

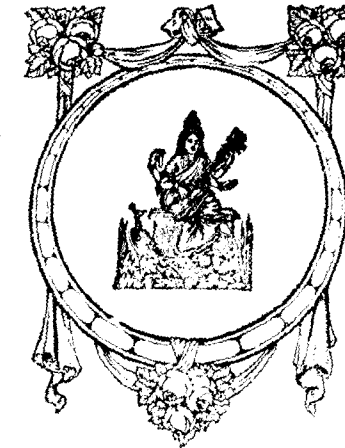
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BRAHMADATTA : AN OLD VEDĀNTIN.

BY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA M.A., L.T., MYSORE.

THE earliest commentaries on the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vedānta-Sūtras* that have come down to us are those of Śaṅkara; but we know there were still earlier ones, for Śaṅkara himself often cites the opinions of other interpreters of these ancient works either in support of his own view¹ or more frequently for the purpose of criticising them². It is, however, only rarely that we are able to ascribe such opinions to individual thinkers. The salient features of one such old Vedāntic thinker—Bhartṛprapañca were noticed by the present writer in the *Indian Antiquary* for June, 1924. It is proposed to call attention here to those of another viz., Brahmadatta. This name is even less familiar than that of Bhartṛprapañca; and it is difficult to say exactly when he flourished or what works he wrote. All that we know is that he could not have been later than Śaṅkara, for allusions to his views are found in the works of his disciple, Sureśvara³, and that he probably wrote a commentary on the *Vedānta-Sūtras*⁴. As

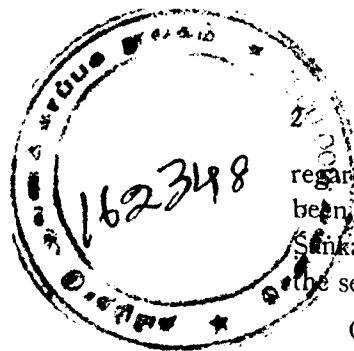
1. Compare for example the reference to Dramiḍācārya in the *bhāṣya* on Ch. Up. III viii-x.

2. E.g. the views of the *Vṛtti-kāra* under *Vedānta-sūtras* I i 4 and 12-19.

3. See later. The tradition current among one section of the *Vedāntins*—the *Dvaitins*—represents Śaṅkara as having met Brahmadatta (See *Upaniṣad-śaṅkara* vi 2-3) though much reliance cannot be placed upon it owing to its confused character.

4. Compare the well-known passage in the beginning of the *Siddhitrāya* of *Yāmunā-muni* :

यद्यपि भगवता वादरायणेनेदमर्थान्येव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । विवृतानि च तानि परिमितं गम्भीरभाषिणा भाष्यकृता । विस्तृतानि च तानि गम्भीरन्यायसागरभाषिणा भगवता श्रीवत्साङ्क मित्रेणापि । तथाप्याचार्येण मर्तृप्रपञ्च-मर्तृमित्र-मर्तृहरि-ब्रह्मदत्त-शङ्कर-श्रीवत्साङ्क (?) भास्करादि विरचितसितासितविधिविबन्धनश्रद्धाविप्रलब्धबुद्धयो न यथावदन्यथा च पतिष्यन्त इति तत्प्रति पत्तये युक्तः प्रकरणप्रक्रमः ॥



regards the view he took of *Upaniṣadic* teaching, it seems to have been, as we shall see, monistic and to have approximated to Śaṅkara's *Advaita*¹ with which accordingly we shall contrast it in the sequel.

One of the chief doctrines held by Brahmadatta was that of the non-eternality of the *Jīva*. Vedānta-deśika mentions this point explicitly in the *Sarvārtha-siddhi* which is a commentary on his own *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa*. As stated there, *Brahman* is the only ultimate principle in Brahmadatta's view, and everything else including the *Jīva* is derived from it : एकं ब्रह्मैव नित्यं तदितरदखिलं तत्र जन्मादिभागित्याम्नातं तेन जीवोऽप्यचिदिव जनिमान् ॥

(ii 16). The *Jīva* not only originates; it also perishes. Vedānta-deśika divides the exponents of the view that the *Jīva* is not eternal into four classes² :—

(i) the *Vijñāna-vādins* who maintain that it is momentarily renewed;

(ii) a type of *Cārvākas*, according to whom it endures throughout life but ceases to exist at death ;

(iii) a section of *Paurāṇikas* who believe that it survives the body but lasts only till *pralaya*; and

(iv) a school of *Vedāntins* who grant being to it only till it attains *mokṣa*.

Vedānta-deśika describes the last as pseudo-*Vedāntins* (औपनिषदाभासाः) and Brahmadatta is to be reckoned as one of them. The doctrine that the individual soul originates and perishes is indeed a striking deviation from *Vedānta* as it is commonly understood. Bādarāyaṇa himself discusses this question in his *Sūtras* (II iii 17) and, according to the commentaries still preserved, he decides against the doctrine, whatever Brahmadatta might have understood from that *sūtra* if he wrote a commentary upon Bādarāyaṇa's work. In favour of the current view, it may be urged that the *Upaniṣads* do not as a rule mention the *Jīva* in the sections describing creation as they do the material world. Yet it would not be difficult to discover a couple of statements both in the *Śruti* and the *Smṛti* to support Brahma-

1. Though there are various shades of *Advaita*, the term is used in this paper exclusively for Śaṅkara's doctrine.

2. *Sarvārtha-siddhi* ii 17.

datta's view¹, and we know from Rāmānuja² that at least one ancient teacher, Āśmarathya, maintained like Brahmadatta, though probably not in exactly the same sense, that the *Jīva* emerges from *Brahman* and lapses back into it at *mokṣa*³. It is evidently on such authorities that Brahmadatta should have based his unique doctrine. It is, however, unacceptable now not only to *Advaitins* but to all *Vedāntins* alike and Vedānta-deśika dismisses it summarily as due to the fancy of persons not fully conversant with the *Upaniṣads*.

It is well known that according to Śaṅkara, the proximate cause of *mokṣa* or, more strictly, of the dispelling of *avidyā* is the knowledge that arises from the *mahāvākyas* like *Tat tvam asi*. He makes a sharp distinction between *jñāna* and *upāsana*; and while he admits an injunction (*vidhi*) in respect of the latter, he stoutly denies its possibility in the case of the former⁴. Right knowledge which alone can remove *avidyā* is eventually dependent, as experience shows, upon reality (*vastu-tantra*) and not upon our will (*puruṣa-tantra*), so that a behest can have no direct part to play in the genesis of self-knowledge. In holding such a view, Śaṅkara stands alone; and practically all the other *Vedāntins* reject this distinction between *jñāna* and *upāsana*, and admit an injunction in one form or another in respect of the knowledge of the self. They thus fall into line with the *Mīmāṃsakas*, who hold that the main purpose of the Veda as a whole is to inspire activity by prescribing something to be achieved, and not merely to state matters of fact. The only difference between the *Pūrva*-and *Uttara-kāṇḍas* according to these *Vedāntins*, is that while in the former what is prescribed is generally a sacrificial act, in the latter, it is meditation which is purely a mental act. Thus it is injunctive statements found in the *Upaniṣads* like *Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ* that are of primary importance and not assertive propositions like *Tat tvam asi* which only subserve them by furnishing the theme for the meditation prescribed. The meditation, if it is to be practised, presupposes a knowledge

1. Compare, तोयेन जीवान् व्यचसर्ज भूम्याम् । *Mahānārāyaṇa Up.* i 4.

प्रकृतिर्या मयाख्याता व्यक्ताव्यक्तरूपिणी ।

पुरुषश्चाप्युभावेतौ लीयेते परमात्मनि ॥ (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa* VI iv 39).

2. See *Śrī-bhāṣya* (I iv 20)

3. Āśmarathya was a *bhedābheda-vādin* which Brahmadatta probably was not (see *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* (i 68).

4. Compare for instance *bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* I i 4.

of certain details such as the nature of *ātman*—the object to be meditated upon. The purpose of statements like *Tat tvam asi* is merely to impart this knowledge and not directly to lead to self-realisation. The *ātman* therefore is, in *Mīmāṃsā* phraseology, the *śeṣa* of the *upāsana-vidhi*. This school of *Upaniṣadic* interpretation often comes to be criticised in *Advaitic* works and Śaṅkara himself refers to it at some length, for instance, in his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (I iv 7). Brahmadaṭṭa seems to have followed the generality of *Vedāntins* and maintained that the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* like the *karma-kāṇḍa* is primarily concerned with a *sādhyā* or something to be effected. That such was his view is known from the *Vidyā-surabhi*, an unpublished commentary by *Jñānāmṛta* on the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* of Sureśvara which is found in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. In i-67 of Sureśvara's work, we read—

केचित्संप्रदायबलावष्टम्भादाहुर्देतद्वेदान्तवाक्यादहं ब्रह्मेति विज्ञानं
समुत्पद्यते तन्नैव खोत्पत्तिमात्रेणाज्ञानं निरस्यति । किं तर्हि । अहन्यहनि
द्रवीयसा कालेनोपासीनस्य सतो भावनोपचयान्निशेषमज्ञानमपगच्छति 'देवो
भूत्वा देवानप्येति' इति श्रुतेः ॥

and in commenting upon it, the *Vidyā-surabhi* states that the allusion in *kecit* here is to Brahmadaṭṭa and others—केचित्-ब्रह्मदत्ता-
दयः ।¹

Now there are many meditations—each having its own appropriate *phala*—prescribed in the *Upaniṣads*, and they are classifiable in more than one way. In some, one external object is to be meditated upon as another, so that both are other than the person meditating; in others, one of the two objects is always the *Jīva*. The latter variety is termed *aham-grahopāsana* and is the one with which we are here concerned. For in Brahmadaṭṭa's view, as shown by the passage quoted above, the final meditation to be practised by one desirous of achieving *mokṣa* is of the form *aham brahma asmi* which occurs in the *Upaniṣads* in the context of *ātmyevopāsita*.² Here a question arises as to whether the content of the meditation represents a fact or not. It may represent a fact as in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*, for instance; or it may not, for *Brahman* as the cause of the universe may be viewed as

1. See introduction to the revised Edition of the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* in the "Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series" (1925).

2. See Br. Up. I iv 7 & 10.

different from the effect *Jīva*, following the view of causation held for example in the *Nyāya*. That meditation of the latter form was also once recommended by some is borne out by the *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa*.¹ If in Brahmadaṭṭa's view *aham brahma asmi* represents a fact, the individual soul is in reality *Brahman* even before meditation, being an emanation from it (*vikāra* or *aṁśa*) and the meditation helps only the realisation of that fact which is commonly lost sight of. *Brahmaiva san brahmāpyeti*. Otherwise the *Jīva* would have to be regarded as distinct from *Brhman*, though, as the result of meditative power exercised in accordance with a scriptural injunction, it might finally be lost in it. In this case *mokṣa* would only be the annihilation of the *Jīva* and Brahmadaṭṭa would, like the *Naiyāyika*, be an *asatkārya-vādin*. It is possible that Brahmadaṭṭa held such a view. But to judge from the wording of the passage quoted above from the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* and of the commentary upon it,² he seems to have regarded the identity between the *Jīva* and *Brahman* as factual. The process of *Brahma*-realisation would then have to be represented as follows: The *vedāntic* disciple will first learn from the *Upaniṣads* the truth that the *Jīva* is really *Brahman*. But a mere knowledge by description of this kind cannot dispel *ajñāna* which has caused *samsāra*. It only sets the disciple on the way to seek the true means of realisation, just as in the case of a person mistaking a rope for a serpent, the assurance of a friend that it is not a serpent does not actually remove the fear arising from the mistake but only spirits him up to examine the object for himself, and by examination to shake off the fear once for all. In the present case, the knowledge derived from the *Upaniṣads* has to be dwelt upon almost constantly until it is transformed into knowledge by acquaintance.³ Then the *ajñāna* disappears; but

1. P. 252-3 See also *Sambandha-vārtika* of Sureśvara: st. 702 & 845, Śaṅkara on *Vedānta-sūtras* IV i 3: and also *Saṅkṣepa-śāstrī-raka* i 307-11.

2. The printed commentary by Jñānottama on this passage is as follows:—

ज्ञानस्य... कर्मभिस्समुच्चयोऽनुपपन्न इत्युक्तम् ; तदुक्तम् । वाक्यजन्यज्ञानोत्तरकालीन-
भावनोत्कर्षाद्भावनजन्यसाक्षात्कारलक्षणज्ञानान्तरेणैवाज्ञानस्य निवृत्तेर्ज्ञानाभ्यासदशयां ज्ञानस्य कर्मणा
समुच्चयोपपत्तेरित्येकदेशिनां मतमुत्थाप्य निराकरोति ॥

3. See extract quoted in the note above. Such immediacy of knowledge is what is known as *bhāvanā-janya-pratyakṣa* which is recognized by Buddhists as well. Compare e.g., *īkā* on *Nyāya-bindu* of Dharmakīrti (pp. 14-15).

actual *mokṣa*, as suggested by the parallel cited in this connection *Devo bhūtvā devān apyoti Br Up*; IV—i-2-7 results only after divorce from the physical body. This process of realising *Brahman*, we may state in passing, is exactly like the one described in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (VI v 60-64) which, as we have already seen,¹ also agrees with Brahmadatta in holding that the *Jīva* is not eternal.²

So the central teaching of the *Upaniṣads*, according to these thinkers, is to be found in injunctive statements relating to self-knowledge and not in the *mahāvākyas* as the *Advaitins* hold. But the import of injunctive statements in the Veda may be understood in two ways—either as *bhāvanā*³ according to the *Bhāṭṭas* or as *niyoga* according to the *Prābhākaras*. These two views represent one phase of the difference between the *pūrva-pakṣas* considered in the two *varṇakas* into which it is usual to divide Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Samanvaya-sūtra*. We need not enter here into a discussion of the ethical and psychological implications of these views; it is enough for our purpose merely to note the distinction. Brahmadatta seems to have adopted the *niyoga* view as is shown by Ananda-jñāna's commentary on the *Sambandha-vārtika* of Sureśvara. In this elaborate and most useful Introduction to Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Br. Upaniṣad*, Sureśvara criticises both these ways of interpreting the *Upaniṣads* and in explaining the apparent duplication of criticism, he writes:—

भावनावर्त्यनैकात्म्ये विध्यर्थसंभवो यथा ।
अधिकारपरीक्षायां तथा प्राक् प्रतिपादितम् ॥
नियोगपक्षमाश्रित्य विध्यर्थसंभवो यथा ।
ऐकात्म्यसिद्धौ यत्नेन तथात्र प्रतिपाद्यते ॥

(St. 796-97).

In commenting upon these stanzas, Ananda-jñāna remarks
वार्तिककारमतेन वेदान्तेषु विधिमाशङ्क्य तत्कृत्याभावं...अवोचमित्यर्थः । इह
तु ब्रह्मदत्तादिमतेन ज्ञानाभ्यासे विधिमाशङ्क्य निरस्यते । तत्र पुनरुक्तिः ॥

1. See Note 1 on page 3.

2. See commentary printed in the Venkatesvara Press Edn. (Bomby) See also VI vii 29 & 30; 93-96.

3. The word *bhāvanā* here is distinct from that referred to in Note 3 on page 5.

The principle of *niyoga* itself seems to have been applied in more than one way to the interpretation of the *Upaniṣads*, and there are specific references in old works to at least two ways—one resulting in what is termed the *niṣpraṇāñcī-karaṇa-niyoga-vāda* and the other, in what is termed the *dhyāna-niyoga-vāda*. Rāmānuja, for instance, discusses them in his *Śrī-bhāṣya*¹ and it is clear, from what we have stated so far, that Brahmadatta held the latter of these two views. The former view signifies *niyoga* in respect of what in *Advaitic* terminology may be described as *Tat-padārtha-śodhana*.

In explaining the discussion in Rāmānuja's *bhāṣya*, just referred to, the *Srūta-prakāśikā* ascribes both the *niyoga* views to *jaraṇ-māyā-vādin*s, who are termed *jarat* or 'old' presumably to contrast them with Śaṅkara and his followers whom it describes as *Sākṣāṇi-māyāvādin*s.² If we are right in describing Brahmadatta as a *vedāntin* advocating *dhyāna-niyoga*, we may also, it seems, conclude that he was a *māyā-vādin*. This conclusion agrees with the reference to *ajñāna* and its eventual removal in the passage quoted above from the *Naṣṭakarmya-siddhi*. It also harmonises with our previous statement that the content of the meditation leading to *mokṣa* represents, according to Brahmadatta, a matter of fact and is not a mere fiction (*āropita*). If the *ātman* and *Brahman* are not really two, the commonly assumed distinction between them must in some sense be illusory or due to the operation of *māyā*. It is, however, hard to say in what precise form Brahmadatta enunciated the doctrine. Especially is it difficult to reconcile it with his belief that the *Jīva* has birth as well as death. In this connection, it is necessary to refer to the statement in the *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka* of Sarvajñātman (III 217-221) that the *Vākyakāra* who commented upon the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* was a *māyā-vādin*. The *Vākyakāra* is believed to have been Brahmanandin and the commentaries on the *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka* generally corroborate this belief. But one alone among them, viz., *Subodhinī* (printed in the Anandasrama Edn. of the work) takes the *Vākyakāra* as Brahmadatta. This is probably an error, particularly as the passage quoted from Yāmuna-muni

1. See *Nirnaya Sagara* Edn. pp. 251 & 254. See also *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa* of Vedānta-deśika (ii 43 & 44) & Bhāskara's *bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* I iv 21 (p. 83).

2. See *Nirnaya Sagara* Edn. already referred to p. 255.

in Note 4 on page 1 above, mentions Brahmadata in addition to Ācārya-Ṭaṅka with whom Brahmanandin is identified.¹ If it be not an error, Brahmadata would be an early and illustrious exponent of Upaniṣadic teaching whose authority more than one later school of Vedānta found it advantageous to quote.²

So far, we have treated of the theoretical teaching of Brahmadata and we may now state what it is possible to gather about its practical side. Brahmadata, as we know, distinguishes the knowledge of Brahmanas conveyed by the Upaniṣads from the one resulting through meditation. It is the latter alone that can, by removing ajñāna, lead to mokṣa or final disappearance in Brahman. In other words, the knowledge of Brahman that the Upaniṣads impart is in no case adequate to bring about release; it has to be followed up by meditation which should be continued till the end of life. That it should not cease till then, if it is to fulfil its object, is indicated by its comparison with the meditation alluded to in *Devo bhūtvā devān apyeti*. According to the principle involved there the upāsaka gets to know immediately the upāsya-devatā in this life, but for actual union with or disappearance in it, he has to wait till dissociation from the physical body takes place.³ The same is also the implication of placing mokṣa on a footing similar to svarga by making it the fruit of observing a Vedic vidhi. Svarga is attainable only after death and the conception of mokṣa is likewise eschatological. We find further support for this conclusion in that the dhyānaniyoga-vādin does not, according to Rāmānuja, admit jīvanmukti as Śaṅkara does.⁴ In one word, while mokṣa is a dṛṣṭa-phala according to the Advaitin, it is an adṛṣṭa-phala according to the dhyānaniyoga-vādin. What place does karma occupy in such a scheme? Śaṅkara, it is well known, discards karma as a cause of mokṣa, though he admits its indispensability as a means of getting the desire for jñāna (vividiṣā), the cause of mokṣa. In the case of a person that has acquired the necessary enlightenment and has realised Brahman, i.e., a jīvanmukta, there is no need

1. See, for example, ṭikā on Rāmānuja's *Vedārtha-saṅgraha* p. 153, Benares Edition, 1924.

2. See e.g. p. 34 of *Śrī-bhāṣya* (Nirnaya Sagara Edn.).

3. See ṭikā on St. 27: *Brhad-vārtika* p. 1357 and the com: *Candrikā* on *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* (i 67).

4. See Rāmānuja's *bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* (Nirnaya-Sagara Edn.) pp. 259-60.

for any karma. This follows easily from the premises of Advaita and karma-saṁnyāsa to him is, as it is said, *svataḥ-prāpta*. But even in the case of one that is still striving to acquire such enlightenment, there is, according to Śaṅkara, no obligation to perform karma provided one has already achieved *sattva-buddhi* or *vairāgya*; for that is conceived as the sole purpose of karma in Advaita. In such a case, karma-saṁnyāsa may not be *svataḥ-prāpta*, but it is *vidhiprāpta*.¹ The disciple in this stage has to confine his attention entirely to the acquiring of the jñāna requisite for attaining mokṣa. In Brahmadata's view also, there is a corresponding stage when the disciple, after knowing Brahman mediately through the formal study of the Upaniṣads, is trying to attain mokṣa. It is the stage when meditation in the form of *aham brahma asmi* is practised; and Brahmadata's view is that karma is obligatory then. Since, as we have seen, meditation has to continue in this view till the end of life, there is no possibility of any one, however much advanced he may be in spirituality, renouncing karma. This view would count as jñāna-karma-samuccaya which is the last of the features we have to notice of Brahmadata's teaching. Our support for concluding that Brahmadata was a samuccaya-vādin is that it is as such that he is cited and criticised by Sureśvara in the passage quoted above from the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*.²

We may now summarise the doctrines of Brahmadata to which we have so far referred:—

1. The *jīva* like the physical world, comes into being from Brahman and is finally lost in it.
2. The central teaching of the Upaniṣads is to be found, not in assertive propositions like *Tat tvam asi*, but in injunctive ones like *Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ*.
3. The import of such injunctive statements is *niyoga* and not *bhāvanā*.
4. The *jīva* is not really distinct from Brahman, but only appears to be so.
5. There is no stage in the life of the Vedāntic disciple when karma may be dispensed with.

1. See Śaṅkara's Introduction to *Aitareya-Upaniṣad*.

2. See also passage quoted in note 2 on page 5 as also St. i 67: *Sāṅgatyam nāstyatonayoh*.

INDIAN CULTURE IN FUNAN AND CAMBODIA¹

BY

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE Indo-Chinese Peninsula in which Hindu cultural influence so largely spread in the past, was originally peopled by an autochthonous Negrito race that has been super-imposed upon by several invading races and has left at the present day but few traces. First, the Austronesians crossed over to the eastern part of the country across the Archipelago. "Their rear-guard is now represented by the Chams, Jarai, Rade, and other tribes speaking a language evidently akin to the Malay-Polynesian idioms though containing a large proportion of Mon-Khmer elements." Then came the Mon-Khmer race²—a wave in the great racial migration which set out from the North Indian plains, perhaps under pressure of the Aryans and swept down to the shores of the Chinese Sea. The Mon-Khmers containing two main branches, *viz.* the Mons of Pegu and the Khmers of Cambodia, represent possibly "the foremost link of a chain of languages called Austro-Asiatic whose other extremity consists of the group of Munḍā languages of Chutia-Nagpur in Bihar." Between the two there are intermediate links Palaung, Wa, Riang (Salween region) and Khasi (Assam) languages.³ Then followed the Annamites, who being pressed out of Southern China, settled in modern Tong-King in the 3rd century B. C. and then came the Thai who spread over Yunnan, Burma, Laos and Siam. This expansion of the Thai was at the expense of the Mons, over the western portion of the continent, and was complete by the 13th century. These will indicate the ethnical compound of Cambodia and the neighbouring regions on which Indian culture worked its influence.

1. Being a portion of the Honorary University Readership Lectures on Indian Culture in Indonesia and Insulindia delivered by the writer in November last.

2. L. Finot in *the Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 601.

3. This view is supported according to Finot by Sylvain Levi and J. Przyluski.

The ancient Cambojans have been connected with the Munḍā-speaking tribes of India on the one side and with the Malays and Polynesians on the other. They were allied, in language, with the Mons or Talaings of Lower Burma, and some say, also to the Annamites—though recent investigation is "not disposed to maintain the Mon-Annam family of languages proposed."¹

CAMBODIA.²

The history of the spread of Indian culture in Cambodia is largely the fruit of the researches of French scholars beginning with Dr. Jules Harmond and Captain Etienne Aymonier who made a systematic study of Cambodian inscriptions and brought out a monumental history of Cambodia in three volumes. The Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Cambodia were deciphered and edited by Mons. Bergaigne, Barth, and Levi, supplemented by the work of M. George Coedes.³ Latterly two good histories of Cambodia were brought out by M. Leclere who was for some time French Resident in Cambodia and M. Georges Maspero. Systematic collections of observations and notes have been made of Cambodian antiquities especially the remains of Angkor Vat and the Khmer monuments of Siamese Cambodia by scholars like Parmentier (the organiser of the Khmer Museum) and Finot (the Director of the French School at Hanoi). It is largely through the results of these researches that the influence of Indian culture and civilisation in the Khmer Empire of Cambodia has been made known to the world, and it is from French sources to a very large extent that writers have derived their material.

1. Sir Charles Eliot *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1921, Vol. III. pp. 100-1.

2. The land is roughly identical with the French Protectorate of Camboja and lay between the ancient Dvāravati and Campa. Cambodge is the accepted French spelling. But in English it is spelt differently as Cambodia, Kamboja, Camboja, etc.

3. Refer to :

E. Aymonier—*Le Cambodge*, 3 Vols. (1900-4).

A. Barth—*Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, (1885).

A. Bergaigne—*Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, (1893).

P. Pelliot—*Le Founan* in the Bulletin of the French School of Hanoi (B. E. F. E. O.) edited by Finot (III).

G. Maspero—*L' Empire Khmer*, (1904).

THE KINGDOM OF FUNAN.

The colonisation of the neighbouring region of Campa was said to have been made by Indians from the eastern parts of India, in the 1st century A. D.¹ About the same time Cambodia, known as Funan then, was also colonised by Indians. The original inhabitants of Cambodia were the Khmers of the Mon-Khmer group (formed as already told of the Mons of Pegu and the Khmers of Cambodia) whose languages known as the Austro-Asiatic extend over the Malay Peninsula and portions of India. The Khmers are ethnically connected by scholars with the Muṇḍā tribes of India on the one hand and the Malays and the Polynesians on the other. The Khmers also called themselves Kamboja (or Kamvuja); and according to native tradition, the race is descended from Kambu Svāyambhuva and Mera or Pera who was given to him by Śiva as wife. "This legend hardly proves that the Khmer people came from India, but they undoubtedly received thence their civilisation, their royal family and a considerable number of Hindu immigrants so that the mythical ancestor of their kings naturally came to be regarded as the Progenitor of the Race."²

There is a doubt as to whether Cambodia (called by the Chinese Chen-la)³ was the older kingdom of Funan or whether Funan was a wider designation including several states of which one was Chen-la (or Cambodia) which became paramount at the expense of the others. Both Funan⁴ and Cambodia were

1. Epigraphical evidence of Vo-can points to South India as the home of the Indian colonists. P. 21 of P. Bose's "The Indian Colony of Champa".

2. Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 101.

3. In the 13th century according to the Chinese Chau-ju-kua who visited these parts, the country was called by the natives Kan-ia-chih, and the then ruling dynasty called it Kan-ju-chih, on the authority of Sanskrit (Hsi-fan) works. The origin of the name Chen-la is not known for certain.

4. Funan roughly corresponded to Cochin-China, Cambodia, Lower Laos, Siam and a portion of the Malay Peninsula. It lay to the west of Campa and its Capital lay, according to Chinese authorities, 500 li from the sea, on a great river, probably the Mekong, near the Khmer site of Phnom-Penh. The Kingdom was 3000 li across and held the Khmers living in the Upper Mekong valley in subjection. According to Professor Maspero, Funan was something like Imperial Germany. According to M. Aymonier, Funan and Chen-la were the same, occupying *Modern Cambodia*.

subject thus early to Indian civilisation and religious influences. Funan was a Hindu colony which maintained its independent existence for five-hundred years. It is known to us only through Chinese writings. According to Professor Finot (*Indian Historical Quarterly*; Vol. I, p. 611) the kingdom spread very far to the west as far as Tennaserim and roughly comprised Cochin-China, Cambodia (where its power centred) Lower Laos, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula. The empire had a powerful fleet and kept diplomatic relations with China. According to tradition the founder of the kingdom was a Brahmin, Kaundinya by name, who married a Nāgī called Soma. The matriarchal system was prevalent among the people, and the Vamśakarī was Soma and the Vamśa itself came to be known as Somavamśa. King Candrarvarman (Chinese: Fan Chan) (first half of the 3rd century) established direct contact with India through the visit of an Indian trader who gave him a sketch of his own country; the king sent an embassy which learned the conditions and customs of the Indians.¹ At the end of the 4th century A.D. so the Chinese texts say, a second Kaundinya came to Funan who reformed the morals of the people according to Indian ideals. He may only have been a Hindu adventurer, "who in order to obtain a better welcome had usurped the name of the great civiliser of Funan." In the 5th century, (484 A. D.) according to the evidence of the Indian Bhikṣu, Śākya Nāgasena, who was sent as ambassador by King Kaundinya Jayavarman of Funan to the Emperor of China, both Śaivism and Buddhism were prevalent, and bronze images of the *devas* were worshipped as well as Buddhist stūpas and relics.² According to Chinese books several holy Buddhists went from Funan to China and were employed in translating the holy scriptures into Chinese. The names of two of them were Saṅghapāla

1. The legendary pedigree of the kings of Funan was borrowed most likely from the Pallavas of South India. (L. Finot). This king, Fan Chan who sent an embassy to India which sailed from the port of Kin-li in the Malay Peninsula and returned after four years—just at the time when the Chinese Emperor, Wu, sent an ambassador to Funan. This latter embassy was despatched from China, according to Finot, between 244 and 252 A. D. and it learnt, among other things about India, that the name of the Indian King who was approached by the Funan embassy was Mu-lun (Murunda).

2. In 503 A. D. the same king sent another embassy to the Chinese Court with a coral image of the Buddha. This king died in 514 A. D.

and Mandra,¹ they arrived in China in the first years of the 6th century, and their works are still preserved. I-Tsing the Chinese pilgrim who came to India in the latter part of the 7th century says of Funan thus:—"It is the southern corner of Jambūdvīpa. Of old it was a country the inhabitants of which lived naked; the people were mostly worshippers of devas and later on Buddhism flourished there, but a wicked king has now expelled and exterminated them all and there are no members of the Buddhist brotherhood at all."²

Under the name Chen-la Cambodia was a kingdom subordinate to Funan. According to Sir Charles Eliot, Funan might have been invaded (or influenced) by two waves of Indian colonists, possibly represented by the two Kaundinyas, while Georges Maspero suggests that the first wave came from Java and formed part of the same movement which founded the kingdom of Campa. "It is remarkable that an inscription in Sanskrit found on the east coast of Borneo and apparently dating from the 5th century mentions Kuṇḍagga³ as the grandfather of the reigning king. It seems likely that the Indian family of Kaundinya was established somewhere in the south seas (perhaps in Java) at an early period and thence invaded various countries at various times."⁴

THE KINGDOM OF CAMBODIA.

For Cambodian history our main sources of information are the Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions supplemented by notices in

1. *I-Tsing: Translation* by J. Takakusu, p. 12.

2. Saṅghapāla (Born 460, died 524) worked at translations of the Buddhist scriptures for 16 years; and Mandrasena came to China in 503 to help the other. But they could not master well the Chinese language.

3. In the Koetei yūpa Inscriptions of B. Borneo, mention is made of the reigning king Mūlavarman, his father Aśvavarman and his grandfather Kuṇḍunga. While this Kuṇḍunga (or Kuṇḍagga) is identified with the Indian colonising clan of Kaundinya by Eliot, Professor Kern would say that he was probably a native of Borneo whose descendants and possibly who himself became Hinduised. M. Bergaigne was the first to draw attention to the fact that in all the Sanskrit inscriptions of Indo-China, with the one exception of the Vocan Rock Inscription, we meet with royal names ending exclusively in *varman*. Also all the early records of Indo-China exclusively use the śaka era, like the Pallavas and other South Indian dynasties (J. Ph. Vogel. *The yūpa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman from Koeter*.)

4. Eliot, *Hindusim and Buddhism*. Vol. III, p. 107.

the Chinese annals. Later we have Cambodian annals of doubtful value and also inscriptions in Pāli or in modern Cambojan. A Sanskrit inscription speaks of a Kambu Svāyambhuva (mentioned above) who was obviously a kind of Cambodian Manu from whom the people trace their descent.¹ After Kambu comes Śrutavarman, whom M. Bergaigne takes as the first King of Cambodia and who was the father of Śreṣṭhavarman, the lord of Śreṣṭhapura (which lay near Bassac in Laos, 15 degrees north latitude). It is held by M. Barth and other high authorities that the line of Śrutavarman was mythical and another line beginning with Rudravarman descended in the female line from Kaundinya Soma (? the founder of the greatness of Funan) was historical. According to Professor Phanindra Bose, (*The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*; 1927; p. 57) Rudravarman was preceded by Kaundinya who again was preceded after a break by Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman² who were more or less uncertain figures. These two latter might have been local chiefs. But it is only from Rudravarman that we come upon firm ground. The Ang Chumnik Inscription gives a list of Cambojan Kings with Rudravarman at their head.

Rudravarman is highly praised in inscriptions as being equal to Dilipa and Viṣṇu Trivikrama. His date might have been about 570 A. D. In his time Hinduism had already gained firm ground in Cambodia; the triad of Śiva and Brahma and Viṣṇu were known as well as the stories of Dilipa and the Aśvins, and the Indian medical science was also well-known at court. He was succeeded by Bhavavarman³ in whose reign

1. Just as the kings of Funan claimed to be the descendants of the Brahman Kaundinya and the Nāgi Soma, so the first kings of Cambodia claimed as their ancestors Mahārṣi Kambu and the *apsaras* Mera; and hence they were known as *Kambujas* (born of Kambu. Finot in *The I. H. Quarterly* Vol. I, p. 614.)

2. Śrutavarman was the first *Indian* king of Cambodia; and his name was fondly cherished as the head of the Cambojan royal line. Śreṣṭhavarman was the Ādirāja of Śreṣṭhapura, the first capital of Cambodia. These reigns saw the spread of Indian culture in Cambodia.

3. Bhavavarman was not connected with Rudravarman by blood; he was the son of one Vīravarman and came to the throne with the help of a revolution. His sister was married to the Brahman, Somaśarman, who was "a moon among Brahmans" (*dviṣṇu*).

his vigorous younger brother Citrasena conquered Funan and afterwards bore the regal name of Mahendravarman. Bhavavarman is highly praised in inscriptions, credited with the title of Mahārājādhirāja and was possibly of Brahman origin. He was pre-eminently a Hindu, encouraged the propagation of the Brahmanic faiths, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and the Śakti cult, and paid respect to Śambhuviṣṇu. (Ind : Harihara) whose worship was very popular in the neighbouring kingdom of Campa. The Cambodians were thus then familiar with the Veda, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas ; and these were recited in temples etc. Bhavavarman reigned possibly about 590 B.C. and his rule extended even to portions of modern Siam and the whole lower course of the Mekong.

Citrasena, Mahendravarman,¹ the real conqueror of Funan, who succeeded Bhavavarman entered into friendly relations with the Hindu colony of Campa further encouraged the growth of Śaivism (of the Vedāntic type according to M. Barth). He was succeeded by Īśānavarman who had three inscriptions to his credit. In his reign Hindu Āśramas meant to be used by monks were founded. One of his inscriptions tells us of an image (liṅga), of Viṣṇu, and Īśāna Caṇḍeśvara (a unique departure in the history of Indian iconography.) Īśānavarman sent the first embassy to the court of China about 616 or 617 A. D.

The inscriptions of the time of King Jayavarman (Cir A. D. 665) compare him to God Sahasrākṣa and indicate the existence of Buddhism as they mention Buddhist Bhikṣus. The Brahmanic faith began to make real progress among the Khmers in this epoch.

The 8th century is a dark period² for the history of Cambodia when the kingdom was split up into several smaller principalities (among them being the Water Cambodia and Land

1. The Bayang Inscription of 526-46 Śaka forming the earliest epigraphical record of Camboja is of his reign ; and it makes mention of a restored temple of Śambhupāda (foot of Śiva).

2. The epigraphic history of Cambodia is continuous from the 6th to the 13th centuries, except for one lacuna (about 650 to 800 A. D.). "Notices in the Chinese annals, confirmed by the double genealogies given for this period in later inscriptions, indicate that Camboja was divided for some time into two states, one littoral and the other inland" (Eliot-Vol. III, p. 109). Clear history is restored only with Jayavarman II (802-869).

Cambodia of M. Finot). These two states were united by Jayavarman II in 802 A. D. who began a new dynasty and "hailed from Java (the Malay Peninsula) and introduced the new type of sandstone architecture, built several strongholds and began the construction of the great capital which bore later on the name of Yaśodharapura, modern Angkor-Thom.¹ Most of his pious foundations were dedicated to Lokeśvara. This leads us to suppose that he was a Buddhist at least in the beginning of his reign. Later on he probably adopted śaivism as the state religion and instituted the worship of the Liṅga called Devarāja, a national god, whose temple was situated in the centre of the capital and with whom the reigning King was never to part".²

The line of Jayavarman II covered Cambodia with magnificent monuments. Among his successors may be noted Indravarman I (877-889), Yaśovarman³ (889-cir 910) who was a pious Hindu and was a most remarkable builder ; Rājendravarman⁴ (944-961 A. D.) in whose reign Buddhism spread among the Khmers, but not to the decay of Brahmanism and who was learned in Pāṇini ; and Sūryavarman II (1112-1152 cir A. D.) who erected the magnificent shrine of Viṣṇu, now called the Angkor Vat, had diplomatic intercourse with China ; and shortly after him the dynasty began to decline. Some authorities say that he

1. Angkor is the greatest achievement of the Khmer race. In its centre stands the Temple of Bayon and just outside its walls is the majestic Angkor Vat. Angkor is the Cambojan corruption of Nokore Nagara.

2. Finot in the *I. H. Q.* Vol. I, pp. 615-16.

3. In his reign, according to M. Bergaigne inscriptions occur with two phases, where the same text is written in two characters. His reign is rich in epigraphic material, he fixed the limits of caste which had spread into Cambodia and erected magnificent buildings near about Angkor Thom whose founder was, however, Jayavarman II. His empire extended from Campa to Burma, and his inscription on the Prah Bat (Sacred Foot) on the hill of Chokung gives the history of his family.

4. His inscriptions pay homage to Buddha, Vajrapāṇi, and Prajñāpāramitā ; but he was not ungenerous towards Hinduism, and he continued to promote Śaiva worship.

made a successful expedition to Ceylon and succeeded in uniting Cambodia and Campa for the time.¹

The last great sovereign of Cambodia was Jayavarman VII (1181-1201, A. D.) who was a fervent Buddhist and founded numerous hospitals in which patients were treated without any distinctions of caste. In one of his inscriptions he says "the bodily pain of men became in him a pain of the soul, and the more smarting, for it is the suffering of the state which makes the suffering of the kings and not their own".² In another inscription he gave a sort of statistical description of the religious and medical establishments of his kingdom. After him the power and glory of Cambodia began to decline; and even the chronology becomes vague for a century.

Under one of the decadent kings of Cambodia Śrindravarman, the remarkable shrine of Tribhuvana Maheśvara at Īśvara-pura, north-east of Angkor, one of the most remarkable of Khmer buildings, was constructed. A Chinese embassy came to the country in 1296 and left an interesting account of the kingdom and the king, and of the capital Angkor Thom with its palaces and temples.³ (P. Bose "The Hindu Colony of Cambodia" pp. 243-8) and B. E. F. E. O. II. (tr. by P. Pelliot.)

Wars with Siam and Campa were the main causes of the downfall of Cambodia. In the 15th century the kings abandoned their capital⁴ to the Siamese conquerors and in the next century the land came to be a prey of Siamese and Annamese rivals with the Dutch and Portuguese trying to extend their influence on the coast.

1. Sūryavarman I ruled early in the 11th century and rearranged the caste-system. His name-sake and successor conquered an island (probably Malacca) and was compared to Rāma himself.

2. Finot in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. I, p. 616.

3. The account of this traveller shows that though the kingdom was declining it was still living, and not fallen into anarchy. It does not give us the name of the reigning king.

4. The Siamese captured Angkor Thom in 1313, 1351 and 1420. Again in 1473 they captured Chautaboun and Angkor. There was some revival of the Cambodian power in the first half of the 16th century; but in 1574 the Siamese gave the death blow to the power of the Khmers. The attenuated Khmer kingdom continued to exist on, being a prey to Siam and Annam alternately till the creation of the French Protectorate.

HINDU INFLUENCES.

It is only with the coming of the Indian colonists that the Khmers came to be really civilised. The Khmers were gradually Indianised, their kings claimed Indian descent; Brahmins were favoured at court. From the 6th to the 12th centuries Brahmanism and Mahāyānism were professed by the court and the nobility, but these were not mutually hostile. In this age the mass of the people had their own native worship and deities, the more important of which were identified with Indian deities or received Sanskrit names.¹

Śiva was the presiding divinity of the Khmer country, its national god, possibly some local gods of the Khmers were converted into Śiva (e. g. Maratakeśvara). According to Eliot the sects of the Pāśupata and Liṅgāyats were also prevalent. Śiva was identified with the Paramātmā of the Upaniṣads and with the supreme God. There was a tendency to apply to the cult of Śiva very many Vedic words. Liṅga worship was prevalent as early as the 7th century, the worship of Śiva being of course a little earlier. Śaiva Āgamas were also known like *Spandavṛtti*, *Paramaśvaratantra* etc. which lead to one source, which is the 25th of the twenty-eight Āgamas of the Śaivas of South India.² There is no trace of hostility to Vaiṣṇavism, and earlier inscriptions praise the compound deity, Viṣṇu-Śiva under names like Hari-Hara, Śambhu-Viṣṇu, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa etc.

Religion was closely connected with the State, and the deities were identified with kings or prominent personages who were commemorated by posthumous statues, reproducing their features, but representing them with the attributes of their favourite gods. "The temple of Bayon was a truly national fame, almost a Westminster Abbey, in whose many shrines all the Gods and great men of the country were commemorated." There were in the land four classes of shrines dedicated to:—

1. Indian deities, Śiva, Devī and Viṣṇu;

1. The religious history of the land may be said to fall into two periods:—Brahmanism and Mahāyānist Buddhism flourishing in the first period in mutual harmony, and lasting till about the end of the 14th century; later Hīnayānism under the influence of Siam spread, though a large part of the ritual of the royal court continued to be Brahminical in colour. (Eliot-Vol. III, p. 112).

2. Bose: p. 272.

2. Mahāyānist Buddhas especially Buddhas of healing who were regarded as the patron of saints of various towns and mountains ;

3. Similar local cities apparently of Cambodian origin and perhaps corresponding to the God of the city, (Nagareśvara) worshipped in every Chinese town and

4. Deified kings and notables who appear to have been represented in two forms, the human and the divine being slightly different in names.¹

These double names of kings, indicating their personal names as well as their posthumous titles taken after their favourite gods, are found in the Sdok Kok Thom inscription e. g., Yaśovarman Paramaśivaloka and the lady Śrī Mahendralakṣmī Śrī Mahendreśvarī (divine form or *varāha-rūpa*). Not only dead men but living people also were represented by statue portraits which identified them with deities.

The Brahmanism of Cambodia was largely connected with the worship of the Royal God ; thus religion came to be a department of the state, and the King's chaplain or preceptor claimed a pontifical position. Jayavarman II made the priesthood of the Royal God hereditary in the family of Śivakaivalya which enjoyed for some centuries a sacerdotal authority, almost regal in character. No king could succeed unless consecrated by them.

Sanskrit literature was held in esteem. Sūryavarman I (cir 1002 A. D.) was well-versed in the Atharva Veda, the Bhāṣya, the Six Darśanas, and the Dharmaśāstras. Inscriptions tell us of the frequent performance of sacrifices ; and "the old Vedic ritual remained to some extent in practice, for no circumstances are more favourable to its survival than a wealthy court dominated by a powerful hierarchy".

Temples had large establishments of officials and slaves, besides priests who were in many cases appointed by the king himself. Among gifts books were given over to Gods and the recitations of sacred books were provided for without interruption. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Gaṅgā, Lakṣmī, Umā, and other deities also were popular

Mahāyānist Buddhism was also prevalent in the country but was closely connected with Brahminism, so that it is difficult to

separate the two. The earliest record of its existence is an inscription of the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century, which mentions Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara and another Bodhisattva. Yaśovarman founded in Angkor Thom a Buddhist monastery (or Saṅghārāma) whose inmates were to enjoy the same privileges as those of the Brāhmaṇāśramas already noted. From the 10th century Mahāyānism came to be encouraged by the ministers who introduced the books of Vasubandhu, who according to the Tibetan historian Tārānatha, introduced Buddhism into Indo-China. We actually find a Trinity composed of Brahmā (Padmodbhava) Viṣṇu (Ambujanetra) and the Buddha. "Possibly the kings while co-operating with a (Brahmanical) priesthood which recognised them as semi-divine, were glad enough to let other religious elements form some sort of counterpoise to a priestly family which threatened to be omnipotent. . . . and the inscriptions of the Buddhist ministers are marked by a certain diplomacy and self-congratulation on the success of their efforts, as if they felt that their position was meritorious, yet delicate." (Eliot Vol. III, p. 122.)

Buddhism became the state religion of the country superseding Śaivism during the reign of Jayavarman VII (cir. 1185 A. D.) though Śaivism and Hindu Mythology continued to flourish. About the same time that religion became prominent in Java and Campa ; and the flourishing of the faith in Ceylon and Burma led to its growth in all south-eastern Asia. The inscription of Jayavarman found in the temple of Ta Prohm (near Angkor) indicates an extensive Brahmanical cult existing side by side with Buddhist ceremonial, while the Chinese visitor (Chou-Ta-Kuan) of Angkor in 1296 gives an interesting description of the religious condition (translated by P. Pelliot in the *Bulletin* of the French School of Hanoi for 1902). Siamese Buddhism later on invaded Cambodia and destroyed the Brahmanical shrines and centres. The connection with the Hindus of India was not kept up after the 13th century. But the tide of Moslem invasion which swept across the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago touched Campa, but could affect Siam and Cambodia which lay on one side of its main route—except that a solitary king of Cambodia in the 17th century became a Muhammadan. Brahminism still survives in the court ceremonial of the native chiefs of the land, but this does not prevent the king from being a devout

1. Eliot ; Vol. III, p. 115.

Buddhist. The religion of the country at present resembles the Buddhism of Siam marked by numerous monasteries and monks arranged into a hierarchy.

Indian literature in Cambodia was largely connected with the worship of Śiva, but the epics (*Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*) works on logic and grammar and other Brahminical works were also well-known. The epics were very popular, the *Vedas* are referred to in the inscriptions, and we find mention of the *Vedānta*, the *Smṛti*, the *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga*, the *Nyāya*, Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* and *Manu*. Pāṇini's work was known as the *Śivaśāstra*, and king Yaśovarman was versed among other sciences in the works of *Suśruta*. The *Arthaśāstra* was also studied.

The king bore the title of *Kamviyarājendra*, Lord of *Kambudeśa* (or *Kambubhū*) as well as the names of *Rājādhirāja*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Prthivīpati*, *Samrāt*, etc. They claimed descent from the ancient Indian dynasties (from *Soma Varṇa*, *Sūrya Varṇa*, and *Kaṇḍīnyavarṇa*). It is difficult to say whether the early Indo-Khmer kings were of pure Brahminic origin, but we find frequently that the princesses were married to Brahmins (e. g., the daughter of *Rājendravarman*, *Indralakṣmī* was married to the chief of the Brahmins, *Divākara Bhaṭṭa*.) The chief minister was known as the *Rājamahāmātya*, other ministers were known as *Mantrins*. The generals were known as *Balādhipas* and the commander-in-chief was entitled the *Mahāsenāpati* who was often the King's brother as in the case of *Citrasena*, the brother of *Bhavavarman* and the conqueror of Funan. Medical men found a place in the royal court and the ministers were often hereditary. The *Rājaguru* was an important personage and was supplemented by the astrologer and a host of Brahmins. The king was the supreme head of government and of the army. He was the highest judge. "His powers were unlimited. He was bound by no constitution, but was expected to rule according to the Indian Law Books".¹

The principal queen bore the title of *Devi Hyan* or *Agra Mahiṣī*. Caste system was prevalent in some form; we find instances of the rearrangement of castes attempted by kings. The four *āśramas* of the Brahminic life were also copied in Cambodia. *Sūryavarman I* rearranged the castes (*Varma bhāga*) and placed *Śivācārya* at their head (*Varuṇaśreṣṭha*).

1. N. Bose p. 326.

CAMBODIAN MONUMENTS.¹

The Khmers, Mon-Khmers or *Kambujas* (Cambodians) are of Sino-Tibetan origin, and at the beginning of the Christian era had already occupied the Mekong and the Menam deltas as well as Southern Burma.....*Śrutavarman*, under whom Cambodia (Funan) seems to have become for the first time fully organised on the lines of Hindu civilisation, ruled about 400 A. D. He was followed by other Kings, direct descendants, having the *Pallava* patronymic *Varman*. This was a Lunar Dynasty. p. 180.

"The Indianesque, pre-Khmer (Indo-Khmer of some authors) art of Funan in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries differs radically from the classic Khmer of the 9th to the 12th centuries chiefly in its greater concentration and more definitely Indian character. Bilingual inscriptions of the South Indian (*Pallava*) script revealing a knowledge of the *Vedas*, *Purāṇas*, & *Epics* appear. The Sanskrit is very correct, the lettering magnificent. Buddhist influences seem to have predominated in the 5th, Brahminical in the 6th and 7th centuries, but neither exclusively.

"After the 7th century the Chinese begin to speak of *Chen-la* rather than *Funan*. The history of the 7th and 8th centuries is obscure. This much is clear, that it was a period of unrest and continuous warfare, and here lies the explanation of the absence of monuments and rarity of inscriptions. The name *Khmer* (.....) likewise appears. At the same time *Funan* or *Chen-la* was apparently subject in some degree to *Java* (*Śrīvijaya*.)

"The best explanation of these facts and of the artistic revolution revealed in the 9th century is to be found in the view that *Chen-la* was originally a northern kingdom...and that here lived the *Kambujas* (born of *Kambu*) the legendary founder (with the nymph *Mera*) of the *Cambodian Solar Dynasty*; the wars of the 8th century resulting in the establishment of *Khmer* autonomy, the original *Chen-la* of the land and the former becoming the *Chen-la* of the sea.....

"Purely Indian Art in Cambodia disappears just at the time when permanent building materials which are quite exceptional before the classic period are first found.....Classic Khmer

1. Notes illustrative of the features of art are taken from A. K. Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* ; London 1927.

architecture seems to be derived mainly from northern indigenous wooden types. There is no direct continuity with the old Indianesque of the South. We must not forget too, that other than Indian sources of culture, the Chinese above all were always available to Cambodia as well as to China ; the appearance of glazed tiles, etc., Classic Khmer rejects the characteristic Pallava motifs, the makara, a case in point.....

Mythology and cult on the other hand remained Indian in all essentials, though not without special local developments. Śaivism at first predominates, later on with an increasing mixture of Tāntric Mahāyāna Buddhism, but specific dedications are to be found in all reigns and almost all the deities of the Hindu and the Mahāyāna Pantheon are represented. Two cults must be specially referred to. The first the deification of royal ancestors, identified after death with the deity of their allegiance under corresponding posthumous names, their images, in the outward forms of these same deities were set up by their descendants in memorial temples, but so far as we know, were always in human form; that temples were sometimes specially erected for this purpose is indicated in Bhāsa's Pratimānāṭaka where the scene is laid in a temple of royal images in Ayodhyā. The building of Angkor Thom and its central temple the Bayon belongs to the last quarter of the 9th century. All the great buildings of Angkor Thom construction period were Brahminical.

With Angkor Vat the history of Cambodian Art is almost at an end. To the 13th and 14th centuries however are to be attributed a good number of Buddhist sculptures. By the 15th century Angkor Thom was deserted. The second series of inscriptions in Angkor Vat introduce us to a comparatively modern world of Hīnayāna Buddhism, the survivals of ancient Brahminism being traceable in the sacerdotal functions of a group of descendants of Brahmins still exercised.....

"On the other hand theatre (dramatic dances) music and minor arts (textiles, metal works, jewellery) have survived almost in their former perfection to the present day.

THE VĀRTIKAS.

BY

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A., (HONS). MADRAS.

Before we proceed to deal with what could be gathered from the Vārtikas, we have to draw attention to the fact, noted by each and every scholar that ever wrote upon Sanskrit Grammar, that the Vārtikas as commented on by Patañjali do not form part of a single work of a single author. The subject has been elaborately treated by Dr. F. Kielhorn, the illustrious editor of the Mahābhāṣya in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, in a series of articles contributed to the Indian Antiquary.

As all of us know, tradition ascribes the authorship of the Vārtikas to one Kātyāyana alias Vararuci. As already noted above, it conflicts with truth as the Mahābhāṣya contains commentaries upon Vārtikas and verses of various authors. And it is a matter of common knowledge that it is very difficult to identify the authors of the Vārtikas or to distinguish them from one another. Though we may not be able to clear the mystery about the subject, we would like to draw attention to some references which afford scope for further research on the subject. One of such striking and attractive references is this :—(Mahābhāṣya Vol. I, P. 371 Bom. S. S.).

