, which is impossible (I. i. 3 *śāstrayonitvāt*), there need be no distinction made between the higher eligible castes and non-eligibles.

2. *Samicīna-nyāya*. There are many nyāyas or rules of interpretation in the scriptures such as *Utsargāpavāda-nyāya*, *sāmānya-viśeṣa-nyāya*, *gobalī-varḍa-nyāya* etc. The first states that when there are two statements such as *guṇas* do not exist, and excellent *guṇas* are there, the correct interpretation is that the *guṇas* which are said to be nonexistent are limited by those which

25. If it be declared by the scriptures (as is claimed by these thinkers) that the Parabrahman's nature is free from all constructions (attributes), is there any possibility of attributing to it any names, any class-character, any quality, any power, any activity any substantiality such as infinitude etc. or non-existence (even) ?

26. And if it be said that, since all these are illusory constructions, the supreme substance can only be that which remains in its own nature (denuded of all these characteristics), then this is contradictory to the scriptures and other sources of right knowing, and will conflict with their own statements, and consequently, it must be presumed that where there is mention of being free from all constructions, (attributes), it does not mean denudation of the qualities that belong to it as such (i.e. as the supreme Substance). What is meant, is that those qualities which belong to other things and which might be supposed by the ordinary man to belong to It do not belong to It.

27. If it be asked what those qualities are which belong

are said to exist. That is, only excellent qualities exist. (2) The second law or rule states that a universal statement is not unconditionally true when there is special description or *viśeṣa* stated. (3) the third is; the word *Go* or *cow* refers both to the female and the male, When it alone is mentioned, it includes the male also, as here *balivardā*. But if both *Go* and *balivardā* are mentioned, then *Go* or *cow* refers only to the female, and not to the male since separate signification has been made of that male. Thus there is conditioning. There are other *nyāyas* such as *apaccheda-nyāya* of *Mīmāṃsā* which in the context of contradiction between two things between which there is no fixed priority and posteriority the later fault is said to be more powerful needing immediate *prāyascitta*, whereas another *nyāya* such as where there is contradiction between two things between which there is determined or fixed priority and posteriority, the previous is more powerful than the later fault (*Mīmāṃsā* rule under *Upakramādhikaraṇa*).

Advaita follows the previous rule *apaccheda-Nyāya* and states that the first portions of the scriptures dealing with assertions or *vidhis* are overruled by the negations in the later, the *saguṇa śrutis* is overruled by the *nirguṇa śrutis* etc. But *Viśiṣṭādvaita* points out that the contradiction between the two is not between two things which can be said to be *anīyata-pourvā-parya* but fixed, and as such that rule would not apply. On the contrary, the principle enunciated in the *Upakramādhikaranam* will apply.

to It, and what those qualities are which are attributed to It? we reply, those qualities which have been determined by the scripture devoted to the apprehension (or knowledge) of the Supreme substance such as names like Lord (Īśvara), class like Ātman, quality like knowledge etc., Power like All-supportingness, activity like creation of the world etc., having as his Body the Eternal world and the Play-worlds, having Non-existence of change (that pertains to the material nature) and afflictions (apurusaṛtha that belongs to the imperfect souls). Since all these are determined (declared?) by Scriptures exclusively devoted to His knowledge, these belong to the Supreme Substance (God or Brahman).

All the names such as man etc., their genus, qualities like colour, taste, etc., the capacity to evolve them through themselves, the possession of activities which are determined by the fruits of their own actions, the possession of bodies that cause misery, lack of auspicious qualities, do not belong to Him directly since all these are contradicted by the Scriptures (pramāṇa). In an identical manner, the attributes denied by the scriptures of the Jīva are (also) to be known.

Refutations of the fallacious objections raised against the substance-quality relation may be perused under the Chapter on the Refutation of the Buddhist Schools.<sup>1</sup>

Thus to say that Brahman is neither identical nor different nor inwardly distinguished by attributes, is contradictory to all scriptures.<sup>2</sup>

28. Even though we accept *Arthāpatti* and other pramāṇas (which Advaita holds), all of them cannot reveal the Unqualified Being, since they too are similar to the pramāṇas which have been declared.

1. *Paramatabhanga*, Ch. VII—IX, cf. *Annals S. V. O. I.* Vol. I, pt. 3,

2. This is to say, the Supreme is different from ātmans (*sajātiya-bheda*), the same is different from matter (*vijātiya-bheda*) and it is inwardly distinguished by intrinsic qualities in its nature (*svagata-bheda*). Therefore to deny all these is manifestly wrong.

29. If it be said that we want no *pramāṇa* at all, and that the Unqualified Being is perceived through (its) self-luminosity alone, then (we reply) this cannot by itself alone prove the same. If with the help of any other *pramāṇa* it is sought to prove that the Unqualified Being is established through its self-luminosity, then also it will only reveal the qualified being and not any other.

30. Superimposition by ignorance,<sup>1</sup> uncleanness<sup>2</sup> delusion and illusion,<sup>3</sup> and negating proofs cannot be made to apply to the unqualified self-luminous Being, (if it is always inalienably luminous).

31. To one who establishes that the body is not ātman because of its lack of knowerness (*jñātṛtva*), it is necessary to accept that the 'I' who is the knower, is ātman, since the unqualified consciousness (*jñāna*) cannot be the ātman, on account of its lack of the quality of knowerness.

32. The inferences which declare the predication of non-ātmanness and materiality etc., to the 'I' (*ahamārtha*), and the predication of witness-ness and selfness etc., and the inwardness, susceptibility to illusion (*pratyaktva*) etc., to the Pure Consciousness (*samvit*), suffer from contradiction with perception and scriptural testimony. This is what is discussed in detail in the *Ātmasiddhi* and concluded (there) thus :

“Thus because of being proved by Pratyakṣa, because of being in accord with scriptural testimony and Inference, and because of susceptibility to Ignorance, the Ātman is apprehended in “I am the Knower (*jñātā*)”.

33. When the 'I' (*aham-padārtha*) is not the Self (ātman), there is no possibility of declaring identity between the Jīva and the Brahman so as to indicate oneness (as in the passages : *Aham Brahmasmi* etc.)

1. *Avidya tirohitatva.*

2. *Aviśadatva.*

3. *Adhyāśabhrama.*

34. That the co-ordination (*sāmānādhikarāṇya*) between the world of inconscient and conscient (on the one hand) (and Brahman on the other hand) is not either on account of identity or of sublation, but one which is due to body and soul relationship is what is taught by the mediating texts (*ghataka śruti*).

35. The passages which refute *difference* have to be construed along with texts that precede and follow it, in which case, they will mean other than that.

