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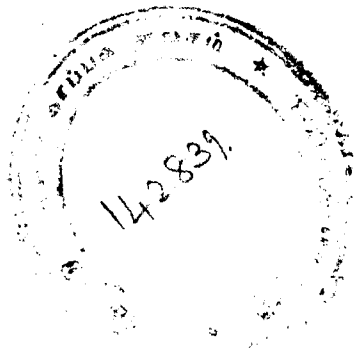
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(APRIL 1927).

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EDITORIAL.

Since the inauguration of Our Journal, there have been some criticisms as regards its scope and character. We welcome all criticism. But we must answer one or two of them which have proceeded from a slight misapprehension. It has been said that the title of our Journal is a little too ambitious. We maintain it is not so. Our object undoubtedly is to publish the results of all Oriental Research, understood in its widest scope and sense and we are not for excluding any branch of Oriental studies legitimately so called. No doubt, in the first number, we published the investigations carried on by a few enthusiastic young men who have been trained by, and are working under that eminent Scholar Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. But this does not at all imply that our Journal will banish from its purview the investigations of other Scholars in Sanskrit or in branches of learning other than Sanskrit. For the satisfaction of our Muslim friends in the north and here, we state that we are ready to publish any article contributed by Scholars in Arabic or Persian, even though there may not be facilities for such studies in Madras and they may not interest the majority of the public.

Another criticism is that the first part of Our Journal indicates that the research carried on will be more Sanskritic than is desirable or justly necessary. This fear evidently is based on the assumption that a great emphasis on the necessity for the study of Sanskrit and proficiency in it is not necessary or even desirable in the field of Oriental Research. But, in our view, Sanskrit Study is an absolute concomitant for any investigation in any branch of Oriental Research; and without it, Oriental research will tend to be defective, narrow and, sometimes even misleading. Whatever may have been the differences between the communities and people inhabiting the different portions of this country, there has always been an underlying unity of culture, which, all except those whose vision is blurred by the passions of the hour, will easily recognise. It will therefore be the earnest endeavour of this Journal to remove all misapprehensions and fissiparous tendencies; to promote the conduct of Research on right lines, to encourage the spirit of co-operation among Scholars in every branch of Oriental learning, unhampered by the distractions of prejudice, ignorance and narrowness.



We have great pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore on the occasion of the Anniversary of the Sanskrit College of Mysore. It is a noteworthy pronouncement by an enlightened Hindu Ruler and a generous patron of Art and learning. His Highness has tried to dispel all doubts as regards the usefulness of Sanskrit learning in modern times and has maintained the view that the culture embodied in that language is our National heritage irrespective of castes and creeds and must continue to be an abiding possession with us for all time to come. It is indeed gratifying to note that an enlightened non-brahmin ruler of a premier Native State has made this important pronouncement, which, in our view, must end all controversy. We are confident that posterity will justly add His Highness's name to the illustrious role of Hindu Kings who, more than Universities or lecture Halls, have, by their munificence and encouragement, maintained the high level of Hindu culture.

[*Ap* is otherwise *nav*, *to go* at is *to forego*, *to enjoy* is *to do*—Ed.]

PRAPAÑCA-VILAYA-VĀDA—A DOCTRINE OF PRE-ŚĀṆKARA VEDĀNTA

BY

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One of the most important points for a Vedāntin to settle is the relation between the *jñāna* and *karma kāṇḍas* of the Veda. With his implicit faith in the teaching of the Veda as such, he cannot reject any part of it as unauthoritative; but the contradictions between the two *kāṇḍas*, at least in certain parts, are so glaring that reconciling them is by no means easy. The Mīmāṃsakas also are faced with the same difficulty; but they all agree in subordinating the *jñāna* to the *karma-kāṇḍa* in effect if not also in theory. Naturally the Vedāntins cannot subscribe to such a view and they all endeavour to show that the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* and aiming as it does at bringing final deliverance to man, cannot be subordinated to the other.¹ Though so far in agreement, the Vedāntins differ considerably among themselves in the manner in which they adjust the mutual claims of the two *kāṇḍas*; and we consequently have more than one way of reconciling them. Thus Śāṅkara, as is well known, gives a relatively minor place to the *karma-kāṇḍa*. *Jñāna* is the sole cause of *mokṣa*, according to him; and *karma*, only the cause of *Vividiṣū* or the desire for *jñāna*.² As another instance, we may mention what is known as the *kāma-pradhvamsa-vāda* which seems once to have been held by an influential school of Vedāntins.³ It maintained that *karma* as taught in the *pūrva-kāṇḍa* was intended in reality to annihilate desire (*kāma-pradhvamsa*) through its continued satisfaction—a result which was regarded as a necessary pre-condition of a successful pursuit of self-knowledge. There were also other ways of correlating the two *kāṇḍas*; and we propose to deal here with one of them termed *prapañca-*

1. Compare Bhāskara on Vedānta-sūtras (Benares Edition), p. 12 : तत्र निःश्रेयसफल-प्रतिपादनपरस्य वेदान्तस्य न कर्मविधिशेषत्वेन व्याख्यानं युक्तम् ॥

2. See e. g., Vedānta-sāra (Sri Vani Vilas Edition), p. 1.

3. See Sureśvara's Sambandha-Vārtika, sr. 343-56; also *Ind. Antq.* for 1924 (pp. 82-3).

vilaya-vāda to which references are occasionally found in old Vedāntic works.¹

The aim of this view, whose exponents Vedānta Deśika sarcastically describes as *Gauḍa-Mīmāṃsakas*, it may generally be stated, is to reverse the position maintained by the Mīmāṃsaka and to show that the *karma-kāṇḍa* is subsidiary to the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*.² This is done in the following manner: Statements found in the Veda about rites, according to this view, have a two-fold import. They signify that some reward like *svarga* will result to those that offer sacrifices or perform other rites. They also point out at the same time the true nature of the self or *Brahman* in some respect or other, and thus serve as the means of disillusioning man of some form of misconception concerning it under which he usually labours. To take the familiar injunction relating to the *īyotiṣṭoma-īyotiṣṭomena svarga-kāmo yajeta*—, it conveys the information, not otherwise knowable, that one that offers the sacrifice in question attains to *svarga*. But its significance is not exhausted thereby, for it implies also that the self is distinct from the physical body, in as much as it will no longer be associated with that body when it comes to reap the fruit of the sacrifice elsewhere,³—that is, the appeal made here is to a deeper self than what is commonly believed in; and so far therefore the Vedic injunction may be said to take the person addressed nearer the truth about the self. These two results of the teaching, according to Bhāskara,⁴ are respectively to be described as *ānvayika* and

1. These works are—

(i) Śāṅkara : Bhāṣya on Vedānta-sūtras : III. ii. 21 (pp. 647-52), Nirṇaya-sagara Edition containing Ratna-prabhā and two other commentaries.

(ii) Sureśvara : Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad-vārtika : Sambandha-vārtika : st. 378-426.

(iii) Bhāskara : Bhāṣya on Vedānta-sūtras (Benares Edition) : I. i. 3, 4 (especially p. 12); I. iv. 21, (pp. 83-4); III. iii. 1 (p. 175).

(iv) Rāmānuja : Śrī-bhāṣya : I. i. 4 (pp. 251-254), Nirṇaya Sagar Edition of the Catuṣ-sūtri with Śruti-prakāśikā.

(v) Vedānta-deśika : Tattva-muktā-kalāpa with 'sarvārtha-siddhi' : (Benares Edn.) ii. 44. References to these works in the sequel, when not otherwise specified, relate to these portions, and when pages are noted, they are of the Editions mentioned.

2. Compare Bhāskara-bhāṣya (p. 12) कर्मविधीनां तु तादर्थ्यं शक्यमवगन्तुम् ॥; and Sambandha-vārtika, st. 378 (com.) कर्मकाण्डस्येतरशेषत्वात् ॥

3. Sambandha-vārtika st. 379.

4. (p. 12) आन्वयिकं प्रासङ्गिकं च द्विविधं कार्यं दृश्यते । स्वर्गकामो ग्रामकाम इत्यान्वयिकं कार्यम् । प्रासङ्गिकं पुनः स्वाभाविकीनां ब्राह्मण्यन्तरप्रवृत्तीनामुपरमः ॥

prāsaṅgika. It is difficult to say what exactly these terms signify. The former term may mean 'regular' or 'constant' and the latter 'incidental', in which case the ritualistic import would appear to be more essential than what in contradistinction we may characterise as the metaphysical import. But to judge from what Bhāskara himself adds later in the same section¹ and what Ānanda-jñāna states in his *Tikā* on the *Sambandha-vārtika*², the latter is the more important. If so we should, it seems, understand *ānvayika* as equivalent to 'what is expressed' and *prāsaṅgika* as amounting to 'what is intended'. These meanings fit in well with the parallel of the *devatādhikaraṇa*,³ cited by Ānanda-jñāna in this connection, according to which, though the expressed meaning is not excluded in the case of Vedic statements like *vajra-hastah purandarah*, prominence is not given to it.

The *īyotiṣṭoma-vākya* which we have chosen as an illustration refers to a *kāmya* rite. There are other kinds of rites also—the *nitya* and the *pratiśiddha*; and similar explanations are given of them also by the advocate of the *prapaṇca-vilaya-vāda*. They also according to him convey, in addition to their literal meaning, a second one, viz., that natural impulses which such *karmas* are intended to keep in check are not really of the self but are only mistaken to be so.⁴ Except for these Vedic behests, man might, in trying to gratify those impulses, ever remain ignorant of the true nature of the self. The *pratiśiddha* and the *nitya* types of *karma* are at one in this respect, the only difference being that while the former restrain one from activities prompted by natural impulses by *direct* prohibition, the latter do so in an *indirect* manner by prescribing in their place other activities, not so prompted. It will be observed that according to the explanation given above, each *karma-vidhi* is intended to remove but *some* part of the misconception about the self; and it is the multiplicity of such misconceptions that explains the multiplicity of the *karmas* enjoined in the *pūrvā-kāṇḍa*.⁵ Every one of these injunctions may thus be said to contain a double mandate—one, to keep oneself engaged in some act or withhold from yielding to some impulse; the other, to dismiss the thought of something or other which

1. (p. 12) तत्र यद्यपि कर्मविधिभिरान्वयिकं कार्यमाश्रितं तथाप्युत्तमाधिकारविधिना प्रासङ्गिकं कार्यमपेक्षितमिति तदेवप्राधान्येन विवक्ष्यते ॥

2. St. 379.

3. Vedānta-sūtras : I. iii. 26-33.

4. See Sambandha-vārtika : St. 381-2 and Bhāskara-bhāṣya, p. 12.

5. Cf.—*Ibid* : St. 378 (com.).

though really not the self is mistaken for it. The latter process is one of purifying or sublimating the self and corresponds to what is termed *tvam-pādārtha-Śodhana* in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. But there it is reflected through *yukti*¹; here, through direct Vedic teaching. The ordinary person qualified to perform sacrifices in obeying the Vedic injunctions about them realises the truth about the self gradually through his very devotion to *karma*²; the more qualified one (*uttamādhikārin*) does so directly³. But in either case, the source of enlightenment in this respect, according to the doctrine we are considering, is Revelation and not one's own reflection as it is in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. The object of such sublimation is to help us in getting rid of our attachment to things that are extraneous to the self and serve as hindrance to the acquisition of self-knowledge as taught in the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*. It is by pointing out in this manner that the two *kāṇḍas* serve but one purpose⁴ that the *prapañca-vilaya-vādin* harmonises them.

There may be more than one aspect of this doctrine which is not quite clear; but two points are certain. First, it conceives the self or *Brahman* as *niṣprapañca* or *nirguṇa*, and the doctrine by implication may be taken as upholding the *māyā-vāda*. Secondly, it adopts the *niyoga* view of the Prābhākara school of *Mīmāṃsā* in its interpretation of the Upaniṣads. We shall now consider these two points in some detail.

(1) Nature of the self:

This point is expressly treated of in the Upaniṣads as the Vedāntins and the Mīmāṃsakas both admit. The passages dealing with it are however of two types—some describing the self as *saguṇa* and the others making out that it is *nirguṇa*. The Vedāntins, as is well known, differ in their appreciation of these two sets of passages. According to some, it is the former that present the ultimate truth; according to others, it is the latter that do so. The advocate of the *prapañca-vilaya-vāda* like Śaṅkara maintains that the *nirguṇa-vākyas* convey the final truth about the self. But he seems to differ from Śaṅkara in his understanding of the *saguṇa-vākyas*. According to

1. See for example *Naṣkarmya-siddhi*: Chapter ii.

2. As in the *kāma-pradhvamsa vāda* referred to above, here also *karma* aims at killing desire. But there it is done through *phala-bhoga*; here through the very *pravṛtti* in *karma*; compare *Sambandha-vārtika* St. 422-3.

3. See *Ibid.* St. 395, 399 and 400 and Bhāskara-bhāṣya p. 12. We cannot say from the data available whether the *uttamādhikārin* has to engage himself in *karma* also.

4. See *Sambandha-vārtika* St. 398.

Śaṅkara, these *vākyas*, except when they occur in the *nirguṇa* context¹, are to be explained as furnishing what may be described as suitable 'conceits' for meditation (*upāsana*) which marks a definite and important stage in the training of the Vedāntin. They have thus no direct bearing upon the true nature of the self. The *prapañca-vilaya-vādin*, on the other hand, interprets both sets of passages alike as signifying the same truth, viz., that the self or *Brahman* is *nirguṇa*. We find this fact alluded to by Śaṅkara himself in his *Sūtra-bhāṣya* (III. ii. 21). According to the *resume* given there, the *saguṇa-vākyas* are, in this view, to be understood as referring to the *nirguṇa Brahman*, apparently on the principle of *apoha* enunciated by Buddhists. To take as an instance the passage in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (III. xiv. 2) which describes *Brahman* as *manomayah*, we may understand from it that *manas* is an adjunct of it. But that is only its positive import; and there is a negative one also according to which *all other* adjuncts are to be taken as *denied* of it. Now when the same passage proceeds to describe *Brahman* as *prāṇa-śarīrah*, the further fact is made clear, by the application of the same principle of interpretation as above, that *manas* also is not truly its adjunct. Thus the two epithets together present the self as *nirguṇa*²—a result which is identical with the teaching of the other set of passages like *asthūlam*, *ananyam* or *neti neti*. In other words, the *prapañca-vilaya-vādin* explains the discrepancies between the different parts of the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* on a basis similar to that on which he does the discrepancies between the two *kāṇḍas*. The question will naturally occur here as to what need there is to deduce indirectly from the *saguṇa-vākyas* the *nirguṇa* character of the self when explicit statements to the same effect are found in the Upaniṣads. Such an objection was actually raised by the other schools of Vedānta and seems to have been a stock argument against the *prapañca-vilaya-vāda*.³ But we are not now concerned so much with the soundness or the reverse of the doctrine as with its nature and its scope. It is therefore sufficient to observe here that this kind of interpretation of the *saguṇa* passages is just what may be expected from a school of thought which did not hesitate to read a metaphysical meaning into texts that are clearly ritualistic. Thus finally the whole of the Veda is to be regarded as teaching one and the same thing, viz.,

1. For example, Br. Up. II. v. 19. Here the *saguṇa* expressions are to be understood as exemplifying the sort of *guṇas* to be negated of the self. Compare Śaṅkara on Ved. Sū. III. ii. 14.

2. See *Ratna-prabhā* on Śaṅkara's *Sūtra-bhāṣya* (p. 647).

3. See *Sambandha-vārtika* st. 426; Śrībhāṣya (p. 253): तत् स्ववाक्यादेव जातम्

that the self is *nirguṇa*. Some portions of it teach it piecemeal; others completely; some directly, others indirectly. It is by pointing out this uniformity of teaching that the *prapañca-vilaya-vādin* removes whatever conflict may appear between one part of the Veda and another.¹ The *prapañca-vilaya-vādin*, as may easily be seen, should also have accepted the *māyā-vāda*. According to the doctrine, as summarised in the *Śrī-bhāṣya*, diversity comes to be associated with the self through *avidyā*²; and the same point is made more explicit still in the commentary, *Śrūta-prakāśikā* which classifies the followers of the school as *jarau-māyā-vādins*, a term which is used presumably to contrast them with Śaṅkara and his followers whom it later describes as *sākṣānmāyā-vādins*.³

(2) *Niyoga-vāda*:

Following the Mīmāṃsakas, the Vedāntins with the exception of Śaṅkara alone, regard a *sādhya* or 'what may be accomplished' as the ultimate significance of the Upaniṣads, though by *sādhya* here has to be understood not a sacrificial deed but a mental act like meditation. Some among the Vedāntins, adopting the view of the Bhāṭṭas, recognise *bhāvanā* as the import of the central injunctive statements in the Upaniṣads; others like the Vṛtti-kāra alluded to by Śaṅkara in the beginning of the second *varṇaka* of his *bhāṣya* on the *Samanvaya-sūtra* take it as *niyoga*, adopting the Prābhākara view.⁴ The advocate of *prapañca-vilaya-vāda* is among the latter, for in all references to it in old works, the doctrine is affiliated to *niyoga-vāda*.⁵ This means, first, that unlike Śaṅkara, the *prapañca-vilaya-vādin* finds the essential teaching of the Upaniṣads to be contained not in statements like *Tat tvam asi* or *neti neti* but rather in those like *śānta dānta uparataḥ.... ātmanyeva ātmānam paśyāt*⁶ which enjoin the duty of self-knowledge; and secondly, that he ascribes whatever result is achieved by obeying the injunction to the efficacy of *niyoga* or Vedic mandate. But the idea of *niyoga* to be complete requires a reference, among other things, to the *niyojya* or

1. Compare Śaṅkara's *Sūtra-bhāṣya* (p. 651) where in refuting this position it is stated: अतश्चैकनियोगप्रतीतेरेकवाक्यतेत्युक्तम् ॥

2. P. 252. It must be added that according to the expression *मायाप्रलयवादिनोः* used by Bhāṣkara (p. 84), the doctrine would be distinguished from *māyā-vāda*.

3. See p. 255.

4. For this distinction, see e. g., Sambandha-vārtika, st. 796-7.

5. See e. g., Bhāṣkara-bhāṣya p. 9. Śaṅkara's *Sūtra-bhāṣya*, p. 649, Sambandha-vārtika st. 383, Śrī-bhāṣya, p. 252.

6. Br. Up. IV. iv. 23.

son to whom the mandate is specifically addressed and to a *viśaya*. In regard to the *jyotiṣṭoma* for instance these are respectively a *dvija* that is motivated by a desire for *svarga* and the sacrifice. In the present case, the *viśaya* is obviously one that is seeking *mokṣa*, and the *viśaya* is self-knowledge as indicated by the very description of it as *jñāna-yoga*². Obeying the bidding of the Veda in this respect means acquiring *jñāna* or self-knowledge. But it is impossible to do that until the numerous adjuncts with which the self is wrongly associated are discarded as unreal and unworthy of attention. When once this is accomplished, the pursuit of self-knowledge becomes possible or, the distractions having all disappeared, it will be easy to have perfect unanimity of mind.³ In other words, the qualifications laid down in the text quoted above from the *Brhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (*sānti*, etc.) which are indispensable to self-knowledge should first be acquired through *prapañca-vilaya*. And this can be done, as conceived here, only under the promptings of a Vedic call. That means, there is need for an *avāntara-niyoga* with *prapañca-vilaya* for its *viśaya* or as the same is expressed positively, *niṣprapañca-brahman* as its *viśaya*.⁴ It is as contributing towards this end that the *karma-vidhis* found in the *pūrva-kāṇḍa* were interpreted by this school in the peculiar manner to which we have already referred. But these *vidhis* as already observed involve only a partial removal of the diversity which is fancied to characterise the self. A *niyoga* relating to its complete elimination, we have, for instance in *na drṣṭer draṣṭāram paśyeh*⁵ which imposes the duty of divesting the self of everything except its intrinsic spiritual essence (*drṣṭi*). When a person has accomplished this *niyoga*, he will be qualified for the other, viz., *jñāna-niyoga*, and success in it will result in *mokṣa*. Such is the doctrine of *prapañca-vilaya-vāda*. We have explained it on the basis of a double *niyoga*, for that seems to explain best the somewhat indiscriminate use of the terms *jñāna-niyoga* and *prapañca vilaya-niyoga* in describing

1. Cf. Śaṅkara's *Sūtra-bhāṣya* कस्य वा नियोगनिष्ठतया मोक्षो अवान्वयः १, Śrī-bhāṣya न नियोगनिष्ठायां मोक्षाख्यं फलम् ॥

2. See e. g., Tīkā on st. 383 of the Sambandha-vārtika.

3. See Sambandha-vārtika, st. 383.

4. See Ibid. st. 395 (com.) ज्ञानकामस्य प्रपञ्चव्यसे नियोगः ॥ See also Śrī-bhāṣya p. 252.

5. Br. Up. III. iv. 2.

the doctrine in the works consulted; ¹ and, our explanation has the support for instance of *Brahma-vidyābhāṣa*. ² It is of course possible that the terms stand for two distinct schools of thought, though even then, the distinction would be only formal and not material as, in both alike, the ultimate Reality would be conceived as *nirguṇa*. But such a conclusion seems hardly probable.

UPANISADIC METRE.

BY

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PART I.

The traditional method of teaching the Vedas has been guilty of neglecting their metrical aspect; the Vedic reciter or reader is punctilious in the matter of his accent; but his appreciation of rhythms, at least as adged from the way he recites or reads, is very little. Not that he is to blame; it is extremely difficult to bring out both accent and metrical rhythm at the same time; and the preservation of the accent at all costs was certainly been of the greatest service to posterity. But it is hard to resist the conviction that in early times Vedic poetry was recited in a manner that brought out its metrical rhythms also. For, if it did not, there could have been no prosodic development. There is, however, overwhelming evidence to such a historical development. It is quite possible to enunciate the principles of metrical structure and trace the lines of metrical development—that is, to write a history of Sanskrit prosody.

The early metrical Upaniṣads are of great importance to the student of Sanskrit Prosody. On the one hand they contain some of the very best achievements of the old dispensation; on the other, they represent the transition to the new, or an earlier stage in this transition. There are passages in them, the metrical art of which leaves one wondering, if, after all, the classical poets, and particularly the dramatic poets, did not make a fatal mistake in giving up the older *Tristubh* altogether³ and developing in its place, by a process of disintegration, the four-times repeated *pāda* rhythms of their prosody.

The intensely dramatic dialogue between Naciketas and Death that forms the prologue to a great philosophical poem—the first two and the last chapters of the *Śvetāśvatara* are veritable prosodic treasures (if indeed one can assign an entity distinct or apart from matter in great poetry). These poets understood the art of continuous versification varying and modulating their rhythms to the requirements of the moment and

³ Kālidāsa indeed used it once with tremendous effect in the *Śākuntala* in the *pratiṣṭhā*: *कलविषयाः* etc., but he used it as a conscious archaism.

¹ Cf. passages referred to in Notes 24, 27 and 29.

² अन्ये तु वदन्ति । 'आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः' इत्यादिवाक्यैरमृतत्वकामस्य साक्षात्कारो निष्प्रपञ्च-ब्रह्मगोचरो विधीयते । तादृशसाक्षात्कारश्च प्रपञ्चप्रविलयं विना नोपपद्यत इति प्रपञ्चप्रविलयद्वारा निष्प्रपञ्च-ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारोपयोगि निष्प्रपञ्चब्रह्मोपासनं विधीयते ॥ (Kumbhakonam Edition, p. 623).

achieving in the result organic metrical wholes — which on the large scale is the essence of epic and on the small scale the essence of lyric and dramatic forms. There is besides a goodly sprinkling of perfect lines and stanzas on occasions when they rise to the 'height of their argument' — the description of the Indescribable Brahman. The *Mundaka* is the work of a comparatively inferior craftsman, rather mechanical in his verses; but he seems to have been something of a bold experimenter. The composer of the *Kena* shows more command. Like the *Kaṭha* and *Śveta* poets, he has an impressive opening, including a short poem with the magnificent refrain

तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥

————— the achievement of which consists in the contrast between the emphatic hammer strokes of the successive longs of the first half and the skipping shorts of the second half suggesting the summary dismissal of the false notions of the Brahman. The *Īśa* has no distinction about it, but it is so short that no opinion of the poet's formal skill can be formed.

As features of the transition the student notes the twelve-syllabled *Triṣṭubh*, the lessening of hiatus and the split semi-vowel, the steady tho' sure emergence of the *Upajāti* stanza by the time of the *Śvetāśvatara*, the gradual ascendancy of the *Śālinī* over the *Vārtormi* groups, the greater freedom in the disposition of the caesura noticeable as he passes from the *Kaṭha* to the *Śveta*, the experiments (probably) of the *Mundaka* poet who could not have stood alone, the practical disappearance—or all but disappearance of the Vedic *Anuṣṭubh* of four *pādas* (with di iambic endings), and the very near approximation to the octosyllables of the epic *Śloka*.

The distinguishing feature of the old *Triṣṭubh* is its free combinations of various pre-and post-caesural metrical groups in the same stanza. Using a later terminology, we can describe the principle as a free interchange of *Upajāti* and *Śālinī-Vārtormi* groups and lines. When these and similar terms are used in connection with the Vedas and Upaniṣads, it must be remembered that the *Indravajrā*, *Upendravajrā*, *Śālinī*, *Vārtormi* and other metres were later developments from the Older *Triṣṭubh* and not basic entities out of which the older poets concocted mixed rhythms as the compilers of prosodic manuals will lead one to believe. To the Vedic poet, the caesure was the

1. Against the demands of strict accuracy, the term *Upajāti* is used here to denote the rhythms of the later *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā* and their *Jagati* forms.

pivot of the line on either side of which could be used one of many metrical groups. In fact this is the *raison d'être* of the caesura as apart from the sense pauses. They were thus able to vary the pace of their verse to an extent that was impossible in later *Triṣṭubh* poetry.¹ Note, for instance, the effect of the gradual slackening of speed in the following stanza, until it ends in the slow full-volumed *Śālinī* of the last *pāda*.

एतत्तुल्यं यदि मन्यसे वरं Śā. 4 + Upa. 6 (Jag.).

वृणीष्व वित्तं चिरजीविकां च । Upa.

महाभूमौ नाचिकेतस्त्वमेधि Vā.

कामानां त्वा कामभाजं करोमि ॥ Śā.

(Kaṭha I-24.)

The same effect is seen in the closing stanza of the justly famous *Yoga* piece (Śve. II-15), which slows down from *pāda* to *pāda* till the triumphant *Śālinī* close, suggesting as it does the lapsing into the All. The whole passage deserves to be studied in great detail for its prosody; it has all the smooth facility of the best classical verse and retains enough of the older and freer art to produce subtle rhythmic modulations. It is also notable for its skilful distribution of secondary pauses; in one stanza the verse actually *runs on* from *pāda* to *pāda*.

Here is the passage which will bear repetition many times over. Śve. II-8-15.