न वा वचनप्रामाण्यात् ॥ (Vārtika)

And Patañjali has the following comments on it :—

न ब्रूमो वृत्तिसूत्रवचनप्रामाण्यादिति । किं तर्हि ? वार्तिकवचन-
प्रामाण्यादिति । सिद्धं तु काङ्क्षतिदुर्गतिवचनात् । प्रादयः कार्ये ॥

That the above extract is a Vārtika could be inferred from the way Patañjali proceeds to comment upon it ; and that this Vārtika belongs to Kātyāyana is borne out by the fact that it is not introduced with words like अपर आह् , as usual with Patañjali, whenever he introduces the opinions of other Vārtikakāras than the one he is commenting upon. So it may be inferred without any doubt that the author of the particular Vārtika

Kātyāyana, is referring to the वचन of some other author as the deciding authority on the point. And Patañjali says clearly in so many words that this वचन does not refer to the वृत्तिसूत्रवचन but that it refers to the वचन of the Vārtika. In this connection it is necessary to say something about the phrase वृत्तिसूत्र. Nāgeśa comments upon it thus :—(P. 345, Vol. II, N. S. Edition).

वार्तिकेष्वपि सूत्रलक्षणसत्त्वेनार्थत्वे च सूत्रत्वमभ्युपगम्य, पाणिनिः सूत्राणां वृत्तिसद्भावाद्वार्तिकानां तदभावाच्च तयोर्वैषम्यबोधनायेदम् । वृत्तियुक्तं सूत्रं वृत्ति-सूत्रमित्यर्थः । क्वचित्तु वृत्तिः सूत्रेति पाठः, सूत्रप्रामाण्याद्वृत्तिरिति न ब्रूमः, किं तर्हि ? वार्तिकप्रामाण्यादित्यर्थः ॥

From the above passage it could be understood that Nāgeśa points out another reading of the phrase वृत्तिसूत्र according to which the Bhāṣya passage would read thus :—

न ब्रूमो वृत्तिः, सूत्रवचनप्रामाण्यादिति ।

Here we have to understand the word वृत्ति to mean समास consistently with the Bhāṣya on the Vārtika,

न वा वचनप्रामाण्यात् ।

which begins thus :—

वचनप्रामाण्यादत्र समासो भविष्यति ।

This latter reading does not appear to be appropriate in the context. It is to be noted that the word वृत्ति has been hitherto used by Patañjali in the sense of परार्थाभिधान and he does not explicitly use it in the sense of समास ; and especially in this subsection on the particular Vārtika, having used the word समास it is highly improbable that he should have used another word for it. Further, the style in which he discusses the question and begins the reply shows that the word वृत्ति could not have been used in the sense of समास . We are however alive to the fact that there is no absurdity in meaning if we take the word वृत्ति in the sense of समास here. But we have to note that there are similar references which support the reading वृत्तिसूत्र as against understanding the word वृत्ति in the sense of समास. Under II-2-24 the following passage occurs :—(P. 424, Vol. I, Bom. S. S.)

केचित्तावदाहुर्वृत्तिसूत्रे इति ।

Further, under IV-2-60 Patañjali gives the formation वार्तिकसूत्रिक (P. 284, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.) as derived from a word having सूत्र or its last word, and meaning a work. So much so, we must not only conclude that the reading वृत्तिसूत्र without the visarga is the correct one but also that Patañjali calls the Aṣṭādhyāyī by the name of वृत्तिसूत्र. That the Aṣṭādhyāyī was known by the name of वृत्तिसूत्र is also corroborated by a reference to it by the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, who lived in India from 671 to 691 A. D. mentioned by Dr. Śrīś Chandra Chakravartī, on page 8 of his introduction to his edition of the Kāśikāvivarāṇapañcikā of Jinendrabuddhi in the Varendra Research Society Series :—‘Next there is a commentary on the वृत्तिसूत्र entitled ‘cūrṇi’.

It remains for us to consider how the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini came to be called by the name of वृत्तिसूत्र. Nāgeśa explains it as वृत्तियुक्तं सूत्रं and on that ground he differentiates it from the Vārtika. The ordinary meaning of the term वृत्ति is gloss. But how does Nāgeśa differentiate the सूत्र from the Vārtika ? Though it seems to be absurd it is really not so. It might be that Pāṇini, realising that his sūtras would be unintelligible without a gloss, might have written a gloss on his own sūtras, with the result that his work came to be designated as वृत्तिसूत्र. And unless we understand the phrase वृत्तिसूत्र in that light as explained by Nāgeśa, it would be meaningless. Further, the exact meaning of the word वृत्ति, as explained by Haradatta is, that gloss which has the explanation of the sūtras as its main object (सूत्रार्थ-प्रधाना वृत्तिः). It may be also noted here that the author of the Kāśikā perhaps had in his mind this वृत्ति when he wrote the benedictory verse :—

वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु ।

Returning to the subject, the phrase वचनप्रामाण्यात् as interpreted by the Bhāṣyakāra presupposes another Vārtikakāra as the deciding authority on the question. But this is not the only instance where such a reference is made. Under the sūtra II-2-24 (P. 424, Vol. I, Bom. S. S.) the following passage occurs :—

अपर आहुः ‘यद्वार्तिके’ इति

where the Vārtika कर्मवचनेनाप्रथमायाः is referred to as that of some other Vārtikakāra. That it is of some other Vārtikakāra could be clearly understood from what Kaiyaṭa says (P. 452, Vol. II, N. S. Edition.). So, the conclusion forces itself upon us that the Vārtikas upon which Patañjali is traditionally supposed to have written his Bhāṣya is preceded by another Vārtikakāra who is cited as authority. That this should have been the fact could be understood by a reference to the comments of Patañjali on the Vārtika to the Sūtra लट् स्मे (III-2-118). The Vārtika runs thus:—(P. 121, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.)

स्म पुरा भूतमात्रे न स्म पुराद्यतने ।

This Vārtika could be divided into two parts, affirmative and negative. It should be noted here that in the negative portion of the Vārtika the mention of the word स्म पुरा is unnecessary, as we could arrive at the desired meaning without its mention thus :—

स्म पुरा भूतमात्रे नाद्यतने च ।

Further, the negative portion of the Vārtika seems only to be a commentary of the affirmative part of it. Kaiyaṭa opines that the above is made up of two Vārtikas and Patañjali establishes the redundancy of the negative portion. Kaiyaṭa says :—(P. 131, Benares Edition III. Adhyāya)

इत आरभ्य पञ्चसूत्र्या कालविभागप्रतिपादनाय वार्तिकद्वयम् ॥

And Patañjali says :—

स्मादिविधिः पुरान्तो यद्यविशेषेण किं कृतं भवति ।

न स्म पुराद्यतन इति ब्रुवता कात्यायनेनेह ॥

The above remarks of Patañjali do show that he would rather not have the latter bit at all. So also Kaiyaṭa says :—

लट् स्मे, अपरोक्षे च, पुरि लुङ् चास्मे इत्येतेषु योगेषु अनद्यतनग्रहणानुवृत्त्येष्ट-
स्यार्थस्य सिद्धत्वान्न स्म पुराद्यतन इति वार्तिकं न कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । (ibid).

Further, the way in which Patañjali disposes of the latter bit is strange. If the two bits form part of one and the same Vārtika, it is usual for him to point out how it is enough to retain one portion, and refer to the consequent redundancy of the other. Here of course, as Kaiyaṭa points out, he treats them

as two Vārtikas and proceeds to comment on them from that standpoint.

The unusual way in which Patañjali disposes of the latter bit, together with the fact that it is redundant and forms only a negative implication of the previous bit, could be taken to suggest that the two Vārtikas should be of different authorship. Though this is only by way of conjecture, it finds support from the words of Patañjali himself, who refers to the author of the redundant Vārtika without any honorific. It need not be pointed out that it is the custom with him to refer to the author of the Vārtikas as भगवान् वार्तिककारः. Strangely enough, he refers to the negative Vārtika thus—कात्यायनेनेह, without any honorific. So, to put the conjecture in the form of a definite proposition, we may conclude that Patañjali knows of two Vārtikakāras, of whom the latter one modelled his Vārtikas in such a way that neither could be distinguished.

As we know from the reference by Patañjali himself that one of the two Vārtikakāras is Kātyāyana, it remains for us to consider whether we could find out who the other Vārtikakāra might be. Under IV-2-65, Patañjali gives the illustration महावार्तिक in the sense of one who has studied the work called महावार्तिक. Sanskrit Literary History knows of no tradition as to the existence of a work called महावार्तिक. In Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, available only in manuscript form in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library the following Vārtika is referred to (P. 45, M. O. L. Vol. I, 1-39-52) as that of the Mahāvārtikakāra.

ननु द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोरुत्तरपदे नित्यसमासवचनमिति महावार्तिककारः ।

This is identical with the Vārtika on P. 395, of the Mahābhāṣya—Vol. I, Bombay Sanskrit series Edition. So, it is evident that there should have been a work called the महावार्तिक prior to the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana.

Further, Patañjali enlightens us as to the name of the author of the Mahāvārtika. Under III-2-3 he has the following संग्रहलोकाः—verses which give in a brief and versified form what has been elaborately discussed. (P. 97, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.)

नित्यं प्रसारणं हो यद्वाणार्णदाङ्गं न पूर्वत्वम् ।

योऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वस्तत्कार्ये स्थानिमत्त्वं हि ॥

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प्रोवाच भगवान्कात्यः तेनासिद्धिर्यस्तु ते ।

आतः को लिप्तेः पूर्वः सिद्ध आहस्तथा सति ॥

Nāgeśa comments upon the above verses thus :—(Mahābhāṣya-pradīpodyota, Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. IV, P. 502.

यतोऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वत्वे स्थानिवत्त्वमतो भगवान्कात्यायनः। प्रसारणिभ्यो ङं प्रोवाचेत्यर्थः ।

From the above words of Nāgeśa, we can understand that the syntactical object of the finite verb प्रोवाच in the first half of the second verse in its unabridged form is the first Vārtika under the sūtra III-2-3 (P. 96, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.) :—

कविधौ सर्वत्र सम्प्रसारणिभ्यो ङः ।

Thus it naturally follows that Patañjali knows that the author of the above Vārtika is Bhagavān Kātya. Thus we see that the author of the Mahāvārtikas should have been Kātya.

In this connection, another Vārtika deserves our attention. (P. 557, Vol. II, N. S. Edition)

अनवधकगात्रविचक्षणजिराद्यर्थम् ।

The last bit of this has been commented upon by Kaiyaṭa thus :—

अजिरशिशिरेति निपातनमनपेक्ष्यैतदुक्तम् ।

and by Nāgeśa thus :—

तेषां सूत्राणामाधुनिकत्वादनपेक्षेति भावः ।

The words अजिरशिशिरेति of Kaiyaṭa refer to the Uṇādi Sūtra अजिरशिशिरशित्थिलस्थिरस्फिरस्थविरखदिराः (I-56). Both Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa mean that, from the point of view of the author of the Vārtika above referred to, the Uṇādi sūtras like the above are of so recent origin as could be neglected without any notice. Now let us consider the tradition recorded by an unknown author of the commentary on the Kṛt portion of the Kātantra in the opening verse—

वृक्षादिवदमी रूढाः कृतिना न कृताः कुतः ।

कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टाः विबुद्धिप्रतिपत्तये ॥

as to Kātyāyana being the author of the Kṛt suffixes (the Uṇādis). This is corroborated by Vimalasarasvatī in his Rūpamālā, (Manuscript deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, P. 178) in the following words,

उणादिस्फुटीकरणाय वररुचिना पृथगेव सूत्राणि कृतानि ।

From this we must infer that the author of the Vārtika, above referred to, should be unaware of the Uṇādis compiled by Kātyāyana alias Vararuci. To put it in other words, the particular Vārtika under discussion is not of Kātyāyana's authorship ; and it goes without saying from the above discussion that it should be a Mahāvārtika of Kātya.

We have seen from the above discussion that the Vārtikas relied on as authority and quoted by Patañjali under the Vārtika न वा वचनप्रामाण्यात्, the first Vārtika to the sūtra III-2-3, the Vārtika under II-1-51 referred to by Bhoja, and the Vārtika referred to above—all these belong to Kātya and form what are called the Mahāvārtikas. And we have but to conclude that Patañjali considers Kātya alone as *The Vārtikakāra*. And perhaps, the *Mahābhāṣya* was so called because of its being a commentary on the *Mahāvārtikas*.

That there was a famous author by the name of Kātya is also corroborated by Kṣīrasvāmin in the course of his commentary on the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. He quotes abundantly from a work of Kātya, a lexicon probably. Curiously enough, we find a half verse quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra identical with the one quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary :—(Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Pat. II, Page 375).

गौरिवाकृतनीशारं प्रायेण शिशिरीकृतम् ।

But we find a different reading adopted by one and all of the grammarians, from the Bhāṣyakāra downwards. Vide Mahābhāṣya P. 147, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.

गौरिवाकृतनीमारः प्रायेण शिशिरे कृशाः ।

The latter reading seems to be accurate as the word नीमार is said to be of masculine gender by the author of the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana (*ibid*). Kṣīrasvāmin quotes the sentence as from a work called लभ्यम्. Sanskrit literary tradition attributes many works to the authorship of Vararuci, identified with the author of the Vārtikas on the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, one of which, it needs no saying, is a lexicon. Perhaps this author of the Vārtikas might have written a lexicon, which had the object of explaining the meanings of forms that might be explained through the Aṣṭādhyāyī and this work might have been designated लभ्य ; and probably, Patañjali was quoting from this work.

TIRUVĒNKAṬANĀTHAR OF MĀTAI.

BY

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Introduction.—Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthar the subject of this sketch was a contemporary of the Madura Naicks of the later 17th century. He was one of those few who were not only poets in themselves but also patrons of Tamil learning in his time.

Sources.—A complete account of his life is not available from any single source. The main source is the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu which seems to have got into print 64 years ago, and a manuscript copy of which is found in the Madura Tamil Saṅgam. Its author is unknown, but it is clear that he was a native of the Pāṇḍya country,¹ and an object of Tiruvēṅkaṭa's benevolent patronage². This work gives many details about the latter which must be considered very valuable as they constitute contemporary and first-hand information. But it is defective in two ways: First it is the work of a protege who has every reason to eulogise his patron. This lessens considerably its judicial value, but a cautious use of similar materials has enabled historians to arrive at truth. Secondly it is so void of dates that we have to seek the help of the historian. The historian of the Naick rule in Madura is, therefore, our second source³. Other sources that throw light on Tiruvēṅkaṭa's life are his work Meyññāṇa-viḷakkam, otherwise known as Prabōdhacandrōdayam, and the preface to the Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam of his contemporary Vaidyanātha Dēcikaṛ. The light thrown by these works on the materials drawn from the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu enables us to arrive at a fairly accurate degree of information with regard to his life.

Birth-place.—The birth-place of Tiruvēṅkaṭa can be determined as Mātai from the following lines: 'மாதை வெங்கடேசன்'⁴,

1. 'தாய்த்துணைபோ வெங்கள் தமிழ்ப்பாண்டி நாடாள் வாய்த்தவெங்கடேச மகிபாலன்' (பணவிடு. 65).
2. 'முத்தமிழ்வா ணர்க்குள் முழுநோக்க மென்னிடத்தில் வைத்தவெங்கடேச மகிபாலன்' (பணவிடு. 67).
3. Nelson author of 'The Madura Country'.
4. பணவிடு. (கண்ணி, 88, 36).

TIRUVĒNKAṬANĀTHAR OF MĀTAI

35

'மாதை யாதிபன் . . . திருவேங்கடநாதன்'¹, 'மாதை வெங்கடேசன்'². This place is identified with the hamlet and Śiva shrine of Tiruvāmāttūr near Villupuram in the district of South Arcot, since the Tiruvāmāttūr-k-kalampakam by the twin-poets (Irattiyār) is also styled Mātai-k-kalampakam and mentions the place as Mātai³.

Ancestry.—With regard to Tiruvēṅkaṭa's ancestors the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu enlightens us on the following points: He was the second of six sons of Perumāḷ Iyer⁴, a Smārta Brahmin. Their names are given in the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu in this order: Kṛṣṇa Iyer, Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Iyer, Maṇivaṇṇa-p-perumāḷ Iyer, Rāja-gōpāla Iyer, Kanakasabhāpati Iyer and Veṅkaṭarāma Iyer. Tradition says that Tiruvēṅkaṭa's ancestors belonged to the Kāṇyāḷa sect and that they had served the old Naick Kings of the Pāṇḍya and Cōla Kingdoms in high administrative capacities.

Early life.—Of Tiruvēṅkaṭa's early life we know very little. But we can safely infer that he ought to have shown high abilities since he was chosen as a minister⁵ at Madura by the Naick King. The king then was Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Virappa who ascended the throne in 1682. Coming at an early age to govern the country threatened by foreign foes and internecine feuds, he needed the help of faithful and able men and so chose Tiruvēṅkaṭa.

Ministry at Madura.—Tiruvēṅkaṭa's administration was, among other causes, removing for removing abuses in the system of government. The Paṇaviṭu-tūtu gives a graphic

1. இலக்கணவிளக்கம். பாயிரம்.
2. மடிக்காசு : தனிப்பாடல்.
3. மேதிக் குலஞ்சொரி பால்கயன் மாந்தும் விரைப்பழன மாதைக் கடவுள் (திருவாமாத். கலம்.)
4. பெருமாண் மெய்த்தவப் பேரெனத் தோன்றிய (இலக். வி. பாயி.) திருமால் . . .
5. சொக்கநா தேந்தா தூந்தரிகள்—முக்யமூள்ள
* * * ராசரிக,
முத்தாபெற்ற ரங்ககிருஷ்ண முத்துலீ ரோந்தானருள்
வைத்த கொற்ற வாசலுக்கோர் மந்திரியாய், (பணவிடு. 61-63),

account of his rule¹. The minister seems to have presided over several details of administration. The court business of the day comprised the hearing of appeals, the settlement of accounts, the receipt of tributes and the despatch of envoys. Consequently many were the people that waited in audience. These were councillors, envoys of neighbour princes, ministers, generals, readers of daily and general accounts, and wealthy merchants with their messages, petitions or tributes. The Paṇaviṭu-tūtu mentions Tiruvēṅkaṭa's judicious care in collecting tributes from refractory poligars, his skill in handling finance, his keen and sensible suggestions regarding administration, his arrangements for irrigation and the development of agriculture, his supervision of temple-management, his fixing a scale in the payment of tributes according to the wealth and status of his neighbours, his reproof of the proud and encouragement of the humble, and his arduous work for the moral and social welfare of his subjects a practical instance of which was seen in the diminution of house-tax. It is said that Tiruvēṅkaṭa became acquainted with the affairs of government with regard to Travancore known then as

1. தேசவிவ காரம் செகத்திலுள்ள செய்தி துரை
வாசல் விவகார மற்றெவையும்—யோசனைசெய்
மந்திரி மாரு மறுமன்ன ரோவலரும்
தந்திரி மாரும தளாதிபரும்—முந்தும்
தினசரிதக் காரர்களு மமைக் கணக்கங்
கனு தினம்வா சிக்கு மவரும்—கணமுடைய
வர்த்தகருங் குச்சாரு மராட ருங்கொலுவில்
தத்தம் வரிசைகொடு தாநிற்ப—நித்திரொக்கச்
சாளிகை கட்டிவருந் தந்திரமும் பிந்திவரும்
பாளையக் காரர் பணங்களுக்கங்—காளனுப்பும்
வல்லமையுங் கேட்கும் வரியோலைக் குத்தாங்கன்
சொல்லுவதி லேறினவின் குக்குமமும்—எல்லகண்டு
கூறப் படாத குளப்பாய்வுங் காற்பாய்வும்
ஏறப் படிர்கொளுத்து மேற்பாடும்—பேறுதரும்
தேவா லயத்திற் றினப்பூசை தப்பாமல்
தேவா ளனுப்பும் விசாரிப்பும்—நேர்வாகக்
காணிக்கைக் காரர் கணக்குக்கேட் டவ்வலர்
ராணிக்குத் தக்கதிட் டஞ் செய்வதுவும்—பாணித்துச்
செய்யு நயபயமுஞ் சேருஞ் சனங்களுக்கென்
னையன் புரியும் அறவணைப்பும்—வையகத்தில்
மற்றொருவ ருக்கு வருமோ வராநென்று

'Tiruvaṭi-tēcam'¹. Travancore seems to have been under the sphere of influence, if not the direct control, of the Madura Kingdom.

Viceroyalty at Tinnevely—*Occasion for it*.—Some might say that the eloquent tribute by the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu is the eulogy of a court poet; but there must have been abilities in Tiruvēṅkaṭa and merit in his administration to elicit it. An exhibition and confirmation of this followed. The Naick king sent his minister as viceroy of the distant and outlying province of Tinnevely when it was in a State of disorder and needed a strong hand. The need for able officers is borne out by Nelson².

Probable date.—Tiruvēṅkaṭa must have assumed viceroyalty in 1683, for an inscription³ of that date mentions the grant of certain lands to the temple at Tinnevely in the name of Raṅga-Kṛṣṇa-Muttu-Virappa Naicker and Tiruvēṅgināthayyar⁴. He must have been appointed about 1683 and in this case his stay at Madura must have been of very short duration—Since he became minister after Raṅga Kṛṣṇa's accession *i. e.*, 1682.

கொற்றவரெல் லாமெடுத்துக் கொண்டாட—முற்றும்
திருவடி தேசமொரு செங்கோல் செலுத்தும்
பருவமெல்லா நன்றூப் பழகி—ஒருமுகங்கொண்
டட்டவணை யிட்டதுபோ லத்தனையுந் தானிருந்து
சட்டமிடு கின்ற சமுகத்தான்'
* * * * * மொத்தக்
கணக்கைவகை கண்டு கற்பித்த போக்குப்
பணக்குறைவா ராமற் பணித்து—
* * * * * —போடுகின்ற
வீட்டுவரி யெப்பொழுதா வேண்டா மென நிறுத்தி'

(பணவிடு. 18-46)

1. So called from 'Tiruvaṭi', a title of Travancore Kings. (No. 6 of Appendix A, Mad. Ep. Rep. 1906, p. 6, Ep. 1891.)
2. The Madura Country. Part III, Pp. 146.
3. C. P. No. 167 of Mr. Sewell's List : Records a Sale date by the Chief of Vannikūḍam in the Tinnevely district of certain lands to the Tinnevely temple. The name of the Chief is not mentioned. But it is stated that the Sale was undertaken in order to increase the merit (puṇṇiyattu-k-kāka) of Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Virappa Nāyakka (1682-9) and Tiruvēṅkinātha Aiyar. The Kollam Āṇḍu 858 is given, and the year Durmukhi. (I M. P. III, 304, M.)
4. A Corruption of 'Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthaiyar. There is a village in the Tinnevely District called Tiruvēṅkaṭanallūr. Perhaps this and the vicinity is the place referred to.

His Court.—The Paṇaviṭu-tūtu gives a picturesque account of his rule and Court. It mentions the palace Raṅgavilās¹ where political affairs were transacted; the splendid palanquin and paraphernalia bestowed by Raṅga-Kṛṣṇa-Muttu-Virēndra; and the processions that resembled Lord Kubera's. It compares the court to that of King Bhoja with advantage to the former.²

The account given by the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu is confirmed by Chronicles³ that 'ascribe high status and large powers to the governor of Tinevelly' in the time of Raṅga Kṛṣṇa. Nelson says, "The manuscripts translated by Mr. Taylor in the O. H. Mss. styled 'The reign of Raṅgakṛṣṇa Nāyakkan' shows clearly how great was the authority exercised by this officer and how sumptuous the style in which he lived."⁴

His work there—Patronage of Letters.—While Tiruvēṅkaṭa was the viceroy he rendered important services to Tamil Literature. He patronised Tamil scholars and poets. One of them, the author of the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu has been mentioned already. Another was Vaidyanātha Dēcikaṛ of Tiruvārūr whose scholarship was admired by many learned men of the day including the eminent Tamil and Sanskrit Scholar, Svāminātha Dēcikaṛ⁵ of

1. Mentioned in inscriptions as the audience-hall of the Kings of Vijayanagar and other Kings.

2. பூதலத்தை ஏகசக்ர மாப்பாக்கும் ராஜதா னிக்கிணங்கும்
பாகுபெற்ற நெல்வேலிப் பட்டணத்தில்—ஒகையுடன்
மேலா மரமனைக்குண் மேலிக் கொலுவிருந்து
மாலை புகுந்து வரும்வேளை . . . ரங்க கிருஷ்ண
முத்துவீ ரேந்தான் முழுவரிசை தந்தனுப்புங்
கொத்து மணித் தண்டுகைமேற் கொண்டேறிச்—சித்தம்
விரும்பியள கேசன்போல் வீதிவலம் வந்து
திரும்பி யாமனைக்குட்சென்று- பெரும் பார்த்
கிறையவனெங் கோமா னிரங்கவிலா சத்தே
நிரைகொலுவாய் வீற்றிருக்கு நோம்—நறைமலர்ப்பூங்
கொத்தலந்தார் மார்பன் கொலுவிருக்குஞ் சிங்கார
மத்தளையுங் கண்டே னகங்குளிர்தேன்—மெத்தமெத்தப்
போசன் சமுகம் பொலிவென்பார் மாதைவெங்க
டேசன் சமுகத்துக்கிடாமோ' (பணவிடு. 69—86).