36. When the illusoriness of the world is sought to be proved by means of Inferences, the inferences become invalid because of the fallacious reasons (*kālātyāpadeśādinirastam*). When all perceptions (perceptive evidences) are rejected (as illusory), Inference and Scriptural evidences also cease to be right sources of knowledge, because they depend on perception.

37. It is not so in regard to the sublating of the (seen) identity in regard to the flame (series)<sup>1</sup>, (because the sublation of the perception of identity through inference is based on the perception of the diminution in the size of the wick and amount of oil etc.) We have already refuted the fallacious reasonings regarding cause-effect relation borrowed by these (advaitic thinkers) from the Mādhyamika.<sup>2</sup>

38. To attribute a quality of being distinct from both Being and Non-Being (*sad-asad-vilakṣaṇatva*) to the world, is a contradiction, just like the doctrine of co-existence of Beingness and Non-Beingness (*sad-asatva-samuccaya*).<sup>3</sup>

39. Nor is there place for any Arthāpatti utilized to demonstrate the undeterminability (*anirvacanīyatvam*) (of reality), since there are other explanations<sup>1</sup> (for these *sad-asad* texts).

1. *Jvālākya*.

2. Chapters VII of the P. M. B. (cf. Annals S V O. I Vol. I. 3 p. 17 ff.)

3. cf. Jaina *Sapta bhaṅgi* and Bhāskara's two-fold predication.

4. cf. *Arthāpatti* is useful only when there is a *bādha* as in the case of Devadatta being stout even though he does not take food by day-time. There is no such *bādha* in this case at all. Hence *arthāpatti* cannot apply at all here,

40. Those texts which refute Being and Non-Being refer to the Praḷaya state during which manifestations of both the souls (*sat*) and the matter (*asat*) are withdrawn into It (Brahman). (They do not refer to the present time at all but only to the casual *prius* of all existence)

41. All the perceptive cognitions etc., which are intended to intimate the material cause of the world as Indeterminable or Being-Non-Being will only yield opposite conclusions at the hands of the intelligent critic.

42. To say that by means of the Knowledge of Identity there happens cessation of Ignorance etc., will conflict with those texts which teach that Liberation is the result of the knowledge of Difference (*bheda-jñāna*).

43. (But) to one who declares that Bondage, the Knowledge of the means of escape from it, the knower, the bestower of knowledge, the scripture which generates knowledge, freedom from Ignorance that is the fruit of such knowledge, are illusory, the investigation into Brahman etc., and instruction in that etc., are (all) worthless.

44. Since the reality of the world is proved by all sources of knowledge, it cannot be said that its reality is controverted by (sublated by) either the knowledge of the meaning of texts,<sup>1</sup> or by the means of the unseen result that accrues from the denial of the world (*niṣprapañcīkaraṇaniyoga*)<sup>2</sup>, or through the direct vision born out of the knowledge through meditation<sup>3</sup>.

1. Śāṅkarācārya's special tenet was this. The vākyas mentioned are *Tat tvam asi* etc.

2. The *niyoga* is *apūrva*, an unseen result that accrues from the de-phenomenalising of the world. His texts are *Brh. Up* III. 4. 2. "Thou shalt not see the seer nor think the thinker of the thought." • *Ch. Up*. VI. 2. 1. : *Brh. Up*. IV. 4. 19. For refutation of this School in detail cf. *Śrī Bhāṣya* I. 1. 4.

3. Dhyāna-niyoga-vādin cf. *Śrī Bhāṣya*. I. i. 4. This is another type of Māyāvādin who criticizes the previous doctrine. The whole Advaitic position is clearly refuted in the *Śrī Bhāṣya* I. i. 4 under the Sūtra 'Tattu

45. The assertions such as that the perception that is born out of Scripture, that freedom is to be had even whilst living (in the karmic body) are open to the ridicule of all persons.

46. Nor need one who affirms the Self to be eternally freed (nityamukta) maintain either jīvan-mukti or sākṣān-mukti (since freedom or liberation is needed or sought for or striven after only by the bond). Nor is there any possibility of accepting the doctrine of post-persistent activities of sublated illusion (*bādhītānūvṛtti*)<sup>1</sup> in respect of one who has gained the knowledge which sublates *totally* all that is not Brahman. (On the other hand,) (according to other theorists like us) since there are things in the world wherein there are real defects which are not subject to sublation by knowledge, there can be post-persistent activity even after the illusions have been dispelled.

47. He who knows his disciple to be an illusion can not give instruction to him. If (on the other hand) he considers him to be real, he is not a knower at all (according to the

*samanvayāt*. *Nyāya Siddhānjanam* ; Īśvara paricchedaḥ : śl. 69-73. *Tattva muktākalāpa* · Jīvasaraḥ. 44 & 45 & 46 sl ff.

*Adhikaraṇa Sarāvalī* . I. i. 49 verse

ब्रह्मैके निष्प्रपञ्चीकरणविधिपदं ध्यानविधिर्यमन्ये  
निर्धर्माद्वैतवाक्योपचरितमितरे सिध्यतीति ब्रुवन्ति ।  
तेषामेषां स्वपक्षस्ववचनविहितव्याकुलोनकजल्पः  
कल्पोऽयं ब्राह्मकल्पः कृतमतिपरिष्कीर्णमदैरमादि ॥

1. *Bādhītānūvṛtti* : the persistence of activities of illusion even after the illusion has been sublated by knowledge. This persistence is explained as caused by the long persistent adaptation to old situations, *vāsanā*, which wear away only slowly. But Rāmānuja and Śrī Vedānta Deśika hold that the persistence of illusions is founded on other causes than merely ignorance, such as defects in sense-organs, movement, actual similarity, provoking the confusion etc. For example, the double moon perceived by an individual does not vanish but persists as perception despite his knowing that there is only one moon. The ignorance that there are two moons may be dispelled, but the perception of the two moons cannot be dispelled by knowledge but only by removing the disease of the eye Cf. *Tattva muktā kalāpa* · II. 70 śl.

theory of total sublation and there is never partial sublation in this theory).

48. According to the Doctrine of the Single Self, there cannot be any distinctions of states of joy and sorrow, teacher and taught, bondage and liberation. (Further) the scriptures which declare the liberation of Śuka and others get refuted.<sup>1</sup>

49. He who accepts the view that Brahman through reflection becomes the many individual souls (jīvas), cannot prove the existence of the self who perceives these (reflections). To say that the Unqualified, Unchanging, merely self-luminous Brahman being reflected in the waves of the inward psychic organ (antahkaraṇa) which is (produced by) Avidya (ignorance), appears as if reflecting the differences and changes (whilst it is itself unaffected), just as the Moon is reflected in the waves and appears as if affected by manyness and by movement,) and touching the ground is only useful for (or similar to) dramatical imaginary construction, since it is not substantiated by any source of right knowledge, (and therefore is not useful for metaphysics based on valid pramāṇa.) To a soul which is (said to be) merely a reflection, liberation can only mean destruction of itself (*ātma-nāśa*).

