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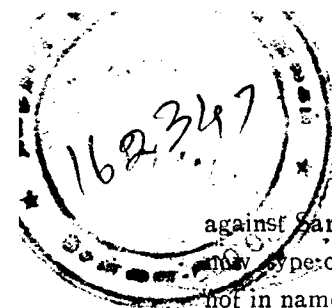
EDITORIAL

BY

THE PRESIDENT AND THE MANAGING EDITOR.

It is a matter of sincere gratification to the Editorial Board of this Journal that the title of *Mahāmahopādhyāya* has, at long last, been conferred upon Mr. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College and a most active member of this Board, to whose initiative this Journal owes its existence. He has been connected with the teaching of Sanskrit for the last 21 years, first as the Principal of the Sanskrit College at Mylapore, next as the Principal of the Sanskrit College at Tiruvadi and lastly as the Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College for a period of over 13 years. Principals of educational institutions generally concern themselves more with the administrative side of the institutions under their charge than with actual teaching. But Professor Kuppuswami Sastri has not allowed his administrative duties to interfere with his teaching work, which has been both heavy and intellectually taxing in all the colleges with which he has been connected. A Sanskrit scholar of profound and varied attainments, as erudite as any pandit and as critical as any Western scholar, possessing a mastery of the four main Śāstras, he has by choice always undertaken the teaching of the most abstruse and difficult works in all the Śāstras. His command of the methods and results of Western research has enabled him to deal with the subjects from the comparative point of view and present to his pupils the learning of the East in the light of the speculations and researches of the West. In the pursuit of his favourite occupations of learning and teaching, he knows neither fatigue nor rest. Besides his honorary work as Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, his time outside the college hours is always at the disposal of such of his pupils as desire additional instruction. The revival of Śāstraic learning and the reorganization of the courses of Sanskrit Studies both for the Oriental Titles Examinations and the Honours Degree Courses are mainly due to his inspiration and efforts. The reproach of superficiality and scantiness of Sanskrit knowledge brought

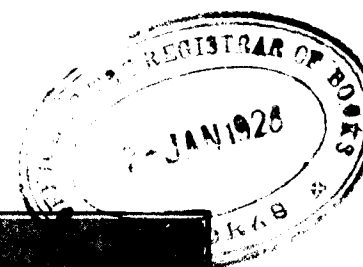




against Sanskrit graduates generally can no longer be levelled against the new type of Honours Graduates in Sanskrit. He has been in fact, the not in name, a great Sanskrit Teacher in Southern India; and many an capable pandits and scholars that have passed through his hands. honour has never been conferred on a more worthy recipient and we offer our hearty congratulations to the Professor and hope that he will be long spared to be a teacher and a worker in the field of Sanskrit learning and scholarship.

32
Om 127
127.103

We beg respectfully to express our heartfelt joy to His Highness, the Mahārāja of Mysore in connection with the Silver Jubilee of His Highness which was celebrated with great pomp and eclat by the people of Mysore. The occasion was a unique one in that the joy and affection which were necessarily and deservedly given expression to, by his subjects, the people of Mysore, have also been shared by the rest of India as a whole. For, we can say without exaggeration or fear of contradiction that no other ruler of a Native State is respected throughout the length and breadth of this country as His Highness. Most of the leading men in British India gave expression to their sense of profound respect and regard for His Highness as an ideal Hindu Sovereign on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee and the many lovable and praiseworthy qualities of His Highness have been recounted with pride by them and by all the leading newspapers in the country. On behalf of our Journal, we have great pleasure in joining with them and respectfully agreeing with their sentiments. But we should like to emphasise one particular aspect which has some relation to Oriental Research. We have already referred in the Second Part of our Journal to the memorable speech which was delivered by His Highness on the occasion of the anniversary of the Mysore Sanskrit College and to the sentiments expressed by him therein with regard to the preservation and promotion of ancient Indian learning. His Highness's deep interest in Indian culture and his austere nature and religious temperament, so rare among the Hindu Princes of modern times, marks him out as an essentially Hindu Ruler fit to be classed with the illustrious role of the Sovereigns of the ancient times as a great patron of learning and culture in this country. Therefore, we humbly beg to convey through the columns of our Journal to His Highness our sense of profound respect and



H. H. SRI KRISHNA RAJA Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.,
THE MAHARAJAH OF MYSORE.

gratitude and our joy on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness's glorious reign as ruler of Mysore.

We have heard with deep regret the news of the death of Dr. E. Hultzsch who was for a long time Epigraphist to the Government of India and the head of the Archaeological Department. He was a great oriental scholar and did notable service to the cause of Oriental Research in India both during his official career and after his retirement. He was well-versed in Sanskrit and was responsible for many valuable publications and for bringing out and editing many interesting inscriptions, especially those of Southern India.

SOME UNEXPLAINED PRĀKRṬ PASSAGES AND
THEIR BEARING ON THE BHĀSA PROBLEM

BY

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHIL. (OXON),
(Director, Manuscripts Library, Adyar.)

kim vāsujeve śavapatta (śeṇa ?) neṣe
kuntīśude vā janamejāe vā.
aham tumam gahṇia keśahatthe
duḥśāśale śīdamivāhulāmi.

This is stanza 12 in the Cārudatta¹ ascribed to Bhāsa and published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series² as No. XXXIX, 1914, p. 12. The editor has used two MSS. in the preparation of this edition.³ The two MSS. have two different readings for the first line of the above stanza. Curiously enough, when the editor quotes the stanza in the Preface, page II, he has a third reading⁴ of his own, for which there is no manuscript authority. Such lapses on the part of the editor make it very difficult for scholars to argue and reach some conclusions on the authority of evidence supplied by him. In my paper on "Bhāsa, another side"⁵ I had suggested that the scientific value of the Introduction to the Svapnavāsavadatta,⁶ first edition, in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 1912, is next to nothing. I have to revert to the topic now. On p. XXII of this introduction, the editor says that the stanza :

śaracchāṣṇakagaureṇa vātāviddhena bhāmīni.
kāśapūṣpalavenedam sārūpātāṃ mukham mama.

is quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyaśāṅkārāsūtravṛtti in the second *adhyāya* of the fifth *adhiḥaraṇa*. In the editions of the said work, which I have consulted,⁷ the quotation is not found in the place cited by the editor. It is really annoying when responsible editors are so careless. Among scholars

1. References are always to T.S.S. Edition, 1914 in footnotes.

2. Referred to as T.S.S. in footnotes, and designated C.

3. Cf. Preface, p. 1.

4. *Jaṇa* for *jaṇa* or *jaṇa*.

5. Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, 1923, p. 254.

6. References always to T.S.S. Edition of 1912 and designated Sv. in foot notes.

7. Kāvyaśāṅkārāsūtra published in T.S.S. and Kāvyaśāṅkārāsūtra also.

when one makes a mistake, another scholar cannot contradict the wrong statement until the question is thoroughly investigated. Especially when most of the editions have no index and other needed facilities for references and comparisons, it is an unpardonable crime to cause such a heavy drain on the time of a scholar by compelling him to read through the whole book to verify such quotations. The stanza is quoted by Vāmana in the third *adhyāya* of the fourth *adhikaraṇa* under *sūtra* 25 on p. 145, Benares Sanskrit Series edition, 1908,¹ and it is quoted in illustration of *vyājoktya-lankāra*. On the same page in the Introduction to the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series edition of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* the editor says that Abhinavagupta in his *Bharatanāṭyavedavivṛti* mentions another *nāṭaka* under the name of *Daridrācārudatta*.² The book is not published and it is a voluminous work. Why does not the editor give more precise information? In the same introduction, the same page, the editor quotes from Sarvānanda's *Amara-koṣaṭīkā* sarvasva and the quotation is misleading, as he gives his own version of the passage which is different from the seven manuscripts³ used by him to edit the *Ṭīkā* sarvasva. Although the above facts have very little bearing directly on the *Bhāsa* problem, one thing is brought out very clearly, and that is that no scholar can have even ordinary faith in the accuracy of the readings given in the printed texts of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. It is possible that in very many doubtful passages an examination of the manuscripts by a competent scholar might reveal several facts that will go a long way to solve many problems in the *Bhāsa* controversy.

The line :

kim vāśujeve śavapattā (śeṇa ?) neṣe

needs some investigation. The manuscript reading according to the edition is *śavapattāśeṇa*. Another manuscript given in the footnotes reads *śanapa*. The element *śeṇa* (presumably common to both the manuscripts) gives no sense, and the editor, with full justification, emends the reading as *neṣe*. Then the meaning would be "The Lord of *śava* or *śana* *pattāna*". Even then the meaning is not clear. What is this *śava* or *śanapattāna*? It must be a town with a temple dedicated to some deity other than Vāsudeva. Śākara, who utters this stanza, is made to indulge in absurd contradictions. In the Preface, p. II, the reading is *śahapattāśeṇa*. It is not based on any manuscript. It is either the editor's imagination or carelessness. This

1. Kāvya-mālā, Edition, P. 57.

2. Mentioned in *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* J. A., 1923, p. 195.

3. T.S.S., Vol. XXXVII, Preface, p. II.

reading gives no sense either. Since both the manuscripts used for the edition are wrong in the portion *-śeṇa*, and since the editor is forced to emend the part as *neṣe*, it is only justifiable to emend the portion *śava-* or *śana-* or *śaha-*, so as to get some real sense, and I propose to emend the portion as *śiva-*. The passage then will be :

kim vāśujeve śivapattāneṣe.

The meaning then will be, "whether it be Vāsudeva, the Lord of Śiva-pattāna". Śivapattāna must be a town with a Śiva temple as the prominent feature in it. To speak of Vāsudeva as the lord of Śivapattāna is in keeping with the tone of Śākara's speech. *Vāsudeve śava-* or *śana-* or *śahapattāneṣe* does not suggest the contradiction that is wanted in the text. Therefore I assume that my emendation is reasonable. I do not maintain that this emendation is the only way to get at the correct text. All that I say is that so far as our present knowledge goes the reading in the manuscripts is extremely unsatisfactory, and that the text as emended by me most probably takes us nearer to the correct text. Such a probability is considerably increased by the fact that while we do not know of any town like *śava-* or *śana-* or *śahapattāna*, we know of a town called Śivapattāna. In the small Native State called Cochin in the southern portion of the west coast of India, there is a place called Trichur. The most prominent feature of the town is the Śiva temple situated on an elevation in the centre of the town. The town derives its name from this temple. The real name of the town is *Trisivaperūr*, contracted into *Trissūr* in Malayālam, and changed into *Trichur* in English. In Sanskrit it is generally designated as *Śivapura* or *Śivapattāna*. This reference to a town in Malabar does not necessarily prove that the drama as a whole has anything to do with Malabar. It may be that the author *Bhāsa* (let us assume for the time being that he is definitely proved to be the author of all the thirteen dramas published as *Bhāsa*'s works in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) knew the Trichur temple quite well and introduced the name of that town into his play. It may as well be that, in the original drama, the passage read differently and that in the Malayālam manuscripts, which alone are available, the scribe introduced the name of Trichur temple as a local touch, without interfering with the drama as a whole. The second alternative seems to be the more probable because of the presence in the *Cārudatta* of a large number of Malayālam words in the Prākṛt passages.¹ I am not at present considering *Mṛcchakaṭika* at all. Now I am examining only the *Cārudatta*.

1. No such Malayālam influence is seen in the Sanskrit portion.

The prose passage preceding the stanza "*kim vāṣujeve*," etc. contains the word "*nāye*".¹ The editor has not understood the word. Obviously he cannot understand it either, as it is no Prākṛt word. The same word occurs once more in the Cāṇḍī (p. 16, l. 12). In both the places Śākṛā addresses Vasantasenā as "*nāye*". Nāye is the vocative singular of *nāya*, a Malayālam word meaning "a dog".² It is only in keeping with the trend of Śākṛā's speech that he should address Vasantasenā as "a dog" and not as "a bitch". The dental *n* in the Malayālam *nāya* naturally becomes a cerebral *ṇ* in Prākṛt.³ On p. 6 in the Cāṇḍī there is the word *aṇṭhi*. It is another word which the editor has not understood. It occurs in the 5th line in the Viṇṣaka's speech. The whole passage is "*(ahīamahurassa ambassa ?) ajoggaḍāe (aṇṭhi ?) ṇa bhakkhādi tti*". As it is printed, it would seem that the editor has not understood the expression "*ahīamahurassa ambassa*". But in the Sanskrit rendering, there is no interrogation mark. He gives it as "*adhikamadhurasya amblasya*". The meaning is quite clear. "Of a very sweet mango" must be the meaning. It is usually when the editor is not certain of the Sanskrit equivalent of the Prākṛt that he puts an interrogation mark after the Prākṛt. He includes such words within brackets, and in the Sanskrit rendering he puts the Prākṛt words as such within brackets with the interrogation mark.⁴ In this case he does not put down the Prākṛt word as it is but gives the Sanskrit equivalent, and he suggests no doubt regarding the Sanskrit. As he renders it, the Sanskrit equivalent of the whole passage is "*adhikamadhurasya amblasya ayogyatayā (aṇṭhi ?) ṇa bhakṣyata iti*". The only word on which he has doubt is the word *aṇṭhi*. Assuming that the word is not known, let us translate it. The passage will mean "the *aṇṭhi* of a very sweet mango is not eaten as it is unfit". People eat the pulp of a mango, and some people eat the skin also. But no one eats the stone inside a mango. So *aṇṭhi* must mean the stone within a mango. The Malayālam word for the stone is *aṇṭi*,⁵ and evidently *aṇṭhi* must be the prākṛtisation of the Malayālam by aspirating *ṭ* into *ṭh*. Another instance of such aspiration when a Malayālam word is changed into Prākṛt, I will show presently.⁶

On the first page in the Cāṇḍī, there is the passage "*neyyubbhāmaṇa-sugandho via gandho sunimittam via*". This is the word of the Sūtradhāra.

1. C. p. 12.

2. Malayālam English Dictionary by Rev. H. Gundert, Mangalore, 1872, p. 543.

3. Cf. *neyyubbhāmaṇa* below.

4. Cf. C. pp. 1, 6, 7, 28, 40, 46, 65, etc.

5. Malayālam English Dictionary by Rev. H. Gundert, Mangalore, 1872, p. 19.

6. Cf. *bhā* in *neyyubbhāmaṇa* below.

The editor has not understood the passage and he does not attempt at a Sanskrit rendering. He places the whole passage within brackets with an interrogation mark, both in the original Prākṛt and the Sanskrit rendering of the speech. The only doubtful portion seems to be *neyyubbhāmaṇa*. The rest may easily be rendered into Sanskrit and I do not know why the editor did not do so. The Sanskrit is *sugandha iva gandhas sunimittam iva*. The meaning is not also very difficult to guess. "I sense a smell like *neyyubbhāmaṇa*. I fancy the smell augurs some luck." "*Neyyubbhāmaṇa*" must have something to do with a thing having an agreeable smell. In Malayālam *neyyappa* means a rice cake (*appa*) fried in ghee (*neyyo*). *Neyyappa* is one of the delicacies of the Malabar Brahmins, and we can quite well understand the hungry Sūtradhāra's ecstasies over the smell of this *neyyappa*, if the play was staged in Malabar. *Maṇa* means in Malayālam smell. So the whole passage becomes clear. "I sense a sweet smell like the smell of cake fried in ghee, and the smell augurs luck for me."

I have shown the presence in the Cāṇḍī of three words which are undoubtedly Malayālam words. They are *neyyubbhāmaṇa*, *aṇṭhi* and *nāye*. The presence of these Malayālam words makes it easy to explain certain Prākṛt words that occur in the drama. Such is the case with the word *puochṭanti* on p. 35 of the Cāṇḍī. I do not know why the editor did not give the Sanskrit equivalent, which clearly ought to be *prochyante*. After giving the Sanskrit form he could have written a note that the meaning is not quite clear. That does not concern me here, it was his own affair. The idea of the author is evident from the corresponding passage in the Mṛcchakaṭika.

Cāṇḍī¹

Ceṭṭi : haddhi, dariddo kku so
Gaṇikā : ado kku kāmādi adidar-
iddapurusasattā gaṇiā ava-
aṇṭyā hoi.

Ceṭṭi : ajjue, uddhādapuppham sa-
haṭṭam mahuarāo uvā-
santi

Gaṇikā : hajje, evam uāsanti, de
mahuarā itti (puochṭanti ?)

Mṛcchakaṭika²

Madanikā : ajjao daliddo kku so
sunādi.
Vasantasenā : ado jjevva kāmādi,
daliddapurisasankanta
maṇā kku gaṇiā loe
avaaṇṭi bhodi.

Madanikā : ajjao kim jhānaku-
mam sahaṭṭapādavam
mahuarāo uva sevān.

Vasanti : ado jjevva tto mahua-
rāo vuoanti.

1. C. p. 35.

2. References always to Bombay Sanskrit Series Edition, No. LII, 1896, designated Mr. in footnote, p. 30, 31.

Here Vasantasenā says that the bees are called *madhukara*-s, because they do not go to a tree devoid of flowers. Thus some *adhikṣepa* in meant and in the corresponding passage of the *Cārudatta* also, the meaning must be the same : *pucchiānti* must mean some *adhikṣepa*. Perhaps at some early stage in the history of Sanskrit language, the root *prcch* (to ask) had the meaning of *adhikṣepa*, as the verb *to question* has even now in English as in "questionable character". The meaning may have been retained in the *Prākṛt*. In Malayālam, *pucchikkunnu*¹ (verb in the present tense) has the meaning of *adhikṣepa*. The Malayālam word may very well be a formation from the *Prākṛt* *pucchiānti* (with Malayālam termination) and the *Prākṛt* word may here have been used in its present Malayālam meaning of *adhikṣepa* (which is probably one of its original meanings in Sanskrit also).

To sum up, *neyyubbhāmaṇa*, *aṇṭhī*, and *ṇāye* are pure Malayālam words introduced into the *Prākṛt* of the *Cārudatta*. In the stanza, *Kim vāśujeve*, etc., *śivapattana* must be the correct reading, and it must refer to the town of Trichur in Malabar. *Pucchiānti* is a *Prākṛt* word used in a sense now retained only in Malayālam. None of these words occur in *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The last two cases are only my conjectures, on the analogy of the presence of unmistakable Malayālam words, to explain what is otherwise inexplicable. In the case of *Pucchiānti*, an emendation into *pacchiānti* is suggested, but Dr. V. S. Sukthankar² says that the meaning is clear and that no emendation is needed. It is a pity Dr. Sukthankar does not say how the word is to be explained.

The presence of these Malayālam words, references to Malabar and influence of Malayālam on the *Prākṛt* raise some very important questions. It is suggested that the researches of Morgenstierne and his pamphlet "Das Verhältniss zwischen *Cārudatta* und *Mṛcchakaṭika*" has once for all established the fact that the *Cārudatta* is the original of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.³ It may be so. But is it this same, or some other recension of the *Cārudatta*? There are three possibilities :—

1. Bhāsa was a Malabar poet who introduced Malayālam words into his play *Cārudatta* and when Śūdraka expanded it into *Mṛcchakaṭika*, he did not understand these Malayālam words and omitted them.

1. Malayālam English Dictionary by Rev. H. Gundert, Mangalore, 1872, p. 672 under *puccha*. He takes the word as derived from *puccha*=tail.

2. J.B.R.A.S., 1925, pp. 113, 114. He refers to a journal which I could not get at.

3. J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 81; 1923, p. 601. B.S.O.S., 1924, p. 295.

2. Bhāsa wrote the *Cārudatta* and we have only a Malabar recension of it now, into which Malayālam words have crept in. It is the original (which is lost to us) which was enlarged by Śūdraka into *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

3. Śūdraka wrote his *Mṛcchakaṭika*, and in the *Cārudatta* we have the first four acts of it in an abridged form with Malayālam words in it.

That Bhāsa is a Malabar poet is an alternative which we need not even take up for consideration. So far as our knowledge of history goes, it is an impossibility that there should have been in Malabar such a great poet as Bhāsa in that early century¹ which is assigned to Bhāsa. That no Malabar poet is quoted by great writers on poetics and that Bhāsa is very often quoted and referred to is an evidence to show that Bhāsa is not a Malabar poet.

We have to choose between the other two alternatives. If we accept the second alternative, there are still some difficulties. The text of the *Cārudatta* before us is not a mere recension. It is not a mere difference of reading that has crept in when the text was being handed down from generation to generation, not a question of an additional stanza here or there, not such things as constitute a "recension". If we compare the *Cārudatta* with the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, we find in the former a conscious adaptation or an abridgement of the first four acts of the latter (or a drama in four acts of which the latter is an enlargement) to suit the tastes of a particular class of audience, namely, the Malabar audience. A few passages will prove the point. The two passages "*Neyyubbha*, etc.," "*ahia mahurassa*, etc.," where Malayālam words are used and the word "*ṇāye*," do not occur in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. They are undoubtedly additions to an original text. In the sentence preceding "*neyyubbha*, etc.," there is the word *kāla* introduced in the *Cārudatta*

Mṛcchakaṭika : *lohakaḍḍhapariattanakasanasārā kidavisesā via. juadī
ahiadaram sohadi bhūmī.*²

Cārudatta : *lohīparivattana kāla sārā bhūmī.*

The passage in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* means :—"The ground is extremely pleasing like a young girl with a mark on the forehead, as there are the black marks on the ground left by the rolling of cooking utensils made of metal." In the *Cārudatta*, the word *kasana* (Skt. *kṣṇa* black) is replaced by *kāla* (also black). The *Cārudatta* passage means :—"The ground is pleasing on account of the black mark caused by rolling the metal vessels for cooking." Also it can mean :—"The ground is pleasing on account of *kāla*

1. Second or third century A. D.

2. My p. 7.

spots dropped by stirring the metal vessels." *Kāḷa* (*kāḷan*) is a kind of preparation which is a great delicacy in Malabar and which is an inevitable dish in all feasts. Here we find a pun on the word *kāḷa* in the *Cārudatta*. The change from *kr̥ṣṇa* to *kāḷa* is consciously and deliberately made for pun to interest a Malabar audience. The passage previous to this in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is:—*āāmitaṇḍulodaappavāhā racchā*. The meaning is:— "The rice water flows far into the street", thereby suggesting that much rice is cooked for a feast. In Malabar there are no street-houses; there are only garden-houses and such a description will not appeal to a Malabar audience. So the passage is omitted in *Cārudatta*. The stanza

Kim bhīmaśeṇe jamadaggiṇutte

in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*¹ is changed in the *Cārudatta* into

Kim vāśujeve śivapattaneṣe (reading mine).

This is to introduce the name of Trichur town, which is familiar to Malabar people. The word *pucchiānti* is introduced in the *Cārudatta* and is used in a sense now perserved only in Malayāḷam. *Tālīpattam kkhū edam*.² It is a common custom in Malabar to wear rolls of palm leaf as an ear-ornament. The passage is not in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, *Cārudatta*'s wife is styled *Vadhū*.³ But in the *Cārudatta* it is changed into *Brāhmaṇī*.⁴ *Brāhmaṇī* does not mean a Brāhmin woman, but it is the name by which the women of a particular caste (semi-Brāhman caste) in Malabar are called. Brāhmins keep these women as their wives, without religious sanction or legal commitment,⁵ a custom quite prevalent in Malabar. It is this idea that is conveyed by the term *Brāhmaṇī* in the *Cārudatta*. It is only the presence of Malayāḷam words in the *Cārudatta* that proves positively the influence of a Malabar hand in the text. The other instances, taken along with sure Malabar influences, can also be taken as the result of the working of a Malabar hand for a definite purpose. The *Cārudatta* of the Trivandrum Series cannot be the original *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa (if there was such a thing); nor is it "a mere recension" of Malabar. It is a deliberate adaptation of an original.

Now this is the situation: we have a drama the *Mṛcchakaṭika* in ten acts. An abridged form of the first four Acts of it with a number of additional passages (*all of which show a Malabar influence*) is found in Malabar.

1. M. p. 34.

2. C. p. 23.

3. M. p. 156 ff.

4. C. P. 62 ff.

5. The Cochin Tribes and castes by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, Madras 1912, Vol. II, p. 133.

This Malabar text cannot be an original text. It must be an adaptation of an original work by Bhāsa (which has not yet been discovered) or it may be a condensation and adaptation from the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Which of these two alternatives is the more probable? Until we are able to find out a short text by Bhāsa, of which the Trivandrum edition could be an adaptation or until we are at least sure that Bhāsa has written a short drama called *Cārudatta*, the probability is that the Trivandrum edition of the *Cārudatta* is a condensation and adaptation from Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika*, by a Malabar hand for use in Malabar theatres. Morgenstierne's arguments about the relation of the *Cārudatta* to the *Mṛcchakaṭika* need revision. That he has not consulted any Malabar recension of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is a serious omission. We know that South Indian recensions are considerably different from North Indian recensions. I should think it is a very unscientific process to compare a Malabar edition of a shorter form with a North Indian edition of the enlarged form and to draw conclusions.

To know whether the *Cārudatta* is an abridgement of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* or whether the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is an enlargement of the *Cārudatta*, we have to compare them with similar works. The most suitable work with which we can compare the *Cārudatta* is the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. One of the most regrettable events in the history of researches into Sanskrit literature in recent times is the publication of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* from Trivandrum, and twelve other dramas published subsequently, under the name of Bhāsa's works. The publication was executed by an editor utterly incompetent for the task. If the manuscripts had been placed in the hands of a competent scholar, such a Bhāsa theory would not have been started. The then Editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series maintained to his own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of a few others (of whom A.B. Keith is the most prominent) that Bhāsa should have been the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and also of the other twelve dramas. There is not a grain of evidence for the theory. Then the promoters of the Bhāsa theory ask others to disprove their theory or to accept it—a very unjudicial position.

When a scholar ascribes a work to a particular author, it is his business to prove the point: it is not enough if there are no positive objections to his theory. It is necessary that there should be positive proofs in support of it.² If a work is mentioned expressly as written by a particular author, then we accept it as the work of that author, as *Abhijñānaśākuntala* of Nāgārjuna. If a work is known through tradition, even though there is no

1. B. S. O. S. 1914, p. 297.

2. *Prākṛit* I.

is mention, as written by a particular author, then also we accept it as written by that author, as the Raghuvamśa. If passages definitely known to have been written by a particular author are found in a work is to be recognised as the work of that author. None of these tests is applicable to the Svapnavāsavadatta or any other work now ascribed to Bhāsa. There is no mention of the author in the dramas, and no tradition that any of these works belongs to Bhāsa. No stanza from these works is known as belonging to Bhāsa and no stanza known as belonging to Bhāsa is seen in any of these works. If we find mention in literature that a particular author has written a work of a particular name; if we come across a work of that name, we can ascribe that work to that author if there is no proof to the contrary, even though there is no mention or any other evidence that it is that particular work that is written by that author, and no other of a similar name. If we come across in literature mention of certain literary and other features as peculiar to an author and if we come across a work bearing such peculiar features, then also we can ascribe that work to that author. The advocates of the Bhāsa theory rely on these two tests to establish Bhāsa as the author of the Svapnavāsavadatta. Let us examine the way in which these two tests are applied.

Rājasekhara in his Sūktimuktāvali has this stanza:—

Bhāsanāṭakacakre tu chekaiḥ kṣipte parikṣitum;

Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako' bhūn na pāvakah.

This is a stanza of questionable authority and doubtful interpretation. Before the Bhāsa theory cropped up and this stanza assumed such an important role in the history of Sanskrit literature, I understood the stanza in quite a different way:—"In the group of Bhāsa's dramas (*bhāsanāṭakacakre*) when thrown as a test (*chekaiḥ kṣipte parikṣitum*) the fire (*pāvakah*) did not burn the Svapnavāsavadatta (*Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako' bhūn na pāvakah*)."¹ Bhāsa was a great author and his dramas contained conflagration scenes. These fires burnt all the other dramas (on account of the cleverness with which such scenes were handled, these dramas excelled all other dramas), but Svapnavāsavadatta alone remained safe. This is how I understood the stanza. According to this interpretation the Svapnavāsavadatta was a rival drama to Bhāsa. The authority of the stanza is also very questionable. Previous to this stanza, Rājasekhara says that Bhāsa is the author of Nāgānanda, Priyadarśikā and Ratnāvali, which are expressly mentioned in the prologues as works of Harṣa. So Rājasekhara's state-

ment about Bhāsa being the author of the Svapnavāsavadatta proves nothing and no scholar shall draw any conclusion from such a statement.

But Prof. Sylvain Levi in the Journal Asiatique² reports two works on *Alankāra*, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*³ and *Nāṭakajāṇanārāṇakosa*.⁴ In N.D. there is an express mention (J. A. 1923, p. 197, n. 1) that Bhāsa wrote a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta. Mr. A. P. B. Sastri says⁵ that Abhinavagupta mentions Svapnavāsavadatta as the work of Bhāsa. There is a slight inaccuracy in this statement: Abhinavagupta *does not* mention Svapnavāsavadatta as the work of Bhāsa; he simply refers to a work Svapnavāsavadatta without mentioning the author. But from the reference in N.D. it is certain that Bhāsa wrote a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta. We have in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series a drama of that name, but without any mention of its author. Can this Svapnavāsavadatta be the work of Bhāsa referred to in N. D.? In the natural course of things, we can say that this Svapnavāsavadatta must be the work of Bhāsa; only there should be nothing to make the identification even doubtful. But the evidences against such an identification are overwhelming.

Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita mentions certain features as peculiar to Bhāsa in the following stanza:—

Sūtradhārahīrāmbhair nāṭakair bahubhāmikāḥ

Sapātākair yathā lokaḥ Bhāso devakulair iva.

L. D. Barnett has suggested⁶ that both this Svapnavāsavadatta and the other thirteen dramas ascribed to Bhāsa and also the well-known classical dramas could be called *Sūtradhārahīrāmbha*. I have myself developed the point elsewhere.⁷ In that place I have shown that none of the features mentioned by Bāṇa is seen in any of the thirteen dramas ascribed to Bhāsa. Dr. Sukthankar has dealt with the point regarding *Sūtradhārahīrāmbha*.⁸ He concludes rightly that none of the Trivandrum group bears this feature; unfortunately he does not see in the statement of Bāṇa any special feature of Bhāsa.⁹ Although the three features

1. J. A. 1923, p. 193 ff.

2. *Ibid.* designated N. D.

3. *Ibid.*

4. J. R. A. S., 1921, p. 278.

5. J. R. A. S., 1921, p. 587.

6. Z. f. I. u. L., 1923, pp. 254-66.

7. J. R. A. S., 1925, p. 129 ff.

8. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 120, 121. "In certain cases, however, he maintained that the dramas of the group are not of Bhāsa, but of other authors." In the statement of Bāṇa, the features mentioned are not peculiar to Bhāsa, but are common to many other authors of the period.

mentioned by Bāṇa may not be peculiar to Bhāsa, still we must assume that Bhāsa's dramas bore those features. Else Bāṇa's statement becomes meaningless. A. B. Keith seems to think¹ that in ordinary dramas like the Śakuntala, Nāndī is a part of the drama, and that the Sūtradhāra enters after Nāndī, but that in Bhāsa the Nāndī is not a part of the drama and the drama opens with the entry of the Sūtradhāra. As a matter of fact in no drama is Nāndī a part of it, and Nāndī is not the recitation of a stanza. In Kālidāsa, the opening stanza is only a benedictory stanza, and it is recited when the Sūtradhāra enters the stage.² There is so much written about the simplification of the prologue by combining the duties of the Nāndīsūtradhāra and the Sthāpanāsūtradhāra.³ Most of those who write on the technique of acting Sanskrit dramas may not have seen a Sanskrit drama on the stage, nor even a stage. It is the same actor who first comes as Nāndīsūtradhāra, then as Sthāpanāsūtradhāra, and then as one of the characters of the play. He does not change his costume. He appears in all these different roles in the same costume, the same paint and the same head-gear. From the Daśarūpaka⁴ it would appear that the sthāpanāsūtradhāra is different from (aparāḥ) nāndīsūtradhāra. But the same stanza appears in the Sāhityadarpaṇa⁵ where the reading is not aparāḥ. In Bharata it is stated⁶ that the Sūtradhāra should retire and the sthāpaka should enter with the same feature and the same costume as the sūtradhāra (sūtradhāraguṇākṛtiḥ). As acted in the theatres, the same actor re-enters in the same costume. The purely Malabar drama called Kathakali⁷ which is based on the staging of Sanskrit drama by Cākhyas (professional actors of Malabar), three actors

saying that his works were Sūtradhāraḥkṛtārambha. Bāṇa's only object is, as Keith (Sanskrit Drama, p. 91) has justly remarked, 'to celebrate Bhāsa's fame and to show his wit by the comparison in the same words with some not very obvious object of comparison.'