विसृजते स्थाप्य समं शरीरं हृदीन्द्रियाणि मनसा संनिरुद्धय ।
ब्रह्मोडुपेन प्रतरेत विद्वन् श्रोतांसि सर्वाणि भयावहानि ॥
प्राणान्प्रपीडयेह स युक्तचेष्टः क्षीणे प्राणे नासिकयोच्छ्वसीत ।
दुष्टाश्रयुक्तमिव वाहमेनं विद्वान् मनो धारयेताप्रमत्तः ॥
समे, सुचौ, शर्करा वह्निं वालुकाविर्वजिते शब्दजलाश्रयादिभिः ।
मनोनुकूले, न तु चक्षुषीडने गुहा विवाताश्रयणे प्रयोजयेत् ॥
नीहारधूमाकानिलानिलानां खद्योतविद्युत्स्फटिकाशनीनाम् ।
एतानि रूपाणि पुरःसराणि ब्रह्मण्यभिव्यक्तिकराणि योगे ॥
पृथ्व्याप्यतेजोऽनिलखे समुत्थिते पञ्चात्मके योगगुणे प्रवृत्ते ।
न तस्य रोगो न जरा न मृत्युः प्राप्तस्य योगाग्निमयं शरीरम् ॥
लघुत्वमारोग्यमलोलुपत्वं वर्णप्रसादं स्वरसौष्ठवं च ।
गन्धः शुभ्रो मृदुपुरीषमल्यं गोगप्रवृत्तिं प्रथमां वदन्ति ॥
यथैव बिम्बं हृदयोपलिप्तं तेजोमयं आजते तत्सुधातम् ।

1. This loss was partially made up for by the extreme suppleness which the *śloka* attained.

तद्वात्मत्वं प्रसमीक्ष्य देही एकः कृतार्थो भवते वीतशोकः ॥

यदात्मतत्त्वेन तु ब्रह्मतत्त्वं दीपोपमेन ह युक्तः प्रपश्येत् ।

अजं ध्रुवं सर्वतत्त्वैर्विशुद्धं ज्ञात्वा देवं मुच्यते सर्वपाशैः ॥

These poets also made poetic capital out of their freedom, though sparingly used, to use a Jagatī in a Trisṭubh stanza.¹ One can point to the sudden accession of eloquence in the Jagatī close of Kaṭha I-33. This entire speech of Death is no less notable for its metrical perfection than the Śvetā piece mentioned above. It is well worth quoting.

शतायुषः पुत्रपौत्रान्वृणीष्व बहून्पशून् हस्तिहिरण्यमश्वान् ।
भूमेर्महदायतनं वृणीष्व स्वयं च जीव शरदो यावदिच्छसि ॥ २३ ॥
एतत्तुल्यं यदि मन्यसे वरं वृणीष्व वित्तं चिरजीविकां च ।
महाभूमौ नचिकेतस्त्वमेधि कामानां त्वा कामभाजं करोमि ॥ २४ ॥
ये ये कामा दुर्लभा मर्त्यलोके सर्वान्कामान्छन्दतः प्रार्थयस्व ।
इमा रामास्सरयास्ततूर्या नहीदृशा लंभनीया मनुष्यैः ॥
आभिर्मत्प्रताभिः परिचारयस्व नचिकेतो मरणं मानुषाक्षीः ॥ २५ ॥

The solemnity of Death's appeal crowned by his overflowing pity is well suggested by the slow swell of the Śālinī and Vātermis reaching a climax in the hypermetrical Vaiśvadevī opening (————) of the penultimate pāda and the abrupt fall of the pyrrhic opening of the final pāda. Even the long ninth, that goes against the grain of the Trisṭubh, and almost invariably produces a discord is in this last verse made to serve a splendid purpose. So does Naciketas's violent exclamation in answer (26) श्रोभावा मर्त्यस्य यदन्तकैतत् displace the cæsura for once to fine effect. Nor did these poets disdain the (to them humbler) aids of alliteration and assonance on occasion. One feels the pointed sting and decision in the sound of or the arresting tone of enquiry in

जीविष्यामो यावदीशिष्यसि त्वं, वरस्तु मे वरणीयः स एव ॥
केनेषितं पतति प्रेषितं मनः केन प्राणः प्रथमः प्रैति युक्तः ।
केनेषितां वाचमिमां वदन्ति चक्षुः श्रोत्रं क उ देवो युनक्ति ॥

1. The Jagatī is the regular 'hypermetrical' Trisṭubh got by splitting its final long (intrinsically or prosodically so) into an iamb producing a pleasing overflow effect.

2. The whole of the dialogue is, if one may say so without irreverence, an exhibition piece—a magnificent model of dramatic verse-conversation of the stately order.

Change of metre was another effective device. Often it denoted a change of topic. In the second chapter of the Kaṭha is a wonderful change of metre from Trisṭubh to Anuṣṭubh in the course of Death's speech. He has been slowly leading to the central doctrine of the Brahman by characteristic approaches on the negative side; then when he feels that the youthful seeker's mind has been rendered sufficiently receptive for the grand initiation, that the moment for transference of occult power has arrived, he utters the Om at the end of a Trisṭubh series and abruptly declares the Brahman in a couple of full weighted Anuṣṭubhs एतद्वेवाक्षरं ब्रह्म एतद्वेवाक्षरं परम् ॥ (Kaṭha. II-16-11).

The psychological moment fructified, the thrill of the initiation over, he relapses into Trisṭubh and continues the negative characterisation in न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चित् etc., (It is here that the stanza beginning हन्ता चेन्मन्यते हन्तुं occurs, which the Gītā quotes). So towards the end of the third chapter following the parable of the chariot picturesquely elaborated in Anuṣṭubhs comes the exhortation

उत्तिष्ठत, जाग्रत, प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत ।

क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गं पथस्तत्कवयो वदन्ति ॥

in a broken mixed stanza which the Swāmi Vivekānanda chose as a bugle call to rouse his decadent countrymen.

Enough has now been said to indicate the high quality of the verse in these early metrical Upaniṣads. It must, however, be pointed out that the appreciation of the earlier prosody requires some preliminary effort on the part of the reader fresh from the classical rhythms. He has first to get the pāda rhythms of classical metres out of his head and accustom himself to the rhythm of the individual metrical groups and their more important combinations especially those that do not occur in later poetry. Otherwise his ear after hearing an opening of four longs, will expect a Śālinī sequel, and when instead of this, an Upajāti group is heard, it gets confused and seems to hear disturbed or broken rhythm; similarly when a Śālinī or Vātermī group (of 7) follows an opening with a short third, which he would naturally expect to be completed in Upajāti measures.

We shall now proceed to the formal theory of Upaniṣadic metre.

The Anuṣṭubh. The Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh is well on the way to the epic śloka of two ardhās or hemistiches; each ardhā being made up of two halves, a prior and a posterior which have respectively for their normal second feet — — — and — — — Hopkins in "The Great Epic of India."

has a full and final presentment of the epic and purāṇic śloka. (The present writer deals with the classical śloka in the course of an article on Aśvaghoṣa to be shortly published in The Journal of the Burma Research Society). We shall only note here that the Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh shows traces of the vedic stanzaic practice, that is an occasional prior pāda with a di iambic end (the Gāyatrī stanza and the trochaic Anuṣṭubh have disappeared). There are also instances of all the possible kinds of Vipulās¹ in the odd pādas, the स's and र's not being negligible. And also the later restrictions or restricting tendencies in the matter of cæsura, opening feet and finals in Vipulā verses have not yet set in.

The Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh has evolved into the śloka form; but it is much freer than the later orthodox type and less musical on the whole though individual passages as for instance in Kaṭha III and Śvetāśvatara have sufficient metrical merit. Other features such as 'long' ('hypermetrical') and 'short' ('catalectic') verses, mixed stanzas of Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh will be noted and discussed later on.²

The Triṣṭubh is by far the more important metre and deservedly so. It has got rid of most of the unrhythmical forms of Vedic practice, while retaining all its freedom—indeed, in the matter of group combinations, it

1. A Vipulā is a variation on the normal second foot of the odd pāda. (न) — — — —, (म) — — — —, (म) — — — — (र) — — — — (स) — — — — (त) — — — — (ज) di iamb). Only the first three normally occur in classical śloka.

A NOTE ON THE ANUṢṬUBHS.

Total number of lines in the 5 Upaniṣads about 460. First foot. (that is first 4 syllables)

	Iamb — — — —	Pyrrhic — — — —	Trochee — — — —	Spondee — — — —
Odd Pādas.	(40) 19%	(15) 7%	(59) 27%	(102) 47%
Even Pādas.	(4) 2—	(23) 11—	(72) 33	(115) 54—

Very irregular lines have been left out of account.

Vipulas.		No. of odd lines.							Ja. (di iamb)
		No.	Na	bha	ma	ra	ta	sa	
116	Kaṭha	3	9	4	1	2	1		4
24	Iśa	—	—	3	—	—	3	1	
22	Mundaka	3	2	1	2	—	—	2	
42	Śveta	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	
20	Kena	2	2	1	0	2	1		2
		11	14	9	3	7	5		8

Percentage 20 which is about double the percentage in normal classical śloka. (Allowance has been made for repetitions of the same verse—The di iambs have been excluded.)

is freer. Witness the large number of twelve-syllable Triṣṭubhs (as distinct from the long lines or Jagatis). The term 'contaminated' or hybrid which Arnold gives to such forms (Vedic Metre) is certainly inapplicable to the Upaniṣadic dodekas; they are not aberrations or abnormals; but quite as legitimate as the 11-syllabled ones.

The cæsura, as already pointed out, is the pivot of the line. (As in the Veda it usually falls after the fourth or fifth syllable. But there is a tendency to throw it backward or forward by a syllable noticeable in the later Śvetāśvatara. This is, in other words, a first step in the gradual weakening of the cæsura's hold on the Upajāti). There are a number of pre-and post-cæsural groups and theoretically any one of the former may be combined with any one of the latter, though in practice only a few of these combinations form the staple of the verse while some do not occur at all.

The cæsura always implied a definite pause; and hence made possible slight variations from the normal in its neighbourhood on either side without affecting the basic rhythm; for instance a pre-cæsural short very often takes the place of a long, the apparent defect in quantity being made up for by the pause.¹ Sometimes an extra syllable intrudes after the pause, the rhythmic variation thus introduced being not much different in nature from that produced by an initial extra.

In the earliest Vedic times, the alternative groups Śālinī 7 and Vātormī (— — — — —; — — — — —) rose in this way; the poet, concerned primarily with the metrical group, making no difference between a group-initial and a pāda-initial; the Vātormī was perhaps the original type of which the Śālinī was a variant; in the same manner is to be explained the Vedic post-cæsural Upajāti group, — — — — — a variant on the normal predominant type, — — — — —. The present writer is inclined to explain the rare groups (Rg Vedic again), — — — — — and — — — — —² as due to initial reversal of rhythm after cæsura in the Śālinī 7 and Upajāti 7 that is, an iambic in the place of trochee 3. Classical poets employed the device of rhythm reversal in deriving a number of metres with a lisping

1. In the Rg Veda pre-cæsural shorts probably amounts to a fourth of the total number of verses.

2. There is an epidemic of this group in certain groups of hymns. See, for instance, the hymns from the 7th Book given in Macdonnell's Vedic Reader.

3. It may be charged to irrelevant pedantry to adduce a parallel from English. Or, one may point to the post-cæsural trochee in Milton's and Chaucer's verse for instance.

close from other metres already established. The Svāgatā derived from the Rathoddhatā is the type of this class.

This is the place to consider the Triṣṭubh which for convenience sake may be called the Tribrach medial Triṣṭubh. It has the scheme $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$ and is historically of very great importance as the parent of a whole host of classical metres, chief of which is the Vasantatilakā. Hopkins seems to regard it as a separate type whereas it is really in most cases an Upajāti 5 with precæsural short and in the rest an Upajāti 4 with post-cæsural short. $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$ or $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$. The latter is much rarer than the former; the number of sure cases in the Upaniṣads with $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$ is extremely small. It is only natural that this should be so; even in the Rg Veda post-cæsural freedom was exercised much less than precæsural; in Upaniṣadic times it had almost become an archaism. That the classical poets and prosodists were aware of the fact is evident from their omission to make of it a separate metre as they did with the Upajāti and Śālinī-Vātermī when disintegrating the older Triṣṭubh.

The following is a list of the metrical groups prevalent in the Upaniṣads, names such as 8 Śālinī, Vātermī being really but a convenient borrowing from later terminology.

PRE-CAESURAL.			
{	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$	Upajāti (cæsura after 4) opening	Upa 4.
	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$	Do. (Do. 5)	Upa 5.
	$(\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup)$	Do. (Do. 6)	Upa 6) Not normal.
{	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$	Śālinī-Vātermī opening	Śā 4.
	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$	Vaiśvadevī opening	Vai 5.
{	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$		Short-second A.
	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$		Short second B.
POST-CAESURAL.			
{	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$	Upajāti close of 7	Upa 7.
	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$	Do. of 6	Upa 6.
	$(\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup)$	Do. of 5	Upa 5) Not normal.
{	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$	Śālinī close	Śā 7.
	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$	Vātermī close	Vā 7.
	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$	Tribrach Upajāti close	trb 7.

All the pre-cæsural groups may have a short in the place of the final long; and all the post cæsural groups may have their Jagatī variations. It

1. The post-caesural groups may *theoretically* be divided into a 'break' $\cup - \cup$ or $\cup - \cup$ or the variants of these and a cadence $\cup - \cup$. Whether, in its origin the cadence was a distinct entity in itself and if so, what significance it had are very obscure points. Western scholars assume the break and the cadence. However, in Upaniṣadic Prosody, the 'cadence' in itself has lost all significance.

is to be understood that the Triṣṭubh includes the Jagatī for our purposes the more so as the latter has practically no separate existence in the Upaniṣads. (There is a unique instance in the Kaṭha of a Vamśastha stanza III. 15 closing the exhortation उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत already mentioned. Another occurs in the Yoga piece-already quoted-in the Śveta. There is no other.)

THE DATE OF MĀNIKKAVĀCAKAR.

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The question of the date of Mānikkavācakar has evoked considerable discussion from about 1905. Before then, there was no means of fixing the date of this great Śaiva saint of the Tamil land. The only reference which Mānikkavācakar makes to contemporaries, that is at all likely to be helpful in determining his age, is contained in his *Tirukkōvaiyār* and this reference is to Varaguṇa, a Pāṇḍya king. But before 1905 no Varaguṇa was known to South Indian Epigraphy. In fact the only Varaguṇa that we had knowledge of, was a king of the legend of the vision of Śivalōkam in the *Tiruvilaiyāṭal*. But since 1905 the discovery of the Cinnamannūr plates has revealed the existence of two kings of the name of Varaguṇa who were related as grandfather and grandson. It is very likely that the grandson Varaguṇa lived in the later half of the 9th century A. D. as it is very probable that he is the same king as the Pāṇḍyeśvara Varaguṇa who was defeated in the battle of Śrīpurambiya, as is mentioned in the Udayentiram plates of the Gaṅga King Pṛthivīpati II. The late Mr. V. Venkayya in editing the Ambāsamudram stone inscription of Varaguṇa discovered a little before the Cinnamannūr plates remarked (E. I. Vol. IX, p. 89) "the great Śaiva saint Mānikkavācakar mentions the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa twice in his *Tiruccirraṁbalakovaiyār*. The time of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār who probably flourished in the 8th century A. D. is the upper limit of the date of Mānikkavācakar who is conspicuous by his omission from the *Tiruttonṭattokai*, i. e., the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. It may therefore be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king, Varaguṇa, and if there was only one king of that name the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A. D." Mr. Venkayya, however, was not very clear in his mind about the conclusiveness of his argument and he took care to say two years later in 1909 (Tam. Anti. No. 3, p. 6): "The date of Mānikkavācakar is to my mind not quite satisfactorily settled. From two references to the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa in the *Tirukkōvaiyār* I tentatively assigned the saint

to the middle of the 9th century. The existence of an early Pāṇḍya king bearing the name Varaguṇa is not precluded. Consequently the tentative date assigned by me may have to be altered in the light of future researches." Mr. Venkayya's caution was very commendable. But it has not been maintained by the epigraphists who have succeeded him and it seems to have become almost an article of faith with epigraphists to stick to a 9th century date for Māṇikkavācakar.

It will be noticed that even Mr. Venkayya would not assign a greater antiquity to Māṇikkavācakar than the age of Sundaramūrti, that is to say, the middle of the 8th century A. D., because of the omission of Māṇikkavācakar's name from the *Tiruttonṭattokai*.

The age of Māṇikkavācakar has been discussed very fully from different points of view by Messrs. K. G. Sesha Ayyar and T. Ponnambalam Pillai in the pages of the *Tamilian Antiquary*. Mr. Sesha Ayyar's arguments which need not be reproduced here appear to me to be a complete refutation of the position of the epigraphists. And Mr. Pillai has arrived at a conclusion very similar to that of Mr. Sesha Ayyar arguing from the standpoint of the Christian church of Malabar.

Minor considerations apart, the age of Māṇikkavācakar must depend on our answer to two or three main questions: Was Māṇikkavācakar the earliest of the Śaiva saints who preceded the *Tēvāram Trio* or did he come after them? Is it a fact that he is not mentioned in the *Tiruttonṭattokai*? If it is, how can we account for this omission? Let us look into these questions in some detail.

Māṇikkavācakar does claim that the miracle of the transformation of foxes into horses was performed by Śiva on his account to save him from the consequences of his master's wrath. There are at least half a dozen references to this fact in the *Tiruvācakam*, among which attention may be drawn in particular to the *double entendre* in line 17 of the *Tiru Ammānai*, the direct personal references in line 45 of the *Tirupponnācal* and the vivid impressionist reference to the miracle in lines 25 and 26 of the *Anandamālai*. Then Appar, by general consent, the earliest of the three *Tēvāram* hymnists does refer to this miracle and also to a Vācaka in a manner which seems to leave no room for doubt that it is a reference to our saint. This last reference was explained very clearly by the veteran scholar Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Swaminatha Ayyar in the light of two later Sanskrit Purāṇas at pages 66 and 67 of his edition of the *Tiruvilaiyāl Purāṇam* of Perumparrappuliyār Nampi and it must be noted that the Pandit's explanation was given years

before the controversy started between epigraphists and literary critics as to the age of Māṇikkavācakar. Again there is the fact that, in all the lists of Pāṇḍya kings that have come down to us, the contemporary of Māṇikkavācaka, Arimardana by name, is placed several generations before Jñānasambandha and his contemporary Kūṇ Pāṇḍya. These lists are not perhaps very valuable to the historian but the state in which we find them is clear proof of the traditional belief that Māṇikkavācakar preceded Jñānasambandha by many years. It must also be noticed that Māṇikkavācakar's life and history occupy an earlier and somewhat more conspicuous place in the cycle of the Madura sports of Śiva and that it has not been possible to recognise so far any clear epigraphical references except to the last of the kings in the lists given in the versions of these stories. It seems a natural inference to make from all this, that Māṇikkavācakar, the antagonist of the Buddhists, was older than the saints of the age of Jñānasambandha whose chief contests appear to have been with the Jains.

We shall now turn to the *Tiruttonṭattokai*. Let us assume for a moment that the name of Māṇikkavācakar does not appear in this list. Even then, it is quite arguable that this omission was an accident or was probably due to some reason which was present in Sundaramūrti's time and is now unknown to us; and in any case it is clear that an argument from silence cannot be pressed very far—and that especially, in the face of such evidence as has been summed up in the preceding paragraph. But does Sundaramūrti not mention Māṇikkavācakar? Mr. Sesha Ayyar has pointed out with great plausibility that the expression பொய்யமுமையில்தா புலவர் in Sundaramūrti's list does refer to our saint as it fits in very well with the traditional history of his life and doings.

Mr. Venkayya indeed remarked *apropos* this suggestion as follows:—

"Mr. K. G. Sesha Ayyar who has assigned Māṇikkavācakar to the fourth century A. D. has called in question the authority of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi for the explanation of the term Poyyaṁmaiyaillāta-Pulavar which occurs in the *Tiruttonṭattokai*. I am not quite prepared to follow Mr. Sesha Ayyar in thus overthrowing the tradition current at the time of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi". Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi and his successors have regularly interpreted this expression as a reference to the poets of the Madura *cankam*. This interpretation does not strike one as the most natural. Mr. Sesha Ayyar's, on the other hand, when viewed apart from Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi's authority, must commend itself to any unbiassed reader of the *Tiruttonṭattokai*. And great as must be the authority of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi in

matters of religion and theology, I have no hesitation in declaring with Mr. Sesha Ayyar that the theory involved in his interpretation of the Tirut-tattokai seems to be, much of it, wrong. My point and I believe Mr. Sesha Ayyar's also is that continuity in religious tradition seems to be quite possible with a break in secular historical tradition. For an illustration I may refer to the case of another saint mentioned in the Tiruttattokai, Cerut-tunai by name. This saint is referred to by Sundaramūrti as a king of Tanjore, Tañcainnavan. Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi makes no mention of his having been a king at all evidently because in his day nothing was known about such a ruler of Tanjore. And a little later Ceikkiḷār in his Periyapurānam actually makes a rich cultivator (வேளாண்ருடி முதல்வர்) of this king of Tanjore. It is thus clear that Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi and his successors were not always able to interpret Sundaramūrti correctly and there is therefore nothing unnatural in supposing that they went wrong over the expression Poiyyaṭimai-illāta-Pulavār. Our conclusion therefore is that Māṇikkavācakar must be taken to have preceded the *Tevāram Trio* and that the Vāraguṇa referred to in the *Tiruccittampalakkovaiyār* must have been an earlier Pāṇḍya king, than any king of the same name yet known to epigraphy.

FORGOTTEN KĀRIKĀS OF KUMĀRILA.

BY

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To the Madras session of the All-India Oriental Conference the present writer contributed a paper entitled *Kumārila and the Brhṛṭṭikā* wherein he drew the attention of scholars to a number of verses found mainly in the works of the Prābhākara school¹ of Karma Mīmāṃsā and attributed to one Vārtikakāra who was identified with Kumārila, though these verses could not be traced in his three existing works. (*Vide* Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, pages 523-529.) Attention of scholars was also drawn in that paper to a number of references from the works of the Bhāṭṭa school such as the Nyāyasūdhā² of Someśvara and the Nyāyaratnākara³ of Pārthasārathi Miśra to a work entitled Brhṛṭṭikā, and reasons were also adduced to show that Kumārila was the author of the Brhṛṭṭikā.

In the present paper additional reasons are being advanced in support of this theory as a result of further investigation on the subject in certain Buddhist and Jain philosophical works. The most important material is however furnished by a Buddhist work entitled the Tattvasaṅgraha. In the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of Baroda will soon be published the Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita who was a Professor in the Nālanda Monastery. This work is accompanied with a commentary by Kamalaśīla who was a disciple of Śāntarakṣita.⁴

Mainly from the Tibetan sources it has been proved that Śāntarakṣita was born in Bengal during the reign of Gopāla the first king of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal. (*Vide* Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Foreword to the Tattvasaṅgraha).⁵ He lived for about 57 years and died in 762 A. D. The accuracy of this date is made more probable by the fact that the Tibetan translation of the Tattvasaṅgraha was made by a Kashmirian Pandit Guṇākara-śrībhadrā who was a contemporary of king Lalitāditya of Kashmir

1. Rjuvimalā, M.S. pp. 86, 144, and Prakaraṇa Pañcikā, Vākyārtha, p. 17, etc.

2. Pp. 329-330 and 393.

3. P. 452.

4. The Tattvasaṅgraha has since been published. [Ed.]

5. P. XIV.

(A. D. 693-729).¹ Thus it is quite reasonable to believe that the author of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* flourished in the first half of the 8th century. His disciple Kamalaśīla who commented on his work was his younger contemporary. This work of Śāntarakṣita consists of nearly 4,000 Kārikās composed in *Anuṣṭubh* metre and is divided into 26 Parikṣās or examinations. In each of these Parikṣās Śāntarakṣita refuted the leading philosophical systems propounded before his time ranging from 400 B. C. to 700 A. D. A careful study of this monumental work of Śāntarakṣita will supply much new and useful information for determining the history of Indian philosophy during that period. The data presented here to prove Kumārila's authorship of a work called *Bṛhaṭṭikā* are mainly based on the references made in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* both by the author and the commentator to a large number of verses attributed to Kumārila. Among them some are indeed traceable in Kumārila's available works while others are not. While refuting the other systems of philosophy, Śāntarakṣita's procedure is to quote extensively from the works of his opponents wherever possible and then to refute their views in his own way. The views of no less than thirty-two representative writers on Indian philosophy, including Hindu, Buddhist and Jain, are quoted by Śāntarakṣita and among them Kumārila and Uddyotakara stand pre-eminent. Fortunately however, some of the works of Kumārila being in Kārikā-form Śāntarakṣita got an opportunity of mentioning his views by quoting his own Kārikās while representing him as an opponent in the majority of the examinations into which the work is divided. In the same way he quoted the actual compositions of Bhāmaha, Bhartṛhari, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga, and Dharmakīrti whose works happened to be in metrical form. While quoting their Kārikās, though he does not mention the names of the respective authors, his disciple and commentator Kamalaśīla supplies the required particulars while commenting on the text. Thus these two authors happen to refer to many Kārikās of Kumārila among which only some are traceable in the available works of the latter while many others are not. From this we can conclude that either there was a different work of Kumārila which was accessible to Śāntarakṣita who flourished only half a century after Kumārila, and was lost to us subsequently, or that there are some omissions in the printed edition of the *Ślokavārtika* because the untraceable Kārikās are quoted along with many other Kārikās of the *Ślokavārtika* and all these Kārikās are connected with each other to represent a well-established argument. But the latter alternative would

1. See S. C. Vidyabhushana's *Indian Logic*, p. 324.

hardly be possible as the two available commentaries on the *Ślokavārtika* by Pārthasārathi and Sucaritamīśra explained the text as it is now available in print. But on the authority of Śāntarakṣita, however, it is possible to maintain that there was another work of Kumārila where the author treated the same topics as are to be found in the *Ślokavārtika* with further details and additional grounds to establish the same arguments, and this leads us further to infer that the *Ślokavārtika* was an abridged form of this more extensive work. Śāntarakṣita's references to Kumārila's Kārikās and his views cannot be called in question because he flourished within half a century after Kumārila. Nor can Kamalaśīla's testimony be called in question because he was a direct disciple of Śāntarakṣita and probably received instruction direct from him.

In this connection we are also able to definitely settle the date of Kumārila on which a good deal of controversy is still going on. Kumārila must have flourished between A. D. 620-680 as we can learn from the under-mentioned facts.

I-Tsing's testimony leads us to infer that Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Vākyapadīya*, who was criticised in the *Tantravārtika* by Kumārila¹ died in 650 A.D. Dharmakīrti who is held from Tibetan sources to be a contemporary of Kumārila was not mentioned by Hiuen Tshang but was referred to by I-Tsing (670—695 A. D.). Pārthasārathi's commentary on the *Ślokavārtika* where Dharmakīrti is frequently referred to as *Bhikṣu*² and the *Kāśikā* of Sucaritamīśra³ lead us to infer that Dharmakīrti was criticised by Kumārila. *Ubbeyaka* or *Umvāka* or Bhavabhūti, a disciple of Kumārila and a contemporary of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj and Lalitāditya of Kashmir commented on Kumārila's *Ślokavārtika* (*vide* Rāmakaṣṣa's commentary on the *Śāstradīpikā* pp. 2, 14, 30).⁴ The date of Bhartṛhari is approximately 600—650 A. D. Dharmakīrti (Cir. 600—650 A. D.) also belongs to the same period. Bhavabhūti is referred to in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* ⁵ and is a direct disciple of Kumārila and a contemporary of Lalitāditya, Yaśovarman, and Vākpatirāja; and he may therefore be assigned to the period between 655-725 A. D. That being so, to fix Kumārila's time becomes quite

1. *Vide* B.B.R.A.S. Journal, Vol. 18, pp. 214-215.