50. In the doctrine which differentiates between Māyā and Ignorance,<sup>2</sup> it is impossible to refute the quality of being Ignorance to Māyā which causes the perception by the Brahman of the illusorily manifested souls.

51. That since the word 'Māyā' is determined to have quite a different meaning on account of its special usage etc., this word denotes Mūlaprakṛti and others, on account of their ability to manifest wonderful creations, can be seen from the prior and later contexts where it occurs.

1. Vāmadeva etc.

2. Ignorance is said to affect the individual soul, whereas Māyā is said to be the deluding power of which the Isvara is the Lord. Brahman however as Īśvara perceives the many and as such at least there is ignorance, since there is nowhere manyness, according to its thesis.

3. Māyām tu Prakṛti (Sve. Up. IV. 10).

52. During the period of descent (avatār) where there is referred to Him ignorance, it is all only feigned (*abhinaya-mātram*). Nor should we refer Ignorance to the Lord, in the passage "The supreme Lord tests those who are of unsteady mind" *parīkṣām ca jagannāthaḥ karotyadṛdhacetasām*. These have meaning only in respect of his specially beneficial activities (not because He lacks knowledge).

53. Since the scriptures declare that with the help of Māyā, Īśvara creates the universe, that with this Māyā, He binds the souls, that to each soul the Lord causes bondage according to its karma-(deserts), and that varieties of knowledge (*upāśana*) are causes of Release, therefore those who follow the *pramāṇas* must accept that the three entities conscient, inscient and Īśvara, eternally distinguished from one another, having their own respective special qualities etc., remain without any possibility of sublation by *pramāṇas*.

54. We have shown *in extenso* in *Śatadūṣani*<sup>1</sup> and other works that in the varieties of explanations brought forward to coax acceptance by the innocent (*bālopacchandana-bheda*) so as to suit their several tastes, by those who belong to this school, such as Brahmādvaita, Vāsudevādvaita, Śivādvaita, Sphotādvaita, Sadādvaita, Samvidādvaita, there is absolutely nothing which can be supported by either *pramāṇas* or Reason, and that the Vedānta Sūtras from first to last are opposed to them.

## APPENDIX.

*Tattvamuktū-kalāpa*, *Jīvasarah*. 44, 45, 46, 47.

### ध्याननियोगवादमङ्गः

निर्दिष्टो निष्प्रपञ्चीकरणविधिरसौ गौडमीमांसकातै-

र्दृष्टो न कापि दुर्निर्वहमपि करणाद्यत्र साध्याविशेषात् ।

1. There are only 66 of these available, wherein only Brahmādvaita is refuted through out.

मुक्तिर्नैयोगिकी चेज्जगदपि न मृषा नश्वरी सापि ते स्या-  
द्धंसात्मत्वेपि तस्या न च वदसि भिदां ब्रह्मणस्तच्च नित्यम् ॥ ४४ ॥

### निष्प्रपञ्चीकरणनियोगवादभङ्गः

वाक्यार्थज्ञानमात्रादमृतमिति वदन्मुच्यते किं श्रुतेस्मिन्  
बाढञ्चेन्मानवाधस्स यदनुभवति प्रागिवाद्यापि दुःखम् ।  
ध्यानादीनां विधानं भवति च वितथं तत्र युक्तं न चेष्टम्  
ध्यानाद्यङ्गाद्यशब्दोदितचरममतेर्नाधिकं वः प्रकाश्यम् ॥ ४५ ॥

### वाक्यार्थज्ञानस्य मोक्षोपायत्वभङ्गः

उद्देश्यांशं त्वमाद्यं स्फुटमनुभवतां सम्यगध्यक्षवित्त्या  
प्रत्यक्षत्वभ्रमोयं त्वमसि दशम इत्यादिवाक्यार्थबोधे ।  
शब्दात्प्रत्यक्षबोधे प्रसजति शिथिला तद्यवस्था ततोऽर्थे  
साक्षात्कारं न शब्दो जनयति विमतस्सिद्धवच्छब्दभावात् ॥ ४६ ॥

### शब्दप्रत्यक्षभङ्गः

शिष्यो जीवस्त्वसिद्धः किमु तव यदि वा भ्रान्तिसिद्धो मितौ वा  
नासिद्धाद्योपदेशो भ्रमविषयमितौ नोपदेशार्हतास्य ।  
भेदेनैक्येन वान्त्यः कथमुपदिशतु ज्ञातभेदोप्यभेदम्  
तादात्म्ये जागरूके सति किमुपदिशेत्स्वात्मने तद्विदे सः ॥ ४७ ॥



## CHĀKSHUSHĪYA :

### AN ANCIENT WORK ON ARTHAŚĀSTRA

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI M.A.

Arthaśāstra is a general term denoting the science of statesmanship as ordained for and conducted by kings with the help of their counsellors and officers. It takes its origin from Brahma, in an upaveda known as arthaveda<sup>1</sup>, which embraces the whole field of political economy, commerce, political science, minerology, jurisprudence, arms and military operations. A number of treatises as Manuṇīti<sup>2</sup>, Auśanasa, Bārhas-

1. Yāmalāshṭaka-tantra enumerates the contents of the Arthaveda thus :—

चतुर्दशसहस्राणि ह्यर्थवेदः प्रमाणतः ।  
यत्रैवाष्टादशाध्यायाः सन्ति प्रत्यक्षसिद्धिदाः ॥  
कल्पाध्यायो रसाध्यायः प्रयोगाध्याय एव च ।  
धातुध्मानक्रियाध्यायो रत्नाध्यायस्तथैव च ॥  
तपुसीसजयाध्यायो लोहाध्यायस्ततः परम् ।  
मूषामृष्टोणतगराध्यायो वादजयस्ततः ॥  
हेमसम्पादनाध्यायः सिद्धाध्यायोऽखिलार्थदः ।  
मूलिकाशोधनोऽध्यायः पुटाध्यायो महत्तरः ॥  
नागाभ्रचन्द्रिकाध्यायो योगाध्यायोऽर्थदयकः ।  
कालपाकक्रियाध्यायः संमिक्षाध्याय एव च ॥  
विक्रियाकरणाध्याय एते सर्वार्थदायकाः ।

2. This work was referred to by Mādhavamiśra in his commentary on Kauṭalya's arthaśāstra (page, 180 J. Jolly). He introduces the two śloka in Bk. X, ch iii, viz,—

