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THE ŚAṢṬI-TANTRA AND VĀRṢA-GAṆYA.

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

Although the term *Śaṣṭi-tantra* which occurs in the last stanza of the *Saṅkhyā-sūpti* and elsewhere in Indian philosophical literature is well known, its exact significance is not clear. It is commonly taken as the name of an old treatise on the Saṅkhyā-Yoga, but doubts have been expressed as to whether it might not be merely a description of the doctrine itself because it recognises, according to one reckoning, sixty (*ṣaṣṭi*) principles. Among those that accept it as the designation of a work, there is difference of opinion again as to who its author was. Some new light is thrown on these points by a book published in recent years, viz. the *Jaya-mahābhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Saṅkhyā-sūpti*. The commentary is a brief one and is ascribed in the colophon to Saṅkha-bhaṣya, but probably erroneously as Principal Gopinath Kaviraj who contributes an Introduction to the edition has tried to make out. Its date is not known, but it may not be without any claim for antiquity. It contains about half-a-dozen references to the *Śaṣṭi-tantra* from which the following conclusions may be drawn:

(1) '*Śaṣṭi-tantra*' is the name of a work consisting of 60 sections, and the *Saṅkhyā-sūpti* is a digest of it.

(2) Its author was Panca-śikha.

3. For a discussion of the whole subject, see Keith, *The Saṅkhyā System*, Ch. V and the references therein cited.

4. No. 19 of the "Calcutta Oriental Series". Edited by Haradatta Sarma, M.A., 1926. The edition is based upon two Mss., one belonging to the Govt. Oriental Library, Madras and the other, to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

5. For instance it refers the triple classification of inference into *pūrvacait*, *śeṣacait* and *ananyato dṛṣṭa* to the *Śaṣṭi-tantra* (page 7) whereas Vācaspati does not seem to have been aware of it as its source. See *Tattvakaumudī* on *Karikā* 5.



(3) The doctrine also is called *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* for it postulates 60 principles.

The relevant passages are—

(a) तेषु च षष्टितन्त्रादिरुच्यतेति । विस्तरत्वात् षष्टितन्त्रस्य संक्षिप्तरुचि-
सत्त्वानुग्रहार्थं सप्ततिकारम्भः । वक्ष्यति चैतदार्याभिस्संक्षिप्तमिति ॥ (page 1).

(b) एते षष्टिः पदार्थाः । तदर्थं शास्त्रं षष्टितन्त्रमुच्यते ॥ (page 56).

(c) तेनेति । पञ्चशिखेन मुनिना बहुधा कृतं तन्त्रम् । षष्टितन्त्राख्यं
षष्टिखण्डं कृतमिति । तत्रैव षष्टिरथा व्याख्याताः ॥ (page 68).

(d) ननु च षष्टितन्त्रमेवास्तु किं सप्तत्या ॥ (page 69).

(e) अत्र षष्टितन्त्रे ब्रह्मोऽर्थः । तदत्र नोक्ता इत्याह सप्तत्यामित्यादि ॥ (p. 69).

Attention may in particular be drawn in the above to the words printed in bold type viz. **विस्तर** 'diffuseness of expression', **खण्ड** 'section' or 'chapter', **व्याख्यान** 'expounded' and to the implication of extract (d) that the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* is a book like the *Sāṅkhyasaptati*.

Now there is no difficulty in accepting the first and the last of the three conclusions stated above, for they are not in conflict with anything that is definitely known about the Sāṅkhya-Yoga doctrine or its history. The same, however, cannot be said of the second conclusion for, as already observed, there is a difference of opinion in regard to it; and some have held that Vārṣaganya, and not Pāṇca-sikha, was the author of the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra*. The matter accordingly requires consideration. The reason for assigning the authorship of the work to Vārṣaganya is as follows:—In his *bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtra* (IV 13), Vyāsa quotes a stanza as from "the *sāstra*" and Vācaspati in the *Tattva-vaiśārādī*, his gloss on it, explains it as taken from the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra*. This stanza is cited by Vācaspati himself in the *Bhāmali* (II-i-3), his commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra-bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara as one of Vārṣaganya. These statements, when taken together imply, it is said, that Vārṣaganya was the author of the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra*. In arriving at this conclusion, however, one important point seems to have been overlooked. There is a very material difference in the reading of the stanza as quoted in the two places. In the *Yoga-sūtra-bhāṣya*, it runs as follows—

1. See Pāṇini III-iii-33.

गुणानां परमं रूपं न दृष्टिपथमृच्छति ।

यत्तु दृष्टिपथं प्राप्तं तन्मायैव सुतुच्छकम् ॥

But in the *Bhāmali* it is —

गुणानां परमं रूपं न दृष्टिपथमृच्छति ।

यत्तु दृष्टिपथप्राप्तं तन्मायैव सुतुच्छकम् ॥

That the difference is not due to a scribal error and is not a misprint is shown by the commentators explaining the stanza with *iva* in the one case¹ and *eva* in the other². The difference in the context in which the stanza is quoted in the two works also makes this plain—

(1) As quoted in the *Yoga-sūtra-bhāṣya* i.e. with the reading *iva* :—The point under consideration here is, to put it generally, the distinction between the Prakṛti and its modes. The teaching is : Prakṛti is eternal but, in its unmanifest form, it never comes directly within our experience; its modes, on the other hand, which are directly experienced are not eternal. They are transient³, the Sāṅkhya-Yoga theory being that all things are constantly changing⁴.

(2) As quoted in the *Bhāmali* i.e. with the reading *eva* :—The matter under discussion here is whether the Yoga system is authoritative on the theoretical side of its teaching—especially in respect of Prakṛti being the independent cause of the physical universe—as it is on the practical side. The view of Vācaspati is that the system is concerned *solely* with a certain method of discipline for realising the ultimate Truth and that its theoretical teaching is not to be taken seriously⁵. It is in this connection that the stanza is quoted and it means according to him

1. 'मायैव न तु माया ।' *Tattva-vaiśārādī*.

2. 'मायैव मिथ्या ।'—*Kalpataru* p. 438 (Nirṇaya-sāgara Edn.)

3. Compare *Tattva-vaiśārādī*—'सुतुच्छकं विनाशि । ... एष विकाराः ... प्रतिक्षणमन्यथाप्रकृतिर्नित्यतया मायाविधर्मिणी परमायैति ॥'

4. Compare *Tattva-kaumudī* on *kārikā* 5.—'प्रतिक्षण-परिणामिनस्त्वेव भावा ऋते चितिशक्तेः ।' Prakṛti also comes under this description, but it endures through change.

5. Not all the commentators understand Śaṅkara thus ; and Vācaspati may here be going beyond the *sūtra* as well as the *bhāṣya* on it. But that is a matter which is irrelevant for our present purpose.

that what is ultimately real is only the ground of the *Gunas*, or *Prakṛti*, *viz.*, Brahman and that all else, including *Prakṛti*, is phenomenal or illusory.

Since it is impossible to think that Vācaspati is here tampering with the text of the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* to suit his *advaitic* purpose, we must conclude that the difference in the reading is genuine, and that either Vārṣaganya or Pañca-Śikha deliberately modified the other's *śloka* in order to draw pointed attention to an important doctrinal difference between their teaching. If so, the conclusion to be drawn from a comparison of the two quotations is that Vārṣaganya is *not* the author of the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* from which the stanza with the reading *iva* is taken. The evidence of the *Jaya-maṅgalā* in regard to Pañca-Śikha's authorship of it may therefore be accepted; and like the other two conclusions, this one also really contradicts nothing that is so far known about the Sāṅkhya-Yoga. There is indeed one other statement, *viz.*, that in Bhāskara's commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtras* (11-1-1)¹ which seems to make Kapila himself the author of this work; but it need not go against the evidence of the *Jaya-maṅgalā*; for we know from the last but one stanza of the *Sāṅkhya-saptati* that Pañca-Śikha 'widely extended the doctrine'—तेन च बहुधा कृतं तन्त्रम्; and these words can, in that case, be taken to signify not a promulgation of the doctrine but an amplification of an earlier treatise on it also called by the name of *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra*. Such a conclusion is in agreement with the Chinese tradition which describes Pañca-Śikha's book as consisting of 60,000 stanzas.

A question now arises as to what the character of the teaching of Vārṣaganya was. Vācaspati describes him as योगशास्त्रं व्युत्पादयिता which means that he was an exponent of Yoga—not however in the sense of an independent system of thought, as is clear from what has been stated; but in that of a system of discipline, calculated to help in the realisation of the Absolute. That is, Vārṣaganya was a Vedāntin—more particularly a *vivarta-vādin* or upholder of the Māyā doctrine. Such a view, however, cannot be accepted readily for there is early evidence to show that Vārṣaganya was in all probability a *pariṇāma-vādin*. In the *Abhidharma-kośa* of Vasubandhu,

1. 'कपिलमहर्षिप्रणीतषष्ठितन्त्राख्यस्मृतेः' (p. 87).

there is a long discussion between the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika; and at one stage of it, the Sautrāntika compares the *sarvāsti-vāda* of the Vaibhāṣika to the doctrine of Vārṣaganya. "In the end it comes to the same as the theory of the followers of Vārṣaganya. According to them there is neither production of something new nor extinction of something existent; What exists is always existent, what does not exist will never become existent."² Now this is exactly what the Sāṅkhya is believed to teach. According to Vācaspati's *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā* (IV-1-32), though both the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga alike advocate *pariṇāma*, the one is to be distinguished from the other just in this: According to the Sāṅkhya, the modes or differentiations are *always* there and what takes place in time and space is only their manifestation. It is not merely *Prakṛti* that is eternal; all its states are so. That is *satkārya-vāda* understood literally. According to the Yoga, on the other hand, the changing substance, *viz.*, *Prakṛti* is permanent but not its states which, as we know, is the view expressed in the *Yoga-bhāṣya* quotation already referred to. If Vārṣaganya held the *pariṇāma-view* in its extreme form, we see very good reason, by the way, for the emendation of the *śloka* in question. Now granting that Vārṣaganya was a *pariṇāma-vādin*, he might have been a Sāṅkhya believing in *Prakṛti* as the independent source of the physical universe. Or more probably, since Vācaspati insists that he was a Vedāntin and describes him as elaborating a method of discipline and not as propounding a system of philosophy, he was a *Brahma-pariṇāma-vādin* like Bhāskara, say, of a later age. In that case he would not hold *Prakṛti* to be ultimate.² Even so, we have to admit that Vācaspati in his *Bhāmali* is interpreting a passage intended to teach *pariṇāma* in the sense of *vivarta*. But he is not alone in doing so and there are other instances of the kind in the history of Indian philosophy. Thus one and the same thinker, Brahmanandin, who is also known as the *Vākya-kāra*, is cited in support of both the views—by Bhāskara in support of *pariṇāma* in his commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtras*

1. Stecherbatsky : *The Central Conception of Buddhism* : p. 89

2. Vārṣaganya would maintain that all things *are* at all times, so that the emphasis in *सद्यैव* in his *śloka* can refer not to the world as it is, but to the world as it is commonly conceived, *i.e.* as consisting of things that *originate* and *perish*. All things according to him subsist always; hence their existence in time and space is a myth.

(I-iv-25) and by Sarvajñātman in support of *vivarta* in his *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka* (III-217,221). It is doubtful which of these views was acceptable to Brahma-nandin; but it is practically certain that Bhartṛ-prapañca was a *pariṇāma-vādin* and yet Sureśvara represents him as an advocate of the other view.¹ This uncertainty may in part be due, as suggested by Sureśvara in the passage just referred to, to the failure to preserve in its precise form the teaching of these ancient thinkers and the consequent break in tradition; but it is also due in part to the fact, noted by Sarvajñātman², that the advocates of *vivarta* usually make *pariṇāma-vāda* the stepping-stone to it. On account of this, their followers naturally come to look upon *vivarta* i.e. the necessary implication of all *pariṇāma* views, and to regard the latter as affording merely a tentative solution of the well-known problem of the one and the many.

VAÑCIMĀNAKAR OR THE GREAT CITY CALLED VAÑCI

BY

C. S. CHELUVU AIYAR, VAKIL, OOTACAMUND.

My friend, the late Mr. Devan Bahadur Pethachi Chettiar, by whose ultimately death, Southern India has lost its great patron of Tamil language and the most liberal-hearted of its sons, gave me two books called "Vañcimānakar" and "Cēraṅ Ceṅkuṭṭuvay" written by two of the most eminent Tamil scholars of the present day, namely Śrīmāns R. Raghava Iyengar and M. Raghava Iyengar respectively and asked me to review them. Owing to want of reference books and time, I could not complete my review within the time when my friend was sojourning at Ootacamund and therefore, with his permission I sent it to "Centamī" the premier Tamil monthly and the organ of the fourth caṅkam published at Madura. It was published in that magazine, in No. 4 of Volume 21, February March, 1923.