2. Pp. 144, 361, etc.

3. B.B.R.A.S. Journal, Vol. 18, p. 230.

4. उच्यते भट्टोम्बेकेन—“ग्रन्थारम्भेऽभिमतदेवतानमस्कारं करोति वार्तिककारः” इति ॥ etc.

5. P. 812.

an easy matter. Bhavabhūti must have admitted himself as a disciple of Kumārila at the age of 20 (which seems to be the most reasonable time when serious study can begin) and remained under him for five years more. This will bring us down to A. D. 680 as the latest date for Kumārila. Had he died at the age of sixty his date of birth would have fallen somewhere about 620 A. D.¹

Now let us cite a few more instances to prove that Kumārila composed another elaborate work of which the Ślokavārtika is only a digest :—

(1) To establish the doctrine of self-dependent validity or *Svataḥprāmāṇya* of all *Vijñānas*, Kumārila writes in the Ślokavārtika—

स्वतः सर्वप्रमाणानां प्रामाण्यमिति गृह्यताम् ।

न हि स्वतोऽसती शक्तिः कर्तुमन्येन पार्यते ॥

आत्मलाभे हि भावानां कारणापेक्षता भवेत् ।

लब्धात्मनां स्वकार्येषु प्रवृत्तिः स्वयमेव तु ॥

Ślo. Vā. p. 60.

Here in the second verse it is stated that all entities require the help of causes for their own production only, but not for the production of their own effects. But this argument will not be complete unless it is explained with a suitable example in support of the *Svataḥprāmāṇya* of *Vijñāna*. On noticing this discrepancy in this particular argument in the Ślokavārtika the commentator Pārthasārathi Miśra endeavours to supply the further information required in the following manner :—

सर्वे हि भावाः स्वात्मलाभायैव स्वकारणमपेक्षन्ते । घटो हि मृत्पिण्डादिकं स्वजन्मन्येवापेक्षते, नोदकाहरणेऽपि । तथा ज्ञानमपि स्वोत्पत्तौ गुणवदितरदा कारणमपेक्षतां नाम ।

स्वकार्ये विषयानिश्चयेत्वनपेक्षमेव ॥ न्यायरत्ना- p. 60.

This supplementary information to the verse आत्मलाभे etc., was obviously supplied by the commentator from some elaborate work of Kumārila's own composition and we feel ourselves happy when we meet with them again in Śāntarakṣita's *Svataḥprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*. Let us quote them :—

1. For further details about the date of Kumārila see Dr. B. Battacharya's Foreword to the *Tattvasaṅgraha*.

आत्मलाभे हि भावानां कारणापेक्षितेभ्यते ।

लब्धात्मानः स्वकार्येषु वर्तन्ते स्वयमेव तु ॥ २८४८ ॥

सामान्येन भावानामात्मलाभं प्रति कारणापेक्षितां प्रतिपाद्य ज्ञानेऽपि योजयन्नाह—

उत्पादमात्र एवातो व्यपेक्षास्ति स्वहेतुषु ।

ज्ञानानां स्वगुणेष्वेषा न तु निश्चयजन्मनि ॥ २८४९ ॥

यद्येवं कथं तर्हि तेषां तत्र हेतुभावो भवतीत्याह—

जनने हि स्वतन्त्राणां प्रामाण्यार्थविनिश्चितेः ।

स्वहेतुनिरोपेक्षाणां तेषां वृत्तिर्घटादिवत् ॥ २८५० ॥

घटादिवदिति दृष्टान्तमाचष्टे—

मृत्पिण्डदण्डचक्रादि घटो जन्मन्यपेक्षते ।

उदकाहरणत्वस्य तदपेक्षा न विद्यते ॥ २८५१ ॥

No careful reader would fail to detect the correspondence between the extract from Pārthasārathi and the above verses quoted by Śāntarakṣita and ascribe the authorship of the latter to Kumārila as these are found among other quotations of his composition. This view is further strengthened when we examine the following verses containing Śāntarakṣita's refutation of the above :—

आत्मलाभे हि भावानां कारणापेक्षितेभ्यते ।

लब्धात्मनां स्वकार्येषु प्रवृत्तिः स्वयमेव तु ॥ २९२१ ॥

अथ ज्ञानेऽपि कस्मात् प्रवृत्त इत्याह—

यत्तु ज्ञानं त्वयापीष्टं जन्मानन्तरमस्थिरम् ।

लब्धात्मनोऽसतः पश्चाद्व्यापारस्तस्य कीदृशः ? ॥ २९२२ ॥

घटादिवदिति दृष्टान्तस्यासिद्धिं प्रतिपादयन्नाह—

जन्मातिरिक्तकालश्च क्रियाकालो न विद्यते ।

क्षणिकत्वाद्वटादीनामित्यसिद्धं निदर्शनम् ॥ २९५५ ॥

The last quoted verse 2955 seems to presuppose Kumārila's illustration given in 2851 supra.

In ascribing these verses to Kumārila we also get further support from a Jain philosophical work by Abhayadevasūri who, flourished in the first half of the 10th century according to the Jain records.¹ In his commentary

1. See S. C. Vidyabhuṣaṇa's *Indian Logic*, p. 196.

on the *Sammattitarka* of Siddhasena Divākara (published in the Gujarat Purātattvamandir at Ahmedabad) Abhayadeva quotes many verses attributed to Kumārila, Vārtikakāra or Bhaṭṭa, most of which are traceable in the available works of Kumārila. While stating the views of Kumārila in the course of the discussion on *svataḥprāmāṇya* he quotes many verses from the *Śloka-vārtika*, of which these two also occur on page 4.

किञ्चोक्तम्—

आत्मलाभे हि भावानां कारणापेक्षता भवेत् ।

लब्धात्मनां स्वकार्येषु प्रवृत्तिः स्वयमेव तु ॥ Ślo. Vā. page 60.

तथाहि-मृत्पिण्डदण्डचक्रादि घटो जन्मन्यपेक्षते ।

उदकाहरणे त्वस्य तदपेक्षा न विद्यते ॥ इति ॥

Now it is clear that Abhayadeva also ascribes the authorship of these verses to Kumārila in the same way as Pārthasārathi and Śāntarakṣita are inclined to do.

(2) Continuing the statement of Kumārila on the *svataḥprāmāṇya*, Śāntarakṣita again quotes Kumārila's views thus :—

मौलिके चेत्प्रमाणत्वे प्रमाणान्तरसाध्यता ।

तत्र तत्रैवमिच्छन्तो न व्यवस्थां लभेमहि ॥ २८५३ ॥

यथैव प्रथमं ज्ञानं तत्संवादमपेक्षते ।

संवादेनापि संवादः पुनर्मृग्यस्तथैव हि ॥ २८५३ ॥

कस्य चित्तु यदीष्येत स्वत एव प्रमाणता ।

प्रथमस्य तथाभावे प्रद्वेषः केन हेतुना ॥ २८५५ ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha, page 757.

In the *Śloka-vārtika*, however, we find a summarised statement of the first two verses and the third sloka *in toto*.

सङ्गत्या यदि चेष्टेत पूर्वपूर्वप्रमाणता ।

प्रमाणान्तरमिच्छन्तो न व्यवस्थां लभेमहि ॥

कस्य चित्तु यदीष्येत स्वत एव प्रमाणता ।

प्रथमस्य तथाभावे प्रद्वेषः किं निबन्धनः ॥

Ślo. Vā. pages 68-69.

While refuting this view of Kumārila, Śāntarakṣita proceeds thus :—

यदुक्तं—यथैव प्रथमं ज्ञानमित्यादि—तत्राह—

अतश्च प्रथमं ज्ञानं तत्संवादमपेक्षते ।

संवादेनापि संवादः पुनर्मृग्यस्तथैव न ॥ २९७२ ॥

“कस्य चित्तु यदीष्येत” इत्यादावाह—

भ्रान्तिहेतोरसद्भावात्स्वतस्तस्य प्रमाणता ।

प्रथमस्य तथाभावे प्रद्वेषो भ्रान्तिसंभवात् ॥ २९७३ ॥

This systematic refutation of Kumārila's views with some alteration in his own verse, and the presence of some Kārikās in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* which are to be met with in the *Śloka-vārtika*, certainly lead us to think that Śāntarakṣita quoted these verses from some other and more elaborate work of Kumārila of which the *Śloka-vārtika* may be a summary. This presumption regarding the verses above-stated is also strengthened by the citation of the same verses in some of the Jain philosophical works.

Abhayadevasūri while stating Kumārila's view on the same topic quotes these two Ślokas and introduces them as तदुक्तं “यथैव प्रथमं ज्ञानं etc., and कस्यचित्तु यदीष्येत and adds a third Śloka in the same connection, which runs thus :—

संवादस्याथ पूर्वेण संवादित्वात्प्रमाणता ।

अन्योन्याश्रयभावेन न प्रामाण्यं प्रकल्पते ॥ इति ॥

Again we get quite a reliable citation of these three verses under the name of Bhaṭṭa himself, in a Jain work *Syādvādaratnākara* by Vāḍidevasūri who flourished in the second half of the 11th century. (See S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Indian Logic*, page 198). On page 124, line 5 of the *Syādvādaratnākara* published at Ahmedabad we find Kumārila quoted in the following manner :—

यदाह भट्टः—यथैव प्रथमं ज्ञानं . . .

कस्य चित्तु यदीष्येत . . .

संवादस्याथ पूर्वेण . . .

Here the word Bhaṭṭa undoubtedly stands for the great Mīmāṃsā philosopher Kumārila Bhaṭṭa as he is mentioned in the same book in many places, where his Kārikās from the *Śloka-vārtika* are quoted.

Among those Kārikās quoted by Śāntarakṣita for the purpose of refutation, many are indeed traceable in Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika while many others intermingled with the traceable ones though referring to the same topic, are not to be found there. A perusal of the index of sources in the edition of the Tattvasaṅgraha, by its editor Pt. Embar Krishnamacharya, will help scholars to ascertain the cogency of my argument and to see what a large number of Kārikās are quoted by Śāntarakṣita from the Śloka-vārtika. We are however fortunate enough to be able to attribute some of the Kārikās (quoted by Śāntarakṣita in the last three Parīkṣās though not traceable in the Śloka-vārtika) to Kumārila on the strength of some Jain philosophical works where the Kārikās in question are cited under the name of either Kumārila or Bhaṭṭa.

Let me cite some specimen Kārikās from the Tattvasaṅgraha and compare them with identical stanzas in Jain literature and the Śloka-vārtika as well. In the Śrutiparīkṣā of Tattvasaṅgraha, for instance, while quoting Kumārila's view on the validity of Śruti, the following Kārikās occur:—

ममाप्रमाणमित्येवं वेदोऽर्थं बोधयन्नपि ।
वक्तुं न द्वेषमात्रेण शक्यतेऽसत्यवादिना ॥ २१११ ॥
द्वेषादसम्मतत्वाद्वा न च स्यादप्रमाणता ।
न च प्रीत्यभ्यनुज्ञाभ्यां प्रमाणमवकल्पते ॥ २११२ ॥
द्विषन्तोऽपि च वेदस्य नैवाप्रामाण्यकारणम् ।
किञ्चिजल्पन्ति ये नैते भवेयुः सत्यवादिनः ॥ २११३ ॥
धारणाध्ययनव्याख्या कर्मनित्याभियोगिभिः ।
मिथ्यात्वहेतुरज्ञातो दूरस्थैर्ज्ञायते कथम् ॥ २११४ ॥
अभिमुक्ता हि ये तत्र तन्निबद्धप्रयोजनाः ।
तत्रत्यगुणदोषाणां ज्ञाने तेऽधिकृता यतः ॥ २११५ ॥
ये तु ब्रह्मद्विषः पापा वेदादूरं बहिष्कृताः ।
ते वेदगुणदोषोक्ताः कथं जल्पन्त्यलजिताः ॥ २११६ ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha p. 590.

In this series of Kārikās only the first two are found in the Śloka-vārtika (pp. 73-74) though with some slight alterations, but not the remaining ones. The other Kārikās धारणाध्ययन—etc., up to the end are however found quoted under the name of Kumārila in a Jain work *Pramāṇaśma*

by Jineśvaraśūri. This Jain author is the brother of Buddhisaṅgara who was a contemporary of King Durlabhadeva of Pattan and an author of a grammatical work *Pañcagranthī* composed in V. S. 1080 or 1024 A. D. (See Jessalmere MSS. Catalogue (No. 21 in the Gækwad's Oriental Series page 55) Jineśvaraśūri therefore must have flourished in the first half of the 11th century, as may be seen from his work *Aṣṭakāvrtti* in which he gives the date of its composition. In page 60-A, Jineśvaraśūri commenting on his own Kārikā—धारणाध्ययनेत्यादि नाक्रोशः फलवानिह—etc., quotes these lines and refutes Kumārila's views with the preamble पुनः कुमारिलेनोक्तम्—“धारणाध्ययन व्याख्या” etc. On the strength of this reference we can undoubtedly ascribe the authorship of these lines to Kumārila.

(2) In the *Śrutiparīkṣā* while stating Kumārila's view on *Apauruṣeyatva* Śāntarakṣita quotes three Kārikās of his as follows:—

वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।
वेदाध्ययनवाच्यत्वादधुनाध्ययनं यथा ॥ २३४२ ॥
भारतेऽपि भवेदेवं कर्तृस्मृत्या तु बाध्यते ।
वेदे तु न स्मृतिर्याऽपि सार्थवादनिबन्धना ॥ २३४३ ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha p. 643, Śloka Vā. p. 949.

कथमयमर्थोऽवसित इत्याह—
अतीतानागतौ कालौ वेदकारविवर्जितौ ।
कालत्वात्तद्यथा कालो वर्तमानः समीक्ष्यते ॥ २३४४ ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha p. 643.

Among these three, the first two are indeed to be found in the Śloka-vārtika but the last one is not present there. When we refer to the *Sammātitarkaṭikā* (p. 31) we find this last verse quoted there without any introductory sentence. But the same Kārikā is found cited by Jineśvaraśūri on page 54-B of his work with the preamble यदुक्तं कुमारिलेन—“अतीतानागतौ” etc. The authorship of this Kārikā also therefore should be ascribed to Kumārila.

(3) In the *Sarvajñāparīkṣā* contained in the Tattvasaṅgraha, Śāntarakṣita, while stating an argument of Kumārila for refutation, quotes a number of his Kārikās, many of them being not traceable in the Śloka-vārtika. Several Jain works however definitely ascribe their authorship to Kumārila. For instance the Kārikā—

सर्वज्ञेषु च भूयस्सु विरुद्धान्योपदेशेषु ।
तुल्यहेतुषु सर्वेषु को नामैकोऽवापार्यताम् ॥ ३१४८ ॥

is not found in the Ślokavārtika, but Jineśvarasūri in his work Pramālakṣma on page 68-B fixes up its authorship by saying—यदुक्तं कुमारिलेन “सर्वज्ञेषु च भूयस्सु etc.”

(4) Similarly there is another Kārikā in the Tattvasaṅgraha which runs thus:—

सुगतो यदि सर्वज्ञः कपिलो नेति का प्रमा ।

अयोभावपि सर्वज्ञो मतभेदस्तयोः कथम् ॥ ३१४९ ॥ p. 822.

It is not found in the Ślokavārtika; but is ascribed to Kumārila by Laghusāmantabhadra in his commentary on the Aṣṭasāhasrī of Vidyānanda and who lived about 1,000 A. D.¹

(5) Moreover there is another set of Kārikās of a similar nature:—

आत्मानमुत्कर्षयन्नाह—

(१) यथा नकुलदन्ताग्रस्पृष्टा या काचिदोषधिः ।

सर्वं सर्पविषं हन्ति क्रीडद्विरपि योजिता ॥ ३१५५ ॥

(२) वेदवादिमुखस्यैवं युक्तिर्लौकिकवैदिकी ।

या काचिदपि शक्यादिसर्पज्ञानविषापहा ॥ ३१५६ ॥

कापुनरसौ काचिद्युक्तिरित्याह—

(३) यस्य ज्ञेयप्रमेयत्ववस्तुसत्त्वादिलक्षणाः ।

निहन्तुं हेतवः शक्ताः को नु तं कल्पयिष्यति ॥ ३१५७ ॥

(४) एकेनैव प्रमाणेन सर्वज्ञो येन कल्पते ।

नूनं स चक्षुषा सर्वात्रसादीन्प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ३१५८ ॥

(५) यज्जातीयैः प्रमाणैस्तु यज्जातीयार्थदर्शनम् ।

दृष्टं सम्प्रति लोकस्य तथा कालान्तरेऽप्यभूत् ॥ ३१५९ ॥

(६) येऽपि सातिशयादृष्टाः प्रज्ञामेधादिभिर्नराः ।

स्तोकस्तोकान्तरत्वेन नत्वतीन्द्रियदर्शनात् ॥ ३१६० ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha pp. 824-825.

Here the first three Kārikās are not to be found in the Ślokavārtika but they represent a continuous argument and as such must belong to a more elaborate work of Kumārila, because the second and third Kārikās are definitely ascribed to him in the Pramālakṣma of Jineśvarasūri where he says:—यदुक्तं कुमारिलेन वेदवादिमुखस्यैवं etc. pp. 67A, 69A.

1. See S. C. Vidyabhushana's Indian Logic p. 197 and B.B.R.A.S. Vol. 188, p. 228 foot notes.

Again the fourth and fifth Kārikās are traceable in the Ślokavārtika (page 80), though it is not so in the case of the sixth. But this also is found in the Sammatīṭikā of Abhayadevasūri (page 49) quoted under the name of Vārtikakāra along with a number of other Kārikās traceable in the available works of Kumārila. They are—

वार्तिककृताप्यभिहितम्—

यज्जातीयैः प्रमाणैस्तु etc. Śl. Vār. page 80.

पुनरप्युक्तम्—

येऽपि सातिशया दृष्टा etc. (unknown source).

यत्राप्यतिशयो दृष्टः स स्वार्थानतिलङ्घनात् ।

दूरसूक्ष्मादि दृष्टौ स्थानरूपे श्रोत्रवृत्तिता ॥

Ślokavārtika p. 80.

Furthermore, the same Kārikā येऽपि सातिशयादृष्टा etc. is found cited under the name of Bhaṭṭa in the Āpta-parikṣa (page 54) of Vidyānanda¹ or Patra-kesariswāmin (published in the Sanātana Jain Granthamālā Series as No. I, We therefore see no harm in ascribing the whole set of Kārikās to Kumārila.

(6) In the commentary on the Tattvasaṅgraha, Kamalaśīla introduces the Kārikās 3108 to 3113 with the under-mentioned preamble, showing Kumārila's authorship:—

निश्चितनिर्दोषकृताख्यातत्वमिष्यतामित्यत्र कुमारिलस्योत्तरमाशङ्कते—

रागद्वेषादियुक्ता हि etc.

But these six Kārikās also are not to be found in the Ślokavārtika.

It is rather strange that none of these Kārikās, ascribed definitely to Kumārila by the above-mentioned Jain and Buddhist writers of great reputation, is found in his three available works. It is therefore easy to infer that Kumārila was the author of another more extensive work wherein he dealt with very nearly the same topics as he did in his Ślokavārtika with greater fullness of detail and more elaborate discussion. If it is a work of Kumārila, it must represent the Bṛhaṭṭikā as suggested by Pārthasarāthi and

1. This Vidyānanda has been placed by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa about 800 A. D. on the authority of Jināsena's Ādipurāṇa composed in 838 A. D. (See Indian Logic, page 188) As Vidyānanda in his Aṣṭasāhasrī quotes the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Vārtika of Sureśvara who was a disciple of Śaṅkarācārya (788—820), he is believed to have lived early in the 9th century A. D.

it will not be far from truth to hold that the Ślokavārtika is only a digest of this excellent work entitled the *Bṛhattikā*, which is unfortunately no longer existent, save in a few references to and quotations from it in Indian philosophical literature.

STUDIES IN THE THREE KERAĻA ERAS.

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There have been current in Keraḷa three eras and these are :—(i) The *Perumāḷ Abda*; (ii) The *Kolla Varṣa*, and (iii) The *Putu-Vaiḍḍu*. Of these, the first exists only in name and the last has become obsolete, while the second alone is in current use. The *Perumāḷ Abda*, superseded probably about the beginning of the 9th century by the *Kolla Varṣa*, might have been current throughout the whole land, while the *Putu-Vaiḍḍu* era was current only in mid-Keraḷa, i. e., that portion of Keraḷa which was under the sway of the Cochin Royal Family.

These eras are never found used outside Keraḷa, and, may, therefore, be treated as pure *Keraḷa* or *Malayāḷi* eras. It is also significant that no era, other than this, is ever found used here. This statement is, however, subject to the reservation that in religious matters the date is generally given in *Kali* era, or as is the case amongst the naturalised east coast Brahmans, in *Vikrama* or *Śaka* era. This reservation yields an interesting suggestion that the Keraḷa Eras have their origin in purely political or social circumstances. In view of this, the importation of any religious aspect into these eras could be accepted only with great hesitation and even that, only if there be positive evidence forthcoming.

Since at least two of these eras are practically unknown outside,¹ a note about these may not be uninteresting.

1. The *Perumāḷ Abda*.

Existing as it does only in name, this era has come to be handed down to posterity, thanks chiefly to the solicitous care of the astrologers entrusted with the work of preparing calendars. No Keraḷa document has yet been come across earlier than the 9th century, and, since by this time the *Kolla Varṣa* was inaugurated, documentary evidence for this era appears impossible to get. It may, however, be believed that this era might have been

1. The first and the last of these are not referred to in the Indian Ephemeris.

current in the land, till the time of the introduction of the *Kollam era*, i. e., till 825 A.D. This *Abda* completed one thousand four hundred and ninety-nine years on the 12th April 1926. It must, therefore, have been inaugurated in 427 A.D. and may have been current in the land for three hundred and ninety eight years. And the fact that, in spite of its complete supercession with the dawn of the *Kolla Varṣa*, it has continued to be handed down to posterity through the long sweep of one thousand and one hundred years, clearly testifies to the great hold that the Perumāls have ever had upon the imagination of the Malayālis.

No definite information is available as to the circumstances which led to the inauguration of this era. The *Kali* chronogram which has preserved for the era the date of its origin may be interpreted to suggest the circumstances which gave birth to it. The Chronogram reads '*Svargam-Sadeha-Prāpa*.'¹ This statement, tradition connects with the '*passing away*' of the last of the Perumāls and the consequent break-up of the Perumāls' all-Keraḷa sovereignty. From this one may conclude that this era was founded to commemorate a political event of no small magnitude to the Malayālis, namely the end of that noble line of Imperial Sovereigns and the beginning of a new order in the political horizon of Keraḷa.

What was the new order of things in the Keraḷa politics, ushered in by the break-up of the Perumāls' empire? A definite answer to this question is impossible in this present imperfect state of our history. Any answer that may be given can be based only on current tradition and floating legends, and it can at best be only a tentative theory. In the light of these, the change brought about appears to be of the following nature.

For various reasons, the exact nature of which cannot be known for want of authentic records, the last of the Perumāls thought it desirable to end the kind of sovereignty he was invested with.² He is, therefore, reported

1. This, when worked out, gives 1,288,724 days from the beginning of Kali Yuga.

2. The Perumāls were the all-Keraḷa Sovereigns who were not mere figure-heads, but sovereigns actively exercising in full all the Royal powers and prerogatives which were as vast as they were varied. This is not to be understood as implying that they were autocrats responsible to none; there were, indeed, many wholesome constitutional checks to curb the power of the King, the Government being of the nature of a limited monarchy. There were representative and popular assemblies, according to the deliberations of which the sovereign had to conduct himself in all matters social, religious or political. The country was divided into provinces presided by governors who were directly responsible to the Perumāl on the one side and to the provincial legislature on the other. Such appears to have been the sway of the Perumāls which, according to tradition, continued down till 427 A.D.

to have divided his kingdom amongst his lords and nobles and provincial governors. These newly set-up chiefs were not, however, declared fully independent. There is abundant reason to hold that they were all to be the feudatories of an imperial overlord. This newly created all-Keraḷa overlord, there is reason to believe, must have been none other than the Perumpaṭappe Mūppil.³ For to him, the Perumāl is reported to have given all the emblems of the all-Keraḷa sovereignty, namely, the imperial crown² and sceptre, the jewelled breast-plate hung on by gold chains, the imperial capital and the Family shrine,³ and to him, therefore, it is legitimate to hold that all the new chiefs were to swear the oath of fealty and allegiance. He further appears to have exercised it in public once every twelve years by the performance of the Māmāmkam ceremony, when every Malayāli chieftain was forced to be present in all the paraphernalia of his power and state and acclaim him as his Imperial Overlord.⁴

The all-Keraḷa Overlordship that is here maintained for the Cochin Royal Family is based also on some positive evidence available from the Portuguese records. These generally refer to him as the 'King of Cochin,' but sometimes as the 'Emperor of Keraḷa'. It is stated therein that 'the Kings of Cochin are considered to be the spiritual head of all the Kings in Malabar,'⁵ that 'they had in former days some sort of supremacy over all the Kings of Malabar,'⁶ and

1. This is the traditional nomenclature of the Mahārāja of Cochin. Perumpaṭappe Svarūpam is the name of the Royal Family.

2. This Crown is referred to by Rājendra Coḷa, when he conquered Tiruvañcikulam. The Crown and the jewelled breast-plate are amongst the State jewels.

3. The capital was at Tiruvañcikulam. The shrine is the shrine of Vañculeśa at Tiruvañcikulam. The intimate relation of the Mahārāja of Cochin to this shrine is well attested to by the title Gaṅgādhara Tṛkkōil Adhikārikal Vira Keraḷa, etc., still affixed to His Highness' name.

4. There are, indeed, no records available to prove that the Perumpaṭappe Mūppil ever performed a Māmāmkam ceremony. But there is a strong and persistent tradition to the effect that the Zamorin uniformly prevented him from doing it, by force of arms, for this chief was much more powerful than the overlord. When he had continuously prevented him from doing it, he himself assumed the overlordship and began to perform it, when his own feudatories and vassals acclaimed him Emperor. This tradition shows that the original right of performing it was vested in the Mahārāja of Cochin, and if he was not performing it, it was because he was not powerful enough to go against the Zamorin—a fate that was common to all feudal overlords.

5. See De Conte, Decade VI, Book VIII, Chapter II; also I.H.Q., Vol. II. No. 1, pp. 184-185.

6. See footnote to Chapter XVIII, Book VII, Decade IV of Barros; also Contos, Book IX, Chapter III.

further that 'all the Kings of Malabar had to get their investiture from the King of Cochin.' In support of this last statement, there is also recorded as interesting practice about the Zamorin's coronation, which definitely shows him to be a feudal vassal of the 'King of Cochin'. The Zamorin's coronation, according to these records, was to be conducted at the court,¹ and by the King of Cochin. The heir to the masnad had to go to the latter, give up his kingdom and make it over to the King of Cochin and then take it back from him after his coronation.² During the ceremony he was to be seated on a marble slab on which was to be engraved the name of the Zamorin and the date of his coronation. In later days,³ the ceremony used to be conducted at Palliyarakkāvu near Cirakkal Palace in Rāmeśvaram village at Cochin. Chafing at this continued exhibition in public, of his vassalage to the King of Cochin, the Zamorin got the marble stone removed to the kāja of Idapilly (Reppelin of the Portuguese) where he used to conduct it subsequently. In the thirties of the 16th century there was a Zamorin's coronation. As usual the heir-apparent came down to Idapilly, but he was opposed by the Portuguese, defeated and forced to retire. The latter were also able to seize the sacred marble which was handed over to the King of Cochin who deposited it in the pagoda.⁴ Thereafter the Zamorin put a stop to the practice of getting crowned elsewhere; but built a temple near his own palace and used to be crowned there. There is an interesting record and it clearly attests the feudal nature of the Zamorin's kingship and the overlordship of the Perumpaṭappe Mūppil.⁵ When the Zamorin, the most powerful of all the Keraḷa Chiefs, was himself the vassal of the King of Cochin and was forced to acclaim him as his overlord, the vassalage of the other kings need not be dwelt upon, for every other Malayāḷi chief was the vassal of either the

1. See Decade VII, Book X, Chapter XII, pp. 534-40.

2. The same authority significantly adds that 'the King of Cochin had the right of giving the kingdom of the Zamorin to anybody he liked'—an aspect which clearly attests the supremacy of Cochin.