1. B.S.O.S., 1924, p. 297. "Bhāsa's dramas not merely commence with the entry of the Sūtradhāra after a nāndī, not treated as part of the play, has been pronounced."
2. Nāṭyaśāstra. Gackwar's Oriental Series, No. XXXVI, p. 250, lines 4 and 5.
3. J.R.A.S., 1921, p. 369. B.S.O.S., 1923, p. 113, n.
4. Daśarūpaka, pariccheda 3, stanza 2:
pūrvaraṅgam vidhāyādau sūtradhāre vinirgate; pravṛtṭya tadvat aparāḥ kāvyaṃ
sthāpāyān nāṭaḥ.
5. Sāhityadarpaṇa, pariccheda 6, stanza 26. The reading is:
pravṛtṭya sthāpakaḥ tadvat kāvyaṃ sthāpāyān nāṭaḥ.
6. Nāṭyaśāstra. Gackwar's Oriental Series, No. XXXVI, p. 149, l. 12 f. Kāvyaṃ, v. 149, 150.
7. Cochin Tribes and Castes, by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, Madras, 1915, Vol. II, p. 65. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 233 (Rāmanāṭam)—a very poor contribution.

enter in the beginning, one of whom is the Sūtradhāra and the other two are Pāripāśvakaḥ. After Pūrvaraṅga he retires; then he re-enters as sthāpaka. The terms in Malayālam are toṭayam, purappādu, etc. Bhāsa has not introduced any reform as suggested by A. P. B. Sastri. The sūtradhāra has to recite nāndī ślokaḥ which are the same for all dramas in the same theatre or among the same school of actors. The dramatist does not write these ślokaḥ. They must bear certain special features.¹ They form part of the Pūrvaraṅga. The mode of writing nāndyante sūtradhārah² after the māṅgaḷa or nāndyante tataḥ pravṛtṭi sūtradhārah before it, has nothing to do with any technique of Sanskrit dramas. It is only a difference in the method of writing. Dr. Sukthankar has noted certain very interesting points which require more detailed consideration.

In the Svapnavāsavadatta and in most of the Malabar dramas (there are some exceptions in Malabar also)³ we have in the beginning nāndyante tataḥ pravṛtṭi sūtradhārah. In other dramas we have the māṅgaḷa and then nāndyante sūtradhārah. In the second class of books there is no mention that sūtradhāra enters after the māṅgaḷa is recited. In both classes, the sūtradhāra is on the stage when the drama begins. Who recites the māṅgaḷa? Evidently, in both the groups it is the actors when the sūtradhāra enters.⁴ The sūtradhāra simply shows the mudrās in accompaniment of the recitation of the ślokaḥ.⁵ He himself repeats only prose passages. In all the dramas, when the sūtradhāra retires, he re-enters as sthāpanāsūtradhāra and the dramatist writes only such portions as are to be used after this entry of the sūtradhāra.⁶

A difference in the mode of writing, for the simple explanation of which we have the authority of such a great ālanākārika as Viśvanātha in his Sāhityadarpaṇa,⁷ was completely distorted,

1. Nāṭyaśāstra, Kāvyaṃ, l. 98.
2. Some printed books have—nāndyante tataḥ pravṛtṭi sūtradhārah. No South Indian MSS. that I have looked into has this reading. Cf. The Catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, pp. 129, 130.
3. Cf. Catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, D. C. S. 1250, 1251.
4. Itai sūtradhāraḥ kṛtyamāṇaḥ māṅgaḷam. Commentary on Sāhityadarpaṇa vi. 23. Nirṇaya Sāgara Ed., 1910.
5. Cochin Tribes and Castes, by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, Madras, 1915, Vol. II, p. 125.
6. Rāghavavarmānāṭyaśāstraḥ, by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, Madras, 1915, Vol. II, p. 125.
7. Itai sūtradhāraḥ kṛtyamāṇaḥ māṅgaḷam. Commentary on Sāhityadarpaṇa vi. 23. Nirṇaya Sāgara Ed., 1910.

ignoring the authority; Bāṇa's statement about Bhāsa was partly ignored (the 2nd and 3rd features) and partly distorted; then a whole theory of Bhāsa was built up. Is it likely that the then editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series did not see the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*? I again assert, as I did once that *Sūtradhāraṅkīrāmbha* means a drama in which the *Sūtradhāra* plays a part in the main story, as in the *Uttarāramacarita*. Bāṇa's description of Bhāsa's plays is a strong evidence against assuming Bhāsa as the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Then, are we to assume more than one *Svapnavāsavadatta*? Let us state all the facts that we know of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and Bhāsa.

1. Rājasekhara mentions Bhāsa as the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta*.
2. Bāṇa gives certain features of Bhāsa's dramas.
3. Bhāsa has written a *Svapnavāsavadatta* according to N. D.
4. Abhinavagupta quotes a stanza from a *Svapnavāsavadatta*.
5. Abhinavagupta gives a feature of a *Svapnavāsavadatta* in his *Abhinavabharati*.³
6. The *Nāṭakadarpaṇa* quotes a stanza from Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*.
7. The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* quotes a portion of the prologue of a *Svapnavāsavadatta*.
8. Sarvaṇanda refers to a *Svapnavāsavadatta* in his *Tikāsarvasva* on *Amarakośa*.⁴
9. Śaraḍānaya refers to a *Svapnavāsavadatta* in the *Bhāṣya*.⁵
10. Bhoja refers to a *Svapnavāsavadatta* in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.⁶
11. Vāmana in his *Kāvyaśāhikā Sūtra Vṛtti* quotes a stanza found in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, and another⁸ which appears both in the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakatika*.
12. The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* quotes a stanza from the *Cārudatta*.⁹

abhiprāyaḥ, nandante sūtradhāra idam prayojitavān, itaḥ prabhṛti mayā nāṭakam upādīyate iti kaver abhiprāyaḥ sūcitu iti.

1. Z. f. I. u. I., 1923, p. 254.
2. Dhvanyālokalocana, Kāvya-mālā, p. 152.
3. Nāṭyaśāstra. Gaeckwar's Oriental Series, No. XXXVI, p. 39.
4. T. S. S., No. XXXVIII, p. 147 S v. Introduction, p. xxi.
5. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 668.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 669.
7. IV. 3, 25.
8. V. 1, 3.
9. J. A., 1923, p. 216.

These are the main points we have to consider in connection with the Bhāsa-problem. The first eleven points have direct reference to the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. Let us examine them and see if they support or stand in the way of the assumption that Bhāsa is the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series.

1. Rājasekhara: I have dealt with the point already and I have shown that his statement is of doubtful interpretation and questionable authority.
2. Bāṇa: None of the features stated by Bāṇa as belonging to Bhāsa is found in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

3. *Nāṭakadarpaṇa*: It is certain that Bhāsa has written a drama called *Svapnavāsavadatta*, and the presumption ought to be that the drama *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is that drama. But there are difficulties. Bāṇa's evidence is against it and other difficulties will be shown presently.

4. Abhinavagupta in the *Locana*: The stanza reads:—

Saṁcitapukāmavāṇam nayanadvaram śarirataṇanena;

Udghāṭya praviṣṭa hrdayagrham me nṛpatanājā.

The editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series makes the following remark on this stanza in his introduction to the *Svapnavāsavadatta*:—"But I should think that this *śloka* is not from the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, for it is found in none of the three manuscripts of ours. Besides, this *śloka* apparently signifies the springing up of love for a lady at first sight. It should be either for *Vāsavadattā* or *Padmāvatī*. But it could not be for the former, for the troubled thoughts of a lover for his far-off lady appear in this *śloka* only long after a happy wedded life; nor could it be for the latter, for, she was offered to Vatsarāja even without his request at a time when he was much afflicted with thoughts of *Vāsavadattā*. This surely could not be the occasion for describing his love for *Padmāvatī*. It is thus seen that this *śloka* could not find a place in the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. Hence, we could not infer that this was an omission in the readings of some manuscripts owing to the *śloka* having ceased from circulation". The meaning of the above is not quite clear. I have elsewhere suggested that in this stanza there is reference to *Vāsavadattā*. My statement needs some slight revision and amplification and

1. Sv. Introduction, p. xxi, f.
2. It means nothing of the sort.
3. The English translation of the original Sanskrit introduction is wrong and hence this mistake.
4. *Ibid.* as cited in the introduction to the *Svapnavāsavadatta*.
5. Z. f. I. u. I., 1923, p. 254.

I shall do it below. A. K. Pisharoṭi and K. R. Pisharoṭi in a joined contribution¹ say :—"The Svapnavāsavadatta of the T. B. series may also be such an adaptation of the original Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa. This would explain the absence from the Svapnavāsavadatta of the T.B. series of a verse quoted by Abhinavagupta from Bhāsa's original." There is a slight inaccuracy or (to put it more mildly) a slightly misleading statement in this observation. Abhinavagupta does not quote from "Bhāsa's original" but only from a certain Svapnavāsavadatta. Perhaps the Pisharoṭis meant only this much. To this the Editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series adds a rejoinder² :—"We ask—is this so-called original Svapnavāsavadatta of the same story and plot as the present Svapnavāsavadatta or of a different story and plot, describing mainly the marriage of Vāsavadattā?" He gives his original argument against the first alternative and says that in the second alternative, that cannot be the original of this drama. The argument is quite reasonable. Only his premises are not acceptable. He lower down adds :—"The person who so quoted made a mistake in the name of the work." This is attributing a mistake to Abhinavagupta, which Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri says³ "is apt to be felt by some as nothing short of impertinence." Although in anthologies we see quotations whose sources as given in the anthologies, may not be quite reliable⁴, no such mistake has hitherto been discovered in works on *Alaṅkāra* and as such Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri has given the mildest description of the statement by the then editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. About the quotation itself, Prof. Kuppaswami Sastri says,⁵ "This verse does not admittedly find any place anywhere in the Svapnavāsavadatta of the Trivandrum Sanskrit series." I am not so certain of it. I will show below that the verse could find a place in the Svapnavāsavadatta, even in the Svapnavāsavadatta of the Trivandrum Sanskrit series.

F. W. Thomas has some interesting statements to make about this stanza. Evidently he has not understood the meaning of the stanza, nor, I fear, the Editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. F. W. Thomas says,⁶ as regards the verse *sañcītapakṣmakapūṣam* cited in the Dhvanyālokalocana (p. 102) as from the Svapnavāsavadatta, we find it with the obviously correct

1. B. S. O. S., 1923, p. 115.
2. B. S. O. S., 1925, p. 636 f.
3. Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi. Bāḷamanorama Press, Myslapore, 1926, Introduction, p. 24.
4. J. R. A. S., 1921, pp. 381, 382.
5. Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Bāḷamanoramā Press, Myslapore, 1926, p. 24.
6. J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 81, n.

opening *svañcīta* in Hemacandra's *Kāvyañuśāsana* p. 21." *Kāvyañuśāsana* is published in the *Kāvyaṃālā* series, and also Locana. I presume that F. W. Thomas must be referring to this edition of the Locana, as he does so in the case of the *Kāvyañuśāsana*. Then the page number 102 is wrong; it ought to be 152. He further adds,¹ "as to the verse from the Dhvanyālokalocana I have" previously (J. R. A. S. 1922 p. 81 n.) pointed out (what Prof. Levi has not observed) that it should begin with *svañcīta*, cf. *añcītabhrū*, not with the meaningless *sañcīta*. I agree with Gaṇapati Śāstri that it could not have a place in the Trivandrum play, though it might occur in a work on the lines of the *Tāpasavatsarāja*.²

What is the meaning of the verse? Let us see if the beginning should be *svañcīta* and for that let us translate the verse omitting that word for the time being. "That princess (*sā nrpatanūjā*) entered (*pravīṣṭā*) the house, my heart (*me hrdayagrham*) breaking open (*udghāṭya*) by hammering with her form or body (*svarūpataḍanena*) the doorway, my eyes (*nayanadvāram*), of which the shutters, my eyelashes were *sañcīta* or *svañcīta* (*sañcīta*-or *svañcītapakṣmakavūṣam*)." Simple common sense tells us that we expect the poet to have described the shutters of the door as closed (*sañcīta*). When the king speaks of his own eyelashes, how can he speak of them as *svañcīta* (very handsome)? *Sañcīta* means, "closed".³

The king had his eyes closed. The form of the princess forced its way into his heart, although he could not see her with his eyes open. This is a reference to the appearance of Vāsavadattā when the king was asleep and this is how he narrates the event to the Vidūṣaka. The stanza can very well find a place in the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, in the fifth Act on p. 59. The omission of the stanza in all the manuscripts shows that the stanza was left out in the abridgment or adaptation. This stanza is a sure evidence of an abridgment.

5. Abhinavagupta in the Abhinavabhāratī : The passage is : *tathā kvacin nūṭake dharmah pradhānam—yathā Chalitarāme⁴ rāmasyaśvamedhagṛhaḥ kvacit kṛtā yathā Svapnavāsavadattāyām*. This is in commenting on the stanza,⁵

1. J. R. A. S., 1923, pp. 103, 104.
2. Die Handschriften Verzeichnisse der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, fünfter Band II, 1892, No. 2166.
3. Monier William's Dictionary and Apte's Dictionary, *sañcīta* = impeded, obstructed.
4. J. A., 1923, p. 195. Oppert's List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in S. India, Vol. I, 4114 (it is given as Chalitarāma, perhaps the same work).
5. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Kāvyaṃālā) 1.74. Gaṇapati's Oriental Series No. XXXVI, p. 38 the verse number is wrong.

*Kvacid dharmah kvacit krīdā kvacid arthah kvacid chamah
Kvacid dhāsyam kvacid yuddham kvacit kāmah kvacid vadhah.*

The editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series notes this passage in his introduction to the Svapnavāsavadatta.¹ Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri observes,² "krīdā or hilarious merriment is the chief feature of the drama Svapnavāsavadatta according to Abhinavagupta. Would not this conclusively establish that the Svapnavāsavadatta known to Abhinavagupta must be materially different from the Trivandrum play of the same name?" I am not so sure as Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri is, that according to Abhinavagupta, "hilarious merriment" is the "chief feature" of the drama Svapnavāsavadatta. What Abhinavagupta means is that *krīdā* is the *chief incident* in the drama, just as Rāma's *aśvamedhayāga* is the chief incident in the *Chalita-rāma*. The fourth Act in the Svapnavāsavadatta, published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series really describes *krīdā*.³ The incident really took place at night, although according to the Trivandrum edition the incident took place by day time. In dealing with Vāmana below, I will show that the incident took place at night. Padmāvati and Vāsavadattā play in the garden. Then the king enters with the Vidūṣaka. In the end Padmāvati approaches the king. I think it is this incident that is referred to by Abhinavagupta by the term *krīdā*.³ Or it may be a reference to the incident in the fifth Act. Padmāvati is suffering from headache and her bed was arranged in *samudragrha*. The king goes to that place to meet Padmāvati. By mistake Vāsavadattā goes to the room where the king sleeps and then follows the incident which gives the name *Svapnavāsavadatta* to the drama. So the chief incident in the drama is the king's visit to Padmāvati for *krīdā*. This shows that the Svapnavāsavadatta is very intimately connected with the drama known to Abhinavagupta, if it is not identical with it. Further there are many *krīdā* scenes in the drama. The second act is *kandukakrīdā*. Śradātanaya's reference to the Svapnavāsavadatta (which will be discussed below) shows that many love scenes are left out in the Trivandrum edition. So Abhinavagupta

1. Sv. Introduction, p. 22.

2. Ācaryacūḍāmaṇi, Bālaṃanoramā Press, Mylapore, 1926, p. 26.

3. Note by S. K. Sastri. It is not understood what the author of this paper means by *krīdā*. What Abhinavagupta means is certainly that *krīdā* in the sense of *hilarious merriment or sport*, is the *chief feature* or the *pivotal incident* (*pradhāna*) in the plot of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* known to him. *Krīdā*, in none of its senses known to me, could be taken to be the *pivotal incident* in the plot of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The *sambhoga* and *vipralambha* aspects of *śrāgāra*, with reference to Padmāvati and Vāsavadattā respectively, are deftly combined in the IV and V Acts of this play as published at Trivandrum. In these two Acts of the published edition, it seems to me impossible to regard *krīdā*, in any of its senses known to me, as the *pivotal point*.

must be referring to a drama quite similar to the one now published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, but of which the latter is an abridged form.

6. Nāṭakadarpaṇa : The stanza quoted in N.D. from Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatta is :—

*Yathā bhāsaḥ svapnavāsavadatte Śephālikāmaṇḍapaśilātalam
avalokya vatsarājah
Pādākrāntāni puṣpāṇi soṣma cedam śilātalam ;
Nūnam kācid ihāsīnā mām drṣtvā sahasā gatā.*

—(J.A., 1923, p. 197, n. 1)

Prof. Sylvain Levi says¹ that neither the verse nor the incident can find a place in the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. This is one extreme view. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar goes to the other extreme. He says,² "There is no great 'dislocation' of the elements of the original scene. . . . All that is needed to restore the text is the replacement of the new verse at the point where there is a hiatus in our version." The text as it is printed, reads :—

Vidūṣakah : *tattahodī padumāvati iha ācchia niggadā bhāve* (Her Ladyship Padmāvati must have come here and gone away).

Rājā : *katham bhavān jānāti* (How do you know it ?)

Vidūṣakah : *imāṇi avaidakusumāni sebhālikāgucchaṇi pekḥhadu dāva bhavam* (see these bunches of *sephālikā* flowers crushed).

Dr. Sukthankar writes :³ "The king and the jester approach the *sephālikā* arbour just vacated by the ladies. At this point there is a hiatus, all but imperceptible ; standing near the bower the jester abruptly remarks, 'her Ladyship Padmāvati must have come here and gone away.' We fail to understand why the jester should make this curious unmotivated remark. The missing link is evidently the N.D. stanza, which furnishes the requisite motive for the remark of the jester. The king . . . surmises that some lady who had been sitting there . . . had hurriedly departed . . . The king has no idea who that lady was. But the observation of the king sets the jester thinking, who shrewdly⁴ surmises that it must have been Padmāvati." Let us replace the stanza as Dr. Sukthankar suggests :

King : The flowers are crushed under foot.

This stone-seat is warm ;

Sure some lady was sitting here,

Seeing me is she suddenly gone.

1. J. A., 1923, p. 197.

2. J. B. R. A. S., 1923, p. 137.

3. J. B. R. A. S., 1925, p. 136 f.

4. This shrewdness is out of place. Vidūṣaka has not adduced any more reasons than what the king possesses.

Jester : Her Ladyship Padmāvatī must have come here and gone away.

King : How do you know that ?

Jester : See these bunches of śephālikā flowers crushed.

The jester's argument will be that because there are flowers crushed, the lady must be Padmāvatī, if Dr. Sukthankar's suggestion is accepted. The jester's last statement is, further, only a repetition of the first line in the king's speech. The fact is that there is a dislocation, as Levi suggested. The original scene may have read :

King (approaching the stone-seat in front of the bower with the jester and sitting on it) : Padmāvatī must have come here and gone away.

Jester : How do you know that ?

King : The flowers are crushed under foot,
This stone-seat is warm ;
Sure some lady was sitting here,
Seeing me is she suddenly gone.

There is no hiatus. The statement is not abrupt nor is it unmotivated. What is missing in the Trivandrum edition of the Svapnavāsavadatta is the stage direction that the king sat on the stone-seat. The conversation has also to be re-arranged a little if the new stanza is to be inserted. The king could not have inferred that some one was sitting on the seat from the warmth, unless he expected the seat to be cool. But according to the Trivandrum edition, the seat was exposed to the sun.¹ So the part "This stone-seat is warm" in the stanza was omitted and the rest of the stanza was allotted to the jester. This is the displacement in the Trivandrum edition. This point also shows that the Trivandrum edition is an abridgment of a larger drama.

7. Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa : The passage quoted is :

*nepathye sūtradhārāḥ utsāraṇām śrutvā paṭhati aye katham
tapovane 'py utsāraṇā (vilokya) katham mantri yaugan-
dharāyaṇaḥ vatsarājasya rājyapratyānayanam kartukāmaḥ
padmāvatīya janenotsāryate.*

(J. A., 1923, p. 217.)

The Trivandrum edition reads :

(nepathye)

ussaraha ussaraha ayyā ussaraha.

1. *Sarvaśālistikā dussakā ādāvō Sv.* p. 37.

2. *Sv.* p. 2.

*Sūtradhārāḥ : bhavatu vijñātam
Bhṛtyair magadharājasya snigdhaiḥ kanyānugāmibhiḥ ;
dhr̥ṣṭam utsāryate sarvas tapovanagato janah
(niṣkrāntaḥ)*

*sthāpanā
(praviśya)*

Bhaṭṭa : *ussaraha ussaraha ayyā ussaraha.*

*(tataḥ praviśati parivrājakaḥ yaugandharāyaṇaḥ
āvantikāveśadhariṇī vāsavadattā ca)*

* *Yaugandharāyaṇaḥ : (kaṇam datva), katham ihāpy utsāryate.*

The incident is the same in both. There is a slight verbal similarity also. It is quite likely that one is an adaptation from the other. According to the quotation given in Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa, it is possible that the *sūtradhārā*, instead of merely announcing the character to enter, is describing the situation as a contemporary of the incidents of the drama, in which case the drama is also *sūtradhārakṛtārambha*. Thus, this point also suggests that the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is the result of some modification of an original drama.

Sarvānanda : The passage in Sarvānanda's *Tikāsarvasva* is :—

*Trividhāḥ śṛṅgāro dharmārthakāmabhinnāḥ. Tatrādya yathā
nandayantiyam¹ brāhmaṇabhōjanam, dvitīyāḥ svadīṣam ātmasāi
kartum Udayanasya Padmāvatīpariṇayo² rithaśṛṅgārāḥ, tṛtīyāḥ
Svapnavāsavadatte tasyaiva Vāsavadattāpariṇayaḥ kāmā-
śṛṅgārāḥ.*

According to this, the Svapnavāsavadatta contains the incident of the marriage of Udayana with Vāsavadattā—an incident which is not found in the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Further it is not said that the marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī is in that drama, as is the case of the Trivandrum edition. So the editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series changes the passage thus in his edition² :—

*Udayanasya Padmāvatīpariṇayo³ rithaśṛṅgārāḥ Svapnavāsavadatte,
tṛtīyāḥ tasyaiva Vāsavadattāpariṇayaḥ kāmāśṛṅgārāḥ.*

The editor has used seven manuscripts³ for the publication of the *Tikāsarvasva* and not one of them warrants such an emendation. There are some manuscripts of the text in the Adyar Library⁴ collections. In one of

1. Perhaps a drama. Cf. T. S., S. XXXVIII. List of works quoted in the *Tikāsarvasva*.

p. 2.

2. T. S. S., XXXVIII, p. 147.

3. T. S. S., XXXVIII, Preface, p. 2.

4. Adyar Library, S. H. 16 ; 21 G. 5 ; 21 G. 3 ; 20 A. 14. Catalogue, still in the press.

hem, the commentary on the stanza *srīṅāravīra*, etc., is left out. The passage quoted above is from that portion of the *Tikāsarvasva*. In the others there is only the statement that *srīṅara* is of three kinds. No instances are given. Thus the editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has no authority for the change. There is no need for it either, except that the passage does not fit in with his theory about *Bhāsa*. It is his version of the *Tikāsarvasva* and not *Sarvānanda's* passage that is quoted by him in his introduction to the *Svapnavāsavadatta*—a very unscientific procedure. The only conclusion possible from *Sarvānanda's* statement is that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* known to him contained the marriage of *Vāsavadattā* and *Udayana*. It may be that the drama contained more than six Acts (which alone are published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and that with considerable alterations and curtailments). *Udayana* eloped with *Vāsavadattā* from her father's house. Their marriage was solemnised by her parents by means of their portraits in their absence.² When the rumour of *Vāsavadattā's* death reached her parents, they sent the same portraits over to *Udayana*.³ It is quite possible that after *Padmāvatī's* marriage, *Vāsavadattā's* marriage was also solemnised in the proper way, and that incident may have formed the concluding portion of the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. If *Sarvānanda's* statement suggests anything, it is that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is a part of a bigger drama of the same name.

9. *Śaradātanaya*: The passage from *Śaradātanaya's* *Bhāvaprakāśa* has been published by the editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.⁴ It has also been published by K. Rama Pisharoti in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.⁵ The chief points are:

(a) *ācchidyā bhūpāt samyak sū devī māgadhihikarē nyastā...*

This incident is found in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.⁶

(b) *Padmāvatyā mukham vikṣya viśeṣakavibhūṣitam ;
jīvatyāvāntikety etaj jñānam bhūmibhujāh... 7.*

1. *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa*, T. S. S. XVI Act IV.

2. *Ibid* p. 72 ; Sv. p. 70.

3. Sv. p. 70.

4. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 668.

5. B. S. O. S., 1925, p. 639.

6. Sv. Act I.

7. *Bhūmibhujā* in J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 668. The reading here is as in B. S. O. S., 1925, p. 639.

This incident is not found in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. When the text was originally printed, *Śaradātanaya's* book was not known. When the passage was, some years after, brought to the notice of the editor, he tried to explain the difficulty and he says that the point is satisfactorily explained.¹ With all the cleverness and ingenuity that may be shown, the fact remains that the incident is not found in the published *Svapnavāsavadatta*.

(c) *Utkanṭhitena sodvegam... kīrtanam ;*

ehi Vāsavadatteti kva yasityādī...

In the published *Svapnavāsavadatta*, the expressions *ehi Vāsavadatte* and *kva yāsi* are not found. It is true that "the king feelingly called for *Vāsavadattā* and so on",² but that was in sleep. What is wanted is that the king, despondent of meeting *Vāsavadattā*, still knowing she was near him, asks her to return, and not to go away, an incident appropriate after seeing *Vāsavadattā* when he was asleep, Act V).³ This portion is not in the published text.

(d) *Sahāvasthitayor* (the princess and her *vīṇā*) *ekapṛāptyānya-*
sya gaveṣaṇam.

darsanasparśanālāpāh ;

ciraprasuptaḥ kāmō me vīṇayā pratibodhitah ;

tām tu devīm na pāśyāmi yasyā ghoṣadati priyā.

kim te bhūyah priyam kuryām.

This incident is found in the published *Svapnavāsavadatta*. The stanza *ciraprasuptaḥ*, etc., occurs in the text. But the passage *kim te bhūyah priyam kuryām* is not in it. Thus (a) and the former part of (d) suggest that the published *Svapnavāsavadatta* is nearly the same as the text known to *Śaradātanaya*, but (b), (c) and the last portion of (d) show that there are considerable portions omitted. This point also thus suggests the abridgment of a bigger text into the text now published.⁴

10. *Bhoja*: The passage has been published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.⁵ "In the drama *Svapnavāsavadatta*, the king goes to *samudragṛha* to see *Padmāvatī* who was indisposed. Not seeing *Padmāvatī* there, he slept in the bed prepared for her. He saw *Vāsavadattā*

1. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 668.

2. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 669.

3. Sv. p. 58.

4. Omission of love scenes referred to above.

5. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 668.

as in a dream, though it was not a dream. He addressed Vāsavadattā in his sleep." This incident is fully described in the fifth Act of the published Svapnavāsavadatta. The editor of the Svapnavāsavadatta, in a hilarious mood, explains ¹ "Had I obtained these before, there would not have been the slightest discussion over my view that Bhāsa was the author of this Svapnavāsavadatta. Luckily my opinion has now been vindicated." L. D. Barnett remarks on the above ² :—"Obviously, if these works should give the name of the author of the play as Bhāsa, they would be important witnesses in support of his view.... Now in neither of them is Bhāsa mentioned. Has he not omitted something?" The editor of the Svapnavāsavadatta has not presented his case properly. If Bhāsa wrote a Svapnavāsavadatta, and if an authority like Śaradātanaya or Bhoja refers to a Svapnavāsavadatta, then the conclusion is that both are identical; the burden of disproving the point is on the opponent. The published Svapnavāsavadatta agrees in most of the essentials with the Svapnavāsavadatta known to Śaradātanaya and Bhoja. So the published Svapnavāsavadatta is identical or is at least intimately related to Bhāsa's drama of that name. Bhoja's reference shows the intimate relation between, if not the identity of, the two dramas.

11. Vāmana : The stanza quoted by Vāmana is :—

Śaraccandrāmsūgaureṇa vātāviddhena bhāmini ;

Kāśapūṣpalavenedam sāsruṣṭam mukham krtam.

This stanza occurs in the published Svapnavāsavadatta. The reading is :—

Śaraccaśāṅkagaureṇa vātāviddhena bhāmini ;

Kāśapūṣpalavenedam sāsruṣṭam mukham mama.

The reading as given in Vāmana is significant. The commentator, Śrī Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, ³ says: *Candrāmsūgaureṇety anena candrikāyām kāśapūṣpalavasyāvivecanīyatā sūcitā.* ⁴ This shows that the incidents of the scene are on a moonlight night. But in the published text the incident takes place by day time, as is evident from the Viṭṭaka's statement: *Saraakālatikkho dussaho ādavo.* (The summer sun is unbearable). This shows that the text has been altered slightly.

The second half of point (11) and point (12) I will take up for discussion later on.

Of these eleven points, the first is useless for deciding any question connected with Bhāsa. The second point shows that the Svapnavāsavadatta

1. J. A. R. S., 1924, p. 669.

2. J. R. A. S., 1925, p. 99.

3. Kāvyaśāṅkārāsūtravṛtti with commentary, B. S. S.

Kāvyaśāṅkārāsūtravṛtti with commentary, B. S. S. IV-3-25, p. 145.

published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series cannot be, as it is, by Bhāsa. The third point proves definitely that Bhāsa has written a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta. Points 4-9 and 11 (first half) show that a drama by name Svapnavāsavadatta was known to scholars in ancient India, which was not much different from the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, but which was not identical with it, which may be the original of which the published text may be an abridgement. Point 10 shows that the fifth act of the published Svapnavāsavadatta is probably identical with the drama of that name known to Bhoja.

This is the position. There is the text of a Svapnavāsavadatta published now. A text of that name was known in ancient times. There is nothing to show that there were two Svapnavāsavadatta dramas. All the evidences show that the drama known in ancient times was not much different from the text now published, but was not, at the same time, quite identical with it. So the conclusion is that the one is an adaptation from the other. Since many references given in ancient texts are missing in the now published Svapnavāsavadatta, and since it is also found that all such references could have a place in this same published text in an enlarged (its original) form, the natural conclusion is that the text as published now is an abridgment of a bigger drama. As Bhāsa has written a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta, and as the published text cannot be quite identical with that drama, Bhāsa's drama must have been abridged and altered for purposes of stage production. It is this stage adaptation that we have in the printed text.

Although in philosophical and scientific works we see the same name for different texts, ¹ it is not quite common in pure literature. If the same name is given for different works in literature, only one of them was well-known, others were obscure, as in the case of the Kumārasambhava, ² Subhadrādhanañjaya, ³ etc. So long as we have no proof to the contrary, we must conclude that there is only one Svapnavāsavadatta and that was the work of Bhāsa, especially when the evidences, to show that all references to Svapnavāsavadatta in ancient works are to the same text, are quite convincing. K. Rama Piṣharoti's contention ⁴ that the shorter names Vāsavadatta and Svapnanāṭika given to the printed text is to distinguish it

1. Nyāyasūdhā, Siddhānta Dipikā, etc.

2. Winternitz Geschichte der Indischen Literatur, Bd. III, p. 18-n.

3. Adyar Library, Subhadrādhanañjaya by Garuṣṭakavi and Kulasekhara Varma (Cat. in the press). D. C. S. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Vol. XXI, Nos. 12723 to 12726.

4. B. S. O. S. 1923, p. 108.

from the original bigger drama of the full name of Svapnavāsavadatta, is carrying the critical faculty too far, to say nothing of a misstatement of facts: in some manuscripts the printed text is known by the full name.¹ Further the Śakuntala, Dhanañjaya, Samvarana and Cūḍamani are not the names of abridgements of Abhijñānaśakuntala, Subhadrādhanañjaya, Tapatisamvarana and Ācaryacūḍamani. Such a contraction shows only the popularity of the book.

From the above considerations it is almost certain that there is only one Svapnavāsavadatta and that it is by Bhāsa; that the printed text must be an abridgment of the original; that the real work of Bhāsa has yet to be discovered. I have tried to show above that the Cārudatta as published now must be an adaptation from another work, for Malabar stage. The case of Svapnavāsavadatta lends support to that view. Until the contrary is proved (and Morgenstierne has not done so) the only possible conclusion is that the Cārudatta is an abridgement of and adaptation from the Mṛcchakaṭika. In support of such a view, many arguments have already been advanced by other scholars, some of them really unfortunate—arguments, which should not have been brought forward. Such arguments only weaken the position. Such is the case with K. R. Pisharoti's contention² that "in the hurry of the adaptation, the adapter has forgotten even to quote or give the usual *Māṅgalāśloka*—something inexcusable in an Indian writer". The more "inexcusable" is such a contention, especially following upon the statement³ that "the clever play-wright has so adapted them as to produce a complete drama" (italics mine), a statement not quite true either. In the Cārudatta, as is printed there is neither a beginning (*māṅgala*) nor an end (*Bharatavākya*). The fourth act does not end the story. The conclusion is abrupt. J. Charpentier says⁴ that one act more will make the Cārudatta complete. I will show that there must have been originally more than even five acts in the Cārudatta.