2. For the reasons that the books reviewed by me were Tamil, the authorities quoted *pro* and *con* were Tamil and the subject was the capital of the ancient Cēra kingdom, one of the three great Tamil kingdoms which comprised the whole of Southern India, my review was written in the Tamil language. But scholars like Dewan Bahadur Bhavanandam Pillai and Mr. Krishnamachari of the Archaeological Department thought that if written in the English language it would reach a wider circle of readers and commanded me to render it in English. Hence my justification in rewriting my Tamil review in English. Here I have endeavoured to conform to the original as far as possible; and wherever I depart from it, it is solely with the object of making the subject more intelligible to the English reading public.

3. The capital of the ancient Cēra kingdom is admitted on all hands to have been "Vañci or Vañcimānakar". Which city of the present times was that Vañcimānakar is the theme of

1. *Br. : up. : Vārtika* p. 666 Śl. 1164-5. See also *Indian Antiquary*, 1924 : p. 84.

2. *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka* : iii-220. Compare also Śaṅkara on *Vṛd* : *Sū* : II-114.

the two aforesaid books which are reviewed here. Since there are more than two cities which can be rightly called Vañcimānakar of the ancients, it behoves us to restrict our subject to the elucidation of the question—which city was that Vañcimānakar which Cēraṅ Ceṅkuṭṭuvāṇ the greatest monarch of the Cēra Kingdom and Emperor of all India had as his capital at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century after Christ. The controversy as to Vañcimānakar does not seem to be new but it seems to have raged from the 13th century A. D. and scholars have not up to date agreed as to which it was. The learned authors of “Vañcimānakar and Cēraṅ Ceṅkuṭṭuvāṇ” have declared as their opinion that it was Karūr, which is now the capital of a taluk in the Trichinopoly District; but which, by tradition, and character of the country and the people, naturally belongs and did belong till recently to the Coimbatore District. They have given ample reasons and quoted authorities for their position and indeed the two books which they have severally written are not only full of them but are a regular mine of scholarship and information of an exceedingly fascinating character. Mr. R. Rangaiahari, M.A., B.L., in a learned article published in the “Hindu” of the 30th August, 1922, has agreed with the conclusions arrived at by the learned authors. But others such as Mr. K. V. Subramania Ayyar and the late Rao Bahadur P. L. Chinnaswamy Pillay of Palghat, are of opinion that Vañcimānakar was not Karūr but Koṭṭunkaḍūr, which is now anglicised into Cranganore situated about 25 miles north of Cochin, laved by the waves of the Arabian Sea on the west and the billows of the back water, whose entrance is at Karuvappadana, on the East. These gentlemen, it may be noted however, have given, so far as I am aware, no reasons and quoted no authorities for their opinions, while the authors of the two books under review have given reasons also for their position that Koṭṭunkaḍūr could not have been “Vañcimānakar”. The renowned research scholar the late Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai of the Postal Dept. in his monumental work “The Tamils 1800 Years Ago” has expressed a third opinion that the ancient “Vañcimānakar was neither Karūr nor Koṭṭunkaḍūr, but Tirukarūr situated 28 miles north-east of Cochin and which is now in ruins. Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai also gives no reasons for his opinion, and by the way in which he expresses it, he seems to think it beyond all doubt.

4. Now, let me examine the grounds adduced by Śrīmaṇḍ R. Raghava Iyengar and M. Raghava Iyengar to prove that Karūr was Vañcimānakar. As far as I could gather from those two books the following six reasons seem to be the most important for their conclusions *viz.*—

1. In the Sthalapurāṇam or the ancient history of Karūr it is given that the site on which the town was built had been originally a forest of Vañcula or Vañci trees and hence it was called “Vañculārappiṇyam”. If the word is taken to be “Vañculā” (வஞ்சுளா) with ‘ā’ as its terminal element then the meaning of “Vañculārappiṇyam” would be the forest which is full of very heavy milking cows; and suitably to this significance is another name of the town *viz.*, Tiruvāṇilai or the village-common for the assemblage of cows; and the God in the temple on that site is called “Paśupatiśvara” *i.e.*, the lord of cows.

11. a. “கெடுந் தேர்க்கோதை

திருமாவியனகர்க் கருவூர் முன்றுறைத்

தெண்ணீருயர்க் கறைகுவையுய

தண்ணீர் போருதை மணலினும்பலவே.”

(அகநானூறு-93).

The valorous deeds of Kōtai (Cēra) of the tall chariot are as numerous as the sands in the dunes against the high banks of the river Taṇṇāṇporunai (Amarāvati) which flows in front of the prosperous and wonderful city of Karūr.

b. “தண்போருதைப் புனற்பாயுந்

விண்பொரு புகழ்விரல் வஞ்சி.”

(புறநானூறு-11).

That powerful Vañci irrigated by the cool waters of Porunai and famed as far as the heavens,

c. தண்போருதை குழ்தரும் வஞ்சியர்க்கோமான்.

(சிலப்.-29).

The Lord of the people of Vañci which is surrounded by the cool Porunai.

d. “வஞ்சிப் புறமதில்லைக்குங்

கல்வெண்போருதை மணலினும்”.

(புற.-347).

(too numerous) as the sands in the bed of the roaring Porunai which leaves the outer walls of Vañci.

e. “இவன் யாரென்குவையா யினிவனே

புலிநிறக் கவசம் பூம்பொறி சிதைய

வெய்களை கிழித்த பகட்டெழின் மார்பின்

மறவியன்ன களிற்று மிசையோனே

கனிமே, முநீர்வழங்கும் நாவாய்மேலவும்
பன்மீரூர் பட்டங்கள் பேரலவும்
கழவினத் தன்னவாமோர் மொய்யம்
முகமேதா நாயாதமைத்து பட்டன்மே
மேலில னாகியெய்க தில்வம்
பழனமழைநாடு யுகுத்த பீள்
கழனி யழவர் சூட்டொடு சொகுத்தல்
கொழுமின் வினைத்த கன்னின்
விழுகிர் வேலிகாடு கிழமொனே.”

(புறம்.-13).

“Oh, lord of all that beautiful country surrounded by falling waters, rich with money and fat fish from the rice fields where reapers bind sheaves intermixed with peacock feathers! If you ought to know who this fine warrior that sets his elephant like the death-dealing Yama is: it is he who slew the tiger with a single arrow, rending, at once, its beautifully coloured skin and vitals; and his elephant, becoming musty without the knowledge of his keepers, has run away unheeding the swords of the throng of warriors surrounding him, like the ship sailing through a sea of sharks and the moon the star-studded sky. May he depart in peace without danger!”

The foregoing quotations point to Karūr as “Vañcimānakar”.

III. (a) The tutelary divinity of the town of Karūr bears the name of “Vañciyanmaṇi.”

(b) The God Śiva of the temple north of Amarāvati is called “Vañculēśvaraliṅkam”.

IV. செங்குணக் கொழுங்கு ஹழிமலிர் நிறைக்
காவிரி யன்றியும் ஆவிரி புனலொரு
முன்னுடன் கூடிய கூட லனையை.

(பதிர்.—50).

“You who are not only like the cool rippling Cauvery which bends its course straight to the east but also deep like the confluence of the flower-bedecked waters of your three rivers.” The meaning of the above stanza, according to our authors, is that the three rivers—Cauvery, Amarāvati and Kūḍavanār, according to an old commentary, mingle their waters; and it is from this confluence that the river Cauvery begins to flow eastward and therefore it is inferred that “Vañcimānakar is on the banks of the Amarāvati.

V. ஆடக மாடத்தரி தழிலமர்ந்தோன்

(சிலப்.—26).

“The God who sleeps the sleep of eternal wisdom in the gold-domed palace.”

This, they declare, refers to the Raṅganātha's temple in the “Aracavaṇam” (the ficus grove in Karūr).

VI. The old Roman coins of the time of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius were found in the vicinity of Karūr.

The above six, so far as I am able to gather, are the chief of the grounds adduced to establish that “Vañcimānakar” was no other than Karūr.

Now, let us see how far these grounds support their conclusions.

I. The learned authors say that the word “Vañculāraṇṇiyam” means either the forest of Vañci trees or the forest where cows abound and therefore the city of Karūr has come to bear the name of “Vañcimānakar.” They also say the city did not take that name from the “Vañci” creeper. But Cīttalaiccāṭṭaṇār, the author of the great Epic “Maṇimēkalai” has referred to “Vañcimānakar” as

“பொற்கொடிப் பெயர்படுஉம் பொன்னகர்”.

(மணிமேகலை—26, 92)

“that wealthy city which bears the name of the golden creeper”

“பூங்கொடிப் பெயர்படுஉம் திருந்திய நன்னகர்”

(மணிமே.—28, 101, 102).

“That well-built fine city bearing the name of the flowery creeper.” which his commentators declare to mean that the city has taken its name from the creeper “Vañci.” But our authors say that the real meaning of the above two passages is, the city which bears the name of the creeper and not which has taken its name from the creeper. I might agree with this meaning, but there occurs

உற்றவளாக் கோருயர் தவன்வடிவாய்ப்

பொற்கொடி எஃதீயிற் பொருத்தியவண்ணமுப்.

(மணிமே.-பதி.—85, 86).

How she, after reaching it, assumed the garb of a ṛṣi and went to “Vañci” of the golden creeper. The meaning of this line that “Vañci” got its name from the creeper will not be wrong, for the second line has another reading viz., “பொற்கொடி மூதூர்”. “The ancient city of the golden creeper”; the meaning of it would only be the city which obtained its

name from the creeper "Vañci" and not that its name was the same as that of the creeper.

There is also another line from which one could make out only that meaning *viz.*, that the city got its name from the creeper.

"பூங்கொடி வஞ்சிமாநகரீ புகுவை." (மணிமேகலை—21, 91).

"You will get into Vañcimānakar of the flowery creeper." Besides the above, the great author of Maṇimēkalai when speaking of Vañcimānakar invariably connects it with the creeper Vañci but never for once, if he had meant it to be Karūr, has alluded to it as the Vañci of the Vañci trees, or, of cows, or, of pregnancy. The absence of any such allusion at all pointing to the origin of the name of the city and the omission of any such reference by Ḥaṅkōvaṭikaḥ the author of "Cilappatikāram" strengthen a little the view of those who say that "Vañcimānakar" was not Karūr.

II. The five quotations under this heading certainly refer to Karūr and not to any other place. Therefore, there are unmistakable examples pointing to the conclusion that the Vañci referred to in those stanzas means only Karūr.

III. The two examples given here could also apply to "Vañculāṭavi" as being the origin of the names "Vañciyammai" and "Vañculēśvaraliṅkam" and from these to draw the conclusion that Vañcimānakar was Tiruvāṇilai-Karūr will be opposed to logic.

IV. The explanation that the three rivers mentioned in the stanza quoted here "மூன்றுடன் கூடிய கூடலையை *i. e.*, like the confluence of your three rivers" *viz.*, Kāvēri, Amarāvati and Kūṭavaṇāru, does not seem to be fitting. The authors have not given sufficient grounds for their opinion that the confluence referred to in this stanza points to that of the rivers Kāvēri and Amarāvati. It is difficult to understand why our authors should have marched into the thorny path of imagining that the confluence spoken of by the author of the stanza refers to that of the said two rivers which is situated six miles away from Karūr, while there is in the country belonging to the Cēra Kings themselves the famous town of Bhavānī, where the sacred confluence of Kāvēri and Bhavānī takes place, according to Purāṇas and tradition, with the third river "Amṛtanadī" flowing underground. It is also not clear how they make out a connection between the

confluence of Amarāvati with Kāvēri and Karūr and how it has become a sea also. In the quotation given by our learned authors from "Paramatabhaṅgam" of Vedānta Deśika *viz.*, "மாதவனார் வடகொங்கில் வாசியாற்றின்—Mādhava possessing the river Vāṇi in the north Koṅku country", the word "வாணி" instead of meaning Amarāvati distinctly shows that it is not Amarāvati but Bhavānī, because the word "Vāṇi", although another name for Amarāvati, cannot refer to it here, as it is not in the north Koṅku country; but the river Bhavānī being one of the large rivers belonging to the Cēras and flowing in the north Koṅku and bearing to this day the names of "Vāṇi" "Bāṇi" and "Āṇi" fits the meaning of the quotation better. Śrīmāṇ R. Raghava Iyengar finds the meaning of "செங்குணம் கொழுகும் *i. e.*, flowing due East" to be that the river Kāvēri flows due east only after it is joined by Amarāvati. This does not seem to be near the geographical truth. Besides the fact that the stanza quoted does not refer to this confluence at all. There is the tradition that the sage Agastya, who was bringing Kāvēri in his kamaṇḍala from Coorg southwards to the Pāṇḍya country, sat on a rock to perform his ablutions and when he sat shutting his eyes in meditation with the kamaṇḍala before him, the God Gaṇapati at the earnest prayers of Indra and the then Cōla King Kāvēra, assuming the form of a crow, sat on it and as if by accident upset it, so that the Kāvēri in it began to flow due east from that rock which lies on the opposite bank to Koṭumuṭi a town more than 20 miles to north-east of Karūr. This exists to this day under the name of Agastiyar Pārai. Although the meaning that Kāvēri flowing directs towards the sea, as found by Śrīmāṇ Iyengar, is taken to be correct, the confluence mentioned here is none but the confluence of Bhavānī and Kāvēri and there is no sort of connection between any confluence and Karūr.