3. See Decade V.

4. This incident is described as taking place in December 1536 A.D. It is not clear from the records which the Pagoda was where the stone was deposited. It may possibly be the Palliyarakkāvu temple itself.

5. No mention is here made of the Travancore Royal Family, because at the time we are speaking of and even long after, this was but a petty 'Zemindari' in south Keraḷa owing allegiance to the overlord of Keraḷa, as seen from the Jewish copper plate. It rose into power and influence only during the 18th century, becoming however the most important power before its close.

King of Cochin or of the Zamorin even during historic times. It will thus be seen that the all-Keraḷa overlordship maintained for the Perumpaṭappe Mūppil is not a matter of mere tradition but is borne out by records.

The overlordship of the Perumpaṭappe Mūppil,¹ it deserves to be pointed out, was quite different from that exercised by the Perumāḷs. The latter was real and active, while the former was nominal and passive. The newly created chiefs were only the officers of the Perumāḷs, while they became so many royal chieftains under the new overlord. Thus the overlordship of the Mūppil was more or less feudal in nature.

Thus the change introduced by the last of the Perumāḷs may have consisted in the break-up of the Imperial sovereignty and the creation of a number of feudatory kingdoms with the 'King of Cochin' as their suzerain. It might have been to commemorate such a change that the *Perumāḷ Abda* was begun.

II. The Kolla Varṣa.

This Era was inaugurated in 825 A. D. and has since been in vogue throughout the whole Keraḷa. Different views are put forth regarding the circumstances leading to its inauguration. Some hold that this era commemorates the founding of the *Tarisa Church*,² as documented in the second Charter granted to the Syrian Christian leader, Mar Sapor by Emperor Sthāṇu Ravi Gupta about 824 A.D., others, the founding of the town Kollam and still others, the assuming of the Emperorship of all-Keraḷa by Sthāṇu Ravi Gupta. The first of these views is unacceptable, because it is unlikely that the Malayāḷis would have accepted an era, celebrating the founding of a church. The second cannot be, because the town has been in existence even before 825 A.D. If at all it means anything, it must mean that the town was made the imperial head-quarters, and as such it deserves to be rolled up with the third. And as regards this, scholars have not yet come to any agreement as to who Sthāṇu Ravi Gupta Cakravarti is. This is a name not generally found connected with any of the ruling families of Keraḷa, and the term

1. It deserves to be pointed out here that the Perumpaṭappe Svarūpam, i.e., the Cochin Royal Family, consisted of five Tavalis or branches and they are:—(1) Eḷaya Tāvali, (2) Mūṭta Tāvali, (3) Cālur Tāvali, (4) Muringūr Tāvali, and (5) Palluruppi Tāvali. Each Tāvali had its court and chief, while the eldest of all the five Tāvalis became the Perumpaṭappe Mūppil exercising the all-Keraḷa overlordship. It appears also probable that though Tiruvañcikulam was the imperial capital, all the overlords may not have, at least in later days, held their court there, but continued to exercise the overlordship, residing at the family head-quarters.

2. Mr. Menon's History of Kerala, Vol. I, pp. 272-273.

Hinduism; but it may legitimately be presumed that the social life of the mass must have been not only full of non-Hindu elements but must also have been characterised by a host of divergent forms and rituals and customs and manners, which, it is also likely, may have been accentuated through the presence of even non-Hindu religions prevalent in the land, namely Christianity, Judaism and probably even Muhammadanism. The influence of so many religions, each colouring the social life of the mass in its own way must necessarily have produced a very complex and confused social order. Significant clues are still available which may substantiate this statement. To mention but one instance, the main branches of the caste Hindu Kerala society consist of Nambūdris, Kṣatriyas, Ambalavāsis and Nairs. Excepting the second, all the other three main branches are again sub-divided into eighteen sub-divisions, each with characteristic differences in their social and socio-religious practices and customs—a something which suggests the original divergent elements constituting the society of old. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that the period of the venerable Ācārya was a period, when there was great necessity and abundant scope for a complete reconstruction of the Hindu society of Kerala. The complete conversion of even those professing non-Hindu Indian religions their assignment to certain fixed places in the orthodox Hindu fold, the laying down of rules and regulations to govern the social practices and relations of the various elements of the old society,—in other words, the reorganisation of the complex, confused and heterogeneous Hindu society into an ordered, inter-related and homogeneous whole is the work, achieved by, and generally ascribed to, the venerable Jagat Guru—a work the execution of which was characterised by the telic vision of a profound sociologist, moved by a dynamic desire to progress the society to a higher, nobler state of existence, mental and moral, temporal and spiritual. Such was the social organisation created by the revered Ādi Guru, and this is practically responsible for all the achievements of the Malayālis. This, therefore, deserves commemoration, and in doing it by the inauguration of a new era, Malayālis have only expressed their everlasting gratitude towards the venerable Seer of Divine Wisdom.

It may not be out of place to point out here one or two instances to show the nature of the organisation set up by the great Guru. One social regulation traditionally ascribed to him is the convention, obtaining even now, which lays down that in a Nambūdrī family, the eldest son alone could marry in his own caste. The result of this regulation has been that the

other male members have had to go down the social scale to find mates for themselves. This ensured for the lower social orders, Ambalavāsis and Nairs, an opportunity to have marital relationship with the higher cultured Nambūdris and the consequent begetting of children with greater cultural capacity. This had led in due course to the elevation of these lower orders to a position of intellectual and cultural equality with the Nambūdris. Again, this arrangement and the introduction of *Marumakkatāyam* amongst the non-Brahmin caste Hindus here led to the creation of a leisure class having immense cultural capacity. Freed of all material responsibility, the Nambūdris were able to devote themselves to the cultivation and development of the finer arts of peace and, not rarely, the sterner arts of war.¹ There is, indeed, no branch of knowledge, theoretical or practical, temporal or spiritual, in which one Nambūdrī or other has not excelled himself.² Thus the organisation of the society was worked up by a revered founder with a view to the further development and the ultimate progress to a higher level of the various heterogeneous elements constituting the then society.

Enough has now been said to show that the period of the venerable Ācārya was a period of great social disorder. The evolving of the order out of the social chaos and its reorganisation are ascribed to the revered Śaṅkarācārya; and it is to commemorate this that the *Kolla Varṣa* was inaugurated. Such is the local tradition, and, so far as is now available, there are no records or arguments which necessitate the discarding of the tradition.

1. It may probably suffice here to point out that the military preceptor of the Cochin Royal Family is a Nambūdrī, Perāṭṭupuratte Nambūdrī, known generally as Paṇikkar.

2. It will take us too long out of the way to proceed here to substantiate this statement. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with pointing out a few representative names in the more important branches of Hindu learning.

1. *Theoretical*.—Prabhākara and Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiris in *Mīmāṃsā Darśana*; Śaṅkara and his successors, the four Mutt Presidents, in *Vedānta Darśana*; Lakṣmidāsa, Kulasekhara Varma, Śaktibhadra, Rāma Varma, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita and a host of other names in the field of literature; Pūrṇa Sarasvatī and Kāṭṭumādassu Nambūdrī in literary criticism; and the numerous families of professional actors in the field of dramaturgy.

2. *Practical*.—Kīḍangāṣṣeri Mana and Cennos Mana for *Tantram*; Kallūr Mana for *Mantravādam*; the eight hereditary families of physicians for medicine and surgery, Kokkara family for poison cure; Talakuḷattu Bhaṭṭatiri for astronomy.

This is enough to show that the achievements of the Malayālis have been neither insignificant nor negligent. The subject is proposed to be dealt with at length on another occasion.

The *Kolla Varga* may, therefore, be taken as a social era, whereas the *Perumāl Abda* was a political era. The seal of authority for the era must have been given by the highest spiritual authority of the land, the all-Kerala overlord, Perumpatappe Mūppil who in 824 might have been holding his court at Quilon.¹

As a sequel to the position here arrived at, it deserves also to be stated that during the same period there might have been a necessity for the settlement of the social rights and privileges of the alien religionists also, the Jews and the Christians. From this point of view, therefore, the Jewish and the Syrian Christian plates may also be assigned to this period.²

III. The Putu-Vaippu.³

This era has no claim to be called an all-Kerala era, for it was current only in mid-Kerala, i.e., that portion of the country which was under the direct sway of His Highness the Mahārājā of Cochin. There are records available to show that this era was in current use from 1342 A.D. till about the close of the 17th century, i.e., for over 300 hundred years; and this is purely a Cochin era.

It is generally presumed that this era was inaugurated to commemorate the throwing up of the island, now known as the Vaippin Island.⁴ Such a view necessarily creates certain difficulties. If this island was thrown up only in 1342,⁵ then surely there could not have been any island before that time. If this be so, it does not appear quite clear how Cochin could have had a land-locked harbour till that time, and how it could have had a small river flowing by its side. For, in the absence of the island it could have been only an open exposed harbour. Again Cranganore could not have been a sheltered natural harbour and there could not have existed any backwaters. In addition to this it may also be pointed out that on this island are situated

1. The King of Cochin is reported to have had his head-quarters at Quilon also.

2. The writer has shown that the donor of the Jewish plate Bhāskara Ravi Varma Cēramān Perumāl may for more reasons than one be taken to be one amongst the imperial ancestors of the Cochin Royal Family. *Vide* IHQ. Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 184-185.

3. This era is termed here simply *Putu-Vaippu* without the addition of either *Abda* or *Varga*.

4. *Vide* History of Kerala, Vol. I, page 161

5. There was an extraordinary flood in 1342 A. B. as a result of which the land-locked harbour of Cochin became converted into a first class natural harbour. This opening up of a new outlet for the Periyar river led to the closing up of the ancient harbour at Cranganore.

two temples which can claim a very high antiquity, one of which tradition puts back to the time of the early Perumāls, while the other, there is every reason to hold, must be put back to the pre-Perumāl days. For these reasons this view does not seem to be quite acceptable.

A clue, however, is available for the solution of the origin of this era. In an inscription from the Bhagavati temple at Ūrakam, six miles to the south of Trichur, registered as No. 66 of the Cochin Epigraphical collections, there is a sentence '*Kocci 60 Cennatu*' which may be taken to mean '*when Kocci completed 60 years*,' i. e., in 60 Cochin era. This date more or less agrees with the date given in the Kali Chronogram '*Raviṇā Raciteyam*'. If our interpretation is correct, here is an authentic document which refers to the Putu-Vaippu era as the Cochin Era; and since this is the earliest document available dated in this era, we legitimately presume that this era was originally known as Kocci Era.

If this view is acceptable, and we believe it is, the circumstance which led to the inauguration of this era appears easy to understand. It must have been inaugurated to commemorate the transfer of the imperial capital from Cranganore to Cochin. The closing of the harbour at Cranganore owing to the floods and the consequent loss of its trade and commerce, the creation of an excellent harbour at Cochin, thanks to the same natural cause, and the possibility of the commercial importance in store for it,—these may have been the most important causes which led to this transfer. Other reasons also there were more or less necessitating such a transfer, not the least of it was the continued invasion of the aggressive Zamorin and the necessity for protecting the paternally inherited Cochin from the envious Rāja of Idapilly. The giving up of the traditional capital, which is of such unique historical importance and which is dear as being the ancestral home of the family, and the establishment of the headquarters at a new place, are indeed matters of importance sufficient to justify their commemoration by the inauguration of an era.

According to the view of the writer, then, the real name of the *Putu-Vaippu* era is the Kocci era and it commemorates not the throwing up of the Vaippin island, but the transfer of the imperial headquarters from

1. According to tradition, Cochin originally belonged to the Idapilly Chief, who gave it to a Prince of Cochin, born of a Princess whom he married under very romantic circumstances. This incident took place towards the middle of the 12th century as attested by the *Kali Chronogram* 'Kotattu Brahmanadhyam'.

Cranganore to Cochin. This, therefore, like the *Perumāl Abda*, is a political era; and it appears to have been started on the first Cingom 516 M. E. and consequently the months and dates of this era coincide with those of the *Kolla Varṣa*.

As for the name *Putu-Vaiṭṭu era*, it may be believed to have been the popular name, and it may have been based upon some land accretions in the Vaipin island, consequent upon the floods—possibly identifiable with the stretch of low land to the rest of the island which is even now known as Putu-Vaiṭṭu. This popular name may have in time superceded the real name.

In concluding it deserves to be pointed out that these three Malayāli eras have their origin directly connected with the Perumpaṭṭappē Mūppil, i.e., His Highness The Maharaja of Cochin. The *Perumāl Abda* is connected with his assumption of the all-Keraḷa overlordship, both temporal and spiritual; the *Kolla Varṣa*, with his giving the seal of authority to the numerous social changes introduced by the Venerable Jagat Guru; and the *Putu-Vaiṭṭu*, alias the Cochin Era, with the transfer of his imperial headquarters from Cranganore to Cochin.

This takes us to the end of the paper and in concluding the writer may be permitted to point out once more that the views here put forth on the origin of the Eras are merely tentative ones. He, therefore, does not claim any finality for them, for these are liable to be modified in the light of any evidence that may be forthcoming.

THE DATE OF ŚRĪ ĀṆḌĀL.*

By

PANDIT M. RAGHAVA IYENGAR,

(University Tamil Lexicon Office, Madras.)

The life of Śrī Āṇḍāl or Kōtai, the great Vaiṣṇavaite maiden saint, who developed such an abnormal love for the Lord that she staunchly refused connexion with mortal men and, in the end, succeeded in wedding herself to Śrī Ranganātha, is a matter of common knowledge. But her age, as is that of many veterans of religion and literature of Ancient India, still remains unsettled. Our attempt in this paper would be to arrive at some reasonable date after discussing all the available materials; we shall, however, first consider the age in which her father flourished, for, once this is settled, her own age would be beyond dispute.

The Age of Periyālvār.

Periyālvār or Viṣṇucitta mentions the Pāṇḍya of his time and gives his name as *Ṣeṇ-Ṣeṇṇar*,¹ or Neṭumāran, the king of kings. Māran is a Tamil form of this name that is of frequent occurrence in literature, while the Sanskrit form Māravarman is equally familiar in inscriptions. There are three Māravarman mentioned by the Vēlvikuṭi Plates, of whom the first Māravarman lived about the beginning of the seventh century. The grant which glorifies the achievements of the Pāṇḍyas passes over him quietly. He is not known to be a Vaiṣṇavaite and there is no reason for identifying him with the Pāṇḍya mentioned by the Ālvār. The second Māravarman was a convert to Jainism whom Tirujñāna-Sambandhar reclaimed back to Śaivism. He was accordingly counted as one of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs and there is no basis to regard him as the Ālvār's disciple. The third Māravarman known also as Parāṅkuśan-Māravarman, (prob. 730-67) was, according to the Cinnamanūr plates, the inveterate enemy of Pallava Mallan (717-779). It is this Māravarman that the Ālvār seems to have made his disciple, though he openly professed the Śaiva faith. Besides the Vēlvikuṭi plates mention a prime minister, Māraṅ-kāri, who brought about

* An abstract from "The Times of the Ālvārs" in Tamil, now through the press rendered into English by Mr. R. Narayanan, B.A.

1. Periyālvār-Tirumolī, 4, 2, 7.

his king's marriage with Bhūsundari, the Ganga king's daughter and died while in service under his son, Parāntakan Neṭun-Čaṭaiyan in the third year after his succession. The Ānamalai inscriptions tell us that it was this prime minister and his brother who succeeded him in office that were responsible for the construction of the cave temple of Lord Narasimha at Ānamalai near Madura.

It may not be too much to expect that such a staunch Vaiṣṇavaite minister should have created a favourable atmosphere for Vaiṣṇavism in the Śaiva king's court, and even persuaded him to arrange for a philosophical discussion into the nature of the Supreme Being, in which Periyālvār is said to have been victorious. It is further significant that the village Kalakkūṭi¹ where the minister lived is not far away from Śrī-Villiputtūr where the Ālvār lived. The Madras Museum Plates dated the seventeenth regnal year of Māravarman's son and successor Neṭun-Čaṭaiyan² speak of him as

“பரந்தகன் பிழைவைத்துவன் தானாகி

நின்றிலங்கு மணிநீண்முடி நிலமன்னவன் செஞ்சுடையன்”

(i. e., Parāntakan-Neṭun-Čaṭaiyan, of the long-jewelled crown, Lord of the Earth, who shines in his unique glory as a staunch Vaiṣṇavaite.) The expression ‘in his unique glory as a staunch Vaiṣṇava’ seems to suggest the wonder of the composer of the *prāsasti* at the unprecedented phenomenon of the presence of such a staunch Vaiṣṇavaite king among the Pāṇḍyas who, from time immemorial, were Śaivites. Such an extraordinary change, we may be sure, could not have taken place but for the influence of great personalities. This staunch Vaiṣṇavaite Pāṇḍya is named Māran-Čaṭaiyan, while the Ālvār's disciple is Neṭumēran. The connection between these kings will be obvious the moment we perceive the ancient custom of prefixing the father's name to the son's³ and realise that Māran-Čaṭaiyan was the son of Neṭu-Māran. It is not difficult to see, therefore, that it was the father whom Periyālvār convinced and induced to enter the Vaiṣṇava fold, while his son who, from youth onwards was the Ālvār's disciple, gloried himself as a staunch and unique Vaiṣṇava and was also known as Śrī-Vallabha as is testified by Gopinatha Rao (T. A. S. Vol. I; p. 189.)

1. The identification of Kalakkāṭu with Kalakkūṭi by epigraphists is incorrect (*vide* “The Times of the Ālvār's.”)

2. Known also as Parāntakan-Neṭun-Čaṭaiyan and Maran Čaṭaiyan.

3. Thus after the seventh century it was the practice among the Pāṇḍyas that, if the father was named Māran and the son Čaṭaiyan, the latter was always called Māran Čaṭaiyan and if the father was Čaṭaiyan and the son Māran, the latter was called Čaṭaiyan Māran.

It is worth noting that the Madras Museum Plates make special mention of a peculiar fact not found in the *prāsasti* of any other king. It says that Parāntakan-Neṭun-Čaṭaiyan revelled in celebrating the greatness of his Guru as is seen from the statement குருசரிதம் கொண்டாடி. We may not be mistaken in concluding that such a great Guru,¹ was no less a personage than Periyālvār since the same statement finds mention in Guruparamparās also.

Among the achievements of this staunch Vaiṣṇavaite king, the Vēlvikuṭi Plates mention the building of a huge temple for Viṣṇu at the Śaivaite centre Pēūr on the banks of the river Kāñci, popularly known in Kongu-maṇḍalam as Noyyal. This recalls to our memory the lines,

“கொங்குக் குடந்தையுக் கோட்டியுமும் பேரும்

எங்குப் திரிந்து வினையாடு மென்மகன்,” (பெரியாழ். திரு. 2, 6, 2,)

of the Ālvār. There is no Viṣṇu shrine in Kongu Nāṭu glorified by the Ālvārs. Confronted with this difficulty, the commentators took ‘*Koṅku-Kuṭantaiyum*’ as the softened form of ‘*Koṅkuk-kuṭantaiyum*’-Kuṭantai (Kumbakonam) rich in fragrance. Read in the light of the above inscription it can be easily seen that it was the huge temple built by his ardent disciple in Kongu-nāṭu that the Ālvār celebrated in his verse.

A brief survey of the history of Religions at the time lends considerable support to the view that Periyālvār should have lived in the 8th century. The seventh century was noteworthy for the rank and turbulent conflicts between the Jains and the Buddhists on the one hand and the Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavaite on the other. It was that century which called forth into existence such stalwart champions of the Vaidika faiths as Thirujñāna-Sambandhar and Tīru-māḷicai-Ālvār. The Vaidika faiths emerged victorious from this whirlpool of controversy and regained their hold on the masses. The eighth century which followed it was an era of comparative quiet. The most powerful potentates of this century were adherents of the Vaidika faiths—the Pallavas, of Vaiṣṇavism and the Pāṇḍyas, of Śaivism. It is in such an age of immunity from outside attack that people who professed the Vaidika faiths could be expected to have had leisure to examine the relative merits of their faiths and the extent of support derived by each from the Vedic texts. The enquiry into the Supreme Being launched by the Pāṇḍya is to be regarded as one such sincere attempt to ascertain the truth.

1. பாண்டியன் கொண்டாடப் பட்டர்பிரான் வந்தானென் நீண்டிய சங்க மெடுத்தா (பெரியாழ்வார் தனியுன்.)

In his 'History of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas,' the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao identifies Śrī Māraṇ Śrī Vallabhan (who lived prior to 862, the year of his son Varaguṇa's accession) with Neṭumāraṇ, the Ālvār's disciple, his reason being that the Ālvār's disciple is known to the Guruparampārās as Śrī Vallabha, but is referred to by the Ālvār himself as Māraṇ. Two points appear to have been neglected in arriving at this conclusion. Firstly, it is not known that this Śrī Māraṇ, though undoubtedly a soldier-prince was a Vaiṣṇavaite. Secondly, the identification, if correct, will point to Śrī Vallabhan, the Ālvār's disciple, being a contemporary of Nāthamunigal. To hold that Periyālvār and Nāthamunigal lived at about the same time will be found untenable when it is pointed out that such a sharp line of demarcation between the groups of Ālvārs and Ācāryas could not have been drawn if each group was not separated from the other by a long interval of time. That this was really the truth is borne out by the Guruparampārās which say that the Ācāryas appeared after a long period of time after the Ālvārs left this mundane sphere for the celestial regions.¹ If as Mr. Gopinatha Rao says Ālvārs and Ācāryas lived side by side,² we may be sure that one of the Ālvārs could have easily taken precedence over Nāthamunigal as the first head of the long line of Ācāryas and that, instead of the fragmentary traditions of the lives of the Ālvārs now known, they would have handed over to posterity tolerably full and accurate details of their lives, as those of the Ācāryas now available.

Śrī Vallabhan Śrī Māraṇ who lived in the ninth century could not be the Pāṇḍya of Periyālvār's time. The Divyasūri-caritam, the oldest extant account of the lives of the Ālvārs and the source-book on the subject composed in the 12th century by Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, a contemporary and disciple of Rāmānuja, relates that Periyālvār with his daughter Śrī Āṇḍā went to Tirukkurukūr (Ālvār Tirunagari) to consult Nammālvār as to his daughter's marriage, that he saw Toṭṭaraṭipoṭṭikal, Kulaśēkharaṭṭarumāl and others with him, and that, later on, the bridal procession was

1. "ஆழ்வார்கள் தன்னடிச்சொதித் தெழுந்தருளி செபம் காலமானவரே (ஆழ்வார்கள் அவதாரம்)."

2. The Divyasūri-caritam which Mr. Gopinatha Rao thinks, supports his view that Nammālvār and Nāthamunigal were contemporaries does not warrant any such conclusion. The statement that the latter received the Tiruvāymolī from the former who was then engaged in Yoga is capable of only one interpretation. It introduces the supernatural element and indicates that to the devotee, Nāthamunigal, who repeated many times the verses beginning with 'Kanninn-Sirattambu,' Nammālvār manifested himself, etc.

intercepted by Thirumaṅkai Mannan. This contemporaneity of the Ālvārs mentioned in Divyasūri-caritam is borne out by other facts. Nammālvār celebrates a village and its shrine of which the former was granted to a Brahmin by Parāntakan-Neṭun Caṭiyan in his 17th regnal year and was named Śrī-varamangalam after himself. (see the Madras Museum plates). Again, the Ālvārs whose works were compiled and propagated by Nāthamunigal (b. 825) could not have lived long after 825.¹ Within such a circumscribed period of time viewed together with the custom of petty chiefs and ministers bearing as a mark of honour, the name of the reigning sovereign, it is sure to strike one that Nammālvār, one of whose names was Maran-Parāṅkuṣan, was a contemporary of, and bore the name of, his liege-lord, Parāṅkuṣan-Māravarmaṇ or Neṭumāraṇ, the father of our "unique Vaiṣṇava" king Neṭun-caṭayan. Again, Tirumaṅkai Mannan in his Paramēśvara-Viṇṇakarap-patikam describes his contemporary Pallava Maḷḷan, as the victor of the "Pāṇḍya, Lord of the Tamil Land."² The Cinnamanūr plates, on the other hand, describe that Māravarmaṇ, conqueror of the Cola and Cera, fought with him and defeated him in many battles. Whoever the real victor was and whatever his reverses in battle might have been, we may be certain that Tirumaṅkai Mannan was a contemporary of Māravarmaṇ. Thus of the three great Ālvārs that the Divyasūri-caritam asserts were contemporaries, Nammālvār and Tirumaṅkai Mannan are clearly found to have lived in the eighth century and we can have no hesitation in saying that Periyālvār also lived in the same century. The Pāṇḍya whom he convinced must have been Māravarmaṇ, the father of Neṭun-Caṭayan, the staunch Vaiṣṇavaite king.

This contemporaneity of the Ālvārs mentioned by Divyasūri-caritam finds striking corroboration from what the Ālvārs mention of their age. The exuberance of great Vaiṣṇava Bhaktas and sages find ecstatic expression in their verses. Thus in his *Polika-polikap-patikam* Nammālvār rejoices at the presence of innumerable bhaktas and sages who scoured the

1. This is the correct date of birth of Nāthamunigal according to the Guruparampārās and other ancient historical works. For the elucidation of the date the reader is referred to my book "The Lives of the Ālvārs".

2. "உலகுடைமன்னவன் தென்னவனைக் கன்னிமாமதில்குழ் கருகூர்வெரு வப் பலபடைசய வென்றான்." (பெரியதிரு. 3, 9, 7).

country propagating the tenets of Vaiṣṇavism with remarkable success. 1 Kulaśekhara Ālvār speaks of devout bhaktas of Śrī Ranganātha wandering over the whole Tamil land spreading the true religion. 2 Periyālvār asserts that the world is full of bhaktas and ascetics. 3 Tirumaṅkai-Man-nan says that as one of the Bhāgavatas he wandered over the length and breadth of the Tamil Land. 4 He tells us further that the Pāṇḍya, Cola Cera and Pallava, kings were Vaiṣṇavaite. 5 Thus we see that the eighth century was so remarkable an era of Vaiṣṇavaite upheaval and missionary work throughout the length and breadth of Tamiḻakam that it may be summed up as "The Great Vaiṣṇavaite era".

The Age of Śrī Āṇḍāl.

We have hitherto seen that Periyālvār should have lived in the eighth century; we shall now proceed to consider if we have any data for fixing the exact age of Śrī Āṇḍāl. Her *Tirup-pāvai* is a sublime lyric, in which in the character of a Cōṭṭi girl longing to be united to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Āṇḍāl celebrates *Pāvai-Nōṇpu*. 6 This is an austere observance by young girls,

1. "கடல்வண்ணன் பூதங்கள் மண்மேல், மலியப்புகுந் திசைபாடி யாடி யுழிதரக் கண்டோம்,"

"மாதவன் பூதங்கள் மண்மேற், பண்டான் பாடிநின் குடிப் பரந்து திரிதின் றனவே."