There is the Cārudatta, there is also a Daridrācārudatta. The latter, it is said, has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhāratī.⁵ I am not able to trace the reference. The name Daridrācārudatta occurs in N.D.⁶ In this work both the Mṛcchakaṭika and the Daridrācārudatta are mentioned

1. Sv. Introduction, p. XXI, D. C. S. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, Vol. XXI, No. 12730.

2. B. S. O. S. 1923, p. 108.

3. B. S. O. S. 1923, p. 108.

4. J. R. A. S. 1923, p. 601.

5. Sv. Introduction, p. XXII; J. R. A. S. 1922, p. 81.

6. J. A. 1923, p. 195.

SOME UNEXPLAINED PRĀKRIT PASSAGES.

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and this is taken as evidence that they are different works. This is no sur evidence. Mallinātha quotes from the Vaijayantī in his commentaries. Some times he says *iti Vaijayantī*,¹ sometimes *iti Yādava*.² No one will contend that Mallinātha refers to two different works. He does so even in commenting on the same stanza.³ Perhaps the drama was known by two different names, one based upon the chief incident and the other on the hero and an author may refer to that work by either of the names. That there are two names is no argument for assuming two different works also. The drama called Pratijñāyugaṇḍharāyaṇa is also known as Vatsarājacarita.⁴ Suppose there is mention of a work called Pratijñāyugaṇḍharāyaṇa and another called Vatsarājacarita, are we to infer two works or only one?

It may be contended that the Cārudatta or the Daridrācārudatta had only four (or five) acts, and Śūdraka enlarged it into a bigger drama of ten acts and called it Mṛcchakaṭika. In support of this, it is argued that the stanza quoted by Vāmana⁵ and appearing in both the Cārudatta⁶ and the Mṛcchakaṭika⁷ agrees more (as quoted by Vāmana) with the text in the Cārudatta than with the Mṛcchakaṭika;⁸ the stanza is:—

Vāmana: *Yāsām balir bhavati Madgṛhadehalīnām* (a)

Hamsaiś ca sārāsagaṇaiś ca viluṭtapūrvah (b)

Tāsv eva pūrvabalirādhyavāṇkurāsu (c)

Bijāñjaliḥ patati kīṭamukhāvalīdhah. (d)

Cārudatta: *Vibhaktapūṣpaḥ* in (b).

Mṛcchakaṭika: *sapadi* in (a) *samprati virūḍhatrṇa* in (c)

This comparison shows that neither the Cārudatta nor the Mṛcchakaṭika entirely agrees with the text in Vāmana. We cannot also say that the reading in the Mṛcchakaṭika is much farther off from Vāmana than the Cārudatta. Further we do not know the Malabar reading of the Mṛcchakaṭika.

12. Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa quotes a stanza from the Cārudatta:—

1. Meghadūta, Com. on *Vibhaktapūṣpaḥ* 1-29 (only 3 times in Megh.)

2. In a large number of cases in Megh. Com. on *tām cāvalyam*. I-9, etc.

3. Megh. Com. on *tatrāyāntam dr̥ṣṭi*. I-55.

4. T. S. S. Edition-conclusion; D. C. S. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, Vol. XXI, No. 12542.

5. Kāvyaśāstrakāraśūtravṛtti, iv, 3-25.

6. C., p. 8.

7. M., p. 19.

8. J. R. A. S. 1923, p. 599.

*Śuṣkadrūmagato ranti ādityābhimukham sthitah ;
Kathayaty animittam me vāyaso jñānapaṇḍitah.*

This stanza is not in the Cārudatta that has been printed, for obvious reasons. The stanza must be in the ninth act of the drama. The corresponding portion in the Mṛcchakaṭika¹ is composed of two stanzas. I quote only the parallel words.

- (a) *Śuṣkavṛkṣasthito dhvāṅkṣa adityābhimukhas tathā*
(b) *Śakunir aparāś cāyam tāvad viranti hi naikaśah*
Kathayati mahāghoram mṛtyum.

Sylvain Levi says² that the quotation from the Cārudatta is opened "yathā Cārudattaḥ", which must be a mistake for "yathā Cārudatte". The professor concludes³ that 'the quotation furnished by the Ratnakośa is enough to prove that the Cārudatta had developed nearly on lines parallel to the Mṛcchakaṭika.' I think that it proves something more—that the Cārudatta is only another name for the Mṛcchakaṭika. The difference in the reading is accounted for by the difference in the place from which manuscripts are collected. Sylvain Levi's manuscript of the Ratnakośa is from Nepal. Perhaps a shorter recension of the Mṛcchakaṭika may come to light. What is important is that both the Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika have the same number of acts, the same plot, the same characters, the same words; the only difference is that the Cārudatta is a shorter recension—there is a curtailment even, in the first four acts (which are printed). The theory that Śūdraka worked upon the four acts (or five acts) of the Cārudatta and produced the Mṛcchakaṭika is once for all exploded. Now the only possible theory⁴ is that there was a drama in ten acts by Bhāsa, called Cārudatta, and that Śūdraka added a few more stanzas and called it Mṛcchakaṭika. To try to refute such a theory will be like stabbing a dead body. The theory has no life in it. The only possibility is that there was a drama called Mṛcchakaṭika, also known as Cārudatta or Darīdracārudatta. It had a longer and a shorter recension.⁵ The printed Cārudatta is an abridgement of the first four acts of that drama with many alterations suited for the Malabar stage.

1. M. pp. 392, 393.

2. J. A. 1923, 216-n.

3. J. A. 1923, p. 217.

4. J. A. 1923, p. 217.

5. As in the Śākuntala, cf. Śākuntala, Oxford 1876. Preface p. vii; Translation in Everyman's Series by Rider.

I am trying to publish the drama Vināvāsavadatta, the first three acts of which are in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.¹ After its publication I will give my views on the Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa.²

My conclusions are :

1. The Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika are the same work. The printed Cārudatta is an abridgment and adaptation of that drama (first four acts).
2. There is only one Svapnavāsavadatta and that is by Bhāsa. The printed text is an abridgement of the first few acts thereof.

Note by C. K. R. 1. With reference to the note by S. K. S. on p. 234 the position taken by the writer of this article has to be explained and it will be done on a subsequent occasion.

2. After this article was printed off I read in the J. R. A. S. 1927, p. 605, as follows: "..... the Bhāsa question, which ought, by this time to have passed beyond discussion." If the writer, J. Charpentier means that the authorship of the thirteen dramas has been finally proved, I must apologise to him for poking the question again. I even now doubt if "the Bhāsa question" has been, even as yet, properly set forth.

1. Report Vol. III, Part I, C. No. 2754.

2. The two dramas are closely related in plot and sentiment.

UPANIṢADIC METRE

PART II

BY

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The various combinations of these groups may be graphically displayed by the following Table.¹

TABLE OF TRIṢṬUBHŚ & JAGATĪS

	Upa. 7.	Upa. 6.	Upa. 5.	Trb. Upa. 7.	Sā 7.	Vā 7.
Upa. 4	1 a	1 c ?		1 f	6 Aa	6 Ba
Upa. 5	1 b	1 d		1 g	6 Ab	6 Bb
Upa. 6			1 e			6 Bc
Sā. 4	2 a	2 b		2 c	7 A	7 B
Vai. 3	3 a	3 b		3 c	8 A	8 B
and A	4 a	4 b		4 c	9 A	9 B
and B	5 a	5 b		5 c	10 A	10 B

In what follows, a numeral below the line indicates pre-caesural short. Thus '1a' means — — — — —, and a 'j' added means Jagatī. Thus '1e,j' means Jagatī of Upajātī with caesura after 5 with pre-caesural short. Of these various types the 'pure' Upajātīs account for about a third of the verses; the Śālinī-vārtarmīs and the Upajātī Śālinī's in equal proportions account for another third; a long way behind these three staple

Note.—Only the thick types show pre-caesural shorts.

¹ For sporadic occurrences of the archaic groups — — — — — (pre-caesural), — — — — — and — — — — — (post-caesural) see the metrical notes that follow. 2b, 3a and 5b, are doubtful. See examples at the end.

6. The disappearance of the Dvipadāviraj and gradually of the disturbing type with 5 or 4 opening iambs as also the post-caesural group (after 4) — — — — —

7. The great reduction in the number of verses with the Vaiśvadevī opening (from nearly a fifth to less than a twentieth or, counting the twelves, to a twelfth).

8. The diminution of verses with a short second (from 12 to 3).

9. The gradual ascendancy of the Śālinī over the Vāṭormī. (The former which was only half as numerous as the latter in the R̥g-Veda is in the Upaniṣads a fifth as much again).

10. The disuse of the various strophic stanzas, and other schemes of more than four lines, naturally brought about by the change in the subject-matter and the circumstances of recitation.

To these is probably to be added a reversal of the positions of the earlier 'and 'later' caesura (*i. e.*, after 4 and 5) in the matter of frequency. In the Upaniṣads the earlier caesura is appreciably more numerous while in the Vedas it seems to have been the other way about. But an extensive examination is required before a definite statement can be made.

Equivalence or Resolution.—The phenomenon of equivalence, whereby two shorts do duty for one long, plays an all-important part in the formation of new classical metres out of the Triṣṭubh. The process which was active as late as the 16th century, as is evidenced by the famous 24 metres of the great Malayālam poet Ezhuttaccan, has already set in in the Upaniṣads. But as yet, its scope is limited to the resolution of only one syllable in a line, initial or medial.¹

Now, since the initial syllable is indifferent, an Anuṣṭubh scheme — — — — —, — — — — — (यदिदं किं च जगत्सर्वं) or a Triṣṭubh scheme — — — — —, — — — — — (ध्रुवमध्रुवेष्विह न प्रार्थयन्ते), may be regarded, not as due to resolution, but to an initial extra short providing a sort of jumping board that gives initial momentum to the verse. Indeed this may have been the origin of the particular form of the hyper-metre; but very soon along with the tendency to standardise the quantity of the initial syllable these opening pyrrhics must have come to be regarded as cases of resolution. Be this as it may, the medial pyrrhics as in — — — — —

1. For a discussion of the Anuṣṭubh hyper-metres ending in भवति (Kaṭha) यस्तु विज्ञानवान् भवति *c. g.*, see Hopkins "Great Epic", p. 259.

— नेदं यदिदमुपासते is a clear case of equivalence. It is to be regretted that the classical poets in their mania for regularity confined the operation of this principle to the formation of new metres and deliberately forbore to explore the prosodic possibilities of modulation of the line within the stanza by resolving a long now and then or by resorting to the other expedients by which the Upaniṣadic poet attained variety.

HYPERMETERS.

Forty per. cent. of the hypermeters are cases of resolution. The instinct of the Sanskrit poet has always been to avoid the spoiling of the metrical groups by insertion of extra syllables into their body (unless it be a case of resolution). And since the cadence is the most characteristic portion of the verse, final extras are sure to be a disturbance (the Jagatī overflow is a different matter) and are avoided for that reason. The experimenting poet of the Muṇḍaka has however a few instances of the final extra (as well as defect). It must be remembered that an extra syllable after the caesura is prosodically on a par with initial extra.

LIST OF RESOLUTIONS.

- Kaṭha II 11d त्वां ददृशिवान् मृत्युमुखात्प्रमुक्तं — — — — —, — — — — —
 21b न हि सुविज्ञेयमणुरेष धर्मः — — — — —, — — — — —
 II 6c अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी — — — — —, — — — — —
 IV 2d ध्रुवमध्रुवेष्विह न प्रार्थयन्ते — — — — —, — — — — —
 III 2c अभयं तितीर्षता पारं — — — — —, — — — — —
 IV 10d य इह नानेव पश्यति — — — — —, — — — — —
 V 6a हन्त त इदं प्रवक्ष्यामि — — — — —, — — — — —
 VI 2a यदिदं किं च जगत्सर्वम् — — — — —, — — — — —
 7a अव्यक्तालु परः पुरुषो — — — — —, — — — — —
 Muṇḍaka II 2 1d यदेतज्जानय सदसद्वरेण्यम् — — — — —, — — — — —
 III 1 2d अस्य महिमानमिति वीतशोकः — — — — —, — — — — —
 III 2 8d परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यं — — — — —, — — — — —

- II 8c सत इमे लोका येषु चरन्ति प्राणाः ————
 Śveta I 2b भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्यं ————
 I 6c पृथगात्मानं प्रेरितारं च मत्वा ————
 7d लीना ब्रह्मणि तत्परा योनिमुक्ताः ————
 III 9c वृक्ष इव स्तब्धो दिवि तिष्ठत्येकः ————
 Kena I 4d नेदं यदिदमुपासते ————
 13a इह चेदनेदीदय सत्यमस्ति ————
 Īśa 12c ततो भूय इव ते तमो ————

LIST OF HYPERMETERS.

Besides the above the following cases occur.

Kaṭha.

- I 16d सुक्लां चेमामनेकरूपां गृहाण ————
 A very interesting instance of extra before Śālinī 7.

- II 1b ते उभे नानार्थे पुरुषं सिनीतः ————
 initial Extra.

- 13d विवृतं सङ्गनाचिकेतसं मन्ये ————Final
 Extra.

- I This is a doubtful case of final Extra.
 VI 2c य एतद्विदुरभृतास्ते भवन्ति (quoted from the Br. Ā. Initial Extra.)

- I 6cd सस्यमिव मर्त्यः पच्यते ————Initial Extra?
 सस्यमिवाजायते पुनः ————do.

- IV 15b आसितं तादृगेव भवति ————Final Extra.

- V 6a य एष सुप्तेषु जागर्ति ————Initial Extra.

- Mundaka 2b अथवा तां पुरीवाचाङ्गिरे ब्रह्मविद्याम्

————— This line is made up of Śā 4 + Śā 4 (with initial and final short + Śā 7. The point to be noticed here is the duplication of the opening group. If this is a

1. Cf. the classical metre Induvadanā or Varasundari
 ————— which is the above with resolution of penultimate and final extra

2. The jagati of this will be the classical Rucirā —————

genuine case, it is one of those links that may throw light on the problem of the evolution of the longer metres. The present writer holds, in the absence of a better hypothesis, that this principle of duplication of groups coupled with resolution will explain their derivation. It will be out of place here to dwell at any length on this point but some indication is necessary to make the point clear. Take the Mandākrānta. According to this theory, it will be derived as follows:—

—————, { ———— or ———— } ————

Śā. 4 + Upa. (or Śā) 4 + Śā 7.

Indeed the example under discussion is just this combination. On this theory again the middle group of the Sragdharā will be the resolved equivalent of Śālinī 4. Thus ———— and its opening group will be a welding of Śā 4 and Upajāti 4 losing a syllable in the process. The Śikharinī will resolve into a Vaiśvadevī opening, an Indravajrā 4 and another Indravajrā 4, the whole being introduced by an initial extra short. This opening group ———— occurs in these Upaniṣads as the metrical notes will show further on. The very next case provides an instance.

- 2c स भारद्वाजाय सत्यवाहाय ग्राह ————

— I. E.

- 6d तदन्वयं तद्भूतयोनिं परिपश्यन्ति धीराः
 ———— (See 2b above)

This is made up of Upa. 4 + Upa. 5 + Vā 7

- 7b यथा पृथिव्यां ओषधयः संभवन्ति ————

Another interesting case of an extra (long) before Vā 7

- 7c यथा सतः पुरुषान्केशलोमानि ————1

Final extra.

- I 2 5a एतेषु यच्चरते आजमानेषु ————1 final extra.

- 6a एहोहीति तमाहुतयः सुवर्चसः ————Do.

Resolutions—

- 6c प्रियां वाचमभिवदन्त्योर्चयन्त्यः ————Resolution.

This is either a case of resolution (of the first syllable of Śā 7) or an extra short before Vā 7. Either way the group is an interesting parallel to the tribrach Upajāti 7

- 9b ———— A clear case of extra long before Vā 7

4d वय कृतार्थ इत्यभिमन्यन्ति बालाः

10d इमं लोकं हीनतरं वा विशन्ति —, —, —, —, — Same as above.

11d यत्रामृतः स पुरुषो ह्यव्ययात्मा —, —, —, —, — same as 6c.

12 तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् —, —, —, —, — do.

III 4d पद्भ्यां पृथिवी ह्येष सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा —, —, —, —, —

The opening group — — — — was of occasional occurrence in the Rg-Veda. It had by this time become quite archaic and was perhaps equated to — — — —. The ह्येष — is an intrusion at the caesura. The poet seems to have spoilt his rhythm in an unsuccessful attempt at joining a formula ह्येष सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा to the stanza.

II 2e तदेतत्सत्यं तदमृतं —, —, —, —, — Initial extra.

6e ओमित्येवं ध्यायथ आत्मानं —, —, —, —, — Initial extras.

III 3d निरञ्जनं परमं साम्यमुपैति —, —, —, —, —

An interesting instance of a syllable intruding into the body of a group. This is very near the classical *Mattamayūra* post-caesural group — — — —, which, in effect, is the Śālinī 7 with the shorts duplicated making the naturally slow movement slower. It may be regarded as a combination of the group — — — — (extra long before Vā. 7) and the group in question — — — —

6d यत्र तत्सत्यस्य परमं विज्ञानं —, —, —, —, — The scheme being the same as — — — —, —, —, —, —, it is better to regard it as this latter type with the caesura thrown forward than to regain the first syllable as an extra.

8d ततस्तु तं पश्यति निष्कलं ध्यायमानः

—, —, —, —, —

This historically is Upa, 4 + Śā. 7 with the first three syllables (a गण) of the Śā 7 duplicated or ततस्तु — — — — extra three syllables prefixed to Upajāti 4 + Śā 7. Now this last combination with a weakening of
i. cf य एतदेवं विद्वानक्षरमुद्रीधमुपास्ते — | — — — — one of the Chāndogya formulas. (close of I' 7 & 8 and II): which yields the perfect *Mattamayūra* scheme.

the caesural pause will be in effect a tāla metre, practically, repeating as it does the group — — — — four times. The Muṇḍaka verse in question extending this rhythm with a similar tilt lengthened out stumbles on Daṇḍaka rhythm in fact.

10b विशुद्धसत्त्वः कामयते यांश्च कामान्

—, —, —, —, — Extra after caesura.

Śvetāśvatara

III 1a य एको जाल्वानीशते ईशानीभिः —, —, —, —, —

Initial extra before the archaic opening group — — — —

The same archaic group occurs in Muṇḍaka III 4a प्राणी ह्येष यः सर्वभूतैर्विभाति —, —, —, —, —

2c प्रत्यङ्गनास्तिष्ठति संचुकोपान्तकाले

—, —, —, —, — Rather interesting. It may be regarded either as an *Indravajrā* with its last three syllables duplicated — — — — or — — — — (say — — — — + Upa. 4 pre-caesural short) + Śālinī 7. Thus the line is a combination of *Upajāti* and *Śālinī* rhythm and it may be read so as to yield one or the other rhythm. It is not suggested of course that the poet deliberately made up this complex. He had, like every real poet, the various rhythms running in his head and sometimes as rhythms will, they fused of their own accord giving birth to these such double-faced beauties.

Notes on mixed and other irregular stanzas.

Kaṭha II 14 { A अन्यत्र धर्मादन्यत्राधर्माद् —, —, —, — Upa. 4 + Vai. 5

Is this 'Prose- { B अन्यत्रास्माकृताकृतात् —, —, —, — Anuṣṭubh

poetry' { C अन्यच्च भूताच्च भव्याच्च —, —, —, — Upa. 5 + Śā. 4

{ D यत्तत्पश्यसि तद्वद —, —, —, — Anuṣṭubh

are A and C to be restored to अन्यत्र धर्माच्चाधर्मात् —, —, —, —

and अन्यत्र भूताद्भव्याच्च —, —, —, — making a regular Śloka of the whole?

III 14 This is a famous stanza beginning उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत which is a short Anuṣṭubh —, —, —, — the defect being made up by the emphatic pause; b; is also an Anuṣṭubh c and d Trisṭubhs.

VI. 2. 3 Anuṣṭubh (a & c being hypermeters) capped 6, a Trisṭubh formula.

VI 5 यथादर्शे तथात्मनि, यथा स्वप्ने तथा पितृलोके ।
यथाप्सु परीव ददृशे तथा गन्धर्वलोके, छायातपोरिव ब्रह्मलोके ॥

From the context this seems to be a metrical stanza corrupted, the last pāda being left intact.

Proposed Restoration.

यथादर्शे ददृशे तथात्मनि
यथास्वप्ने पितृलोके तथा च ।
गन्धर्वलोके ददृशे यथाप्सु
छायातपोरिव ब्रह्मलोके ॥

} a second Tristubh stanza

Perhaps it is only 'prose-poetry.'

VI 17 a is Indravajrā; b is Upa. 5 + and Vā. 7; c Anuṣṭubh odd 2nd tri-
pula (or lopped Tristubh); d dvipadaviraj; e and f Anuṣṭubh refrain,

I 17 as in the text reads like prose. एषतेऽग्निर्नचिकेतः स्वर्गयो यमवृणी-
था द्वितीयेन वरेण एतमग्निं तवैव । प्रवक्ष्यन्ति जनास्तृतीयं वरं नचिकेतो वृणीष्व ॥

Now the context as well as the rhythms suggest that it is corrupt
text of an original stanza in metre rather than 'prose-poetry,' (that occurs in
the Prose Upaniṣad). The following restoration is proposed

एषतेऽग्निर्नचिकेतः स्वर्गयोऽसुर्वगेया ———, ———
यं द्वितीयेनावृणीथा वरेण । ———, ———
अग्निं तवैतत्प्रवदन्ति एतम् ———, ———
वरं तृतीयं नचिकेतो वृणीष्व ॥ ———, ———

——— a regular Upaniṣad stanza. जनासः, subject of प्रवक्ष्यन्ति, is omitted. cf
II 15 c where the same subject is understood.

II 25 consists of 6 Tristubh; V 8 Hyp anu (?) + Vātōrmi + 4 anu
(Śloka). The first two lines seem to have been originally a Tristubh
hemistich.

VI 1 6 Anuṣṭubhs in 3 ardhas.

VI 17 Muṇḍaka

I² 2 Mixed Stanza 2 Anuṣṭubhs + 2 Tristubhs.

3 Looks like prose. Divide

यस्याग्निहोत्रमदर्शमपौर्णमासं
अचातुर्मास्यमनाप्रयणमतिथिवर्जितं च ।
अद्भुतमैवैश्वदेवमविधिनाद्भुतम्
आसप्तमास्तस्य लोकान्द्विनस्ति ॥

a. ———. The poet has missed the Vasanta-
tilaka (got from the tribrach medial Indravajrā by duplicating the three
syllables—a gaṇa-, after the late caesura) by a hair's breadth, or possibly he
has not missed it, if one reads होत्र as होतर prosodically (analogous to
Ind²ra and Rud²ra of R. V.)

b. ———, ———, ———. A loose verse line. The
middle group intrudes into Vai. 5+ tr. 6. +. Upa. 7 and is possibly to be
equated to ——— in the light of later developments.

c. ———. Repetition of the group ———

d. Upa 4 + Śā 7

This passage is a good example of upaniṣadic prose-poetry or rhythmic
prose which is a strong testimony to our doctrine of metrical groups.

II² 1 Mixed Stanza. Divide

आविः सन्निहितं गुहाचरन्नाम ———, ———
महत्पदमत्र एतत्समर्पितम् ———, ———
एजत्प्राणन्निमिषच्च ———
यदेतज्जानय सदसद्वरेण्यं ———, ———
परं विज्ञानाद्यद्वरिष्ठं प्रजानाम् ———, ———

a. seems to be Vai. 5 (with 4th syllable resolved) + Upa. 6 opening

2 Also a mixed stanza. Tristubh hemistich + Śloka. A. यदर्चिमजदणु-

भ्योऽणु च

———, ——— Probably Upa. 4+ catalectic Vātormi
with final defect. b Vātormi.

6 Mixed stanza—Śloka + Anuṣṭubh + Tristubh. The irregularities
of the pādas in this stanza have been dealt with already.

11 Reads ब्रह्मैवेदममृतं पुरस्ताद्ब्रह्म ———, ——— | ———

पश्चाद्ब्रह्म दक्षिणश्चोत्तरेण ———, ———

अधश्चोर्ध्वं च प्रसृतं ———, ———

ब्रह्मैवेदं विश्वमिदं वरिष्ठम् ———, ———

The final ब्रह्म in a is extra metrical and c is sadly defective. Why not
remove it and tack it on to c where it probably belongs originally? Read
अधश्चोर्ध्वं प्रसृतं च ब्रह्म which is Śā 4 (or Upa. 5) + Upa. 6.

III 10 A mixed Stanza. Divide

पुरुष एव इदं विश्वं कर्म ———— 1 —

तपो ब्रह्म परामृतं ————

एतद्यो वेद निहितं गुहायां ————, ————

सो विद्या ग्रन्थि विकिरतीहसोम्य ————, ————

Śvetāśvatara.

III 10 Mixed stanza. Two Anuṣṭubhs + two triṣṭubhs (quoted from Br. Ā.)

IV 13 do Two Anu + Triṣṭ. (quoted from Rg. V.)

VI 10 do

यस्तूर्णनाभ इव तन्तुभिः ————, ———— 10

प्रधानजैः स्वभावतः ———— 8

दवे एक स्वमावृणोति ———— 9

स नो दधातु ब्रह्माव्ययम् ———— 9

a catalectic Upajāti with final defect; *b* Anuṣṭubh; *c* and *d* are probably to be restored to

देव एक स्वमावृणोति ब्रह्म ————, ———— Upajāti.

स नो दधातु अव्ययम् ———— Anuṣṭubh.

Corresponding to *a* and *b*

Muṇḍaka II 2 11. (discussed above) shows the same disturbance caused by the misplacing of the same word ब्रह्म.

II 17 The concluding Section of II looks like prose and cannot be arranged into anything like a stanza. But it is poetic prose and splits into rhythmic groups as follows.

a यो देवोऽग्नौ योऽप्सु यो विश्वं भुवनमाविवेश

b य ओषधीषु यो वनस्पतिषु

तस्मै देवाय नमो नमः

a ————, ————, ————

b ————, ————

c ————, ————

a is a Triṣṭubh with duplicated opening.

b Upa. 5 + the *Rathoddhatā* opening which is an initially defective opening of the tribrach medial Upajāti.

c. Vai 5 (short end) + Upa. 4 or if the caesura is overlooked, as it well may in this Upaniṣad, it is finally defective Śā. 4 + Upa. 6

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Katha I. 9c. नमस्तेऽस्तु ब्रह्मन् स्वस्ति मेऽस्तु. Read सुवस्ति ।

————— Opens with the rhythm of the later Bhujāṅga-prayāta, ends with the normal Triṣṭubh cadence. Historically, the line may be referred to an archaic type ————, + ———— with the caesura thrown backward.

II 1c तयोः प्रेयः आददानस्य साधुर्भवति. Here भवति is extra metrical and may be dropped.

2 c श्रेयो हि धीरोऽतिप्रेयसे वृणीते

—————, ———— extra short (or long) after caesura in the old Upajāti with long 6th. The preposition अभि had apparently the privilege of being used in this way Cf. Muṇḍaka I²c इमां वाचमभि वदन्त्योऽर्चयन्त्यः (already cited).

8a न नरेणावरेण प्रोक्त एष ————, ————. An instance of the old reversal of rhythm after caesura. R V. X—15—10 c आग्ने याहि सहस्रं देववन्दैः ————, ———— This was rare even in the R V. A possible restoration is एष प्रोक्तो न नरेणावरेण —which probably removes the ambiguity of the line (see note 1 p. 347, Hume's Thirteen Principal Upaniṣadas)

9d त्वाद्द्वनो भूयान्नचिकेतः प्रष्टा ————, ———— long 9th

IV 8a अरण्योर्निहितो जातवेदाः scan ————, ———— (अरणियो).

V 15ab न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं ————, ————

नेमा विद्यतो भान्ति कुतोयमग्निः ————, ————

Both are hypermetrical with initial extra. *a* is short 2nd B + Upa. 6 j (with faulty caesura, and *b* is in Indra vajrā. But it is noticeable that reading सूरियो and न इमा both these lines start off with perfect Anuṣṭubhs. It is one of those instances of fusion of Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh rhythms.

VI 2c It is a question where 2c ends. The obvious way is to end it at उद्यते, since what follows is a formula,

महद्भयं वज्रमुद्यतं ———— Hyp. Anuṣṭubh.

III 13c ज्ञानमात्मनि महति नियच्छेत् ————

This has a mora rhythm, 4 moras to the foot, the first foot defective. It is not suggested however that the poet had it in mind.

Īśa 2c एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्त ———— Resolution

12c ततो भूय इव ते तमो ———— Resolution

In stanza 8 there is a long 4th pāda याथातथ्यतोऽर्थान्वयदधाच्छाश्वतीभ्यः समाभ्यः ———— The first two groups are archaic Triṣṭubh openings.

Muṇḍaka I¹ 6a यत्तद् अद्रेश्यमग्राह्यमगोत्रमवर्णम्—यत्तद् is extra metrical and the line is probably to be restored to अद्रेश्यमग्राह्यमगोत्रमवर्णम्

But with the Muṇḍaka poet a restoration is not to be lightly hazarded. He may, for aught one knows, in this instance be indulging in that very rhythm reversal that characterises the Svāgatā type of classical metres. By design or otherwise, he has here almost stumbled on the Svāgatā rhythm in its characteristic final lisp.

Svāgatā ————

I 2 2c तदाज्यभागावन्तरेणाहुतीः ————

Final defect in Śālinī 7. This is important as it probably throws light on the derivation of the post-caesural group of the Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The present writer holds that the best way of deriving the metre is as follows,

—————, ————, ———— (Śā. 7 duplicated)

—————, ————, ———— (catalectic defect)

by dropping the final, throwing back 2nd caesura and releasing the earlier one.¹ The present Muṇḍaka example yields the finally defective Śālinī 7.

2d is a very short line प्रतिपादयेच्छ्रद्धयाहुतम्

————— 2 + Śā. 7. Has something dropped out?

1. Hopkins's suggestion (Great Epic) is arbitrary and confusing.

5 तन्नयन्त्येता सूर्यस्य रश्मयो (सूर्यस्य)

—————, ———— The archaic long sixth.

6b सूर्यस्य रश्मिभिर्यजमानं वहन्ति ————, ————

It is as if the poet regarded a metrical group as on all fours with a pāda and used here the Jagatī form of the opening group Upajātī 5.

5e वाचो विमुञ्चथामृतस्यैष सेतुः Is there yati-bhaṅga?

3d लक्ष्यं तदेवाक्षरं सोम्य विद्धि is in the same case.

III 4a प्राणी ह्येष यः सर्वभूतैर्विभाति

—————, ———— Archaic opening group.

4d एष ब्रह्मविदां वरिष्ठः ———— Initial defect of two syllables.

6a सत्यमेव जयते नानृतं ———— Finally defective Vā. 7.

6d यत्र तत्सत्यस्य परमं निधानं ————, ————

is best regarded as short 2nd B + trb. Upa. 7 with faulty caesura.

III 6d मुच्यन्ति as passive is a sacrifice to metre?

II 3cd खंवायुर्ज्योतिरापः पृथिवी विश्वस्य धारिणी is to be read as a continuous hemistich. Otherwise scanning becomes unnecessarily awkward with pause after आपः Śvetāśvatara IV—21 is a similar case.

Śvetāśvatara

I 6d जुष्टस्तस्तेनामृतत्वमेति Long 6th Upajātī.

9a ज्ञाज्ञौ द्रावजावीशानीशौ Upa. 5 + Śā. 4.

II 11a नीहारधूमाकर्कानिलानिलानां Long 6th Upajātī

15b दीपोपमेनेह युक्तः प्रपश्येत् ————, ———— is Upa. 4 + Śā. 7 with caesura thrown forward.

III 9b यस्मान्नाणीयो न ज्यायोस्ति कश्चित् (न short before ज्य) is Śālinī with caesura thrown forward.

IV 8a ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन् (वियोम) ————, ———— The opening group is archaic

15c यस्मिन्युक्ता ब्रह्मर्षयो देवताश्च In form Vaiśvadēvi with caesura thrown backward. (It is possible to explain otherwise all these cases of faulty caesura.)

V 2b विभाति रूपाणि योनीश सर्वाः ————, ———— Upa. 4 +

Śā. 7 with caesura after 6. The effect is to produce Upajāti rhythm that changes into Śālinī at the 7th syllable——a pleasing variation.

5c सर्वमेतद्विश्वमधितिष्ठत्येको Short 2nd B + trb. Upa. 7 with caesura thrown forward.

6b तद्ब्रह्मा वेदयते ब्रह्मयोनिः Vā. with caesura thrown backward.

11c कर्मानुगान्यनुक्रमेण देही ————, ———— Archaic post-caesural group.