V. "ஆடக மட்டத்தரிதுழி வமர்த்தோன்"

* * * *

The two learned authors are of opinion that the golden-domed temple mentioned in the above line is the Raṅganātha's temple situated in the ficus grove of Karūr and also it must have been within the city of Vañcimānakar or within the king's palace there, and could not be the famous temple at Trivandrum. Let us examine the correctness of this meaning. An incongruity is apparent on the face of it. The learned authors are of opinion that whether the golden-domed temple was Raṅganātha's temple

in Karūr or another within the palace itself, it must be very near to him. Those people who brought the sacred offerings to Cēraṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvan would have done so with the knowledge of his having sent away his sword and umbrella on his state elephant, at the auspicious moment, the previous night, and of his starting that morning on his northern expedition and that they had been previously bidden to bring the offerings. If this had been true, that King Ceṇkuṭṭuvan, after worshipping God Śiva and placing the offerings of that shrine on his head and also worshipping the sacred fire of the brahmins, straightaway mounted his elephant without going to the golden-domed temple for worshipping the God Viṣṇu and receiving the offerings there, seems to be incongruous. The mere fact of his mounting his elephant without the least delay after worshipping God Śiva and the brahminical fire and just at that moment "some people's" coming with the offerings from the shrine of Viṣṇu show that he was not expecting them and that the shrine should have been far away and not anywhere in the vicinity. Therefore it is clear that Vañcimānakar might have been Koṭuṅkallūr or any other city and not Karūr. An ancient commentator on Cilappatikāram, known under the appellation of அருப்பசுவரையாசிரியர், has suspected that ஆடகமாடம் i. e., the golden-domed temple, could be a town of the name of Ravipuram. Amongst the many patronyms of Karūr, Bhāskarapuram is one, and our authors hold that the ancient commentator meant Karūr by his mention of Ravipuram. Both the words mean the city of the sun (Bhāskara and Ravi). But Bhāskarapuram is one of the names of Karūr which is not in use; and to suggest that the ancient commentator simply translated Bhāskarapuram, a proper name, into Ravipuram is unnatural and unthinkable; and besides, when he said that it might be Ravipuram, would have been with the knowledge that it had a temple dedicated to God Viṣṇu, where He presided in a recumbent posture. That Sedakkudumbi is a citizen of Vañcimānakar, or is a great devotee of Viṣṇu is not disputed, but it does not follow that the ஆடகமாடம் the golden-domed temple should have been in Vañcimānakar. It is common knowledge that even to this day the officiating priests in the temples of Malayālam country, whether dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu, are called Śāntikars, and although they are Mangalore Brahmins, sometimes they used to live with their families in some convenient place in the Malayālam country,

from which place they used to go to different places for their duties, remaining there all alone for six months in the year and for the next half year returning to their families; and therefore the house of the Sedakkudumbi being in Vañcimānakar and their duty being somewhere else is not incompatible. It also sounds from the text that Sedakkudumbi should have been one of those people who brought offerings to the king while on the elephant. It is also understood from Kadiraiver Pillai Dictionary that Ravipuram is a town 10 miles to the Northwest of Cape Comorin. In it, there is a temple dedicated to Śrī Raṅganāthasvāmin where the sanctus sanctorum is called "ஆடகமாடம்"—"the golden-domed temple."

VI. The coins of the old Roman Emperors were found not only at Karūr but in several towns and more especially in towns on the west coast; and therefore that they were found at Karūr could furnish no valid reason for the conclusion that Karūr was the Vañcimānakar which was the capital of Cēraṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvan. In my humble opinion I found that the foregoing six grounds which have been investigated are the most important of those adduced by Śrīmāns R. Raghava Iyengar and M. Raghava Iyengar.

We shall now proceed to investigate the reasons for the opinion that Koṭuṅkallūr was the famous Vañcimānakar. Cēkkiḷār, the author of Periyapurāṇam, was the first to have unmistakably declared that Koṭuṅkallūr was Vañcimānakar. It is known that the name of Koṭuṅkallūr never occurred in the Tamil literature anterior to it. The names, Koṭuṅkallūr and Tiruvañcaikkūlam, do not appear in any of the works of the Caṅkam age or in the stray stanzas supposed to have been composed by any of the Caṅkam poets. There the capital city of Cēra kingdom is always given as "Vañci" or "Karūr." It is clear, from the five examples which begin with "நெருந்தேர்க்கோதை" (the valorous deeds of Kōtai) given above, that "Vañci" was Tiruvāṇilai-Karūr. But the utter absence of the name of Vañcimānakar in the great epics of Cilappatikāram and Maṇimekalai, and in the time of Cēraṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvan himself in which, on numerous occasions the name Vañcimānakar occurs, without in any way pointing to this Karūr, has given rise to the serious doubt that it could not have been Karūr. This, coupled with the work of Cēkkiḷār who is supposed to have lived in the 11th century A. D., in which Vañcimānakar is declared to be Koṭuṅkallūr, and the

opinions of the commentators of Cilappatikāram declaring that Tiruvāṇilai-Karūr was not the Vañci occurring in the text but that it is a town in the Malayālam country and the commentator of Maṇimēkalai for the “Vañci” in line 91 of canto 21 stating that “this is the capital of the Cēras and situate in the Malayālam country” have been the reasons for the investigation as to what was the capital of the Cēras in the time of Cērāṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ. Therefore, it behoves us to scrutinise Cilappatikāram and Maṇimēkalai for any internal evidence touching this matter without allowing ourselves to be guided by the opinions of the commentators of these epics. The ancients called Koṭuṅkallūr as Vañci and “Magodai”. They have in no place called it as Karūr. It must not also be forgotten that they have also called Tiruvāṇilai-Karūr as “Vañci.”

I. The learned among the ancients divided the Tamil country into three main divisions and named them “Kuṭanāṭu” குணநாடு (the Eastern country) Kuṭanāṭu (the western country) and “Tēṇṇāṭu” (the Southern country) and their rulers as Kuṭanāṭṭukkāvalaṇ (குணநாட்டுக்காவலன்) (the king of the eastern country) Kuṭanāṭṭukkāvalaṇ (the king of the western country) and Tēṇṇāṭṭukkāvalaṇ (the king of the southern country) respectively. They have also stated that these divisions and the kingdoms had come into existence from the time of the creation, meaning thereby that they always existed from time immemorial. It was also widely known that the kings who ruled the western country were styled “Cēras” and “Cēralas” and their kingdom as Cēra country.” The western boundary of the kingdom was the Western (Arabian) Sea. It is a well-known fact that the word Cēralaṇ, sanskritised into “Kērala”, is more in vogue at the present time. It is also clear from numerous passages in the ancient literature that the Cēra King was called Kuṭanāṭṭukkāvalaṇ (protector of the western country) and “Malaṭaṇ” (the Lord of the mountains). Such being the undisputed facts, it stands to reason that the capital of that country and its kings must have been situated in that country and therefore the assertion that Tiruvāṇilai-Karūr which is situate in an Eastern district where there are no mountains and which is far away from mountains and the western sea, was the capital of the Cēra country does not appeal to the intelligent public. At the present time when the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas are no more, and when their existence is even doubted,

it is to be noted that the kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore are still ruled by the successors of the ancient Cēra Kings, and here and there, to this day, the smaller divisions of the country are ruled by the descendants of the ancient Kṣatriya families, shorn of all their former splendour except the appellation of kings used only by their immediate dependants. Such being the facts, to assert that the capital of the Cēras was Karūr, which is a city in the border land of the Cēra Kings and which required all the martial habits of the powerful Cēras to keep it from being wrested from their hands by the hostile and vigilant Cōḷas who sometimes actually wrested it, is an untenable proposition.

II. It must be understood that the names “Kuṭṭaṇ” and Kuṭṭuvaṇ” are peculiar to Malabar and are not commonly found in the Tamil countries. The meanings of the words are “little man” “child” and “son” and in this sense it is even to this day the patronym of fifty per cent of the population of Malabar. The meaning of the word “Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ” is *Red boy* and Kuṭṭanāṭu is “small country”. Such names are not in vogue in and around Karūr or in any other Tamil speaking district. Therefore, it is a safe conclusion that the country where Cērāṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ was born and reigned should have been none other than the country which now goes by the name of Malayālam.

III. It is well known that Cilappatikāram in its Kāteikkātai (காட்சிக்கதை) describes how Cērāṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ, sportfully inclined, with the object of seeing and enjoying mountain scenery, accompanied by Ḥaṅkōvaṭikaḷ, his brother, Vēṇmāl (வேண்மான்) his consort and by his numerous army of the four divisions, set out like Indra, the monarch of the heavens with an army spreading over 140 miles, and encamped in the expansive sand bank of the River Periyār in the midst of mountains. If the “Vañci-murraṇ” (வஞ்சிமுற்றம்), his palace in, “Vañci” which he left, were to have been at Karūr, it is inconceivable why he, who was going only for the purpose of mere sport, should not have chosen mountains comparatively near to it, having easier approaches and also belonging to him, such as Kollimalai and chosen the mountains very far away from his capital, having no direct road to them except through the countries belonging to other Sovereigns, to wit—the Pāṇḍya and encamp in the sand-dunes of Periyār near its source. The Cēra King, when he was thus encamping was regaling himself with the குன்றக்குரவையொடு கொடிச்சியர் பாடலும் *i. e.*, the peculiar dances and songs of the mountain tribes, at the

same time listening to the noises of wild animals mingled with those of his large army and also receiving the presents such as elephant tusks and sweet voiced *hill-mynas* with which the mountain chieftains came to pay their homage to him. Such produce of the mountains, with such wealth and abundance, was not to be had in small mountain ranges such as Kollimalai but could only be found in the mountains to which he went. This also shows that Karūr could not have been the capital of his Kingdom. Further, when he returned to his capital in haste, although "Cilappatikāram" does not in so many words say that it took him only one day for the return journey it still has said enough for the conclusion that the road back to his palace was near and easy. Although it could be said that the presents which he received, the songs and noises which he heard, and the noble waterfalls which he feasted his eyes on, were available also in the Kollimalai, or other mountains, near by, that he should have chosen to go to Periyār for sport and actually returned so quickly to his capital makes it almost impossible to think that it could have been Karūr.

IV. Śrīmān R. Raghava Iyengar is of opinion that from the lines beginning with "வெண்டலைப்புண்ணியின் விளிம்புருழி போத" "Going on the shores of the white crested sea" it would be wrong to come to the conclusion that "Vañcimānakar" should have been near the western sea and adduces the following reasons :—(1) The author of Cilppatikāram did not say anything clearly in "வஞ்சியங்காணல் வெண்டலைப்புண்ணி" (going on the shores) of the white-crested sea belonging to Vañci." (2) It is said in the text that Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ went one way and his generals and army went another way.(3) Iṭṭāṅkōvaṭikal has described with great wealth of detail their having reached the sea; and (4) It is only proper to construe that, according to the habit of Tamil Kings, Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ also started by first reaching the Eastern sea and went by its shore and returned by the West Coast. (1) & (2) It cannot be seen from the text that Iṭṭāṅkōvaṭikal has described at all the army's reaching the sea; nor could one understand the logic in the argument that if the army went by the western sea the author ought to have mentioned வஞ்சியங்காணல், i. e., the sea-shore belonging to Vañci, and since it is not so mentioned the army did not go that way but went by the eastern sea. Śrīmān Iyengar says that if "வெண்டலைப்புண்ணி" the white crested sea is taken to mean the western sea the text must be construed to mean that Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ went one way

and his army another way. The text does not countenance it, as it expressly says "உலகமன்னவ நெருங்குடன் சென்று" (the great Emperor of the World went along with his army).