"அச்சுதன் தன்னை ஞானவிதி பிழையாமே, மேவித்தொழும் அடியாரும் பகவரு மிக்கதுலகே "

2. "பத்தியிலாத் பாவிக னாய்ந்திடத், தீதில் நன்னெறி காட்டி எங்குந்திரிந் தரங்க னெம்மானுக்கே, காதல்செய் தொண்டர்க்கு "

"எழுந்தாடிப்பாடி யரங்கன் எம்மானுக்கே, மாலையுற்றிடுந் தொண்டர் "

3. "பத்தர்களும் பகவர்களும் பழமொழியாய் முனிவர்களும் பரந்தநாமம் "

4. "தேசமறிய வுமக்கே யானாய்த் திரிதின்னோமுக்குக் காடுகளெயிரிற் றிகழும் வண்ணங் காட்டிர்."

5. "பரனே ! பஞ்சவன் பூழியன் கோழன் பார்மன்னர் மன்னர் ரும்பணிந் தேத்தும்—வரனே ! "

6. For an exhaustive treatment of the subject vide my essay "Tai-nirāṭal or Margali nonpu" in the *Sen-Tamil* (Vol. XX). The essay has been summarised by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar in his article entitled "Two Tamil Hymns for the Margali festival" in the *Indian Antiquary* (September, 1926).

who pray to the image of *Kātyāyanī* set up by themselves of wet sand on the bathing ghat (to whom the closing word 'em-pavay' of every stanza of the *Tirup-pāvai* is addressed) to send timely showers and give them choice partners in life. It commences with the month of *Mārgaṭi* and terminates on the full-moon day of the same month. In the Cankam ages it was widely observed and known as *Tai-nirāṭal*, as according to the lunar system of computation the full-moon day in *Mārgaṭi* marked the commencement of the month of *Tai*. The same ancient custom is observed even now in Malabar under the name of *Tiruvātirai* festival, and in Tamiḻakam as *Ārdrā-darśanam*.

Now the stanza.

"புள்ளின்வாய் கிண்டாளைப் பொல்லா வரக்களைக்
கிள்ளிக் கிளைந்தாளைக் கீர்த்திமை பாடிப்போய்ப்
புள்ளைக் கெல்லாநும் பாவைக் கைம்புக்கார்
வேள்வி யெழுந்து வியாழ முறங்கிந்நுப்
புள்ளுஞ் சிலம்பினகாண் போதரிக் கண்ணினாய்
குன்னக் குளிரக் குடைந்துநீ ராடாதே
பள்ளிக் கிடத்தியோ பாவாய்நீ நன்னுளால்
கன்னத் தவிர்ந்து கலந்தேலோ ரெம்பாவாய் "

All the girls, singing the fame of Him

Who tore the bird's mouth, who crushed the head of, and
destroyed the evil-doer Ravana).

Have reached the place where the images are set up.

Venus has risen and Jupiter has gone to rest;

Listen how the birds sing, you whose eyes are like the Lotus
[in the bud.

Joining us not in the cool water,

Will you still lying abed, my lady dear? on this holy day.

Have done with your tricky ways El or our Lady. 1 (a)

in the *Tiruppāvai* (13), appears to me to furnish astronomical data for fixing the age of Śrī Āṇḍāl and so deserves very careful consideration. The holy or auspicious day referred to in this stanza is the full-moon day as is clearly seen from the first verse 1 (b). That the bath was observed

1 (a) Trns. by Mr. A. Butterworth in the *Ind. Ant.* 1926, September.

1 (b) "மார்கழித் திங்கள் மதிநிறைந்த நன்னுளால் நீராடப் போதுவீர் போது யிடுகு கோரிழைவீர்."

very early in the morning may be seen from what Āṇḍāl herself puts into the mouth of the Gopi ladies, when they were annoyed by Kṛṣṇa climbing up the nearest tree with their sarees, while celebrating this Mārgaḷi festival. They say

“கோழி அழைப்பதன்முன்னம் குடைந்த நீராடுவான் போந்தோம்
ஆழியஞ் செவ்வெழுந்தான்...துகிலைப் பணித்தருளாயே.”
(நாயக்கியார் திரு. 3, 1);

“We came to bathe before cock-crow; the sun has risen; Lord! give us our sarees.”

Speaking of the austerities she herself observed in honour of Kāma, Āṇḍāl says,

“வெள்ளைநுண் மணற்கொண்டு தெருவணிந்து
வெள்வரைப்பதன் முன்னம் துறைபடிந்து.”
(நாயக்கியார் திரு. 1, 2).

that she bathed before dawn, showing clearly that the custom was to celebrate this function even before day-break. In a number of stanzas of the Tiruppāvai, the indolent sleeper is sought to be impressed with the delay caused by her, by pointing out that the dawn has set in, that the cock is crowing, that the birds are warbling, that the ascetics' pious utterances are resounding—these and similar expressions show that the function was invariably observed about four and never later than five in the morning. Had it been after five, it could have been only an ordinary daily observance and not a special observance as Pāvai-nōṇpu is.

In the stanza under consideration Āṇḍāl says “Venus has risen and Jupiter has gone to rest.” It is quite common, no doubt, for the ancients to mention the position of Venus in the early morning. But the peculiarity we note here is, that Āṇḍāl does not stop with mentioning that Venus has arisen but proceeds to note also the corresponding position of Jupiter—that it was setting. Viewed together with the fact that Venus does not make its appearance on the full-moon day of every Mārgaḷi before dawn, we may be certain that, if Āṇḍāl speaks not only of the appearance of Venus but also of the corresponding position of Jupiter in the heavens, she refers to an extraordinary phenomenon specially noted by her when she rose up very early in the morning and observed the heavens to find out the time. Neither can the correctness of the observation be impeached when her extensive scholarship and the extreme realistic nature of her poetry is borne in mind.

Like the similar expression “கோழி கூலிப் பொழுது விடிந்தது”, which does not mean that the crowing of the cock was the cause or the effect of the dawning, but means only that the dawning and crowing were simultaneous, the expression “வெள்ளையெழுந்து வியாழமுறங்கிற்று” means that the rising of Venus and setting of Jupiter were simultaneous. In other words, while Venus was in the eastern horizon, Jupiter was in the western horizon at about 180° from it. Allowing a small margin we may be certain that the two planets could not have been separated from each other by less than 165° or more than 185°; for otherwise the rising of the one and the setting of the other will not be simultaneous and Āṇḍāl's observation will lose all its force. I requested some of my friends* specially skilled in astronomical calculations to find out for me the exact dates in the 8th century, which we proved to be the age of Periyālvār, as also the centuries preceding and succeeding it in which on the full-moon day of the month of Mārgaḷi, not much earlier than four and later than five in the morning, Venus was rising and Jupiter was setting and were divided by an angle of 165°-185°. The results of their calculation with the Ephemeris are given below.

Century.	Year.	Month and Date.	Distance between Venus and Jupiter.	Time.
7	600	27th November.	171°	3-20 A. M.
8	731	18th December.	177°	3-50 A. M.
9	{ 885 886 }	14th December.	165°	5-20 A. M.

The result shows that 18th December 731 is the only day in the eighth century (which ample reasons induce us to believe was the age of Periyālvār), that satisfies the requirements of our astronomical data. Repetitions of the same phenomenon have occurred one hundred and thirty years earlier, in 600 A. D. and one hundred and fifty-four years later, in 885-886 A. D. To take 600 A. D. as the age of Śrī Āṇḍāl will be tantamount to making her a

* My thanks are due to my nephew Mr. T. S. Saumyanarayana Aiyangar, B.A., Pleader, Ramnad, for formulating the necessary data and calculating these dates. Dr. Vaidyanadaswami, M.A., PH. D. and Messrs. K. G. Sessa Aiyar, B.A., B.L., K. G. Sankara Aiyar, B.A., B.L., and Somasundara Desikar have kindly responded to my request to calculate and verify the results. Save some minor details, the results arrived at by Messrs. Sessa Aiyar and Sankara Aiyar agree with those given above.

contemporary of Thirumālīcai Ālvār, at a time when there were no such Vaiṣṇavaite Paṇḍyas as her father Periyālvār mentions. 885-886 will be equally unsuitable as it will make Āṇḍāl a contemporary of Nāthamunigal. On the full-moon day of 731 A. D. we find that at 3.50 A. M. Venus and Jupiter were at the opposite ends of the horizon at 177° from each other. The time is further appropriate in that maidens looking forward eagerly for the observance should wake up a little before four and bathe before there was any other stir in the world. Notice may be drawn in this connection to the custom in Malabar for girls to bathe, even at present, before 4 A. M. on the Tiruvātirai festival day (which is a relic of the ancient Mārgaḷi festival). Hence we may not be mistaken in saying that the early morning of the full-moon day of 731 A. D. was the auspicious time when Āṇḍāl gave expression to her grand lyric, the *Tiruppāvai*.

Some of the later Guruparamparās give out that Āṇḍāl was born in the Tamil year Naḷa in the month of Āṭi and give some more Pañcāṅgam details. From these, the late Diwan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Samikannu Pillai fixed the date of birth of Āṇḍāl as June 25th 776 A. D. The Divyaśūri-caritam and Pinpaḷakiya Jīyar's Guruparamparai give no such date, but mention only the month and nakṣatra of the birth and so all calculation based upon such a slender basis is bound to be futile.¹ However, we may point out that if we take the date of birth of Āṇḍāl as the year Naḷa, in the cycle preceding that fixed by Mr. Samikannu Pillai (776) we are led to the curious result that born in 716, when she composed the *Tiruppāvai* in 731 according to our astronomical result she was 15 years old, even the tender blossoming beauty she represents herself to be in her Tirumōḷi.

“அவரைப்பிராயத் தொடங்கி யென்றும்
ஆதரித் தெழுந்தவென் தடமுலைகள்
துவரைப் பிரானுக்கே சங்கற்பித்துத்
தொழுதுவந்தே னெவ்வை விதிக்கிறியே.”
“ஊனுடை யாழிசங் குத்தமர்க்கென்
முன்னித் தெழுந்தவென் தடமுலைகள்
மானிடவர்க் கென்று பேச்சுப்படித்
வாழ்கிலேன் கண்டாய் மன்மதனே.”

1. It may be noted that the only astronomical data given in regard to the Śaivaite Nāyanmārs are the months and nakṣatras. No other detail is known.

I shall feel highly thankful if both the western and eastern scholars are kind enough offer their criticisms on this article.

THE DATE OF THE TIRUPPĀVAI.

BY

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The *Tiruppāvai* is a well-known Vaiṣṇava hymn in Tamil, composed by Kotai, the girl-saint of South India, also known as Āṇḍāl. She was the daughter of the Vaiṣṇava poet-saint Bhaṭṭanātha, otherwise known as Periyālvār. While yet she was a child, she used, unknown to her father, to wear herself in play the flowers gathered for the worship of Viṣṇu. Her father found her out one day and scolded her for the offence. But the God refused to accept the flowers, unless, as usual, she wore it first. Hence forward she came to be known as *Cūṭi-koṭutta-nāyciyār* (the maid who wore herself and gave). When she attained marriageable age, she refused to wed any human bridegroom, but would fain marry the God Himself. The perplexed father had a dream, wherein the God appeared before him and bade him take her, adorned like a bride, to His shrine in Śrīrangam. He did so, and the maid was absorbed into the images and from that time she is being worshipped as the bride of God. The *Tiruppāvai* is her best known hymn, and is enshrined in the *Nālāyira-divya-prabandham*, the holy book of South Indian Vaiṣṇavas. It is a song meant for the Mārgaḷi (December-January) festival, to be sung by girls calling on each other to wake up for their early bath and worship. The object of this paper is to determine its date as closely as the available materials permit us to do.

Fortunately, Śrī Kotai herself has afforded us astronomical data, which are of great help in determining the date of the *Tiruppāvai*. Mr. M. Rāghava Aiyangār, a well-known Tamil scholar, kindly pointed out to me that it refers (stanzas 1 and 13) to the simultaneous rising of Venus and setting of Jupiter before day-break on the full-moon day of Mārgaḷi, and requested me to calculate and find out all the dates which satisfy these data in the period 600 to 900 A. D., admitted on all hands to cover the limits of all probable dates for the spiritual activities of the South Indian Vaiṣṇava saints known as the 12 Ālvārs, including Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kotai. It is not always usual for Venus to rise on the full-moon day of Mārgaḷi. Neither

was it necessary to mention the setting of Jupiter. We must therefore infer that these phenomena were mentioned, only because Śrī Kotai had happened to see them herself, when she composed the hymn, and that these data give us an indication as to the time of its composition.

Now Jupiter would have set at the same time that Venus rose, only if they were 165° to 180° apart; and they could have been seen before day-break, only if the geo-centric longitude of Venus had been less than that of the sun. The longitude of the sun would be between 240° and 270° in the month of Mārkaṭi, and Venus could never be more than 48° from the sun. So the longitude of Venus should have been between 192° and 270° , and that of Jupiter between 12° and 105° . The astronomical data available to us are therefore the following:—(1) Mārkaṭi full-moon; (2) Sun 240° to 270° ; (3) Venus 192° to 270° ; (4) Jupiter 12° to 105° .

Between 600 and 900 A. C., the following are the only dates which satisfy these data:—

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| (1) 26th Nov. 600 A.C. | —Jupiter 29° ; Venus 200° ; Sun 246° ; |
| (2) 1st Dec. 624 A.C. | " 39° " 204° " 251°; |
| (3) 5th Dec. 648 A.C. | " 37° " 208° " 255°; |
| (4) 18th Dec. 731 A.C. | " 47° " 223° " 266°; |
| (5) 23rd Nov. 850 A.C. | " 65° " 235° " 240°; |
| (6) 27th Nov. 874 A.C. | " 74° " 243° " 245°; |

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār, relying on some of his friends, suggests two other dates (1) 25th November 885 A. C.; and (2) 14th December 886 A. C. But on those dates the longitudes of Jupiter were respectively 41° and 78° , and those of Venus 223° and 240° . The intervals, therefore, between Jupiter and Venus were respectively 182° and 162° , and not, as they should be, between 165° and 180° . We may, therefore, reject these dates as unsuitable.

To choose among the 6 dates given above, we have to fall back on the other evidence available to us. The traditional biographies, no doubt, of Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kotai give elaborate astronomical details of their dates of birth. But these are found only in later works, while the two earliest of the biographies, the *Divyasūri-caritam* of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita (12th century A. C.), a contemporary of Śrī Rāmānuja (died c. 1150 A. C.), and the *Guru-paramparā-prabhāvam* of Pinbālakiya-Perumāḷ-jiyar (13th century A. C.) give only the month and *nakṣatra* in which the saints were born. The astronomical data, therefore, of the traditional biographies do not help us to determine the dates of Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kotai. But other evidence is not wanting. The Anbil plates of Coḷa Parāntaka II (953-970

A. C.) were composed by a pupil of Śrī Nātha, i. e., Nāthamuni, the earliest of the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas, who came after all the 12 Ālvārs. Nāthamuni must therefore have lived before c. 950 A. C. and we may safely accept the traditional date of his death, 922 A. C., as correct. This gives us c. 900 A. C. as the latest date for Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kotai.

Among the Ālvārs, Nammālvār was undoubtedly the greatest; and, according to our earliest extant authority, the *Rāmānuja-nūrrantāti*, which praises all the 12 Ālvārs in separate stanzas, and which was composed by Rāmānuja's contemporary and disciple, Amudanār of Śrīrangam, Nammālvār was also the latest of the Ālvārs. The priority, at any rate, of Bhaṭṭanātha to Nammālvār is confirmed by Yāmuna (known also as Ālavandār—11th century A. C.), who sees a reference to Bhaṭṭanātha, among others, in Nammālvār's *Tiru-vāy-mōḷi* (vide his commentary on 1-5-11). Now Nammālvār cannot be later than 883 A. C., as in that year Śaṭhakopa, a title applied to him for the first time for a specific reason, came to be used as the personal name of an ordinary person mentioned in an inscription at Tirukkannapuram in the Tanjore district. Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kotai must therefore have lived not later than 880 A. C.

We can fix their period more closely still. The traditional biography of Bhaṭṭanātha mentions a Pāṇḍya Śrī Vallabha as his contemporary and disciple. Bhaṭṭanātha himself mentions Neṭumāran as his Pāṇḍya contemporary (4-2-7). So this Neṭumāran or Māran (Neṭu is only an epithet meaning *great*) must be identical with Śrī Vallabha. The only Pāṇḍya before c. 900 A. C., who is known to have been called both Māran and Śrī Vallabha was, according to the bigger Cinnamanūr plates (*Cen Tamil*, Vol. 23, pp. 219-224; 257-262), the son of Varaguṇa I. and the father of Varaguṇa II. This king was a successor of Jaṭila Parāntaka, who, according to the Ānaimalai inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. 8, No. 33), was ruling in 770 A. C.; and the 8th year of Varaguṇa II. fell in Śaka 792=870 A. C. (Madras inscriptions, No. 705 of 1915). The entire reign of Śrī Vallabha therefore fell between 770 and 862 A. C., and the *Tiruppāvai*, therefore, composed by his guru's daughter must be assigned to this period. Within this period, the only date which satisfies the given astronomical data is 23rd November, 850 A. C. we may therefore safely conclude that the *Tiruppāvai* was composed *exactly* in the year 850 A. C.

THE MYSTIC WAY OF THE GĪTĀ.*

BY

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(Concluded from the last issue.)

According to the Gīta, it seems to me, the entire way lies between two types of character—a 'Sakta' and a 'Yukta'. The whole discipline recommended by the author consists in converting a 'Sakta' into a 'Yukta'. A 'Sakta' is one who is thoroughly attached to the world and whose actions are always actuated by self-love. In him the divine spark is controlled by the senses, the mind and the understanding. He is a creature of time and circumstance. He is ever victimised by the fleeting pleasures and pains of external things. He has no permanent principle which he has fetched from beyond time to be set in opposition against the passing shows of time. In this ocean of becoming which we call existence, he has no foothold and therefore he ever drifts on the flood. He does not look before and after. He takes his power and his possessions in the world very seriously as though they would last for ever. He thoroughly identifies himself with the human relationships of his home, kindred and country, as though they were eternal. In a word, he is under the delusion that the purpose of his life lies in something outside himself. A 'Sakta' is thus an average man of the world actuated by self-love and working with a self-will and coming into conflict with other individuals who have similar aims and motives of their own. Arjuna is taken as a typical 'Sakta' in the beginning of the Gītā. He represents the material that comes to the hand of every religious teacher to start with. It may be that an average 'Sakta' is not guilty of any positive acts of sin. But, as a Christian mystic says, "Sin is not so much an action as a manner of existence. It is not necessary to go to the expense of an action in order to sin. The habitual state of most minds even in their most quiet moments is self-love or *Kāma* seeking to realise itself through self-will or *Arjuna* is, even in its passive state before it is translated into action, is a mark of *Avidyā*. *Kāma* is the great enemy of the soul who is

* A paper read before the Sanskrit Association of the Presidency College.

in possession of the mind of the natural man. The Gītā says: "True knowledge is enveloped, O Arjuna, by this constant enemy of the wise—an insatiable flame in the form of *Kāma*. The senses, the mind and the understanding are said to be its seat. Through these it veils one's knowledge and deludes the soul." As long as the enemy is in possession of our minds we need not count the particular acts of sin we commit. Our whole existence is sin. We live as outlaws from the kingdom of the spirit. There is no hell but sin. The downward steps in the descent into hell are only grades of self-centred life. We begin the descent apologetically with the plea of self-preservation. For most of our shady actions could be defended on the colourable pretext of self-preservation. We clothe Evil in this respectable dress and hug him to our bosoms. Soon our friend will take us down another step. Here too the way is a slope and not a stair-case. We do not know when exactly we have descended from acts of self-preservation to those of self-appropriation, when exactly we have passed on from the region of '*Kāma*' to the region of '*Lobha*'. Soon the darkness thickens around us. Evil grows by what it feeds on. Reason is subjugated by appetites. And when selfish desire is thwarted, when it is balked of its ends, it awakes the brute in us. Our wrath is roused. And with it the evil passions. We go deeper into hell before we are aware of it, and reach the region of '*Krodha*,' where lurk the great crimes against humanity—treachery, treason and murder. Dante in his famous poem gives a harrowing description of this progressive descent into the Inferno and points out the vices of the various stages of degradation. It is not a pleasant subject though mediæval imagination revels in the gruesome horrors of it. The author of the Gītā has briefly touched on it in his description of '*Āsura*' natures in his 16th Chapter. He points out how the soul of the sinner who has, through ignorance or pride, placed himself against the laws of his own being, travels far from God and passes through the three gates of hell—*Kāma*, *Lobha* and *Krodha*—to its own ruin.

But it is more pleasant to turn our attention from the downward path to the upward path and mark the stages of progress there. The first impulse of the soul that has been awakened to the evil of the world, where blind forces of self-will are in perpetual conflict, is to flee from it altogether. The feeling that comes over the awakened man at the starting point of his journey is not unlike the feeling of Arjuna when he threw away his *Gāndīva* and told his friend he would not fight. But alas, that way lies no salvation. The idleness of the coward is no substitute for the peace of the saint. We

gain nothing by running away from evil and hiding our heads. The procedure is more foolish than that of the ostrich. For our enemy does not lie outside ourselves. He lies entrenched in our own hearts. We carry him with us when we flee to the jungle from the world. The Gītā is very emphatic on this point:—

न कर्मणामनारम्भानैष्कर्म्यं पुरुषोऽश्नुते ।

न च सन्यसनादेव सिद्धिं समधिगच्छति ॥

"No man can ever cease to act by merely ceasing to work; and no man can ever reach perfection through mere renunciation."

Renunciation of mere external activities is not the way to salvation, any more than suicide is the way to freedom. What then is the way? We have already seen that the downward way consists in self-aggrandisement, in strengthening our self-love and self-will. Clearly, therefore, the upward way consists in the progressive weakening of the self and substituting the love of God and the will of God for self-love and self-will. The will of God is no alien, external thing. If it were, we should require a Saviour or a Mediator. But the will of God is ever present in us in the form of conscience. The creator is ever present in the creature. The extent to which we develop the creator in us depends upon the extent to which we can drive out the creature in us. Appetites, desires, and passions belong to the creature in us. Before the mystic discipline, in the early stages of ascent, lies in turning away from evil and getting our creaturely propensities under control. To turn away from evil-doing is of course the first step.

न मां दुष्कृतिनो मूढाः प्रपद्यन्ते नराधमाः"

and the deluded evil-doers can never come to me."

But evil-doing is only one of the creaturely propensities though the most dangerous of them all. There are others—for instance, the various appetites of the flesh—in which a man is allowed to indulge within the limits of social law and which are not generally accounted as sin. But for purposes of spiritual ascent these also have to be conquered. The Gītā frequently mentions both the aspects of discipline. The striving Yogin should be not only a *विद्युदात्मा* (a pure soul) but also a *विजितात्मा* (one who has conquered the flesh). He should be above the sins of the Sadducees and above the sins of the Pharisees. After thus purifying himself and conquering himself he proceeds to the subjugation of his will to the will of God. For unless he surrenders his will to what he conceives to be the will of God he cannot progress further. The Gītā says:—

न ह्यसन्न्यस्तसंकल्पो योगी भवति कश्चन ॥

"A man who has not surrendered his self-will can never become a Yogin."

But how to surrender it? The author suggests that one might begin by looking for the reward of one's actions not in the external world but in one's own soul. All outward events are only the scaffolding for the inward spiritual edifice. They have no value in themselves except as opportunities for testing the soul and speeding it on its way. As Browning says in his *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, this dance of plastic circumstance, this Present is only "machinery just meant to give thy soul its bent, to try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed." The author of the *Gītā* wants the Yogin to see that the real fruit of action is within himself. Every righteous deed, every good impulse, every generous thought bears its own immediate fruit in the soul and makes it less of a creature and more of the creator. Life is a valley of soul-making and not of money-making or of pleasure-seeking. On this view we are the masters of our destinies, and there is no such thing as failure in life. The reward of a righteous deed is immediate and unfail' for it consists in the exaltation of the soul and in its strength to do another righteous deed. As Marcus Aurelius says the vine that has produced grapes asks for no reward but when the season comes round it produces another crop. The Yogin who thus goes forward fearlessly acting according to his conscience and never minding the success or failure of his actions in the external world gains a foothold in the spiritual world, which lies behind this changeful world of circumstance. While still living in time, he gains the view-point of the world beyond time. The *Gītā* says:—

इहैव तैर्जितस्सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ॥

"Those whose minds have gained equanimity of spirit have conquered their mortality even here."

Then comes the second stage of the journey. When a man is struggling upward on the moral path, anxious to do what is right under all circumstances and eager to get away from his prison of flesh comes a flash of light one day or another. Then the clouds of ignorance are sent asunder. The way then becomes much more clear and the rate of progress much more rapid. *Kṛṣṇa* says in the *Gītā*:—

तेषामेवानुक्तमर्थमहमज्ञानजं तमः ।

नाशयाम्यात्मभावस्यो ज्ञानदीपेन भास्वता ॥

"Out of compassion for them do I enter their souls and destroy the darkness of ignorance by the shining lamp of wisdom."

In other words the man's *jñāna-cakṣus* or the spiritual eye with which perceives God is now opened. His self is still a separate entity. But its earthly concerns, its earthly relations have all sunk to a miserably small point. In his luminous moments the mystic feels that he has drifted away from the world of men on an indescribable ocean of being. He hears from a great distance on the level sea the murmur of the world on the fading coast. His joy now consists only in the contemplation of the One whose face has been revealed to him. "तद्ब्रह्मयस्तदात्मानस्तन्निष्ठास्तत्परायणाः" Such is the description of this state by the author of the *Gītā*. Similarly a Christian mystic says that in his period of illumination he lived as though none existed in the world except himself and God. The joy of communion with Him is so great and the moments of such communion are so rare that all the efforts of the mystic are henceforth directed towards maintaining the contact. It is at this point that he resorts to spiritual exercises to help him to direct his heart and mind steadily towards the Light. Different schools have different systems of discipline here. Some systems are purely intellectual like those of the neo-platonic school; some purely moral like those of the Christian school and some are both intellectual and moral like those of the Buddhist school. And each school has its own technical language for describing the states of mind, beginning with simple thought—control and ending with *samādhi* or spiritual union. Christian mystics call the steps "the degrees of orison". We call them "*Yogāṅgas*". These are minutely analysed and commented on in later Yogic literature. But in the *Gītā* they occur in living relation with the progress of the soul, and not as in a technical, diagrammatic chart. And there is a wonderful passage in the sixth chapter in which the ineffable joy of the one-pointed mind in its contact with God is described (VI. 20-23).

"That in which the mind is at rest, restrained by the practice of concentration; that in which the soul beholds the spirit, and rejoices in the spirit; that in which the soul knows the boundless joy beyond the reach of the senses and grasped only by the understanding; that in which, being well established, it never wavers from truth; that on gaining which the soul feels there could be no greater gain; and that from which it cannot be moved even by the heaviest affliction—that is to be known as Yoga."