VI 2b ज्ञः कालकालो गुणी सर्वविद्यः ————, ———— Upa. 4 + Śā. 7 with caesura thrown forward.

9c स कारणं कारणाधिपाधिपो ————, ———— Jagatī of Upa. 4 + Upa. 6 (long 6th ————)

21a तपः प्रसादादेवप्रसादात् Dvīpadā-Vīrāj?

21b च ब्रह्मह श्वेताश्वतरोऽथ विद्वान् ————, ———— Upa. 5 + Upa. 7 with caesura thrown backward.

22d नापुत्रायाशिष्याय वा पुनः Hyp. Anuṣṭubh with two extra initials.

EXAMPLES OF METRICAL TYPES. TRIṢṬUBHIS.

1a Upajāti (4)

बहून्पशून्हस्तिहिरण्यमश्वान् K. I 23b

आयम्य तद्वागवतेन चेतसा M. II 2 3c J

1a, Do. with pre-caesural short

सर्वा दिश ऊर्ध्वमधश्च तिर्यक् Śv. V 4a

1b Upajāti 5 + Upa. 7.

नाकस्य पृष्ठे ते सुकृते तु भूत्वा M. I 2 10c

एको बहूनां यो विदधाति कामान् K. V 13b

1c Upa. 4 + Upa. 6 (Doubtful)

विष्वाधिपो रुद्रो महर्षिभिः (Read रुदर) Ś. III 4b no other instance.

Id Upajāti (5)

अध्यात्मयोगाधिगमेन देवं K. II 12c

न सन्न चासच्छिव एव कवेलः Śv. IV 15b

1d, पश्यत्स्विवैह निहितं गुहायां M. III 7d

1e Upajāti (6)

एतद्द्वितीयेन वृणे वरेण K. I 13d

1f Ttribrach medial Upajāti

त्रिकर्मकृत्तरतिजन्ममृत्यु K. I 17b The only sure case.

1g Upa. 5 + Trb Upa. 7-

तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तन् स्वां K. II 23d

धनुर्गृहीत्वोपनिषदं महास्तं M. II 2 3a

2a Śā. 4 + Upa. 7.

नैतां सृङ्गां वित्तमयीमवाप्तो K. II 3c

भारद्वाजोऽङ्गिरसो परावराम् M. I 2d

2a, अणीयान्द्यतर्क्यमणुप्रमाणात् K. II 8d Only instance.

2b Śā. 4 + Upa. 6.

यो ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वम् Śv. VI 18a

एतत्तुल्यं यदि मन्यसे वरम् K. I 24a

2b, ब्रह्मैवेदममृतं पुरस्तात् M. II 2 11 Adoubtful case, no other instance.

2c Śā. 4 + trb Upa. 7

न तत्तत्त्वं, न जरया विभेति K. I 2b.

3a Vai. 5 + Upa. 7,

सोमात्पजर्जन्यः ओषधयः पृथिव्याम् M. II 1 5b only instance.

3a, सूर्यद्वारेण ते विरजाः प्रयान्ति I M. I 2 11c. A doubtful case since

there is an alternative reading विरागाः

3b Vai. 5 + Upa. 6

समाने वृक्षे पुरुषो निमग्नो M. III 1 2a

ये पूर्व देवा ऋषयश्च तद्दिदुः Śv. V 6c

3b, ते मृत्योर्यान्ति विततस्यपाशं K. IV 2b

- 3c Vai. 5 + trb Upa. 7.
तपःश्रद्धे ये ह्युपवसन्त्यरण्ये M II 11a
- 4a Short 2nd A + Upa. 7-
तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विमाति K. V 15d
- 4b Short 2nd A + Upa. b.
एवमात्मात्मनि गृह्यतेऽसौ Śv. I 15c only instance.
- 4c Short 2nd A + trb Upa. 7.
नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो K. II 23a only instance.
- 5a Short 2nd B + Upa. 7 no instance.
- 5b Short 2nd B + Upa. 6.
शान्तसंकल्पः सुमना यथास्यात् K. I 10a
- 5b. विश्वतश्चक्षुरुत विश्वतोमुखी Śv. III 3a Doubtful (The phrases are quoted).
- 5c Short 2nd B + trb Upa. 7.
स्वस्ति वः पाराय तमसः परस्तात् M II 6f. But the caesura is after the 6th Syllable and there is no other case.
यत्न तत्सत्यस्य परमं निधानं III 1 6d is in the same predicament.
- 6Aa Upa. 4 + Śā. 7.
गुहाहितं गह्वरेष्ठं पुराणं K. II 12.
अनादिमत्त्वं विमुक्तेन वर्तते Śv. III 4c. But the caesura falls after 5.
औद्दालकिरारुणिर्मत्प्रसृष्टः K. I. 11b
महत्पदमत्रैतत् समर्पितम् (Read अत्र एतत्) M II 21b
देवैरापि विचिकित्सितं पुरा K. I 21a J
- 6 A 6 Upa 5 + Śā 7.
ज्ञानैर्बिभर्ति जायमानं च पश्यते Śv. V 2 d
- 6 A 6, वाचो विमुञ्चयामृतस्यैष सेतुः M II 2 5 d
स्वयं च जीव शरदो यावदिच्छसि K I 23 d
- 6 Ba. Upa. 4 + Vā 7
अन्यं वरं नचिकेतो वृणीष्व K I 21 c
- 6 Ba स्तोमं महदुरुगायं प्रतिष्ठाम् K II 11 c

- 5 B b Upa. 5 + Vā 7
इहैव सर्वे प्रविलीयन्ति कामाः M III 2 d
- 6 b b 1 हृदीन्द्रियाणि मनसा सन्निरुध्य Śv. II 8 b
- 6 b c, Upa. opening 6 + Vā. 7
मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यन् Only instance
- 7A Śālinī
मत्वा धीरो हर्षशोको जहाति K I 12d
- 7A 1 अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथान्धाः K II 5d
- 7B Vātormi
स नो बुद्ध्या शुभया संयुनक्तु Śv. III 4d
यस्यानश्नन् वसति ब्राह्मणो गृहे K I 8d
- 7B 1 सोमो यत्र पवते यत्र सूर्यः M II 1 6d
- 8A. Vai 5 + Śā 7 (i.e.) Vaiśvadevi
अनित्यैर्द्रव्यैः प्राप्तवानास्मि नित्यम् K II 10d
- 8B. Vai 5 + Vā 7
य एको वर्णो बहुधा शक्तियोगात् Śv IV 1a
- 8B 1 आनन्दरूपममृतं यद्विभाति M II 2 7g
- 9A Short 2nd A + Śā 7
वीतमन्युर्गौतमो माभिमृत्यो K I 10b
- 9A 1 तं ह देवमात्मबुद्धिप्रकाशं Śv VI 15c
- 9 B short 2nd A + Vā 7
नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यो M III 2 24a
- 10A Short 2nd B + Śā 7
पृथगात्मानं प्रेरितारं च मत्वा Śv I 6c
- 10A 1 पञ्चप्राणोर्मि पञ्चबुद्ध्यादिमूलाम् Śv I 5b
- 10 B Short 2nd + Vā 7
यत्र देवानां पतिरेकोऽधिवासः M I 2 5d
एष वः पुण्यः सुकृतो ब्रह्मलोकः M I 2 6d
- 10B 1 श्रवणायापि बहुभिर्यो न लभ्यः K II 7c only instance

FRAGMENTS OF BHATṬANĀYAKA.

By

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Among the most important of Abhinavagupta's predecessors, in the sphere of literary criticism, whom he had to deal with, was Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the author of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*. He was an avowed antagonist to the doctrine of *Vyañjanā* and *dhvani* as propounded by Ānandavardhana. He might have been the same Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka, whom Kalhaṇa, in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* mentions as the protege of king Śaṅkaravarman. The *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* was intended by the author to demolish the doctrine of *dhvani* as stated by Ānandavardhana. It seems to have been modelled after the *Dhvanyāloka*. It should have been made up of certain basic *Kārikās*, with a prose *Vṛtti* thereon. Illustrative verses taken from ancient works, should have found their way into the work. Verses from the *Gāthā Saptaśatī* of Hāla, *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, *Rāmābhyaśaya* of Yaśovarman etc., should have been incorporated into the work.

Mr. V. V. Sovani, in an article contributed to the R. G. Bhandarkar commemoration volume makes the following remarks regarding the nature of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* of Bhaṭṭanāyaka :—" Bhaṭṭanāyaka, the author of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* (a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, as appears from the opening portion of the *Abhinavabhāratī*)etc. p. 390. The opening passage on which Mr. Sovani relies, reads thus :—

1. Here at least, it is believed that the question of differentiating the author of the *Kārikās* from that of the *Vṛtti* will not arise, as in the case of the *Dhvanyāloka*. Abhinavagupta refers to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, as to Ānandavardhana, as the author of both the *Kārikās* and the *Vṛtti*. References to Abhinavagupta citing Ānandavardhana as the author of the *Kārikās* have already been given by Dr. Śankaran (Proceedings and Transactions of the third Oriental conference, Madras, Page 85). In addition, the following reference may be noted :—

यथा ध्वन्यालोककारः

सन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गघटनं रसाभिव्यक्त्यपेक्षया ।

न तु केवलया शास्त्रस्थितिसंपादनेच्छया ॥

Vol. II, p. 519.

Madras Manuscript of the *Abhinavabhāratī*

सन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गघटनं etc., is a *Dhvani Kārikā* III-12 and Abhinavagupta clearly says that the author of the *āloka* himself wrote the *Kārikās* also.

भट्टनायकस्तु ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना यदुदाहृतं अविद्याविरचितनिस्सारभेदग्रहे यदुदाहरणी-
कृतं तन्नाट्यं, तद्वक्ष्यामि—यथा हि कल्पनामात्रसारं तत एवानवस्थितैकरूपं क्षणेन कल्पना-
शतसहस्रसहं स्वप्नादिविलक्षणमपि सुष्ठुतरां हृदयग्रहनिदानमत्यक्तस्वालम्बनब्रह्मकल्पनटो-
परचितं रामरावणादि चेष्टितमसत्यं कुतोऽप्यभूतात् भूतवृत्त्या भाति । तथा भासनमपि च
पुमर्थोपदेशोपायतामेति । तथा तादृगेव विश्वमिदमसत्यनामरूपप्रपञ्चात्मकम् । अथ च
श्रवणमननादिवशेन परमपुमर्थप्रापकमिति लोकोत्तरपरमपुरुषार्थमूचनेन शान्तरसोपक्षे-
पोऽयं भविष्यति । स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादु (न्तमु) त्यद्यते रस इति । तदनेन पार-
मार्थिकं योजनमुक्तमिति व्याख्यानमेव सहृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । यदाह—

नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः ।

प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाट्य प्रयोगरसिको जनः ॥ इति ।

Madras Manuscript of Abhinavabhāratī, p. 6-7 (Vol. I).

This extract cannot lead one to infer that the *Sahṛdayadarpaṇa* or *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* is a commentary on the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata. Mr. Sovani seems to have been misled by the phrase इति व्याख्यानमेव सहृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । As a matter of fact Abhinavagupta draws the above conclusions from the verse नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये etc., which certainly was written by Bhaṭṭanāyaka. The whole passage is an *avatārikā* to the verse of Bhaṭṭanāyaka. From the nature of the verse quoted above (i.e.) नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये etc., this inference is possible that Bhaṭṭanāyaka began his work with this verse as the *māṅgala śloka*. Another inference also seems possible: the work was known through two names (i.e.) *Sahṛdayadarpaṇa* or *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*. The former of the two names was probably given to the work on the analogy of the *Sahṛdayāloka* (*Dhvanyāloka*) which was intended to be criticised in that work.

Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka seems to have been a *Mīmāṃsaka*. Some of the phrases which Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka uses betray that fact. The conception of the अंशत्रय of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka seems to have been borrowed from the *Mīmāṃsakas*. Expressions like भावकत्वं etc., remind us of the भावना of the *Mīmāṃsakas*. Apart from these coincidences, we find Abhinavagupta actually ridiculing him for his *Mīmāṃsaka* predilections. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in commenting upon the word इव in the famous Rāmāyaṇa verse, रविसङ्क्रान्तसौभाग्यः

etc., has made the following remark “इवशब्दयोगात् गौणताप्यत्र न काचित्”. Abhinavagupta, while criticising this statement, observes :—

आदर्शचन्द्रमसो हि सादृश्यं इवशब्दो द्योतयति । निश्चासान्ध इति चादर्शविशेषणम् ।
इवशब्दस्यान्वयार्थत्वेन योजने आदर्शश्चन्द्रमा इत्युदाहरणं भवेत् । योजनं चैतदिवशब्दस्य
क्लिष्टम् । न च निश्चासेनान्ध इवादर्थः, स इव चन्द्र इति कल्पना युक्ता । जैमिनीयसूत्रं
हि एवं योज्यते, न काव्यमित्यलम् ॥

Dhavanyāloka p. 63.

In another place, in the *Abhinavabhāratī*, Abhinavagupta ridicules him as following Jaiminī.

यस्तु भट्टनायकेनोक्तम्
तेन नाट्याङ्गता समर्थिता, ‘फलं च पुरुषार्थत्वात्’ इति केवलं जैमिनिरनुसृतः.....
.....etc

Abhinavabhāratī Vol. III, p. 89.

From these two extracts, it may be clear that Abhinavagupta regarded him as a *Mīmāṃsaka*.¹

Bhaṭṭanāyaka's criticism of the poetic compositions of earlier poets :—

“इह दससिद्धादिपदप्रयोगे धार्मिकपदप्रयोगे च भयानकरसावेशकृतैव निषेधावगतिः ।
तदीयभीरुधीरत्वप्रकृतिनियमावगममन्तरेण एकान्ततो निषेधगत्यभावादिति तन्नकेवलार्थसामर्थ्यं
निषेधगतेः निमित्तम् ”²

Locana p. 19.

“अहमित्यभिनयविशेषेण आत्मदशावेदनाच्छब्दमेतदपि”³

Locana p. 21.

1. Dr. De was probably not aware of these references when he made the following remark,

“Hiriyappa, in his article on ‘Indian Aesthetics’ in the *Proceedings and Transactions* of the first Oriental conference, Poona, Vol. II, has dealt with the subject at some length. One may think, however, that his note that Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka was a *Mīmāṃsaka* has not been clearly made out”.

Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. II, p. 157 f. n.

2. This is a portion of the literary estimate of the following verse, by Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka.

भम धम्मिअ वीसत्थो सो सुणओ अज्ज मारिओ देण ।

गोलाणइक्कच्छकुडंगवासिणा दरिअ सीहेण ॥

Gāthā Saptasāti.

3. This is on the verse.

अत्ता एत्थ गिमज्जइ एत्थअहं दिअसअं पलोएहि ।

मा पहिअ रत्तिअन्धअ सेज्जाए महँण मज्जहिअसि ॥

Gāthā Saptasāti.

“ह हा हेति संभार्योऽयं चमत्कारः”¹

“इवशब्दयोगात् गौणताप्यत्र न काचित्”²

Locana p. 63.

The following extracts refer to Bhaṭṭanāyaka's criticism of the doctrine of Dhvani.

“ध्वनिर्नामापरो योऽसौ व्यापारो व्यञ्जनात्मकः ।

तस्य सिद्धेऽपि भेदे स्यात् काव्याङ्गत्वं³ नरूपता ॥”

Locana p. 11.

Jayaratha's commentary on the Alankāra Sarvasva, p. 9.

The portion अङ्गत्वं⁴ रूपता is also quoted on page 15 of the Locana in the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

“काव्ये रसयिता सर्वो न बोद्धा न नियोगभाक्”

Locana p. 12.

“शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।

द्वयोर्युगले व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यगी⁵ भवेत् ॥

Locana p. 12.

Kāvyānuśāsana p. 27.

Jayaratha's commentary on Alankāra Sarvasva p. 9.

“सर्वत्र तर्हि काव्यव्यवहारः स्यात्”

Locana p. 28.

1. This is on the verse,

स्निग्धश्यामलकान्तिलिप्तवियतो वल्लद्वलाका घनाः

वाताः शीकरिणः पयोदसुहृदामानन्दकेकाः कलाः ।

कामं सन्तु हृदं कठोरहृदयो रामोस्मि सर्वं सहे

वैदेही तु कथं भविष्यति ह हा हा देवि धीरा भव ॥

Rāmābhyudaya of Yaśovarman.

2. This is on the verse,

रत्रिसंक्रान्तलौभाग्यस्तुषारावृतमण्डलः ।

निश्वासान्ध इवादर्शः चन्द्रमा न प्रकाशते ॥

Rāmāyaṇa.

3. अंशत्वम् another reading and is preferable; Jayaratha adopts this.

4. अंशत्वम् Do.

5. काव्यधीः is the reading according to Jayaratha.

The following quotations bear on Śabda-vyāpāra and the mode of Rasa realization.

“अभिधा भावना चान्या तद्गोणीकृतमेव च ।¹

अभिधाधामतां याते शब्दार्थलङ्घनी ततः ॥”²

भावनाभाव्येषोपि शृङ्गारादिगणो^a मतः³

तद्गोणीकृतरूपेण व्याप्यते सिद्धिमात्रः ॥”⁴

Kāvyānuśāsana p. 61.

“दृश्यमानाथवा मोक्षे यात्यङ्गत्वमियं स्फुटम् ।”

Jayaratha on Alankāra Sarvasva p. 9.

Nirṇaya Sāgara edition.

DOCTRINE OF RASA-REALIZATION.

“रसो यदा परगततया प्रतीयते तर्हि तादृश्यमेव स्यात् । न च स्वगतत्वेन रामादिचरितमयात्कव्यादसौ प्रतीयते । स्वात्मगतत्वेन च प्रतीतौ स्वात्मनि रसस्योत्पत्तिरेवाभ्युपगता स्यात् । साचायुक्ता । सामाजिकं प्रत्यविभावत्वात् । कान्तात्वं साधारणं वासनाविकासहेतुः विभावनायां प्रयोजकमिति चेत्, देवतावर्णनादौ तदपि कथम् ? न च स्वकान्तास्मरणं मध्ये संवेद्यते । अलोकसामान्यानां च रामादीनां ये समुद्रसेतुबन्धादयो विभावाः ते कथं साधारण्यं भजेयुः । न चोत्साहदिमात्रं स्मर्यते । अननुभूतत्वात् । शब्दादपि तत्प्रतिपत्तौ न रसोपजनः, प्रत्यक्षादिव नायकमिथुनप्रतिपत्तौ । उत्पत्तिपक्षे च करुणस्योत्पादादुःखित्वे करुणप्रेक्षासु पुनरप्रवृत्तिः स्यात् । तन्न । उत्पत्तिरपि नाप्यभिव्यक्तिः । शक्तिरूपस्याभिव्यक्तौ विषयार्जनतारतम्यप्रवृत्तिः स्यात् । तत्रापि किं स्वगतोऽभिव्यज्यते परगतो वेति पूर्ववदेव दोषः । तेन न प्रतीयते, नोत्पद्यते, नाभिव्यज्यते काव्येन रसः । किन्तु, अन्यशब्दवैलक्षण्यं काव्यात्मानः शब्दस्य, त्र्यंशता प्रसादात् । तत्र अभिधायकत्वं वाच्यविषयं, भावकत्वं रसविषयं, भोक्तृत्वं सद्बदयविषयं—इति त्रयोऽंशभूता व्या-

1. This is quoted by Jagannātha Paṇḍita in his. *Rasagāṅgādhara* p. 25 where he reads तद्गोणीकृतिरेव च ॥

2, 3, and 4. These are quoted by Jayaratha also in his commentary on the *Alankāra Sarvasva*, p. 9.

a. गणो हि यत् ॥ is the reading noticed by Hemacandra in his commentary on the *Kāvyānuśāsana*, p. 62.

Abhinavagupta also adopts this reading in his *Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. I, p. 210.

पाराः । तत्राभिधाभागो यदि शुद्धः स्यात्, तन्त्रादिभ्यः शास्त्रन्यायेभ्यः श्लेषालङ्काराणां को भेदः ? वृत्तिभेदवैचित्र्यं वा अकिञ्चित्करम् । श्रुतिदुष्टादिवर्जनं च किमर्थम् ? तेन रसभाव-
नारव्योद्वितीयो व्यापारः यद्वशादभिधा विलक्षणैव । तच्चैतद्भावकत्वं नाम यत् काव्यस्य
तद्विभावादीनां साधारणत्वापादनं नाम । भाविते च रसे तस्य भोगः, योऽनुभवस्मरणप्रति-
पत्तिभ्यो विलक्षण एव द्रुतिविस्तरविकासनामा रजस्तमोवैचित्र्याननुविद्धसत्त्वमयनिजचित्त्व-
भावनिवृत्तिद्रुतिविश्रान्तिलक्षणः परब्रह्मास्वादसचिवः । स एव च प्रधानभूतोऽशः सिद्धिरूप
इति । व्युत्पत्तिर्नामाप्रधानमेव” इति

Locana, p. 67. 68.

The following extract from Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka, found in the Abhinavabhāratī may be taken to be a continuation of the prose passage already quoted from the Locana.

प्रधाने सिद्धिभागेऽस्य प्रयोगाङ्गत्वमागताः ।

गेयादेस्तथैवेते[?] त्रिधै ह्युपयोगतः ॥

सोपानपदपङ्क्त्या च साचमोक्षस्पृगात्मिका ॥

Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. III, p. 87.

सिद्धेरपि नरेऽङ्गत्वं व्रजन्त्यास्तत्त्वक्षेमम् (स्तत्त्वमक्षतम् । ?)

Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. III, p. 89.

संवेदनाख्यव्यङ्ग्य (स्व) परसंविद्विगोचरः ।

आस्वादनात्मानुभवो रसः काव्यार्थ उच्यते ॥

Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. I, p. 211

The following is an extract found in the Abhinavabhāratī and Hemacandra's Kāvyañuśāsana. The idea contained in this passage is the same as that found in the extract already quoted from the Locana. Hence, it may be that Abhinavagupta quoted Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka *verbatim* in one place, and summarised his arguments in his own words in another. I think that the extract in the Locana may be a direct quotation and that in the Abhinavabhāratī only a brief summary. Hemacandra, as in many other places, copies Abhinavagupta without acknowledging it. For the sake of convenient reference, I give here the passage from the Abhinavabhāratī.

रसो न प्रतीयते, नोत्पद्यते, नाभिव्यज्यते । स्वगतत्वेन हि प्रतीतौ करुणे दुःखित्वं स्यात् । न च सा प्रतीतिर्युक्ता । सीतादेरविभावत्वात् । स्वकान्तास्पृश्यसंवेदनात् । देवतादौ

साधारणीकरणायोग्यत्वात् । समुद्रलङ्घनादेरसाधारण्यात् । न च तत्त्वतो रामस्य स्मृतिरनु-
पलब्धत्वात् । न च शब्दानुमानादिभ्यस्तत्प्रतीतौ लोकस्य सरसताप्रयुक्ता प्रत्यक्षादिव नायक-
युगलकावभासे हि प्रत्युत लज्जाजुगुप्सास्पृहादिस्वोचितचित्तवृत्त्यन्तरोदयमव्यग्रतयाकाशर-
सत्वमथापि स्यात् । तत्र प्रतीतिरनुभवस्पृष्ट्यादिरूपरसस्य युक्ता । उत्पत्तावपि तुल्यमेतद्दू-
षणम् । शक्तिरूपत्वेन पूर्वं स्थितस्य पश्चादभिव्यक्तौ विषयार्जनतारतम्यापत्तिः । स्वगत-
परगतत्वादि च पूर्ववद्विकल्प्यम् । तस्मात् काव्ये दोषाभावगुणालङ्कारमयत्वलक्षणेन नाट्ये
चतुर्विधाभिनयरूपेण निबिडनिजमोहसङ्कटतानिवारणकारणविभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना-
भिधातः द्वितीयेनांशेन भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानो रसः अनुभवस्पृष्ट्यादिलक्षणेन रजस्त-
मोनुवेधवैचित्र्यबलात्प्रतिविस्तरविकासलक्षणेन सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयसंविद्विश्रान्तिलक्षणे-
न परब्रह्मास्वादसचिवेन भोगेन परं भुज्यते ॥

Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. I-210.

Kāvyañuśāsana commentary, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press p. 61.

MISCELLANEOUS.

तत्कर्ता च कविः प्रोक्तो भेदेऽपि हि तदस्ति यत् ।

Ruyyaka's commentary on the
Vyaktiviveka, p. 13. (T. S. S.)

वाग्धेनुर्दुग्ध एकं हि रसं यद्वाल्लृण्णया ।

तेन नास्य रसः स स्यात् दुह्यते योगिभिर्हि सः ॥

Locana, p. 29

काव्येन भाव्यन्ते रसाः ।

Kāvyañuśāsana, p. 62.
commentary.

संसर्गादि यथा शास्त्र एकत्वात्तल्लयोगतः[?] ।

वाक्यार्थस्तद्वदेवात्र शृङ्गारादी रसो मतः ॥

Kāvyañuśāsana, p. 62.
commentary.

काव्यार्था भावयन्तीति भावाः

Kāvyañuśāsana, p. 62.
commentary.

1. Quoted by Abhinavagupta also in the Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. I, pp. 210-11.
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कीटानुविद्धरत्नादिसाधारण्येन काव्यता ।

दुष्टेष्वपि मता यत्र रसाद्यनुगमः स्फुटः ॥

Rasapradīpa, p. 3

Edited by Gopinatha Kaviraj

as No. 12 of Sarasvatībhavana texts.

RASA-DOCTRINE OF BHATTA NĀYAKA.

Among the various Schools of literary criticism, the most prominent is the *Rasa*-School. The followers of that School maintain that *Rasa* is the soul of poetry. The process through which *Rasa*-realization takes place has been differently explained by various critics. Ānandavardhana holds that it is realised through *Vyañjanā*, one of the functions—the most important function of poetic expression. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who came after Ānandavardhana, tries to explain the process of realizing *Rasa* in a different way. His explanation may be summed up as follows :—

Rasa should not be made out as arising in the person, whose action is represented on the stage (i.e.) Rāma etc., or as arising in the actor on the stage. For, in either case, we cannot account for the supreme thrill the spectator experiences. Nor could it be argued that the onlooker feels *Rasa* on account of the corresponding *bhāvas* which may arise in him. For, when we are looking at a Rāma-play, we find exhibited 'the crossing of the ocean', 'the building of a great dam across the sea' 'two people coming out successful in a deadly conflict with fourteen thousand people', etc., and these cannot call up similar experiences in our mind. So the only explanation possible, under these circumstances, will be this :—Words associated with *abhinaya* come to be possessed of three functions which are respectively अभिधायकत्व, भावकत्व and भोजकत्व, these terms being translated thus signification, idealization and illumination or revealing illumination respectively. Every one of these functions has a distinct value. Through *abhidhāyakatva*, the meaning of the words is understood; and one comes to know the story.

1. I do not accept the translation of Dr. De, which is as follows :—Denotation, generalization and enjoyment. History of Skt. poetics, Vol. II, p. 155.

This *abhidhā* should be considered to be a peculiar kind of *abhidhā*¹ for the following reasons. When we have different expressions to denote the same idea we ought to use only such words which are not jarring to the ear. To take a practical instance, the word *taru* will be less objectionable in a poetic composition than the word *Vrkṣa*. Now this conception of श्रुतिदुष्ट cannot be maintained if we do not recognise any peculiarity in the *abhidhā* of poetic expression. The *abhidhā* in *taru* is different from the *abhidhā* in *Vrkṣa*.

The second function *Bhāvakatvam* is intended to lift us up above ourselves. All individualistic associations vanish at this stage. We forget that A is the Actor, B the scene and C ourselves. A sort of what is technically known as साधारणीकरण or generalization is brought about. All these go into the make-up of *Rasa*-realization.

The further stage is represented by the third function of poetic expressions, known as *Bhojakatvam* and this pertains to the spectator who feels the bliss consequent on *Rasa*-realization, which consists in the culminating experience filled with bliss, amounting to illumination resulting from the dominance of *sattva*.

Mallinātha makes an interesting summary of the process of *Rasa*-realization according to the various Ālaṅkārikas. The doctrine of Lollaṭa and others could be termed उत्पत्तिवाद; of Śrī Śaṅkuka and his followers, as अनुमितिवाद; of Ānandavardhana and his follower, as अभिव्यक्तिवाद; and of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka and his followers, as भुक्तिवाद.

Compare, Mallinātha on Ekāvali,

p. 85. (B. S. S. Edition).

1. Dr. De remarks :—

"The *abhidhā* is not merely the actual denotation of a word, but is given an extended meaning so as to include *lakṣaṇā* or 'indication' in its scope (*abhidhā lakṣaṇaiva*) thus embracing the two functions already analysed by previous speculation.

(Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. II, p. 155.)

This remark is obviously incorrect. No writer on Śāstra will be foolish enough to include *lakṣaṇā* under *abhidhā*, and more so Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who was a staunch Mīmāṃsaka. The mistake of Dr. De is due to the fact that he was not able to restore the correct text of the extract from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. The reading found in Pandit Durgāprasād's edition of the *Dhvanyāloka* should not have been taken to be the genuine text of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. The passage should be read—यद्वाद्भिधायकत्वेन and not यद्वाद्भिधायकत्वेन as supposed by Dr. De.

The Rasa doctrine of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka seems to have influenced some at least of the later Ālankārikās. The author of the *Daśarūpakavaloka* shows himself to be a clear antagonist to the doctrine of Ānandavardhana and follows Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka in stating his Rasa doctrine. Though Dhanika does not mention the name of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka it is quite clear that he follows him. There are sufficient reasons to suspect that the verse which Dhanika quotes—

भावाभिनयसंबन्धान् भावयन्ति रसानिमान् ।

यस्मात्तस्मादमीभावा विज्ञेया नाव्ययोक्तृभिः ॥

(D. Avaloka, p. 121.)

while stating his Rasa doctrine, is taken from the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka. Some of the sentences quoted below, show clearly how much the author is indebted to Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka.

अतो न रसादीनां काव्येन सह व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावः । किं तर्हि । भाव्य-
भावकसंबन्धः । काव्यं हि भावकम् । भाव्या रसादयः । ते हि स्वतो भवन्त एव
भावकेषु विशिष्टविभावादिमता काव्येन भाव्यन्ते । न चान्यत्रशब्दान्तरेषु, भाव्यभाव-
कलक्षणसंबन्धाभावात् काव्यशब्देष्वपि तथा भाव्यमिति वाच्यम् । भावनाक्रियावादिभि-
स्तथाङ्गीकृतत्वात् ।

D. Avaloka, p. 121.

Thus Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka's *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* represents an important stage in the history of Sanskrit literary criticism. It is a pity that such a work should have been lost. But considering the fact that the book seems to have been available even to writers of the 16th century as the author of the *Rasapradīpa*, it is fervently hoped that ere long we may come to lay hands on that work in some unknown and unexpected quarter.

On page 234 of the same book, Dr. De repeats the same mistake thus "It is on account of this function that *abhidhā* or 'denotation' is also 'indication'; the 'denotation' can give to the expressed sense a metaphorical significance as the basis of *Rasa*."

Mr. K. P. Trivedi also seems to have misunderstood the Locana. He takes the text as it is, without noting the mistake, and begins to explain the passage thus:— "अभिधा according to the Bhūktivādis" (and Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka is the chief of them) "embraces अभिधा and लक्षणा" P. 425. (Notes on *Ekāvali*, B. S. S. Edition.)

THE FIRST STANZA IN TIRUKKURAL.

BY

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அகா முதல வெழுத்தெல்லாமாதி பகவன் முதற்றே யுலகு.

(*Akaramutala veluttellāmāli pakavan mutarrē yulaku.*)

This is the first stanza written by Tiruvalluvar in his *Tirukkural*, by which he indirectly invokes the blessings of God. It was the practice in ancient days to do so either directly or indirectly at the beginning of a work, since it was believed that it would avert the obstacles that might arise before the completion of the work. Here the word 'ஆதிபகவன்' suggests it. Simply by the mention of this word, he does the *Maṅgalācarana*. The stanza means: The world had God at its beginning, as the sound-series commences with 'அ'. Here the author's chief object seems to suggest that the whole world has come from God. The first line 'அகா முதல வெழுத்தெல்லாம்' is given only by way of comparison. The point of comparison between உலகு and எழுத்து is simply that the latter has 'அ' as the first of its series and the former had God at its beginning. When two things are compared, it is sufficient if they are similar in some respects and it is not necessary that they should be similar in all points as is seen from the rule in poetics 'उपमानेन उपमेयस्य गुणलेशतस्साम्यं उपमा'. Here 'ஆதிபகவன் முதற்றே யுலகு' suggests that the world was created by God. From this *Parimēlaḷakar*, the famous commentator on *Tirukkural* stretches the interpretation of 'அகா முதல வெழுத்தெல்லாம்' and says 'இது தலைமைபற்றி வந்த எடுத்துக் காட்டுவமை. அகாத்திற்குத் தலைமை விகாரத்தானன்றி நாதமாத்திரையாக இயல்பாற் பிறத்தலானும், ஆதிபகவற்குத் தலைமை செயற்கையுணர்வானன்றி இயர்கையுணர்வான் முற்றுமுணர்தலானுங்கொள்க.'. This may be translated thus:—'The point of comparison is 'standing at the head'. 'அ' stands at the head because it represents the stage of vibration (பரா) before sounds are actually made audible and from which all sounds proceed, and God is creator and not created'. Why he says so seems to be this:—Since 'ஆதிபகவன் முதற்றே யுலகு' suggests that the world is created by God, he seems to think that 'அகா முதல வெழுத்தெல்லாம்' should also suggest that all sounds came from 'அ'. Two points may be noted here. 'Standing at the head' may be taken to be the point of comparison for both and 'ஆதிபகவன் முதற்றே யுலகு'.