3. The Chronicles translated by the Rev. W. Taylor in the O. H. Mss. 2 Vols. 1835.

4. The Madura Country Part III, p. 147.

5. 'நூல்செய் தவனந் நூற்குரை யெழுதல்
முறையே யேனிலே யறையக் கேள்நீ

the Tiruvāvaṭuturai mutt, author of the Ilakkaṇa-k-kottu. With the help of Vaidyanātha Dēcikaṛ Tiruvēṅkaṭa realised his cherished desire of publishing an up-to-date and comprehensive Tamil grammar written by a Hindu. The grammar then in vogue was the Naṇṇūl written by the Jain author Pavaṇ-anti under the patronage of Śiyagaṅga (13th century) and dealing with only two divisions of Tamil grammar (i.e.) phonology and accidence. Tiruvēṅkaṭa realised the necessity and asked Vaidyanātha to write a comprehensive treatise. The latter consequently made a critical study of Tolkāppiyam and Naṇṇūl and wrote the Ilakkaṇa-ṣṭakkam. In this work he takes in *sūtras* found in both writers always preferring Tolkāppiyaṇār's *sūtras* where both Tolkāppiyaṇār and Naṇṇūlār agree, and incorporating the improvements made by Naṇṇūlār if they are found satisfactory. Since in this work he deals with all the five divisions of Tamil grammar it is generally known as *Kuṭṭi-t-tolkāppiyam*. Tiruvēṅkaṭa's part in this is brought out by some verses in the preface written by Sadāśiva Nāvalar, the son and disciple of Vaidyanātha.¹

End of his rule—probable date.—How long Tiruvēṅkaṭa ruled as viceroy or what his subsequent career was is a subject for future research. Raṅga Kṛṣṇa died in 1689 and his mother Maṅgammāl became regent for his minor son Vijaya Raṅga Cokkanātha. There are indications to show that he must have reigned as late as the year 1700. Since it is said that the Tinne-

முன்பின் பலரே யேன்கண் காணத்
திருவா ரூர்த் திருக்கூட் டத்திற்
தமிழ்க்கிலக் காகிய வயித்திய நாதன்
இலக்கண விளக்கம் வகுத்துரை யெழுதினன்
(இலக்கணக்கொத்து. பாயி. 7, உரை).

1. வேதியர் திலகன் விரவலர் கோளரி
மாதைய ரதிபன் வரகுண மேரு
கல்விக் கெல்லை கருணைக் காகரம்
பெருமாண் மெய்த்தவப் பேபெனத் தோன்றிய
திருமா லுலகஞ் செவ்விதிற் புரக்கும்
மேதரு புகழ்த்திரு வேங்கட நாதன்
ஓதின லுக் கவகைமீதூர்

* * * * *
இலக்கண விளக்கமென் றெருபெயர் நீநீஇ
புலப்படுத்தியலுறப் பொருள்விரித் துதைத்தன்
நலம்புரி வைத்திய நாததே சிகனே (இலக். வி. பாயி.)

vely coast was infested with tigers in 1700¹; and since Tiruvēṅkaṭa rescued people travelling through jungles², we may infer that he must have ruled at that time. It is probable that he laid down his office about the time of Maṇagammāl's resignation; but this is only a conjecture based on the general fact that a revolution in the central government results in changes elsewhere.

Character a general estimate.—The estimate given of Tiruvēṅkaṭa by his contemporaries is that of a gracious and pure personality profuse in his charities, liberal in his sentiments, munificent in his patronage, courteous in his deportment, impartial in his verdicts and free from life's allurements.³

To the seeker of historical truth the united testimony of two authors⁴ is peculiarly valuable, for it is too unnatural a coincidence to suppose that both of them were prepossessed partisans writing a groundless panegyric. Their statements confirm each other and encourage acceptance. Many tributes poetical in themselves must have been prompted by qualities of high pre-eminence. The poet Paṭikkācu has made Tiruvēṅkaṭa's

1. The Madura Country III. p. 226. Nelson refers to Jesuit Letters, but does not mention any name. (The Letter of, Father Martin to Father to Gobien, written from Camien-nakan-path, 1st June, 1700 Say's: 'These beasts (tigers) have made a surprising house on the whole coast this year. Besides the cattle, about seventy persons have disappeared? Hist. of the Nāyaks of Mad. p. 301).

2. 'காட்டுவழிச் செல்வாரைக் காப்பாற்றி (பணவிடு. 46.)

3. ' * * * * * விம்பமணிச்

கங்கணமு மேற்போர் கலிகளெல்லாந் தீர்ப்பனென்ற

கங்கணமு நீங்காக் காதலத்தான்—சங்கையுள்ள

வெஞ்சொற் களைந்து கல்விமேலோ ரெடுத்தியம்புஞ்

வெஞ்சொலுகந்த திருச் செவியான்—விஞ்சுபெருங்

கல்விக் கடலினையான் கண்டோர் பசிதீர்க்குஞ்

செல்வக் கருணைத் திருமுகத்தான்—மெல்லப்

புடை பரந்த தெள்ளமீர்தம் போற் கருணைவெள்ளங்

கடைபரந்த செங்கமலக் கண்ணான்—புடைசென்

றடுத்திட்ட பேர்க்கு மயலார்க்கு முண்மை

றடுத்திட்ட மேயுரைக்கு நாவான்— * * *

* * * * * —நீங்கா

இடும்பைக் கொடுங்கலித்தீர்த் தெண்ணில் பலகோடி

குடும்பப் பிரதிஷ்டை செய்த கோமான்' (பணவிடு. 9-15.)

4. The author of the Paṇaviṭutūtu and Sadāśiva Nāvalar.

magnanimity a type and object of comparison¹, and this testifies to the powerful impression he must have made over his generation.

Religious view.—Some verses² in the Paṇaviṭutūtu, his invocation to Śrī Kṛṣṇa at the commencement of the Meyññāṇa-ṇiṭakkam, and his use of a seal with the name 'Gopāla' engraved on it³ clearly show that he, imbued with the highest principles of Advaitic thought, was a staunch devotee of Kṛṣṇa. His singular detachment from life and its allurements in spite of his many activities is a theme of constant mention; his purity and serenity are shown by two stanzas in the preface to his Prabodha-candrodayam⁴. He is described in one, as being detached and unsullied as water on the lotus leaf; and in the other as resembling the kingly sage Janaka amidst all his relations and friends.

Works.—His views are embodied in his work Meyññāṇa-ṇiṭakkam written in obedience to the orders of his master Rāghavānanda Paramahansa. It is an adaptation from Kṛṣṇa Miśra's Sanskrit drama—Prabodha-candrodaya cast in the form of an epic narration. Tiruvēṅkaṭa is said to have composed two works, one Tamil and the other Sanskrit. The Tamil work is known as Meyññāṇa-ṇiṭakkam. Unfortunately nothing is known

1. 'எல்லப்பனம்மையப்பன் தருதிருவேங் கடநாத னெழிற் றீராமன்
வல்லக்கொண் டையன் மாதை வேங்கடே சுரன்போல வரிசை
செய்தே

செல்வத்தம் பியருடனே கத்தாரி மகன்கருப்பன் தெருவீ திக்கே
பல்லக்குத் தான்சுமந்தா னதுமக்கோ ராயிரம்பொன் பரிசு
தானே.' (தனிப்பாடல்.)

2. 'கோபாலன் செம்பொ னடி வணங்குஞ் சென்னியான்'
(பணவிடு.)

3. 'நீதிபெறு முத்தரை நிருபம்கோ பாலனென
ஆதிமுத லொப்பமிடு மாணையான்' (பணவிடு.)

4. 'மேயபற் பலதுறை மேற்கொண் டிய்ப்பினும்
வயலில் வாழ்க்கையி லிருந்து மன்னதிற்
பாயுநன் மதுமலர்ப் பதுமப் பாசடைத்
துயதன் புனலெனத் தேயந்தூந் தேயந்திலான்'.
'மனையறம் பூண்டுகல் வாழ்வின் வைகியும்
அனையபல் கிளைஞரோ டளவ ளாவியும்
நனியுல களித்துமெய்ஞ் ஞான மெய்திய
சனகனைப் போலிருந் தருளுந் தன்மையான்'.

of his Sanskrit work. The Tamil version consists of 2012 *viruttam* stanzas and is divided into 48 chapters. It explains lucidly the doctrines of Advaita. It teaches the characteristics of such phenomena as Brahman ; Māyā ; mind ; attachment and renunciation ; delusion and selfishness; the endless combinations and complexities that are brought about by the interplay of the *guṇas* or fundamental characteristics of man; the changes wrought by passions; the value of mental and moral equilibrium in life; the impossibility of comprehending aright the Gītā and the Upaniṣads without mental stability and the resultant capacity for right reasoning; the nature of religions like the Lokāyatika—and a refutation of their doctrines; the indispensable necessity of logic to understand the truths of Advaita; the marks and attributes of systems of thought like Mīmāṃsā; the central and conclusive teachings of Vedānta etc. The way in which these things are expressed entitles the work to a high rank in Tamil Literature. It is not unusual for poets to take their ideas from other works and infuse into them new life. Tiruvēṅkaṭa did the same. From whatever view-point we may approach his work, language, rhythm, grandeur of meaning or choice of expression, we have nothing but praise for it. This work has a beautiful preface of 28 stanzas whose authorship is obscure. As is usual with the great, Tiruvēṅkaṭa was so modest as to have his work perused by the grammarian Vaidyanātha Dēcikaṛ.

Tiruvēṅkaṭa seems to have written another work known as Jñānasōpānam. This work is popular with our womanhood because it conveys Vedāntic truths in an easy and elegant style. The following is the last stanza of the work as found in the manuscript deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

வேதியன் மாதைப் பெருமாள் குமாரன்
வேந்தர் தொழும் திருவேங்கட நாதையன்
போதகச் சோபானப் பாடல் படித்தோர்
. பேரீன்பம் பெற்று வாழ்வார்.

Conclusion.—Tiruvēṅkaṭa, as is seen in the foregoing pages, was a statesman, poet, patron, and above all a true Advaitin like Janaka. He offers an interesting comparison to the famous Govinda Dikṣita the eminent scholar, poet and minister of Raghunātha Naick, of Tanjore. I cannot conclude better than by quoting these lines written by a contemporary.

தோதத் தமிழ்க்கும் வடகலக்கும்
புலவோர் தமக்குப் பொருள்விரித்துச்
சீதைக் கிறவ னெனநீதிச்
செங்கோல் செலுத்தித் திசைபுரந்து
வேதப் பனுவன் மெய்ஞ்ஞான
விளக்கா லுலகை விளக்குமெங்கள்
மாதைத் திருவேங் கடநாத
மறையோன் வாழி வாழியவே.

MANORATHA—A POET.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI M.A.,

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Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* refers in the following terms to the verse of an author, who is made out to be, on the authority of Abhinavagupta, a contemporary of Ānandavardhana. The passage runs thus :—

तथा चान्येन कृत एवात्र श्लोकः

यस्मिन्नस्ति न वस्तु किञ्चन मनःप्रह्लादि सालङ्कृति

व्युत्पन्नै रचितं च नैव वचनैर्वक्रोक्तिशून्यं च यत् ।

काव्यं तद्वनिना समन्वितमिति प्रीत्या प्रशंसञ्जडो

नो विबोऽभिदधाति किं सुमतिना पृष्टः स्वरूपं ध्वनेः ॥

Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the above passage remarks as follows :—

तथा चान्येनेति—ग्रन्थकृत्समानकालभाविनैव मनोरथनाम्ना कविना ।

Abhinavagupta clearly indicates that the poet Manoratha is a contemporary of Ānandavardhana. We know of a Manoratha in the Chronicles of Kashmir, as a contemporary of Vāmana and others. This Manoratha seems to have been the same as Kalhaṇa's Manoratha. There is no difficulty in this identification as some scholars have stated in their works. Dr. De in the first volume of his *Sanskrit Poetics* makes the following observations (pages 112-114) regarding the poet known as Manoratha, a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, the author of the *Dhvanyāloka* :—

“Jacobi maintains that this unknown Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of Manoratha who is placed by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IV 497 and 671) in the reign of Jayāpīḍa and his successor Lalitāpīḍa (i.e.,) in the first part of the 9th Century (780—813 A.D.). But there are difficulties which seriously stand in the way Abhinavagupta in his gloss remarks—

तथा चान्येनेति—ग्रन्थकृत्समानकालभाविना मनोरथनाम्ना कविना । If we suppose that by the ग्रन्थकृत् Abhinavagupta means Ānandavardhana,

then Manoratha, who is made a contemporary of the latter, lives in middle or second part of the 9th century (i. e.,) some what later than the date assigned to him by Kalhaṇa, presuming, of course, that both the Manorathas are identical persons. If, on the other hand, we suppose that ग्रन्थकृत् refers, as Jacobi conjectures, to the anonymous Dhvanikāra we are confronted with the fresh difficulty that by the term ग्रन्थकृत् Abhinavagupta invariably means Ānandavardhana (pp. 12, 37, 90 etc.). To remove this difficulty we must suppose

- (1) That Kalhaṇa is wrong as Pischel argues in assigning Manoratha to the reign of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa.
- (2) That the two Manorathas were not identical persons.
- (3) That Abhinavagupta himself has confused the Kārikākāra with the Vṛttikāra, in a manner not usual with him. As there are no definite means of deciding any one of these equally plausible propositions, the conjecture that the original Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of the Manoratha of Kalhaṇa cannot be taken to have been definitely proved.

“It seems on the other hand that the Kārikās date back to an earlier time than the first quarter of the 9th Century, in which the Dhvanikāra is placed by Jacobi as a contemporary of Manoratha. The allusion to Manoratha and the apparent discrepancy in Kalhaṇa's statement need not trouble us, nor need we challenge the otherwise trustworthy testimony of Abhinavagupta ; or it is quite reasonable to suppose that the Manoratha under discussion is perhaps a poet who was, Abhinavagupta says, contemporaneous with Ānandavardhana and therefore quite a different person from the well-known Manoratha of Kalhaṇa. This is perhaps a much simpler explanation than straining the word ग्रन्थकृत् to mean the Kārikākāra in the face of Abhinavagupta's own distinct indication to the contrary; and in this way we are not affected in the least by Kalhaṇa's Manoratha with whom we have nothing to do.”

It is clear from the passage quoted above how Prof. Jacobi, Pischel and Dr. De argue from different view-points regarding the date of Manoratha. Jacobi would make Manoratha the contemporary of the ‘anonymous Dhvanikāra’ Pischel would accuse Kalhaṇa of having recorded a wrong information by placing Manoratha in the reigns of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa.

मनोरथः शङ्खदत्तः चटकस्तन्धिमांस्तथा ।

बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥ ४९७ ॥

Dr. De would conveniently dismiss the whole thing on the assumption that the Manoratha of Kalhaṇa is altogether different from the Manoratha who, on the authority of Abhinavagupta, might have been a contemporary of Ānandavardhana.

Professor Jacobi has been labouring under the mistaken notion that Ānandavardhana is different from the author of the Dhvanikārikās. Dr. K. A. Śaṅkaran and myself have elsewhere shown definitely that Ānandavardhana is the author of the Dhvanikārikās as well as the *ṛtti* on the strength of a statement made by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhāratī, a commentary on the Nāṭya-Śāstra of Bharatamuni. When thus the apparent distinction between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra falls to the ground, the assumption of Prof. Jacobi, that Manoratha was the contemporary of the mythical Dhvanikāra, shares the same fate. Dr. De is right when he points to the difficulty in taking the word ग्रन्थकृत् to mean the anonymous Dhvanikāra.

Pischel's argument cannot be answered. Kalhaṇa is ahead of us by 6 or 7 centuries and he writes with a full and authenticated knowledge of the traditions and chronology of the people whom he was treating in his history. We are not warranted in finding fault with such early writers only because we are not able to arrive at definite results. If all possible alternatives fail, then we can, with reluctance say that he might have been wrong. In the present instance, we are confronted with two statements, (one of Abhinavagupta and the other of Kalhaṇa) which appear to be irreconcilable. Are they really so—is the question. To me it seems that the statements of Abhinavagupta and Kalhaṇa may be reconciled with one another. Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* mentions Manoratha as a poet in the reign of Jayāpīḍa which will be (776-807 A. D.) according to the calculations of Prof. Sten Konow. The same Manoratha is said to have been raised to the rank of a minister in the reign of Lalitāpīḍa (807-819 A. D.) and that he resigned his seat in the cabinet because of the misdeeds of the King Lalitāpīḍa. Kalhaṇa says.

मानी मनोरथो मन्त्री परं परिजहार तम् ।

अशक्नुवन् यमयितुं मध्यपातपराङ्मुखः ॥ ६७१ ॥

Ānandavardhana was patronised by Avantivarman who ruled between 855 and 884 A. D. The statement of Abhinavagupta that Manoratha, who flourished in the reigns of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa (776-819 A. D.), was a contemporary of Ānandavardhana who flourished in the reign of Avantivarman (855-884) jars in their ears, because they have probably assumed that Manoratha was born in 776 A. D. and died in 819 A. D. Jacobi admits that Kalhaṇa is correct and that Abhinavagupta is doubly right. Abhinavagupta says only ग्रन्थकृत् and by that he meant only the author of the Dhvanikārikās and not Ānandavardhana. Jacobi adduces this argument to prove that the author of the Dhvanikārikās flourished between 776 and 819 A. D.

Pischel accepts the statement of Abhinavagupta and discards that of Kalhaṇa.

It needs only to be pointed out that Manoratha was not born in 776 A. D. and died in 816 A. D. Jayāpīḍa's reign in which he flourished as a poet comes to a close in 807 A. D. Assuming that the king patronised Manoratha for some years before his death, he might have been about 30 years of age about 807 A. D. He ought to have entered public life and retired from it between 807 and 819, (i.e.,) before his 42nd year he should have given up politics. After that period he lived the life of a retired official probably till he was 70 or 75 years old. He might have even lived when Avantivarman came to the throne or died a few years earlier. The Dhvanyāloka seems to have been the production of the mature genius of the author. It seems to have been the last of his works, for we find the author referring to almost all his other works in the Dhvanyāloka. So Ānandavardhana should have written the Dhvanyāloka when he was at least 45 years old or even 50. Assuming that he wrote in the middle of the reign of Avantivarman who patronised him, Ānandavardhana would have been at least 30 years old when Avantivarman came to the throne. This will make Ānandavardhana a younger contemporary of Manoratha. So we need not interpret ग्रन्थकृत् to mean the Kārikākāra nor need we accuse Kalhaṇa of having given a wrong information. There is therefore no need to distinguish the Manoratha of Kalhaṇa from the Manoratha of Abhinavagupta. They might have very well been identical with each other and contemporaneous with Ānandavardhana.

PLOSIVES IN DRAVIDIAN.

BY

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Though Dravidian is, next to Indo-Aryan, the most important language-group in India possessing an independent culture¹ not much inferior to the Indo-Aryan and rightly claiming an indubitably great past history which has yet to be vastly explored, little or no attention is paid today to the study of its philology. Admirable and scholarly as the monumental work of Caldwell (published about half a century ago) may be, much of its contents needs modification and revision in the light of modern linguistic research. It is to be hoped that, on the one hand, the labours of European scholars of Dravidian, like Professors F. Otto, Schrader, and Jules Bloch, and, on the other, the new-born interest in linguistics evidenced in India by the organisation of research departments in the Universities would be productive of beneficial results in the field of Dravidian Philology.

I propose in this article to deal with the forms and variations of the important class of sounds called Plosives as they appear in Dravidian, the changes they undergo in combinations and further with the general laws underlying these changes. I shall draw my illustrations from, and confine my observations to, the four more prominent Dravidian languages (*i. e.* Tamil, Telugu, Malayālam and Kanarese).

The plosives (so called because in their articulation the exit of the current of expiration of air occurs with an explosion resulting from the removal of a temporary stoppage in one of the super-glottal passages) have been analysed and classified with remarkable nicety by recent phoneticians. There are two distinct movements involved in the articulation of plosives :² i. the formation of the stoppage and ii. the removal of the same. The

former of these entails a certain amount of muscular tension of the vocal organs, which varies with the nature of the sound. Before the science of phonetics had made the enormous progress that it has to-day, it was the practice to classify the plosives only in a broad manner according as they were *tenues* and *mediae* on the one hand, and on the other, according as they differed in the place of sound-production and in the organs coming into play. Recent progress in the science of phonetics has discovered new and more subtle distinctions based on the degree of muscular tension involved in the sound-production and the degree of vibration of the vocal chords. As these distinctions are important in the study of Dravidian plosives, we shall briefly refer to them here. Generally speaking, these factors, namely, the degree of muscular tension and the degree of vibration of the vocal chords almost always go together in inverse proportion, though exceptional cases might arise¹.

Prof. Jespersen has arranged the series² as follows :—

(1) *Strongly aspirated tenues*, where the vocal chords are widest apart, the air-stream from the lungs gathers behind the stoppage so strongly that a violent explosion is heard on the stoppage being removed. Muscular tension is at its maximum here. Vocal chords remain without vibration for a short interval after the explosion.

(2) *Weakly aspirated tenues* differ from the above only in that the vocal chords begin to vibrate for the succeeding sound much sooner than in the above variety.

(3) *Sharp tenues* where there is no interval at all after the explosion and before the vocal chords begin to vibrate for the succeeding sound. Almost a metallic clang is heard in the production of this sound.

(4) *Voiceless mediae* where the vocal chords remaining much closer than for (3) above, still do not vibrate, and further the muscular tension is much lower.

(5) *Half-voiced mediae* differ from (4) above only in that the muscular tension is a little lower still, and the vocal chords begin to vibrate slightly before the explosion.

(6) *Pure mediae* where the muscular tension is at its minimum and the vocal chords do not cease to vibrate at all.

1. See Prof : Sunīti Kumār Chatterji's recent work on "The origin and Development of the Bengālī Language" (Calcutta University) pages, 40-42.

2. See Otto Jespersen's "Elementarbuch Der Phonetik" page 90.

1. See Otto Jespersen's "Elementarbuch Der Phonetik" page 90.

2. *Ibid.* pages 85, 90.

It has been thought hitherto that Dravidian plosives belong to the two broad varieties namely *tenues* and *mediae* only ; but as a matter of fact examples of all the above mentioned six varieties occur in Dravidian.

Class 1 is represented in the doubled or long plosives occurring in the roots on words *e. g.*,

Tamil: poṭṭu (mark) ; pattu (ten); coppu (small box) ;
Telugu : prakka (near) ; nippu (fire) ; natti (stammer) ;
Malayāḷam : viṭṭa (having left) ; cakka (jack-fruit) ;
 tatta (parrot).

Class 2 is found in the sounds of "doubled" or long plosives occurring initially in the second component of *Samāsas* in *Tamil* and *Malayāḷam*, *e. g.*,

Tamil : Kāṭṭuppuli (forest tiger) ; viṭṭuttandai (oldman of the house).

Malayāḷam : Ōṭippōi (ran away) mēśakkāl (leg of table)

Class 3 is heard in initial plosives in all the Dravidian dialects and in intervocal plosives in *Malayāḷam* and *Telugu*. The metallic clang, characteristic of the French sounds, is absent in the Dravidian, however.

Initial.

Tamil : kāppel (ship)

Tel : kāni (but).

Mal : kaṭel (sea).

Can : tumbitu (filled).

Intervocal

Tel : paluku (word).

Mal : cāṭi (jumped).

Class 4 *i. e.*, the voiceless *mediae* are very common intervocally in *Malayāḷam* colloquial. Indeed careful *malayāḷam* speakers give this value to all intervocal plosives and often to nasal plosive combinations also *e. g.*, *Mal.* kuḍil (hut) ; vaṇḍi (Cart) ; kuṇḍa (pit) ; paṇḍe (ball) ; paṇḍa (ago) etc.

Class 5 is a variety of sound often heard in *Malayāḷam* nasal plosive combinations, *e. g.*, ceṇḍa (drum) ; eṇḡil (if) etc.

Class 6 is the value given to all *Tamil* intervocal plosives and to all *Tamil* plosives in combination with nasals (both being represented in spelling by the Symbols for surds). Further, initial *Telugu* surds assume this value when they are immediately preceded by words with final vowels of the *Druta* class.

PLOSIVES IN DRAVIDIAN

A broad classification of the Dravidian plosives, according to the place of sound production and to the vocal organs coming into play would stand thus :—

Lip with Teeth	Teeth with blade of Tongue	Uppergums with tip of Tongue	Palate		
			Front	Middle	Back.
p, b	t, d	t, d.	k, j, c	ṭ, ḍ	k, g

I shall briefly comment on the characteristics of these Dravidian sounds :

(1) [t] [d] : Alveolar sounds with tip of tongue touching the upper gums. These are found in *Tamil* and *Malayāḷam* only and even here only doubled or in combination. *Tamil* A + R gives rise to ṭṭP or ṭṭr as in the causative of māRu—māṭṭRu

(2) [t] [d] have much the same value ordinarily in Dravidian as in Sanskrit. Intervocally they tend, often in rapid speaking, to assume the values of fricatives, *e. g.*, *Mal.* vāṭil is pronounced often vāthil. In Sanskrit words like *ātman*, *paṭmanābhan* [t] is adopted with the value of [1] in *Malayāḷam*, as in *ālmāva*, *paḷpaṇābhan*.

This has been ascribed to the influence of the Vedic pronunciation of final Indo-Aryan [t] as [1], which was popularised in *Malayāḷam*-speaking areas by the Nambūdiris. See *poste*.

(3) [ṭ] and [ḍ] : These cerebral plosives, along with other linguals are very characteristic of Dravidian. It has been postulated by Grierson and StenKonow that the Indo-Aryan borrowed these sounds from Dravidian. In native *Tamil* and *Malayāḷam* words these sounds never occur initially, while in *Telugu* and *Canarese* by a process of regressive assimilation, initial surds have assumed the values of sonants. *e. g.*,

<i>Telugu</i> —	<i>Tamil</i> .
(hump) gu:nu—	ku:nu
(bunch) gola	Koḷai.

(4) [k] and [g] : These are very unstable sounds except initially or when doubled, in all the four Dravidian languages. Intervocally they tend to become fricatives in *Malayāḷam* and *Tamil*. Their instability is evident in changes like the following illustrated from *Malayāḷam*, *e. g.*, makən > maxən > mahən > Maəən > mən.

(5) [p] and [b] are not unstable usually, but in the colloquial have turned into [m] and [v] occasionally as in Tamil *pāpu* appearing in Canarese as *pāvu*, and in the Malayāḷam alternative forms *Kāṇbān*, *Kāṇmān* and *Kāṇuvān*.

(6) [kj] and [gj] are palatal varieties of [k] and [g] being the values assumed by the latter in the proximity of palatal vowels *e. g.*, Tamil *vāḷakkāji* (plantain) ; *vaigie* (River Vaigai).

(7) [ch] and [j] : These are not plosives as their classification in native grammars would lead us to think but these are really affricates. The theory of the affricates has only been recently propounded.

We shall next consider a peculiar law regarding plosives described by Caldwell as specially Dravidian and prominently seen in Tamil. This law styled by Caldwell as "The convertibility of surds and sonants" is stated by him thus on page 138 of his work :—*k, t, ṭ, p*, the first unaspirated consonants of the 1st, 3rd, 4th and 5th Vargas are always pronounced as surds (*i. e.*, as *k, t, ṭ, p*.) at the beginnings of words and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (*i. e.*, as *g, d, ḍ, b*) when single in the middle of words... ..and so imperative is this law, and so strictly it is adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from surds to sonants or *vice versa* according to their position. *e. g.*, *danta*, Sans. *a tooth* becomes in Tamil "*tandam*". Caldwell further says that "there are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all Dravidian dialects ; but it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayāḷam".