यान्यज्ञसङ्घ्वैस्तपसा च विप्राः स्वर्गैषिणः पात्रचयञ्च यान्ति ।  
क्षणेन तानप्यतियान्ति शूराः प्राणान् सुयुद्धेषु परित्यजन्तः ॥

patya, Kauṭaliya, Nītiprakāśa, etc., were produced by great men based upon the sections of arthaveda for the study of kings and ministers. Vyāsa condensed all the four upavedas, viz., Āyurveda, Dhānurveda, Gāndharvaveda and Arthaveda in about 10,000 ślokas of which, the epitome of the Āyurvedopaveda alone has survived to our days. Unhappily, most of the works on Arthaśāstra perished, Kauṭalya and Vaiśampāyana surviving the ravages of time. Kauṭalya rejected greater part of Arthaveda and taking up only a few sections from it, enlarged them with discussions in which he boldly criticised the views of his predecessors, asserting his own siddhānta. Kauṭalya's work, since its discovery attracted the attention of scholars all over the world and hundreds of modern works bearing upon it adduce to its importance for a student of ancient politics. Scientific terminology requires explanatory aids and the more ancient a work is, the greater the difficulty of interpretation to a modern student. Without such aids as commentaries, the study of works like Kauṭaliya must surely lead into regions of error and imagination tainted by modern conceptions. This is now illustrated by a close study of the commentaries on Kauṭaliya, by Bhikshu, Śankara, Bhaṭṭasvāmin, Mādhava, Yōgdhama etc. ; of these voluminous commentaries only portions are available. Many of them

(continued from page 79)

नवं शरावं सलिलस्य पूर्णं सुसंस्कृतं दर्भकुतोत्तरायं ।

तत्तस्य माभून्नरकं च गच्छेत् यो मर्तृपिण्डस्य कुते न युध्येत् ॥

thus, मनुनीतावपीति मनुगीततया पुराणेष्वीत्यर्थः ।

Mādhava means that the foregoing ślokas were like the authority of a purāṇa, as the Vedic authority was already been given by Kauṭalya. Here *pratīka* according to Mādhava is मनुनीतावपि but the printed edition gives only अपीह श्लोकौ भवतः (P. 367. Second edition.) Thus it is reasonable to suppose that the two ślokas were quoted by Kauṭalya from Manunīti.

The second śloka above quoted is found in Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa ascribed to Bhāsa whose date is determined as prior to Kauṭalya's solely on the evidence that Kauṭalya quoted the verse from Bhāsa's drama. Now, the *pratīka* given by Mādhava clearly proves that both Kauṭalya and Bhāsa borrowed it from older Manunīti. Bhāsa's priority to Chāṇakya must be established from any other evidence if available.

were studied and their gist rendered into old Malayālam, which is now procurable for the first seven adhikaraṇas. Dr. Ganapati Śāstri utilised this Malayalam version only partly in his invaluable Sanskrit commentary. Among the above commentators, Bhikshu is more authoritative and precise; Jayamaṅgalā of Śankara very elaborate; Bhattasvāmin's is here and there faulty. The great intellect of Bhoja seems to have been devoted to the study of Arthaśāstra. He produced Nītibhūṣaṇa, which is not available to us. The very weight of the ancient works, both in size and thought such as Auśanasa, and Bārhaspatya has immersed them into oblivion, and many of Bhoja's works, which are of the same quality and quantity shared their fate.

Bhoja analysed Arthaśāstra into 10 heads :—

१. विनयस्कन्धः—विद्योपविद्याग्रहणं, अभ्यासश्च ।
२. वार्तास्कन्धः—दुर्गसेतुवणिक्पथवाणिज्यकृष्यादिप्रवृत्तिचिन्तनम् ।
३. व्यवहारस्कन्धः—मात्स्यन्यायनिवारणम् ।
४. रक्षास्कन्धः—बाह्याभ्यन्तरकण्टकेभ्यः प्रजाप्रकृत्यात्मरक्षणम् ।
५. मन्त्रस्कन्धः—रहसि षाङ्गुप्यचिन्ता ।
६. उपायस्कन्धः—सामादिप्रयोगः ।
७. विक्रमस्कन्धः—चतुर्थोपायसाध्यत्वे व्यसनारिसंपद्योगात्परस्य तदभिमुखप्रयाणम्, युद्धकर्म ।
८. उपनिषत्स्कन्धः—बलवतो जिगीषोरौषधमणिमन्त्रादिप्रयोगः ।
९. प्रशमस्कन्धः—परस्मादवाप्तानामात्मसात्कृत्य भयादिप्रशमनम् ।

The prodigious size of a text-book is an impediment to a student or to a mere consultant, nor is it convenient and handy for a teacher who imparts discursive knowledge to his pupils. Every science in India, in ancient days was taught and improved upon by discussion. A text book of small dimen-

sion with a wider scope of the subject was always welcome by ancient institutions of teacher-pupil system. One of such books in Arthaśāstra is Chākshushīya, which was committed to the upper shelf when Kauṭalya issued his more comprehensive and critical text now available to us in print. Chākshushīya is an earlier work than Kauṭaliya, much studied by pupils of royal blood and its discovery in Travancore (one of the copies found in the H. H. Maharaja's Granthappara Library) adds to the glory of the great bibliothic treasures of Malabar.

Chākshushīya is the smallest work in Arthaśāstra as far as we know. It is composed in the form of a sūtra, a vākya and sangraha śloka on each topic in the subject. Sūtra like a graph is an intensive and condensed picture of each thought either in prose or verse. Vākya is elaboration generally in prose. Sangraha śloka is a mnemonic recapitulation in verse of sūtra and Vākya. To this treatment is sometimes added what is called Samīkshā, i.e., a critical examination of earlier theories consisting of pūrvapaksha-anuvāda and dūṣhaṇa. Chākshushīya's treatment consists only of the first three forms, while Kauṭalya added with superb effect samīksha to his work. Bhatrīhari's Vākyapadīya, Brahmasiddhi, Vakrokti-jīvita, Bharata's chapters on rasa and bhāva follow this kind of treatment. As samīkshā forms most valuable part of intellectual discussion, Chākshushīya seems to have fallen to the background for the want of it. For us whether the one or the other is the type of the work, it serves no more than curious specimen of intellectual phenomena of bygone civilisations; but it may be said that most of the ingenuity of modern statecraft may find its unconscious parallel or analogy in some passing utterance of the omniscient sages of India.