(3) Śrīmān R. Raghava Iyengar asserts that it was the habit of Tamil Kings in contrast to the rest of the World—to start by going from right to left and supports it by a stanza from Kōvūr Kilār beginning "குணகடல் மின்னாநக i. e., leaving the eastern sea behind." The meaning of the stanza does not seem to be such, nor could any such habit be inferred from it and even if, with difficulty, one were to construe it so, it does not make mention of any such habit. All that can be gathered from that stanza is that the Kings of the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya country, when going to North India, chose the shores of the eastern sea. Of course they did so as it was an easier road for them to start by. It could never be made out that the Tamil Kings had established for themselves a custom or habit which is contrary to what is followed by the world throughout. Such an assertion would certainly be objected to by geographers by raising the question how, if Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ had started on his northern expedition from Karūr, he first reached the eastern sea and afterwards reached the slopes of the Nilgiri Hill for camping for the night as stated in the text. Therefore the inevitable conclusion which any impartial reader could arrive at would be that Śrīmān Iyengars, for the purpose of establishing their prior conclusion that Karūr was Vañcimānakar, twist and distort the plain meaning of the author of the great Epic into incongruities and thereby land themselves in difficulties. Iṭṭāṅkōvaṭigaḷ has sung in clear sweet lines that Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ with his large army, first starting along the sea-coast diverged into climbing mountains and then descending to the plains went as far as the base of the hills called Nilgiris and there encamped for the night. It is therefore clear that Vañcimānakar, whether an inland or a sea-port town, must have been situate not far from the western sea. Here Nilgiri does not betoken the chain of mountains, going at the present time by that name, but clearly indicates that high inaccessible peak, called at the present day the Nilgiri Peak, which rises abruptly from the plains of Malayāḷam, and not far from whose base lie the towns of Nilāmbūr and Vaṇṭūr, and the road going northwards to Mysore, to this day, winds. Further, if a person wanted to go to north India from Karūr, the road chosen by

Ceṅkuṭṭuvan, as described in the text, *viz.*, by the Nilgiri Peak, is not the one which, if he were a sensible man, he would have chosen. It should also be noted that the opinion of Arumpatavuraiyācīriyar one of the commentators of Cilappatikāram, is in full accord with this view. Therefore the examples which Śrīmāṇs Iyengars have selected from Cilappatikāram for proving that Karūr was the ancient Vañcimānakar, instead of furnishing any ground for such a conclusion, furnish ample grounds for the conclusion that Karūr could never have been Vañcimānakar but that it should have been somewhere in the west and in the Malayālam country.

V. Now let us try to find out the true meaning of the passages—

“உரவு நீர்வையை
கெடு வேன்குன்ற மடிவைத்தேறி”

Cila. 23, 185-190.

“The river Vaikai whose water augmented with those of other rivers; . . . laboriously and step by step ascending a hill dedicated to the God Muruka”—which have been pointed out as authority and construed by Śrīmāṇs Iyengars and others in different ways, suitably to their opinions.

Here it is the opinion of Śrīmāṇs Iyengars that the hill referred to in the passage was none other than the Paḷani Hill.

It seems necessary to understand clearly whether Kaṇṇaki when she set out on her lonely journey from Madura, started with the intention of going to Vañcimānakar or on the road to it. Supposing that she had the intention of going to Vañcimānakar, and that was Tiruvāṇilai-Karūr, then, there was a very good road in the plains from Madura to it without the slightest necessity for going on one of the banks of Vaikai or ascending or descending hills. If, on the other hand, Vañcimānakar were Koṭuṅkallūr or some other town, in the west, it is clear that the road taken by her was the proper way to it. It is not clear why she found any necessity for going either to Karūr or Koṭuṅkallūr. Cilappatikāram also does not say so. It is supposed that she wanted to go to Paḷani Hill; but no necessity seems to have arisen for her doing so. Therefore, it is abundantly clear that when she set out she had no intention of going to any particular place. If the tutelary Goddess of Madura were to have told her that she should go to Paḷani in order to join her husband, Cilappatikāram would not have omitted such an important event. It only limits

the time for that occasion through the deity informing her that it would occur on the fourteenth day. Therefore, Kaṇṇaki, having sacrificed her husband, losing one of her breasts, setting fire to Madura and having seen the Pāṇḍya King and Queen dying before her own eyes, became so sad and dejected that she had no mind even to think of where she was going to and simply went whichever direction her feet took her, feeling “I am not alive either to sit or stand” (இருத்தலுமில்லேமிறந்தலுமில்லேன்) and the road which she happened to take was the road on one of the banks of the River Vaikai. That road led her into the mountains of the Pāṇḍya country and then into those of the Cēra country; and she, finding a temple, dedicated to God Muruka on the top of one of the hills there, as is common everywhere, dragged herself up step by step with great difficulty and reaching a Vēṅkai tree in blossom stood panting and sighing in its shade. These events are most clearly portrayed in the text. If we were to suppose that the hill which was dedicated to God Muruka was Paḷani, it is nothing but natural to suppose that the great author would not have lost this splendid opportunity of describing so famous a temple, one of the military headquarters of the God, in befitting terms. The absence of any such description or even suggestion is one of the most potent objections against such a supposition. Besides this, the people who were to be found on Paḷani are the celestials, sages, Brahmins and the Bhaktas of Kumāraswāmin and not the rude uncivilized denizens of the forest, who it was that betook themselves to Ceṅkuṭṭuvan in his camp and reported the occurrence, because he was their King and Sovereign. It is also to be noted that Paḷani Hill is in the Pāṇḍya country, as is well known from the history of Paḷani (பழனித்தல புராணம் : சேரர் கோன் சருக்கம்: 7-ம் பாடல்)—7th stanza in the canto of Cēra King's episode, and also from the Madura Gazetteer of the present day; and the wild tribes, being subjects of the Pāṇḍya King, would not be expected to have gone to the Cēra King's camp, far out of the way, to report this strange occurrence in preference to their own sovereign. Śrīmāṇs R. Raghava Iyengar refers to the Madura Dt. Manual and Gazetteer and says that Periyār takes its rise in the Pāṇḍya country and mentions the chain of hills called Paḷani and Varicai mountains. These names are new and they did not come in to vogue in the age of the caṅkams. Therefore it is clear that the hill dedicated to God Muruka and over which Kaṇṇaki

dragged herself could never have been the famous shrine of Paṇi. On the other hand the learned commentator of Cilappatikāram pronounces it to be Tiruccēṅkōṭu, a hill on the mountains of Malayāḷam and not the isolated and far-famed sacred rock prominent for miles round in the plains of Salem. Here the ancient road to Vañcimānakar went only through the city of Madura as is laid down in Cilappatikāram itself. It is to be understood that the route taken by Tēvanti, who was Kaṇṇaki's friend, when set out for Vañcimānakar on learning from the Brahmin (Māṭalan) all that had befallen Kaṇṇaki and how a temple was built for her and how she was enshrined in it, in the city of Vañcimānagar, is the same as the one taken by Kaṇṇaki herself. Tēvanti and others set out from Pūmpukār, reached Madura and then going along one of the banks of the River Vaikai, ascending and descending hills, reached Vañcimānakar and Kaṇṇaki's temple. If Karūr should be Vañcimānakar, they need not have gone to Madura or along the Vaikai bank or up-hill or down-dale but could have gone to Uraiyūr and then straight to Karūr. Cilappatikāram furnishes another very interesting incident which proves the same thing. Parāśara, a brahmin belonging to Aḷavāy a town in the Cōḷa kingdom near Pukār, learning of the wonderful liberality of the Cēra king to the learned, set out for Vañcimānakar. He first went to Madura and took the road on the Vaikai bank and thence going over hill and dale and descending to the plains reached his destination. While returning, loaded with largesses, his episode at Tāṅkul, a town on the road, is well known to all those who have read Cilappatikāram. In the travels to Vañcimānakar by different people at different times, the same road as that which was taken by Kaṇṇaki, not omitting the important places which lie in its course is carefully described. Śrīmaṇ R. Raghava Iyengar, though agreeing that the Cēra monarch, whom Parāśara went to see, was reigning in the Malayāḷam country and the road he took to reach it was the one leading to his capital, still tries to avoid the conclusion naturally arising out of it, viz., that Vañcimānakar was in the Malayāḷam country, by saying that Parāśara did not go there to see Ceṅkuṭṭuvan but Āṭukōṭpāṭṭuc Cēralāṭaṇ ஆடுகோட்டாட்டிச் சேரலாதர், a half-brother of Ceṅkuṭṭuvan and son of his father by his 2nd wife Patuman Tēvi, daughter of Vēlavik-Komāṇ, whose capital was a town on the western sea coast by name "Naravū". I also agree with him in thinking that Parāśara, the brahmin of Aḷavāy did

not go to see Ceṅkuṭṭuvan. Still it is clear from the commentary of Arumpatavuraḷ Aciriyar to canto XXIII, from the 316th stanza in Paṇamoli, and also from pages 11 and 12 of "Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvan" of Śrīmaṇ M. Raghava Iyengar, that the king who enabled the scholar "Pālaikkōṭamaṇār" பாலைக்கோட்டமாணார் and his wife to bodily go to Heaven, by his munificence, was not Āṭukōṭpāṭṭuc Cēralāṭaṇ but Palyaṇaiceḷkelu Kuṭṭuvan பல்பாணைச் செல்வகேழுடல்வன், the brother of Imaya Varampan i.e., the father of Ceṅkuṭṭuvan. This Palyaṇaiceḷkelu Kuṭṭuvan was no doubt Ceṅkuṭṭuvan's paternal uncle and his predecessor on the throne and was also a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya King Neṭuñceliyaṇ who made a gift of Vayalūr to Vārtikan, the husband of Kartika and who died, sitting on the throne itself, on Kaṇṇaki's proving before him his own injustice to her husband. This certainly will not make it inconsistent that Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvan and Neṭuñceliyaṇ were also contemporaries. Even at this day, if one were to go to Koṭuṅkallūr from Madura, he has to take almost the same route and the road is a beautiful motor road throughout and after descending to the plains runs parallel to River Periyār.

VI. It is said in lines 67 to 77 of Canto XXVIII of Cilappatikāram that Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvan after bringing stones from the Himalayas to his capital enjoyed his leisure by witnessing the dance and listening to the discourses of a renowned Cākkiyar belonging to the brahminical village of Paraiyūr. "Cākkiyar Kūttu சாக்கியர் கூத்து" as an institution and a pastime, was never known to have existed at or about Karūr, or for the matter of that, anywhere in the neighbouring Kingdoms of Cōḷas or Pāṇḍyas. But on the other hand, I am sure that no one could be so ignorant of the fact that it has been an institution of a public pastime, *sui generis* to Malayāḷam country even at the present day. Further, Paraiyūr is unquestionably the present "Parūr" a town in the Travancore Kingdom 25 miles from Cochin and 5 from Koṭuṅkallūr and since this town is clearly indicated in the text, it furnishes a very important ground for the conclusion that Vañcimānakar, which was the capital of Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvan, should have been a city in the Malayāḷam country, either Koṭuṅkallūr or some other, but never Tiruvāṇilai-Karūr.

VII. Śrīmaṇ M. Raghava Iyengar contends that a few words in Cilappatikāram, which he and other scholars have pronounced

to be peculiar to Malayāḷam, are nothing but pure Tamil words largely in use in ancient times but now out of vogue. I agree with him. But the conclusion which one can logically arrive at would be that the country in which Cēraṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ reigned, where his brother the most eminent scholar and poet learnt Tamil, and where his noble language was used in ordinary parlance, was the mountainous country now called Malayāḷam.

VIII. It is known from "Cēraṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ" written by Śrīmāy M. Raghava Iyengar that Iṁayavarampaṇ Cēral Āṭaṇ and Celvakkatuṁkōvaḷi Āṭaṇ were both contemporaries and had married sisters. So it can be understood that their father, Ūṭiyaṇ Cēral and Āṇṭuvaṇ Cēral Irumpurai respectively, were contemporaries and of almost the same age. Puraṇānūru (புறநானூறு) says that the famous poem beginning with "If thou is oughtest to know who this is—இவன் யாரென்குவையாயின்" was addressed to Āṇṭuvaṇ Cēral Irumpurai by poet Ēṭicēṇi Muṭamōciyār ஏணிச்சேனி முடமோசியார். It is known that he was reigning at Karūr at that time. One of the sovereigns who reigned at Karūr before him bore the name "ōlvātakōperuṇ Cēral Irumpurai who went to reign at Karūr. கருவுரோசிய ஒன் வாடகோப்பெருஞ் செலவிரும்புரை. From the epithet "who went to reign at Karūr" it is correct to infer that he should have gone there from some other place. His descendant, Āṇṭuvaṇ Cēral Irumpurai, was the great enemy of Muṭittalaikko Perumarkkili" முடித்தலைக்கோப் பெருநரைக்கிள்ளி, the Cōla King from whose aggressions he required all his military genius for preserving the integrity of Karūr. From this what could be safely inferred is that Karūr being almost on the borders of the two kingdoms, there had been continuous war between their sovereigns to possess it and this necessitated the sending of a prince of the blood in lieu of Generals and statesmen, to rule from there as Viceroy and that a prince of the junior branch of the Cēras viz., the Irumpurai who went to reign at Karūr was chosen and sent; and since that time Karūr became also a capital by courtesy, i. e., Vañcimānakar. So this prince should have gone to Karūr during or before the reign of Ūṭiyaṇ Cēral of the eldest branch. Therefore, the assertion that the Cēraṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ, the grandson of Ūṭiyaṇ Cēral and Peruṇ Cēral Irumpurai the grandson of Āṇṭuvaṇ Cēral Irumpurai, both together reigned at Karūr, will be an absurdity. What could be properly deduced from the facts is that Cēraṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ the

scion of the oldest branch of the Cēras remained at their ancient capital of Vañcimānakar, which was in the Malayāḷam country and ruled his vast kingdom from there.