But Naccinārkkīyār while commenting upon the sūtra ‘மெய்யினியக்க மகரமொடு சிவனும்’ (மொழியர்பு, 13) in Tolkāppiyam makes a reference to this stanza thus:—‘இவ்வனம் மெய்க்கண் அகரங்கலந்து நிற்குமாயு கூறினற்போலப் பதினேருயிர்த்தணனும் அகரங் கலந்து நிற்குமென்பது ஆசிரியர் கூருராயினார். அந்நிலைமை தமக்கே புலப்படுத்தலானும் பிறர்க்கு இவ்வாயு உணர்த்துதல் அரிதாக லானுமென்று உணர்க. இறைவன் இயங்குதிறைக்கண்ணும் நிலைநிறைக்கண்ணும் பிறவற்றின்கண்ணும் அவற்றின் தன்மையாய் நிற்குமாயு எல்லார்க்கும் ஒப்பமுடிந் தாற்போல அராமும் உயிர்த்தணனும் தனிமெய்க்கண்ணுங் கலந்து அவற்றின் தன் மையாயே நிற்குமென்பது சான்றோர்க்கெல்லாம் ஒப்பமுடிந்தது, “அகரமுதல்” என்னுங் குறளான் அகரமாகிய முதலையுடைய எழுத்த்க்கெல்லாம் அதுபோல இறைவனாகிய முதலையுடைத்து உலகமென வள்ளுவஞர் உவமைகூறிய வாற்றானும், உண்ணன் எழுத்துகளில் அகரமாகியேன் யானேயெனக் கூறியவாற்றானும் பிற தூல்களானும் உணர்க.’ Here his statements ‘பதினேருயிர்த்தணனும் அகரங் கலந்து நிற்குமென்பது தமக்கே புலப்படுத்தலானும் பிறர்க்கு இவ்வாயு உணர்த்துதல் அரிதாக்கலானும்’ and ‘அகரமும் உயிர்த்தணனும் தனிமெய்க்கண்ணுங் கலந்து அவற்றின் தன்மையாயே நிற்கும்’ deserve careful consideration. How can all vowels be connected with அ? How are all pure consonants (தனிமெய்) connected with அ? The sūtra ‘மெய்யினியக்க மகரமொடு சிவனும்’ simply means that the consonants are pronounced along with ‘அ’ (so that they may be audible) and cannot at all mean that all consonants have some connection with ‘அ’. This sūtra may be compared with ‘हकारादिषु अकार उच्चारणार्थः’ which means that ‘अ’ in each letter of the Māhāśvara sūtras ह्यवरद्, अमङ्गणम्.....हल् is added simply to facilitate pronunciation. This wrong interpretation of this sūtra by Naccinārkkīyār is probably due to the wrong interpretation of the first kural and the state- ment in the Bhagavadgītā ‘अक्षराणां अकारोऽस्मि.....’ (10th ch. 30 sl.) Perhaps he thought that ‘अक्षराणां अकारोऽस्मि’ means that God represents ‘अ’ among अक्षरा’s and so all अक्षरा’s ought to have come from ‘अ’.

(Bhagavadgītā, 10-21.)

If so, we will have to answer why the word 'எல்லாம்' should find a place here. The answer is 'only for the sake of clearness'; or the author

might have feared that, if there were no 'எல்லாம்,' the readers might take 'எழுத்து' to apply only to the primary sounds mentioned by Tolkāppiyānār in his first sūtra 'எழுத்தெனப்படுப அகாழுதனகாலிழவாய் முப்பகிசென்ப சார்ந்துவான் மாயின் மூன்றலங்கடையே' and not to the secondary sounds mentioned in the second sūtra 'அவைதாங்குற்றியலிகாங்குற்றிய லுகாமாய்தமென்ற முப்பாற் புள்ளிபுமெழுத்தோன்ன'. In order that 'எழுத்து' may apply to both the primary and secondary sounds, he might have added 'எல்லாம்'.

From the expression 'ஆதிபகவன்முதற்றேயுலகு' it is clear that the author considers God to be both the efficient, and material, cause (अभेदनिमित्तोपादानकारण) of the world and not the efficient cause (निमित्तकारण) alone as Śaivasiddhāntins do; besides his mention of 'ஆதிபகவன்' clearly shows that he is a theist. Some opine that (by the word 'ஆதிபகவன்') he incidentally pays his respects to his parents since his mother's name was 'ஆதி' and father's name 'பகவன்'.

The words 'ஆதி' and 'பகவன்' are tadbhavas from the Sanskrit words 'आदि' and 'भगवान्'. The word 'உலகு' is taken to be a tadbhava of 'लोक' by some and an original Tamil word by others like Naccinārkkinīyar.

'அகாமுதல்' and 'ஆதிபகவன்முதற்றே' should be taken as two verbs derived from the possessive compounds 'அகாமுதல்' and 'ஆதிபகவன்முதல்'. Some try to split them as அகாம் and முதல் and ஆதிபகவன் and முதற்றே. In that case அகாம் and ஆதிபகவன் have respectively, to qualify முதல் contained in முதல் and முதல் in முதற்றே which is called एकदेशान्वय, which is one of the grave defects in composition. Such a defect cannot find a place in the work of such a great poet as Tiruvalluvar. Perhaps they so split them with the idea that a verb should not be derived from a compound noun.

If it can be derived from a simple noun, it may as well be derived from a compound noun. Since Tolkāppiyānār himself sanctions it by his statement that a compound noun is treated for grammatical purposes

in the same way as a simple noun. Cf. எல்லாத் தொகையு மொரு சொன்னடைய. (தொல். எச்சவியல், 24.) The idea contained in

ஆதிபகவன் முதற்றேயுலகு' finds a parallel in the following statements made in Upaniṣads:—

तथाऽक्षरात्संभवतीह विश्वम् (Muṇḍaka 1, 1, 7.) 'सदेव

सोम्य इदमग्र आसीत् (Chāndogya 6, 2, 1.) यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते

(Taittirīya 3, 1.) and Vyāsa's Vedāntasūtra 'जन्माद्यस्य यतः'.

THE NEW MĀYĀ ABOUT THE OLD MĀYĀ

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Nothing is more wonderful and magical than the illusion of modern western scholars about the doctrine of the Great World-Illusion. Some of them say that Śaṅkara invented the doctrine. Others say that he borrowed it from the Buddhists; yet others say that it was the result of the influence of the *Sūnya Vāda* of Buddhism. Indeed later orthodox critics belonging to rival schools of thought even called him and his followers *Pracchanna-Bauddhas* (hidden Buddhists).

The attempt to show that the word *Māyā* is not found in the Vedas and that hence the doctrine of *Māyā* is a later invention of a fine metaphysical brain is a kind of conjurer's trick—a bit of *Māyā* in fact. On the other hand the orthodox defenders of the theory of the Vedic source of the doctrine refer to the well-known verse इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते ॥. Putting these verbal juggleries aside, the Vedas—especially the Upaniṣadic portion—is penetrated through and through with the substance and essence of the *Māyā* doctrine. When in the Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad the sage prays,

हिरण्यमेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुखम् ।

तत्त्वं पूषन्नपावृणु सत्यधर्माय दृष्टये ॥

the face of Truth is hidden by the golden disc. O Pūṣan! remove it (the obscuring golden disc) so that I may have the vision of which the essence is Truth), what is it that he wants except the conquest and overthrow of *Māyā*? The same veil or obscuration is described by the term "the knot of the heart" (हृदयग्रन्थि) which is untied by the vision of the Supreme.

मिथ्यते हृदयग्रन्थिरिच्छन्ते सर्वसंशयाः ।

क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन्दृष्टे परावरे ॥

Other words used are *Jāla* (magic), darkness (*Tamas*), unreality (*Adhruva*), etc. The Chāndogya expressly refers by the word अनृत (unreality or

untruth) to the obscuration of the Truth. The *Jāla*-idea is thus described in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad :

“एकैकं जालं बहुधा विकुर्वन् अस्मिन्क्षेत्रे संचरत्येष देवः ।

भूयः सृष्ट्वा यतयस्तथैवः सर्वाधिपत्यं कुरुते महात्मा ॥”

In the Chāndogya the approach towards the same idea comes in a different manner :

यथा सोम्य एकेन मृत्पिण्डेन सर्वं मृन्मयं विज्ञातं स्यात् वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम् ॥

I may finally point out that the very words Avidyā and Māyā are found in the following famous passages in the Upaniṣads :

अविद्यायामन्तरे वर्तमानाः स्वयं धीराः पण्डितं मन्यमानाः ।

दंष्ट्रम्यमाणाः परियन्ति मूढाः अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथान्धाः ॥

(Kaṭha Upaniṣad).

तेषामसौ विरजो ब्रह्मलोको न येषु जिह्वमनृतं न माया चेति ॥

(Praśna Upaniṣad).

अस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत् तस्मिन्श्चान्यो मायया संनिरुद्धः ॥

(Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad).

मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरं ॥

In the Bhagavad Gītā we find a perfect statement of the essence of the Vedic doctrine about the Māyā.

दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया ॥

It is thus clear that the doctrine of Māyā—nay, even the word *Māyā*—is to be found in our philosophy and religion from the earliest times. In fact the idea is of the essence of Hinduism. All that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya did was only to give a consummately clear and convincing and comprehensive form and exposition to a doctrine which is as old as Hinduism and is of the very core and essence of Hinduism. Māyā is not nothingness, or unreality or non-existence or illusion. It is a succinct statement of that subordinate and secondary reality, i.e., phenomenal reality, which is the sum-total of the refractions by the mind of the eternal, infinite, integral, white light of the Ātman and which, as the result of self-realisation, is found to be not a final and eternal reality, such noumenal and eternal reality being the Ātman and the Ātman alone.

VṚTTIKĀRAGRANTHA.

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Śabarasvāmin in his Mīmāṃsābhāṣya introduces by the words “वृत्तिकारस्त्वन्यथेयं ग्रन्थं वर्णयांचकार तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिरित्येवमादिम्” a further interpretation of the Sūtras I-1-3 to 5, purporting to be that of a Vṛttikāra. It extends from p. 7 line 18, to p. 24 line 11 of the Bhāṣya (Bib. Ind. Edn.) i.e., up to the end of the comments on Sūtra I-1-5. Professor H. Jacobi regards the text up to p. 18 line 6 i.e., before the *ātmavāda* as a quotation from some Vṛtti and holds that its author is most probably Bodhāyana; for the two other possible Vṛttikāras, Upavarṣa and Bhavadāsa are easily eliminated. The former is mentioned in the passage referred to thus—“गकारौकारविसर्जनीया इति भगवान् उपवर्षः”. Will any one refer to himself in his own work as Bhagavān so and so? The latter is severely criticised in the Ślokavārtika, e.g., Ś. V. p. 12. verse 35, and the term ‘वृत्त्यन्तरेषु’ Ś. V. 1-33.—in different Vṛttis—is explained by Pārthasārathi as referring to Bhavadāsa. [See J. A. O. S., 1911. Date of the Philosophical Sūtras] Dr. Ganganath Jha, in a paper presented to the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad [Vide—Summaries of papers, pp. 80-1] holds on the basis of a valuable quotation from Maṇḍanamīśra’s Mīmāṃsānukramanīkā “बह्वर्थं वक्तुकामेन तमर्थं सौत्रमिच्छता । वृत्तिकारमतेनेयं त्रिसूत्री वर्ण्यतेऽन्यथा ॥”

that the ‘Vṛttikāragrantha’ starts with p. 7 line 18, and ends with the end of the Bhāṣya on Sūtra I-1-5., p. 24. line 11. He is not quite explicit whether the passage is a verbal quotation or only a statement of the views of the Vṛttikāra, but he appears to be inclined to accept the latter view. He is silent over the name of the Vṛttikāra. It is attempted in this paper to determine the extent of the ‘Vṛttikāragrantha’; its nature and authorship.

The ‘Vṛttikāragrantha’ is not a verbal quotation as Prof. Jacobi holds. For if it were so, it is very difficult to account for the presence, towards the end of the text on p. 17 just before the *ātmavāda*, of the following “बादरायणग्रहणमुक्तम्”. It means that the purpose of the word ‘Bādarāyana’ in Sūtra I-1-5. has already been explained. Is this statement consistent with the view that the passage in question is a verbal citation from Vṛttikāra’s

work? No. Because, if only the Vṛttikāra has previously had an opportunity to explain the use of the word 'Bādarāyaṇa', could he say here that its purpose has already been indicated. This opportunity presents itself for the first time in the sequence of the Mīmāṃsā-sūtras in Sūtra-5 where 'Bādarāyaṇa' occurs as बादरायणस्यानपेक्षत्वात्. On the other hand, this statement "that the purpose of the word 'Bādarāyaṇa' has already been explained" is quite intelligible, if we suppose that the passage in question is only a statement or a resume of the views of the Vṛttikāra in the words of Śabarasvāmin, for Śabara has already explained it just before the passage referred to thus:—बादरायणप्रवृत्तिं बादरायणस्येदं मतं कीर्त्यते, बादरायणं पूजयितुं, नात्मीयं मतं पर्युदसितुम्। p. 7. and he can very well say later on, while interpreting the three sūtras according to the views of the Vṛttikāra, that "the purpose of the word 'Bādarāyaṇa' has already been explained".

Further, tradition is in accord with the view that the passage is only a resume of the interpretation of the Sūtras I-i-3 to 5, given by the Vṛttikāra. The verse बह्वर्थं वक्तुका मेन etc., cited by Dr. Jha from Maṇḍana's Mīmāṃsā-nukramanikā clearly states that Śabarasvāmin, desirous of speaking of many topics and of obtaining them all from the Sūtras, interprets the three Sūtras, I-i-3 to 5 according to the views of the Vṛttikāra. [The agent of वर्ण्यते is वक्तुकाम who is Śabarasvāmin]. Pārthasārathi also says in his Śāstradīpikā, Tarkapāda, p. 48. (Nirnayasagar edition) that the Bhāṣyakāra explains the Sūtras 3 to 5 differently in accordance with the views of the Vṛttikāra-Upavarṣa. वृत्तिकारस्त्वन्यथेदं वर्णयाचकारेत्येवमादिना उपवर्षमतेन तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिरित्येवमादिसूत्रत्रयमन्यथा कृत्वा व्याचष्टे भाष्यकारः। p. 48. The commentary of Rāmakaṣṇa also supports this view.

Who may be this Vṛttikāra whose views are so elaborately set forth by Śabarasvāmin? Prof. Jacobi holds, as already stated, that it is Bodhāyana and not Upavarṣa. His main reason which necessitated this conclusion is the presence of the word 'Upavarṣa' in a passage presumed to be a quotation. We have shown that the passage is not a quotation and so it does not, in any manner, militate against the assumption that the Bhāṣyakāra, while expounding the views of the Vṛttikāra, cites, in an important place, his very words besides mentioning his honoured name. Further Pārthasārathi, in the extract cited above from his Śāstradīpikā, Tarkapāda p. 48. gives the name of the Vṛttikāra as Upavarṣa [उपवर्षमतेन].

What is the extent of this Vṛtti? Dr. Jha thinks that it ends with the end of the exposition of the nature of Ātman i.e., up to p. 24 line 11; but Prof. Jacobi omits the ātmanirūpaṇa from that text. We have the high and indisputable authority of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya to support the view that the Vṛttikāramata ended before the ātmanirūpaṇa. For he says on B. S. III-iii-53 the following:—

ननु शास्त्रप्रमुख एव प्रथमे पादे शास्त्रफलोपभोगयोग्यस्य देहव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनोऽस्तित्वमुक्तम्। सत्यमुक्तं भाष्यकृता। न तु तत्वात्मास्तित्वे सूत्रमस्ति। इह तु स्वयमेव सूत्रकृता तदस्तित्वमाक्षेपपुरःसरं प्रतिष्ठापितम्। इत एव च आकृष्य आचार्येण शबरस्वामिना प्रमाणलक्षणे वर्णितम्। अत एव च भगवता उपवर्षेण प्रथमे तन्त्रे आत्मास्तित्वाभिधानप्रसक्तौ शरीरके वक्ष्याम इत्युद्धारः कृतः। Note the last sentence. The great Ācārya says here that as there was no Sūtra in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā [अत एव — सूत्राभावादेव] the revered Upavarṣa refrained from establishing the existence of the Soul when the occasion for it arose saying that he would do it in the Śārīrakamīmāṃsā and Śabarasvāmin it was that expounded the nature of the Soul as different from the body and as the subject of all enjoyments, earthly and otherwise. This is further supported by Kumārila who says that Śabara, desiring to refute the nihilistic doctrines of the Buddhists, establishes, by means of reasoning, the existence of the Soul. इत्याह नास्तिक्य निराकरी-ष्णुरात्मास्तितां भाष्यकृदत्र युक्त्या। Ś. V. p. 727. Again, Pārthasārathi in the Nyāyaratnākara also throws his weight in favour of the above view when he says that the Bhāṣyakāra explains the nature of the Soul as distinct from the body and knowledge by the words beginning "कोऽसावन्यः" (S. B. p. 18.) "भाष्यकारेण 'कोऽसावन्यः' इत्यादिना ज्ञानदेहातिरिक्तात्मप्रतिपादनं कृतम्" Ś. V. p. 689. Thus it is clear that the ātmanirūpaṇa is Śabara's and that the Vṛttikāramata ends before it. And the 'बह्वर्थं'—many topics—referred to in the verse cited above should be taken to be contained in the passage before the ātmanirūpaṇa and not to include that also as Dr. Jha believes.

But the following sentence from the extract cited above from the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya of Śaṅkara may be utilised to argue in favour of the position taken up by Dr. Jha, "इत एव आकृष्य आचार्येण शबरस्वामिना प्रमाणलक्षणे वर्णितम्" It is quite possible that though Śabara does not summarise the views of the Vṛttikāra on the nature of the Soul as stated in the Pūrva

Mīmāṃsā as there is no corresponding Vṛtti in the Pūrvatantra, he may have taken them from Upavaṣa's Vṛtti on the Brahmasūtras. But there is no definite proof to warrant such a construction of the text which means only that Śābara took his ideas for the ātmanirūpaṇa from this section in the Brahmasūtras and not necessarily from the Vṛtti which Upavaṣa wrote on the Brahmasūtras.

Thus the upshot of the foregoing discussion is that the so-called 'Vṛtti-kāragrantha' is only a resume, that it extends up to P. 18. line 6. or that it ends before the ātmanirūpaṇa and that the Vṛttikāra referred to is the revered Upavaṣa.

THE AGE OF THE NĀYANĀRS

BY

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In this article the dates of the 63 Śaiva saints are determined with the aid of Tevāram and Periyapurāṇam. Roughly, most of them lived in the period of Pallava supremacy 600-900 A. D. All the 62 are mentioned by Sundarar a saint of the 9th century A. D. and including him the total comes to the well-known 63.

The lives of the 63 are described by Śēkkiḷār, a Vellāla, in Periyapurāṇam which was written at the instance of his king. Umāpati Śivācārya who mentions Śaka 1235 as the date of one of his works¹ has written the story of Śēkkiḷār where he tells us that the Purāṇam was composed in order to turn the attention of the Cola from Jivakacintāmaṇi a Jain epic to the real stories of the Śaiva devotees. Śēkkiḷār was his minister and as such he had all the sources of information to compile the great work. In his book Śēkkiḷār refers often to his king and patron by the surname of Anapāya² and calls him Abhaya and Kulōttuṅga also.³ Umāpati refers to Śēkkiḷār's patron as ruler of all the land between the Himālayas and Rameśwaram which will eminently suit Kulōttuṅga.⁴ Inscriptional evidence is also clear on the point that by the time of Vikrama Cōla and Kulōttuṅga II the stories of the Purāṇa were current and familiar.⁵ If Śēkkiḷār was a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I, he lived in the 11th century A.D.

The chief sources for Periyapurāṇam besides traditions, were Nambi's Tiruttonḍar Tiruvandādi and Tēvāram or the garland (of psalms) of God sung by Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, an Ādi-Śaiva, besides writing the Andādi, compiled the Tēvaram⁶ which was rapidly being lost. Umāpati mentions Rāja Rāja Abhaya as the patron of Nambi.

1. Ind. Antiq. Vol. 25, Age of Sambandha by Sundaram Pillai.

2. Periyapurāṇam I, பாயிரம்.

3. Do. I, சண்டேசநாயனார் புராணம்.

4. இம்பர்புகழ் வளவனர சுரிமைச் செங்கோ விமசேது பரியந்த மியற்று நாளில்

5. Tiruvārūr Ins. S. i. i.

6. S. .i. Vol. II, P. II, No. 38; P. III, No. 65; Vol. III, P. I, Nos. 43, 139 & 151.

There is clear inscriptional evidence from before the reign of Rāja Rāja I, that Tēvāram was sung in temples.¹ So whether Nambi was a contemporary of Rāja Rāja I, or one of his predecessors it is clear that he lived in the 10th century A.D. just a century before Śēkkiṭṭar.

Nambi's Andāli is a fragmentary sketch of the lives of the 63 which was itself based on Sundarar's hymn² already mentioned which is but a string of names save for the mention of a few incidents in the lives of some. Sundara, an Āli-Śaiva youth, one of the three authors of Tēvāram, lived about a century before the age of Nambi. He has sung of saint Kaḷarcingan in the present tense³ from which we may legitimately infer that he was his contemporary. Śēkkiṭṭar calls him a conqueror and annexer of the Northern (Deccan) King's land. Sundara praises Kaḷarcingan as the guardian of the world. In another hymn he hints at his king surrounded by tributary princes.⁴ Again he refers to an attempt on the part of his vassals to stop their tribute.⁵ Once even a combination of the vassals is suggested against which saint and general Kōṭṭuḷi played a part.⁶ Who was this King then? We know for certain that Sundara lived after⁷ Appar and Saṁbandhar (7th century). The suggestion that tribute was not regularly paid to the Pallava may lead us to infer that Sundara lived in the time of the later Pallavas. There are two great Śaiva devotees among the Pallavas after about 650 A.D. Narasiṁhavarman II, and Nandi III, either of whom might have been Sundara's King. The former was very powerful and unopposed while the latter had to contend against many enemies. He successfully

1. VII Tirumurai, திருத்தொண்டத்தொகை.

2. Ibid. கடல்குழந்த உலகெலாம் காக்கின்ற பெருமான் காடவர் கோன் கழர் சிங்கன்.

3. VII எதிர்கொள்பாடி.

மத்தயானே யேறிமன்னர் குழவருவீர்கள்.

4. VII கோயில்,

உரிமையாற் பல்லவர்க்குத் திறைகொடா மன்னவரை மறுக்கஞ்செய்யும்.

5. VII, நாட்டியத்தான் குடி,

கூடாமன்னரைக் கூட்டத்துவென்ற கொடிநன் கோட்புலி

6. There are now 795 hymns which tradition asserts are only a fragment of the original composition. Of the extant hymns Appar has sung 312, Saṁbandhar 384 and Sundarar 100.

7. Cf. IV, நல்லூர்—Appar mentions a miracle of Sundara? ஆற்றிற்கெடுத்துக் குத்தினித்தேடி . . . just like his நரிபரி செய்வான். There are old sayings and have historical value.

overcame his foes and in recognition of his heroism came to be known as Nandi of Tēḷḷaru. So he was a real Kaḷarcingan. So it is not unlikely that Sundara was his contemporary. Again, the three, Cōḷa, Cēra and Pāṇḍya are mentioned as having met together in Pāṇḍya.¹ Śēkkiṭṭar affirms that the Cōḷa was the son-in-law of the Pāṇḍya and was then living in his father-in-law's house.² The Cōḷa power revived from the time of Vijayālaya and if the suggestion of the weak Cōḷa above is correct, he must have lived before Vijayālaya. Cēramāṇ-Perumāḷ the Cera king was a powerful king according to Śēkkiṭṭar who even calls him overlord of the three.³ He must have lived only before Vijayālaya.

12 out of the 63 were contemporaries of Sundara. His father Śaḍaiyanār and mother Isaijñāni were two. Sundara calls himself in some hymns the child of Śaḍaiyan.⁴ His patron Narasingamunaiyar lord of Tirumunai is specially mentioned in a hymn.⁵ Cēramāṇperumāḷ who is associated with the beginning of the Kollam era and who is mentioned in the Tiruviḷaiyāḍḍal Purāṇa as a contemporary of Varaguṇa (a name found in Pāṇḍya inscriptions of this period) was an intimate friend of Sundara and both went on a round of temple visits in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya. Kaḷarcingan has been mentioned already and identified with Nandi III. Śirutaṇṇai lord of Potta Taṇjai (in Pattukotta Taluk) was a contemporary of Kaḷarcingan according to Śēkkiṭṭar. Kōṭṭuḷi a general is warmly praised by Sundara for having defeated a combination of kings who rarely joined together.⁶ His two daughters were adopted by Sundara as his children and in not a few hymns he calls himself with delight the father of those two girls.⁷ Kurumban chief of Miḷalai and Somasimaran were ardent devotees of Sundara. The stories of Kalikkamāṇ and Viṇamīṇḍun make us infer that they too were

1. VII, கோத்திட்டையும் கோவலாரும்—முடியாலுலகாண்டமுவேந்தர் முன்னே மொழிந்தாறு மோர்நான்கும்.

2. Periya II, p. 695.

3. Ibid., II, pp. 839 & 842.

4. VII, நன்னிலம்—சேடியல் சிங்கிதந்தை சடையன் திருவாரூர்

„ வாழொளிபுத்தார்—சடையன் காதலன் வனப்பகையப்பன் நங்கை சிங்கிடிதந்தை.

5. VII, வெண்ணெய்நல்லூரும் நாவலாரும்—நாதனுக்கர் நமக்கூர் நரசிங்க முனையராயன் ஆதரித்திசனுக்காட்செயுமார்

6. Ibid, VII, நாட்டியத்தான் குடி.

7. Ibid, VII, நன்னிலம் & வாழொளிபுத்தார்.

contemporaries of Sundara. Manakkañjaran was the father-in-law of Kalikkamān.

Likewise 10 saints can be grouped round Sambandha as his contemporaries. The age of Sambandha has been fixed in the 7th century by the late Mr. P. Sundaram Pilli. The most important of the arguments adduced in favour of this date is the Śruttonḍa-synchronism. According to Periyapurāṇam, Śruttonḍa, an elephant commander, took part in the destruction of Vātāpi the Capital of his King's enemy. The destruction of Vātāpi is associated by Pallava inscriptions as a great achievement of Narasimhavarman I. There is evidence in Tēvāram itself to prove that Śruttonḍar and Sambandhar were contemporaries and Śōkkiḷār a critical student and writer tells us the same.

A cursory reading of Tēvāram will only confirm the above conclusion. It is very curious how inscriptions have come to our help to establish the truthfulness of the statements in Tēvāram. Sundara, Nambi and Śōkkiḷār write that Sambandhar and Appar were contemporaries. Though there is no distinct statement to that effect in the hymns of either, tradition is very strong on the point. The story of Appar mentions the conversion of his king from Jainism into Śaivism. Appar himself mentions this in a hymn. ² Inscriptional evidence has been utilised to establish that his king was Mahēndravarmān I. Śōkkiḷār tells us how Appar's sister's betrothed Kalipagai fought with his king's northern enemy who invaded his realm and lost his life. Is it a reference to the war in and loss of Vengi? Appar's king was a powerful king and once God himself is called Kaḍavan³ (i. e.) Pallava. From other circumstances we have to infer that Appar was a contemporary of Narasimha I also. For Appar lived to a ripe old age and must have been a contemporary of more than two kings. Among some of the names of Śiva in Appar's hymns are Nandi⁴ and Rājaciṅgaṅs or Lion among Kings. The latter may contain an indirect hint to his King Naraciṅga or Lion among men.

1. I, செங்காட்டங்குடி, கணபதிச்வரம்.

III, Do. வெந்தநீறனிமார்பன் சிறுத்தொண்டனவன்வேண்ட

2. VI, தனிதிருத்தாண்டகம்—மன்னாளுய் மன்னவர்க் கோமுதமாலாய்

3. VI, கஞ்சனார்—கிறிபேசி மடவார்பெய் வளைகன்கொள்ளும் காடவனை.

4. IV, ஐயாறு-பழந்தக்காக்கம் ; கோயிற்றிரு விருத்தம்-கொல்லி ; பூந்துருத்தி.

5. IV, பாவநாசப்பதிகம்—எழிலாரிாச சிங்கத்தையி ராமேச்சாத் தெழுமழி

லேற்றை

The hymns of Sambandha are much more useful to a historian. Such names of Śiva as Nandi,¹ Ayyan,² Adišayan,³ and Paramēśvara⁴ also occur and they might contain hints about his King or Kings. In fact Vicitracitta is a surname of Mahēndra I, while Paramēśvara was the name of Narasimha's successor. Atyanta, ⁵ a surname of Narasimha I, and 2nd also occurs in another hymn.

No Cōla names occur except Ceṅgan. The reference to Karikāla is doubtful.⁶ But in a Brahmapuram (Shiyāli) hymn the history of Shiyāli is sketched. There was a ruler Dharma⁷ (Manu?) after whom came the flood. Then ruled a Valavan, powerful Caṇḍan, and Nāgaraiyan successively.⁸ Finally one Nandan⁹ seems to have risen and ruled in and round Shiyāli. Apparently this Nandan was an intruder and a contemporary of Sambandha. As Sambandha exhorts those who want to become kings to worship at Shiyāli¹⁰ it is more than probable that Nanda was a Śaiva devotee. That there was a Cōla king in the Cōla land in Sambandha's days is certain. Besides the evidence of inscription, Tēvāram calls Maṅgai a Śaiva Saint and Pāṇḍya Queen, the daughter of the Cōla

1. I, இலம்பையங்கோட்டூர்—கழுமலமென்னு நந்தியாருறைபதி

I, நல்லம்—நந்திமையான் வான்நல்லந் நகரானே.

2 & 3. III, விற்கோலம்—ஐயனல்லதிசையன் விண்ணோர்தொழும்

4. I, பழனம்—பெம்மானெமையாளும்

பாமன் பகவன் பாமேச்சுவான் பழனநகராரே.

5. II, ஆமாத்தூர்—அச்சந்தன்மா தேவிக் கீந்தான்.

6. II, ஏகம்பம்.

7. I, பிரமடூர்.

செங்கோல்நடா விப்பல்லுயிர்க்குஞ் செய்வினைமெய்தெரிய

வெங்கோத்தருமன்மேவியாண்ட.....

8. Ibid. பொருதேர் வலவன் மேவியாண்ட

தவர்கெய் நெடுவேற்சண்டருள

கழல் நாகரையன் காவலாக

9. Ibid. நடடார்நடுவே நந்தனா நல்வினையாலுயர்ந்த

10. III, பூந்தராய்—வேந்தராயுலகான விருப்பமுற்றித்

I, ஃறவம்—வேந்தன்சேர் தருமுதார்

King.¹ There is more than one reference to the three Tamil kings² and once they are said to be united,³ against whom it is not known. In the hymns of Ārūr,⁴ Panaiyūr,⁵ and Mīlalai⁶ the Gods are said to be visited and worshipped by Kings whom we may take as Cōla Kings. In Periyapurāṇam, Kuṇḡiliyar of Kaḍaiyūr, a saint of Sambandha's days is said to have performed a miracle at the request of his king at Tirupanandāl or Tāṭakōṣvaram. But who was this Nanda of Shiyali? As yet we know of only one Nanda in the South, Sundara Nanda of Kōilulagu and Ceded Districts Cōla inscriptions. According to the latter he may be roughly assigned to the 7th century A.D.

Ten saints, it was said, belonged to the age of Sambandha, the boy saint. Appar was the greatest among them. He was Sambandha's elder contemporary. Appar sings of Appoti's devotion,⁷ Mangai the Cōla princess and Pāṇḍya Queen is praised by Sambandha.⁸ In the same hymn Kulaccirai (called by Nambi as minister of the Pāṇḍya who established the Śāṅgam)⁹ is praised as devoted to all Śaiva devotees. Neḍumāran, called Kūṇ¹⁰ when he was a Jain, is nowhere mentioned by name except by Sundara as he who won at Nelvēli. Still a contemporary Pāṇḍya, the husband of Mangai is mentioned by Sambandha in 3 or 4 hymns¹¹ and associated with his miracles

1. III, ஆலவாய்—

மங்கையர்க்காசி வனவர்கோன்பாவை.....