The work treats of sixty-seven items<sup>1</sup> related to statecraft dealing with the duties of a monarch and the officers and priests that surround him. The first paṭala (division) names

1. 67 sūtras are given at the end of this article.

all these items as uddēśa. The Second paṭala onwards elaborate them with recapitulation in verse. This latter treatment is available to us only for 60 items and both the manuscripts break off in the middle. A few recapitulatory verses from the missing portion are found quoted under Chakshushiya in Sūktiratnahāra<sup>1</sup>—an anthology composed under the patronage of Kulaśekhara, a king of Travancore. Small as it is, it embraces the whole field of Kauṭaliya, except the third section on Law (Dharmasthiya). The order of various items differs in their presentation in both the works. Kauṭalya appears to have added vast material from Viśālāksha, Uśanas, and Brihaspati. This fact is attested by the following verses quoted in Jayamaṅgala.—

ब्रह्माध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रेऽबुद्धिजम् ।  
 तच्छङ्करेण शक्रेण गुरुणा भार्गवेण च ।  
 संक्षिप्तं मनुना चैव बहुमिश्रं तपोधनैः ।  
 प्रजानामायुषो हासं विज्ञाय च महात्मना ।  
 संक्षिप्तं विष्णुगुप्तेन नृपाणामर्थसिद्धये ॥

An enumeration of sixty seven items of the work can prove its comprehensiveness and by comparing them with the topics in Kauṭaliya, it can easily be inferred that Chākshashīya is only a primer in royal politics which served as basis for fuller works as Kauṭaliya etc.

Chākshusha is one of the fourteen Manus. A question arises whether opinions quoted under Mānavas (Manu's pupils) refer to this work. One or two have been identified in Chākshushīya. But one may assert that this Chākshushīya may be considered as a disfigured epitome or a mock imitation

1. From quoted verses many of which are identified in our work, it is conjectured that the work extends beyond the 4th Chapter giving more details on certain important topics. But the last verse in Chapter 4 appears to end the work thus :—

इति शास्त्रमधीयानो विनयात्पृथिवीपतिः ।  
 अव्यापन्नो जयेद्भूमिं परत्रैह च नन्दति ॥

of Kauṭaliya. But it does not seem to be so. Ch : details royal education in trayī, vārtā and daṇḍanīti. But Kauṭaliya advocates Anvikshakī also and places it first in the order and criticises the views of the 'Mānavas' which quotation is identified in Chākshushīya.

Anvikshakī—General education or enquiry into various sciences, trayī—knowledge of dharma and adharma, vārtā acquisition of wealth, daṇḍanīti punishment and war. Chākshusha rejects ānvikshakī as he discourages śushkatarka, i.e., mere verbal discourse. But Kauṭalya views the royal education in sāmukhya and lokāyata as part of ānvikshakī and makes a king fit for other studies to enable him to discharge his functions intended in vārtā and daṇḍanīti. Thus Kauṭaliya had to add Vinayādhikaraṇa (Book I) not found in Chākshushīya which treats of ānvikshakī in a very general way. The remaining adhikaranas (Books) of Kauṭaliya are based on trayī, vārtā and daṇḍanīti. The second adhikaraṇa treats of vārtā. Kauṭaliya maintains certain order of thought while Chākshusha apparently mixes up thoughts even according to his three-fold conception of royal education.

Many of the Chākshusha's elaboration-passages are found in tact in Kauṭaliya.

त्रयी सामर्थ्यजूषि, अध्ययनमध्यापनं यजनं दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चेति ब्राह्मणकर्माणि । अध्ययनं दानं भूतरक्षणं शस्त्रोपजीवनं चेति क्षत्रियकर्माणि । अध्ययनं यजनं दानं पशुपाल्यं वैश्यकर्माणि । द्विजादिशुश्रूषणं वार्ता कारुणिलपकर्मैति शूद्रकर्माणि (Ch)

Cf; Kauṭaliya's paras 3, 4, 5 in I. ch. 3.

Kauṭalya uses kuśilava for the word śilpa in the passage quoted above from Chākshushīya.

Chākshushīya gives under चत्वारो भोगसङ्ग्रहाः (sūtra 6.)—अलब्धलाभः, लब्धपरिरक्षणं, रक्षितविवर्धनं, वर्धितस्य तार्थप्रातिपादनं. This has been utilised by Kauṭalya as the aim and result of studying

daṇḍanīti. His words qualifying daṇḍanīti are:—अलब्धलभार्था, लब्धपरिरक्षणी, रक्षितविवर्धनी, वृद्धस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादनी च.<sup>1</sup>

Bhoja uses the word tīrtha with a synonym *upa-yōga*. He says अर्थस्य उपयोगश्च and in his summary concludes—

विद्यादीनामुपायैरधिगतिरवनं वर्धनं संप्रयोगस्तीर्थैर्व्वर्थो य उक्तः—(Śringāra-prakāśa ch. XIX) and explains tīrtha as of ten kinds viz., देश, काल, शक्ति, साधन, कार्य, अनर्थप्रतिधात, वैरनिवृत्ति, मान निमित्त, रव्यातिनिमित्ताश्च तीर्थाः. The amount spent for these causes is considered तीर्थोपयोग. Daṇḍin and the Kanarese poet Ponna and others consider tīrthas as of 18 kinds. Malayalam commentator explains Kauṭalya's passage as *yōgyaril prātīpādanam*.

Sūtra 7. of Chākshushīya is thus elaborated — त्रयो विजिगीषव इति । अरिर्मित्रमुदासीनश्चेति. But in other treatises विजिगीषु is classified into 12 kinds. Daṇḍin uses it as द्वादशराजकमण्डल

Chākshusha elaborates Rāja-prakriti (sūtra 8) i.e., royal household thus :

चतुर्विधा राजप्रकृतिरिति—तद्यथा कुलीनः सेनापतिरमात्यस्तत्कुमाराश्चेति ।

But Kauṭalya treats the subject in a different way as seven-fold prakriti—probably following Brihaspati. In the same passage Chākshusha enumerates 22 qualities for a king which are adopted by Kauṭalya in VI. 1 under svāmin.