The law is certainly true of Tamil in all its aspects as shown by the following instances :—*Kūḍu* (cage) ; *viḍu* (house) *śādām* (cooked rice) ; *gōbālān* (*Gopāl*) , *śaṅgarān* (*Śaṅkara*) etc.

We have however to examine if the law is in any way so characteristic of all the other Dravidian dialects as to be described as distinctively Dravidian, as Caldwell seems to suggest.

It is true that in the representation of the inter-vocal plosives of many words in Telugu and Canarese which have corresponding forms in Tamil, the spelling shows the sonant variety as for instance in Telugu *idi* (this), *pāḍu* (ruin), *poga* (smoke) corresponding to similar Tamil forms with surd symbols to represent

sonants, but at the same time there are numerous words in Telugu and Canarese where the inter-vocal surds, as shown by the pronunciation and by the phonetic spelling, retain their purity. Indeed the number of such native words containing pure inter-vocal surds is so large in these languages as to exclude altogether the possibility of any general law of convertibility as in Tamil.

Telugu :—*kōṭa* (fortress) ; *pāṭu* (song) etc.

Canarese ;—*kūtu kolḷiri* (sit down) ; *tilitu* etc.

With regard to those forms in Telugu and Canarese which show by their spelling and pronunciation the sonant variety as distinct from the corresponding Tamil forms which give the surd symbols but the sonant sounds, the explanation is easy. There is a law applicable (in varying degree) to all groups of languages that when a surd occurs inter-vocally the sonority of the vowels is partially or wholly shared by the surd itself which consequently tends to become sonant. The history of many languages illustrates this, *e. g.*, in many old English words and also in the development of the Romance languages from late Latin.

We see therefore that the help of a distinctive Dravidian law need not be invoked for explaining the change of surds into sonants in Telugu and Canarese. That such a Dravidian law does not exist is further shown by the presence in Telugu and Canarese of numerous words with pure inter-vocal surds.

Then we come to Malayāḷam. Gundert, Kittel and Caldwell have all maintained the existence of the law of convertibility in Malayāḷam exactly as in Tamil.

Two circumstances seem to have coloured their judgment in this matter :—(i) the close relationship that exists between Tamil and Malayāḷam has led them to ignore the actual pronunciation of Malayāḷam at the present day as distinct from that of Tamil. (ii) Dr. Gundert who was undoubtedly a great Malayāḷam scholar made his observations of Malayāḷam sounds from amongst the natives of North Malabar who do not talk pure Malayāḷam.

Let us consider the actual facts regarding the enunciation of Malayāḷam inter-vocal plosives in the Cochin State, the central portion of the Malayāḷam-speaking area where the pronunciation has been admittedly recognised as the purest *i. e.*, free from the Canarese influence of the North and the Tamil influence of the South : (i) in the Malayāḷam literary dialect the inter-vocal surds

are pronounced with *entire* purity. When books are read or discourses delivered, the surds have the value either of class II or of class III described above. (ii) In the colloquial among the cultured classes the intervocal surds do not become *pure mediae* but assume the values of *voiceless mediae i. e.*, class IV described above. (iii) In the colloquial of the lowest classes where purity of pronunciation is hardly cared for and where elisions, contraction and holophrastic changes are extremely common, not only intervocal surds but initial surds also become sonants.

From the above, it is clear that the "language-consciousness" of the Malayāḷam-speaking native does not admit of any such law of convertibility as Tamil. Spelling only confirms this view. Unlike the Tamil alphabet, and like the Telugu and Canarese alphabets, the Malayāḷam alphabet has symbols for both surds and sonants, and inter-vocal surds are all represented by the symbols for surds only. If the values of the inter-vocal plosives had been only sonant at the time when the Sanskrit alphabet was taken over by Malayāḷam, it is at least strange why the Malayāḷis who are noted for their linguistic precision and exactness, did not represent the sonant sounds with sonant symbols. The only explanation possible is that the surds had not the value of sonants at the time of the adoption of the Sanskrit alphabet *i. e.*, some time about or before 1000 A. D.

Historical grounds also strongly support such a view. In a paper contributed by Prof. Bloch to the "Indian Antiquary"¹, he has demonstrated, on the strength of a passage from the writings of an 11th century Sanskrit author Kumārila Bhaṭṭa who quotes a number of presumably Tamil words with pure inter-vocal surds in them, that the sonantisation of inter-vocal surds in modern Tamil could have arisen only about 1200 A. D. Here is a fact, then, which definitely stands against the theory that seeks to identify Mal. & Tamil in reference to this law of convertibility, for we know beyond a doubt that Malayāḷam branched off from the parent Tamil Language about 1000 A. D.²

One other factor should also have contributed greatly to preserving the pure value of surds in Malayāḷam. The influence of Sanskrit language and Literature on Malayāḷam has been from the earliest times, more powerful than on any other Dravidian lan-

guage. Though no definite evidence exists as to when this influence began to be felt in Malabar, it is clear that it should have been operating from a period considerably anterior to the time of Sanskrit influence in other parts of the Dravidian speaking areas. This is evident from the fact that the Nambūdiri Brahmins who carried Sanskrit knowledge into Malabar preserved customs (known as anācārams) which are peculiar to themselves and which definitely mark them off from the Brahmins of other parts of South India. Further, the peculiar Vedic values which these Nambūdiris give to Sanskrit sounds [ṭ] and [ṭ̣] as [l] and [ḷ] respectively lead one to suspect that the Nambūdiri advent to Malabar may date back to a very early period indeed, possibly to the Vedic era itself. Any way the cumulative value of these facts points to the existence of a very early Sanskrit influence in Malabar. Such a long standing and predominant influence exerted by Sanskrit over Malayāḷam should certainly have counteracted any little tendency that might have existed in Malayāḷam to convert intervocal surds into sonants. And hence we see that even the few changes that have occurred in Telugu and Canarese (in obedience, be it noted, not to any distinctive law but to the universal linguistic principle of the change of surds into sonants when surrounded by sonorous sounds like vowels) are absent completely in the Malayāḷam literary dialect.

We have therefore to conclude that the law of convertibility stated by Caldwell is (i) not distinctively Dravidian, in view especially of the presence of pure inter-vocal surds in Telugu, Canarese and Malayāḷam, and (2) purely applicable to modern Tamil only and not to Malayāḷam which branched off from ancient Tamil about 1000 A. D.

I shall end this article with a few remarks about the values of Dravidian conjunct consonants formed of nasals and plosives. These combinations *i. e.*, nasals plus plosives form a characteristic feature of the Dravidian system of sounds, though all other consonant combinations are carefully avoided by native Dravidian. The conjunct nasal *plus* plosive combinations that occur in Dravidian ṇch, ṇj, ṇk and ṇg, ṇt and ṇd, ṇṭ and ṇḍ, ṇp and ṇb.

In Tamil though the spellings as usual show the surds, the values of the plosives are entirely sonants. In Telugu and Canarese numerous combinations of nasals and surds with pure

1. Vol. XLVIII 1919 pages 191-195.

2. See Rāja Rāja Varma's "KĀRAḶA PĀṆINĪYAM."

surd values are found, e. g., Tel. inṭi (in the house); eṇṭu (eight); cheṇṭra (nearness); Can. uṇṭu (exists); baṇṭu (Came) etc.

In Malayāḷam there is a conflict of tendencies : on the one hand, the frequency and predominance, in Malayāḷam, of nasals tend to sonantise the surds occurring in nasal combinations, and on the other the influence of Sanskrit pulls in the reverse way and works towards the retention of the purity of the surds for all surds in combination with nasals. So much so that both pronunciations are heard even amongst the cultured classes of people. In careful and deliberate utterance they either preserve the purity of surds entirely or give them the value of voiceless mediae, while in the colloquial half-sonant or completely sonant values are given e. g.,

<i>Malayāḷam Conjunct (nasal and plosive)</i> <i>sounds when Carefully uttered</i>	<i>Same in rapid.</i> <i>Colloquial :</i>
eṇṭā (what)	eṇḍā or eṇḍā
paṅkā (share)	paṅgā or paṅgā
chaṇṭa (market)	chaṇḍa or chaṇḍa
pāmpa (snake)	pāmba or pāmba

DATE OF PERIYĀLVĀR

By

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I have gone through the article on "The Contemporaries of Periyālvār" by M. R. Ry. K. G. Śaṅkar Avl., B.A., B.L., which appeared in Volume I Part IV of the Journal of Oriental Research wherein he has criticised my article on 'The Life of Śrī Āṇḍāl' which appeared in Volume I Part II of the same Journal. The age of Ālvārs is freely discussed in my Tamil work 'ஆழ்வார்கள் காலநிலை' which is issued in parts in *Tamilar-nēśan*, Madras, of which I am the Honorary Editor. Since I wanted to invite criticisms on the Life of Śrī Āṇḍāl in particular, I wrote the article on the same and I heartily thank Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar, for his criticisms.

On careful scrutiny, the only point of difference between us is that he ascribes Śrī Āṇḍāl to 9th century while I place her in the 8th century. His decision is based only on the mention of the name Śrīmāra Śrīvallabhaṇ as a Pāṇḍya king who ruled before 862 A. D. The same point engaged my attention many a time but I had to give it up for many strong reasons. The 9th century date as given by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar does not suit us for the following (1) astronomical, (2) historical and (3) traditional reasons.

• ASTRONOMICAL.—*Mārkaḷi Nōṇṇu* as mentioned by Śrī Āṇḍāl in Her *Tiruppāvai* must have taken place on the full-moon day in the month of *Mārkaḷi* and the same is mentioned as *Tainīrāṭal* in Śaṅgam works ; for the full-moon day following the new-moon day in the month of *Mārkaḷi* is taken to be the full-moon day in the lunar month of *Tai*.¹ Hence, it must fall only in the latter half of the same month (*Mārkaḷi*). The position of the planets at the time when Śrī Āṇḍāl celebrated the same festival is mentioned by

1. Vide my article "Tai-nīrāṭal or Mārkaḷi-nōṇṇu" in the *Sen-Tamil* (Vol. XX).

her and the date when such could have occurred is clearly 731, the reasons for which I have already stated in my previous article. I am glad to mention that Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar has admitted that 731 is one of the dates when such a thing could have occurred. But, he opines that 850 is another date for the same and it suits better than 731, since 850 happens to be during the reign of Śrīmāra—Śrī Vallabhaṇ. On this, I requested Mr. S. Sōmasundara Dēśīkar of the Tamil Lexicon Office to verify when the full-moon day as mentioned by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar, in the year 850 falls and he writes to me that it does not fall in the month of Mārkaḷi, but on the 30th of Kārttikai. This cannot be the full-moon day in the lunar month of *Tai*, when alone it could have been celebrated. Of the six possible dates mentioned by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar, he himself has admitted that the other four are unsuited. Since 850 too does not suit us now, 731 is the only possible date.

HISTORICAL.—The latter half of the 8th century which I have ascribed to Śrī Āṇḍāl is the period when both the northern and southern part of Tamiḷakam was in the hands of staunch Vaiṣṇavite Kings. The most powerful of them were Pallava Maḷlaṇ of the Pallava dynasty and Parāntaka Neḍuñcaḍaiyaṇ of the Pāṇḍyaṇ dynasty. That Parāntakaṇ had the name of Śrī Vallabhaṇ also has been clearly proved on stronger grounds than those of mine by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar himself. Hence, this Śrī Vallabhaṇ must be the same as Śrī Vallabhaṇ mentioned in Guruparamparai as a disciple of Periyālvār. So is it not better to take this Śrī Vallabhaṇ of the 8th century who is proved to have been a Vaiṣṇavite in Madras Museum Plates than Śrī Vallabhaṇ of the 9th century mentioned by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar of whom it is not known from inscriptions whether he was a Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite?

The statement “குருசரிதங் கொண்டாடி” in the same plates has been interpreted by Mr. Veṅkayya as ‘having followed the footsteps of his ancestor’. The same is referred to by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar : this would have been very appropriate if *anucrarittu* were in the place of *koṇḍāṭi*. ‘கொண்டாடி’ evidently means ‘having celebrated or adored’ and not ‘having followed’. Hence if we take “குருசரிதங் கொண்டாடி” to mean ‘having adored the deeds of his preceptor’, it can well fit in since it is mentioned in *Manudharma-sāstra* as one of the duties of kings. Here, we may note with satisfaction the parallel statement in a *taniyan* of Periyālvār as “பாண்டியன் கொண்டாடப்பட்டநீரான் வந்தானென்று”.

Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says that, since Śrīvallabhaṇ or Parāntakaṇ mentioned by me came to the throne in 770 A. D. and Neḍumāraṇ, his father who lived at the time of Śrī Āṇḍāl was a Śaivite, 731 is not a suitable date. He took him to be a Śaivite only on the strength of the statement found in Vēlvikuḍi grant “பாண்டிக்கு கொடுமுடி சொன்னெய்திப் பசுபதியதுபாதம் பணிந்தேத்தியும்”. It seems to me that this decision is based on his present-day experience, that a Śaivite does not worship Viṣṇu nor a Vaiṣṇavite Śiva. But, do we not see even now that among Smārtas, there are some who are staunch devotees of either Śiva or Viṣṇu but at the same time pay their obeisance to both whenever there is any need for it. I hope the same was the case then with all people in general and with kings in particular. Otherwise, could it have been possible for Neḍumāraṇ to have under him Māraṅkāri a staunch Vaiṣṇavite as his minister and allow his own son to become staunch Vaiṣṇavite also? Hence, we cannot safely conclude only on the strength of the statement quoted above that he was a Śaivite. Besides the fact that kings in those days viewed with favour co-religionists and erected temples for their duties is evident from the Śaivite kings Kō-c-ceṅkaṇāṇ and Mahēndravarmaṇ erecting temples to Viṣṇu and worshipping Him; and the Vaiṣṇavite kings Dantivarmaṇ and Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rājā of later date erecting temples to Śiva and worshipping Him.

Hence, it seems to me that Neḍumāraṇ was a Vaiṣṇavite and Periyālvār was taken as a preceptor both by him (Neḍumāraṇ) and his son (Śrī-Vallabhaṇ Parāntakaṇ) and Śrī Āṇḍāl lived at the time of the former. The son was called Māraṇ Ceḍaiyaṇ or Māraṇ Vallabhaṇ, which meant Vallabhaṇ the son of Māraṇ but, by some confusion latter day scholars took the whole to be his name without reference to that of his father.

Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says that Parāntakaṇ ought to have become a Vaiṣṇavite in his 17th year since an invocation to Śiva alone is found in an inscription written in his 3rd year. If that be the case, there should have been no invocation to Śiva in inscriptions after his 17th year. But, there is one in the Madras Museum Plates. Similarly, there are invocations to Śiva in the inscriptions of Pallava-maḷlaṇ though he was a Vaiṣṇavite. Hence, it is not safe to assume that a Vaiṣṇavite king would never invoke Śiva in his inscriptions. But, it seems to me that they used to invoke any one, two or all the *trimūrtis* and it depended, to a certain extent, on the author of the *prastāsis*. Though Neḍumāraṇ might have

been a Śaiva at the beginning and become a Vaiṣṇavite later, yet his son, Parāntakan should have been a Vaiṣṇava from his birth since he allowed his father's minister Maṇḍikāri to be his minister also and then his brother, both of whom were staunch Vaiṣṇavites.

From the arguments cited above with the help of epigraphical records, I think it is safer to ascribe 8th century to Śrī Āṇḍāl, when there were Vaiṣṇavite kings than the 9th century, as done by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar when there was a king Śrī Vallabhan by name of whom whether he was a Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite, nothing is definitely known.

TRADITIONAL.—Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says that Nāthamunikaḷ the first Vaiṣṇava Ācārya received Tiruvāymoli from Nammālvār himself. If so, Periyālvār, the contemporary of Nammālvār and his daughter Śrī Āṇḍāl ought to have lived at his time. So, he (Nāthamunikaḷ) ought to have known them and also the history of Āṇḍāl and her merging into Raṅganātha. If so, he would surely have given expression to it with great wonder as a staunch devotee of Śrī Raṅganātha. Besides he would have gone to Śrīvilliputtūr, the native place of Periyālvār, on his way to Ālvār-Tirunagari and given us all details about him. *Dīvyasūtricaritam* which was written at the time of Śrī Rāmānuja the contemporary of Nāthamunikaḷ's grandson Āḷavantār and which almost gives all the details about Nāthamunikaḷ would never have failed to make mention of the wonderful life of Periyālvār and his daughter if they had lived at his time. But it definitely says that a long time elapsed between Ālvārs and Nāthamunikaḷ.

It is said that Nāthamunikaḷ heard a fragment of Tiruvāymoli for a Vaiṣṇava way-farer who told him that the Ālvār's works were not in vogue and so they could not be got anywhere except perhaps at Ālvār Tirunagari. Had he lived at the time of the Ālvārs, this would never have been the case. Hence some time must have elapsed between Ālvārs and Nāthamunikaḷ.

But, Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar himself admits that Nāthamunikaḷ was expounding Tiruvāymoli before 883 A. D., the 3rd year of the Cōḷa King Āditya I. Guruparamparai says that he was born in 823 A. D. and went to Ālvār Tirunagari with his elderly son to receive the Tiruvāymoli. He might have been about fifty at the time when he went there and might have been expounding Tiruvāymoli for ten years from 873 to 883. Hence, what is found in Guruparamparai about his birth is fairly correct.

If Periyālvār lived in the middle of the 9th century as Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says, he should have been a contemporary of Nāthamunikaḷ. The facts stated above may clearly show that it could not have been the case.

Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says that Ālvārs followed the path of devotion, Ācāryas the path of knowledge and so, they might have lived at the same time, as Kūrattālvār lived at the time of Śrī Rāmānuja. This is quite against the principles of Vaiṣṇavism. *Prapatti*, the most important feature of Vaiṣṇavism was first taught by the Ālvārs and expounded by the Ācāryas. It is quite strange to hear that there was difference in their methods of devotion. Kūrattālvār is not at all recognised as an Ālvār but is recognised as an Ācārya though he has the name of Ālvār.

Hence, tradition also is totally against the views of Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar.

I have thus given here the salient points to meet the arguments of Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar. I request that other points may be cleared from my Tamil work *Ālvārkaḷ-Kāla-nilai*, where I have dealt with everything in detail.

LITERARY NOTES.

I.

MAHODADHI AND MAHĀVRATA TWO OLD MĪMĀṆSAKAS.

By

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The following verse occurring in the second act of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya* is worthy of consideration from a historical point of view.

नैवाश्रावि गुरोर्मतं न विदितं कौमारिणं दर्शनं
तत्त्वज्ञानमहो न शारिकगिरां वाचस्पतेः का कथा ।
सूक्तं नापि महोदधेरधिगतं माहाव्रती नेक्षिता
सूक्ष्मा वस्तुविचारणा नृपशुभिः स्वस्थैः कथं स्थीयते ॥

Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata are mentioned in this verse along with such illustrious names as Prabhākara, Kumārila, Śālikanātha, and Vācaspati Miśra.

The commentator on the *Prabodhacandrodaya*, the author of the *Candrikā*, gives us some more information regarding these two writers (i.e.) Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata.

महोदधिर्नाम शारिकनामा [शालिकनाथ] सहब्रह्मचारी, गुरुमते
निबन्धनकर्ता भवनाथवत् ।

महाव्रतो नाम भट्टमतानुवर्ती महोदधिप्रतिस्पर्धी इदानीमाचार्यमते भवदेवमतस्य, गुरुमते भवनाथमतस्यैव प्राचुर्यमिति ग्रन्थकारैरनुलिखितमपि मतद्वयमस्माभिरुक्तम् ॥

Prabodhacandrodaya, Nirṇayasāgara Edition, p. 53.

These extracts give interesting information regarding these two authors. Mahodadhi is a follower and pupil of Prabhākara and he studied along with Śālikanātha. Mahāvrata is his contemporary and a follower of Kumārila and probably a pupil of

MAHODADHI AND MAHĀVRATA

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Kumārila Bhaṭṭa himself. Now Kṛṣṇamiśra belongs to the early part of the 11th century and consequently the tradition is in all probability genuine. Kṛṣṇamiśra might have had access to the works of Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata.

Though the commentator declares that the opinions of these two writers have not been cited anywhere, we come across a reference in Bhavanātha's *Nayaviveka* to both of them.

MAHODADHI.

महोदध्युक्तं सर्वं वृत्तौ निरस्तम् । तत्र किञ्चिद्व्यज्यते । तेनोक्तं—
साहचर्यात् स्मृत्यन्वित एवेति किल ज्ञातोखा स्मृता श्रुतमोदनं नाकाङ्क्षेदिति तद-
न्वयधीर्न स्यात् । किञ्चोखापदादुखार्थसम्बन्धिनोऽपि स्मृतेः तदन्विताभिधानं
न स्यात् ॥

Nayaviveka. Tarkapāda. P. 108. G. O. Mss. Library Ms.
Ravideva in commenting upon the above passage remarks:—

महोदधिग्रन्थोक्तमन्विताभिधानदूषणं प्रकरण एव निवारितमिति न
यत्नान्तरनिवर्त्यम् । तदभिप्रायविवरणार्थं किञ्चिदुच्यते इत्याह—महोदध्युक्त-
मिति ॥ स्मृतार्थप्रतियोगिकोऽन्वयः पदवाच्य इत्युपगम उखायामोदनं पञ्चतीत्यत्र
श्रुतान्वयो न स्यात् । पदसम्बन्धिनोऽन्वितस्यैव पदस्मार्थत्वात्, तस्य च निराका-
ङ्क्षत्वात्, सति चान्वये स्वसम्बन्धिनोऽर्थान्तरस्यापि स्मृत्यविशेषात् तदन्वयोऽपि
स्यात् स्वार्थेनैव पदस्याविनाभावो न तदन्वयस्यार्थान्तरेणेति स्मृत्यसम्भवो न
शङ्क्यः etc.

MAHAVRATA.

महाव्रतेनाप्रादन्यन्मधुरा शर्करेत्युदाहृत्य तिक्ता शर्करेत्यधिकमुक्तम्;
[तन्न,] जानत एव मधुरां पित्तदुष्टजिह्वस्य तिक्तैत्यन्वयधीः अनुमात्मिका बाधिते
न स्यात् । सन्निधिरस्तु इन्द्रियसमशीलो बाधितेऽपि भ्रमयति इति युक्तमिति ।

Nayaviveka. Tarkapāda. P. 110. G. O. Mss. Library Ms.
Ravideva in commenting upon the above passage says :—

उदाहरणान्तरेऽर्थस्यैवासन्दिग्धमन्वयबोधकत्वं दृष्टमिति परोक्तमनुवदति
महाव्रतेनाप्रादन्यदिति । शर्कराया मधुरस्वभावत्वं जानतोऽपि पित्तदोषात् तिक्ता-
शर्करेति धीर्भवति । सानुमानार्हेत्यर्थहेतुकैवेति दूषयति—तन्न, जानत एवेति ॥

Vivekatattavam, p. 547, Vol. 1. Ms. of the Adyar Library. The above two extracts clearly support the statements of the author of the Candrikā.

Mahodadhi the pupil of Prabhākara and class-mate of Śālikanātha should belong to the 7th century A. D.

Mahāvrata, his intellectual opponent and follower of Kumārila, also belongs to the same period.