A man who has this experience begins to see the unity of all things in God. He sees Him everywhere—in the sapidity of the waters, in the radiance of the sun and the moon, in the pure fragrance of the earth and in the life of all beings. When once this vision is gained, the Yogin lives in

constant fellowship with God. He becomes attached to Him. Love of God takes the place of the earthly ties he has renounced. But this relation is not one of idle sentiment. The author of the Gītā nowhere encourages the mere ecstatic feeling of the later Bhakti schools. His conception of fellowship with God involves incessant work as well as a joyous mood. To be drawn towards God is to imitate Him and to work as He works. For does not God work incessantly? Does not the whole creation move on from day to day in an easy, effortless and almost laughing mood? Does not Nature produce more and more complex and beautiful forms of life never pausing, never resting? Has God any object to gain by the working of all this machinery? Has He anything to achieve which He has not yet achieved? And does this work of His as Īśvara, the Lord of Creation, in any way interfere with His profound peace and eternal rest as Brahman? These are the questions suggested by the author of the Gītā to the Yogin whose heart is filled with the love of God. He emphatically says that to love God is to do His work and not to sit still and hymn His praises. In fact the man who has renounced his earthly attachments has to work as hard and as enthusiastically as the man who is still in bondage.

सक्ताः कर्मण्यविद्वांसो यथा कुर्वन्ति भारत ।

कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथाऽसक्तश्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ॥

"As an ignorant man acts from attachment to action so should a wise man act without attachment for the good of the world."

His is a labour of love—not of self-love but of divine love. A mystic becomes a man of action because of his mysticism. In the last stage of his career he identifies himself with God. He has been purified, he has been illumined, he is now united. He feels that there is no distinction between the Father and the Son. He who has seen the Son has seen the Father, said Christ. And a similar saying is attributed to Mohammad by the Sufis. But the Father is both the One and the Many. He is the One in the many. He is Brahman as well as Īśvara and the world. Therefore the mystic's identification should extend to both these aspects of God. The author of the Gītā accordingly pleads that the ideal Yogin should see profound rest in incessant action and incessant action in profound rest. When the Yogin is able to reconcile these two in his own being, when his heart rests in God while his hands work in society he becomes God-like. He becomes a 'Yukta'. The 'Sakta' has at last been changed into a 'Yukta'. The journey is complete. The pilgrim has reached the goal.

A mystic who has reached his goal is nothing short of a creator. He possesses marvellous power over the souls of men. By his touch the most illiterate and the most sinful are in a moment roused from torpor and error. Witness the power which all founders of religions wielded over the minds of their early disciples. Out of common clay they fashioned fiery souls whose zeal has changed the face of the Earth. It is only the minor mystics who are stuck up somewhere on the mystic way that are lost to us. Those who go the full way return to the world with glad tidings. Their advent marks a new era. Their utterances constitute a new scripture.

The author of the Gītā is one of such mystics. The form that he chose for delivering his message perhaps prevented him from fully revealing his personality to us. He wrote no book of confessions, no spiritual autobiography. He chose the dialogue form and made an Avatār the mouth-piece of his teaching. He could not therefore depart widely from the mystic traditions of his people. He had probably seen in Buddhism the evil of a teacher cutting himself off from the old moorings entirely. He was therefore anxious to figure as a mystic of the Church. He tells us that his message is not a new one. He claims that the Yoga he teaches has a long line of teachers behind. No wonder therefore that his influence has been permanent in this land. No wonder that the mystic way he trod is trodden still by countless pilgrims in the quiet places of the Spirit.

A NOTE ON ĀCĀRYA SUNDARA PĀṆḌYA.

BY

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Being engaged at this moment in a rather close study of Pāṇḍya history, I feel a special interest in the learned paper of Professor S. Kuppuswami Śastriar on Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya. A careful reader will surely notice that the Professor does not, luckily as it seems to me, shun "the perilous path of speculation" as he proposes to do at page 10. The most valuable result of the paper is that one step has been taken, and that a long one in the identification of the old teacher quoted by the illustrious Śāṅkara at the end of his commentary on I. 1-4 of the Vedānta Sūtras. And of all the possibilities suggested by the professor, the most plausible seems to be the third and the last he has suggested at page 15.

In any case, his remark at page 12 that "in the Sanskrit portion of the bigger Cinnamannūr* inscription, we find Arikesarin Sundara Pāṇḍya* referred to as a king who was learned in all the Śāstras" does not seem to be borne out by the record. From the references he gives, I find that the Professor has relied on the late Mr. Venkayya's summary of the record. This is what Mr. Venkayya says :—"Then came Sundara Pāṇḍya, who was learned in all the Śāstras. Numberless kings and emperors who performed the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices had passed away. In their family sprang Arikesarin." This is, as the sequel will show, a correct summary; but here it is not Arikesari* but a remote predecessor of his that is said to be versed in all the Śāstras. But Mr. Venkayya himself, rather strangely, does seem to have advanced the other view when he said in a later paragraph : "Sundara Pāṇḍya mentioned in the Sanskrit portion as having been learned in the Śāstras is altogether omitted in the Tamil portion. Perhaps this was the Pāṇḍya King, who was originally a Jaina but was converted to the Śaiva creed by the devotee Tirujñānasambandhar". It is thus clear that the identification of Arikesari, the contemporary of Sambandha with the Sundara versed in all the Śāstras rests upon a conjecture,* perhaps of Mr. Venkayya. I shall now

* *N. B.*—In Mr. Venkayya's summary of the bigger Cinnamannur inscription and in Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri's remarks based thereon, the Sundara Pāṇḍya referred to in line 2 of the Sanskrit verses quoted above is identified as Arikesari = Asamasama = Maravarma and should not be confounded with the Arikesari referred to in line 5 of these Sanskrit verses, the latter Arikesarin being identical with Jaṭila's (769—70 circa) father and otherwise known as Arikesarin = Parāṅkuṣamaravarman = Termāra. S. K. Sastri.

transcribe the relevant part of the text of the plates and let Professor Sastri judge if I am not right in my view that this text supports his third possibility more than anything else.

चकर्ति कश्चिन्निजमुत्तमांगं गुरुनिजं पालयितुं यदुद्भूतः

समस्तशास्त्रार्णवकर्णधारो यदुद्भवस्तुन्दरपाण्ड्यनामा ॥ ८ ॥

यत्रोत्पन्ना राजसूयाश्चमेधैरिष्टवानेकैर्देवभूयं प्रपन्नाः ।

संख्यातीतास्सार्वभौमा नरेन्द्राः कस्तान्मर्त्यः कृत्स्नशो वक्तुमीष्टे ॥ ९ ॥

तत्रासीदरिकेसरी नरपतिर्वशो वशी श्रीनिधि-

स्तपुत्रो जटिलः सुतोस्य नृपतिः श्रीराजसिंहः कृती ॥

Two results follow if the point I am making is accepted as established.

- (1) The third possibility suggested by the Professor is confirmed epigraphically ; (2) The Ācārya Sundara Pāndya quoted by Śāṅkara must be a very old author, far anterior to Arikesari, perhaps several centuries before his time, which was the middle of the 7th Century A. D. or thereabout.

A NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE UNĀDI SŪTRAS.

BY

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In addition to what has already been stated by Mr. K. G. Subrahmanyam in Part I of this Journal (pages 53-66) the following reference may also be considered. Vāsudeva Dikṣita, a comparatively recent writer, belonging to the 18th century, in his commentary on the Unādi Sūtras, a manuscript copy of which is deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (No. 23-3-45), discusses the question of their authorship and observes as follows :—

अथ कृवापाजीत्यादीन्युणादिसूत्राणि मूले प्रौढमनोरमायां च स्फुटं व्याख्यातानि । अथापि अस्माभिरपि अनतिविस्तरेण व्याख्यातानि । तानिचेमानि सूत्राणि शाकटायनमुनि-प्रणीतानि, न तु पाणिना प्रणीतानीति उणादयो बहुलमिति सूत्रे “नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शाकटस्य च लोक”मिति वार्तिकव्याख्यानावसरेऽभिहितम् । उणादीनां शास्त्रान्तरपरिपठितानां साधुत्वाम्यनुज्ञानार्थं बहुलग्रहणमिति कैयटः । न ह्येषां पाणिनीयत्वे शास्त्रान्तरशब्दो युज्यते । उणादिप्रत्ययान्ताः शब्दाः पाणिनिप्रतेऽव्युत्पन्ना एव । अत एव ‘युवोरनाका’विति सूत्रे ‘प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धं उणादयो ह्यव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानी’ति भाष्ये उक्तम् । अत एव च ‘आदेशप्रत्ययो’रिति सूत्रभाष्ये ‘उणादयो ह्यव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि’ इत्युक्त्वा तर्हि सर्पिषा यजुषेत्यादौ अप्रत्ययत्वादिदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्येति षत्वमाशङ्क्य बहुलग्रहणात् प्रत्ययसंज्ञामवलम्ब्य षत्वभावः साधितः । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षश्च निराकृतः । अतोऽप्युणादिसूत्राणां न पाणिनीयत्वम् । अत एव ‘अजेर्व्य-धजपोः’ इति सूत्रभाष्ये अजधातोर्युप्रत्यये प्रकृतेर्वीभावे वायु शब्दो व्युत्पादितः । उणादि-सूत्राणां पाणिनीयत्वे हि कृवापाजीत्यादीन्युणादिसूत्रेणोक्तप्रत्ययमाश्रित्यैव व्युत्पाद्येत । एवं च कचिद्भाष्ये उणादीनां व्युत्पन्नत्वाश्रयणं शास्त्रान्तरमूलकमेवेति लघुशब्देन्दुशेखरे प्रपञ्चितम् । तथा च किञ्चचीत्यादीन्युणादिसूत्राणां तथाविधवार्तिकानां च न पौनरुक्त्याशङ्का ॥.....

.....कृवापाजीत्युणादिसूत्राणि तु शाकटायन-
प्रणीतानि अस्यैव बहुलप्रहणस्य प्रपञ्च इत्यर्थः ॥

Bālamānoramā Uṇādi portion.
Madras Manuscript (Pages 589-590).

The above extract is significant enough. In Vāsudeva Dikṣita's opinion, Pāṇini could not have been the author of the Uṇādi Sūtras. He also records the tradition that Śākaṭāyana is the author of that group of Sūtras.

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF ŚRIKAṆṬHA.

BY

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Since writing my paper on the date of Śrikanṭha [vide pages 67-76 of Part 1, Vol. I of the Journal of Oriental Research] I came across two bits of information which throw much light on the vexed question of the date of Śrikanṭha. Appayya Dikṣita, in his *Śivārkaṇi-dīpikā* clearly states in one place that Śrikanṭha should have had access to the *Prapañca-sarā* which is attributed to Śaṅkara. In commenting upon the passage,

तस्मिन्नेवं प्रणववाच्यत्वप्रसिद्धेश्च । Ś. K. Bhāṣya.

Appayya Dikṣita says—

प्रणववाच्यत्वप्रसिद्धेरिति-प्रपञ्चसारादिष्विति शेषः ॥

Śivārkaṇi Dīpikā p. 427, Vol. I.

Appayya Dikṣita is clear in his statement. He believes that Śrikanṭha should have had access to the *Prapañca-sāra*.¹

Tradition has it that Haradattācārya, a Śaivite teacher, whoever he might be, is the student of Śrikanṭhācārya. Appayya Dikṣita again shows himself to be of the contrary opinion. In his *Śivādvaita-nirṇaya*, a manuscript of which is deposited in the Adyar Manuscripts Library, we find the following extract :

सुदर्शनाचार्यैरपि तात्पर्यसङ्गहे गरुडैक्यभावनादृष्टान्त एवोपात्तः ।

ब्रह्मोच्यते परमसौ परमं च तत्त्वं

ज्योतिः परं च परमेश्वरपद्मनामः ।

त्वद्भावनैकरसिकस्त्वदनन्यभावात्

मन्त्री यथा गरुडभावनया गरुडान् ॥ इति ॥

तदनुवर्तिनां श्रीकण्ठाचार्याणामपि तथैव मतमित्यलम् ॥

Śivādvaita Nirṇaya, Manuscript p. 46

1. I am indebted to my friend Mr. R. Krishnawami Sastrigal B.A. for this information.

Haradattācārya is otherwise known as Sudarśanācārya, and the verse quoted above occurs in page 11 of Mallikārjuna Śāstrin's edition of the *Tātparyā-Saṅgraha*, issued from Sholapur. Would it not follow from this that Śrīkaṇṭha could not be earlier than Haradatta but only later?

These two taken together confirm the fact that Śrīkaṇṭha should be considered to be much later than Śaṅkara.

A NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPT ENTITLED
VĀKYA PADĪYA TĪKĀ
DEPOSITED IN THE GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS
LIBRARY, MADRAS.
(No. I—33—29).

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The work opens with three introductory verses from which we are able to gather that the author is one Vṛṣabha Deva and that it is a commentary on the Vākya Padīya of the famous Grammarian Bhartṛhari. There is also a passing reference to previous commentaries on the Vākya Padīya, but their authors are not referred to by name. The Tīkā, we shall call the manuscript by that name, extends up to eighty ślokas of the first Kāṇḍa of the Vākya Padīya where it stops abruptly. A comparison with the existing commentary (printed in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series in two volumes) seems at first to lead to the impression that the Tīkā should have the printed commentary for its original; for many of the phrases in the printed commentary ascribed to the authorship of Puṇyārāja are found to be commented upon and explained by Vṛṣabha Deva. Here are pointed out some of the striking similarities :—

Manuscript.	Printed Text.
P. 4, line 12. समाविष्टमिति	P. 1, line 2. समाविष्टम्
P. 5, „ 7. विद्याविद्याप्रवि- भागरूपमिति	P. 1, „ 2. विद्याऽविद्याप्रविभागरूपं
P. 8, „ 18. शब्दोपप्राहृतयेति	P. 1, „ 5. सर्वशब्दोपप्राहृतया
P. 10. विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेनेतितथाचष्टे	P. 1, „ 10. विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेनेति । एकस्य
P. 11. स्वप्रविषयप्रत्ययभासवदिति	P. 1, „ 11. स्वप्रविषयप्रत्ययभासवत् ।

Such instances could be multiplied.

But this impression is falsified by the fact that while many of the words and phrases in the printed text are found explained in the manuscript, many of the 'pratikas' or catchwords in the manuscript do not find a place in the

printed text. If the printed text should have been the original on which the *Tikā* could be supposed to be a commentary it should contain all the catch-words. Further, the 'pratiṣṭhā' of the author in the opening verses is that he is writing a commentary on the work of Bhartṛhari and not of any other author. So much so, we are forced to infer that Bhartṛhari should have written a prose *Vṛtti* commenting on his own *Kārikās*, and that both the *Kārikās* and the prose *Vṛtti* should have been known by the name of *Vākya Padiya*. This is corroborated by Puṇyarāja and Helāṇḍa in their own words :—

(*Vākya Padiya*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit series),

Vol. I, p. 64, line 23 :

यत्पुनरनेन वृत्तावुक्तम्....

Vol. I, p. 101, line 3 :

एतेषां च वित्त्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनि-
र्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ प्रतिपादितम्

Vol. I, p. 106, line 5 and line 19 :

एषां च टीकाकृता स्ववृत्तौ....

यथा प्रदर्शितं स्ववृत्तौ टीकाकारेण....

Vol. II, p. 1 :

काण्डद्वये यथावृत्ति

The above references to the *Vṛtti* of the author of the *Vākya Padiya* could be taken to conclusively prove that Bhartṛhari should have been the author of a prose *Vṛtti* on his own *Kārikās*.

The comparison instituted above shows that, as some of the phrases explained in the *Tikā* are found in the printed text and are supposed to be those of Bhartṛhari by Vṛṣabha Deva, the printed commentary on the first *Kāṇḍa* might have been an adaptation by Puṇyarāja (or by somebody else ?) of Bhartṛhari's own gloss. It will be interesting to note the colophon at the end of the first *Kāṇḍa* of the printed commentary which runs thus :—

Vol. I, p. 62 :

इति श्रीमहर्षिवाक्यकरणहरिवृषभविरचितवाक्यपदीयप्रकाशे आगमसमुच्चयानाम ब्रह्म-
काण्डं समाप्तम् ॥

It is needless to point out (thanks to the editors of the work in having faithfully printed the original) that the authorship of the commentary on the first *Kāṇḍa* is not clearly mentioned. It will also be interesting to note

the absence of any benedictory beginning in the printed commentary of the first *Kāṇḍa* and the absence at the end of this *Kāṇḍa* of any resume by Puṇyarāja similar to the one we find at the end of the second *Kāṇḍa*. We leave it to scholars to draw their own inferences from the above facts and we shall feel highly thankful if they could point out any further clues which would throw additional light on this matter.

[N. B.—It would be of advantage in this connection to draw attention to the following prose extract from the *Vākya-Padiya* quoted by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvya-prakāśa*.

“तथाचोक्तं वाक्यपदीये—‘न हि गौः स्वरूपेण गौः, नाप्यगौः गोत्वाभिसंख्यातु गौः’ ।”

Ullāsa II-Kārikā 8.

Perhaps the prose *Vākya-Padiya* to which Mammaṭa refers is Bhartṛhari's own *Vṛtti* on the *Kārikās* of the *Vākya Padiya*. S. K. Śastri.]

PĀṆINI AND YĀSKA.

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It has been long believed by eminent scholars that Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, should be considered anterior to Pāṇini by at least two centuries. The only evidence they would rely on, is the Sūtra यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे II-4-63 of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. Dr. Goldstucker would further support his argument thus : (Pāṇini and his place in Sanskrit Literature, p. 222).

'A second and equally strong reason is, in my belief, afforded by the test I have established above, on the ground of the Grammatical Samjñās which occur in Pāṇini's work.

'Amongst these terms there is one which especially allows us to judge of the relative position of Yāska and Pāṇini, viz., the term Upasarga, prefix or preposition. Pāṇini employs it in many of his Sūtras ; he does not define it ; it must consequently have been in use before he wrote. Yāska, however, enters fully into the notion expressed by it. * * *

'It seems impossible, therefore, to assume that Yāska could have known the classes of Upasarga as defined by Pāṇini, and their meanings as enumerated by him when he wrote the words before quoted. But not knowing the grammar of Pāṇini is, in the case of Yāska, tantamount to have preceded it.'

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his 'Systems of Sanskrit Grammar' has dealt with the subject at some length and holds the same opinion because, as he says, of the 'overwhelming evidence' of Yāska's anteriority.

In this short note an endeavour is made to prove the priority of Pāṇini. In the course of my study of the Nirukta, the numerous quotations which Yāska gives from the Brāhmaṇas and the extraordinary amount of respect with which their authority is referred to, particularly struck me as a thing quite contrary to what one would find in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. In continuing the subject further, I was able to note a few points which would appear to necessitate the conjecture that Pāṇini must be considered to have preceded the author of the Nirukta.

The reference in the Sūtra V-1-62 to two Brāhmaṇas with the number of Adhyāyas each contains seems to support the conjecture, though a far-fetched one, that Pāṇini knew only two Brāhmaṇas which he considered to form a separate literature while the others were Anu-Brāhmaṇas. It may here be pointed out that it would not be inconsistent with the history of the growth of Vedic literature to suppose that all such Anu-Brāhmaṇas might have been latterly placed on a par with the chief Brāhmaṇas in the Vedic literature.

Further, our conjecture seems to receive support from the fact that the Brāhmaṇas were not at all considered to form part of the Vedic literature by Pāṇini. A comparison of the two Sūtras V-1-61 and 62, and the particular mention of the word ब्राह्मणानि as different from छन्दसु in the Sūtra छन्दो ब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि IV-2-66 ॥ would testify to the truth of the above fact.

From the paucity of reference and the doubt that Patañjali seems to create on the subject, it could be easily shown that the Vedatva of the Atharva Veda was not at all an established fact during the time of Pāṇini. On the other hand Yāska is said to quote from the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, the chief Brāhmaṇa of the Atharva Veda, as authority for the regularity of certain Vedic formations. (vide Dr. P. D. Gune's article on the Brāhmaṇa quotations in the Nirukta, page 50, Bhāndārkar Commemoration Volume.)

Nobody has yet advanced any argument to disprove the conjecture of Dr. Goldstucker that Pāṇini could not have known any of the Upaniṣads, especially with the respect with which they are looked to, while Yāska quotes a certain Upaniṣad Mantra for his authority. (Page 210, Nirukta, Śrī Venkateswar Steam Press, Bombay.)

While the term Veda is used by the Niruktakāra in the sense of the 'Vedas' (page 20, Nirukta) Pāṇini does not at all use the word in its nominal and collective sense.

The word 'Upadhā' is used in the same sense as defined by Pāṇini, by the Niruktakāra.

The last of all but not the least is the absence of a rule for the formation of the word 'Vārṣyāyaṇi' in the whole range of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, while he is quoted as an ancient authority by Yāska.

It will be interesting to note the boast of Yāska that the study of grammar will be useless without the study of his Nirukta (page 68, तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कात्स्न्यं स्वार्थसाधकं च.) It is nothing but the echo of the innate appre-

hension that his work could not stand on a par with the famous Vyākaraṇa ; and it needs no saying that the first Grammarian who expounded the principles of grammar as a system was no other than the sage Pāṇini. And it is also significant to note on the other side that while Pāṇini refers to all kinds of literature prevalent in his time Vedic, as well as classical, no reference at all is found to the Nirukta.

As already pointed out, the respect with which the Brāhmaṇas are quoted along with the Nigamas while their *Vedatva* was not at all recognised by Pāṇini together with the above considerations do point to the conclusion that Pāṇini should be considered anterior to Yāska.

PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY IN THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

Aravaṇavaṭikaḷ (அரவணவடிகல்) = [Ācārya.....Dharmapāla...?]
in the Śaṅgam age.

BY

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AND

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Aravaṇavaṭikaḷ is one of the most prominent characters in the *Maṇimēkalai*, one of the well-known twin epics in Tamil belonging to the Śaṅgam age. In the *Maṇimēkalai* he is introduced as a venerable, old, benevolent and learned Buddhist monk who was held in high esteem by all who happened to know him during the period of *Śeraṇ Śeṅkuṭṭuvan*. This Buddhist monk is described as vouchsafing light, true insight and final absolution to many a person yearning for knowledge, and to the heroine, *Maṇimēkalai*, who renounced the world in her youth and approached him as an earnest Buddhist disciple seeking to realise the highest truth. Anybody really interested in the reconstruction of the ancient history of South India cannot fail to appreciate duly the value of such reliable data as may happen to be extricated from the tangle and jumble of historical and legendary elements that make up the partly human and partly superhuman, and not seldom anachronic or parachronic, plot of works like the *Maṇimēkalai*. In this belief, a few data of considerable value to students of South Indian history, which are actually found available in the teachings put in the mouth of *Aravaṇavaṭikaḷ* in the last two sections (XXIX and XXX), more especially in the penultimate section of the *Maṇimēkalai*, are now proposed to be placed before the world of scholars interested in Indological studies. It is also proposed to make a few suggestions which would be helpful in identifying *Aravaṇavaṭikaḷ*, if he could be taken to possess any acceptable degree of historicity. It would hardly be unreasonable to hope that all this would lead to the crux of the problem of the Śaṅgam age being tackled more successfully and satisfactorily than hitherto.

A careful perusal of the contents of section XXIX (*Tavattirampūṇṭu tarumankeṭṭa kūtai*) of the *Maṇimēkalai* as compared with such particulars as are available about Ācārya Diṇnāga's works—particularly his *Nyāya-pravēśa* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya*—would tend to establish, to every unbiased reader, beyond any reasonable doubt—(1) that the principles of Buddhist logic, as outlined in this section of the *Maṇimēkalai* are almost entirely based upon Ācārya Diṇnāga's *Nyāya-pravēśa*, and to some extent on his other works also; most of the definitions, illustrations and even the order of enumeration in several instances answering almost exactly to the corresponding parts of the *Nyāya-pravēśa*; and (2) that, while section XXIX of the *Maṇimēkalai* cannot be assigned to the *pre-Diṇnāga* period of Buddhist logic, there are sufficient indications to place it in the *post-Diṇnāga* period, close to the transition to certain departures advocated by Dharmakīrti by way of improvement. In support of the former of these two propositions, attention may, with advantage, be drawn to certain very striking correspondences between *Aravaṇavaiṭṭal's* teachings as recorded by *Śīttalai Śāttanār* and Ācārya Diṇnāga's *Nyāya-pravēśa* and other works.

<i>Maṇimēkalai</i>	<i>Diṇnāga</i>	Remarks.
(a) ஆதி சினைந்திரானனவை யிரண்டே. யேதமில் பிரத்தியக்கருத் தனவென்ன [XXIX-47, 48.]	(a) प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च प्रमाणं हि द्विलक्षणम् । [Pramāṇa-samuccaya Chapter I S.C.V.H.I.L. page 277 f-n.]	<i>tāmīl</i> line 2 of (a) is equivalent to <i>samyak</i> .
(b) சுட்டுணர்வைப் பிரத்தியக்கமெனச்சொலி, விட்டனர் காமசாதிசூன க்கிரியைகள். [Ibid—49, 50.]	(b) प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं नामजात्याद्यसंयुतम् ॥ [Pramāṇa-samuccaya Chapter I S.C.V.H.I.L. page 277 footnote]	<i>a, b, c, d, e, f</i> In all these cases it will be seen that what is found in the <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> is a faithful rendering or adaptation of Diṇnāga's Sanskrit text.
(c) ஏனையனவைகளெல்லாக் கருத்தினி லான முறைமையினனு மானமாம். [Ibid—55, 56.]	(c) प्रमेयं तत्र संसिद्धं न प्रमाणान्तरं भवेत् । Ibid.	

1. S. C. V. H. I. L. = Dr. Satiścandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic.

<i>Maṇimēkalai</i>	<i>Diṇnāga</i>	Remarks
(d) பக்கமேதுத்திட்டாந்த முபநய நிகமனமென்னவைந் துள [Ibid-57-58.]	(d) पक्षः, हेतुः, दृष्टान्तः, उपनयः निगमनं चेति पञ्चावयवाः । S. C. V. H. I. L.	
(e) உபநயநிகமனமிரண்டுத் திட்டாந்தத்திலெசென்ற டங்கும். [Ibid-109-110.]	(e) पक्षहेतुदृष्टान्तवचनैर्हिप्राप्ति कानामप्रतीतोऽर्थः प्रतिपाद्य त इति.....एतान्येव त्रयोऽवयवा इत्युच्यन्ते [Nyāya-pravēśa p. 1]	
(f) பக்கப்போலியொன்பது வகைப்படும். பிரத்தியக்கவிருத்த மது விருத்த ஸ்வவசனவிருத்த முலோக விருத்த மாகமவிருத்த மப் பி ர சித்தவிசேடண மப்பிர சித்த விசேடியமப்பிரசித்தவுபய மப்பிரசித்த சம்பந்தம் மென. [Ibid-147-153.]	(f) पक्षाभासा नव—प्रत्यक्ष-विरुद्धः, स्ववचनविरुद्धः, अगमविरुद्धः, अप्रसिद्धविशेषणः, अप्रसिद्धविशेष्यः, अप्रसिद्धोभयः, अप्रसिद्धसंबन्धश्च—इति (Nyāya-pravēśa) 2	
(g) ஏதுப்போலியோதின் மசித்த மனைகாந்திகம் விருத்தம் மென வுபயாசித்தமன்னியதா (தார) சித்தஞ் சித்தாசித்தமாரியாசித்த மெனநான்கசித்தம். [Ibid 191 to 195]	(g) हेत्वामासास्तयः-असिद्धः अनैकान्तिकः (अनिश्चितः), विरुद्धश्चेति। असिद्धश्चतुर्विधः उभयासिद्धः, अन्यतरासिद्धः, सिद्धासिद्धः, आश्रयासिद्धश्चेति । Ibid.	(g) <i>anniyatācittam</i> in line 3 of the Tamil text is undoubtedly a mistake and should be corrected as <i>anniyatarācittam</i> .
(h) அனைகாந்திகமுஞ் சாதாரண மசாதாரணஞ் சபக்கைக	(h) अनैकान्तिकः षोढा-साधारणः, असाधारणः, सपक्षैक-	<i>g, h, i, j</i> , (See remarks about <i>a</i> to <i>f</i>)

1. This reference is to the page of the edition of the *Nyāya pravēśa*, which is being published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda. p. 193.