1. Here tīrtha means 18 kinds of disbursement of money among royal official subordinates. But Dr. Gaṇapatiśāstri explains it as तीर्थेषु पुण्यक्षेत्रा, ध्वरादिषु. Eighteen kinds are thus enumerated by the Commentator on Vālsampāyana's Nītiprakāśikā --यथा नीतिशास्त्रे—

मन्त्री पुरोहितश्चैव युवराजश्चभूपतिः ।  
पञ्चमो द्वारपालश्च षष्ठोऽन्तर्वेशिकस्तथा ।  
कारागाराधिकारी च द्रव्यसञ्चयकृत्तथा ।  
कृत्याकृत्येषु चार्थानां नवमो विनियोजकः ।  
प्रदेष्टा नगराध्यक्षः कार्यनिर्माणकृत्तथा ।  
धर्माध्यक्षः समाध्यक्षो दण्डपालस्त्रिपञ्चमः ।  
षोडशो दुर्गपालश्च तथा राष्टान्तपालकः ।  
अष्टवीपालकान्तानि तीर्थान्यष्टादशैव तु ॥

Chākshusha in sūtra 15. (एकादशगुणः पुरोहितः) elaborates it as—  
उदितो दितकुलशीलः<sup>1</sup> चतुर्णां वेदानां पारगः नीतिशास्त्रज्ञो दैवमानुषाणां प्रतिकर्ता शान्तिक  
पौष्टिकादिभिः नृपस्य आत्मनश्च वृद्धिकरः परोत्सादनवर्शकरणमङ्गल्यकर्मप्रसाधनक्षमः षडङ्ग-  
विद्विज्जितवित् नीतिज्ञ उपपश्यकुशलो व्यवसायी चेति.

Kaṭālyā gives almost the same qualities.

प्रतिकर्ताहितस्य—(Chākshushiya sūtra 15.) is elaborated by  
Kaṭālyā as—आपदां दैवमानुषीणां अथर्वभिरुपायेश्च प्रतिकर्तारम्

In Ch : sūtra 9 enumerates 25 qualities of a minister  
(amātya) which were taken in tact by K (I. 5. page 15). The  
commentary of Jayamangalā closes the list thus :—

अत्र पञ्चविंशतेः किञ्चिद्विषम्येऽपि प्रायोवृत्त्या चतुर्भागोऽर्धभागश्च ।

Ch : appears to be older than the present recension of  
Manusmṛti. For under sūtra 2, ch : gives सप्तविधावृत्तिः ऐन्द्री, सौरी,  
वायवी, याम्या, वारुणी, चान्द्री, पार्थिवी चेति । Manu reads (ch. IV-303).

इन्द्रस्यार्कस्य वायोश्च यमस्य वरुणस्य च ।

चन्द्रस्याग्नेः पृथिव्याश्च तेजोवृत्तं नृपश्चेत् ॥

and thus adds अग्नि whom a king may imitate.

1. Here उदितोदिनकुलशीलः Used both in Kaṭālyā and Chākshushīya is  
explained in Jayamangalā (and by the commentator of Kāmandaka on the  
same expression in similar terms) thus :—

चतुर्विधाः पुरुषाः येषामाचतुर्थादासप्तमाद्वा वृत्तामिजनसंपन्नाः पूर्वं नापरे ते उदितास्त-  
मिताः विपर्यये न्वस्तमितोदिताः येषां न पूर्वं नापरे तेऽस्तमितास्तामिताः येषां पूर्वं चापरे च  
वृत्तामिजनसंपन्नास्ते उदितोदितकुलशीलाः which means, such people whose ances-  
tors for 7 or 4 generations show perfect purity in birth and character. Dr.  
Ganapati Śāstrin comments thus :—

उदितैः शास्त्रोक्तैः विद्यामिजनादिभिः उदिताः समृद्धाः उदितोदिताः तेषां कुलशीलं  
वृत्तं च यस्य तं तथाभूतं meaning thereby purity of birth and character alone  
for a single generation. Dr. Shāma Sastrin translates it as "Him whose  
family and character is highly spoken of." Malayalam commentary if ren-  
dered in Sanskrit may run thus :—

कुलमिति चतुर्विधा जातिः अस्तमितास्तमिता, उदितास्तमिता, अस्तमितोदिता, उदितो-  
दितेति । पुरोहितो नाम उदितोदितकुले जातः शीलमित्याचारः द्विचतुः पुरुषान्तरेषु दोष-  
रहितं वृत्तं, कुलं शीलं च यस्यास्ति स उदितोदितकुलशीलः ।

K. generally follows the enumeration of items and qualities of a king and ministers given in Ch: Even main classification is adopted in tact. Ch: in *sūtra* 3 reads सप्तव्यसनानीति । तत्र चत्वारि कामजानि त्रीणि क्रोधजानि.....1 K. has (VIII-3.) कोपजस्त्रिवर्गः कामजश्चतुर्वर्गः which received a very detailed treatment by Kauṭalya.

विंशति विधं दुष्टलिङ्गं ज्ञानमिति (*sūtra* 21)—यथा अकस्मात्कुप्यति, घृण्यति च, चक्षुर्न ददाति, वाचं न प्रतिगृह्णाति, श्रुतं विस्मरति, कथामाक्षिपति, विद्यावर्णदेशजातीर्विददति, आभीक्ष्ण्येन कटाक्षेण वीक्षते, प्रतिकूलकारी भवति, सुकृतं नाशयति, दुःकृतमनुकीर्तयति, प्राणापानौ विकृतं चारयति, स्थानात् प्रस्खलति, वाक्यं न पूजयति, उत्थायासनाद्विजृम्भते, अन्यदन्यन् कीर्तयति, ललाटभ्रुकुटिं करोति, भूमिं चाङ्गुष्ठेन विलिखाति, तूष्णीमास्ते, ध्यायति, अक्षिभ्रुवोर्विकारं दर्शयति, अत्र श्लोकौ ... ..K adopts this in समयाचारिक (V-5) as भूयश्च वक्ष्यामः.....

Ch: under *sūtra* 22 lays down :—अष्टाङ्गा बुद्धिरिति यथा शुश्रूषते, शृणोति, गृह्णाति, धारयति, ऊहते, अपोहति, ययान्यायमभिमिनविशति जानाति चेति ।

युक्तस्त्वष्टाङ्गया बुध्या नीतिशास्त्रविशेषवित् ।

समर्थः पृथिवीं कुत्स्नां उपो जेतुं विचक्षणः ॥

K in VI, 1. adopts this under प्रज्ञागुणाः (page 257) as “शुश्रूषाश्रवणग्रहण धारणविज्ञानोहापोह तश्चाभिमनिवेशः” and closes the chapter

आत्मवांस्त्वल्पदेशोऽपि युक्तः प्रकृतिसम्पदा ।

नयज्ञः पृथिवीं कुत्स्नां जयत्येव न हीयते ॥

Ch: in *sūtra* 24 classifies the sources of treasury :—अष्टौ कोशविधानानि—तद्यथा—शौल्कं, लवणजं, आज्ञाविकं, आपणिकं, आरग्वरिकं, कुषिप्रसवनं, दण्डप्रभवं, स्निग्धवमिति.