श्रीः

कालिदासीयं दर्शनम्

II

BY

VEDANTALANKARA

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स ईश्वरः सृष्टुं जगत् तत्राखिलं पदार्थजातमनुप्रविवेश । प्रविष्टस्य च, यस्तावदेको मणौ सूत्रगतिन्यायेन सर्वानुस्यूतोऽन्तर्यामिभावः, तत्स्वरूपान्वाख्याने दृढतरो महाकवेरादरबन्धस्समदर्शि नैकश्लोकोदाहरणेन पुरस्तात् । इदानीं तस्यैवान्यः प्रतिक्षेपं परिसमाप्तो जीवभावः कविभावगत्यनुगमनेन प्रकाश्यते । स्थितमेतदतीते प्रकरणे यथा—परस्तावदीश्वरोऽविप्लुतस्वमहिमा त्रिष्वपि कालेषु ; गुणसंसर्गकृतस्तस्य समस्तसंसारसंव्यवहार इति । तत्र—

रसान्तराण्येकरसं यथा दिव्यं पयोऽश्नुते ।

देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रियः ॥ र. १०. १७. ।

इति कविवचनमुदाहृतम् । भगवद्गीतास्वपि स्मर्यते—

पुरुषः प्रकृतिस्थो हि भुङ्क्ते प्रकृतिजान् गुणान् ।

कारणं गुणसङ्गोऽस्य सदसद्योनिजन्मसु ॥ गी. १३. २२. ।

अथ के ते गुणाः ? कथं वा पुरुषं निबध्नन्तीति यथाकविसम्मतमुपारिष्ठात्प्रपञ्चयिष्यामः । शरीरभेदेषु व्यवस्थितस्स च जीवो यैः किलोपाधिभिः प्रतिबद्धोऽविद्वान् संसरति, यैर्विसृष्टबन्धो मुक्त इत्युच्यते, तान् प्राणवाक्चक्षुःश्रोत्रमनआदीन् परिगणयति श्रुतिः “प्राणज्ञेव प्राणो नाम भवति, वदन् वाक्, पश्यंश्चक्षुः, शृण्वन् श्रोत्रं, मन्वानो मनः” इति । तदिह जीवस्वरूपं व्याचिह्न्यासता प्रथमं यथोदितस्योपाधिमात्रस्य स्वरूपं विवेचनीयम् । न खलु

तत्तदुपाधिपरिहाणादन्यत् प्रत्यगात्मनस्तत्त्वनिष्कर्षणं नाम । अविषयो हि स स्वयंज्योतिस्स्वभावत्वात् । तत्रापि ब्रह्मात्मानं प्राणमुदाहृत्य तत्स्वरूपपरीक्षणं विधीयते, येनाविलः कार्यकरणसङ्घातः परीक्षितो भवति स्थालीव पुलाकपरीक्षणेन ।

तथा ह्यधिदेवं यो दिवस्पतिरिन्द्रः, योऽग्निर्देवानामन्नादः, यस्सर्वलोकस्य चक्षुरादित्यः, ये चान्ये दिक्प्रभृतयो देवाः, तेषामेता इव शरीरभेदेष्वध्यात्मं सम्मिताः प्राणश्चक्षुर्वीर्यादिनामभिराख्यायन्ते “इन्द्रो मे बले श्रितः,” “अग्निर्मे वाचि श्रितः,” “सूर्यो मे चक्षुषि श्रितः,” “दिशो मे श्रोत्रे श्रिताः,” “चन्द्रमा मे मनसि श्रितः” इति । करणानामिदं तत्त्वं दुरधिगममप्यपरोक्षमिव भावङ्गमं सुगमेन पथा कविरस्मान् लम्बयति ।

पुरा किल देवासुरसङ्ग्रामे क्षत्रप्रवरो दुष्यन्तः कालनेमिप्रमुखं दानवगणं निर्जित्य महेन्द्रस्य बहूपचक्रे । तमिन्द्रसारथिर्मातलिर्नृकेसरिणो भगवतस्साम्यसंस्तवेन तुष्टाव । दुष्यन्तः पुनरुदात्तालङ्कारेणानुत्सेकेन भूषितः प्राह—

सिध्यन्ति कर्मसु महत्स्वपि यन्नियोज्याः

सम्भावनागुणमवेहि तमीश्वराणाम् । शा. ७. ४. ।

अत्रात्मनो यद्वलकर्म, इन्द्रस्यानुग्रहः तस्य हेतुरित्यस्य प्रकृतार्थस्य स्वामि-गौरवनिमित्ता हि लोके भृत्यानां समृद्धिरित्यप्रस्तुतवृत्तान्तेन प्रशंसा पूर्वार्धेन कृता । पुनस्साधारणादर्थान् सहृदयानां मनो व्यावर्त्य सूक्ष्मार्थनिनीषया दृष्टान्त-विशेषं गृह्णाति—

किं वाभविष्यदरुणस्तमसां त्रिभेत्ता

तं चेत्सहस्रकिरणो धुरि नाकारिष्यत् ॥ शा. ७. ४. ।

भास्वता रथिनाधिष्ठितस्तच्छायासङ्क्रमादरुणस्तूतो यथा प्रभवति तमोभेदनस्य ; एवं ब्रह्मात्मनेन्द्रेणाधिष्ठिताश्शरीरिणः तद्वलव्यतिकरेण महतो बलकर्मणः प्रभवन्तीत्यर्थः । अनेन दृष्टान्तविशेषग्रहणेन, भृत्येषु स्वामिनामिव, बलवत्सु पुरुषेषु मघोनो न ब्रह्मान्वन्धमात्रं सम्भावनागुणः । कस्तर्हि ? अरुण इव सूर्यस्याधिष्ठानलक्षणः । स एव चेह प्रस्तुत इति ध्वन्यते ।

अपि च, महेन्द्रसारथे, हन्त ! अस्मादृशैर्दुर्लभं भवतो भागधेयम् ! यदरुण इव सहस्रकिरणेन, सारथ्यप्रसङ्गान्नित्यमसि सहस्राक्षेणाधिष्ठित इति दुष्यन्तकृतो मातलिं प्रति स्तुतिविनिमयो ध्वन्यते—

स्यान्मतम्—किं वाभविष्यदिति वचनेन सूर्यसारथेस्तमोनिरसनासामर्थ्यं भाति । तेन द्वारेण बोद्धव्यवैशिष्ट्यादिन्द्रसारथेरप्यपकर्ष एव प्रतिभायादिति । नैतद्युक्तम् । न खल्वरुणोऽत्यन्तमेव तमोविनाशं न करोति; किन्तु स कुर्वणोऽधिष्ठानस्यादित्यस्य सन्निधानेन करोतीति विशेषोऽत्राभिधीयते । तस्माद्योऽधितिष्ठति सूर्यः, यं चाधितिष्ठत्यरुणं, उभयोरपि तयोः स्तुतिवर्णनमेतदिति मन्तव्यम् । अत एव यत्र द्वयोरपि स्तुतिप्रकर्ष आविश्रिकीर्षितः, यथा महाराजस्य रघोः प्रतिपन्नयौवराज्यस्याजस्य च, तत्रापिदमेव कविर्निर्दर्शयति—

यावत्प्रतापनिधिराक्रमते न भानुरहाय तावदरुणेन तमो निरस्तम् ।

आयोधनाप्रसरतां त्वयि वीर याते किं वा रिपूंस्तव गुरुः स्वयमुच्छिनत्ति ॥

र. ५. ७१. ।

कुमारस्याजस्य निद्राप्रबोधनाय वन्दिपुत्राणामयं स्तुतिविधिः । सङ्कटं ह्येतद्वर्तते स्तुतिपाठकानां, यद्युवराजमधिकृत्य स्तोतव्यम् । यदि राज्यसङ्गतेषु व्यवहारेषु तस्यातितरां प्रागल्भ्यमुपवर्णयत, तत्कदाचिद्वक्रगत्या राज्ञोऽपकर्षं सूचयेत् । राज्ञ एव वा महीकरणे, स्तुतये प्रकृतस्य नियतस्स एवापतेदपकर्षः कुमारस्य । तदस्मिन् क्लिष्टे संविधाने स्तोतृभ्यः कमपि पन्थानमुपदिशति कविः, येन पितापुत्रयोर्नान्योन्यस्मादुत्कर्षः कृतो भवति ; न वा भवत्यत्यन्तमकृत एव । इदं तत्, लोकन्यायाभिज्ञा महाकवय इति यदुच्यते ।

यदपि कैश्चिदुच्यते—परिणतवयसो रघोस्संसारधर्मव्याविवृत्ता, उदयौन्मुख्यं च कुमारस्य पथेऽस्मिन् प्रतीयते । श्रीमन्मल्लिनाथादीनां व्याख्यानपदान्यप्यस्मिन्नेवार्थे समनुगतानीति । तदप्यहद्वयम् । न खलु कविचसां ध्वनिमार्गो व्याख्यानपदानुगमेन परिच्छिद्येत । यथाहुः—व्याख्यातारः खल्वेवं मन्यन्ते न प्रतिपत्तार इति । तस्मात् ‘यावत्प्रतापनिधिराक्रमते न भानुः’ इत्यस्य रघवानुरूप्यसम्पदे साम्प्रतमेवं व्याख्यातुम् । न ह्येतावता कालेन रघूराज्ययोगक्षेमयोः पराङ्मुखः । परं प्रवृत्तेषु सङ्ग्रामेषु स यदा परसैन्यमभिषेणयति, तदा कुमारं पुरो निधत्ते । निर्जित्यैव शत्रून् निवर्तमाने तस्मिन्, स्वयं सन्नह्यतः प्रभवतोऽपि रघोर्जो-षम्भावः स्वत एवावस्थित इति ।

अथापि स्यात् सुताधिरोपितारज्यभारो रघुः । एवमपि रघोरेव तावनुभाव-पराक्रमौ याभ्यामजोऽरीन्विजयते । किं कारणम् ? अजो हि सर्वानौदार्यशौर्यतेजः-प्रमुखानात्मगुणान् रघोस्सकाशादाससाद, न केवलां राज्यश्रियम् । यद्वर्णयांभूव कविः—

रूपं तदोजसि तदेव वीर्यं तदेव नैसर्गिकमुन्नतत्वम् ।

न कारणात् स्वादिभिदे कुमारः प्रवर्तिता दीप इव प्रदीपात् ॥

र. ५. ३७. ।

अयं भावः—यो यादृशश्च रघोरवयवविन्यासः, सारः, आरोहपरिणाहो वा शरीरस्य त एव तादृशाश्चाजस्याभूवन् । अलं वा परिगणनेन । यावदादौ रघोर्यौ रघोर्द्विषु न केनचिद्गुणेन स कुमारो गुरोर्विभिदे वैलक्षण्यं नावहदित्यर्थः । कारणगुणाः कार्यं सङ्गमन्तीति हि न्यायवित्समयः । तमुदाहरति—प्रवर्तिता दीप इव प्रदीपादिति । यथा महतः प्रदीपादुत्पादितो दीपः सर्वथा तेन समानस्वभाव एवेति भावः । अथ वा न कारणात्स्वात् विभिदे—न खल्वजोऽत्यन्तमेव रघोर्विभिन्न इत्यर्थः । श्रुतिरपि ‘आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि’ इति पितुरन्यतिरेकं पुत्रस्य दर्शयति । कारणमेव संस्थानान्तरविशिष्टं कार्यमित्युच्यते इति च कारणतत्त्वविदां समयः । तमुदाहरति—दीप इव प्रदीपात् । कलिकामात्रं हि प्रदीपस्यान्येषु दीपेषु विभज्यते । न पुनर्दीप एवान्य उत्पाद्यत इत्यन्यदेतत् । हन्तेदानीं सहृदया भावयन्तु ‘यावत्प्रताप-निधिः’ ‘रूपं तदोजसि’ इति चानयोः पद्ययोरन्योन्यानुगुणसंबन्धसंबोधेन कीदृशो भावातिशयः, कीदृशं च काव्यस्य सुस्लिष्टं बन्धगौरवम् !

तदेवं त्रयाणां श्लोकानां यथादर्शितेन व्याख्यानेनैतत् सिद्धं भवति—
यदाश्चर्येषु कर्मसु भूत्याः प्रभवन्ति यजमाना एव तदाश्चर्येषु प्रभवन्ति ।
यदरुणस्तमांसि विनाशयत्यादित्य एव तत् । यदजो राजन्यं जिनाति महाराज
एव तत् । यच्च दुष्यन्तोऽसुरान् हिनस्ति महेन्द्र एव तदसुरान् हिनस्ति । तदयं
‘इन्द्रो मे बले श्रितः’ इत्यादिश्रुतीनामाशयः सुष्ठु कविनोपलक्षितः ।

बलमधिकृत्य श्रीभगवत्पादा विशिष्यन्ति—बलस्येन्द्रो देवता प्रसिद्धा । या
काचिद्वलकृतिः इन्द्रकर्मैव तदिति हि वदन्ति—इति । के वदन्ति ? महाकविस्ता-
वत्प्रथमं स्फुटमेतद्वदति । तथा हि उर्वशी नामाप्सराः । सा ह कामयमाना पुरुरवसं
प्रियमेत्य जयशब्दमुदीरयामास । राजानमुपसर्पतां ह्येष समुदाचारो यद्विजयस्वेति
शब्दं प्रयुञ्जते । न च तेनाहत्य कमप्यर्थं तदा विवक्षन्ति यदाज्ञापयति देव इति
यद्वत् । तदाचारप्राप्तेनापीदृशेन जयोदाहरणेन स्तुतमिवात्मानं मन्यमानः पुरुरवाः
शालीनतयोर्वशीं प्रत्युवाच—

मया नाम जितं यस्य त्वयायं समुदीर्यते ।

जयशब्दस्सहस्राक्षादागतः पुरुषान्तरम् ॥ विक्र. २. १६. ।

१. ब्र. १. १. २९. पृ. २२०. ।

अयमर्थः—यं मां प्रतीन्द्रपार्श्ववर्तिन्या त्वया जय उदीर्यते, तेन मया नाम
जितम्—मयैवायमनन्यसाधारणो जय इदानीं लब्ध इति । अथ वा मया नाम
जितम्—को नाम मम तावानुत्कर्षः य इन्द्रसम्बन्धिभिरपि बहु मन्यत इत्यर्थः ।
यथा लोके वैद्युती शक्तिः तन्त्रीसहस्रद्वारेण विभक्ता व्यजनेषु तत्र तत्र
व्यज्यते; तथा जयशब्दः तन्निमित्तं बलं वा सहस्राक्षात् तेन तेन द्वारेण पुरुषा-
न्तरमागच्छति । प्रतिस्वं लोके व्यवस्थितस्य बलस्य समुदाय इवाकरो यो महेन्द्र
इत्याशयः । अत एव बलसारायाः क्षवजातेरधिष्ठानमिन्द्रमीश्वरसृष्टं दर्शयति श्रुतिः
“उरसो ब्राह्म्यां पञ्चदशं निरमिमीत तमिन्द्रो देवतान्वसृज्यत.....राजन्यो
मनुष्याणाम्” इति । यस्मादिन्द्रदेवत्वं क्षत्रं तस्माद्वैलोक्यमिच्छता तेनेन्द्रोपासन-
परेण भवितव्यम् । तत्रोपासकानामिन्द्राद्वलप्राप्तौ दृष्टान्तः—

ननु वज्रिण एव वीर्यमेतद्विजयन्ते द्विषतो यदस्य पक्ष्याः ।

वसुधाधरकन्दराद्विसर्पी प्रतिशब्दोऽपि हरेर्भिनत्ति नागान् ॥

विक्र. १. १७. ।

बलप्रदानस्येन्द्रः प्रभवतीति हेतुगर्भं वज्रिण इति विशेषणम् । वज्रं हि बलावष्टब्धं
सर्वस्य भयानकं प्रसिद्धं लोके । वज्रयोगश्चेन्द्रस्य—

पुरा नारायणेनेयमसि सृष्टा मरुत्वते ।

दैत्यहस्तादपाच्छिद्य सुहृदा सम्प्रति त्वया ॥ विक्र. १. १६. ।

इति मरुत्वत्पदेन व्युदपादि । “वैद्यौ हि पर्जन्यभावेन विवर्तमाने विद्युस्तनयितु-
वृष्टिवज्राणि विवर्तन्त इत्याचक्षत” इति च भगवत्पादाः । अत एव धूमज्योति-
स्सलिलमरुतां सन्निपातं मेघं गमयन् स मेघवाहनो नाम भण्यत इत्यन्यत् ।
वज्रिणो वीर्यं तत्पक्ष्येषु संक्रान्तं तेषां विजयसम्पदं भावयतीत्येतत्सम्भावयितुमाह
वसुधाधरेत्यादि । कालिदासीयमिदं दृष्टान्तग्रहणं कियतीमानुरूप्यश्रियं दार्ष्टान्ति-
कस्य पुष्पाति ! अयि ! चित्रीयमाणास्सहृदयाः ! अवधत्तेह किञ्चित् ।

यान्यत्र दृष्टान्ते गिरिकन्दराणि नाम, तान्यन्यत्र दार्ष्टान्तिके प्राणिनां शरी-
राणि, हृदयानि वा । यत्र तानि व्यतिषज्यन्ते स वसुधाधरः अन्यत्र वैश्वानरो
विराडात्मा । पर्वतनिवासिनो हरेर्गर्जितशब्दश्च वैश्वानरावयवस्य हरेरिन्द्रस्य बलमिति
—इयती स्थानापत्तिर्विवक्षणीया । स यथा सिंहास्य गर्जितध्वानो गुहासु निविश-
मानः प्रतिशब्दात्मना विनिष्क्रामति, तथा शरीरदेशेषु विभक्तमैन्द्रं बलं प्रतिबलात्मना

१. तै. सं. ७. १. १. ४. ५. । २. ब्र. १. ३. ३९. पृ. ३६०. ।

निस्सरति । तदुपष्टम्भाश्च मर्त्या वैरिणः प्रमापयन्तीत्यभिप्रायः । “यदि शरीरं गुहा यदि वा हृदयं उभयथा बुद्धिक्षेत्रज्ञौ गुहां प्रविष्टायुपपद्येते” इति वदन्तो भाष्यकारा अपि गुहाशब्दस्य शरीरादौ प्रचुरं प्रयोगं मन्वते । शरीरसर्गानन्तरं स्रष्टुरीश्वरस्य तत्प्रवेशोऽपि “स एतमेव सीमानं विदार्य एतया द्वारा प्रापयत” इति श्रुत्युक्तः शरीरस्य गुहारूपेणैवोपकल्पते । यद्यपि सुदूरमिव गत्वेयती भावपुष्टिरालक्ष्यते । तथापि तावती कविहृदयस्य भावभूमिरितिदं लिङ्गम् । यद्यपि मन्त्रसम्बन्धिषु संविधानेषु सर्वत्रेदृशीमेव प्रतिपादनशैलीमनुसन्दधाति । तेन बलसारस्येन्द्रस्य प्रसङ्गेऽन्यस्य वीर्योत्कर्षप्रख्यापनं, इक्षुयन्त्रस्थलीषु गुडोत्कर्षप्रख्यापनमिवापहासास्पदं मन्यते कविरिति गम्यते ।

अत्र केचिद्विशेषकमन्या मन्वीरन् । विप्रकीर्णानि किल वचनान्येकत्र समाहृत्य कवेरिदं विशिष्टतात्पर्यमध्यवसीयते । नायं साधुरध्यवसायः । अन्योन्येषु हि प्रकरणेषु विच्छिद्य विच्छिद्य व्यवस्थितानामनि वचनानि, नैकाभिप्रायाणि । न चैषामन्योन्यापेक्षास्ति, येनैकवाक्यतां नीयेरन् । न च सा कल्पयितुं शक्यते । यदि नाम समानकविकृतानां काव्यानां समानाभिप्रायत्वे कविकर्मणस्सुष्ठुष्टतां मन्यमानः कश्चिद्विशकलितानि वाक्यान्त्येकत्रोपसंजिहीर्षेत् । तेन च बलं नामेन्द्रो देवतेत्यौपनिषदं तत्त्वं कवेरुपदिदिक्षितमुत्प्रेक्षेत, स कविवचनेनैव विरुध्येत । तथा हि—अश्वमेधे दिलीपोत्सृष्टमश्वमनुगच्छतो रघोः तमपहरतो महेन्द्रस्य च तुमुलमायोधनं कविर्वर्णयति । न खलु विक्रमैकसारोऽपि रघुरन्यो वा बलाधिष्ठानमिन्द्रमभियोक्तुमीष्टे । तस्मादननुगता एव तत्र तत्र कवीनामाशया विच्छित्तिविशेषभागिन इति । तैरेवं मन्यमानैस्तस्मिन्नेव युद्धवर्णने कविमूचितं समाधानवचनं नोपलक्षितम् । यदाह स्म कविः—

अतिप्रबन्धप्रहितास्त्रवृष्टिभिस्तमाश्रयं दुष्प्रसहस्य तेजसः ।

शशक निर्वापयितुं न वासवः स्वतश्च्युतं वह्निमिवाद्भिरम्बुदः ॥

र. ३. ५८. ।

स्वतश्च्युतमिति रघोर्वहेश्च विशेषणम् । यथा मेघः स्वतो निर्गतं विद्युदादि वृष्टिभिः शमयितुं न शक्नोति ; तथेन्द्रोऽपि स्वस्मान्निर्गतं रघुं निरोद्धुं नाशकदित्यर्थः ।

अत्र श्रीमन्मल्लिनाथप्रमुखा व्याख्यातारो रघोरिन्द्रात्प्रभवं “इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्रेष्ठं वरुणस्य च । अष्टाभिर्लोकपालानां मात्राभिर्निर्मितो नृपः ॥” इति स्मृत्या

१. ब्र. १. २. ११. पृ. २४२. । २. ऐ. उ. १. ३. १२. । ३. मनु. ७. ४. ।

अमर्थयन्ति, न दर्शयन्ति स्वतश्च्युतमिति विशेषणस्य सरसं प्रयोजनम् । तत्कवेरिदं हृदयम् ।—ऐन्द्रं हि बलमवष्टम्भो रघोः, येनायं समितिषु प्रगल्भते । स कथं युद्धयन् इन्द्रेण दुष्प्रधर्षः स्यादित्यसम्भावना न कार्या । मेघप्रभवः किल वह्निर्न शक्यते मेघेन निर्वापयितुम् । तत्साम्प्रतमेव मेघवाहनप्रभवो रघुर्मेघवाहनेन न निरुध्यत इति । मेघ इति मेघवाहन इति च द्वावप्यत्र समानस्वभावविति च ध्वनिः । अथ वा नेदमविषयो नाम व्याख्यातृणाम् । ‘नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चिन्नानपेक्षितमुच्यते’ इति प्रतिज्ञासिद्धये, मन्यामहे, तैरेतदुपेक्षितं स्यात् । सर्वथा कालिदासादिमहाकवीनां सर्वप्रबन्धेषु अनुगताशयवर्णनमेव सहृदयानां चेतसि चमत्कारं पुष्पाति । ये तु कवीनां कमपि सन्देशमखिलकाव्यनिगूढमीदृशं न रोचयन्ते, केवलं विच्छिन्नभावसंवेदनैकक्षणमात्रसन्तोषिणस्ते पुनरेकवारं भावानुगमदृष्ट्या युद्धवर्णनमिदं निरूपयन्तु । बलस्याधिष्ठानमिन्द्र इत्युपनिषदर्थोभिव्यञ्जनैकप्राणं ह्येतत्प्रकरणम् । तथा चान्यादृशी कवेरिह वर्णनगमनिका श्लिष्यते । समितिषु च कलहायमानयोरेकस्य विजयो भवत्यन्यस्य च पराजय इति प्रसिद्धं लोके । नात्र रघोरिन्द्रस्य वा जयः पराजयो वा दृश्यते । दुर्बलः प्रबलेन सन्दधातीत्ययमपरो युयुत्सूनां धर्मो नीतिदृष्टः । न चात्र कविवचोभिरिन्द्ररघोः बलाबलं निर्धार्यते ।

सोऽयंकवेरन्यादृशो युद्धसङ्गतस्येतिवृत्तस्य वर्णनाप्रकारः । रघुः किलाश्वमपहरते प्रच्छन्नायेन्द्राय चुक्रोध । स जाताभिषङ्गस्सगरपुत्राणामाख्याननिदर्शनेन तं निरभर्त्सयत् । अनिर्जित्य रघुं नार्हसि मेध्यमश्वमाक्रमितुमिति वदन्नेव रघुर्युद्धाय सन्ननाह । शतमन्युरपि बालस्य विक्रमवल्गितेन जनितामर्षः प्रतियोद्धुमारोमे । अनयोरेवं प्रवर्धमाने विशङ्कटशस्त्रसम्पाते रघुणा छिन्नं स्वकं धनुर्गुणमालक्ष्य स गोत्रभित् तमुरसि वज्रेण प्राहरत् । मोहमुपगतोऽपि रघुः क्षणमात्रेण विसोढवज्राघातः प्रसुप्त इव प्रतिबुबुधे । हर्षविस्मयाभ्यामेकपद एवाकुलीभूतो जिष्णुः प्रीतमनाः ‘हन्त ! वृणीष्व वरमाभिमतमृते तुरङ्गमात्’ इति स्फुटमाह स्म । तमिमं—

अमोच्यमश्वं यदि मन्यसे प्रभो ततः समाप्ते विधिनैव कर्मणि ।

अजस्रदीक्षाप्रयतस्स मदुरुः क्रतोरशेषेण फलेन युज्यताम् ॥

यथा च वृत्तान्तमिमं सदोगतखिलोचनैकांशतया दुरासदः ।

तवैव सन्देशहराद्विशंपतिः शृणोति लोकेश तथा विधीयताम् ॥

र. ३. ६५—६६. ।

इति पणबन्धेन नियमितं सन्धिमिव रघुः प्रतिपेद इति ।

अहो वचसामविषयो महाकवेः काव्यवस्तुमङ्गमनमहिमा ! येनन्द्रादपि रघोर्वीर्यातिशय आविष्कृतः । वयमधिष्ठानमिन्द्रो नान्येन जय्य इति स्वाभिमतश्च सन्देश एकत्रैव निर्व्यूहः ।

तदेवं वलमिति शरीरंऽस्मिन्नन्देवतायाः संज्ञेति सप्रपञ्चं बहुषु वचनेषु कविसंदेशो दर्शितः । अनयेव दिशा वागादिकरणजातमप्यग्न्यादेर्देवस्याध्यात्मसम्मितोऽशंभद एवेति तत्र तत्र निगूढं कविहृदयं स्वयमेव सहृदयेर्विभावनीयम् ।

न चानेन मिषेण, यद्विगमार्गपञ्चम्यप्रमुखा अचेतना एव धातवः तथा तथा मनुजानामुपकुर्वन्तः, तमुपकारं बहु गणयद्विरपदानसंस्तवेन तैर्महीकृताः, देवताभावमलभन्तः; न त्वेवंपां चेतनायोगः समस्तीति बाह्यानां मतं प्रमाणपदवी-मध्यासीत । यतो त्रिवक्षावशेन कचिदचेतने वस्तुमालं प्रयुज्यमानाः शब्दा अन्यत्र तदधिष्ठानचेतन्यपर्यन्ते वर्तन्ते । अत्र च रमणीयो ग्रामः, अभृष्यो ग्राम इति प्रयोग-भेदमुदाहराम पुरस्तात् । अत एव गिरिनिदीवनसमुद्रगगनादीनामकृत्रिमां श्रियमेव दर्शदर्शं तृप्यतः, प्रकृतिमेव वा केवलं सर्वस्य निदानमाकलयतस्तान् देवताविज्ञान-पराङ्मुखान्, सन्मार्गमवतारयन्निव महाकविः काव्यप्रसुखं वस्तु निर्दिशति—

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः ।

पूर्वापरौ वारिनिधी वगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ॥

कु. १. १. ।

नो खलु शिलासङ्घातमयः केवलमचलो हिमवान् नाम यथा साधारणजनेषु प्रथितः । नगाधिराजोऽयं महासत्त्वो देवतात्मा, यस्य शरीरमात्रं स्थावरमिदं दृश्यत इति चेतनायोगं दर्शयति । पुनरपि देवताभावमस्य यज्ञभागवत्तयोपोद्बल्यति —

यज्ञाङ्गयोनित्वमवेक्ष्य यस्य सारं धरित्रीधरणक्षमं च ।

प्रजापतिः कल्पितयज्ञभागं शैलाधिपत्यं स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥

कु. १. १७. ।

सूत्रकारोऽपि “तत्तेजं ऐक्षत” इत्यादिश्रुतिषु तेजःप्रभृतीनां गौणमीक्षणं “गौण-श्चेन्नात्मशब्दार्तं” इत्यभ्युपेत्य पुनस्तेजआदिशब्दैस्तदभिमानिन्यो देवता व्यपदि-श्यन्त इति मुख्यं सिद्धान्तं “अभिमानिव्यपदेशस्तु विशेषानुगतिभ्यां” इति जगाद । ‘तदभिध्यानादेव तु तल्लिङ्गात्सः” “ज्योतिराद्यधिष्ठानं तु तदामननार्तं”

१. छान्दोग्य. ६. २. ३. । २. ब्रह्म. १. १. ६. । ३. ब्रह्म. २. १. ५. ।

४. ब्रह्म. २. ३. १३. ।

५. ब्रह्म. २. ४. १४. ।

इति च बहुभिः सूत्रैरस्यार्थस्य प्रपञ्चनात् सूत्रकृतोऽत्र निर्भरातिशयो गम्यते । सूत्रार्थ-नुध्यानैकतानमानसो महाकविरप्यसकृदिमं सूत्रकृदाशयं तात्पर्येणाविष्करोति । अभ्यागतान्मुनीनातिथेयेन विधिना सत्कृत्य तेभ्य आत्मानं निवेदयतो हिमवतो वचनम्—