2. This extract and all the further extracts from the *Nyāya-pravēśa* are, unless otherwise specified, based upon the provisional reconstruction of the text of the *Nyāya-pravēśa* from the account of the Tibetan version of that work, as given in pages 289 to 298 of Dr. Satiścandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic.

A careful consideration of the above extracts and similar passages in section XXIX of the *Mañimēkalai* would immediately convince any scholar knowing sufficient Sanskrit and Tamil that the principles of Buddhist logic as stated to have been expounded by *Aravaṇavaṭikaḥ* are almost entirely based upon *Diñnāga's Nyāyapracēśa* and the author of the *Mañimēkalai* has faithfully rendered *Diñnāga's* definitions and illustrations, besides closely following the order of enumeration found in his Sanskrit text. For obvious reasons, therefore, the philosophical sections of the *Mañimēkalai*, along with the whole epic, of which these sections form an integral part, and in which the Buddhist motif of the plot would look truncated without them, should be assigned to a period not earlier than *Diñnāga*. Further, there are certain unmistakable indications to show that this Tamil epic should be assigned to the period between *Diñnāga* and *Dharmakīrti*. From the following extract from *Vācaspatimiśra's Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā*, it may be easily made out that *Diñnāga's* definition of *Pratyakṣa* “प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम्” is defective as pointed out in the *Nyāya-vārtika* by *Uddyotakara*, in that it is vague and there is no reason why it should be taken to apply to *jñāna*, while *Dharmakīrti's* definition shows a distinct improvement.

“न हि यथा सम्यग्ज्ञानमधिकृत्य प्रत्यक्षादिलक्षणं कृतं कीर्तिना तथा विद्वद्भिरनेन, येनाधिकारात् ज्ञाने व्यवतिष्ठेत् कल्पनापोढमिति भावः ।” *Tātparyā-ṭīkā*, Vidyāvilās Press. Benares page 154.

This extract evidently refers to the improvement which *Dharmakīrti* introduces in the sub-joined text of the *Nyāya-bindu* :—

“द्विविधं सम्यग्ज्ञानम्, प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च । तत्र कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षम्”
pages 10 and 11 of the Benares editions.

It is clear that *Diñnāga* omitted to expressly indicate the topical connection of his definition of *Pratyakṣa* with *Jñāna* or *Samyag-Jñāna*, that this omission made it possible for cavilling critics like *Uddyotakara* to make adverse comments and that *Dharmakīrti* took care to supply this omission and thus disarm any further opposition on this ground. In this connection, the expression *ṭamil* (தமிழ்) in the second line of the Tamil extract (a), at page 3 supra, deserves special attention. This Tamil phrase is exactly equivalent to *samyak* (सम्यक्), *ṭamil* literally meaning *lawless*. It scarcely needs any further explanation to see that, consistently with the spirit of the original Sanskrit texts, *ṭamil*, in the Tamil extract referred to should be

construed with *aḥavai* and thus this Tamil extract also provides an amendment, which is distinctly *post-Diñnāga* and similar to what we find in the corresponding portion of *Dharmakīrti's Nyāya-bindu*. But certain important modifications in *Diñnāga's* classification of fallacies which *Dharmakīrti* introduced in his *Nyāyabindu*, are not found adopted in section XXIX of the *Mañimēkalai* and the latter faithfully follows *Diñnāga's* arrangement and classification. Attention is invited in this connection to the extracts and remarks marked (k) and (l) at page 195 supra. It would hardly require any effort to understand from these extracts and remarks that, while *Diñnāga* would include respectively in the scheme of *anaikāntika* and *viruddha* the two varieties *viruddhāvṛtyābhicārī* and *iṣṭavighātakṛt*, the latter corresponding to *dharma-viśeṣa-viṣarītasādhana*, *Dharmakīrti* would simplify the schemes of *anaikāntika* and *viruddha* by eliminating the two additional varieties referred to. From all this, it follows as an irresistible conclusion that, while *Mañimēkalai* should be later than *Diñnāga*, it should also be earlier than *Dharmakīrti*. If *Uddyotakara* could be taken to be earlier¹ than *Dharmakīrti*, it would be easy to see how, during the transition between the former and the latter, a few amendments like *ṭamil* in the Tamil extract (a) above referred to, 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*. There is good evidence to believe that *Diñnāga* flourished in the earlier part of the fifth century A.D.² According to *Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World* and *Dr. Satīs-Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic*³ *Dharmapāla* should be assigned to circa 600-635 A. D. Should these data be accepted, I do not see how one could get clear away from the conclusion that the *Mañimēkalai* should be assigned to the beginning of the seventh century A. D., howsoever this view might clash with current notions about the Śāṅgam age of Tamil literature. In the light of these observations and in view of the fact that the name *Aravaṇavaṭikaḥ* looks much like a Tamil translation or adaptation of the name *Ācārya-Dharmapāla*, it would not be regarded as far-fetched or fanciful to suggest that perhaps *Aravaṇavaṭikaḥ* was a historical character and

1. See pages LXXVII to LXXIX in the foreword to the *Tattvasaṅgraha* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

2. See pages LXXIII to LXXVII Ibid. See also *Vidyābhūṣaṇa's 'History of Indian Logic'* page 270. According to *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, *Diñnāga's* date is circa 450 to 520 A. D. According to the foreword to the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, *Diñnāga's* date is circa 345 to 425 A. D.

3. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic* (p. 302-303.)

was no other than the great *Ācārya-Dharmapāla* himself, who, according to Beal, was born at Kāñcīpura as the eldest son of a great minister, became a Buddhist *Bhikṣu* and ripened into one of the foremost Buddhist logicians and eventually rose to the high rank of the head of the Nālandā University, shortly before *Yuan Chwang* visited India.

These statements come into direct conflict with most of the current notions regarding the Śaṅgam age, from which, it is widely believed, and perhaps rightly also, that the Tamil epic *Maṇimēkalai* cannot be dissociated. It remains for us now to consider whether any useful hints might be put forward which might be expected, on further investigation, to lead to a satisfactory solution of the problems and puzzles regarding the Śaṅgam age. According to Kanakasabhai,² the age of the Śaṅgam is the early part of the second century A. D. Mr. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar³ would assign the Śaṅgam literature to the latter half of the fourth century or the earlier half of the fifth century A. D. Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar⁴ and the late Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai⁵ would respectively assign the Śaṅgam literature to the end of the second century and the middle of the eighth century A. D. After discussing all these theories, in a very able and lucid manner, Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, in his *Śaṅkara-Pārvati* prize thesis—*The Kāveri, the Maikharis and the Śaṅgam Age*—recently published by the Madras University, arrives at the following provisional conclusion (page 57): "This process of elimination leads to the conclusion that Karikālan, Imayavaramban and Śeṅguṭṭuvan could not have undertaken their northern invasions—within the upper and lower limits we have adopted—in any period other than the one between 208 and 184 B. C., or that from 148 B. C., down to the early years of the Christian era, or again, in the third century A. D." Whatever might be the truth regarding the northern invasions by Tamil kings described in the Śaṅgam literature, we have already seen why the *Maṇimēkalai* should be assigned to the beginning of the seventh century A. D. From the available informations about the history of the Pallavas, it may be surmised that the beginning of the seventh century, which marked the beginning of the reign of Mahendra-Vikrama,⁶ was not such as would

1. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic* (p. 302-303.)
2. *The Tamils 1800 years ago* (p. 164.)
3. *Śeran Śeṅguṭṭuvan* (p. 177.)
4. *Ancient India* (p. 367.)
5. *An Indian Ephemeris*—I-i-108, 468.
6. G. Jouveau Dubreuil—*The Pallavas* (p. 37.)

preclude the possibility of certain Tamil kings undertaking northern invasions or northern pilgrimages incidentally associated with a few martial adventures, more especially before the consolidation of Harṣavardhana's power. Perhaps, one of the Malwa kings, stated in the *Cilappatikāram* to have been present at the consecration of Kaṇṇaki's image, was the Buddhist king of Malwa, identified by Professor Sylvan Levi as *Śīlāditya I*, surnamed *Dharmāditya* of the Valabhi-dynasty, who reigned from circa 595 to 610 A. D. During the earlier part of his rule, Mahendravarman might have maintained a very favourable attitude towards Buddhism and Buddhist Bhikṣus. Probably, he is the king of Kāñci referred to in section XXVIII of the *Maṇimēkalai*. The miserable plight of Kāñci in the grip of famine and similar troubles, as described in this section of the *Maṇimēkalai*, may easily be regarded as quite consistent with the Cālukyan troubles in the first decade of Mahendravarman's reign. These suggestions may easily be reinforced by certain particulars furnished by two important Sanskrit Manuscripts, which were recently acquired by me for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, through its peripatetic search party working under my official direction and control. One of them contains a considerable portion of a metrical *romance* called the *Avantisundarikathāsāra*² and the other a small fragment of a prose romance called the *Avantisundarikathā*³. These particulars are: that ⁴ *Bhāravi*, the famous poet was otherwise known as *Dāmōdara* and was a contemporary of *Durvinīta*, a Western Gaṅga prince and of Sihmaviṣṇu, the Pallava king of about 590 A. D.; ⁵ that *Dandīn* was Bhāravi's grandson and in the latter part of his life, was the protégé of Narasihmavarman (circa 646 A. D.), the Pallava king of Kāñci, who was the son and successor of Mahendravikrama; and that *Dandīn*, in his boyhood and youth, perhaps during the early years of Mahendravikrama, had to leave Kāñci and wander about for several years, when Kāñci was almost devastated⁶ by

1. See V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*—1914—(p. 324-325.)

2 and 3. These two manuscripts are now deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. In 1924, the Sanskrit text of these two incomplete *Mss.* was printed and published through the Maṅgalodayam Press, Trichur, by my friend and former pupil—Mr. S. K. Ramanatha Śāstri—who was for several years working under me as a member of the peripatetic party of the Government Oriental *Mss.* Library, Madras. The pages of these works referred to in this paper belong to this printed edition.

4. *Avantisundarikathā* page 6; *Kathāsāra* (p. 3.)

5. A. *Kathā*, page 7; *Kathāsāra* (p. 7.)

6. परवक्रमीडया पर्याकुलेषु द्रमिळचोळपाण्ड्ये(षु).....(आ) रामपरिहृतु भग्नासु

aggressive sieges laid and pushed by enemies like the Cālukyan kings, famine and pestilence. The devastated and famine-stricken condition of Kāñcīpura described in section XXVIII of the *Maṇimēkalai* appears to correspond to the similar plight of that city referred to in the *Avantisundarikathā*¹ and *Avantisundarikathāsāra*,² during Daṇḍin's youth, which synchronises with Mahēndravikrama's earlier days. Again in the *Avantisundarikathā*, a *stha-pati* called *Māndhātā*, who was the immediate or proximate ancestor or teacher of another great architect called *Lalitālaya*, a contemporary of Daṇḍin and Narasimhavarman, is found described as *विस्मापितदुर्जय*³ (who excited the wonder of King *Durjaya*). Probably, this *Durjaya* is identical with *Durjaya*,⁴ the king of *Aṅgaḍḍa*, referred to in the *Maṇimēkalai*. The historical data furnished by the two anonymous Sanskrit Works *Avantisundarikathā* and *Kathāsāra* are very reliable and cannot be easily brushed aside; for, these data are corroborated in several respects by inscriptional and other evidences and seem to rest upon a tradition which is earlier than the eleventh century A.D.⁵ Having due regard to all these facts and to what is said above about the date of the *Maṇimēkalai*, the view which now holds the field regarding the *Śaṅgam* age, that it cannot be later than the third century A.D., requires a very careful reconsideration at the hands of all those that are anxious to see that historical truth should never be allowed to surrender to mytho-poetic theories. In order to contribute my mite towards a reconsideration of the problem of the *Śaṅgam* age,

1.दुर्भिक्षीणके..... A—Kathā (p. 7.)

2. सविक्रिये पुरे तस्मिन् परचक्रोपरोधतः ॥

स चचार शुभाचारस्सर्वाभुर्वीमुदारधीः ॥ Kathāsāra (p. 4.)

3. विस्मापितदुर्जयस्य मान्धातुनाम्नः स्थपतेः प्रशस्तवास्तुशास्त्रार्थसार.....ललितालयनामा A—Kathā (p. 7-8.)

4. *Maṇimēkalai*, *Mahāmahōpādhyāya* V. Swaminatha Aiyar's edition—(7)-99; (10) 54; (11) 134; (12) 40.

5. Neither in the fragmentary Manuscript of the *Avantisundarikathā* nor in the Manuscript of the metrical romance—*Avantisundarikathāsāra* could we find any reference to the author. So, these two works should, for the present, be taken to be anonymous, if we confine our attention strictly to what is found in the Manuscripts themselves. But, luckily, Bhoja (1018—1060 A. D.), in his mammoth work on Sanskrit Poetics called the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, says that a poet called *Pañcaśikha* is the author of *Śūdrakakathā* and uses the word *ānanda* (आनन्द) in the last verse of each canto, as the distinctive, emblematic word of his composition [Vide the Manuscript of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* deposited in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras—Volume II (p. 437 line 13.) This is an old habit of great poets like *Pravarasēna*, *Bhāravi* and *Māgha*, who use as their respective emblematic words *anurāga*,

I have, in this paper, placed certain noteworthy facts before scholars; and I also propose to publish in the future issues of this *Journal of Oriental Research*, a careful English translation of sections XXVII, XXIX and XXX of the *Maṇimēkalai*, with suitable annotations where necessary, explaining obscure portions and drawing attention to the correspondences between the *Maṇimēkalai* and Sanskrit works on Buddhist logic like *Diānāga's Nyāya-praveśa* and *Dharmakīrti's Nyāya-bindu*.

Lakṣmi and *Śri*. In the *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, we find the word *ānanda* used at the end of each canto as the distinctive mark of the composition. No two Sanskrit poets could ever have used the same word as the distinctive mark of their respective compositions. So it may be safely inferred that a poet called *Pañcaśikha*, who was earlier than Bhoja, should have written the *Avantisundarikathāsāra*. About the authorship of the fragmentary manuscript of the *Avantisundarikathā*, nothing useful could be said in the present state of our knowledge.

श्रीभट्टकुमारिलपादाः श्रीप्रभाकरमिश्राश्च ॥

BY

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प्रपूर्वस्मिन् प्राच्यविद्याविमर्शसदोऽधिवेशने कलिकातानगरे प्रचलिते श्रीमद्भिः
पण्डितप्रवरैः (Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastriji M.A., I.E.S. Madras)
श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिशशिपादैः विषयमिममधिकृत्य व्यलेखि कश्चन लेखोऽपाठि च यत्र श्री-
कुमारिलप्रभाकरयोः समकालिकत्वं, प्रभाकरमिश्राणां श्रीकुमारिलशिष्यता च निपुण-
तरमुपापादि । ततः कलिकातानगरनिवासिभिः श्रीपशुपतिनाथशास्त्रिमहाशयैः स्व-
कीये पूर्वमीमांसोपोद्धाते (Introduction to the Purva Mimamsa by Pasu-
patinath Sastri, M. A., B. L. Calcutta) श्रीमतां Professor S. K. शास्त्रि-
पादानां मतं खण्डयितुं बहुधा प्रयतितम् । न तु किञ्चिदपि पारितम् । कुतो न पारितम् ?
कश्चाक्नुयात् निपुणतरमीक्षमाणः स्फीतालोकमध्यवर्तिचामीकरखण्डं अनपलपनीयप्रभा
पुञ्जच्छुरितं भास्वत्पीतिमालीढं रजतशकलमध्यवसातुम् ? । अतः श्रीपशुपतिनाथशास्त्रि-
महाशया विषयेऽत्र विफलप्रयत्नाः, प्रभाकरविजयभूमिकायां तानवष्टब्धमाहितमतयो विद्व-
द्भिराः श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिणोऽपि तानेवानुकुर्वते इति निरूपयितुं श्रीकुमारिलप्रभाकरयोः
कालनिर्णयः प्रमाणैराभ्यन्तरैः क्रियते प्रथमम् ।

श्रीकुमारिलकालः (तत्र पूर्वावधिः)

श्लोकवार्तिके अपोहखण्डनावसरे तत्खण्डनार्थं प्रवृत्ताः कारिकाः अवतारयन् पार्थ-
सारथिमिश्रः¹ "यत्तु भिक्षुणा," यदपि भिक्षुणोक्तं," तदपि तुल्यमित्याह" इति भिक्षो-
रेव खण्डनं वार्तिककारैः क्रियते इत्यभिप्रैति । अयं च भिक्षुः बौद्धसमयाचार्यो धर्म-
कीर्तिरेव, येन बौद्धसम्प्रदायावलम्बितः प्रमाणवार्तिककारिकाः-प्रमाणवार्तिकवृत्तिः, न्याय-
बिन्दुमुखा बहवो ग्रन्थाः विरचिताः । अयमेव भिक्षुपदेन व्यपदिश्यते ग्रन्थकृद्भिः । श्री-

1. See. P. P. 588, 596, 598, 600, Ślokavārtika, Benares Edition.

जयन्तभट्टैः न्यायमञ्जर्या बौद्धप्रत्यक्षलक्षणखण्डनावसरे—⁽¹⁾“यत्तावत्कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्त-
मिति लक्षणम् । प्रत्यक्षस्य जगो भिक्षुः तदत्यन्तमसाम्प्रतम् ॥” इति ‘कल्पनापोढम-
भ्रान्त’मिति प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं भिक्षुणोक्तमित्यभिप्रेयते । धर्मकीर्तिना च स्वीये न्यायविन्दो
⁽²⁾“तत्र कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षम् ।” इति प्रत्यक्षस्य लक्षणमुक्तम् ।

किञ्च श्लोकवार्तिके प्रत्यक्षसूत्रे ⁽³⁾लक्षणं यच्च येरुक्तं” इत्यादिकं धर्मकीर्तिं मनसि
निधायैवाभिहितमिति तत्रत्यन्यायरत्नाकरतोऽवगम्यते । अयं हि तत्रत्यो न्यायरत्नाकरः—
“ननुकल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षं; तच्चतुर्विधम्—इन्द्रियजमिन्द्रियजसमनन्तरप्रत्ययोद्भवं,
मानसं सर्वचित्तचैत्यानामात्मसंवेदनं, योगिज्ञानं च भावनावलजम्.....तथापि कल्प-
नापोढलक्षणस्य योगिज्ञानस्य तन्निमित्तता भविष्यतीत्यत आह—लक्षणमिति” प्रायेणै-
तदानुपूर्वीकाण्येव सूत्राणि धर्मकीर्तिग्रन्थे न्यायविन्दोऽपुन्यन्ते⁽⁴⁾ । अतो धर्मकीर्त्यभि-
हितं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणमेव श्लोकवार्तिकस्य लक्षणपदेनाभिप्रेतमिति निश्चेतुं शक्यते ।

यद्यपि धर्मकीर्तितः प्राचीनेन बौद्धाचार्येण दिङ्नागेनापि प्रत्यक्षलक्षणमेतादृशमभि-
हितं, तथापि तेन “प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं” इत्येव लक्षणमुक्तं नत्वभ्रान्तपदसहितम् । धर्म-
कीर्तिनैव च तत्र भ्रान्तपदं योजितम् । सुस्पष्टमिदमभिहितं न्यायकणिकायां श्रीवाचस्पति-
मिश्रेः⁽⁵⁾ “दिङ्नागस्यैव कल्पनापोढं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम्, अपि तु तदेवाभ्रान्तत्वसहितं प्रत्यक्ष-
लक्षणमिति मन्यते स्म कीर्तिः प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तमिति ॥” इति । “इति सुनिपुण-
बुद्धिलक्षणं वक्तुकामः पदयुगलमपीदं निर्मेमे नानवद्यम् । भवतु मतिमहिम्नश्चेष्टितं दृष्ट-
मेतज्जगदभिभवधीरं धीमतो धर्मकीर्तेः” इति कण्ठतो धर्मकीर्तिमेव पदद्वयघटितलक्षण-
कर्तारं व्यपदिशन्त्यग्रे जयन्तभट्टा अपि न्यायमञ्जर्याम्⁽⁶⁾ । अतश्चाभ्रान्तपदघटितं प्रत्यक्ष-

1. See. P. 92, Nyāyamañjari of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. Vizianagaram series

2. See. P. 11, Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti, Chowkhamba Series.

3. श्लोकवार्तिक P. 160.

4. cf. तत्र कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षं.....तच्चतुर्विधम्—इन्द्रियज्ञानं स्वविषयानन्तरविषयसह-
कारिणेन्द्रियज्ञानेन समनन्तरप्रत्ययेन जनितम् । मनोविज्ञानं सर्वचित्तचैत्यानामात्मसंवेदनम् । भूतार्थभावन-
प्रकर्षपर्यन्तजं योगिज्ञानं चेति, Nyāyabindu, P. 11, Chowkhamba edition.

5. See. P. 192, Nyāyakaṇikā—Benares edition.

6. P. 100, Nyāyamañjari Vizianagaram Edition.

लक्षणं वदन् धर्मकीर्तिरेव भिक्षुपदवाच्यः । अभिप्रायोऽयमनूदितो महामहोपाध्यायैः श्री-
सतीशचन्द्रविद्याभूषणमहाशयैरपि⁽¹⁾ । स एव च श्लोकवार्तिके खण्ड्यते इत्यवगम्यते ।

धर्मकीर्तिसमयश्च प्रायेण 635—650 कि.अ. इति श्री सतीशचन्द्रविद्याभूषणमहो-
दयैरेव⁽²⁾निरणायि । तदुपष्टम्भिका युक्तयः तैरेव स्वग्रन्थे यावदपेक्षं कथिता इति
नात्रापि मया पुनः पिष्टं पिष्यते ।

एवं च श्रीधर्मकीर्तिसमकालिकैः किञ्चिदिव तत्समनन्तरकालिकैर्वा श्रीकुमारिलपादैर्भा-
व्यम् । अयं श्रीकुमारिलकालस्य पूर्वोऽवधिः ॥

उत्तरावधिः

तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहकर्ता शान्तरक्षितो बौद्धसमयाचार्यः स्वीये ग्रन्थे श्रीकुमारिलपादान्
बहुत्र बहुधा खण्डयति, तद्वार्तिकानि चाक्षरशोऽनुवदति । तस्य च कालः प्रायेण
705 कि.अ. प्रभृति 750 पर्यन्तो निर्णीतः । अतः 700 कि.अ. तः पूर्वकालिकैः
कुमारिलैर्भाव्यम् । अयं चोत्तरावधिः कुमारिलकालस्य । अतश्च कि.अं 635 तोऽनन्तरं
700 तः पूर्वं श्रीकुमारिलपादा आसन्नित्यवगम्यते प्रमाणैः ॥

श्रीप्रभाकरसमयः

न्यायमञ्जर्या भ्रमस्वरूपनिरूपणप्रकरणे प्राभाकरमतखण्डनावसरे⁽³⁾“ननु स्मरणानु-
भवयोः विवेकमप्रतिपद्यमानः प्रवर्तत इत्युक्तम् । श्रुतमिदं यदत्रभवद्भिः धर्मकीर्तिगृहादा-
हृतं दृश्यविकल्पावर्थावेकीकृत्य प्रवर्तत इति । किञ्च चौर्यमपीदं न कथञ्चन स्वार्थं पुष्पाति’
इति व्याहरन्तो जयन्तभट्टा भ्रमस्य स्मरणानुभवयोर्भेदाग्रहनिबन्धनत्वकथनं न प्रभा-
करोपज्ञं, किन्तु बौद्धाचार्यधर्मकीर्त्युपज्ञं, तद्वन्थादेव प्रभाकरमिश्रेस्तदनुयायिभिश्च गृहीत-
मित्यभिप्रयन्ति । तदनुगुणमेव बृहत्यां⁽⁴⁾“कोऽयमध्यासो नाम ? विवेकाग्रहणात् स्व-
रूपमात्रग्रहणात् भेदेनाननुसन्धानात् सामान्याध्यासः” इत्युपलभ्यते पंक्तिः । अतः
प्रभाकरमिश्रेः धर्मकीर्तिसमनन्तरकालिकैर्भाव्यम् ।

शान्तरक्षितेन श्रीकुमारिलपादान् बहुधा खण्डयता न प्रभाकरनामोल्लिखितं, न
वा कचिदपि तन्मतं खण्डितम् । शान्तरक्षितात् पूर्वं यद्यभविष्यन् प्रभाकरग्रन्था ते वा

1. page 150 “The History of Indian Logic.

2. See. P. 303, Indian Logic.

3. P. 181, Nyāyamañjari.

4. P. 8, Bṛhatī manuscript copy of Māhamahopādya Dr. Ganganatha Jhā.

तर्हि नूनमखण्डयिष्यत् शान्तरक्षितः । अतः शान्तरक्षितेन ग्रन्थकरणसमये बाल्यावस्थाया-
मथ वा छात्रावस्थायामवस्थिताः प्रभाकरमिश्रा इत्यवगम्यते ।

शान्तरक्षितशिष्येण कमलशिलेन 725—786 कि.अ. समयेऽवस्थितेन तत्त्वसंग्रह-
व्याख्याने विना मूलसम्बन्धं विना स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रभाकरमतखण्डनात् तदानीं प्रभाकरगुरुवः
प्रौढिमानमापन्ना इत्यथ्यवसातुं शक्यते ।

अष्टसहस्रीकर्ता विद्यानन्दः (न्दी) श्रीकुमारिलप्रभाकरावुभावपि ⁽¹⁾नाम्नानुवदति
कुमारिलकारिकाश्च ब्रह्माः । तस्य च विद्यानन्दस्य कालः मार्कि कि.अ. 800 प्राय इति ⁽²⁾
Dr. सतीशचंद्रमहाशयैः ⁽³⁾मोहनलालबंशीधरमहोदयाभ्यां च निश्चितम् । अतः तत्समये
कुमारिलप्रभाकरावुभावपि प्रौढिमापन्नाविति निश्चीयते । एवञ्च कि.अ. 685 तः
अनन्तरं 700 तः पूर्वमेव श्रीकुमारिलपादाः सुप्रसिद्धा आसन् । कि.अ. 725 तः
परं 760 पर्यंतं प्रौढिमापुः प्रभाकरमिश्राः, कि.अ. 800 तः पूर्वं तु सुप्रसिद्धिम-
भजन्तित्येव प्रमाणबलादायाति ।

सति चैवं श्रीकुमारिलप्रभाकरयोः समकालिकतां अत एव च तयोर्गुरुशिष्यभावं
प्रमाणैरुपवर्णयतां तदर्थं च काश्चन तदवबोधिनीं लौकिकीमाख्यायिकामप्यनुसरतां श्रीमतां
(Professor) शास्त्रिपादानां मतं खण्डयितुं बद्धादराः तदर्थं च श्रीकुमारिलपूर्व-
कालिकाः प्रभाकरमिश्रा इत्यभिदधतः श्रीपशुपतिनाथशास्त्रिणः कियदवधि प्रयत्नसा-
फल्यमभजन्ति विमृशन्तु विचारशीला एव ॥

सर्वत्र प्रकरणपञ्चिकादिग्रन्थेषु कुमारिलपादा एव वार्तिककारादिपदैर्व्यपदिश्यन्ते ।

बहुत्र मीमांसाग्रन्थेष्वन्येषु च वार्तिककार, वार्तिककारपाद, वार्तिककारमिश्र,
मीमांसावार्तिककार, भट्ट, भट्टाचार्यादिपदान्युपलभ्यन्ते । न्यायकणिकायां - यथाहुरत्र
भवन्तो वार्तिककारमिश्राः (पु. 179), यथाहालभवान् वार्तिककारः (पु. 188) इति;
प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां - तदाहुर्वार्तिककारमिश्राः (p. 1, 114) तत्रैव वाक्यार्थमातृकावृत्ति
प्रकरणे-तदाहुर्वार्तिककारपादाः (पु. 10, 12, 15 दैः 17) इति; न्यायकन्दल्यां-
प्रशस्तपादव्याख्यायां—यथाहुर्वार्तिककारमिश्राः (पु. 88) इति, चित्सुख्यां-तथा चाहुर्भट्ट-

1. P. P. 5, 7, 8, 9, 19, 46, 47, 48, etc. Aṣṭasahasri of Vidyānanda Nirṇaya Sagar edition.
2. Sec. P. 186. Indian Logic.
3. Preface to Aṣṭasahasri and Tatvartha Śloka-vārtika N. S. Press.