K has कुषिर्वणिक्पथो दुर्गं सेतुः कुञ्जरबन्धनम् ।

खन्याकरः करादानं शून्यानां च निवेशनम् ।

अष्टौ सन्धानकर्माणि प्रयुक्तानि मनीषिभिः ॥

Ch: in *sūtra* 23 proclaims चत्वारो मन्त्रगुणाः । तद्यथा—अनुपलब्धस्य ज्ञानमुपलब्धस्य निश्चितं चाधानं, द्वैधस्य संशयोच्छेदनं, एकदेशालब्धस्य शेषोपलब्धिरिति Kāmandaka adopts the maxim thus :—अविज्ञातस्य विज्ञानं विज्ञातस्य च निश्चयः ।...(14-56).

Ch : under *sūtra* 28 has त्रिविधं सन्त्रफलमिति—यथा धर्मोऽर्थः काम इति । अत्र श्लोकः—

धर्मेणार्थागमं कुर्याद्धर्ममर्थान्विरोधितम् ।  
अविरोधेन कामस्य कुर्याद्धर्मार्थसंचयम् ॥

Here Chākshusha deems धर्म as subordinate to अर्थ and Kāma is placed without limitation. K elaborates it thus (I-7. page 12).

धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत, न निस्सुखः स्यात् ... अर्थ एव प्रधानः ।

Ch : has the following under *sūtra* 32—

पञ्चविधः शत्रुरूपहन्तव्य इति । तद्यथा—पर्युपासनेन, उपजीवनेन, अवमर्दनेन, शपथनिमित्तेन, उपायेन । अत्र श्लोकः—

वहेदमित्रं स्कन्धेन यावत्कालविपर्ययः ।  
अथैनमागते काले मिद्याद्धटमिवाश्मनि ॥

K elaborates in great detail the above *sūtra* in four chapters in Book XIII.

Ch : in *sūtra* 43 reads चतुर्विधा पुरुषपरीक्षेति । यथा—सहवासेन शीलं, संव्यवहारेण शौचं, आहवेन पौरुषं, संभाषणेन बुद्धिरिति । तत्र श्लोकः—

संभाष्य बुद्धिं जानीयात्संवासाच्छीलमेव च ।  
शौचं संव्यवहारेण संग्रामाच्चैव पौरुषम् ॥

K uses the maxim under I. 9 for the choice of ministers :—  
संव्यवहाराच्छौचं etc.

Kāmandaka utilises Ch. more completely than K. Only an instance out of many is given below. Ch : under *sūtra* 66 चतुर्विधा बुद्धिः elaborates it तद्यथा—सामाविकी, वैतयिकी, पारिणामिकी, वृद्धोप-सेविनीति. Kāmandaka follows it in XVI. 33 (Trivandrum Edn.) as औत्पादिकी सांसर्गिकी, परिणामिनी...धाः ।

The foregoing passages from Ch. may sufficiently establish its nature as only a primer of royal duties giving categories to be committed to memory. The whole of its first chapter reads all the 67 *sūtras* and its extraction below is to give an idea of its comprehensive yet terse nature.

शक्ययमेकशरीरेण नीतिमार्गानुसारिणा ।

व्यवसायद्विर्तयेन सर्वा जेतुं वसुधराम् ॥

अथातः पुरुषार्थसाधनमर्थशास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामः—तद्यथा । (1) सप्त प्रकृतयः, (2) सप्तविधा प्रवृत्तिः, (3) सप्त व्यसनानि, (4) सप्त क्षमाकालाः, (5) तिस्रो विद्याः, (6) चत्वारो भोगसंग्रहाः, (7) त्रयो विजिगीषवः, (8) चतुर्विधा राजप्रकृतिः, (9) षट्त्रिंशद्गुणो राजा, (10) पञ्चविंशतिगुणोऽमालः, (11) षड्विंशतिगुणः सेनापति, (12) द्वाविंशतिगुणो राजाध्यक्षः, (13) षोडशगुणो दूतः, (14) द्वादशगुणाः सांत्सरिकः, (15) एकादशगुणः पुरोहितः, (16) पञ्चावशगुणो वैद्यः, (17) नवगुणो नागरिकः, (18) दशगुणोऽन्तः-पुरपालकः, (19) द्वादशगुणं मित्रं, (20) षड्गुणा यात्रा, (21) विंशतिविधं दुष्टलिङ्गज्ञानम्, (22) अष्टाङ्गा बुद्धिः, (23) अष्टाङ्गा सेना, (24) अष्टौ कोशविधानानि, (25) एकादशेन्द्रियाणि, (26) त्रिविधो मन्त्रः, (27) चत्वारो मन्त्रगुणाः, (28) त्रिविधं मन्त्रफलं, (29) पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः, (30) सप्तविधो मन्त्रभेदः, (31) चतुर्दशविध उपजापः, (32) पञ्चविधः शत्रुरूपहन्तव्यः, (33) चत्वारो निर्याणकालाः, (34) द्वौ विग्रहकालौ, (35) चत्वारः सन्धाकालाः, (36) द्वौ पञ्चवर्गौ, (37) पञ्च त्रिवर्गाः, (38) एक एकवर्गः, (39) चत्वारोऽर्थसाधनोपायाः, (40) चतुर्विधारम्भवृत्तिः, (41) चतुर्विधोऽर्थानुबन्धः, (42) चतुर्विधो निचयः, (43) पञ्च दुर्गाणि, (44) दशविधा दुर्गसंपत्, (45) विंशतिविधं दुर्गव्यसनं, (46) पञ्चचत्वारिंशद्गुणा जनपदभूमिः, (47) चतुर्विधं त्यागस्थानं, (48) चतुर्विधा भृत्यसंपत्, (49) चतुर्विधा पुरुषपरीक्षा, (50) सप्तविधा कार्यविप्रति पत्तिः, (51) द्विविध उपसर्गः, (52) द्विविधमुत्पन्नं, (53) अष्टविधः शत्रुः, (54) द्वाविंशद्गुणः षाड्गुण्यसमुद्देशः, (55) विंशतिविधं दुष्टप्रशमनं, (56) षड्विधं बलं, (57) अष्टौ युद्धानि, (58) अष्टौ संग्रामभूमयः, (59) चतस्तो व्यूहप्रकृतयः, (60) पञ्च व्यूहाः, (61) सप्तदश व्यूहभेदाः, (62) एकादशानीकस्थानानि, (63) एकादशसु स्थानेषु सेना रक्षितव्या, एतेष्वेव स्थानेषु परबलमभिहतव्यम्, (64) षड्विधं विषं, (65) एकादशविधः स्कन्धावारनिवेशः, (66) चतुर्विधा बुद्धिः, (67) द्विविध आचारः ।

इति चाक्षुषीयेऽर्थशास्त्रे प्रथमः पटलः ।



## ŚĀṆḌILYA—A NAME OF AGNI.

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Śabaraswāmīn the author of the Bhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Sūtra, enumerates among several names of Agni—*Śāṇḍilya* as one.