IX. If all the evidences pro and con were to be arranged, we find that the ancients have designated as Vañcimānakar, both the capitals of Cēra kings viz., the western one in Malayāḷam, from where the emperor ruled and also by courtesy, Karūr, the eastern one, from where a prince of the younger branch of the Cēras governed as Viceroy; and that the origin of the name of Vañci was from the flower of the creeper of that name as we have noticed before. The country which was within the dominion of the Cēras, in those days, was several times larger in extent than the Pāṇḍya and Cōla countries. It is also known that when the Cēras went on a conquering expedition to the Himālayas they not only carved their own special sign of a bow on the mountains but also those of Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas, viz., a tiger and a fish for commemorating the conquest of the country by the Tamil sovereigns. From these it may be seen that the Cēras generally were very warlike and always undertook expeditions of conquest and aggrandisement; and consistently with their enterprise and the habit that was in vogue amongst the Tamils, they chose the "Vañci flower" as their emblem in token of their constant victorious expeditions and called their capital also Vañci. And, as if furnishing a further proof, poets of those days embellished the name of the capital as "Vāṭā Vañci" i. e., the Vañci flower that never fades. There seem to be two objections to this conclusion; (1) Cēkkiḷār is the only poet and author who has called Koṭuṅkallūr "Vañci," whereas most of the poets of the third Caṅkam call Karūr Vañci. (2) When poets addressed their songs to the Emperor or princes of the senior and reigning branch, such as for instance Ceṇkuṭṭuvaṇ, they made reference only to the sands of Amarāvati and the battlements of Karūr. These two objections would induce one to arrive at the conclusion that Karūr was the capital of the Cēra empire and that it could not have been in Malayāḷam.

There are very good answers to those objections. "Olvat-kopurum Cēral Irumpurai, who went to reign at Karūr", was earlier than both Anduvaṇ Cēral Irumpurai and Ūṭiyār Cēral in point of time and was a contemporary of the poet Nari-Verut-talaiyār (நரிவெருத்தலையார்) who flourished before Cīttalai Cāttanār and Paraṇar. The prince went to Karūr in order to make it

safe from the aggrandisements of the Cōlas, in which object he fully succeeded and highly embellished the city of Karūr and handed it down to Anduvañ Cēral Irumpurai and others, who also followed in the footsteps of that renowned warrior with such success that the city came to be considered the eastern capital of the Cēra Empire. Hence the poets who sang the praises of the princes, sung as well the praises of Karūr, their capital and Amarāvati, the river that fertilized it and the country around.

(2) It is also well known that the emperors now and then visited Karūr and while there, their praises were sung by some of the poets who adorned court, making special references to the beauties of Karūr and Amarāvati. This might have been so because those poets belonged to that country and perhaps never having visited Malayālam were more familiar with Karūr and Amarāvati than Periyār and the country. Therefore we are driven to the irresistible conclusion that the cities, from which any Cēra prince ruled the territory given in his charge, were all called "Vañcimānakar" by courtesy, nay, by right, as the "Vañci" flower was the emblem of the Royal family.

X. It is well known to scholars that that province of the Cēra empire, consisting of Karūr, Tiruchengode, Kollimalais, and certain other places, was called Koṅku nāṭu and its capital was Karūr; and that it obtained its name from Koṅkaṇ, a former king who ruled it. The minor branches of the Cēras had been given small territories in the Koṅkunāṭu to govern; and it is they that are referred to as Koṅkilaṅkōcar (கொங்கிலகர்), who also were present during the consecration ceremony of Kaṇṇaki's temple by their Emperor Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ. It is seen also that Irumpurais who were the scions of a main, but junior branch of Cēras, during their viceroyalty of Koṅkunāṭu, used to go to Head-quarters frequently and take orders from their Emperor and that whenever a great battle had to be fought the Emperor himself marched at the head of his large army and took the field and commanded it to victory. It was so, for instance, in the battle of Koṅkar Ceṅkaḷam with Paḷayaṇ Māraṇ—the powerful commander-in-chief of the Pāṇḍyas, who remained unsubdued even by the all-conquering new Mauriyas in their southern expedition. It was likewise so in the great battle of Nerivayil, near Uṇaiyūr where Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ killed with his own hand, in one day, all the nine Cōla princes who rebelled

against their king Perumaṅkiḷi of the Rājasūya fame, இராஜசூயம் வேட்ட பெரும்கிள்ளி who was his brother-in-law, and firmly established him on the throne of the Cōlas by personally performing his coronation ceremony.

XI. The facts set out, in detail above, are so many grounds pointing to the conclusion that Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ's capital city was in the original home of his ancestors viz., the Malayālam country. At one time, when they went on a conquering expedition they lighted on Karūr, wrested the country around it from the hands of the Cōlas by a series of wars and after that founded a Viceroyalty there, which became firmly established for a long time. When by change of fortune, the Cēra emperors lost their power and became unable to effectually control their Viceroys at Karūr, Koṅkunāṭu gradually severed its moorings and became independent. This should have been either in the time of Cēraṇ Perumāḷ or his immediate successors. It was also at that time that the Viceroy at Karūr began to lead expeditions against their own sovereigns in the Malayālam country with the object of wresting the throne from them and it was only after their final defeat that the Kollam Era was founded to commemorate this event; the final battle between the belligerents, which established the independence of the Cēra Kingdom on the one hand and secured the independence of Koṅkunāṭu on the other, was fought near Chittoor, a town on the borders of Koṅkunāṭu, now in the Cochin state about 10 miles from Palghat. This is shown by the great national festival of Koṅkuppaṭai which is being celebrated with great eclat at Chittoor even to this day. It is the common belief of folklore of Koṅkunāṭu that Kaṇṇaki having gone to Malayālam country became a Bhagavati (Goddess). All these clearly point to the undoubted fact that the ancient capital of Cēraṇ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ, his predecessors and successors should have been situated only in the Malayālam country and that on account of the warlike and conquering habits of the Cēras it was called 'Vañcimānakar,' the great city of victory. Still, the doubt whether it was Koṭuṅkallūr or Tirukkarūr or any other city has not been cleared. From the very good reasons given by Śrīmāṇs R. Raghava Iyengar and M. Raghava Iyengar it has not been possible to assert that Koṭuṅkallūr was the great Vañcimānakar. Those reasons are: while Iḷaṅkōvaṭigaḷ the author of Cilappatikāram describes Pukār as a sea-port town in glowing colours, Vañcimānakar has not been so described by

him or by Peruntalai Cāttanār, the author of the contemporaneous epic of Maṇimekalai, although both had abundant opportunities of describing it as such. Concluding that "Vañcimānakaṛ" was in the Malayāḷam country and nowhere else, I may have to defer the consideration of the question as to which city it was, to a future occasion. The consideration of the age of Cēraṇ Ceṇkuṭṭuvay, which is extremely pertinent and closely connected with this subject, has also to be deferred to that future occasion.

A PROLEGOMENON TO THE STUDY OF BURMESE ETYMOLOGY.

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Even from the title of this paper, it will be apparent that the Study of the Etymology of the Burmese language, is to be initiated in the near future and it has hardly been begun yet. The extant literature on the subject is altogether meagre; there is hardly a volume where the ancestry of Burmese words is sought. Less than half a dozen brief notices on the Burmese language lie embedded in defunct journals and the Burma Research Society's Journal, which suffers from the singular misfortune of never being read elsewhere. Even these few attempts at directing the thought of the cultured Burmans to the history of their own language, hardly indicate the lines along which such an interest in the language should develop. The Hon'ble Taw Sein Kho, and to a greater measure Dr. O. Blagden of the London School of Oriental Studies have offered to discover some obscure truths of Burmese Philology but the results of their investigations remain a far too technical success. The average Burmese graduate has hardly any notions on the subject. His vision is far too narrow even to imagine that in the language he has lisped from his infancy, have been blended influences, subtle as strong, from languages and peoples, with whom Burma has had most intimate connections for centuries. Perhaps, as long as the people of Burma lack a knowledge of the languages of the other Indian provinces, Burmese Etymology will have to remain in the hands of foreign Scholars, Indian or European.

In the study of Burmese Etymology, nothing will be so useful at the outset as to consider the history of Burma and draw up a list (1) of the countries with whom Burma had historic connections, (2) of the nations who migrated into Burma, and of other cultures and civilizations that have exercised an influence on the people of Burma. Such a preliminary consideration will

enable us to discard blind prejudices and investigate with an open mind into the history of Burmese words.

Of similar value, would also be a preliminary examination of the Linguistic Survey Reports on the Tibeto-Burman family of languages so that the historic connections as well as the racial affinities noticed will give us a clue as to the languages to which we should first turn our attention.

Such a preliminary study is sufficient to indicate to us that in the study of Burmese Etymology we should take into consideration the existence in the language of a native stock of words with which the nation had used her gift of speech from the earliest times. A proportion of these should be racially allied to the native words of other Mongolian races near by.

The Political history of Burma brings out the frequent relations that Burma had with China on the one side and on the other with the Cōla Kingdom in the South of India, in addition to occasional intercourse with Bengal and Siam. We should thus expect but little influence on the language from Siamese or Bengali. On the other hand, the Chinese invasions and the consequent migration of China-men into Burma have undoubtedly contributed a Chinese element to the making of Burmese. Of the Chinese words in the Burmese Language, a valuable study was made by Hon'ble Taw Sein Kho several years ago, although the truth appears to be, that owing to the inordinate difficulties inherent in the Chinese language, the Chinese influence is but slight.

Too much, I am afraid has been made of late by English Scholars resident in Burma of the influence of English on the Burmese language. Such English words as are getting into Modern Burmese are mostly names of wholes or parts of English manufactured goods and will last as long as the goods in question are current in the land and probably not longer.

On the other hand, when we study the Religious History of Burma, the Indian influence appears predominant. Sanskrit words in their Pāli forms, abound in Burmese. Although originally these classical words should have been incorporated in the language to assist the philosophical thought of Buddhist Burma, the growing tradition in the land that the most elegant expression was possible only with the use of Pāli words, made it possible

that even those Pāli words, that have not a philosophical value, could come to live in the Burmese language.

It is at the same time important to bear in mind that in the conversion of Burma to Buddhism the work devolved mainly on South Indian Scholars and monks who were deputed for the purpose by the kings of South India, and patronised by their Viceroys or Princes ruling in Burma. Where the South Indian influence was confined to the invigoration of monastic life, it would be unwise to seek to trace in the language any linguistic influence. Thus though Sinhalese monks assisted materially in the Buddhist conversion of Burma, the Burmese language has hardly a single word of pure Sinhalese origin.

Far different is the Tamil influence in Burma. Historically, South India and Burma were connected by coastal trade as early as 450 A. D. The elephants of the forests of Burma and the Gold mines about Pegu and Thaton were attractions sufficient to invite emigrants from South Indian Cōla territories to the general exploitation of Burma's wealth. Thus the Lower Burma swamps were rapidly colonised and South Indian Tobacco Plantations were set up, and Industrial products were introduced by trade. For instance in the improvements of habitations etc., brass metal plates of South Indian manufacture were imported about the 10th Century. Again, from the earliest times Burma was clothed by South Indian cotton manufactures. Even when the British trade with Burma started in the 17th Century the East India Company traded only in goods manufactured in South India proper and not in English-made goods. South Indian Metallurgy likewise has contributed to the now neglected Science of Burmese metallurgy. The Tamil influence has been continuous throughout. Even after the advent of the British, the Tamil element preponderates in the various walks of life, the bulk of the cultivators, capitalists, labourers, sepoys, clerks and teachers being Tamil. Even the old Myo-thugyi system of Burmese administration appears to have been a direct descendant of the village administration prevalent in South India.