மண்ணெலாநிகழ மண்ணஞ்ஞமன் னுமணி முடிச்சோழன் மகனாம்.

2. I, புவனம்—முறையால் முடிசேர் தென்னர்சோர் சோழர்கடாம் வணங்கும்—Cf. V, இன்னம்பர்.

3. I முக்கீச்வரம்—Also Pāṇḍyan supremacy is suggested there.—Cf. Śēk. II p. 775—the Pāṇḍya wore the வாகை of his enemy with his own வேம்பு.

4. IV, ஆரூர்—மன்னவர் கின்னார்....

5. I, பணையர்—அடியார்தொழ மன்னவரோத்த

6. III, மிழலை—வேந்தர்வந் திறைஞ்ச....Mīlalai was apparently an important place, Capital of the Nāḍu of the name and full of Vedic Brahmins.

7. IV, பழனம்—அஞ்சிப்போய்க் கவிமெலிய வழலோம்புமபூதி

8. *Ibid.* III, ஆலவாய்.

9. சங்கமவைத்த பெருந்தமிழ் மீனவன் தனநிகரி.

10. Cf. IV, கோயில்—ஊனத்தை நீக்கியாலகறிய யாட்கொண்டவன்

11. III, ஆலவாய்—கொல்லி—தனங்கும் முடித்தென்னவன் முன்னிறை.

.. நள்ளாறு—கொற்றவனெந்நிரை யெரியினிவிட லீவைகூறிய

.. கழுமலம்—பருமதின் மதுரை மன்னவையெதிரே.

II, ஆலவாய்—தென்னாட லுற்ற சிப்பினியாயினதீ

III, .. —கொளகியம்—சுடர்நையவே சென்று பாண்டியற்காகவே

at Madura. The constant companion of Sambandha in his itineraries was Yāḷpanar the fiddler mentioned in his Tēvāram.¹ Śiruttonḍa the famous general of Narasiḥma entertained the boy saint in his native place and the latter has sung a hymn on a temple built by the former. Murukar,² Nīlanakkār³ and Kuṇḡiliyar also entertained Sambandha though his Tēvāram mentions only the 1st two.

From the evidences supplied by Tēvāram and Periyapurāṇam some of the 63 saints can be assigned to the centuries before Sambandha. Caṇḍi one of the Pañcamūrtis constantly referred to by Tēvāram is so ancient as to be lost in myths.⁴ Kāraikālpēy was another very old saint. Śēkkilār says that Sambandha was afraid of treading the holy ground of Ālaṅgāḍu made sacred by Pēy.⁵ Her story illustrates the early associations of orgies of self-torture with Śiva worship. Kaṇṇappa, the hunter youth, whose story more than any other brings home to our minds the spontaneous nature of bhakti, constantly receives high praise in Tēvāram.⁶ Ceṅgan⁷ the famous Cōla king who ruled over Pāṇḍiāḍu also according to Sundara, is praised in a poem traditionally assigned to the Śāṅgam period but probably belonging to about the 4th or 5th century A. D. He seems to have built several big temples, big for those days. In fact many of the temples which are described as big in Tēvāram may be taken as Ceṅgan's.⁸ If we admit that temples and

1. III, ஆலவாய்—இயமகம்—தாரமும்த்தது பாணற்கருளோடே.

Does this refer to பாணபதரன்?

2. II, புகலூர்—தொண்டர் தண்கயமூழ்கித் துணையலுஞ் சாந்தமும் புகையங் கொண்டு கொண்டடி பரவிக்குறிப்பறி முருகன் செய்கோலம்.

3. III, சாத்தமங்கை—நிறையினார் நீலநக்கனெடுமா நகரென்று தொண்டர்

4. I, சேய்ஞலூர் & IV குறுக்கை, page 61.

5. I, ஆலங்காடு contains a hint in the 1st two lines.

6. III, கயிலாயம், ஆனைக்கா, etc., and IV, திருக்குறுக்கை, p. 61.

7. II, ஆனைக்கா, IV, திருக்குறுக்கை, p. 61.

8. I, புகலியும் வீழிமிழலையும்—மிழலைவிண்ணிழி கோயில் விரும்பியதே

திருப்புத்தூர்—ஒங்கு கோயிலுறைவாரவர் போலும்

நறையூர்—இலங்குங்கோபுரந்

தீண்டுமதியந்திகழு நறையூர்

II, கருப்பறியலூர்—its temple called கொகுடிக்கோயில் apparently a type of building.

களர்—நீடுயர் கோபுரங்கள்

தலைச்சங்காடு of செங்கனையகேசுவரர்—சேயோங்கு கோயில்

Cf. VI, வீழிமிழலை—தலைச்சங்கை பெருங்கோயில்.

temple worship were very familiar in the Tamil land in the 7th century A.D., then it is an easy inference that Tirumōlar who rendered the truths of the Āgamas into Tamil for the first time lived long before the age of Sambandha. Sambandha visited about 230 and Appar about 100 temples. These could not have been raised in a day. Śēkkiyan is another old saint. He lived when Kāñci was fully Buddhist and there is a reference to him in a hymn of Appar.¹

Nambinandi² whose contemporary was Tanḍi,³ and Kanampullan⁴ are two others mentioned by Sambandhar and Appar. Of them it can only be said that they lived before the age of Sambandha. Śēkkiār does not put them as his contemporaries. Mūrti Nāyanār is placed by Nambi and Śēkkiār at the end of Kalabhra rule in Madura. According to the latter, the Vaḍuga-Karnāṭa king or the Kalabhra died without issue and Mūrti was chosen to succeed him. He was a stop-gap king till the return of the Pāṇḍya (Kaḍuṅgon?). During this interval which was not short, Mūrti was very powerful. Pāṇḍya inscriptions place this Kalabhra rule about the 6th century. Probably another saint Puḡaḷ Tuṇai⁵ also lived before Sambandha as the main incident of his story is apparently referred to in a hymn of the second Tirumurai.

As some information is available about Puḡaḷ Cōḷa, his date is worth investigating. His contemporary was Eripattan. Śēkkiār places him after Karikāḷa who fixed the tiger mark on the Himālaya. He was the earliest ancestor of Anapāya. His capitals were Uraiyūr and Karūr. Koṅgu

நல்லூர்—வானமருங்கோயில்

முல்லவாயில்—அணிகோபுரங்களழகார்

III, அரதைப்பெரும்பாழி—a big temple, Buddhist in origin or style?

மயேந்திரபள்ளி—கொண்டல் சேர்கோபுரங் கோலமார் மானிகை

Cengan is said to have built about 78 temples—VI, திரு அடைவு.

They were called Perunkōyil.

1. IV, திருக்குறுக்கை p. 61, & VI, வீழிமிழலை, p. 73. See Mr. S. Deśikar's critical note on my article on அறுபத்துமூவர்களின் காலம் in Pañcāmṛtam.

2. I, கோளிலி—நாவியில்ஜிர் நமிநந்தியடிகளுக்கு நல்குமவன்

IV, திருவாரூர்—நம்பிநந்தி நீராற்றிருவிளக்கிட்டமை.....

3. II, பிரமபுரம்—தண்டிக்கருளிலர் போலும் may refer to Caṇḍi.

4. IV, திருக்குறுக்கை, p. 62, & IV, கழிப்பாலை.

5. II, அரசிற்புத்தார்—அலந்தவடியானற்றைக்கண்ணோர்கா செய்தி புலந்தகால மால போற்றும் புத்தாரே.

and Kuḍagu paid him tribute. He fought with an Āḍigan chief of Malainḍu. So he was a powerful king. Sundara says he died at Karūr.¹ Which was the age of Puḡaḷ Cōḷa?

There are two other saints Gaṇanāthan and Pūśal about whose dates we know a little. The former is said to have always worshipped Smbandha; so he must have lived sometime after the boy saint. Curiously the incident of an Aśarīri speaking to the Kaḍava king, referred to in Pūśalar Purāṇa, is mentioned in the Kailāsanātha inscription² of Rājasihma or Narasihma II. Śēkkiār says that the powerful Kaḍava contemporary of Pūśal built a stone temple at Kāñci and who else can he be but Rājasihma the builder of the Kailasanātha temple?³

We cannot even guess about the dates of the remaining 24 saints whose stories contain no clue for the purpose. Most of them probably lived in the period between Sambandha and Sundara. However a few more like Iyaṇḡapahai, Kari, Aiyadigaḷ and Meyporuḷ might have lived before the former. Śēkkiār who must have been well-versed in the history of Puhar mentions a forest between Puhar and Kayavanam which could not have existed there after the age of Karikāḷa. That is however only slender evidence with which to fix the age of Iyaṇḡapahai. Kari a friend of the 3 Tamil kings built many temples with their aid and the age before Sambandha was the great age of temple building in the South. Aiyadigaḷ or Āryavarman the Pallava king was a powerful king. Umāpati classifies him and Kaḷar- cingan who is extolled by Sundara as an Emperor, as chiefs, for, being far removed from the Pallava period he was quite ignorant of the Pallava greatness and would not consider any but a Cōḷa, Cēra, or Pāṇḍya as a king, for that was the traditional way. But Śēkkiār had a sound knowledge of history. Aiyadigaḷ was born at Kāñci and was a conqueror. Umāpati also calls him a conqueror. He annexed his enemies' lands. He visited many temples after abdicating the throne in favour of his son. There is a Gaṅga Āryavarman who in all probability took his name from his Pallava overlord. According to the Penukonda plates the Pallava was the overlord of the Gangas of whom some adopted Pallava names. If so, our Āryavarman must have lived about the fifth century.

1. கருஜர் தஞ்சைய புகழ்ச்சோழன் VII, தொண்டத்தொகை

2. S. i. i., No. 24.

3. Of course, V, கோயில் of Appar—நினைப்பவர் மனங்கோயிலாக் கொண்டவன் has no reference to Pūśal's story.

Meyporul lord of Cōli and a conqueror of his neighbours with his capital at Tirukoilūr was descended from the Śāngam Malaiyaman. He is related by Appāmalai (Śatakam 2, a very late work) to the Munaiyar of the lowlands, but nothing definite can be said about his date. Kūṟuvan lord of Kaṇṇalai near Kāñci, an adventurer, conquered all the kings and claimed Cōla Crown at the hands of the Brahmins of Tillai who seem to have been particularly attached to the Cōla throne. This must have happened when the Cōla and Pallava powers were at a low ebb.

Idangalai is another figure about whom some interesting facts are told but not sufficient to fix his age. He was a Velir chief of Koḍumbalūr who with the Muttaraiyars shared the western and southern parts of the Cōla Nāḍu in the Pallava period. These chiefs of Koḍumbalūr like the Gangas and Pāpas are as old as the Śāngam age. Idangalai was a big vassal of the Cōla or he was related to the later Cōlas as their ancestor.⁵ The passage in question can bear different interpretations. In fact Umāpati refers to him as descended from Ālittan who gold-plated Perūr in Koṅgu.⁴ Śōkkiḷār calls him the ancestor of him who gold-plated Tillai⁶ (in Koṅgu).

It may be incidentally remarked here that the Government of the period of Tēvāram was more or less a Government by vassals at the head of whom was the King or Emperor. The stories of Meyporul, Kūṟuvan, Munaiyar, Kurumban, Idangalai, Śirutunai all chiefs establish the point beyond doubt. The Maḷavas⁷ are another feudatory family—a princess of which figures in Sambandha's story but finds no mention in Tēvāram. The Maḷavas are however mentioned with the Kalabhras in Pallava inscriptions.⁸

The list of Sundara does not follow a chronological or any other order. He has cared more for exigencies of metre. His choice of the saints also is arbitrary. For who will deny an equal place to Sambandha's father or Appar's sister? In stanza 9, curiously enough, Sundara mentions only contemporary saints with the doubtful exception of Puḡai Tuṇai.

1. II. கோவலூர்—குடைகொள் வேந்தன்முதலாத குழகன் கோவலூர்.
2. Mr. Raghavaiyengar's Vaṅṅimānagar, p. 14—Meyporul & Munaiyar were brothers according to the Śatakam.
3. வேற்கூற்றன் VII, தொண்டத்தொகை.
4. ஆதித்தன் புதழ்மரில் குடிமுதலோன்
5. கொங்கிற் செம்பொருளை ந்ருர் மன்றின் முகடம்பொன்மேயந்த வாதித்தன்மரபார்.
6. II, 786.
7. மழவர்.
8. e.g., Kāśakudi plates, S. I, i, II, III.

श्रीः

॥ कालिदासीयं दर्शनम् ॥

BY

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यः परस्तान्मनोवाचां तं कविं काव्यवर्त्मना ।

अञ्जसा ध्वनिमव्येन भावयामो यथारुचि ॥

इदं तावत् कविकाव्यसंशीलने परिस्फुटं चकास्ति यथा—को जीवः? कः प्रपञ्चः? क ईश्वरः? कथं संसारगमनम्? तन्निवृत्तेर्वा निबन्धनं केनोपायेन लभ्यते तत्त्वविज्ञानम्? यावच्च तन्नोदेति तावत् कथमाचरितव्यं प्रेयःप्रेप्सुभिरैहिकमासुषिकं चाभ्युदयसाधनमिति-चैवमादि तत्त्वदर्शनानुबन्धि किमप्यस्ति भावस्थितं सन्देष्टव्यं महाकवीनामिति । तदवश्यविधेये सर्वेषां कविदर्शनानां परीक्षणे, यस्य प्रतिभाप्रसरः क्रान्तदर्शनं च, मन्यामहे, विषयेऽस्मिन् सर्वानतिशेते अन्येष्विव काव्यगोचरेषु; तस्यैव महाकवेः श्रीकालिदासस्य दर्शनं प्रथममि-हानुकम्यते ।

ये तु पुनरनुशेरते कथं नु नामेदृशो गहनतरविचारसंप्रधारणीयः तत्त्वानां भावभूमा सरससरलेषु काव्येषु निविशेत । अक्लिष्टमतयः सहृदया वा केवलशास्त्रगम्यमिममर्थं कथमञ्जसा प्रतिपद्येरन्निति । तैर्नूनं नास्वादितानि तत्त्वप्रधानानि, अथ च सुकुमारतराणि महाकविभिः प्रणीतानि काव्यानि । किं बहुना । यावद्यावदलौकिकं दर्शनमाविस्तरां व्यज्यते, तावानयं काव्यानां प्रकर्षः; नैव वा तानि काव्यात्मानं लभन्ते, येभ्योऽलौकिका भावा न स्वयमुन्मिषन्तीति अद्यतनास्सर्वे आङ्गलविमर्शका एकावाक्येन काव्यलक्षणं प्रतिपन्नाः ।

परिच्छिद्यतां वा कैश्चिदेवमनुशयानैः काव्यस्य गोचरो देशान्तरस्थैः । येषां पुनर्भारतीयानां पृथग्जनसाधारण्यलौकिकार्थसंविधानैकताना स्वरसवाहिनी दैवी संपत्, तेषां नैव नः किञ्चित्परिहास्यते । तदवश्यं प्रेक्षावद्विज्ञासितं कवेर्दर्शनं निरूपणीयम् ।

अपिच भारतीयरूपकपरीक्षणोद्यतः कीत्—नामा विमर्शकवरः कालिदासस्य काव्यानि आलोचयन्नेवं ब्रवीति—न किल विमृश्यमानेषु कवेरस्य काव्येषु कश्चित्तत्त्वदर्शनसङ्गतो लोकयात्रासामान्यसंगतो वा सन्देशः प्रतिभाति.....इति । यथायमेतस्य विमर्शो विमर्श-

1 Vide "Sanskrit Drama" By Dr. A. B. Keith, page 156.

मात्रं, न सम्यग्विमर्शः, तथा प्रपञ्चनाय च कालिदासस्य तत्त्वदर्शनपर्यन्तगताः सूक्तीस्समीक्ष्य तदीयं दर्शनं प्रस्तूयते ।

तत्र तत्त्वानुशासनस्य यः परं पर्यवसानं, तमापनिपदं पुरुषं प्राधान्येनोपश्लोकयितु-
कामः कविः वेदान्तवाक्येषु तथाश्रद्धानतया प्रतिपादनप्रक्रमेणापि तमेव श्रुतिदृष्टं पन्थान-
मनुगच्छन् रघुकुमारयोः पुरुषोत्तमं चतुर्मुखं महेश्वरं चाधिकृत्य देवानां सप्तर्षीणां च स्तुति-
रूपास्तिस्रो गीता निबन्ध । आसु चतुर्मुखस्तुतिगतानि पद्यान्यादाय तद्व्याख्यानानुप्रसङ्गेनैव
तदन्येषामपि पद्यानां तात्पर्यं चिन्तयिष्यामः ।

पद्यरत्नान्यमूनि प्रतिभया बुद्धिर्वालिख्य हृदयेन पुनर्यमृशन् अन्तः ह्लादमान
इव कविरयं श्रोतृणामवधानाय तेष्व्वात्मनो बहुमानवन्धोपन्यासपूर्वं ब्रह्मस्तुतिमवतारयति—

अथ विश्वस्य धातारं ते सर्वे सर्वतोमुखम् ।

वागीशं वाग्भिरर्थ्यभिः प्रणिपत्योपतस्थिरं ॥ (कु. २. ३.) इति ।

अत्राहंपूर्वमहंपूर्वमिति ब्रह्माणं नमश्चिकीर्षतामपि देवानां पर्यायेण प्रणिपतनाद-
निवार्यः कियानपि कालविलम्बः सोढव्य आसीदिति नन्तप्रेक्षणीयम् । चतुर्मुखो हि स देवः
परितो युगपत्प्रणिपततां सर्वेषामभिमुख एवावतस्थ इति सर्वतोमुखपदेन संविधानरामणीयकं
ध्वनयति । हन्त पदविन्यासविनोदनेष्वपि महाकवेः परमार्थदर्शिता । यदेवं “सर्वतःपाणिपादं
तत्सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुख”मिति गीताप्रतिपाद्यमिहोपस्थातव्यं निबन्ध । मन्ये न केवलं
सर्वतोमुखो वागीशः महाकविरपि यावद्देवानां स्तुत्य इदानीं संवृत्तः । अन्ते चास्या द्वादश-
श्लोक्या अन्तर्भावितबहुतत्त्वार्थतया हृदयहारितां स्वयं निवेदयति । तत् सन्तु बाला एवाद्यत्वे
काव्येऽस्मिन्निक्षमाणाः, तथापि कविर्नैव सूचितेऽर्थभूयस्त्वे न दवीयस्तरभावकल्पनादोप-
मस्मासु ग्रहीष्यन्ति भावुकाः ।

इयं हि सा गीतासंस्तुता द्वादशश्लोकी, यस्या अयमाद्यः श्लोकः—

नमस्त्रिमूर्तये तुभ्यं प्राक् सृष्टेः केवलात्मने ।

गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद्भेदमुपेयुषे ॥ (कु. २. ४.) ।

तत्र श्रुतिस्तावत् “यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते....तद्ब्रह्म” इति ब्रह्मणो
लक्षणमुक्त्वा कतमत्तदिति स्वरूपजिज्ञासायां अन्नादिपरित्यागेन “आनन्दो ब्रह्मेति व्यजा-
नात्” इति निर्धार्य, “आनन्दाद्ध्येव खल्विमानि भूतानि जायन्ते” इत्युपसंहरति । कुसुम-
सुकुमाराणि च श्रुतिवाक्यानि भवन्तीति तेषां संग्रथनाय सूत्रं प्रवृत्ते—¹जन्माद्यस्य यतः ।

1. गीता. 13. 13. 2. तै—उ. 2. 1. 3. तै—उ. 2. 6. 4. ब्र. 1. 1. 2.

यतः—आनन्दलक्षणात् ब्रह्मणः, अस्य—जगतः, जन्मादि—उत्पत्तिः स्थितिर्लयः
इति भवति; तद्ब्रह्मेह जिज्ञासितुमधिकृतमित्यर्थः । सूत्रे यतश्शब्दार्थः आनन्दमात्रं ब्रह्मणः
स्वरूपं; जगत्कारणत्वस्य स्वरूपानुगतमप्युपलक्षणाय निर्दिश्यत इति संप्रदायः । किमुक्तं
भवति श्रुतौ यतो जगजायते तद्ब्रह्म, आनन्दादेव जायत इति । इदमुक्तं भवति कारणस्य
यत्स्वरूपं आनन्दादि, तदिह विज्ञेयं कारणत्वं पुनस्तस्य धर्मो विज्ञायतां मा वा, स्वरूप-
विवेककरणाद्यैव तदनुक्रान्तमिति । अत एवोपलक्षणार्थं यतःपदं प्रायुङ्क्त भगवान् सूत्र-
कारः । अन्यथा अत इत्येव प्रायोक्ष्यत ।

कृतञ्चेयदद्य महति शास्त्रार्थगहनेऽनुप्रविश्य । श्रुतिसूत्राध्वपारगो महाकविरपीश्वरस्य
सर्गस्थितिसंहारदशासु ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्रभावं नमस्त्रिमूर्तये इत्येकस्याभिधाय कारणत्वस्य स्वरूपा-
संभेदमुपदिशति ‘प्राक् सृष्टेः केवलात्मने’ इति । पश्चात् सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणानां
विभागाय—सृष्टये बहुविधं भेदमुपेयिवानपि स एकः परमार्थतो गुणधर्मैरसंस्कृतस्वभावः सल्लि-
ल एको द्रष्टृद्वैतो भवतीति श्रवणादित्याशयः । तदिदं मूर्तिभेददर्शनं केषांचित् महाकविना प्रत्या-
दिश्यते । ये नामागमस्य पुराणानाञ्चाख्यानकमेव परमं भावं पश्यन्ति मूर्तिभेदतदुत्कर्षापकर्ष-
योरभिनिविष्टचित्ताः, तान्महाकविरनुक्रोशतीति इदं चिह्नं यदसकृन्मूर्तिभेददृष्टिं सनिर्वन्धमिव
परवर्तयति सहृदयानाम्—

एकैव मूर्तिर्त्रिभिर्दे त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावस्त्वम् ।

विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचिद्देवास्तयोस्तावपि धातुराद्यौ ॥ (कु. ७. ४४.) ।

लीलापारिगृहीतविग्रहा एते सत्यमेकात्मतायां परस्परभेदमुत्कर्षापकर्षौ च प्रसङ्गानुरूपं
दर्शयन्तीत्युक्तम् । यदाह स्म विधाता—

स हि देवः परं ज्योतिस्तमःपारे व्यवस्थितम् ।

परिच्छिन्नप्रभावधर्नि मया न च विष्णुना ॥ (कु. २. ५७.) ।

पाणिग्रहणप्रसंगे च—प्रणेमतुस्तौ पितरौ प्रजानां पद्मासनस्थाय पितामहाय । अत
एव च विवाहार्थं प्रस्थानमङ्गले सकौतुकं समापतत्सु सर्वेषु भगवान्—कम्पेन मूर्ध्निशत-
पत्रयोनिं वाचा हरिं वृत्रहणं स्मितेनेत्येवं सुरान् यथाप्रधानं संभावयामास ।

केचिन्मन्यन्ते—अस्ति भगवतो दर्शनं “यस्मात्क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः॥” इति । इह स्वस्य सर्वोत्कर्षं भगवान् स्वयमुपदि-

शतीति । अन्ये मन्यन्ते 'वेदान्तेषु यमाहुंरकपुरुषं' 'एकैश्वर्यं स्थितोऽपि' इति च नान्दीं विद-
धत् महाकविश्चैवस्यैवात्कर्षमिच्छतीति । अनया गमनिकया यत्र शैवसिद्धान्तः कदाचित्
स्थितिमुन्नतिं च प्राप, ते काश्मीरा अस्य कवेर्जन्मभूमिरिति च दर्शयन्ति कल्पनाकौशलम् ।
तदुभयेषामुत्तरं संशयच्छेदिना वचनेन कविः प्रतिपद्यते—

हरिर्यथैकः पुरुषोत्तमः स्मृतो महेश्वरस्यम्बक एव नापरः ।

तथा विदुर्मन्त्रयशतक्रतुं द्वितीयगामी न हि शब्द एष नः ॥ (र. ३. ४९.)

स्यादेतत्, जगद्धापारमर्त्यावस्थितं शुद्धमात्मनः स्वरूपं परमार्थ इति कंवरंदर्प-
मवगतम् । किलक्षणं पुनस्तदवगन्तव्यम् ; यदवगमात्परः पुरुषार्थो लभ्यते । ज्योतिस्तत्,
सत्यं, आनन्दश्चेति भगवती श्रुतिः । एनमर्थं श्रुतिशरणो महाकविरवधारयति—'स हि-
देवः परं ज्योतिः,'

अभ्यासनिगृहीतेन मनसा हृदयाश्रयम् ।

ज्योतिर्मयं विचिन्वन्ति योगिनस्त्वां विमुक्तये ॥ (र. १०. २३.) इति ।

तत्र सत्यं नाम यत्किञ्च कालेषु रूपविपर्ययं न गच्छति एकरूपं तदिति सत्यशब्दार्थं
निर्ब्रुवन्नाह—

रसान्तराण्येकरसं यथा दिव्यं पयोऽश्नुते ।

देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रियः ॥ (र. १०. १७.) इति ।

एतदुक्तं भवति—यदास्त्रायास्त्वामभिवदन्ति सर्वकर्मा सर्वरस इत्यादि, तदिद-
मेव स्वतोऽसर्वकर्मणोऽसर्वरसस्य सर्वरसता; यदुत त्रिभिर्गुणैरुपरक्षितो रसभेदपरिणामं
तेषु निगच्छत्सु स्वयमपि तद्वानिवाजायसे यथा मधुरैकस्वरसं दिव्यमम्भस्तत्तद्देशभेदानुरूपा-
णि रसान्तराण्यनुभवति । अनेनोपमाविशेषग्रहणेन बहुनुपाधीननुप्रतिष्ठ ईश्वर उपाधिसमव-
धानदशायामपि न संस्पृश्यते तदीयैर्धर्मैरिति व्यज्यते । तदिदमुक्तं—अविक्रिय इति । आनन्द-
रूपमप्यस्य कविवचनसिद्धं जीवनिरूपणे व्याचिख्यासितेन श्लोकेनोपरिष्ठादर्शयिष्यामः ।

अपि चात्मपराणां वेदान्तानां त्रिप्रकारा प्रवृत्तिरालक्ष्यते । क्वचिद्विधिमुखेन यथोदितैरा-
नन्दादिधर्मैरेवमुपदिशन्ति । अन्यत्र नेति नेत्यस्थूलादिभिर्निषेधधर्मैः । अपरत्र 'पश्यत्यचक्षुस्त-
शृणोत्यकर्णः' इत्येवंविधैर्विरुद्धवदाभासैर्वचोभिरेन श्रावयन्ति । क्लिष्टमिदमात्मानामपि वर्तते

यदवाङ्मनसगोचरो ब्रह्मतत्त्वमुपदेष्टव्यम् ; यन्मनसाभिगृह्य तमसः पारमधिगमिष्यन्ति जन्तवः ।
कविरपि ध्यायं ध्यायं भक्तिप्रवर्धनं श्रुतिप्रदिष्टमात्मतत्त्वं, स्मारं स्मारमादरातिशयेनान्या-
दशीमात्मनिरूपणे श्रुतिसंघटनां तेनैव श्रुतिदर्शितेन पथा विरोधाभासेन तत्त्वनिरूपणमुप-
क्रमते—

जगद्योनिरयोनित्वं जगदन्तो निरन्तकः ।

जगदादिरनादित्वं जगदीशो निरीश्वरः ॥ (कु. २. ९.)

हृदयस्थमनासन्नमकामं त्वां तपस्विनम् ।

दयालुमनघस्पृष्टं पुराणमजरं विदुः ॥ इति च रघौ (१०. १९.) ।

शक्त्यात्मनानुप्रविश्याखिलं प्रकाशयत् सव्यापारमिव चापादयत् यदेकं विराजते तत्त्वं,
तस्मिन् स्थाने सर्वान्धर्मानारोप्य पुनरपवादकरणे सर्वधर्मविवर्जितं कथञ्चित् स्वरूपमात्रं ज्ञापितं
भवतीत्येषा निषेधधर्मैरात्मप्रपदनी श्रुतिप्रवृत्तिः । तदीदृग्विधस्य भावयाथात्म्यस्य मनसाप्यवमर्शो
दुःशको दूरे वचोभिर्निवेदनम् । तदुक्तं श्रुत्या 'यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते । अप्राप्य मनसा सहे'ति ।
अमुं श्रुत्यर्थं स्फुटमाह रघौ—'अथैनं तुष्टुः स्तुत्यमवाङ्मनसगोचरम् । इति (र. १०. १५.) ।

अपि चाविषयमपि विषयमिवात्मानमनुशिष्टः कश्चिदन्तेवासी विरोधमत्र परिजिहीर्षन्
सुचिरमेकान्ते मत्वा यथानिर्धारितमात्मनः स्वरूपमाविश्वकार 'नाह मन्ये सुवेदेति नो न
वेदेति वेद च । अविज्ञातं विजानतां विज्ञातमविजानताम् ॥' इममप्यर्थं सन्निवेशविशेषमव्यं
कविर्निबध्नाति—

साक्षाद्दृष्टोऽसि न पुनर्विद्यस्त्वा वयमञ्जसा ।

प्रसीद कथयात्मानं न धियां पथि वर्तसे ॥ (कु. ६. २२.) ।

क्वचिद्विधकर्मविधानं, अपरत्र प्रतिषेधः, अन्यत्र सगुणतत्त्वस्योपदेशः, अन्ततश्शुद्ध-
स्यादेश इति केनापि भावेन प्रवृत्तानामागमानां दुस्संपादं नामाल्पप्रज्ञानां यदविरोधेन सम-
न्वयगमनम् । तज्जिज्ञासुभिरवहितैर्भाव्यमिति कविसन्देशोऽत्र स्फुटं चकास्ति । यत् बहुधा
निरूपिततत्त्वा मुनिप्रवरास्साक्षात्कुर्वन्त एव परं अविदन्त इवाञ्जसा प्रार्थयन्ते—प्रसीद
कथयात्मानमिति । अहह महाकविना वक्षिताः स्मो वयम् ; यत् मुनिप्राप्रसरा एते सप्त
समभ्यर्थयितारः, सर्वलोकाशरण्यं जिज्ञास्यं परं तत्त्वं साक्षाद्दुपदेष्टुं, निरस्य शङ्कापङ्कमनावि-

लमुपदेक्ष्यति स्वं याथात्म्यमिति तदुपदेशश्रवणपरायणमम्मदीयं मनोऽत्रान्तरे व्यावर्त्य प्रस्तुत-
कार्यनियोजनाय प्रार्थनान्तरं सत्तर्पिमुखात्कविरयमवतारयति स्म

अथ वा सुमहत्वेना प्रार्थना देव तिष्ठतु ।

चिन्तितोपस्थितानस्मान् आधि नः करवाम किम् ॥ (कु. ६. २४.) ।

अहो वत स्मृतमात्रोपस्थितानामृषीणां, इतिवृत्तसंगमनव्यग्रस्य कवेर्वा क्षणमात्रासह-
नदुशीलता । अथ वा नियतानुशासनायानामृषीणां मुखेन प्रश्नमिमं दुरुत्तरमुपक्षिप्य शब्द-
मात्रागोचरस्य वचनेऽवचने च महासंकटे क्षणमात्रमीश्वरमपि पातयन् कविः प्रार्थ-
नान्तरोपक्रममिति वृत्तं प्रणयन्नपि इयता रमणीयतरसंविधानमात्राच्छब्दबुद्ध्यगोचरमात्मानं
विना वचनं प्रोवाच । अयमस्य कवेरन्यादृशोऽलोकवेदसिद्धोऽध्यारोपापवादस्यावतारणमहिमा ।

एवं निश्शेषं प्रपञ्चसम्बन्धादुद्धृष्टतस्य परमात्मनः स्वयं समापतति प्रत्यर्जीवाभेदो
यमद्वैतवादा महातात्पर्येण प्रतिष्ठापयन्ति । शास्त्रार्थं दर्शयति-

त्वमेव हव्यं होता च भोज्यं भोक्ता च शाश्वतः ।

वेद्यं च वेदिता चासि व्याता ध्येयं च यत्परम् ॥ (कु. २. १५.) ।

“क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत” इति च भगवद्गीतासु शरीराण्यनु-
प्रविष्टस्येश्वरस्यैव जीवभावः स्मर्यते । गीतार्थं विवृण्वन्नाह—