सन्ति चाग्नेरभिधानानि—अग्निः शुचिः पावको

धूमकेतुः कृशानुर्वैश्वानरः शाण्डिल्य इत्येवमादीनि ।

Śabara Bhāṣya X, 4. 25.

When I first came across this passage, it struck me as necessary to enquire as to how Agni came by this name.

In Amarasimha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, we find *Śāṇḍilya* is a synonym of *Bilva*, Wood-Apple-Tree. Bhānuji Dīkṣita, the author of the learned commentary, Sudhā, on the Lexicon, however, adds that according to Hemacandra's lexicon, the word means also (1) a form of Agni (2) a Sage.

‘शाण्डिल्यः पावकान्तरे । बिल्वे मुनौ च’ इति हैमः ।

As stated in the Vācaspatya, the Medinī-Kōśa also gives the meaning—a kind of Agni :

शाण्डिल्यः पावकान्तरे.

It may be seen that these lexicons do not take us far towards the solution of our problem.

Monier-Williams in his monumental dictionary giving the meaning refers to the *Harivaṃśa* for support. Under the word *Śāṇḍili*, the same scholar writes : “Name of a Brāhmaṇi (worshipped as the mother of Agni) M.Bh. Hariv.”

According to " *The Index of names and Important things in the Mahā Bhārata*, edited and published by T. R. Krishnachar of Kumbakonam, " *Śāṇḍilī* " is mentioned twice in the Mahābhārata :

(१) ऋषभस्य ततः शृङ्गं निपत्य द्विजपक्षिणौ ।

शाण्डिलीं ब्राह्मणीं तत्र ददृशाते तपोऽन्विताम् ॥

(Udyōga, 113. 1).

(२) तत्र स्वयम्प्रभा देवी नित्यं वसति शाण्डिली ।

(Bhīṣma, 8. 9).

In both these places, *Śāṇḍilī* is not described as the 'Mother of Agni.' Agni is mentioned however in the *Ādi-parvan* of the Mahābhārata as " born of a *Śāṇḍilyā*."

But it should be noted that the mother of Agni is named *Śāṇḍilyā* if we rely on the South Indian readings of this text :

पैतामहो मुनिर्देवस्तस्य पुत्रः प्रजापतिः ।

तस्याष्टौ वसवः पुत्रास्तेषां वक्ष्यामि विस्तरम् ॥

धरो ध्रुवश्च सोमश्च आपश्चैवानिलोऽनलः ।

प्रत्यूषश्च प्रभासश्च वसवोऽष्टौ प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

धूम्रायाश्च धरः पुत्रो ब्रह्मविद्यासुतो ध्रुवः ।

चन्द्रमाश्च मनस्विन्याः श्वासायाः श्वसनस्तथा ॥

रसायाश्च रसः पुत्रः शाण्डिल्याया हुताशनः ।

प्रत्यूषश्च प्रभासश्च प्रभायाश्च सुतावुभौ ॥

(56th Adhyāya, Ādiparvan, Mh. Bh. Grantha Eḍn.)

(67th Adhyāya, Ādiparvan, Mh. Bha. Nāgarī Eḍn.)

The B. O. R. I. edition of the *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparvan, however, gives the following reading

शाण्डिल्याश्च हुताशनः ।

Monier-Williams might have relied on this latter reading for the meaning of *Śāṇḍīli*.

We have to note that, grammatically speaking, "*Śāṇḍīli*" cannot serve as a base for the term "*Śāṇḍīlya*", since the word so derived must have the form "*Śāṇḍīlēya* and not "*Śāṇḍīlya*."

That Monier-Williams was himself aware of this fact is quite clear from his statement that "*Śāṇḍīlēya*" is "a (prob) N. of Agni."

T. R. Krishnachar, however, gives us definite information in his *Index of the Mahābhārata* which helps the solution of the problem. I shall extract the following relevant passages :

मरीचिपुत्रस्य काश्यपस्य वंशे उत्पन्न ऋषिः । तद्वंशे कस्मिंश्चित् काले  
वैश्वानरनामाऽग्निरुत्पन्न इत्यग्नेः शाण्डिल्यगोत्रत्वम् ।

स 4. 23 : शा 46. 7.

The latter part of the passage gives almost a direct answer to the question "How Agni got the name *Śāṇḍīlya*?"

From what we gather, we find that the author of the *Index* availed himself of the information not found in the *Mahābhārata*, and references cited were intended to point out that *Śāṇḍīlya* signified a *sage* at those two places.

We have now to find out wherein Agni is mentioned as a son of *Śāṇḍīlya* or as a descendant of his family.

John Dowson quotes in his "*Hindu Classical Dictionary*" under Agni

"He appears in the progress of mythological personification as a son of Angiras, as a King of *Pitris* or Manes, as *Marut*, as a *Grandson of Sandila*, as one of the seven sages or Rishis during the reign of Tāmasa, the 4th Manu." -

Pāṇini derives the word “*Śāṇḍilya*” by adding the suffix “*ya*” to the base “*Śaṇḍila*” (Vide IV, I. 105. “*Gargādibhyō Yañ*” and the Gaṇa under it).<sup>1</sup>

Whilst we do not come across a person named “*Śaṇḍila*” in ancient literature, there is mention there of persons named “*Śāṇḍilya*.”

In striking contrast to all that has been said so far, we come across a verse in the Mahābhārata which states Agni to be the father of the sage called “*Śāṇḍilya*” as it were giving us the *Śaṇḍila* whom we have been searching for :

मृण्मद्यां भरतश्रेष्ठ आदित्येन विवस्वता ।

शाण्डिल्यश्चाग्नितो जातः कश्यपस्याग्रजः प्रभुः ॥

(Anu. 53. 26).

We are forced therefore to approach the topic from quite a different direction.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa suggests the answer to our main question :

‘ एतावत्य उ वै शाण्डिलेऽग्नौ मध्यतो यजुष्मत्य इष्टका उपधीयन्ते ’

(IX. 1. 43).

(भाष्यम्—शाण्डिले शा(?)ण्डिलदृष्टेऽस्मिन्नग्नौ)

Agni here means, as Max Muller translated it, the Fire-Altar. If a secondary (Taddhita) suffix ‘*Ya*’ (meaning ‘being’ or ‘remaining’) is added to “*Śaṇḍila*”, we arrive at the form “*Śāṇḍilya*,” signifying a thing which is or remains on the fire-altar.

Thus *Śāṇḍilya* is Agni because he is on the fire-altar.

1. There is an Upādi Sūtra which derives the form *Śāṇḍila* from *Sadi*.