Judging from this all-sided and ever continuous cultural influence of the Tamil race of South India on Burma, the linguistic contribution of Tamil to Burmese should be great indeed.

Luckily for Burmese etymology, the phonetic spelling craze here has hardly passed its infancy. The Phonetic Readers in

Burmese although authorised by the Text Book Committee, are steadily opposed by all Burmese scholars and used only by foreign students attempting to study Burmese. A voice of loud protest will have to be raised against the blind advocates of phonetic Burmese Spelling, for in words out of number the clear marks of birth and parentage which the Burmese words bear now upon their fronts, would then be obliterated and etymological enquiries would become well-nigh impossible. On the other hand, Burmese Orthography although termed to be illogical and unscientific is yet etymological and the ancestry of the words is visible in the written word. The Orthography perhaps is the only clue in the case of most words and it is imperative that etymological enquiries should be promulgated on thorough lines before the phonetic craze has had time to play havoc with a national heritage.

The method to be adopted in Burmese etymology would have to be suited to the special features of the language but the ten canons propounded by Skeat in his *Science of Etymology* have a value in correcting prejudices, and warning us to proceed with caution. Sentimental objections to etymological enquiry and false pride in the independence of the Burmese language should give place to a more sober satisfaction in finding amidst the numerous borrowed words, a native stock of words in the language.

The New Burmese Dictionary started by the Government of Burma should be of great assistance in furnishing us with the earliest forms of Burmese words as they are found in Early Burmese literature or in early stone inscriptions consulted in the preparation of the dictionary. These early forms of words would be regarded for our purposes as old Burmese words and would be most useful. Everywhere the Orthography, the manner in which the written word is spelt, will be *the starting point*. The word should then be carefully transliterated, according to a uniform principle, in the Roman script. Side by side with this will be placed the transliteration in Roman script of supposed originals in Pāli, Chinese, Tamil, old Tamil etc., together with the originals in the script of the language within brackets.

On every word in the Burmese language, such an operation would have to be performed and the observation of the results of each experiment will have to be recorded in a note on each.

Such a note should include an observation on the *meaning* of the related words and the identity or the change noticed in the meaning. It should also include a remark on the *form* of the words, noticing the form or the change of letters or syllables in the words compared.

We should also ask ourselves what phonetic law was exemplified in each change, so that, at the end, we should be able not only to give the derivation of all Burmese words not belonging to the original native stock but at the same time be able to answer questions primarily of philological interest, and learn more of the History of Burmese Speech Sounds.

Perhaps it would be of interest to mention here my opinion (and the Archeological Superintendent, Burma Circle agrees with me) that the Pyus who inhabited Burma before the Burman were a South Indian Race.

MORE ABOUT THE AGE AND LIFE OF ŚRĪMAD
APPAYYA DĪKṢITA.

BY

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In my last article in the July-October number of this journal for 1928, I briefly traced the history of research regarding the date of Appayya Dīkṣita during the past few decades and referred to the date of 1553 to 1626 as the one which scholars ultimately came to accept universally as settled once for all. I then proceeded to show that the fairly well ascertained historical dates of some of the political contemporaries of the Dīkṣita referred to by himself in his works as his patrons, tended to indicate unmistakably a far earlier date for him than 1553 to 1626 and I also propounded a new date for him, namely 1520 to 1593 on the basis of a quotation preserved to us in the चतुःश्लोकव्याख्या of my great-grand-father.

I now propose to point out how, apart from its incompatibility, the accepted date of 1553 to 1626, is inherently vicious when the whole truth is said about it.

Very early in my investigations, when I came across the Aḍayapalam inscription and also made sure about the identification of the prince Cinna Timma, I was convinced of the utter impossibility of the current date for the Dīkṣita and set about to scrutinise it scarchingly. My first quest was to satisfy myself if the horoscope given and the date described with a long flourish of details, by Śivānanda, would tally as astronomical verities. For this purpose in 1923 I sent the horoscope with all the details given by the biographer to the late Diwan Bahadur L.D. Swamikannu Pillai for a critical scrutiny and got his reply dated the 18th of August 1923, as follows :—“The details quoted by you were, I am afraid, forged by the biographer. They correspond generally to Monday the 19th of September 1853 A. D. which was a Pramādica, but Vikrama 1910, Śāka 1775, and Kali 4954. The deduction of 300 years from each of these years is manifest

..... In 1553 A. D.....
bahula 1st and nakṣatra uttara-bhādrapada concurred on Thursday.....22nd Kanyā..... The planetary positions on this day were very different from those in your horoscope.”

This authoritative opinion of an expert in the field swamped away any tender feeling I might otherwise have entertained for the horoscope and the date, having regard to the venerable biographer who gives them.

In my first article on this topic which appeared in the Hindu Literary Supplement in June, 1928, I suggested a theory of origin for the spurious horoscope, and also hinted that it was supposed in some informed quarters to be a mere Naṣṭajātaka reconstruction. And now, thanks to the editor of the Jijñāsā, I am fortified in my conjecture beyond any possibility of doubt. In Volume I Part 2 of the journal (March 1927) the Editor incorporates a long foot-note as a preliminary to his article on Śrīkaṇṭhācārya and describes in it the circumstances under which Śivānanda made the epoch-making discovery of the date and horoscope of Appayya Dīkṣita. The Editor does not apparently dispute the date and states it as 1552 to 1624 A. D.

With his kind permission I quote here the foot-note almost in extenso.

“The exact date of the birth of Appayya Dīkṣita is thus given by Śeṣa Dīkṣita of my village, Kaḍayam, in the Tinnevely District. He was a scion of the family of Dīkṣita and was known as Śivānandayati after he entered the fourth stage of life. He took great interest in unearthing many works of Dīkṣita..... and had written commentaries on some of Dīkṣita's works like the Ātmārpaṇa Stuti. He collected the various accounts either oral or written, of traditions in regard to the life and history of Dīkṣita and put them in a work known as Dīkṣitacarita of which four different versions exist all written by this same Śivānandayati at different times. The truth is that he recorded then and there the various and sometimes conflicting traditions current in his time and which he heard from various sources at different periods in his sojourn throughout South India. From the accounts he heard of Dīkṣita's birth-time some doubts arose in his mind as to the year in which he was born..... In order to determine the exact time he solicited the assistance of a famous

astrologer at the time familiarly known as Ūrkāḍ Jōsyar who was a native of the village of Ūrkāḍ...just 13 miles south-east of Kaḍayam. Applying the principle of Naṣṭajātaka calculation to the materials supplied by Śivānandayati, the famous astrologer was able to determine the exact date, time and year of Appayya Dīkṣita That the Naṣṭajātaka of the astrologer reveals the peculiar Tinnevellian taste will be evident from noticing that an imaginary planet called māṇḍi finds a place in it Appayya lived for 72 years. Śivānanda left this world at the age of 73 in 1898 A. D. after a typical saṃyāsī life for 48 years."

The mystery of the horoscope is thus solved. The illusion which went on thickening by repetitions for half-a-century is once for all broken through. No more shall we think of the verse beginning with *दीनान्तरवृत्तसंख्या* in connection with any discussion of the age of the Dīkṣita.

It cannot be supposed for a moment that Śivānanda had anything but the best of motives in incorporating the Naṣṭajātaka in his work. His absolute faith in astrology should have led him to believe that he was really in possession of the genuine horoscope of Appayya Dīkṣita. He was recording mere traditions but possibly believed in them with a pious faith. He should have felt that some information regarding the nativity of the subject was a substantial embellishment to a biography. Lacking a genuine one he procured a substitute and utilised the same for the purpose of giving his work a pompous opening. I have no doubt that Śivānanda sincerely believed that the great Subrahmaṇya Jōsyar of Ūrkāḍ had put the original itself into his hands. The cyclic year was patent on the face of the horoscope, as "Pramadica"; for any one can ordinarily name the cyclic year of a horoscope from the positions of Jupiter and Saturn. It remained for Śivānanda to give the horoscope a suitable date in the Kali and other eras. He very likely with the help of the Ūrkāḍ Jōsyar himself calculated back computing by the number of generations he himself was removed from the Dīkṣita and easily discovered that a subtraction of 300 years from each era was necessary. It may be asked whether the Naṣṭajātaka method itself may not have been so successful as to have ensured historical accuracy also. In the first place Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has said that it belongs to the 19th Century and cannot

belong to the 16th. Secondly, the question itself involves a confusion between what is good for astrology and what is good for Astronomy. The Naṣṭajātaka belongs to the category of Ārūṭams and its calculations are for the most part determined by the play of chance. The Naṣṭajātaka may be good enough for predictive purposes and may approximately hit off the operative Yogas of the original; as for instance, this supposed horoscope of the Dīkṣita gives us some transcendental tyogas for scholarship. But the Naṣṭajātaka has no claim for astronomical correlation.

Before proceeding to the many corroborative evidences to my theory of the age of Appayya Dīkṣita, I wish to dispose of two notions which conspiring with the horoscope have contributed to the preface-writers on Appayya Dīkṣita being misled. They are (1) an inference from a passage in Taylor's translation of Historical manuscripts Vol. II, p. 149, that in 1626 Appayya Dīkṣita arbitrated at Madura in a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava dispute, and (2) a tradition that makes Jagannātha a contemporaneous opponent of the Dīkṣita and makes them meet each other at Benares.

The first notion felicitously slipped in as helping to mark the lower extremity of the Dīkṣita's life which began according to the horoscope with Pramadica and which we definitely know to have run for 72 years and so should have ended in Akṣaya. A close scrutiny will show the record itself does not warrant the date of 1553 for the Dīkṣita's birth. By the 19th of September 1622 the Dīkṣita should have completed his 72nd year. As he died before he ran through his 73rd year his demise should have occurred before September 1626 at the latest. The manuscript says that the excavation of the Teppakkuḷam began in the 10th of Vaikāci in Akṣaya (*i. e.*, the end of May 1626) and proceeded fast. An image of Gaṇeśa was dug up and was enshrined in a temple built for the purpose. Then the manuscript continues:—"As they were placing the sculptured pillar of the Vasanta Maṇṭapam and were about to fix the one which bore the representation of Ekapādamūrti, they were opposed by the Vaiṣṇavas. Hence a dispute arose between them and the Śaivas which lasted for six months and was carried on in the presence of the sovereign. Two arbitrators were appointed, Appa Dīkṣitar on the part of the Śaivas and Ayyā Dīkṣitar Ayyan on

the part of the Vaiṣṇavas. These then consulted Sanskrit authorities and made the Śāstras agree; after which the pillar of Ekapādāmūrti was fixed in its place."

It is not clear in which month the Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava disputes began. From the order of events narrated, it would appear that the disputes began sometime later than the end of May 1626. The disputes continued for six months and so should have lasted till about November or December 1626. The Śaiva arbitrator, therefore, went on arbitrating many months after the date when the Dikṣita should have passed away.

It may be argued that we shall take the evidence of the manuscript independently, without relating it to the discredited horoscope, and assume a still later date than 1553 for the birth of the Dikṣita with a view to cover Akṣaya within his age-limit. My answer is twofold. (1) The manuscript evidence is too flimsy to weigh against the historical and epigraphical evidences, which as I have already endeavoured to show, point out unmistakably to a far earlier date for the Dikṣita. (2) The manuscript contains a patent mistake in that it makes Ayyā Dikṣitar Ayyan arbitrate for the Vaiṣṇavas. Four pages lower down the same manuscript refers to Ayyā Dikṣitar as having been entrusted with the organisation and conduct of the festivals of the Śrī Mīnākṣī Sundarēśvara temple according to the ordinances of the ancient books. We know for certain that the latter reference is to Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita, the poet, who was the minister of Tirumal Naik. Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha has always been known as Ayyā Dikṣita and there can be no mistaking it. So in the former reference also Ayyā Dikṣita should stand for Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita. The suffix of Ayyan itself clearly shows him to have been a Smārta brāhmin. If we are so far correct we are faced with two improbabilities. Ayyā Dikṣita would never have taken the side of the Vaiṣṇavas and secondly it would be absurd to suppose that he was engaging in a controversy against his grand-uncle, the great Appayya Dikṣita.

On the other hand if we take the confusion to arise out of the scribe's mistake in transposing the names, we have little difficulty in the identification of personalities. Then it would read, Ayyā Dikṣitar Ayyan for Śaivas and Appā Dikṣitar for Vaiṣṇavas. In that age there lived a celebrated Vaiṣṇavite scholar named Appā Dikṣitar who was the grand-father of

Veṅkaṭādhvārī and the nephew of Tātācārya, the Guru of the Karnāṭaka princes.