जङ्गमं प्रैष्यभावे वः स्थावरं चरणाङ्कितम् ।

विभक्तानुग्रहं मन्ये द्विरूपमपि मे वपुः ॥ कु. ६. ५८. ।

प्रतिवचनावसरे मुनयोऽपि हिमवन्तमूचुः—

काठिन्यं स्थावरे काये भवतस्सर्वमर्पितम् ।

इदं तु ते भक्तिनम्रमर्हदाराधनं वपुः ॥ कु. ६. ७३. ।

किं बहुना, यावत्कविर्गृहस्थोचितमखिलमेव वृत्तं हिमवति सम्भावयत्यस्मिन्काव्ये । बहुषु स्थलेष्वित्यं नामाचेतनत्वाद्वावर्त्य हिमवतो देवताभावे सहृदयान्निर्वृणतो महाकवेर्वचननदीसमुद्रादिष्वपि देवतांशसद्भावसंदिदिक्षित इति मुक्तसंशयं प्रतीयते । तदीदृशमेव महीयः कविकर्म लक्ष्यं संलक्षयन्तोऽभियुक्ता वदन्ति—

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु वैचक्षण्यं कलासु च ।

करोति कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च साधुकाव्यनिषेवणम् ॥ भामह. १. २. ।

अथ वा कृतमनेन काव्यशीलनस्यानुनिष्पादिना देवतातत्त्वविज्ञानेन । विशिष्टतरं प्रयोजनमन्यदिह समास्ति, यत्र हृदयालुर्न विप्रतिपद्येत कश्चित् । इह लोकैरचेतनत्वाभिमतं प्राकृतं वस्तुजातं, यद्येवंविधेन काव्यनिषेवणेन सरसस्वान्ताः स्पष्टास्पष्टविभाविताविभावितत्वाभ्यामुच्चावचं चेतनायोगं निगच्छत् विभावयेम, तदा क्रियानेकैकस्मिन् वस्तुनि भावनिकरः, कियती शोभा, कियन्तश्चोल्लेखाः काव्यमार्ग-गानां समुल्लसन्तीति हन्त सहृदयानां हृदयमेव प्रमाणम् । तथा हि—प्रमदानां विशिष्टमिदं व्रतं प्रियानुमरणं नामेत्युपदेष्टव्ये न धर्मशास्त्रवचनोपन्यासेन, न सतीनां बहूनां पुरावृत्तवर्णनेनायमुपदेशो भावुकानां हृदयसंवादाय भवति; भवति तु सरसकाव्यनिवेशनेन । विशेषतस्सन्दर्भानुगुणतन्मयीभावक्रमेण चारुतरमय-मास्वाद्यते । सतीभ्यो धर्ममेतमादिशति महाकविः—

शशिना सह याति कौमुदी सह मेघेन तटिप्रलीयते ।

प्रमदाः पतिवर्त्मगा इति प्रतिपन्नं हि विचेतनैरपि ॥ कु. ४. ३३. ।

सन्तु नाम तत्त्वतोऽविभावितचेतन्या अपि विद्युदादयो लोके अचेतनत्वाभिमताः । तेऽपि खलु धारयन्तीदमनुमरणव्रतम्; किमुत याः प्रतिबोधवत्य इति भावः ।

तथान्यत्र मैथिलीहरणजनितां हृदयव्यथामन्तस्संज्ञानामपि वीरुधामनु-
भावयति—

त्वं रक्षसा भीरु यतोऽपनीता तं मार्गमेताः कृपया लता मे ।

अदर्शयन्वक्तुमशक्नुवत्यः शाखाभिरावर्जितपल्लवाभिः ॥ र. १३. २४.।

यथा चैवमेव सर्वत्र प्राकृतवस्तूनां रामणीयकानुवर्णनमस्य कवेरसाधारणं
वाग्विभवमुपदर्शयति तथा सूरभिरत्र पराक्रान्तम् ।

किं बहुना,

“द्रवस्सद्वातकठिनः स्थूलस्सूक्ष्मो लघुर्गुरुः”

इति पद्योदाहरणेन निरतिशयसद्ज्ञानानन्दलक्षणः पर एव निखिलेषु धातुषु
गूढ इति हि प्रतिष्ठापितमधस्तात् ।

यद्यप्येक एव चिदानन्दस्वभाव आत्मा निगूढः सर्वभूतेषु, तथापि यत्र
यत्र चिदंश आनन्दांशश्चाविस्तरामभिव्यज्यते, तद्रामणीयकसम्पदा विभूषितं
समुल्लसति । तदभिव्यक्तितारतम्येन चैकरूपमपि ज्ञानानन्दादि कचित्प्रकर्षव-
दिव, कचिदपकर्षवदिव, कचित्सदिव, कचिदसदिव च प्रतिभासते ; यथा सवि-
तृप्रकाशो वर्षासु निकृष्ट इव, शरदि प्रकृष्ट इव च प्रथते तद्वत् । सैषा सर्वेषु
वस्तुषु निकामं समुल्लसन्ती सौन्दर्यलक्ष्मीः पारमेश्वरी विभूतिरेव, यां श्रुतिर्दर्शयति
“तद्य इमे वीणायां गायन्ति एतं ते गायन्ति तस्मात्ते धनसनयः” इति ।
स्मृतिरपि—

यद्यद्विभूतिमत्सत्त्वं श्रीमदूर्जितमेव वा ।

तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोऽशसम्भवम् ॥ गी. १०. ४१.।

गामाविश्य च भूतानि धारयाम्यहमोजसा ।

पुण्यामि चौषधीस्सर्वाः सोमो भूत्वा रसात्मकः ॥ इति च ।

अस्यैव च तत्त्वस्योपन्यायानाय कृत्स्नो विभूत्यध्यायस्समनुक्रम्यते
श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासु । कविरपि हिमवत्संस्तवव्याजेन श्रुतिस्मृत्योरिदं तात्पर्यं श्लोकद्वयेन
विवृणोति—

तिर्यगूर्ध्वमधस्ताच्च व्यापको महिमा हरेः ।

त्रिविक्रमोद्यतस्यासीत् स तु स्वाभाविकस्तव ॥ कु. ६. ७१.।

स्थाने त्वां स्थावरात्मानं विष्णुमाहुस्तथा हि ते ।

चराचराणां भूतानां कुक्षिराधारतां गतः ॥ कु. ६. ६७.।

स्यादेतत् । तत्त्वदर्शिनो मीमांसन्ते—किं कारणं पुरुषो रम्याणि वस्तूनि
दृष्ट्वा मधुरान् शब्दांश्च निशम्य कमपि मानसं व्यतिषङ्गं भजते ? पर्यस्तपरमात्म-
विभूतीनां वा जीवात्मभिरेषां कस्सम्बन्ध इति । अस्यैव शब्दादिविषयसङ्गत-
सौन्दर्यानुबन्धिनः प्रश्नस्य प्रतिवचनायाद्यतनास्तत्त्वविमर्शिनस्सर्वे स्वकस्य शास्त्रस्य
भागमेकं विनियुञ्जते । न चाद्ययावच्छङ्कारहितं तस्य पारमधिगच्छन्ति । तमिमं
प्रश्नं तत्त्वदर्शनानुगतातिगभीरभावयाथात्म्यसन्देशैकस्वकाव्यप्रयोजनः कविसार्व-
भौमो दुष्यन्तमुखेनावतारयति—

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्

पर्युत्सुकीभवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः ।

शा. ५. २० ।

यस्मादिमं प्रश्नं यथावन्निर्णेतुमपर्याप्ता बहवः, तस्मान्महति विषयेऽस्मिन्
किं नाम महाकवेर्दर्शनं स्यादिति सूक्ष्मगत्या लक्षणीयम् ।

तत्र साङ्ख्या मन्यन्ते—सुखदुःखमोहविकारिणां सत्त्वरजस्तमोगुणानां
सामान्यं प्रकृतिरुच्यते, यस्यास्संस्थानमात्रं दरीदृश्यते सर्वमिदं जगत् । तत्
येयं प्रकृतिकार्यस्य वस्तुनस्सुखप्रकाशात्मता स सत्त्वगुणः, या दुःख-
रागात्मता तद्रजः, या मोहविषादात्मता तत्तमः । तथा पुरुषस्य चित्तमपि
त्रैगुण्यान्वितम् । तस्माद्विषयसंप्रयोगकाले तेन चित्तेन यदा विषयस्य सत्त्वमेव समुद्भूतं
प्राधान्येन लक्ष्यते, तदा चित्तगतसत्त्वगुणस्यैव समुद्रेकात् प्रियं भवति । एवं रजस्तम-
सोरपि रागो विषादश्च फलं द्रष्टव्यम् । यथादुराचार्यवाचस्पतिमिश्राः “मैत्रस्य
दाराः पद्मावती नाम । तस्यां मैत्रस्य सुखं, तत्कस्य हेतोः? तं प्रति सत्त्वगुण-
समुद्भवात् । तत्सपत्नीनां च दुःखं, तत्कस्य हेतोः? ताः प्रत्यस्या रजोगुणसमुद्भ-
वात् । चैत्रस्य तु खैणस्य तामविन्दतो मोहो विषादः, तत्कस्य हेतोः? तं प्रत्यस्या-
स्तमोगुणसमुद्भवात् । पद्मावत्या च सर्वे भावा व्याख्याताः” इति ।

यद्यप्येतदविप्रतिपन्नमद्वैतवादिनामपि, तथापि न समुद्भूतसत्त्वस्य चित्तस्य
परिणाम एव सुखम्, किं तर्हि तदभिव्यक्तमात्मचैतन्यमिति मुख्यं पक्षान्तरं तैः
प्रदर्शितम् । चित्तशयविचित्रतरवासानिमित्तं चित्तस्य गुणविशेषोद्रेके सम्भवति
नावश्यं विषयेषु सत्त्वादेः प्राधान्यसमुद्भवः कल्पनीय इति च तेषां मते विशेषः ।
तदनेन विषयधर्माश्चित्तधर्मो वा सत्त्वादिः कारणं, येन विषयान् दृष्ट्वा पुरुषो दृष्यति
रज्यते विषीदति चेत्युक्तं भवति ।

अद्यतनेष्वपि केचित्तत्त्वविमर्शिनो मन्वते—दृश्यवस्तुषु अवयवरूपचेष्टादीन
कोऽपि विलक्षणः सन्निवेशो भवति । स एवास्माभिस्तेषु रामणीयकश्रीर्दृश्यत

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इति । अन्ये तु शरीराणां हृदयेषु पूर्वावस्थिताः सन्त्यन्यान् भावाः । ते तद्भाविता रमणीयानिव विषयानवमृशन्ति । नास्त्यन्या श्रीर्नामिति ।

एवमन्येऽपि बहवो बहुधात्र विप्रतिपद्यन्ते । सर्वेषां वादानामनुवादाय तारतम्यपरीक्षणाय वा निबन्धेऽस्मिन्नवकाशो न पर्याप्तः । इदमिदानीं परमवसान-मस्या विचारपदव्याः प्रदर्श्यते । यदस्यामप्रमङ्गेन निरणपुः श्रीमत्सुरेश्वराचार्याः—

वित्तात्पुत्रः प्रियः पुत्रात्पिण्डः पिण्डात्तथेन्द्रियम् ।

इन्द्रियेभ्यः प्रियः प्राणः प्राणादात्मा परः प्रियः ॥ बृ. वा. १. ४. १०३१ ।

एतदुक्तं भवति । यस्मात् कार्यकरणसंघातेऽस्मिन् सर्वान्तर आनन्दलक्षणः प्रत्यगात्मैक एव ; तस्यैव च कामाय सर्वं प्रियं भवतीति श्रुत्या दर्शितम् । तस्मात् आत्मान्यस्य वस्तुनो न कस्याप्यात्मसन्निकर्षमप्राप्यानन्दरूपतया भवितव्यम् । स आत्मा यत्र यत्राहंमेत्यव्यवस्यति, तेनैवाभिमानेन तदात्मा सन्नात्मन एवानन्दांशं तत्र पश्यति । तदा तस्य तत्प्रियं प्रतिभामते । सोऽयमहंमेत्यभिमानलक्षणस्सन्निकर्षो यावद्यावदव्यासव्यवधानेन विप्रकृत्यते, तावानानन्दाभिव्यक्तेस्तत्रापकर्षः यावत्प्रत्यासीदति तावानुत्कर्षः । तथा च विना व्यवधानमादां स्वात्मन्यध्यस्तः प्रथमः प्राणः—बुद्धिः—परं प्रेमास्पदम् । तेनैवान्तरेण व्यवहितेऽप्यिन्द्रियेषु सत्यप्यध्यासे कियानपि प्रेम्णोऽपकर्षो भवति । अनेन क्रमेण यदा बाह्यमपि वस्तुजातं शरीराद्यनुबन्धप्रणालिकयात्मनि सञ्चार्यते, तदा बाह्यवस्तुनि य एष्वर आनन्दांशो यथा-निरूपितः, यश्च जीवस्यानन्दांशः तयोरेक्यसम्पत्तेस्तदस्य प्रियं भवति । तदेवं वित्तात्पुत्र इत्यादि यावन्मनोगतं तारतम्येनावस्थितः प्रेमोपपन्नतर इति ।

तत्रैतत्स्यात्—प्रेम्ण इदमुपपादनं न युक्तम् । न खलु लोको यद्रमणीयं पश्यति, आत्मनीनं तद्दृष्ट्वा स तत्र हृष्यति । अन्यदीयाश्च केषांचिद्रुचिता दृश्यन्ते, स्वकीयाश्च द्विष्टाः । वस्तुषु रामणीयकदर्शनसमुल्लसिते चाह्लादे कृतमत्रात्माभिमानेनेति । एवमनुशयानानां प्रतिविधानायानुक्रामति महाकविः—

तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं

भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥ शा. ५. २. ।

इदमत्राकूतम्—अखण्डानन्दस्य परमात्मनोऽशा इव भावेषु प्राकृतेषु पर्यस्ताः ‘सा हि श्रीरमृता सताम्’ । स्वयमानन्दस्वभावे जीवोऽपि तानवमृशन् तदभेदाभिमानसम्पत्त्या कमपि स्वान्ते विकासं लभते । तेन यद्वस्तुषु रामणीयकसम्पदं प्रेक्ष्य पुरुष आनन्दति, तदात्मन एव तदा सोऽभिव्यक्तचिदानन्दरूपां रामणी-

यकसम्पदं संवेदयते । अथ कचिदयं स्वस्वकीयाभिमानलक्षणः प्रेमानुबन्ध इह जन्मनि न प्राप्नोति, तदवश्यं जन्मान्तरानुबन्धं तत्कल्पनीयमिति ।

प्राचि भवे लब्धजन्मनामपि भावशयानां संस्काराणामिह जन्मनि कार्ययोगं ददर्श भगवान् पतञ्जलिः “जातिदेशकालव्यवहितानामप्यानन्तर्यं स्मृतिसंस्कारयोरेकरूपत्वात्” (योग. ४. ९.) इति ।

तस्य संवृतमन्त्रस्य गूढाकारेऽङ्गितस्य च ।

फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भाः संस्काराः प्राक्तना इव ॥ र. १. २०. ।

तां हंसमालाः शरदीव गङ्गां महौषधिं नक्तमिवात्मभासः ।

स्थिरोपदेशामुपदेशकाले प्रेपदिरे प्राक्तनजन्मविद्याः ॥ कु. १. ३०. ।

“मनो हि जन्मान्तरसङ्गतिज्ञम्” (र. ७. १५.)

इति च तत्र तत्र कवेर्वचनजातमुदाहर्तव्यम् । यदपि “जन्मान्तरानुभूतं च न स्मर्यते” भाष्यकृद्वचनं, तत् इदमेवमुष्मिन्काले निर्णीतमिति सप्रत्याभिज्ञं न स्मर्यत इत्येवंपरमभियुक्ता व्याचक्षिरे ।

जन्मान्तरानुभूतं च न स्मर्यत इति स्थितम् ।

तत्कर्मफलसम्बन्धं प्रतीतिं प्रतिजानते ॥

तथा ह्यनादौ संसारे कर्मभेदात्तमस्त्रपि ।

अनन्तकृतकर्मत्वात्को विद्यात्कस्य किं फलम् ॥ विभ्रमविवेकः १४२. १४३. ।

इति वदन्त आचार्यमण्डनमिश्रा अस्य भाष्यस्याभिप्रायान्तरमाचख्युः । तदिदमुक्तं “स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वम्” इति ।

एवमस्य पद्यस्य महाविषयतां स्वादंस्वादममृतं इव महाकविः श्रीमान् भवभूतिरत्र निगूढं भावं कथमप्याविष्करोति—

व्यतिषजति पदार्थानान्तरः कोऽपि हेतुः

न खलु बहिरुपाधीन्प्रीतयः संश्रयन्ते । मालती. १. २७. ।

चेतनाचेतनेषु कोऽप्ययं सर्वान्तरो वाङ्मनसयोरविषयस्तिष्ठति, येनैषामन्योन्यसङ्गतं समुपजायत इत्यर्थः । ननु च वस्तूनामवयवसन्निवेशो गुणसमुदयः क्रियाविशेषयोगो देशकालसंविधानं वा किमप्यौत्सुक्यहेतुर्भविष्यति ; मनस एव वा भावनाविशेष इति । नेत्याह—न खलु प्रीतयो बहिरुपाधीन्—बाह्यानि-मिन्नान्यपेक्षन्ते । एतद्विशेषणं समर्थयति—

विकसति हि पतङ्गस्योदये पुण्डरीकं
द्रवति च हिमंरश्मावुद्वते चन्द्रकान्तः ॥ मालती. १. २७. ।

यदि नाम बाह्यं किमपीह निमित्तमभविष्यत्, समानेऽपि कठोरतरसूर्यरश्मि-
सम्पर्के मृदुलस्य कमलस्यैव विकासो नोत्पलस्येति विभागो नोपापत्स्यत । तथा
चन्द्रोदये कठोरस्यापि चन्द्रकान्तस्य द्रवीभावो न तु सूर्यकान्तस्येति च व्यवस्था न
स्यादित्यर्थः । तस्मात्पारमेश्वर्या विभूतेः चिदानन्दलक्षणायास्तादृग्विधस्य च जीवचै-
तन्यस्यैकलोलीभावः पदार्थेषु रामणीयकश्रीरानन्दश्चेतीदमेव भारतीयमहाकवीनां
दार्शनिकानां च दर्शनम् ।

तदेवं यदवोचाम, आनन्दरूपमप्यस्य कविवचनसिद्धं जीवनिरूपणे दर्श-
यिष्याम इति ; तदिदमानन्दरूपं जीवस्य दर्शितम् । ब्रलोपव्याख्यानेन च
प्राणवागादयोऽस्योपाधयो व्याख्याताः । तेन तैर्विसृष्टबन्धस्य स्वाभाविकः परमात्म-
भावशालसिद्धिस्तद्भो भवति । यथा चायं जीवो जागरेतं, स्वप्नः, सुषुप्तमिति
तिस्रोऽवस्था अनुभवति ; जन्ममरणप्रबन्धाखण्डोऽनिशमावर्तते ; तथा कविभावो-
पन्यासमुखेनोपरिष्ठात् तत्त्वज्ञानसाधननिरूपणे चिन्तयिष्यामः । तत्रैव प्रसङ्गे
जीवस्वरूपसङ्गतं च किमप्यन्यत् ।

ॐ

ARAVANAVATIKAL (ĀCĀRYA-DHARMAPĀLA ?) AGAIN.

BY

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In an article entitled "The date of the Maṇimēkalai" con-
tributed to the last issue of this Journal (J.O.R. M-Vol. I.Part. IV.
pp. 321 to 329), my learned and esteemed colleague of Trivan-
drum, Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyer B. A., B. L., Retired Judge, criticises
my views on the date of the Maṇimēkalai, set forth in my article
contributed to Vol. I, part II of this Journal (pp. 191 to 201).
His criticism may be summed up in these four paragraphs.

(1) Granting that the principles of Buddhist logic, as outlin-
ed in section XXIX of the Maṇimēkalai, are almost entirely based
on the Nyāya-pravēśa, nothing would be "more probable or
natural than to ascribe the authorship of the Nyāya-pravēśa to
the greatest logician of the pre-Diñnāgan period, Ācārya Nāgā-
rjuna ; and on this basis, Maṇimēkalai need not be assigned to
a period posterior even to the second century A. C".

(2) As "there is nothing violent in assigning Diñnāga to
the second century A. C. Maṇimēkalai need not be posterior to
the close of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century A. C,
even if Diñnāga be the author of the Nyāya-pravēśa".

(3) "ஆதி சினைந்திர னளவை யிரண்டே
ஏதமில் பிரத்தியங் கருத்தள வென்ன."

Hardly convincing is the reasoning at pages 196 and 197, Vol. I,
part II of this Journal, that the expression *ētamīl* in the Tamil
extract given above should be construed with *aḷavai* and may, thus,
be taken to embody the post-Diñnāgan improvement referred to by
Vācaspati-miśra in the Sanskrit extract quoted at page 196 *ibid* ;
that certain important modifications in Diñnāga's classification of
fallacies, which Dharmakīrti introduced in his Nyāya-bindu are

not found adopted in section XXIX of the *Mañimēkalai*, which faithfully follows Diñnāga's arrangement and classification; and that, therefore, the *Mañimēkalai* should be assigned to the period of transition between Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti.

(4) "If *Aravaṇavaṭikaḥ* must needs be equated with some well-known name in Sanskrit Buddhism, why could it not be with *Diñnāga* himself? The only excuse offered against it is the occurrence of *ḍamīl*, a fanciful objection at the best. In *Aravaṇavaṭikaḥ*'s time, Buddhism was at a low ebb. Buddhism was almost aggressively in the ascendant in Dharmapāla's days". *Ergo*, it is difficult to imagine that Dharmapāla and *Aravaṇavaṭikaḥ* might be one and the same person.

I considered these criticisms very carefully and I find that they are all untenable. I proceed to deal with them in the order in which they are set forth *supra*.

(1) Professor Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya holds, on the authority of Sanskrit and Tibetan documents, that Diñnāga is the author of the *Nyāya-praveśa*. In his introduction to the Tibetan text of the *Nyāya-praveśa* published as Part II of No. XXXIX of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, he maintains that the evidence furnished by Diñnāga himself, on the one side, in his own *vṛtti* on his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and by Jinendrabuddhi in his commentary on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, and, on the other side, by Dharmakīrti, the best known and most authoritative exponent of post-Diñnāgan Buddhist logic, could leave absolutely no doubt, whatever, that the real author of the *Nyāya-praveśa* is *Diñnāga*. The learned Professor also confesses his inability to explain how eminent Chinese authorities like Kwei-chi, who was a great disciple of Yuan-Chwang and wrote a commentary on the *Nyāya-praveśa*, come to attribute that work to Bodhisattva Śāṅkaraśvāmin, one of the well-known disciples of Diñnāga. In a recent article contributed to the J. R. A. S.—January 1928 (pp. 7 to 13), Professor Giuseppe Tucci tries to prove that the author of the *Nyāya-praveśa* is not Diñnāga, but Śāṅkaraśvāmin, one of his pupils. Professor Tucci, after drawing attention to the weak points in Professor Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya's arguments, clearly shows how the *Nyāya-praveśa* should not be confounded, as is generally done, with Diñnāga's *Nyāya-mukha* to which Diñnāga was referring in his *vṛtti* on the opening verse of his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. It would be desirable to peruse, in this connection,

the subjoined extract from Professor Tucci's article above referred to.

"My friend Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī is opposed to the attribution of the *Nyāya-praveśa* to Śāṅkaraśvāmin, since Yuan-Chwang does not quote in his travels the name of this author. But I do not think that this is a decisive objection, because not only was the book translated by the great pilgrim himself, under the name of Śāṅkaraśvāmin, but, as can be seen from many passages of the commentaries by Kwei-chi and Shen-t'ai, these Chinese scholars obtained all their information about the authorship and the history of these logical works from none other than their own master."

On the one side, we have the testimony of the Tibetan translations of the *Nyāya-praveśa* and of Haribhadra in favour of ascribing that work to Diñnāga, as pointed out by Professor Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya. On the other side, we have the obviously weightier testimony of the ancient Chinese authorities, Kwei-chi and Shen-t'ai, who were directly associated with Yuan-Chwang himself, in favour of Professor Tucci's view that Śāṅkaraśvāmin is the real author of the *Nyāya-praveśa*. As against these evidences, would it be reasonable to attach any importance to the entry attributing the *Nyāya-praveśa*, to Nāgārjuna, in the catalogue prepared at the end of the nineteenth century by the Japanese Professor Bunyiu Nanjio? Professor Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya has shown how the Japanese Professor might have made a mistake in rendering the Chinese name of the book *Yu-Luñ*. (Vide p. XII. Introduction to the *Nyāya-praveśa* Part II Gaek. O. S.). Should my learned critic of Trivandrum decide in favour of B. Nanjio's entry attributing the *Nyāya-praveśa* to Nāgārjuna, all the evidences adduced on behalf of Diñnāga and Śāṅkaraśvāmin notwithstanding, I cannot help feeling that such a procedure would be very similar to decreeing in favour of the witness,—the solitary worthless witness—despite all the weighty arguments adduced on behalf of the two really contending parties.

(2) The considerations which have led scholars like Dr. Vincent Smith (*Vide* Early History of India—Appendix IV to Chapter XII) to conclude that Vasubandhu was a contemporary of Candragupta I and Samudragupta, are irresistible. According to Yuan-Chwang, Vasubandhu lived 'within 1000 years', not

'within the 900 years' after the Nirvāṇa—(Watters, i, pp. 211-214). Thus the end of Vasubandhu's life should be brought down to the last quarter of the 4th Century A. C.; and Diñnāga, Vasubandhu's disciple, should have lived in the beginning of the 5th century A. C. Without doing violence to my standard of measuring time, I am unable to see how I can acquiesce in my learned critic's attempt to assign Diñnāga to the 2nd century A. C. It should also be remembered that Brahmanical and Buddhist works, on old logic consistently hold that Diñnāga was posterior to Vātsyāyana, the famous author of the *Nyāyabhāṣya*. If Śāṅkara-svāmin, who was one of Diñnāga's pupils, should have been the author of the *Nyāya-praveśa*, as Professor Tucci contends, the *Mañimēkalai*, which presupposes the *Nyāya-praveśa* and Diñnāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and which, in the enumeration of *Pramāṇas* and definition of *Pratyakṣa*, contains certain improvements that are distinctly post-Diñnāga and perhaps later than Śāṅkara-svāmin also, cannot be assigned to any date earlier than the 7th century A. C.