पादाः (पु. 124, 125, 231, दैः 140, 155), तथा चोक्तं मीमांसावार्तिककार-
मिश्रैः (पु. 130), उक्तं हि भट्टाचार्यैः (पु. 103) इति; न्यायमञ्जर्यां तथा च
भट्टः (पु. 3, 275) इति च दृश्यन्ते पदानि । अत्र सर्वत्रापि कुमारिलपादा एव तैस्तैः
पदैर्व्यपदिश्यन्ते? उतान्योऽपीति विचारे प्रथमं तावदिदमस्माभिर्विमर्शनपदवीमुपाख्य-
रालोचनीयं-यत् कुमारिलपादेभ्योऽन्यं कश्चनानामसत तर्हि कुतो न तौ भेदेन व्यपादिशन्
ग्रन्थकृत इति । नैतावतास्माभिः मीमांसायामन्यो वार्तिककारो नास्तीति निश्चीयते, परन्तु
उपरितनग्रन्थेषु प्रकरणपञ्चिकादिषु निर्दिष्टाः कुमारिलपादा एव । त एव च तत्तत्पदैर्व्यपदि-
श्यन्त इत्येवात्र निरूप्यते ।

प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां हि “तदाहुर्वार्तिककारपादा” इत्यारभ्य याः पठिताः कारिकाः
तास्सर्वा अपि प्रायेण समुपलभ्यन्ते श्लोकवार्तिक एव । एतच्च निरूपितं पं. रामस्वामि
शास्त्रिभिः बरोडापुस्तकालयस्थैः स्वीये निबन्ध इति नात्र बहु निरूपणीयम-
वशिष्यते ।

किंच एकत्र “वार्तिककारपादाः” इत्यारभ्य यः श्लोकः पठितः स एवान्यत्र “तथा
चोक्तं मीमांसावार्तिककारमिश्रैः” इत्यारभ्य ⁽¹⁾पठ्यते । स च श्लोकः श्लोकवार्तिके उप-
लभ्यते । अतः कुमारिलपादा एव तत्र वार्तिककारपाद, वार्तिककारमिश्रपदाभ्यामभिधी-
यन्ते इत्येतेदं मुख्यं प्रमाणम् ।

एवं तत्रैव वाक्यार्थमातृकावृत्तौ ‘वार्तिककारपादास्तु लाक्षणिकान् सर्ववाक्यार्था-
निच्छन्तः’ इत्यारभ्य ‘तदाहुः वाक्यार्थो लक्ष्यमाणो हि सर्वत्रैव हि लक्ष्यते’ इति समा-
पितम् । इदमेव प्रकरणं विवृण्वानाः श्रीचित्सुखाचार्याः ⁽²⁾‘भट्टपादैश्च वाक्यार्थस्य सर्वत्र
लाक्षणिकत्वस्वीकारात्-‘वाक्यार्थो लक्ष्यमाणो हि सर्वत्रैवेति च स्थितिः इति’ इत्यभिदधतो
वाक्यार्थस्य सर्वत्र लाक्षणिकत्वाङ्गीकरणं कारिकार्थमिदं च कुमारिलपादीयमाशेरेते । नोप-
लभ्यते श्लोकवार्तिकादौ कारिकार्थमिदम् । अतोऽनेन कारिकार्थेन श्रीकुमारिलकृतग्रन्थान्तरे
स्थेयम् । एवं च वार्तिककारपाद, वार्तिककारमिश्र, भट्टपादादिपदानां, न कश्चिदपि
भेद इत्यत्र, इदानीमुपलभ्यमानकुमारिलग्रन्थापेक्षयाऽन्योऽप्यस्ति कश्चन ग्रन्थः तत्कृतो
यत्रैतादृशानामवस्थितिसंभाव्यतेत्यत्र च किमन्यदितोऽपि प्रमाणान्तरमन्वेष्टव्यम् ।

1. See P. 5. Vākyaarthamatrkā vṛtti of Prakaraṇa pañcīkā and also P. 154. चित्सुखी
Bombay edition.
2. P. 155, Citsukhi (Tatvapradipikā)

एवं 'धर्मे प्रमीयमाणे हि वेदेन करणात्मना । इतिकर्तव्यताभागे मीमांसा पूरयिष्यति' इति कारिकापि भट्टपादीयत्वेनाङ्गीकृता श्रीयान्तिकनाथत्रयन्तभट्टाभ्याम् । नैव चोपलभ्यते श्लोकवार्तिकदिग्बुधोपलभ्यमानेषु कारिकेयं कुमारिलप्रत्येयम् । अतोऽवश्यमापत्तिरिति ग्रन्थान्तरस्वीकरणे स एव ग्रन्थो बृहद्दीक्षायां महाश्व श्लोकवार्तिकार्थपक्षया, तत्रैव चेतस्ततो दृश्यमानानां कारिकाणां समावेशो भवितुमर्हतीत्यनुमीयते । 'अर्थापत्यन्तराणामुदाहरणप्रपञ्चः पक्षदोषावसरे बृहद्दीक्षायां वार्तिककारैर्दर्शितः' इति युक्तिसनेहप्रपूर्णीस्थं वाक्यमप्याशयमिममवग्रह्णाति ॥

तर्कपादप्रभृत्येव बृहद्दीक्षाप्रवृत्तिः ।

पूर्वोक्तवाक्येनार्थापत्तिनिरूपणं पक्षदोषनिरूपणं च बृहद्दीक्षायां विस्तरण कृतमित्यवसीयते । (१) "पक्षदोषेषु चान्यासामुदाहरणविस्तरः" इति कारिकाव्याख्याने श्रीपार्थसारथिमिश्रेः, 'अर्थापत्यन्तराणामुदाहरणप्रपञ्चः पक्षदोषावसरे बृहद्दीक्षायां श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायामित्यादिना दर्शितः' इत्याह । श्लोकवार्तिकेऽपि 'श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायामित्ययं कारिकांशः अनुमानपरिच्छेदे पक्षदोषनिरूपणावसरे उपलभ्यते । अतश्च श्लोकवार्तिके संक्षेपेणोक्तं, बृहद्दीक्षायां तु सोदाहरणप्रपञ्चं तत्रैवानुमानपरिच्छेदेऽर्थापत्यन्तराणि निरूपितानि इति खलु न्यायरत्नाकराशयः । अनेन बृहद्दीक्षा तर्कपादत एव प्रवृत्तति निश्चेतुं शक्यते । सति चैवं प्रभाकरविजयभूमिकायां श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिमहाशयः (४) 'दुष्टाकाया नामतः सादृश्यात् बृहद्दीक्षायां चतुर्थाध्यायमारभ्यैव प्रवृत्ता भवेदिति यदभ्युहितं न तत् प्रमाणपदवीमारूढम् ॥

नयविवेकोक्ता दशपक्षी षट्पक्षी च कुमारिलपादानामेव ।

अत एव वार्तिककारीयत्वेन नयविवेकोद्धृता दशपक्षी बृहद्दीक्षास्थेति Professor. शालिपादानामभ्यूहनं सर्वथा समञ्जसमेव । एवं षट्पक्ष्यपि श्लोकवार्तिकस्थेव । तत्रैव हि षडपि पक्षा वार्तिककारैः सङ्गृहीताः प्रथमतः । ततः पूर्वं पृथक् पृथक् स्थिताः । इदं च 'प्रचक्षते' 'केचित्' 'अपरे' इत्येकैकपक्षनिरूपणावसरे केचिदादिपदं प्रयुज्जानेः वार्ति-

1. See P. 76. L. 31. Śāstradīpikā with yuktisnehapraparañi Bombay edition.
2. P. 452. Śloka-vārtika. Benaers edition.
3. 368 Śloka-vārtika Chowkhamba series.
4. Introduction to Prabhākara vijaya Sānskrit Sahitya Pariṣad series.

ककारैरभिव्यञ्जितम् । विवृतं च न्यायरत्नाकरकारैः । अतश्च वार्तिककारैः कुमारिलपादैरेवैकत्र संगृहीतत्वात् कुमारिलपादानामेवेयं षट्पक्ष्यपि इति व्यवहारो नायुक्तः । एवमभिसन्दधानैरेव श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिभिः खण्डितोऽप्ययमाशयः अनुपदमेव (१) 'अस्तु वा कथमपीयं कुमारिलपादानामेव षट्पक्षी इति' स्वयमेवोरीकृतमिति नात्राधिकं प्रयतितव्यम् ।

एवं षट्पक्ष्याः कुमारिलपादीयत्वमङ्गीकृत्यापि (२) 'एवमपि नयविवेकोद्धृता षट्पक्षी नेयं भवितुमर्हति' इत्यादिना 'नयविवेकोद्धृतायां षष्ठः औचित्यानुभाषणरूपः, श्लोकवार्तिके च षष्ठः पक्षः अथशब्ददूषणरूपः । अतश्च नयविवेकनिरस्या षट्पक्षी नेयं भवितुमर्हती'त्युक्त्वा अनन्तरमेव नन्वित्यादिना ग्रन्थेन तत्रत्यन्यायरत्नाकरग्रन्थावलम्बेन अथशब्ददूषणस्यौचित्यानुभाषणरूपत्वमपि प्रभाकरविजयभूमिकायां स्वयमेव तैरङ्गीकृतमिति नात्रापि निरूपणीयमवशिष्यते ।

परन्तु (३) 'नयविवेकव्याख्यायां न्यायकोशे औचित्यानुभाषणमेव स्वीकृतं वार्तिककारैरित्युक्तत्वात् कुमारिलपादैश्च श्लोकवार्तिके औचित्यानुभाषणरूपमथशब्ददूषणमिव परिसंख्यापक्षोऽपि स्वीकृत इति न तत्रत्यवार्तिककारपदेन कुमारिलपादानां ग्रहणं भवितुमर्हति' इति यदभिहितं तैः तत्रैव परं किञ्चिदस्ति वक्तव्यम् । न परिसंख्यापक्षः कुमारिलपादैः स्वीकृतः । पक्षान्तरनिरूपणवत् परिसंख्यापक्षस्यापि निरूपणावसरे (४) 'सर्वव्याख्यो- (२) पालम्भ (३) प्रत्याख्यान (४) परिसंख्यारूपेषु चर्तुषु पक्षेषु मध्ये पूर्वेषां त्रयाणां पक्षाणां तत्तदोषदुष्टत्वात् तदपेक्षयायं पक्षः श्रेयानिति तदुपोद्धलनार्थमुक्तम् । एतावता तत्रापि वार्तिककारस्य समादर इति कथमवगतम्? अन्यथा उत्तरत्रास्मिन्नपि पक्षेऽरुचिसूचको वाशब्दः (५) 'सूत्रकारप्रशंसा वा लोक इत्यादिनोच्यते' इति कारिकास्थः कथं सङ्गच्छताम् ।

अतश्च एकैकं पक्षं स्वस्वपूर्वपूर्वपक्षे अरुचिप्रदर्शनपूर्वकं निरूप्य (६) 'वेदाध्ययनमात्राद्वा तेनाथेत्यस्य दूषणं' इत्यथशब्ददूषणपरतया भाष्यं संयोज्य तत्रैव भाष्यार्थमुपसंहरन्तो भट्टपादाः तदेवौचित्यानुभाषणरूपमथशब्ददूषणमाद्रियमाणा दृश्यन्ते । अतश्च नयविवेकोद्धृता षट्पक्षी कुमारिलपादानामेवेति त एव नयविवेककारैः वार्तिककारपदेन व्यपदिश्यन्त इति ।

1. See. P. 12. Introduction to Prabhākara Vijaya.
2. See. P. Do.
3. See. P. 13. Introduction of Prabhākara.
4. P. 20. Śloka-vārtika.
5. P. 21. Śloka-vārtika.

एतावता प्रमाणजातेनेमे विषयास्सिद्धा भवन्ति —

(१) श्रीकुमारिलप्रभाकरयोः प्रायशस्समकालिकत्वमेव ।

(२) प्रकरणपंचिकादौ वार्तिककारादिपदं: कुमारिलपादा एव व्यपदिश्यन्ते ।

(३) बृहट्टटीका प्रथमाध्यायप्रथमपादत एव रचिता कुमारिलपादं: ।

(४) प्रकरणपंचिकादावनूदिताः श्लोकवार्तिकदावनुपलभ्यमानाः बृहट्टटीकास्थ-
त्वेनाव्यवसातुं शक्यन्त एव ।

(५) दशपक्ष्यपि तत्र संभाव्येतैव ।

(६) षट्पक्ष्यपि नयविवेकोद्भूता श्लोकवार्तिकस्थैव ।

(७) अतो नयविवेके निरस्यमाना वार्तिककाराः कुमारिलपादा एव ।

(८) सति चैवं श्रीप्रभाकरमिश्राणां श्रीकुमारिलपादशिष्यत्वे न काचिदप्यनुपपत्ति-
रिति ॥

अतस्सिद्धं श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिणां श्रीपशुपतिनाथशास्त्रिणां च मनोरथतर्कणा-
न किंचिदपि फलितमिति ॥

यद्यपि पूर्वोक्तेषु विषयेषु (Professor) शास्त्रिपादरेवे स्वीये निबन्धद्वयेऽपि
पुष्कलानि यानि प्रमाणान्युपन्यस्तानि तान्येव विषयानिमान् समर्थयितुमलमिति नात्र मया
किंचिदपि करणीयमासीत्, तथापि तदुपन्यस्तं: प्रमाणैरपरितुष्यन्तः श्रीयुक्तानन्तकृष्णशास्त्रि-
महाशयाः प्रभाकरविजयभूमिकायां^(१) यत् 'अस्मदाचार्यपादाः, केचन तदन्तेवासिनो वा
अपरेषामपि प्रमाणानां बहूनां प्रदर्शनेन स्वीयं मतं समर्थयिष्यन्तीति वयं विश्वसिमः' इत्य-
वोचन्; अतः (Professor) शास्त्रिपादानामन्तेवासिष्वन्यतमेन मयात्र यत्नीयमासीत् ।
मन्येऽहमिदानीं श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिणः परितुष्टा भवेयुरिति । यदि नेतावतापि तेषां
मनस्तुष्टिः, तर्हि यतिष्ये सत्यवसरे तन्मनस्तोषणाय पुनः । इतोऽप्यधिकं तु नात्रावकाशमर्हती-
त्येतावतैवाधुना विरम्यते ॥

चिन्नस्वामिशस्त्री
१—११—२६.

1. P. 5. Prabhākara-vijaya Bhūmikā.

NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE, POONA, 1926-27, Vol. VIII,
Part II, September, 1926.

1. *Madhusūdana Saraswati: His Life and Works*, by P. C. Divanji. The author deals with the life of Madhusūdana relying mainly on the preface in Sanskrit by Pandit Iswara Candra to the *Harilitavyākhyā*. Pandit Iswara Candra himself relies on a work called *Vaidikavāda Mīmāṃsā* which purports to be a family chronicle of the Western Vaidika Brahmins of the Kāśyapa Gotra of the Yajur-Veda residing in Bengal.

2. *Apotheosis in the Rgveda*, by Sitanath Pradhana.—The author tries to show that some of the deities worshipped in the Rgveda were human chieftains or heroes apotheosized in later times by the Vedic priests in their prayers. A powerful chieftain is first praised for his heroic feat, then glorified, afterwards almost deified and at last fully exalted to the status of a god by the later authors of hymns. Bṛhaspati or Brahmapaspati, who was a leader of the Angirasas and flourished in the early Rgvedic period was fully apotheosized in the hymns of later Vedic poets and received regular prayers from them. The gradual development of the human Bṛhaspati into the god Bṛhaspati is traced in detail.

3. D. R. Bhandarkar discusses the date of Kālidāsa basing his arguments on certain stanzas in the *Raghuvamśa*, Canto VI (the wedding of Indumati) and he infers that the date may be the second and third quarter of the sixth century A. D.

INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, Calcutta, Vol. II, No. 3. September, 1926.

Dr. P. C. Chakravarti gives a large number of quotations from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* to show the existence of Kāvya literature prior to Patañjali, and then he discusses the gods that appear in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the sacrifices and rituals, and then he discusses the acquaintance of Patañjali with philosophical systems.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, Vol. II No. 4, December, 1926.

1. *Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China*, by Prof. L. Finot.—The author traces the main lines of the history of Buddhism in Assam, British Malaya, Siam, Cambodia, Laos and Burma. References are

given to show that the two great religions—Śaivism with the preponderance of the cult of the Linga and Mahāyāna Buddhism under the form of the Lokeśwara cult were far from being mutually incompatible, more or less intimately associated.

2. *The Jaina References in Buddhist Literature*, by Kanta Prasad Jain.—The author compares the various rules of conduct prescribed for Buddhists in works like the Dīgha Nikāya with the rules laid down for Jaina Munis and sees in them enough evidence to prove the credibility and authenticity of the Digambara Jaina Śāstras. He concludes that the Jaina conceptions were the same even near Lord Mahāvīra's predecessor Śrī Pārśva.

3. *Rasātala or the Under-world*, by Nundo Lal Dey.—Paurāṇic and other traditions, the physical features of the country and the condition of the people of Rasātala as described in ancient Hindu works and a striking similarity with those of Turkestan or Tartary as recorded in the Avesta and in the works of travellers—all these, in the author's opinion, go a great way to establish the identity of Rasātala with Central Asia. There is a strong resemblance in the names of towns, rivers, lakes and mountains of Rasātala with those of Turkestan. Compare Bhogavatī and Bākhdi; Aśma and Aksu; Bali-ālaya and Balkh; Maṇimayī and Maymenī; Bibhavari and Baveru or Babylon; Rāmaṇiyaka and Armenia, etc., etc. The author concludes by saying that the Mahābhārata also appears to place the first inhabited portion of the earth in Pātāla or Central Asia (Udyoga, Chapter 98).

4. *The Gītā Literature and its relation with Brahma Vidya*—U. C. Bhattacharjee.—The position of the Bhagavadgītā in the Gītā literature and the relation between the Gītās and the Upaniṣads are fully examined.

5. *Indian Literature Abroad*—Prokhat Kumar Mukherjee.—The sixth of the series of articles by the author appears in the current issue. The progress of the study of Sanskrit outside India during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries are clearly narrated.

THE INDIAN REVIEW, December, 1926.

Female Education in Buddhist Literature, by Dr. B. C. Law.—The author gives profuse references from Buddhist Literature to prove the existence of widespread and deep culture among Buddhist women.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY—Madras, Vol. V, Part III, Serial No. 13, December, 1926.

1. *Ancient Indian Culture*, by H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore, G. C. I. S.—The speech of His Highness on the occasion of the Jubilee of the

Mahārāja's Sanskrit College is reproduced. A spirited appeal is made for the better study of Sanskrit as it is the light derived from Sanskrit learning that illumines, interprets and recreates the marvellous world of Asiatic art in all its ramifications from the Steppes of Central Asia to the coral strands and reefs of the Far Eastern Archipelago.

2. *The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthaśāstra'*, by Dr. K. Nag. [Translated from the Original French by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar]. The author deals with the general outline of the diplomacy of Kauṭilya under the following sub-heads—Prakṛti (basis), Śāḍgunya (the sixfold method), Samśrayavṛtti (method of alliance), Sandhi (method of Entente), Sandhi-karma and Sandhi-mokṣa (conclusion and abrogation of Ententes).

3. In an article on "Forgotten Episodes in Mediaeval India" Prof. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar of the Madras University draws attention to the "political condition of India after the death of Harṣa".

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY, Vol. I, Part I, July, 1926.

Trikaliṅga, by G. Ramadas.—The author traces the uses of the word Kālīṅga and comes to the conclusion that Trikaliṅga does not mean 'three Kālīṅgas' and that 'Trikaliṅgādhipati' was not an empty title but was a substantial and dignified title assumed by that sovereign who held sway over the highlands intervening between the coast strip called Kālīṅga and the Dakṣiṇa-Kosala or the modern Chhatisgarh.

IBID, Vol. I, Part II, October, 1926.

1. *King Nānya Deva on Music*, by M. Ramakrishna Kavi.—The author brings to light a hitherto unknown work called Bharatabhāṣya or Bharata-vārtika by King Nānya Deva. The King is identified with a powerful King of Mithilā who ruled over it from 18th July 1097 to A. D. 1133 according to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. Nānyadeva closely follows Abhinavagupta whom he cites by name and is quoted in turn by Śaṅkadeva.

2. *Influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit on Telugu* by C. Narayana Rao.—The author gives comparative tables of Telugu words with Sanskrit roots as well as tables containing Pāli, Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī and Apabhramśa equivalents of select Telugu words.

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY—Bangalore
Vol. XVII, No. 3, January, 1927.

1. *The Cult of Agastya: and the Origin of Indian Colonial Art*, by O. C. Gangoly.—The author briefly narrates the story of Agastya and after fixing him in the southernmost shrines of the Indian continent in Vedāramyam, traces him across the seas to the distant lands of Cambodia, Borneo and Java. The author concludes his very interesting article by stating that the highest rank given to Agastya in Indo-Javanese hierarchy of gods distinctly leads us to the irresistible conclusion that in him we may recognise not only the Aryanizer of the Drāviḍa Deśa but, also, the Titanic Architect—the Great Builder of a Greater India beyond the Seas.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, October, 1926.

1. K. A. Nilakanṭha Śāstri, writes an article on "The Later Śātavāhanas and the Śakas". He discusses the question under three aspects: (1) In what relation does Nahapāṇa stand to Castāna and his line, (2) What is the relation between these two lines of foreign rulers and the Śātavāhanas, (3) Among the Śātavāhanas themselves what is the relation in which the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarnī stands to that of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi. After a very elaborate and scholarly discussion of the subject he concludes that Nahapāṇa retained power till the end of the first century, when the race was uprooted and the power of the Śātavāhanas was restored. Then the Śātavāhana power collapses and the Northern Districts fall into the hands of the Kshatrapas.

2. F. G. Peterson writes a note of Kālidāsa. He regards the *Setubandha* the work of Kālidāsa, who wrote it, according to the commentator Rāmānandāsa, at the order of Vikramāditya on behalf of Pravarasena. The latter is the grandson of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Peterson does not attach much importance to the statement in *Harṣacarita* that *Setubandha* was written by Pravarasena. He concludes that Kālidāsa lived at the court of both the Emperor and his grandson, that the banished Yakṣa of the Megha dūta is Kālidāsa himself—an old man; in *Raghuvamśa* the cantos I to VIII describe the three first Gupta Emperors, and the last four cantos describe the three Vākāṭaka Kings from Rudrasena II to Devasena (d. 430). *Mālavikāgnimitra* celebrates the wedding of Dhruvadevī, Kumāra the birth of her son, Śānta the infancy of the son, and *Vikramorvaśī* his coronation (405 A. D., *Raghu* VIII-92). Kālidāsa was born in 370 A. D., wrote the three plays at Kumāra at Candragupta II's court, between 395 and 410, and *Megha* at *Raghu* in the court of Bhoja Kāṭaka in 410 to 430.

Ibid January, 1927.

Dr. De of the Dacca University draws attention to the manuscript of a Mahākāvya called *Kīcakavadha*, with an āśīḥ (benediction), a rare beginning for a Mahākāvya. Premacandra Tarkavāgiśa has referred to this work in his commentary on *Kūvyādarśa*. Dr. De promises an edition of the book soon.

Carl Charpentier writes a note on the name *Śūrparaka*, the modern Sopara near Bombay. *Śūrparaka* is related to *Śūrpa* (a winnowing basket). There is a story of Paraśurāma recovering the land on the west coast of India from the ocean by blowing away the waters of the sea with a winnowing basket. Charpentier connects the name with this mythological event. INDIAN ANTIQUARY, January, 1927.

"Promotion of Dravidian Linguistic Studies in the Company's Days," by C. S. Srinivasachari. The writer gives a historical sketch of the study of Tamil during the last four centuries, mostly by missionaries.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDLISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, NEUE FOLGE, BAND V, HEFT 2.

R. Zimmer writes a long obituary note on R. G. Bhandarkar. It is a very appreciative sketch of the great Indian scholar, drawing attention to his various literary activities, and it deserves to be translated into English and made known to all Indian readers.

WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES, 1926, BAND 33, HEFT 3 AND 4.

There is an article by O. Steiner on the editions of the two *Saptasatis*. JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, September, 1926.

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri's paper on "The Āsura Expansion by Sea" contains many original and interesting points regarding Vedic gods, dealt with in his usual novel way.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, September, 1926.

Original Rāmāyaṇa by E. Washburn Hopkins. He discusses the problem of reconstructing the original text of Rāmāyaṇa in the strict sense of the word, and that there were different texts from the earliest times.

VISVABHARATI, October, 1926.

It continues the publication of Prof. C. Formichi's lecture on "the Dynamic Element in Indian Religious Development". The R̥gveda represents the priestly element and the Atharvaveda represents the popular

element. There is a blending of the highest genius with the bare common place in the Indian Literature, especially in Atharvaveda. The Atharvaveda belongs to the Ksatriyas and forms the dynamic element in Vedic religion.

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, Vol. 21, No. 3.

Sten Konow draws attention to a parallel to Durgāpūjā in the worship of Nerthus, i. e., Mother Earth, as noted by Tacitus in his *Germania*, which was a custom among the Germans.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW :—

Indian Philosophy Vol. II. By Prof. S. Radhakrishnan

DELHI UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS.

No. 1, Birth place of Kalidasa.

SAMSKRITA SAHITYA PARISAD SERIES.

Pavanadūta by Dhoyi

Muktivāda by Gadādhara

Praśastapādabhāṣya with Jagadīśa's Sūkti

Praśnamarga edited by Punnasseri Nambi Neelakanṭha Śarma ..

Naiṣadha with Mallinathas commentary (Cants. 7-12)

Aṇubhāṣya by Vallabhācārya

Reformed Sanskrit Reader I.