Veṅkaṭādhvārī lived in the middle and latter half of the 17th century, when the English had just come to Madras and the Mahattas were rising in power. He refers to his ancestry thus in his Viśvagunādarśa;

काञ्चीमण्डलमण्डनस्य मखिनः कर्णाटभूभृद्गुरो-

स्तातार्यस्य दिगन्तकान्तयशसो यं भागिनेयं विदुः ।

अस्तोकाध्वरकर्तुरण्यगुरोरप्येष विद्वन्मणेः

पुत्रः श्रीरघुनाथदीक्षितकविः पूर्णो गुणैरेधते ॥

तत्पुत्रस्तर्कवेदान्ततन्त्रव्याकृतिचिन्तकः ।

व्यक्तं विश्वगुणादर्शं विधत्ते वेङ्कटाध्वरी ॥

The scribe's mistake in this case can be very naturally presumed as the words *अप्य* and *अप्य* very easily look like each other in Tamil script especially when written in a running hand. Scholars are familiar with more serious and unaccountable mistakes in such manuscripts and will therefore regard this one pointed out here with no feeling of surprise.

Having thus disposed of two of the confounding factors in the enquiry regarding the date of Appayya Dikṣita—the forged horoscope and the scribe's mistake—I now take up the third—the contemporaneity of Jagannātha. This rests purely on tradition and is not therefore a serious matter to tussle with.

Jagannātha lived in the court of Shahjahan (1628–58) and outlived him. He says at the end of his Bhāminī Vilāsa

दिल्लीवल्लभपाणिपल्लवतले नीतं नवीनं वयः ।

He spent his youth in the Court of the Emperor of Delhi. In his *आख्यायिका* named *आसफविलास* he says that he got his title of *पण्डितराज* from Shahjahan. Dara, the first son of Shahjahan was also a patron of Jagannātha. The latter's *जगदाभरण* is in praise of Dara. Dara was a great patron of learning and enjoyed, as the crown prince, unlimited power and influence during the close of his father's reign. With the help of paṇḍits he had the Upaniṣads translated into the Persian. He himself was an author of many theological works. After Shahjahan's death, there was a political chaos and the succession was disputed with the result that Aurangazeb usurped the throne.

Jagannātha's career as a pet of the moghul Emperor's court therefore came to an end in about 1658 and thenceforth his life took a penitant philosophical turn as is evident from his works.

Thus Jagannātha flourished in the middle and latter half of the 17th century. His contemporaneity with the Dikṣita is therefore out of the question.

There are other evidences also to show that Jagannātha should have been removed from the Dikṣita by a few generations, at least. Jagannātha's father was **पेरुमट्ट**. The latter studied the **पूरुगोमांसा** under **खण्डदेव**. Khayḍadeva in his *mīmāṃsā* work, (especially the **कौस्तुभ**) refers to Appayya Dikṣita as a great authority in *mīmāṃsā* and styles the latter as **गोमांसकर्मन्य**. Khayḍadeva lived and wrote in Benares and during his age the Dikṣita's works had spread to North India, and won for themselves great esteem. From Appayya Dikṣita to Khayḍadeva, from Khayḍadeva to Perubhaṭṭa and from Perubhaṭṭa to Jagannātha four generations should have elapsed.

Again Jagannātha was a student of Śeṣa Vireśvara, son of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, who lived in the later half of the 16th Century under the patronage of Giridhārī, son of Todarmal, the minister of Akbar. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, who lived and wrote during the closing decades of the 16th century, was a pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa first and later of Appayya Dikṣita. The Dikṣita's fame had already spread far and wide and his works had become current in Northern India when Bhaṭṭoji thought fit to make a pilgrimage to the south and study Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā under him.

From Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa the contemporary of the Dikṣita to Vireśvara and from the latter to Jagannātha, there is again an indication of three generations.

It was Bhaṭṭa Śrī Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī, who gave the date of 1587 to 1660 for the Dikṣita, that made capital out of the Jagannātha-Appayya Dikṣita traditions. Later preface-writers have safely omitted to place any great reliance upon these traditions, though Mr. T. S. Kuppuswāmi Śāstrī of Tanjore enumerates Jagannātha among the contemporaries of the Dikṣita.

Sanskrit Scholars are not unaware of the unabashed egotism of Jagannātha. He is not only conceited but also offensive in his language. He seems to have cherished hatred for Bhaṭṭoji whom he calls a **गुरुद्रोहिन्**. The Guru referred to should have been Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. There must have been some trouble about Bhaṭṭoji having first been a pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and then of Appayya Dikṣita. Anyhow Jagannātha set himself as a scathing reviewer of the Dikṣita, as a rhetorician. In his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, the Dikṣita is often referred to with scant politeness. It is also likely that he had a great prejudice against Southerners.

That Jagannātha approached the personality of the Dikṣita in a spirit of animosity is evident. Popular imagination took hold of this fact and wove a network of legends around it, even as it has done in the cases of Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti and a host of other poets all of whom are brought together in the exquisitely artistic spirit of Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*, though with but little historical warrant. The aesthetic truth of the legendary meeting of Jagannātha and the Dikṣita, on the banks of the Ganges, is undeniable. Jagannātha was a protege of the Mohemmadan rulers and he had lapsed from **सदाचार**. Later in life he repented and sought purification of his soul. He wrote poetry overflowing with devotion and genuine contrition and invoked the holy waters of the Ganges to work up his redemption. All this is true. It is also perhaps true that the Dikṣita travelled to Benares, though this fact was wrongly taken to be referred to in the verse of Nīlakaṇṭha—

गङ्गाया यः पुरा स्नातो देवश्चन्द्रार्धशेखरः ।

गाङ्गेयेन पुनः सस्नो सोऽवतीर्य यदात्मना ॥

All these implications are artistically woven into a background of legend which has for long played around the verse of Jagannātha :

किं निश्चङ्कं शेषे शेषे वयसः समागते मृत्यौ ।

अथवा सुखं शयीथा निकटे जागर्ति जाह्नवी भवतः ॥

I. *Ibid.* T. S. Kuppuswāmi Śāstrī's preface to the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa*—Nirnaya Sagar Press. **गाङ्गेय**—Gold—The reference is to the Dikṣita's Kanakābhiṣeka and not to a bath in the Ganges.

It is the crowning beauty of the legend regarding this verse that it purports to wind up the supposed Jagannātha-Dikṣita controversy with a pathetic reconciliation; for it says that Jagannātha took the hint from the Dikṣita and achieved his redemption by singing the praise of the Ganges in his Gaṅgā-laharī.

Legends like this are indeed pregnant with aesthetic lessons but in the role of a researcher one should be wary about taking them at their face-value.

The mists that had for long clouded the issue of the date of Appayya Dikṣita having thus been cleared off, the proper avenue of research for the rediscovery of his age lies before us in clear daylight. I have already in my previous article identified the patron-princes of the Dikṣita's youth, man-hood, and old age and stated my arguments in favour of the date 1520 to 1593 confining myself purely to a reference to the political history of the times. I now proceed to state the conclusive epigraphic evidence in favour of the above date.

The temple of Kālakaṇṭheśvara, at Aḍaiyapālam—the birth place and the ancestral abode of the Dikṣita—contains an inscription on one of its walls. As it has very important bearings on the date and life of the Dikṣita it needs no apology for my quoting it here in extenso.

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Aḍaiyapālam.

*विद्वद्रोर्विहितविश्वजिदध्वरस्य श्रीसर्वतोमुखमहाव्रतयाजिमूनोः ।
श्रीरङ्गराजमखिनः श्रितचन्द्रमौळिरस्त्यप्यै' दीक्षित इति प्रथितस्तनूजः ॥
येन श्रीचिन्नबोम्माक्षितिपबलभिदः कीर्तिरव्याहतासीत्
येन^१ श्रीकण्ठभाष्यं परमशिवमतस्थापनायोद्धार ।
तेन श्रीरङ्गराजाध्वरिवरतनयेनाप्यज्वाधिपेना-
कारि प्रौढोन्नताग्रं रजतगिरिनिभं कालकण्ठेशधाम ॥

* This is a true copy as the inscription as it reads. Its verse portion is in Grantha characters and its prose portion is in both Grantha and Tamil promiscuously employed.

1. Read अप्प—for अप्यै.

2. Read यन्त्र for येन.

स्वस्ति श्री शकाब्दं 1504 ककुत्ஸेयம் செல்லார்க்கு சிவபாபு வகுத்தம்
சுவாமி காலகண୍ṭேசுவரருட்காலிலே ஸ்ரீகண्ṭபாப்யம் இங்ஙனாறு விதாசருக்கு
பாபுரிக்க ஆதருக் ஸிவாக்ரமணிதீபிகேவ்யான மும் பண்ணி வேலூர்
சிவ்வோம் நாயக்கர் கம்பலிலே கனகாமிபெரும் பண்ணிச் சங்கொண்டு
ஆதருந்தன் வேலூரிலே ஸிவாக்ரமணிதீபிகேயும் இங்ஙனாறு விதாசருக்கு
பாபுரிக்க சிவ்வோம் நாயக்கர் கம்பலிலே சுவர்க்கனும் அபரஹர்க்கனும் படைப்பி
ச்சு 'புதிவிராஜ்யம் பண்ணிச் சந்யாஸகாமணி கல்பதரூபரிமல முத்தவான
ஹாறு பவந் பண்ணி அபேதிசிதருட கதி னுத்த சிவாலயம் ஸுமமஸ்து அப
திசிதர் சதா சேவீ । நீலகண்தீசிதர் சதா சேவீ । அரூணகிரி தீசிதர்
சதா சேவீ । விசுவஜிதபே தீசிதர் சதா சேவீ । உமாமஹேசர் தீசிதர் சதா சேவீ ।
யஜேசர் தீசிதர் சதா சேவீ । மருதாலே லக்ஷந் சதா சேவீ *

I will briefly notice the contents of this inscription. It records that the temple (dedicated to Kālakaṇṭheśvara) was constructed in 1582 A. D. by Appayya Dikṣita and recounts that Appayya Dikṣita was the son of the great guru, Raṅgarāja-makhī, that through his association the fame of Cinna Bomma Naik of Vellore spread far and wide, that he raised the Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya from obscurity and re-established the Śaiva cult, that he wrote his commentary Śivārkamaṇidīpikā on the Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya and taught the same to 500 learned men at Vellore having procured grants of gold and agrahāras for them from Cinna Bomma and that he was bathed in gold by Cinna Bomma on the completion of the above said celebrated commentary, that he raised Cinna Bomma to the dignity of a famous ruler of earth and that he wrote one hundred memorable works including Nyāyarakṣāmaṇi and Parimaḷa.

It is clear from this inscription that the life-work of Appayya Dikṣita had already been achieved in 1582, and the greatest of his

1. Read ப்ரதிவீ for புதிவி.

*A. B.—(i) The first verse can be found in many of the Works of Appayya Dikṣita and is undoubtedly his own.

(ii) The second signatory is evidently the Dikṣita's eldest son. The fourth is probably his brother's second son the author of ஸ்விமணி பரிணய. The others must be his sons and grandsons.

(iii) The last is the Sculptor.

Śaivite and Advaitic treatises had been written and published. He had written his famous one hundred works, taught hundreds of disciples, revived the Śaiva cult and re-inforced Advaitism, achieved fame far and wide, lent light and glory to the ruler who patronised him—in fact had done, before 1582, all that we to-day understand to have been his life's great mission.

The Aḍaiyapālam inscription is one of the happiest finds of the Epigraphist. Its purport is clear and concise and its range of information fairly full. It should be noted that it refers to Cinna Bomma in terms of past. Inscriptions in the name of Cinna Bomma are found bearing various dates from 1549 to 1578. After 1578 there is a gap until we come to an inscription of 1601 in the name of Liṅgama Naik, son of Cinna Bomma. The Aḍaiyapālam inscription explains the gap; for it should be understood that Cinna Bomma died between 1578 and 1582 after a long and influential reign of about thirty or thirty-five years. During most of these years Appayya Dikṣita lived, wrote and taught under his devoted patronage. Very likely after the death of Cinna Bomma, the Dikṣita retired to his village to live a secluded religious life, built a temple to his guardian deity and worshipped Him with his own hands.¹

Prof. Heras, in referring to the inscription under discussion says :—"According to an inscription of Cinna Bomma Naik, of 1582, at Aḍaiyapālam"; and then proceeds to say "that as the Vellore temple is known to have existed already, Appayya Dikṣita perhaps only renovated and enlarged the existing temple." Evidently the Professor is mistaken; for in the first place our inscription is not an inscription of Cinna Bomma and secondly it has nothing to do with the Vellore temple. The facts are patent on its face. Again he is wrong in thinking that the inscription evidences the fact that Cinna Bomma was living at that date. On the contrary the language is plain in its reference to Cinna Bomma in terms of past.