(3) In his endeavour to reduce *ēṭamil*, in the Tamil extract quoted against (3) *supra*, to the level of an emphatic, but logically purposeless, expletive, through the device of statistical interpretation with reference to a goodly number of Tamil citations, my esteemed critic forgets that *ēṭamil* in a section on logic bristling with precise definitions, not admitting of even a single useless word, is entirely different from the *ēṭamil* due to metrical or musical or poetic exigencies. A due appreciation of the full significance of the remarks of Vācaspatiśra quoted at page 196 of this Journal (Vol. I, part II) and of the observations in the first fifteen lines at page 197 (*ibid*) ought to be sufficient to enable my critic to make out why I consider that the *Mañimēkalai* should be later than Diñnāga and earlier than Dharmakīrti.

(4) Indeed *ēṭamil* has nothing directly to do with the suggested equation of *Aṛaṇaṇaṭikaḷ* with Ācārya Dharmapāla. Nor is there anything in my article under reference to make it appear to my critic that I am satisfied as to the identity suggested. Will my critic kindly note again the query mark in the title of my article referred to and consider again the last sentence at page 197 of Vol. I of this Journal? If he should choose to concede that the fortunes of Buddhism in Kāñcī and Nālandā need not have been similar in the same period and that, while it was

flourishing in the latter area it might be declining in the former, he would find it easy to imagine that the suggested equation is plausible. Further, when Yuan Chwang visited Nālandā, Śīlabhadra was presiding over it; when that Chinese pilgrim visited Kauśāmbī, Dharmapāla's monastery there was in ruins. (Vide Beal's *Buddhist Records* Vol. I-237); and the account which the pilgrim gives concerning the state of Buddhism in Kāñcī during his visit to that city shows that there were signs of a recent revival of that faith there—(Beal's *Buddhist Records* II, pp. 229 and 230). I put it to the advocates of the theory that the Śāṅgam age cannot belater than the 3rd century A. D., whether it would not be reasonable to assume, in view of the facts explained by me, that Ācārya Dharmapāla might have returned to Kāñcī after his retirement from Nālandā in the early part of the 7th century A. D., sufficiently long before Yuan Chwang's visit to allow time for Dharmapāla's monastery in Kauśāmbī to fall into ruins, and might have resuscitated Buddhism in Kāñcī and further south. Having regard to all the facts, may not the equation of *Aṛaṇaṇaṭikaḷ* with Dharmapāla be quite plausible?

It only remains for me to conclude with the hope that historical truth will never be allowed to surrender to *mytho-poetic theories*—the last phrase being advisedly used in the sense recognised in the Oxford Dictionary as well-established, and that scholars of the type of my learned critic, with a reputation for a perfect judicial frame of mind, will always be open to conviction and be prepared to reconsider their views regarding the age of Śāṅgam literature.

A SHORT DESCRIPTION
OF
SOME IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPTS.

I

Skandasvāmin's Commentary on the Nirukta.

BY

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Librarian, Adyar Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Devarājajavan in his commentary on the Nighaṇṭus published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series refers to an older commentary on the same by one Skandasvāmin. Till recently the commentary of the latter was known to the world of scholars only through the references made to it by Devarāja. Fortunately enough, thanks to the peripatetic search party organised under the auspices of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, a complete copy of Skandasvāmin's commentary was brought to light from Malabar. A transcript of the manuscript was made in paper and it is now deposited in the G. O. Mss. Library. A transcript of that manuscript was made for the Adyar Library and the notes given below are based upon that transcript.

The manuscript consists of four volumes with a total of 1675 pages : each page has 14 lines with an average of 16 letters for a line.

From the colophons given below one can easily see that the author of the work calls himself by three different names (i.e.) Skandasvāmin, Maheśvara or Ācārya Maheśvara, and Śabarasvāmin. The work itself is known through the following names—Niruktabhāṣyaṭīkā; Nirukta Vṛtti; Niruktavivarāpasamuccaya; Niruktabhāṣyavivarāṇa; and Niruktavivarāṇabhāṣya.

The following colophons occur in the work.

SKANDASVĀMIN'S NIRUKTAVYĀKHYĀ 85

आचार्यमहेश्वरकृतायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 5c
इति महेश्वरविरचितायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 351
महेश्वरविरचिते निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चये	p. 1081
महेश्वरविरचिते निरुक्तभाष्यविवरणे	p. 1149
महेश्वरविरचिता निरुक्तभाष्यटीका	p. 1765
स्कन्दस्वामिकृतायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 118
आचार्यस्कन्दस्वामिकृतायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 178
इति स्कन्दस्वामिविरचितायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 450.
स्कन्दस्वामिकृतायां निरुक्तवृत्तौ	p. 135
आचार्यस्कन्दस्वामिकृतौ निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चये	p. 704
स्कन्दस्वामिकृते निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चये	p. 377
स्कन्दस्वामिकृते निरुक्तविवरणे	p. 817
स्कन्दस्वामिविरचिते निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चये	p. 997
शबरस्वामिकृतायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 277
शबरस्वामिकृते निरुक्तभाष्यसमुच्चये	p. 959.
निरुक्तभाष्ये	p. 1253
निरुक्तविवरणे	p. 777
निरुक्तविवरणटीकायां सप्तदशोऽध्यायः समाप्तः	p. 1648
निरुक्तविवरणभाष्ये पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः समाप्तः	p. 1449, 50
निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चये चतुर्दशोऽध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः	p. 1319

Now a Skandasvāmin is known to us as the author of a bhāṣya on the R̥g. Veda; a Śabarasvāmin is known to have commented on the Jaimini Sūtras; Maheśvara is a comparatively unknown name. The exact identity of this author therefore is a problem which cannot be easily solved. As matters stand at present, we are not able to identify the author of the Nirukta-bhāṣya with the author of the commentary on the R̥g Veda. In Skandasvāmin's commentary on the R̥g Veda we find

इति भर्तुः ध्रुवपुत्रस्य स्कन्दस्वामिनः कृतौ ऋग्वेदभाष्ये द्वितीयोऽध्यायः

समाप्तः etc.

At the end of Adhyāya eight we find

इति ध्रुवस्वामिसुतस्य स्कन्दस्वामिनः etc.

This tells us that Dhruvasvāmi is the father of Skandasvāmin.

At the end of the commentary on the Niruktabhāṣya we find

निरुक्तमन्त्रभाष्यार्थपूर्ववृत्तिसमुच्चयः ।

महेश्वरेण रचितः सूनुना पितृशर्मणः ॥

Vol. IV, p. 1675.

This makes Pitrśarman as the father of Maheśvara, the author of the commentary on the Nirukta. Even if it is assumed that this author was known through different names (i.e.) Skandasvāmin, Śabarasvāmin, and Maheśvara, it is impossible to identify him with the author of the R̥g Veda Bhāṣya.

It is needless to point out that he is not the same Śabarasvāmin, the author of the bhāṣya on Jaimini sūtras, for he is later than even Durgācārya whom he mentions at the beginning of the commentary on the Nirukta (Vol. I, p. 3).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SANSKRIT SAHITYA PARISAT SERIES NO. 13 THE PAVANDUTA KAVYA OF DHOYI, Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.

We acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of this newly published work as No. 13 of the Samskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat Series edited by Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti M.A. It is a neatly printed edition with an interesting introduction by the editor himself. As is pointed out in the preface, this seems to be the first correct edition of the work and the Samskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat of Bengal certainly did well in publishing it for the benefit of the Sanskrit-reading public. We congratulate the editor Mr. Chakravarti on the distinct service he has rendered to the cause of Sanskrit literature by bringing it out. A perusal of the poem will convince the reader that it occupies a high place in that class of literature commonly known as Dūta Kāvya which have been practically inspired by the exquisite Lyric of Kālidāsa, the Meghasandēśa. While many of the works of this class have really failed to catch either the spirit or style of the Meghasandēśa, it must be said to the credit of the Poet, Dhoyi, that he has successfully imbibed both. It is a little curious, but gratifying, to note, that a Gauḍa Poet should have mastered the elegance of the Vaidarbhī style. The outline of the Pavandūta resembles in many respects the Meghadūta. But it is somewhat different from the Meghadūta in its poetical and historical background and in its representation of the soliloquy of the beloved instead of that of the lover. The poetic suggestion for the whole of this kind of literature, including even the Meghasandēśa, has come from the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. In the case of the Pavandūta also we may say that the central idea underlying it has been evolved out of the following stanza of the Rāmāyaṇa :

वाहि वात यतः कान्ता तां स्पृष्ट्वा मामपि स्पृश ।

त्वयि मे गात्रसंस्पर्शः चन्द्रे दृष्टिसमागमः ॥

“Blow thou wind ! to where my beloved is and touch me after having gently touched her etc., ” love-laden words

uttered by Śrī Rāma reclining on the sands of the sea-shore of the southern end of India on the eve of his crossing over the mighty ocean. Internal evidence of the source of inspiration for the poet is also furnished by the suggestion contained in the 5th stanza of this poem.

वीक्ष्यावस्थां विरहविधुरां रामचन्द्रस्य हेतोः

यातः पारं पवनसरितां पत्युरप्याञ्जनेयः ॥

VI-v-6

The great Ālaṅkārika Bhāmaha has justified the poetic form of this kind of literature, in which inanimate objects of nature have been addressed and chosen as messengers of the lover or beloved, as being the fitting outward representation of the soliloquy emanating from out of the intensity of the Utkanṭhā of the Nāyaka or the Nāyikā. Judged from this standpoint, it may be said without fear of contradiction that the Pavanadūta has fulfilled its object and deserves a high place. The striking originality of the Meghasandēśa, however, consists in the beautiful portrayal of the absolute self-abnegation of the Yakṣa, born out of the intensity of his love, which leaves no room for thoughts about himself when all-absorbed in his imaginative outpourings about the condition of his beloved in her separation at the distant city of Alakā. It is this that marks out the Meghasandēśa as a unique poem apart, from the rest of the class. Though, therefore, Dhoyi has not attained that high level, he does not suffer in comparison with any of the other poets of this group and his work is certainly worth the careful study of all students of Sanskrit literature.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE NANA FARNAVIS. By A. Macdonold with an Introduction By H. Rawlinson—ix + 184 pages. Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 5.

The author of this work, Mr. A. Macdonald, Captain in the 18th regiment of the Bombay Native Infantry, during the short snatches of his soldierly career found time to compile this memoir from the records which were found scattered, some in the house of the late widow of Nānā Farnavis, and others in the houses of many of the friends and personal attendants of Nānā. The original edition of this work was published as early as 1851

and it went out of print long ago. The present edition is a great improvement on the original for many reasons. The obvious errors, in the form of spelling mistakes and other things have been removed. The Autobiographical Memoir of the Early Life of Nānā Farnavis, rendered into English by the late Resident at the Court of Satara Lieut. Col. John Briggs is given in an appendix. This adds much to the value of the edition.

Bālāji Janārdan Bhānu otherwise known through his official name, Nānā Farnavis was born in 1741. Having been subjected by adverse circumstances to great vicissitudes early in his life, Nānā grew up to be a good soldier, a perfect diplomat and acute statesman, and a highly religious man. He has been justly regarded by his countrymen, the Mahārāṣṭras as one of the greatest, or perhaps the greatest statesman of their race. Col. Palmer declared at the time of his death that "with him has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maharatha Government." Through out his public life he was actuated by nothing but feelings of sincere and intense patriotism; and in private, life he was charitable, and virtuous. In spite of some of his weaknesses he was one of the greatest and noblest of politicians that ever lived. He conceived the idea of a Maharatha Empire though he did not live to establish it.

The autobiographical memoir given in the appendix will speak for itself; it is marked, so far as it goes, with a wealth of detail and it is probably one of the few that were even written in India in the past.

The public are indebted to the Government of Bombay for having rendered this edition available to the scholars in this form.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

THE ASIAN LIBRARY SERIES No. XIII. THE HINDU COLONY OF CAMBODIA. By Prof. Phaṇīndranāth Bose, M. A. vii + 410. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

Prof. Phaṇīndranāth Bose continues in this monograph his studies regarding that most interesting chapter of Indian History (i.e.) the colonial expansion of the Hindus in the past. The Professor is already familiar to us as the author of "Indian

Teachers of Buddhist Universities", "Indian Teachers in China", "Indian Colony of Champa" and "Indian Colony of Siam." Now there is fresh work on the same subject, "Indian Colony of Cambodia."

In this book Prof. Bose deals exhaustively with the origin of the colony of Funan and Cambodia; with its early kings like Bhavavarman, the supreme lord of Ugrapura; Mahendravarman or Citrasena, the glorious master of Earth; Isānavarman of 627 A. D. and so on. The author traces the various vicissitudes which Cambodia had to pass through in detail. The cultural, and religious history of Cambodia coming at the end of the work are indeed very interesting. The separate development of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Buddhism, and the fusion of all the three in course of time is set forth beautifully. The book is a welcome addition.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.
JOURNAL OF THE BEHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY,
September—December, 1927.

1. *Hathigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Kharavela*—By K. P. Jayasval, M.A.—Mr. Jayasval gives in the article his own readings of the Kharavela inscriptions and shows how his predecessors have wrongly interpreted many words. He is able to settle the actual dynasty to which Kharavela belonged. At the end of the article he discusses the date of Kharavela and comes to the conclusion that at the age 24 Kharavela ascended the throne and that was in 183 B. C. and that the date of the inscription should be 170 B. C. (i.e.) the 13th year of his reign. A short account of some of his doings is also given; the article is concluded with a *Probable Chronology of Kharavela and his times* and a short note on *The Antiquity of Jainism*.

2. *Suṅga Inscription of Ayodhyā*, By K. P. Jayasval, M. A.—Mr. Jayasval gives in this short note a correction to his previous reading of inscription which was already published by him in the same Journal Vol. X; the note is accompanied with a plate.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY. Vol. III, pt. iv, Dec. 1927.

1. *Cāṇakya Sūtrāṇi*, By Hermann Jacobi.—Prof. Jacobi here tries to prove that the Cāṇakya Sūtrāṇi published as an appendix to the second Edition of the Arthaśāstra could not have been written by Kauṭalya, the author of the Arthaśāstra.

2. *The Date of Zoroaster*, By A. B. Keith.—Dr. Keith is of opinion that the theory of the traditional date of the birth Zoroaster (i.e.) 660 B.C. stands on much better grounds; but he concludes the article saying that evidences to fix the date more correctly are wanting.

3. *Discovery of a New Historical Stone Horse*, By Jagannāth Dās Ratnākara.—The author of this article discovered a stone horse in the village of Nagawa near Benares with some letters inscribed on it. He deciphers the inscription as Candragupta. The horse corresponds to the one found in the Lucknow Museum; the Lucknow horse is intended to commemorate the horse-sacrifice of Samudragupta; and if the horse newly discovered is

with a similar purpose, then it should belong to the son of Samudragupta. Otherwise it may be even earlier. Anyhow the horse is older than 500 A. D.

4. *Origin and Development of Vajrayāna*. By B. Bhaṭṭācārya.—This article, based on the *Sādhana-mālā* is a sequel to his paper on the 'Glimpses of Vajrayāna', contributed to the Madras Session of the Oriental conference.

5. *Max Muller's Introduction to the R̥g Veda-Prātiśākhya*.—This is the second instalment of the translation of the Introduction into English from original German.

6. *Harṣa Śilāditya—A Revised Study* By Niharrañjan Ray.—The author deals with Harṣa's accession to the throne; his conquests and the extension of his empire; the fate of his Empire after death.

Incidentally the author refers to the countries Yuan Chwang has mentioned in his Travels. Mayūra's reference to Harṣa having conquered Kuntala, Cola, Kāñci etc. is proved to be a historical fact.

7. *"Tārānātha's history of Buddhism in India"*.—The third instalment of a translation of this work is published.

8. *Age of the Manusmṛiti*, By Baṭakrishṇa Ghosh.—The author tries to prove that in 300 B. C. there was in existence a metrical Manusmṛiti.

9. *Town Planning and House Building in Ancient India according to Śilpaśāstras*, By K. Raṅgācāri.—The author elaborately discusses the methods of Town Planning that were prevalent in Ancient India. The article will continue.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY. Vol. XVIII, No. 2, October, 1927.

"The Mauryan Invasion of Tamiḷakam" By Somasundara Deśikar.—The author tries to prove in this article that the Mauryan invasion of Tamiḷakam is a myth and that the Tamils of ancient days were free from foreign dominance.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, October, 1927.

1. *Kauśāmbī* By Dayārām Sāh.—The author once again raises the question of the identity of Kauśāmbī, General Cunning-

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ham has identified that city with Kośam near Allahabad but Dr. Vincent Smith raised many objections to that theory. Dayārām, on the strength further evidences proves that Kośam alone is the old Kauśāmbī.

2. *A peculiar meaning of Yoga*, By K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya.—The author declares that the word Yoga in Vātsyāyana and Uddyotākara means Naiyāyika and not the system of Patañjali.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY, August, 1927.

1. *The Śiva Bhārata and the New date of Śivāji*—The Śiva Bhārata is a biography of Śivāji written by a contemporary and probably court poet of Śivāji himself. The date of Śivāji's birth according to this work is corroborated by other evidences also.

2. *In a supplement Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Ordinary University Lectures in The Madras University are printed.* The Lectures bear upon "Studies in Gupta History".

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA, July, 1926.

1. *Mungir Plate of Devapāla. Samvat 33*. By L. D. Barnett.—The long lost plates of Devapāla were fortunately discovered somewhere in the Kenwood estate and Dr. Barnett gives a photographic reproduction of the plate as also the transliteration of those plates.

2. *Tekkali Plates of Danaranava's son Indravarman*, By the Late Dr. E. Hultzsch.—Dr. Hultzsch here edits these plates photographic reproductions of the plates themselves.

3. *Penukāparu Grant of Jayasihma II*. By the Late Dr. E. Hultzsch.—The three plates are edited from an ink impression taken from them by the late Rao Bahadur H. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī. The plates themselves belong to Mr. H. Nāgeśvara Rao, Editor, Andhra Patrikā.

4. *Koḍavalli Rock Inscription of Caṇḍasāta*, By the Late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Śāstrī.—This inscription belongs to the 3rd century and is in Brāhmi characters. The place where the inscriptions are found seems to have been a residence of Buddhist monks and there are traces of a Stūpa; an excavation may reveal the Stūpa itself.

Beṭma Plates of Bhojadeva. Samvat 1076. By D. B. Diskalkar.—This Bhoja is the famous Bhoja of Dhāra of Śṛṅgāra-

prakāśa fame. Very few epigraphical records of the reign of Bhoja have come to light and consequently this is of great importance.

QUARTERTY JOURNAL OF THE ĀNDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, October, 1927.

The Historical Importance of the Purāṇas, By S. Bhīma-śaṅkara Rao, B.A.—The author following Mr. Pargiter declares that there is much historical matter in the Purāṇas and that a careful investigation will reveal many more facts.

Judicial Procedure in Ancient India, Prof. J. Rāmāyā Pantulu, B.A., B.L.—The information given in this article is based on Mādhavācārya's Vyavahāra Kāṇḍa. He deals with the constitution of courts in ancient India; with the various classes of courts; the officers of the court; the methods of conducting cases; methods of taking evidence; the native and qualification of witnesses; native of various documents; court-fees and so on.

Literary gleanings, By M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi, M. A.—Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi gives some information regarding:—

1. *Ruyyaka*.—The identification of Ruyyaka with Rucaka is reaffirmed.

2. *Kṣīrasvāmin*.—The commentator on the Amara is referred to a period after Bhoja and before Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, (i.e.) 1060—1300. This Kṣīrasvāmin is a native of the modern Uttaramallūr or Uttaramerūr of the Chingleput district. This Kṣīrasvāmin is probably different from the author of a drama Abhinavarāghava.

3. *Jayamaṅgaḷā*.—A number of commentaries under this name are now available. A Jayamaṅgaḷā on the Sāṅkhyakārikā is attributed to one Śaṅkarācārya; another Jayamaṅgaḷā on the Kāmandakanīṭisāra is attributed to a Śaṅkarācārya; a third Jayamaṅgaḷā on the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana goes in the name of Śaṅkara. Mr. Kavi says that all these authors are identical and that this Śaṅkara lived about 1400 A. D. Śaṅkara, the author of the Yogasūtrabhāṣyavivaraṇa also is the same Śaṅkara.

4. *Vindhyavāsin*.—Here the author tries to identify Vindhyavāsin with Vyāḍi, the predecessor of Patañjali.

5. *Bhikṣu*.—The Bhikṣu referred to by commentators on Kumārila is Dharmakīrti.

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6. *Vidyāranya*.—Vidyāranya the great Vedāntin wrote on music also and that work goes by the name of Saṅgītasāra.

7. *Avantisundarī* in Svapnavāsavadatta. Mr. Kavi sees in the word अवन्तिसुन्दरी found in the Svapnavāsavadatta a reference to the Avantisundarī of Daṇḍin.

8. *Sāṅkhyānāyakaṃādhava*.—An old writer on Sāṅkhyā and Kavi identifies him with Māṭhara.

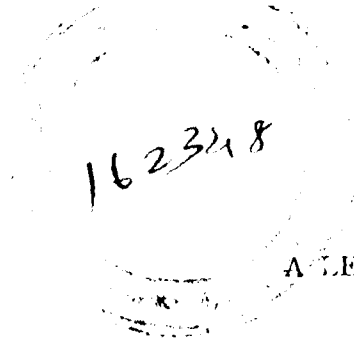
Cheedivalasa Plates of Devendra Varma. By R. Subba Rao, M. A., L.T.—Mr. Subba Rao edits the above mentioned plates which are three in number. Devendravarma belongs to about 746 A.D. The author gives a summary of the contents of the inscription and adds a note on the Gaṅgā Chronology.

Kaumudīmahotsava.—The text of the drama Kaumudīmahotsava is edited in a supplement.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW, October, 1927.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya—Its age.

The author tries to show that the Arthaśāstra text is much later than the period of the Mauryas; it probably belongs to the period of the later Guptas.



A LETTER OF APPRECIATION.

SAVOY HOTEL,
Ootacamund,
10—12—27.

Dear Professor Kuppuswami,

I beg you to accept my best thanks for kindly presenting me with the first three numbers of the Journal of Oriental Research. I have perused most of the articles with the greatest interest and much benefit to myself, and I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of the and the soundness of critical methods displayed in those contributions. I am especially glad to see that you pay attention also to Tamil Literature, which, as proved by several articles in the Journal, is intimately connected in many respects with Sanskrit Literature. I wish you all success for your Journal which, if it is carried on in the same spirit, will certainly be classed among the leading journals devoted to Indian History and Literature.

With

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With kind regards,
Yours very sincerely,
H. LUDERS.
Professor of Sanskrit,
Berlin University.

It remains for us to consider the extent of Kātyāyana's contribution, as the traditional author of the Vārtikas. In the course of his commentary, the Bhāṣyakāra refers to certain other Vārtikas as those of the Kroṣṭīyas, of the Saunāgas, and those of the Bhāradvājas. The way in which Patañjali quotes them and disposes of them gives rise to the impression that each of such Vārtikas represents a school, and as such we have to take Kātyāyana also as representing a school; but with the difference that he was a close follower of the Mahāvārtikakāra school, of which Patañjali himself seems to be an advocate. And perhaps that is the reason why Patañjali comments upon the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana also without any distinction. Further, Kātyāyana modelled his Vārtikas in such a way that it would be very difficult to distinguish them from the Mahāvārtikas, with the result that he came to be credited with the authorship of all the Vārtikas by later writers.

With regard to the Vārtika schools above mentioned, we are able to distinguish four such schools besides that of Kātyāyana; and they are क्रोष्टीय, भारद्वाज, सौनाग and सौर्यभगवत् ॥

It is to be noted that the first school is mentioned only once. Patañjali introduces it as suggesting an alternative interpretation of the Sūtra इको गुणवृद्धी (1-1-3) and dismisses it as useless. Neither Kaiyaṭa, nor Nāgeśa, throws any further light on the Vārtika.

We are tempted to suggest that the second of the schools above mentioned might be taken to represent the school of the grammarian Bhāradvāja referred to by Pāṇini himself in the sūtra ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य (VII-2-63) from the resemblance in the two names.

With regard to the Saunāgas' school we can say definitely that they were later than the Mahāvārtikakāra. Patañjali introduces their Vārtika thus :—(p. 416, Vol. I, Bom. S. S.)

एतदेव सौनागैर्विस्तरकेण पठितम् ॥

From the above passage, it is clear that, in the opinion of Patañjali, the Saunāga Vārtika is only a comprehensive rendering of the Mahāvārtika on the point.

There is a single reference to the Vārtika of the fourth school; and that too is stated as quoted by one वाडव thus :—(P. 421, Vol. III, Bom. S. S.)

सौर्यभगवतोक्तमनिष्टिज्ञो वाडवः पठति ॥

The phrase अनिष्टिज्ञः of Patañjali as qualifying वाडव gives room to the inference that, in the opinion of Patañjali, this वाडव is ignorant of the इष्टि. From this we can conclude as a matter of course that the author of the Vārtika तत्रायथेष्टप्रसंगः (*Ibid*),—Sauryabhagavata, was not for having a चतुर्मात्रः प्लुतः. And वाडव also seems to concur with him in his view.

This reference to वाडव leads us on to the consideration of some other names also mentioned by Patañjali. There are also two references to the views of one कुणरवाडव, one on P. 100, Vol. III, Bom. S. S. and the other on P. 317, Vol. III, Bom. S. S. We venture to identify this Kuṇaravāḍava with Vāḍava above referred to, the latter being an abbreviated form of the former, as such abbreviated references are not uncommon in Sanskrit Literature. From the references by Patañjali, we can gather that this Kuṇaravāḍava should have been a commentator like himself, with the difference that he belonged to a different school. That there were such commentators earlier to, and contemporaneous with Patañjali could also be inferred from his references to the opinions of other Ācāryas like Gonardīya, Goṇikāputra and Pauṣkarasādi.

To recapitulate, we can try to briefly trace the History of Sanskrit Grammar after Pāṇini thus. Vyāḍi seems to have been the first author to give a poetical rendering of what was enunciated by his cousin sage in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and its Vṛtti, in a work called Saṅgraha, containing about one hundred thousand ślokas. Next in the line comes our Mahāvārtikakāra, Kātya, who critically supplemented the deficiencies of Aṣṭādhyāyī so as to keep pace with the growth of Sanskrit Language. His work seems to have given scope for different interpretations which resulted in the formation of different schools. And Kātyāyana might have represented that school of grammar, closely allied to the Mahāvārtikakāra's, while the other schools would not accept wholly the views of Kātya. And Patañjali was the last representative of the Mahāvārtikakāra school.