मनो नवद्वारनिषिद्धवृत्ति हृदि व्यवस्थाप्य समाधिवश्यम् ।

यमक्षरं क्षेत्रविदो विदुस्तमात्मानमात्मन्यवलोकयन्तम् ॥ (कु. ३. ५०.) ।

युक्तं यत्संसारन्तो जीवाः क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्विभागं विदित्वा शरीरैरिन्द्रियमनस्संसर्गकृतेन
कालुष्येणाक्षरमपि क्षरमिव विभाव्यमानमात्मानं मुञ्जादिवेधाकां बन्धात्प्रवृत्त्य मनोनिग्रहद्वारेण
स्वं परमार्थरूपं परमात्मानं पश्यन्ति । यावदिदानीं ससाधनेन समाधिना बन्धनादुत्क्रष्टव्यस्स
एव योगी संवृत्तः; किं तदस्यानवलोकितं रूपं यदवमर्शाय सोऽपि योगमभ्यस्यति ।
तथापि अयं समुदाचार इति लोकसंग्रहणादन्यत् नेह समाधिफलमिति व्यतिरेको ध्वन्यते ।
सर्वथा जीवपरयोरभेदोऽत्र स्पष्टं शास्त्रार्थो निरदिश्यत महाकविना ।

द्विरूपं च ब्रह्मावगम्यते वेदान्तेषु-निरस्तोपाधिसंबन्धं परं, यदियता प्रबन्धेनावोचाम;
यत्तु समस्तोपाधिसंबन्धमपरं उपासनामूपयुज्यते; तस्य जगत्कर्तृव्याख्यातरूपस्य प्रकृतित्वमपि
श्रुतिसूत्रसिद्धं कविवचनेन निर्धारयिष्यामः । इह जगतः कारणनिरूपणायां केचिदध्यवस्यन्ति—

लोकेऽल्पपरिमाणानां बहूनां द्रव्यांशानां समाहारान्महद्भस्तु निष्पाद्यमानं दृश्यते । अनेन
न्यायेन मूलानुगमने जगतः कारणं परमाणवः कल्पयितव्या इति ।

अपरे तु एकस्मात्सुवर्णद्रव्यात्कटककेयूरकुण्डलादीनां निर्माणमालक्ष्य बहूनामेकस्मा-
दुत्पत्तिमातिष्ठन्ते । तत्र श्रुतेः स्वस्य चाभिमतं कारणं परपरिकल्पितेनाऽसंकीर्णरूपं ग्राह-
यितुं

तिसृभिस्त्वमवस्थाभिर्महिमानमुदीरयन् ।

प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणामेकः कारणतां गतः ॥ (कु. २. ६.) ।

आत्मानमात्माना वेत्सि सृजस्यात्मानमात्मना ।

आत्मना कृतिना च त्वमात्मन्येव प्रलीयसे ॥ (कु. २. १०.) ।

इति स्तुवनेकग्रहणेन आत्मपदप्रयोगेण च बहुभिरणुभिस्संगतैर्विश्वं प्रसूयत इति
वैशेषिकवादाद्विशेषं दर्शयति । भवेदेव वैशेषिकाणां वादः प्रमाणवान् यदि कारणादन्यत्कार्यं
स्यात् । कारणस्यैव तु संस्थानविशेषः कार्यमिति सन्ति बहुशः श्रुतिवचनानि । तान्युपलक्षयति

द्रवस्संघातकठिनः स्थूलसूक्ष्मो लघुर्गुरुः ।

व्यक्तो व्यक्तेतरश्चासि प्राकाम्यं ते विभूतिषु ॥ (र. १०. १६.) ।

स्यादेतत् । प्रपञ्चव्याक्रियायामन्यः श्रुतिदृष्टो जायन्ते जीवन्ति अभिसंविशन्तीति क्रमः ।
अन्यश्च प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणामिति । उत्पत्तिस्थितिभङ्गानामिति वक्तव्ये विरूपमिदं सृष्टौ क्रम-
प्रतीपगमनं कवेः । नचैवं सति लोकमर्यादानुसृता भवति । उत्पन्नस्य स्थितिं स्थितस्य विलयं
च लोकः पश्यति । सत्यम् । अत एवानतिक्रान्तश्रुतिपथं

‘नमो विश्वसृजे पूर्वं विश्वं तदनु विभ्रते ।

अथ विश्वस्य संहर्त्रे तुभ्यं त्रेधास्थितात्मने ॥ (कु. २. ४.) ।

इति क्रमविवक्षयाभिहितम् । किन्तु यथा लोके उत्पन्नस्य स्थितिः, स्थितस्य विलयः;
एवं प्रलीनस्योत्पत्तिरिति किं न स्यात् ? नचैषां पौर्वापर्ये नियमहेतुस्समस्ति इति क्रमभङ्गना-
पदेशेन संसारस्यानादित्वमुपक्षिप्तं कविसार्वभौमेणेति प्रतिपत्तव्यम् । तथाच लोकवेदविदां
चत्वारो न्यायाः प्रसिद्ध्यन्ति । तद्यथा लोके पुरुषो महाविस्तारवर्ती जगतीमनुवर्तमान
एवोत्सृज्य लोकबन्धं सुषुप्त्यवस्थां गच्छति । स पुनस्सुप्तोत्थितस्तामेव जगतीमनुगच्छन् पूर्वेषु-

रात्मना सामिकृतं कार्यं समापयितुं यतते । इमं स्वापप्रबोधनयं नाम प्रथममाचक्षते । तथा यान्यतुलक्षणानि वसन्तादिप्रादुर्भावेषु हृदयमावर्जयन्त्युज्जृम्भन्ते चूतप्रमवकोकिलारात्रमुखानि; तान्येवर्तुव्यवधानेषु तिरोहितरूपाणि भूयो वत्सरपर्यये पुनरावर्तन्ते । इमं वत्सरपरिवृत्तिनयं नाम द्वितीयमाचक्षते । आभ्यां किलानुगम्यमानं तृतीयं जन्ममरणन्यायमाहुः । तद्यथा देहेऽस्मिन्नियतेनायुःपरिमाणेन व्यवहरन् प्रायणकाले त्यक्त्वा देहसंबन्धं केनापि सूक्ष्मरूपेणावस्थितो महता कालविलम्बेन देहान्तरं प्रतिपद्यते । स तत्र पूर्ववासनानुरूपं बुद्धिसंयोगं लभमानो जीवयात्रया सङ्गच्छत इति । एभिस्त्रिभिर्न्यायैस्संप्रधार्यमाणः सृष्टिप्रलयन्यायो नाम तुरीयो यं 'धाता यथापूर्वमकल्पयदि'त्यादिरागमो दर्शयति ॥

तत्र स्वापप्रबोधनयस्य वत्सरपरिवृत्तिनयस्य च वृत्तं जगतस्सृष्टावतिदिशति स्मृतिः ।
शर्वर्यन्ते प्रसूतानां तान्येवैभ्यो ददात्यजः ।
यथर्तुष्वतुलिङ्गानि नानारूपाणि पर्यये ।
जायन्ते तानि तान्येव तथा भावा युगादिषु ॥ इति ।

कविरपि—स्वकालपरिमाणेन व्यक्तरात्रिदिवस्य ते ।

यौ तु स्वप्नावबोधौ तौ भूतानां प्रलयोदयौ ॥ (कु. २. ८.) इति ।

अन्यत्र च हृदयंगमेनोपमानद्वयेन आद्याभ्यां तुल्यलक्षणं प्रेत्यभावं निर्दिशति—

तां हंसमालाशरदीव गङ्गां महौषधिं नक्तमिवात्मभासः ।

स्थिरोपदेशामुपदेशकाले प्रपेदिरे प्राक्तनजन्मविधाः ॥ (कु. १. ३०.) इति ।

तदेवं अल्पाल्पतरदीर्घदीर्घतरव्यवधानेन कालचक्रमियन्तिषु कर्मवातेर्यमाणेषु भावेषु घटीयन्त्रवदनिशमावर्तमानेषु क एषामादिः, किं मध्यं, का संप्रतिष्ठेति तत्त्वतो न प्राप्नोतीति सुष्ठु कविनोपलक्षितं संसारस्यानादित्वमित्यलम् ॥

ननु यदि नामेश्वरः तत्तत्कार्यरूपेण समजायतेत्युपगच्छेम, तदा विक्रियावस्थमात्मनः प्रसज्येत । 'अविकार्योऽयमुच्यते' इति चैवमादीनि श्रुतिवचनानि ग्राह्येरन् । 'देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रियः' इति च स्ववचनमिति । उच्यते—प्रपञ्चरूपपरिणामं, अथ च तद्विरुद्धमविक्रियत्वमीश्वरस्योपदिशतां श्रुतिसूत्राणामयमाशयो लक्ष्यते—गृह्णन्तु तावदादौ जगदीश्वरपरिणामं जिज्ञासवः । विवेचनशीलतया तु स्वयमुदकं विवर्तवादेन संगस्यन्ते—स एक ईश्वरस्सदैकरूपो विचित्रतरबहुविधशब्दबुद्धिगोचरं लोकव्यवहारमुपनीयते—इति ।

“प्रस्थाप्यमाने परिणामवादे स्वयं समायाति विवर्तवादः” इति च संप्रदायः । इमां परिणामप्रक्रमेण विवर्तपर्यवसायिनीं सोपानारोहणक्रमविन्यासपथां वितनुते कविः—

त्वामामनन्ति प्रकृतिं पुरुषार्थप्रवर्तिनीम् ।

तददर्शिनमुदासीनं त्वामेव पुरुषं विदुः ॥ कु. २. १३. ।

अस्यार्थः—सर्वज्ञं चेतनं सन्तं त्वामाम्नाया आदौ तावज्जगतः प्रकृतिं परिणामिकारणं वदन्ति । अथ च पण्डिताः त्वामेव विक्रियमाणायाः प्रकृतेर्द्रष्टारं साक्षिणं, पूर्णत्वाच्च पुरुषं जानन्तीति ॥

पद्यमिदं यद्यपि महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमन्मल्लिनाथसूरिप्रमुखाः सांख्यमतानुसारेण देवानां स्तुतिमवतारयामासुः, तथापि यावद्यावत्परीक्ष्यते तावत्सांख्यमतनिराकरणपक्षस्थैवेदं पद्यं भवति नाभ्युपगमपक्षस्थेति नः प्रतिभाति । अचेतना हि सांख्यानां प्रकृतिः । तथा संस्तूयते सर्वज्ञो ब्रह्मा देवैरिति प्रथमतो न श्लिष्टम् । औपनिषदं स्वमतमातिष्ठमाना अपि सांख्या वेदान्तेषु सर्वज्ञोपचरितां प्रकृतिं प्रतिजानते । न चेतनस्याचेतनभावं कदाचित् । अपिच प्रकृतिसंस्तुतस्य विधातुरुत्तरार्थे तददर्शिनमुदासीनमिति तत्साक्षित्वमौदासीन्यञ्चोच्यमानं कथमुपपाद्यत इति प्रष्टव्याः । यदि ब्रूयुः—अस्ति सांख्यानां प्रकृतिरचेतना; अस्ति च ततो विभक्तः पुरुषः । तथापि कश्चित्प्रकृतेर्विवेकमात्मनोऽपश्यन् तदात्मतया सुखी दुःखी मूढ इति संसरति । तदभिप्रायं तयोरभेदवचनम् । मुक्तः पुनरन्यो विवेकविज्ञानेन तां पश्यन् प्रेक्षकवदुदासीनोऽवतिष्ठते । तेनोक्तं तददर्शिनमिति । 'अजो ह्येको जुषमाणोऽनुशेते जहात्येनां भुक्तभोगामजोऽन्यः' इति श्रुतिरपीमां व्यवस्थां दर्शयतीति । एवमपि पुरुषबहुत्वदर्शिनां सांख्यानां मते येन संसरता पुरुषेण स्वात्मनि प्रकृत्यभेदोऽध्यारोपितः, यं प्रकृतिमामनन्ति, स एवोदासीनो विवेकेन तां पश्यतीति किं केन संगतम् ?

अथान्योऽभिप्रायः—एको जुषमाणः जहात्यन्यः इति श्रुतौ न संसारमोक्षयोः पुरुषभेदेन व्यवस्थानं विवक्षितम् । एक एव हि पर्यायेणाविवेकविवेकाभ्यां संसरति मुच्यते च; दशाभेदात्तु स एवैकान्यपदाभ्यां निर्दिश्यत इति । सांप्रतं देवानां प्रसाध्यैश्वर्यं कश्चिदधिकृत्यैवं स्तोतुम् । यस्तु सहोत्पन्नधर्मज्ञानवैराग्यैश्वर्यौ हिरण्यगर्भः, ये च सनक-सनन्दनमहर्षिकपिलप्रमुखा आदिविद्वांसः तेषामप्यवस्थाविशेषे प्रसाध्यैश्वर्यं कल्पयद्भिः किमिदमस्थाने देवैरपकर्षः क्रियते । न त्वास्मिन् पक्षे कल्पितमभेदं वददामनन्तिपदं स्वरसमिव ।

अभ्युपगम्यैतदवोचाम । वस्तुतो भ्रमकल्पनासहा अख्यातिवादिनस्सांख्याः ; तदेषां मतेन पुरुषे प्रकृत्यभेदारोपकल्पना न भागिनीति व्युत्पादितमस्माभिर्निबन्धान्तरे । तस्मात्

प्रकृतिः, पुरुषार्थप्रवर्तिनी, उदासीनः इति च पदसामान्यमात्रेण शास्त्रार्थमदीसहान् बालान् प्रति महोपाध्याय एवं व्याकरोदिति मन्यामहे ।

नारायणकविस्तु-संस्वरसांख्यं योगमभिमत्य, म ईश्वरसर्गविधायिनीं प्रकृतिं सन्निधाने-न प्रेरयन् जगतः कर्तेह निवद्धः इति भावान्तरमुपचक्षेप । तदपीदृशेषु तत्त्वार्थविवेचन-संविधानेषु कर्तुंवाचकं परिणामिनो वाचकं च प्रकृतिपदं कर्तव्यं कविः प्रयुज्जानेति शङ्कामात्रेण स्तम्भितवृत्तिभिरस्माभिरुपेक्षितम् । तस्मात् परिणामवादारोहक्रमेण विवर्तना-दावतरणमिदमिति यथाव्याख्यातं रमणीयम् ।

अथवा व्युत्पत्तिभेदेन अधिकारभेदेन वान्यगन्यं पन्थानमनुसरन्त्यपि दर्शनानि पर्य-न्तभावेनेश्वरमेवैकं श्रयन्त इति दर्शनानामवगातसामान्यं कविरन्यत्र समादिदेश—

बहुधाप्यागर्भभिन्नाः पन्थानस्मिद्धिहेतवः ।

त्वय्येव निपतन्त्यांवा जाह्नवीया इवार्णवे ॥ र. १०. २६. ।

विपुलमतयो हि क्रान्तदर्शित्वात्कवयो भवन्ति । तत्र कतमः पन्थाः, कथं वा ईश्वरं निपततीत्यस्यामपेक्षायां प्रकृतिनिरूपणेन सांख्याः, तत्साक्षात्परनिरूपणेन योगि-नो वेदान्तिनश्चेति पूर्वोत्तरार्थयोर्विभज्य वाक्यभेदेन व्याख्येयम् ।

यद्वा सर्वोपनिषदर्थोपसंहरणप्रसङ्गऽस्मिन् कमपि “सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीत्” इति श्रुतेरर्थविशेषमनेन पथेन कविरनुभावयति सहर्दयैरिति युक्तम् । अस्मिन् वाक्ये जगतः कारणं सच्छब्दार्थो न शुद्धं चेतन्यमात्रम्; नापि केवला प्रकृतिशक्तिः । किं तर्हि ? शक्तिसंवलितः परमेश्वरः । सा च प्रकृतिशक्तिर्नेश्वरादेकान्तं भिद्यते; नाप्यत्यन्तं न भिद्यते । यथा च रमणीयो ग्रामः, अधृष्यो ग्रामः, संपन्नो ग्रामः इति प्रयोगभेदेषु कचिद्ग्रामशब्दो जनपदे वर्तते; कचिन्निवासिजनेषु; कचिदुभयस्मिन् जनपदे निवासिजनेषु च । करय हतोः ? विवक्षा-भेदादित्याह । एवमयं सच्छब्दो विवक्षावशाच्छक्तिमदीश्वरे वर्तिष्यत इति वेदान्तमर्यादा । तदिदं सच्छब्दार्थेऽशब्दयसद्भावः, तयोरैकान्तिकभेदाभेददौर्लभ्यमिति च कवेर्निर्दिक्षितम् । यदाहुः भगवत्पादाः—“अव्यक्ता हि सा माया तत्त्वान्यत्वाभ्यामानिर्वाच्यत्वात्” इति । तदयं श्लोकार्थः—सदेवेत्यादिवाक्यानि त्वां प्रकृतिं वदन्ति; न खलु सा प्रकृतिशक्तिस्त्वामृते स्वरूपलाभं भजत इति । अथ च येनाधिष्ठिताचेतनापि सा प्रकृतिरात्मानं प्रकरोति । तं तस्या द्रष्टारं साक्षिणमपि त्वामेव पण्डिता अधिष्ठानावशेषं कल्पितवस्त्विति न्यायविदो जानन्तीति । हन्त कविभाष्यगति-रत्यायता न परिणीयते स्वच्छद्विधित्वस्मत्प्रज्ञासु । विशेषतो ध्वननमार्गव्यापश्रयाण्यपर्यन्तानि नाम कविवर्चांसि सुदूरमनुधावन्ति ध्वनन्ति च भावभेदेषु । तत्परीक्षन्तां संमर्शिनो यदीतो-

ऽपि सरसं भावान्तरं समुल्लसति । सर्वथा कचित्सांख्यं, कचिदौपनिषदं, कचिदन्यदिति न भावशून्य इव कविर्मतभेदान् परिगणयिष्यतीति स्थितम् ।

तिष्ठतु यथादर्शितः पदार्थोऽन्यो वा कश्चित् । सांख्यवादप्रतिपक्षभूतो महाक-रि रिति न मृष्यते । तथाहि लङ्कायाः प्रतिनिवर्तमानस्य श्रीरामचन्द्रस्य वचनेन सरयू-महानदीमुपवर्णयन् कविरुपमांमुपादत्ते—

पयोधरैः पुण्यजनाङ्गनानां निर्विघ्नेहमांखुजरेण यस्याः ।

ब्राह्मं सरः कारणमाप्तवाचो बुद्धेरिवाव्यक्तमुदाहरन्ति ॥ र. १३. ६०. ।

बुद्धेः—महत्त्वस्य, अव्यक्तं—प्रकृतिः, स्मृतिप्रसिद्धं कारणं यथा तथा सरय्वा उद्भवो ब्राह्मं सर इति व्याख्याय श्रीमल्लिनाथप्रमुखाः ‘प्रकृतेर्महंस्ततोऽहंकारस्तस्माद्गणश्च षोडशकः इति सांख्यप्रक्रियानिविष्टं कविद्वयं मन्यन्ते । यन्नामकं यत्प्रभवं च महत्त्वं साङ्ख्यानानां तत्तादृशमिहोपात्तं दृश्यते । एवं कार्यविषये स्मृतिमनुगच्छन्, कारणमव्यक्तमपि स्मृतिसिद्धं निर्दिशन् कथमिवान्यत्र पक्षमेतं कविः प्रतिक्रियेत् । नचास्य पक्षस्यानुकूल्यं प्रतिपन्ना औप-निषदा इतरेषां ‘महदादीनां वेदान्तवादेष्वनुपलब्धेरीदृशार्थेष्वप्रमाणं सांख्यस्मृतिरिति वदन्तः । किं बहुना यावदद्यतना विमर्शिनः केचित् सांख्यकारिकामीश्वरकृष्णापरनामधेयस्य कालि-दासस्यैव कृतिमुल्लिखन्तीति ।

अस्तिवदं किं सांख्यकारिका इदं कविकर्मणा भवितव्यं न वेत्याद्यपर्यवस्यदुत्प्रेक्षाकौ-शलम् । यथा तु महदव्यक्तयोरुपमानयोर्ग्रहणेन सांख्यानानां प्रत्यवस्थानं न कल्पते; तथा व्युत्पादयांबभूवुरनुमानिकाधिकरणे श्रीभगवत्पादाः—“न ह्येतत् महतः परमव्यक्तमिति वचनं स्मृतिप्रसिद्धयोर्महदव्यक्तयोरस्तित्वपरम्” इति । एतदुक्तं भवति अन्यन्महत्त्वं सां-ख्यानानां यत्सत्तामात्रं प्रथमजम् । प्रथमजं तदुच्यते; यदयमव्यक्तस्यादिमः परिणामः । तन्महत्; यदव्यक्तमपेक्ष्य व्यक्तीभवति । सत्ता सा; एषा ह्यव्यक्तस्यासत्कल्पस्य पुरुषार्थसंपादनप्रवणा दशेति । अन्यच्च वेदान्तवादिनां महत्त्वं या हैरण्यगर्भी समष्टिबुद्धिः । सा समष्टिरुच्यते; यत्परिमिता जीवबुद्धीरेकनीडायमाना समश्नुते । तत्तद्देहमात्रव्यतिषक्ताः परिच्छिन्नाल्पविष-याभिमानिनीर्जीवानां व्यष्टिबुद्धीरेपेक्ष्य अपञ्चीकृतमहाभूतविषयपरिच्छेदकत्वाच्च सा महती व्यपदिश्यत इति ।

1. सांख्यकारिका श्लो. 22.

2. अ. 2. 1. 2.

3. अ. शं. Page 106 Bombay Ed. 1917.

“यस्मिन् पञ्च पञ्चजना आकाशश्च प्रतिष्ठितः” इति श्रुताविमान्येव तत्त्वानि संख्यायन्त इति । एतन्निराकरणं सूत्रकारः “प्राणादयो वाक्यशेषात्” इति जगात् । पञ्च पञ्चजना इति न सांख्यानां पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वाभिप्रायं, किन्तु पञ्चजना नाम ये प्राग्मेधाः पञ्च, ते प्राणस्य प्राणमिति वाक्यशेषोदिताः प्राणादय एवत्यर्थः । अत्र देवाः पितरो, गन्धर्वा इत्यादयः पञ्च पञ्चजना नाम, तानात्मनि प्रतिष्ठितानेतद्वाक्योक्तान् केचिन्मेनिर इति भगवत्पादा विशेषमाचक्षुः ।

तद्यदीदमेकदेशिनां मतं कवेर्जीवितममये सर्वत्र लब्धप्रचारं संभाव्यते ततस्सांख्य-मतानपेक्षां मनसिकृत्य साभिप्रायमेनमर्थं कविरिह संजग्रन्थेति ।

हृद्यमेतद्गोचरे वेदान्तविचारसंकेभ्यः । किन्त्वेवंप्रायास्तत्त्वार्थान् सूचयन्नयं न केवलं महाकविः, प्राग्वसरोऽपि दार्शनिकानामित्युपेतव्यं भवति । सर्वथा सांख्यमतव्युदासोपपत्तेः तथा नामास्तु । सिद्धं नः समीहितम् ।

प्रतिपादितं शुद्धस्यात्मनो याथात्म्यम् । जगतः कारणं तद्यावर्तितं प्रधानादिवादेभ्यः । प्रतिष्ठापितं स विश्वस्य स्रष्टा सैव च प्रकृतिरिति । तस्य जगद्वचनामधिकृत्य किमपि वक्तव्यम् ।

तत्र सृष्टिक्रमस्याविवक्षया सर्गभेदाभिप्रायेण वा नैकप्रक्रमासु श्रुतिषु काश्चिदात्मनः स्त्रीपुंसभावसंगमनेन द्वंद्वसृष्टिं प्रतिपादयन्ति “म वै नैव रेमे” इत्यादयः । इमं सृष्टिभेदं कवि-राह—

स्त्रीपुंसावात्मभागौ ते भिन्नमूर्तेस्सिसृक्षया ।

प्रभृतिभाजस्सर्गस्य तावेव पितरो स्मृतौ ॥ (कु. २. ७.)

क्वचित् “विज्ञानं चाविज्ञानं च । सत्यं चानृतं च सत्यमभवत् ।” इत्येकस्यैव तस्या-न्योन्यविरुद्धतत्त्वज्ञावोपगमनं श्रुतिः प्रकरोति ।

द्रवस्संघातकठिनः स्थूलसूक्ष्मो लघुर्गुरुः । (कु. २. ११.) इति कविः ।

अपः प्रथमास्तृष्टा ताखण्डोत्पादनक्रमेण जगत् सृज्यत इति मन्वादयः ।

यदमोघमपामन्तरुप्तं बीजमज त्वया ।

अतश्चराचरं विश्वं प्रभवस्तस्य गीयसे ॥ (कु. २. ५.) इति कविः ।

ईश्वरो नात्मनैव सर्वस्य सर्गव्यापारे व्याप्रियते । किन्तु ब्रह्माणं सृजति; स मरीच्या-दीन् ; ततस्सर्गशेषस्तत्कृत एवेति स्मृतिपुरुणादयः ।

१. वृ. उ. १. ४-१२.

२. तै. उ. २. ६.

सर्गशेषप्रणयनाद्विश्वयोनेरनन्तरम् ।

पुरातनाः पुराविद्विर्धातार इति कीर्तिताः ॥ (कु. ६. ९.) इति कविः ।

एवमपि सृष्टानखिलाननुप्राविश्य अन्तर्यामिरूपेण नियमयन् स ईश्वरः प्रशास्तीति सूत्रकाराः ।

अन्तर्यामिणः स्वरूपं तत्परतया क्रियासमभिहारेण महाकविरुपदिशति—

एवं यदात्थ भगवन्नामृष्टं नः परैः पदम् ।

प्रत्येकं विनियुक्तात्मा कथं न ज्ञास्यसि प्रभो ॥ (कु. २. ३१.)

यदा बुधैस्सर्वगतस्त्वमुच्यसे न वेत्सि भावस्थमिमं कथं जनम् ।

इति स्वहस्तोल्लिखितस्स मुग्धया रहस्युपाठभ्यत चन्द्रशेखरः ॥ (कु. ५. ५८.)

या नः प्रीतिर्विरूपाक्ष त्वदनुष्ठानसंभवा ।

सा किमावेद्यते तुभ्यमन्तरात्मासि देहिनाम् ॥ (कु. ६. २१.)

एवमन्यान्यपि समानतन्त्राणि पद्यान्युदाहृत्य तल्लक्षणाभिः कविवचोभिस्सर्वेषां श्रुतिस्मृतिहासपुराणानां ब्रह्मणि गतिसामान्यं दर्शयितव्यम् ।

जगत्कारणत्वप्रदर्शनेन अन्तर्यामित्वप्रतिपादनेन च ब्रह्मणः सर्वज्ञत्वं अर्थसिद्धं सर्व-शक्तित्वं च । तत् वेदकर्तृत्वेनापि प्रतिष्ठापयितुं शास्त्रयोनित्वन्यायमुदाहरति—

उद्धातः प्रणवो यासां न्यायैस्त्रिभिरुदीरणम् ।

कर्म यज्ञः फलं स्वर्गस्तासां त्वं प्रभवो गिराम् ॥ (कु. १२. २.)

कथं पुनरेवं सति सर्वे वेदा ब्रह्मपदमामनन्ति, निःश्रेयसं वैषां पर्यन्तगमनम्? यावता कर्म यज्ञः फलं स्वर्ग इति क्रियार्थानि स्वर्गपर्यवसानानि च वेदवचांसि कविरुपलक्ष-यति । यद्यपि स्वर्गफलाः क्रतवोऽलौकिका विधीयन्ते वेदेष्वित्युक्तम् । नैतत् लोकानवगतस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रतिपादनं तत्फलमपवर्गं वा परिसंचष्टे । अत एवेतरानपेक्षं श्रुतीनां ब्रह्मणि ग्रामाण्यं रवौ दर्शितं संगच्छते—

प्रत्यक्षोऽप्यपरिच्छेद्यो महादिर्महिमा तव ।

आप्तवागनुमानाभ्यां साध्यं त्वां प्रति का कथा ॥ (र. १०. २८.)

इहाप्तवाचः प्रथमा अनन्तरं चानुमानं गृह्यन् ब्रह्मणि स्वतन्त्रो वेदः प्रमाणम् ; तस्य सहकरोत्यनुमानमिति शास्त्रयोनित्वन्यायमनुस्मारयति । एतेन प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं वा यत्रा-

असा क्रमते, स्थितरूपं तद्ब्रह्मोपदिशतां मापेक्षा वेदान्तानां प्रवृत्तिः स्यादिति परंपराप्रत्यवस्थान-
मप्रयोजकं व्याख्यातम् । यथाहुः श्रीभगवत्पादाः “तत्त्वमसीति ब्रह्मात्मभावस्य शास्त्रमन्तर-
णानवगम्यमानत्वात्” [ब्र. शं. ३.७.३.] इति ।

अहो ध्वननमार्गोऽयं कोऽपि दृष्टः कवीश्वरः ।

अगोचरा मनोवाचां तत्त्वं येनाभिगम्यते ॥

अथवा नेह चित्रमिव किञ्चित् । निर्वेदशोकभयादयो हि स्वभावाद्द्विष्टाः सर्व-
प्राणिनां ध्वनिमार्गोपहितरूपाः चर्वणापथसंरोहिणो रसपरिणामं लभन्ते । उक्तं च सहृदय-
धूर्वहैः काव्यस्य गमनिकां विशिषद्भिः कवितल्लजश्रीनीलकण्ठदीक्षितेन्द्रः—

‘तन्त्रान्तरेषु प्रतिपाद्यमानास्ते ते पदार्था ननु ते त एव ।

निर्वेदभीशोकजुगुप्सितान्यप्यायान्ति साहित्यपथं रसत्वम् ॥

‘अनायनप्राणमसंयताक्षमब्रह्मचर्यानशनादिखेदम् ।

चित्तं महेशे निभृतं विधातुं सिद्धः कवीनां कवित्वेव योगः ॥

यन्मयतामुपेत्य क्षुद्रा अपि, स्वभावाद्द्विष्टा अपि, नैकविधकलेशोपजना अपि शोकादयः
परिच्छेदविधुरा इव, हृदयरुचिता इव, अत्यन्तसुखनिम्ना इव संवेद्यन्ते; स कथं साक्षादपरोक्षो
नित्यं विगलितवेद्यान्तरः स्वयमानन्दैकरसो नाविर्भवित्यति ध्वनिप्राग्भाषणं काव्येषु विशेषतः
कालिदासीयेष्विति ।

तदित्यं नाम अतिगर्भार ईश्वराख्यो भावभूमा कविवचोभिर्व्याख्यातः । अथ को
जीवः? कः प्रपञ्चः? कथं संसारगमनं? कीदृशं च तन्निवृत्त्युपायः तत्त्वदर्शनम्? अन्तरङ्ग-
बहिरङ्गैरुपायैर्यावदिदं नोदेति दर्शनं तावत् कथमाचरितव्यं प्रेयःप्रेप्सुभिरित्येवमादि निखि-
लमर्थजातं सपरिकरं सन्दिदेश महाकविः; यथा भारतीयरूपकपरीक्षणोद्यताः कीत्
प्रभृतयो विमर्शका मेनिरे, तथा न तत्त्वदर्शनानुबन्धिष्वमीश्वर्येषु तूष्णीक उदास्ते इति सवि-
स्तरं व्युत्पादनमिहावसरप्राप्तमपि निबन्धान्तरपर्याप्तमिति साम्प्रतमस्य कृते नाधिकं प्रयत्यते ।
तदिममपि विषयं खण्डप्रबन्धात्मनाऽस्यामेव प्राचीनविद्याविमर्शिन्यामचिरादाविश्विकीर्णमः ।

तथापीदमस्तु वक्ष्यमाणार्थस्य प्रदर्शनाय सफलकर्मयोगोपसंहारपरं कविवचनम्—

‘यद्ब्रह्म सम्यगाम्नातं यदग्नौ विधिना हुतम् ।

यच्च तप्तं तपस्तस्य विपकं फलमद्य नः ॥

॥ ओम् ॥

NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, March, 1927.

W. Norman Brown contributes a paper on “Change of Sex as a Hindu Story Motif”. He deals with it under five headings—bathing in an enchanted pool or stream, by curse or blessing of a deity, exchanging sex with a Yakṣa, by magic and by the power of righteousness or in consequence of wickedness. There are times when the change is expected and times when it is not. At times it is welcome, at others it is not. A change from woman to man is wel- come, not the reverse. He suggests that the origin of the notion of sex change may be the desire of members of one sex to belong to the other, or sex perversion (eunuchs imitating women in dress, occupation and in every way possible) or superstition (parents giving their sons names of girls to escape malevolent spirits), or adoption by adults of the appearance of other sex to escape misfortune or unfavourable attention of superior powers.

Leonard Bloomfield writes on “Some Rules of Pāṇini”. He discusses the rule *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* and the following. He says that the treat- ment of the words in the *sarvādigaṇa* is clumsy and there is repetition. He says that the list *sarvādī* should be read without the words *nema*, *purva*, etc., *sva* and *antara*.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGELANDLICHEN GESELLSCHAFT, New Folge Band 6, Heft 1, 1927.

A. Hillebrandt contributes an article on “Anschauungen über das Alter des R̥gveda” (Observations on the Age of the R̥gveda). He discusses the views of many scholars who have dealt with the subject, like Max Mül- ler, Jacobi, Tilak, A.C. Das, etc.; he says that none of them has been able to find out the right solution of the problem. He says that Buddhistic Litera- ture and Grammatical Literature furnish us with the latest limit. From Bud- dhistic Literature and Grammatical Literature we can conclude that Vedic period had ended by the 5th Century B. C. The earliest limit is still ob- scure. He discusses Thibaut's view of the age of the R̥gveda and says that the period he assigns is too wide. The recent archaeological discoveries reveal some new facts. The article will continue.

The journal contains the report of the meeting of the German Oriental Society at Hamburg from 28th September to October 2nd 1926. The following papers are noticed regarding the section dealing with India :—

H. Meyer Benfy spoke on " Kālidāsa's Śākuntala and its Source." The story rests on the old Indo-germanic folklore of the forgotten bride which underwent many changes in India and was added to the series of tales about Indian heroes. Its most original and most complete form is seen in Kālidāsa's drama. The episode in the Mahābhārata contains a very distorted form of the story.

Sten Konow dealt with the linguistic and literary affinities of the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions.

St. Sohayer read a paper on the meaning of the word Upaniṣad.

O. Strauss contributed an article on a Sūtra seen in Pāṇini and Mahābhāṣya regarding the Theory of Knowledge. He compared it with Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā theories and suggested its importance to the history of Indian Logic.

E. Lenmann contributed a paper on " The Goddess Aditi and Vedic Astronomy".

M. Walleser read a paper on " Sanskrit and Indogermanic."

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, April 1927.

C.A.F. Rhys Davids contributes an article on "The Unknown Co-founders of Buddhism". There is very little contemporary record regarding Buddhism at its inception. The only works available are Mahāvagga of the Vinaya-piṭaka and one or two portions of the five Nikāyas. Here we get only a bare outline. There is evidence to show that Gautama Buddha was not the only teacher responsible for the body of teaching known as Dhamma; Gautama's fellow-workers were not merely listeners, disciples, sons of fishermen; they were fellow-teachers. The names of most of them are unknown. We know little of those whose names are recorded. Ultimately all the teachings were brought round the central personality—Buddha. The writer gives many authorities to explain his point.

E. J. Johnson gives the readings of the Buddhacarita, cantos i—viii, as shown by a manuscript from Nepal, which was not known when Cowell edited the text, but which is the original copied with additions and alterations by Amṛtānanda, from whose copy of it were derived the three manuscripts used by Cowell.

R. L. Turner's article on " The Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan " is a purely philological paper of considerable interest.

N. D. Mironov deals with the name Avalokiteśvara as applied to Bodhisattva. It is proved by Chinese and by Sanskrit fragments of Saddharma-puṇḍarīka that the original name was Avalokita-lokeśvara which became Avalokiteśvara. He also discusses the central Asian successions of Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka.

F. W. Thomas and G. L. M. Clauson publish a Chinese Buddhist text in Tibetan characters. The book is Sukhāvativyūha.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, March, 1927.

Prof. H. Heras contributes a paper on " The Final Defeat of Mihirakula." He compares the two authorities on the subject—The Mandasor inscription, according to which Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula, and the account of Hiuen Tsang, according to whom the victorious monarch was Bālādityarāja of Magadha. He discusses the views of other scholars on the points and the various explanations of the inconsistency. He concludes that there is no inconsistency, that Mihirakula was once defeated by Yaśodharman, but was routed by Bālādityarāja.

Jwala Prasad Singhal writes about " Some lights on Ancient world History from the Purāṇas." He thinks that the original home of the Āryans was the Punjab, that Nāgas, Daityas, Dānavas, Garudas and Devas were non-Āryan people and Manuṣyas were Āryans, according to the Purāṇas. Kāśyapa was the common ancestor of the former group—only a reference to common origin—and Manu was the progenitor of the Āryas. He identifies the region of the Caspian Sea, Tibet, Burma and China as various places mentioned in the Purāṇas. He deals with Dravidians, Egypt and the Maya civilization. He tries to explain the various Avatāras of Viṣṇu like the Narasimha, Vāmana, as pointing out the inter-relation of the various peoples in the ancient world.

R. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar makes some remarks on "Ancient South Indian Gold coinage." He says that gold coinage was essentially for the purpose of giving *dakṣiṇā* in religious ceremonies. He describes various kinds of gold coins discovered till now.

V. V. Śarma publishes in Roman characters the text of Sudhāle-pavidhāna, a work on the method of plastering walls for painting. He

describes the contents of the book. The text is a small one containing 46 stanzas.

The introduction by A Schiefner to his translation of Tānātha's History of Buddhism in India is translated. The author of the book is a Tibetan Lāma of the 16th—17th Century A. D.

L. P. P. Śarma draws attention to the two Kośalas in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. Maṇindra Mohan Bose discusses the Kalinga Edicts. The article will continue.

"The Origin and Development of Numerals"—This is a very learned article by Maṇindra Nāth Banerjee. The article will continue.

Prabhat Kumar Mukerjee continues his article on "Indian Literature abroad". He is dealing with China. The article will continue.

Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya makes some observations on Dinnāga's Nyāyapraveśa. He compares the Sanskrit text (to be published by Principal Dhruva in Gackwād Oriental Series) with Tibetan and Chinese translations, and throws out much valuable information.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE, Vol. VIII. Pts. III and IV.

Prof. Franklin Edgerton contributes an article on "The Hour of Death" in pt. III. He discusses the beliefs according to various religions, regarding the influence of the place where a man dies and his mental condition at the time of death, on his condition after.

In pt. III there is published the English translation by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar of Senart's Introduction to his translation of Bhagavadgītā. The views given in it are of the usual type that we see from a European Scholar. Question of Chronology, the relation of the Gīta and the Mahābhārata, the variety of authors at work and consequent inconsistencies, are fully discussed.

There is a rather belated obituary note and appreciation of Mahāmahopādhyaya Dr. T. Ganapati Śāstri.

In pt. IV, Sukumar Sen deals with the use of the cases in Vedic prose. The article is of a highly technical nature; but it is dealt with in a scholarly way. The article will continue.

V. R. R. Dikshitar contributes an article on "The art of War as practised in South India". He has drawn his material from Tamil literature. It is not taken from any work dealing with the art of war, but the material is culled from various works in the rich field of Tamil literature.

Prof. V. K. Rājvāde attempts to explain the meanings of certain Rgvedic words whose meanings still remain doubtful. The words that he has selected are *sva* and its various compound forms, and *atri*.

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. April—July, 1927.

Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah continues his "Vedic studies". He writes on "Sunam" in the April issue and says that the word must mean "dear" and "own". He examines a large number of passages where the word occurs. He examines the word *svasara* in the June issue. He assigns the sole meaning "winning" to it as against the interpretation of other commentators, ancient and modern, who assign other meanings also. He also examines the word *a-rati* and gives it the meaning "he who shines"—also against the authority of all interpreters. In the July issue, he takes up the word *phaliga*. He equates it with the word *sphaṭika*—already suggested by Hillebrandt.

Umesh Chandra Bhaṭṭācārya continues his article on Brahmadevī and Sūfism. This is a criticism of Von Krimm's book on Islamic culture, where he says that Sufism owes its origin mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy, known as the Vedānta School.

N. C. Metha has a note on a Mediæval Jaina image, in the April issue. He explains the image from the artistic point of view.

In the May issue Umeshchandra Bhaṭṭācārya writes an article on the interpretation of the Upaniṣads. He discusses the problem whether we can speak of a philosophy of the Upaniṣads. The article is not concluded yet. The main trend of his paper is that the Upaniṣads do not show any uniformity and as such must be classified according to their subject-matter.

J. Charpentier publishes a long article, in parts, on "the Meaning and Etymology of Pūjā." Two parts appear in May and July issues. He contrasts the sacrifices of the Āryans with the image-worship of the non-Āryan Dravidians—which latter is *pūjā*. He derives the word from *pūṣa* to smear (a Dravidian word)—a derivation long ago suggested by Gundert. He says that the most important item in *pūjā* is "the washing of the idol with water or with honey, curds, sugred water, etc., and the smearing or daubing it with certain ointments, powders, or oily substances, which are generally of a brilliant red or yellow colour." He gives various authorities to describe such a practice in Hindu temples. Then he gives the "magic ideas that may underlie this smearing."

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, March 1927.

Manomohan Ganguly contributes an article on "Indian Architecture." In India architecture has always been the aesthetic expression of religious spirit. That is why temples survive, but not the palaces of ancient kings.

In South Indian temples, we see a historical development in the same temple, owing to successive additions to the original temple. Not so, in Upper India. The kings lavished the state revenue on building temples. Many examples are given. Various kinds of architectures are discussed—Hindu, Jain, Bengali. He concludes by saying that a Hindu, though a pessimist in philosophy, is not so in art. He spiritualises matter. There is a spirit of earnestness and self-sacrifice in Hindu architecture. There is originality, vigour and genius in Indian Architecture.

Rai Bahadur Śaratchandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C. writes on "The Bull, Roarer in India". This is a musical instrument, which is the most ancient and sacred religious symbol of the world. The writer draws attention to the use of this instrument among the primitive tribes in various parts of India. It has a magical significance also. Only one specimen is preserved in the Indian Museum. Now the bull-roarers are known to be used as toys.

Dr. A. Banerji Śāstri, M.A., Ph. D. (Oxon) contributes an article on Ancient Indian Historical tradition. He criticises European Scholars who deplore the lack of historical sense in India. He says that this judgment is due to a want of proper examination of evidences in Sanskrit works. The author finds a historical tradition (a Vedic tradition) in Nighaṇṭu, Nirukta, Bṛhaddevatā and Sarvānukramāṇi. He examines the division of mantras into *parokṣakṛta*, *pratyakṣakṛta* and *ādhyātmika*, which terms, he explains as known traditionally, known historically and contemporary.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR INDOLOGIE UND IRANISTIK VOL. 4, PART I.

Erich Frauwallner writes an article on 'Investigations of the early Upaniṣad's. He tries to work upon a particular group among large number of doctrines of various kinds and various ages comprised in the Upaniṣads and to fix the characteristic features of each doctrine and their relation to one another. Walter Wüst writes a note on the R̥gvedic word *tavāgam*. It occurs only once. It is usually derived from *tava* (strength) and the root *gā* (to go). He suggests that the second element must be *gau* (cow), and the total meaning is "die Kuh anregend" (inciting a cow). He compares the formation of the word to that of *śikṣānara*.

IBID PART II.

Hormann Lemmoll writes on the river *ṛṣā*. This word occurs in the R̥gveda as the name of a river. He makes a detailed examination and compares the word to the Avesta word *ṛanha*. Alfred Hillebrandt makes

some observations on vedic mythology. He says that Āhura Mithra has nothing to do with Āhuramazda and this nothing with Varuṇa. This view of his was opposed from various quarters and now he substantiates his position. He then discusses the question of Aśvins. There is an opinion that Aśvins cannot be the morning and the evening stars, nor the sun and the moon. He criticises this view.

Th. Zachariae writes about the early history of Sanskrit Philology. He begins with a discussion of the date of Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya. Then he says that Bühler's claim that, when he found out the manuscript, it was a novelty, is not right, as it was long before known in Europe. He also discusses how other Sanskrit books were known in Europe in earlier centuries.

IBID VOL. V, PART I.

Wilhelm Prinz makes some notes on Indian Subjects. He explains the word *kumāradeśa* (R̥gveda X-34-7 c) as a *tatpuruṣa* compound as against *bahuvrīhi* till now accepted. Then he writes about the termination-*kr̥tas*. A note on a passage from Daśakumāracarita follows. He says that Hertel and Meyers have not understood the description in the passage. Then he draws attention to a parallelism between an incident in the Indian Rāmāyaṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa as current in Burma.

Hans Oertel's review of Caland's edition of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa in the Kāṇvīya recension is a good guide for reference. He makes a masterly analysis of many aspects of the text.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DOUSCHEN MORGENLANDLICHEN GESELLSCHAFT. NEW SERIES, VOL. VI, PART 2.

There is a long article by Otto Strauss on the Ancient Indian Speculation about Language and its Problems. He discusses the subject historically commencing from Yāska and ending with Patañjali. Towards the close of the article he gives some Vārtikas and the comments of Patañjali thereon, relating to the subject.

INDIAN ART AND LETTERS (THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY, LONDON) VOL. 1, PART 1, 1927.

The Influence of Indian Civilization on Further India: This paper was read before the Society by Szuzanno Karpolos. The author draws attention to two anecdotes in the Rāmāyaṇa as current outside India, referring to Śiṭā's banishment. The quotation shows how stories undergo changes during migration from country to country. It is suggested that the Rāmāyaṇa as current in S. India might throw some light on the story as current outside India.

Goerge Coedos's paper on recent archaeological development in Siam throws much light on the various schools of art in Siam.

Dr. W. F. Stutterheim contributes a paper on the archaeological research in Java and Bali.

There are forty-seven illustrations in the journal, all highly interesting. WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT für die KUNDE des MORGENLANDES. Vol. 34, PART 1, 1927.

Erich Frauwallner has a short paper on the Doctrine of Elements in Sāmkhya. He discusses the two theories, that of elements being formed out of corresponding *tanmātras* and that of elements being formed by the mixture of *tanmātras*.

O. Stein continues his detailed study on the two editions of *Saṁśāṭi* JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. July—September 1926.

M. N. P. Chakravarti draws attention to many vernacular words occurring in Sarvānandā's commentary on Amara.

Felix Lacoto writes on the metrical form of the Epic Śloka. October—December 1926.

A. Meerworth has written an article on the Kathakali in Malabar. The original is in English. The French translation is published here. The article describes the staging of the play Narakāsuravadha. The article is interesting, on account of the close relation of Kathakali to ancient Hindu Theatre.

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श्रीः

विभ्रमविवेकः

आचार्यमण्डनमिश्रविरचितः



आत्मख्यातिरसख्यातिरख्यातिः ख्यातिरन्यथा ।

परीक्षकाणां विभ्रान्तौ विवादात्सा विविच्यते ॥ १ ॥

असम्भवास्ति न व्योमकुसुमं न तथैतित्तम् ।

अर्थः प्रकृशतेऽतो धीस्तादाकारेति केचन ॥ २ ॥

असंभवि च यावच्च तावत्संपरिहीयताम् ।

संवेद्याकारसंख्यागो न भ्रान्तित्वेऽवकल्पते ॥ ३ ॥

एकदेशावबो [पबा] धेन कल्प्य [ल्प] माने च बाधके ।

न सर्वबाधने युक्तमिति न्यायविदः स्थिताः ॥ ४ ॥

अन्यो बहिर्भासमानो नाम्तरर्हति धारणम् ।

असक्तै [सै] व प [व] रं तस्य भ्रान्तित्वानुगुणा हि सा ॥ ५ ॥

नाम्तर्भेतिन्नया भ्रान्तिरसत्त्वेन तु सेष्यते ।

अकल्पयित्वा [न्त] स्तस्मादसत्तां खल्वचोक्तुपत् ॥ ६ ॥

अन्तर्भेतिर्बहिर्भासो भ्रान्तित्वानुपपत्तितः ।

असत्त्वेनैव तत्कृत्वा, न प्रमाणवती हि सा ॥ ७ ॥

यथावमासमानस्य कल्प्या सत्ता नियोगतः ।

अन्तर्भासोऽपि च बहिर्भासो [सो] भ्रान्तिर्न युज्यते ॥ ८ ॥

विभ्रमविवेकः

अख्यातेरविशेषेण स्यात्सुषुप्तेऽपि विभ्रमः ।
 अख्यातिः खलु तत्रापि न चाख्यातिर्विशिष्यते ॥ ९ ॥
 उपा[प]लम्भस्य न पदमसतोऽत्र प्रकाशनम् ।
 अत एव यतो[सतो]भ्रान्तिः सम्यक् ख्यातौ तथा भवेत् ॥ १० ॥
 युज्यते नान्यथाख्यातिर्निरधिष्ठानविभ्रमे ।
 स्वप्ने हि निरधिष्ठानो विभ्रमो वीतसंशयः ॥ ११ ॥
 तत्राप्यवर्तमानं चेद्ब्रूयते वर्तमानवत् ।
 अवर्तमानस्यासत्ता खपुष्यान् विशिष्यते ॥ १२ ॥
 अत्यन्ताननुभूतानां परस्परपराणुदाम् ।
 मृ[दृ]ष्टेष्टवर्तमानस्य न ख्यानं वर्तमानवत् ॥ १३ ॥
 खपुष्यतुल्ये काख्यातिर्निरूपेणैव भासनात् ।
 तदपि व्यवहाराङ्गं रूपवत्त्वेन भासनात् ॥ १४ ॥
 कल्पनायामपित्वेव [वं] नासा [सर्व] ख्यातिविवर्जनम् ।
 प्रकारान्तरसंसर्गो नन्वसन्नेव भासते ॥ १५ ॥
 तस्मादसत् एवेदं रूपवत्त्वेन भासनम् ।
 अवश्यकल्पनीयत्वात्कल्पनायाश्च लाघवात् ॥ १६ ॥
 प्राक्तत्त्वज्ञानसंस्कारास्तदप्रबोधस्सकारणः ।
 स्मरामीति प्रमोषस्स [श्च] हेतुरिन्द्रिययोगिनः ॥ १७ ॥
 भ्रान्तौ सहाक्षैर्मनसो दृ[ष्टु]ष्टान्तर्विवर्तिता ।
 कायप्रकर्षमरणमूर्च्छाशोकामयादिषु ॥ १८ ॥
 इच्छेदेकेषु [उच्छेदेकेषु] बहुलं संस्कारस्यानुवर्ण [र्त] नम् ।
 परपक्षेषु कल्प्या [कल्प्यं] हि भूयिष्ठानीति दृश्यते ॥ १९ ॥
 सर्वसंस्कारविच्छेदिमरणान्तरिते स्मृतौ ।
 जन्मान्तरानुभूतं च न स्मर्यत इति स्थितम् ॥ २० ॥

विभ्रमविवेकः

प्राक् [संस्कारप्रबोधे च कथं तत्स्वप्नविभ्रमे ।]
 मन्दसंस्कारसहकृदुच्छेदे तेन वा विना ॥ २१ ॥
 दोषः क्षतं [दोषक्षतं] मनः कार्ये [र्थि] प्रणिधानादिवर्जितम् ।
 दोषैरपि [वि] कृतं स्वस्थं प्रणिधानादिसंस्कृतम् ॥ २२ ॥
 न कार्यवज्जागरायामहो नयविदां परः ।
 दोषक्षतिः कार्यशक्तिहानिरूपा च विद्यते ॥ २३ ॥
 अतिरेकश्च कार्यस्येत्यहो न्यायविवेकिता ।
 अध्यारोपे भवेद्गौणी बाहीके गोमतिर्यथा ॥ २४ ॥
 न संविद्धा[दा]नुगुण्यं स्यान्न विवेकमतिर्यदि ।
 अख्यातिरपि संवित्ति नैवान्वेति यतो मतिः ॥ २५ ॥
 सामानाधिकरण्येन रूपमेतदिति स्थितम् [ता] ।
 तस्माद्विभ्रम एवायमिति युक्तो विनिश्चयः ॥ २६ ॥
 न संविदनुसारेण निमित्तं तस्य युज्यते ।
 अतोऽनिर्वचनीयत्वं प[व]रं ब्रह्मविदो विदुः ॥ २७ ॥
 अविद्याया अविद्यात्वमन्यथा परिणी [ही] यते ।
 सत्त्वे[त्त्वे]न मिथ्या शून्यत्वे दुर्निरूपं प्रकाशनम् ॥ २८ ॥
 सदसद्ब्रह्मनिर्वाच्यां तामविद्यां प्रचक्षते ।
 वस्तुनोन्वेषणान्त [णा त] स्यां बाह्याभ्यन्तरवर्तिनाम् [नः] ॥ २९ ॥
 न युज्यते यत्र तत्र वेद्यवस्तुनि तत्क्षतेः ।
 नामरूपप्रपञ्चोऽयमविद्यैव च वर्ण्यते ॥ ३० ॥
 अन्यस्य त्वन्यथाख्यातौ न प्रपञ्चव्यपहवः ।
 अख्यातौ शून्यमेव स्यात् प्रपञ्चः किनिबन्धनः ॥ ३१ ॥
 अप्रपञ्चे सप्रपञ्चरूपो भातीति युज्यते ।
 अस्फुटा[ट]ग्रहणे काममा[म्मा]मासि स्फुटमात्मना ॥ ३२ ॥

विभ्रमविवेकः

अविद्यमाना[ने]तज्ज्ञा[ज्ञा]स्यै वैश्वरूप्यं कृत्वा कृतम् ।
चित्रो [तौ] विचित्राकारायां प्रपञ्चात्मतयैव हि ॥ ३३ ॥
अनिर्मोक्षस्तथा च स्यादथवानित्यतापतेत् ।
अनेकाकारविभ्रान्तौ गन्धर्वनगरादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥
आकारा व्यक्तमेकस्या धियोऽस्त्याश्चकासति ।
न भूतं चेतसो रूपं नाप्यारोपास्तुटा[ट]ग्रही ॥ ३५ ॥
विभ्रमेषु विवर्तत्वमतो ब्रह्मविदां मतम् ।
असतो भासनायोगाद्विरोधात् संविदोपरः [रे] ॥ ३६ ॥
अवोचन्निपुणंमन्या विभ्रमं सम्यगग्रहम् ।
न किञ्चिद्भासते चेति विरुद्धमिव दृश्यते ॥ ३७ ॥
भासत्वे [ते] रूपवत्त्वेन नासत्संविद्विरोधकम् ।
अन्यस्याप्यन्यथाख्यातिरत एव न युज्यते ॥ ३८ ॥
अन्यत्प्रकाशते चान्यद्ग्राह्यमित्यतिदुर्घटम् ।
आलम्बनं न हेतुत्वमात्रादक्षेऽपि तथतः ॥ ३९ ॥
आलम्बनं न हेतुत्वमात्रेण व्यवतिष्ठते ।
यथा लम्बनरूपाब्ध[पा च]धीरन्यदवभासते ॥ ४० ॥
ततोऽनालम्बनैव स्यात् तस्य तल्लक्षणच्युतेः ।
तथा च तत्त्वभावाया नार्थतत्त्वविनिश्चयः ॥ ४१ ॥
सापेक्षाया अपि ग्राह्याहीना नो चेदनत्मिका ।
आलम्बना नैवमस्ति तद्रूपाव्यभिचारतः ॥ ४२ ॥
संवेद्यादालि[षत्वि]कत्वाच्च प्रमाणं परिनिस्तुहम् ।
स्पृतिव्याशङ्क्या नात्र वर्तमानेन निश्चयः ॥ ४३ ॥
विवेकाग्रहणं यस्माद्देतुभावेन युज्यते ।
हेतुपघाते खलु यस्मादभावे स्पृष्टग्रहः ॥ ४४ ॥

विभ्रमविवेकः

यत्नेनानुपलब्धे च तदभावे च निश्चयः ।
सदृशादृष्टचिन्ताद्याः स्मृतिबीजस्य बोधकाः ॥
[इन्द्रियाणां तथा] दोषात्प्रायेणाप्यक्षविभ्रमः ॥ ४५ ॥
इति पूर्वः पक्षः ॥
एकान्तसत्त्वे का भ्रान्तिरसत्त्वे किं प्रकाशताम् ।
द्वयानुगुण्याद्वृद्धानां संमता ख्यातिरन्यथा ॥ ४६ ॥
यत्र न प्रथते किञ्चित् तत्र तावन्न विभ्रमः ।
सुषुप्ता [विव] भ्रूच्छाया तमा [मो] भावो यथेक्ष्यते ॥ ४७ ॥
द्वयोरेकस्य वा ख्यातिरसम्यग्वित [भ्र]मो मतः ।
तत्र केयमसम्यक्ता विज्ञानस्थमपाठवम् ॥ ४८ ॥
अथ सर्वप्रकाराणामग्रहः कस्यचिद्ग्रहः ।
वस्तुनोऽप्यप्रकारस्य तथा ख्यातिस्तु नेष्यते ॥ ४९ ॥
तत्र दूरस्थिते सूक्ष्मे भवत्यपर[दु]र्दर्शनम् ।
सामान्यमात्रख्यातिर्वी न भ्रमश्च प्रतीयते ॥ ५० ॥
न च सर्वात्मनाप्य [र्थ]स्य ज्ञा [नं कुत्तापि] बोधकम् ।
सर्वविज्ञानमिध्यात्वमापन्नं पुनरन्यथा ॥ ५१ ॥
अतो नावर्तमानत्वात् ज्ञा [त्वाज्ञा] नात्स्वन्नमतिर्गृषा ।
वर्तमानत्वबोधात् तथैकत्वाधिरोपणात् ॥ ५२ ॥
मिथ्यारजतधीर्नात्र विवेकानवधारणात् ।
प्रत्यभिज्ञानविभ्रान्तौ न स्मृतित्वं न गम्यते ॥ ५३ ॥
एकस्य च विविक्तत्वादितरस्य विविक्तता ।
प्रत्यक्षादविवेकाच्च युक्तः प्रत्यक्षाविभ्रमः ॥ ५४ ॥
स्यात्स्पृतादविवेकाच्च स्मृतिगोचरविभ्रमः ।
अवर्तमानत्वाज्ञानादवर्तमानभ्रमो यदि ॥ ५५ ॥

विभ्रमविवेकः

न भाति विभ्रमस्तस्मात् त्रेधा युक्तस्तु संशयः ।
नियता न प्रवृत्तिः स्यान्नेष्टा चेत्ख्यातिरन्यथा ॥ ५६ ॥
न दृश्यादृश्ययोर्भेदः ख्यातिश्चेन्नेसितात्मनः ।
ननु नो विपरीतार्था धीः प्रतीतिविरोधतः ॥ ५७ ॥
अनाश्वासाच्च रजतप्रत्ययो रजते स्मृतिः ।
नैतन्न हि प्रवर्तते शुक्तिकाशकले तदा ॥ ५८ ॥
रजते सा प्रवृत्तिश्चेन्न तस्यासन्निधानतः ।
असन्निधानबोधाच्चेत्प्रवृत्तिनियमः कुतः ॥ ५९ ॥
प्रवर्तते यत्तत्रैव तत्तत्सन्निधिकारितः [म्] ।
अन्यत्र भेदग्रहणाद्विवेकाग्रहणार्थता [त्तथा] ॥ ६० ॥
प्रवृत्तिभेदस्सादृश्याद्विवेकाग्रहणं यदि ।
अदृष्टेषु प्रवर्तते यो [लो] दृष्टादिविवेकतः ॥ ६१ ॥
न तन्न यदि तद्वृद्धिः शुक्तिकाशकलेऽपि न ।
अथास्ति विपरीतार्था ख्यातिर्निवृत्त्यते कथम् ॥ ६२ ॥
अदृष्टत्वादप्रवृत्तिशुक्तिकाशकले समा ।
दृष्टं तथेन रूपेण तदप्रवृत्तेरकारणम् ॥ ६३ ॥
दृष्टस्मृताविवेकाच्चेदिदमत्र परीक्ष्यताम् ।
तत्त्वबोधादपा[या]तत्त्वबोधाद्भजतबोध[वेद]नात् ॥ ६४ ॥
दृष्टेः [ष्टे] प्रवृत्तिः पूर्वस्मिन्विपरीतार्थतामते [तेः] ।
न दृश्या[ष्टा]दृश्य[ष्ट]योर्भेदः परस्मिन्नोपयोगिनि[नी] ॥ ६५ ॥
[खयोगदर्शने ते हि समारोपोपयोगिनी ।]
नादृष्टेऽसंप्रयुक्ते वा चाक्षुषः स्याद्विपर्ययः ॥ ६६ ॥
स्मृतिप्रमाणफलयोर्नानात्वं यदि चेष्ट्यते ।
विवेचितस्तयोस्त्वार्थोऽविवेकः किंनिबन्धनः ॥ ६७ ॥

विभ्रमविवेकः

७

अतत्त्वात्सर्वविषयं विविनक्ति स्मृतिर्न चेत् ।
सामान्यदृष्टावा[व]न्यस्य स्मृते [तौ] स्याद्वासद [दा] भ्रमः ॥ ६८ ॥
स्मरामीति विवेको न यदि नैतत्प्रकल्प्यते ।
फलाभेदे फलोन्नेये [य] ज्ञानभेदमतिः कुतः ॥ ६९ ॥
स्मरामीति च विज्ञानं स्मृतेरन्यदुदाहृतम् ।
न च मानफलाद्भिन्ना[त्] तत्सिद्धयति फलादृते ॥ ७० ॥
मनोदोषाद्यदि स्वार्थो न स्मृत्या प्रविचिच्यते ।
तिमिरादौ कथं स्वस्थे स्वान्ते केशादिविभ्रमः ॥ ७१ ॥
न तत्रापि मनोद [दु] छमर्थान्तरविवेचनात् ।
ज्ञानादेव हि द [दु] छत्वकल्पनायाश्च गौरवात् ॥ ७२ ॥
बुध्यमानो विवेकश्च [ञ्च] पश्यामीन्द्रियदोषतः ।
छ [द्वि] च्चादिरूपान् दीपादीनि लोकः प्रमाद्यते ॥ ७३ ॥
इन्द्रियाणां दोषभेदान्नियतभ्रान्तिदर्शनम् ।
न स्याद्यस्याग्रहे दोषव्यापार इति निश्चयः ॥ ७४ ॥
न च सर्वा नियोगेन भ्रान्ति[न्तिः] सादृश्यबन्धनात् [ना] ।
श्वेते पीतभ्रमो दृष्टो मधुरे तिक्तविभ्रमः ॥ ७५ ॥
अन्यापृतौ च तद्व्याप्तेर्नातः [न्तः] पित्तप्रवेदनम् ।
अस्यासन्नस्य संवित्तिर्दुर्लभा चाञ्जनादिवत् ॥ ७६ ॥
न चाक्षवृत्तितज्जन्मजा न [ज्ञान] भेदाविवेकजाः ।
द्विचन्द्रादिभ्रमास्ते हि न प्रत्यक्षे न च स्मृते ॥ ७७ ॥
अन्यथा लम्बनत्वे च न निरालम्बना मतिः ।
अन्येनापि हि रूपेण चक्षुर्नालम्बतेऽक्षधीः ॥ ७८ ॥
आलम्बनार्थस्तद्युक्त [क्तो] व्यवहारस्य योग्यता ।
अन्यस्यापि हि नैवान्यस्स इत्येवं हि दर्शितः [म्] ॥ ७९ ॥

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प्रवृत्तिरशुक्तिशकले तथा च रजतार्थिनः ।

आभासते कथं चिन्मन्नायन्तं न भासते ॥ ८० ॥

तेन नावाधिता[नार्वादि] यत् तदपान्यामिचारात् ।

प्रमाणमनपेक्षं दान्यथाव्याकृतम् ॥

[प्रमाणमनपेक्षं स्यादन्यथा प्रतिपादनम् ॥] ८१ ॥

त्रपाकरं कथं तन्न स्वतःप्रामाण्यनादिनाम् ।

अप्यन्येऽव्यभिचारेण प्राप्रामाण्यमुपागमत् । न ॥ ८२ ॥

योधादेव प्रमाणत्वमिति भीमांसकास्थितिम् ।

विदन्नव्यभिचारेण तां व्युदस्यत्यपण्डितः ॥ ८३ ॥

अर्थेनाव्यभिचारश्चेन्नाबुद्धेन प्रमीयते ।

ज्ञानस्याव्यभिचाराच्च तद्विरोध इति दुर्भटम् ॥ ८४ ॥

उपास्योऽव्यतिरेकश्च तज्ज्ञानस्य तथान्यथा ।

नासिद्धान्त्यतिरेकेण स परा मृश्यते कश्चित् ॥ ८५ ॥

अपि चाव्यतिरेकोऽपि ज्ञानरूपेण चोच्यते ।

ख्यातौ च विपरीतायां तद्विरोधप्रसङ्गतः ॥ ८६ ॥

तथा सति तदेवास्तु विषयस्यावबोधकम् ।

अर्थे [यो] नाव्यतिरेकेण तत्सामर्थ्यात्तस्मिन्विदा ॥ ८७ ॥

व्यभिचाराप्रतीत्या चेदप्रामाण्यनिराकृतिः ।

दूषिते व्यभिचारेण न स्याज्ज्ञानेऽप्रमाणता ॥ ८८ ॥

नैतदव्यभिचारेण प्रामाण्यं यस्य दृष्यति ।

व्यभिचारादसौ लिङ्गं यथा नाशं तथापि नत् ॥ ८९ ॥

1. The reading adopted by Varaspathimūla in his Nyāyakaṇṭha (p. 101) is given above. The reading found in the manuscript of the Vibhramavivēka is.

योधादेव प्रमाणत्वमिति भीमांसकास्थितिः ।

पदं न व्यभिचारेण तां व्युदस्यत्यपण्डितः ॥

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