Having referred to the historical and epigraphical evidence, I now proceed to show how the ascertainable dates of the Dikṣita's literary contemporaries amply corroborate my premises. Not a

1. It is said that even to day no hired Arcaka is allowed to worship the god, but only a resident scion of the Dikṣita's family does it.

little is said in traditions regarding the sectarian controversies carried on against him by the leading Vaiṣṇavite and Madhva savants of the age, sometimes in a spirit of scholarly rivalry and at other times with gross vindictiveness. Many of the Dikṣita's works unmistakably bring home to us that he lived in a hot age of sectarian philosophic controversy and that all his wonderful genius and energy were called upon to avert the grave crisis to which Advaita and Śaivaviśiṣṭādvaita were subjected through the uncommendable instrumentality of systematic proselytism carried through under state auspices. To give the reader an idea of the terrible tides which he had to stem during his life, which was all one of peril and sacrifice for the cause of his faith, I quote here a few of his verses spoken in the white-heat of righteous indignation.

विष्णुर्वा शङ्करो वा श्रुतिशिखरगिरामस्तु तात्पर्यभूमि-
 नास्माकं तत्र वादः प्रसरति किमपि स्पष्टमद्वैतभाजाम् ।
 किन्त्वीशद्वेषगाढानलकलितहृदां दुर्मतीनां दुरुक्ती-
 र्भङ्क्तुं यन्नो ममायं न हि भवतु ततो विष्णुविद्वेषशङ्का ॥
 सहस्रं वर्तन्तां पथि पथि परे साहसकृतः
 प्रवर्तन्तां बाधां मयि विविधमप्यारचयितुम् ।
 न लक्ष्मीकुर्वेऽहं नलिनजलिपिप्राप्तमपित-
 न्मम स्वामी चामीकरशिखरिचापोऽस्ति पुरतः ॥
 कण्ठे रुद्रक्षमालां भसितमतिसितं फालदेशे च पश्यन्
 नश्यन्नेव क्रुधा यस्तदपहतिमतिं सत्सु कुर्वीत गुर्वीम् ।
 तन्फालातूर्णमायुर्लिखितमसुगणं चापि तत्कण्ठदेशात्
 क्रुद्धास्ते ह्युद्वेगयुर्निजपदकमलाङ्गुलीलाविलासैः ॥
 संकल्प्य स्थाणुशास्त्रप्रचरणविहतिः स्वेन कार्या भुवन्ति
 श्मश्रूणि स्वैरमश्रूण्यपि दृशि महतां स्पर्धया वर्धयन्तम् ।
 क्षुद्रं विद्रावयेयुर्झटिति वृषपतिक्रोधनिश्चासलेशा-
 श्शास्त्रं शैलादिभृत्यास्तनुयुरखिलभूमण्डलव्याप्तमेतत् ॥
 कचिदवयवे कांश्चिद्गुणं बलादनुचिन्तन्
 निरसनमितो देशात् कर्तुं महेश्वरमाश्रितान् ।
 प्रमथपरिषत्क्रोधाद्दग्धाखिलावयवः स्वयं
 निरसनमितो लोकादेव क्षणेन समश्नुताम् ॥

The last four verses are taken from his *Nigrahāṣṭaka*. Tradition declares that the person referred to therein as the Dikṣita's persecutor was Tātācārya, the guru of the Karmāṭaka monarchs of Vijayanagar. Śivānanda's biography gives a string of incidents illustrating the development of the persecution. I am directly concerned now only with the identification of this Tātācārya who is said to have been an inveterate enemy of the Dikṣita and Śaivism.

The *Prapannāmṛtam* is a work of one Anantācārya, purporting to record the history of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism and the lives of the Ācāryas in South India. It says that Tātācārya of the family of Śrī Saila Pūrpa, son of Śrīnivāsa guru, became the preceptor of Rāma Rāya, the regent of Sadāśiva Rāya, who ruled, from 1542 to 1567 and that the latter took the guru to Candragiri with a view to spend some time there in intimate religious seclusion. At that time one Mahācārya alias Doḍḍācārya of Sholingar sought the assistance of Rāma Rāya for reinstating Govindarāja in Citrakūṭa (Cidambaram), for, the worship of Govindarāja in the temple of Cidambaram had been abolished since the time of the Cōla King Kulottuṅga II (कृमिकण्ठ). Rāma Rāya and Tātācārya fulfilled the request of Mahācārya after defeating the Śaivas of Cidambaram. In this context the narrative proceeds to say :—

शैवशास्त्रविदां श्रेष्ठः श्रीमानप्पयदीक्षितः ।
चित्रकूटे जितारातिरशोमत महायशः ॥
अद्वैतदीपिकाभिल्यं ग्रन्थमप्पयदीक्षितः ।
चकार भगवद्देवी शैवधर्मस्तदा ॥

And further on :—

विधाय तातयाचार्यस्तत्पञ्चमतभञ्जनम् ।
श्रीरामानुजसिद्धान्तमव्याहतमपालयत् ॥
महाचार्यो महातेजास्स कृत्वा चण्डमारुतम् ।
अव्याहतं यतीन्द्रस्य तं सिद्धान्तमपालयत् ॥

These verses convey to us the information that both Mahācārya and Tātācārya wrote refutations in order to defend the creed of Rāmānuja from the attacks directed against it by Appayya Dikṣita. It is, therefore, clear, that in the days of

Rāma Rāya, Appayya Dikṣita had already written his controversial works and was a power to reckon with, as an apostle of Advaitism. Rāma Rāya was in power since 1542 till his death in 1565. It must be remarked here that a work by the name of Advaita Dipika by Appayya Dikṣita has not yet been identified but that one bearing the same name written by Nṛsiṃhāśrami a contemporary of the Dikṣita, is alone, known.

This Tātācārya the guru of Rāma Rāya was not alive in the eighties of the century, for the ceremony of coronation of Venkṭapāṭi in 1585 was performed by the guru's son Lakṣmi Kumār Tātācārya who was a mere youth at that time.

It is, therefore, beyond doubt clear that Appayya Dikṣita was already a celebrated scholar, teacher, writer and controversialist in the middle of the 16th century when Rāma Rāya was in charge of the Vijayanagar empire. The first among the verses quoted here from an unsympathetic record of a sectarian antagonist is especially noteworthy. The Dikṣita was then living at Cidambaram having vanquished his foes and achieved unequalled fame. The Dikṣita should have been at least middle-aged at the time of the establishment of Govinda Rāja by Rāma Rāya. The record of Anantācārya gives no room for the implication that the Dikṣita was one among those Śaivas whose opposition was overcome before Govinda Rāja's reinstallation.

The Dikṣita himself with his Advaitic impartiality seems to have hailed Govinda Rāja to his wonted honour and worship in the temple with a devotion which is not less intense than the one which he bore to God Naṭarāja. For he is said to have stood facing both the Godly presences simultaneously and addressed a century of verses to them jointly—verses which are alternately interspersed with epithets invoking both the deities. This stotra begins thus :—

मारमणमुमारमणं फणधरतल्पं फणाधराकल्पम् ।
मुरमथनं पुरमथनं वन्दे वाणारिमसमवाणारिम् ॥

It must be noted that the *Prapannāmṛtam* refers to the Dikṣita at this period as an Advaitic writer and not as a sectarian Śaivite controversialist. The two Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas are said to have written their answers to the attacks of the Dikṣita on the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. In my opinion, the controversy narrowed down to sectarianism, later on, when the

Vaiṣṇavite Ācāryas having secured a firmer hold on the Vijayanagar monarchs, set upon coercive proselytism.

I now turn to the Madhva Ācārya who defended his philosophy against the criticisms of the Dikṣita. It was Vijayindra Bhikṣu an incumbent of the pontifical seat of the Sumatindra mutt. Rāghavendraviṣaya is a work which describes the lives of the Ācāryas of the mutt. Regarding Vijayindra the writer says—

विद्वद्रोऽस्माद्विजयान्द्रयोगी विद्यासु दृढास्वतुल्यप्रभावः ।
रत्नाभिपेकं किल रामराजात् प्राप्याग्रवल्क्ष्मीनकृताग्रहारान् ॥

Then the narrative goes on to describe how the successor of Vijayindra was honoured by Veṅkaṭapati of Penukonḍa and Raghunātha of Tanjore. Vijayindra was not therefore, living at the beginning of the 17th Century. He lived in the times of Rāma Rāya. He was a protege of Śevvappa of Tanjore also. In 1576 there was a grant to Vijayindratirtha obtained by Śevvappa from Śrī Rāga I.

It is said that Vijayindra engaged in several religious controversies with Appayya Dikṣita and ardently defended his creed in a number of controversial writings. It is also said that he wrote 104 works in order to rival the Dikṣita who had written 104 works. His Paratattvapraśaṅga is said to be an answer to the Dikṣita's Śivatattvaviveka. His Appayyakapola Capeṭika has indeed a very significant title. These facts clearly show that Vijayindra should have been a younger contemporary of Appayya Dikṣita.

The fore-going testimonies make it clear that Appayya Dikṣita, Tātācārya the elder, and Vijayindra Bhikṣu were contemporaries of each other and of Rāma Rāya the regent of the Tuluva Emperor, Sadaśiva Rāya (1542—1567).

The Tuluvas were ardent Vaiṣṇavas unlike the Emperors of the preceding dynasties of Vijayanagar ; but they were very tolerant and generous in matters of faith. Rāma Rāya belonged to the Karnāṭaka line, also called the Āraṇḍi dynasty. He married the daughter of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and came to wield much influence in the royal house-hold until at last owing to the minority of Sadaśiva, he became Regent of the Emperor and virtually the ruler. Rāma Rāya was a devoted pupil of the famous

Vaiṣṇavite teacher Tātācārya. He patronised Vijayindra Bhikṣu and bathed the latter in a shower of precious stones. Under the aegis of his political prowess the Vaiṣṇavites reinstated Govinda Rāja in Chidambaram. He does not seem to have evinced the catholicity in religious sympathies which so well characterised the former emperors of Vijayanagar like Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya. While Appayya Dikṣita's grand-father, Ācārya Dikṣita was one of the celebrated ornaments of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's Court, we do not hear of the Dikṣita himself as having at any time been the protege of Rāma Rāya. The reason is not far to seek. Rāma Rāya was completely under the influence of Tātācārya, the religious antagonist of the Dikṣita. He allowed proselytism for spreading the Vaiṣṇavite creed. The Prapannāmrta says that the younger Tātācārya having gained a firm hold over Veṅkaṭapati pushed through proselytism so vigorously that the whole world was converted to Vaiṣṇavism. I give the verses here :

लक्ष्मीकुमारतातार्यं महात्मानमशिश्रियत् ।

तद्राज्यं देशिकाधीनं विधाय गुरुभक्तिमान् ॥ etc.

and then,

आक्रान्तवेङ्कटपतिरायः श्रीतातदेशिकः ।

यतीन्द्राभिमुखं सम्यक् स चकाराखिलं जगत् ॥

I believe that this aggressive religious policy had its beginnings in the days of the elder Tātācārya himself. The question arises at this stage which of the two Tātācāryas is to be identified with the traditional persecutor of the Dikṣita. It must be borne in mind that Veṅkaṭapati was himself a patron of the Dikṣita.

The Dikṣita refers to Veṅkaṭapati in these terms—

प्राप्तः पुण्यैरगण्यैरेव विबुधगणो वेङ्कटक्षोणिपालम् ॥

—Vidhi-Rasāyana

नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

—Kūvalayānanda.

In the eighties of the 16th Century the Dikṣita was very old and Lakṣmī Kumār was a mere youth. And as already shown, the Vaiṣṇavite record testifies to certain religious controversies between the elder Tātācārya and Appayya Dikṣita. Taking

the bulk of these facts into consideration and the tradition that Tātācārya passed away as soon as he was anathematised by the Dikṣita in the निग्रहाष्टक, I am inclined to think that the Dikṣita had more to do with the elder than the younger Tātācārya. Appayya Dikṣita both by his preachings and writings attempted to hold in check the aggression of Vaiṣṇavism to the detriment of Śaivism. It is not surprising therefore that we do not hear of the Dikṣita being patronised by the central monarch of Vijayanagar while the Imperial vassals, like Chinna Thimma and Chinna Bomma alone patronised him and threw their sympathy and support on the side of his religious and literary activities. It was the religious policy of Rāma Rāya and his Aravidu successors guided and controlled by the elder Tātācārya until about 1580 A. D. that necessitated the great efforts of the Dikṣita to protect the Śaivite persuasion. The whole import of the Aḍaiyapaḷam inscription above given is significant of this necessity and shows how it was met with. The Dikṣita revived the Śivādvaitamata of Śrīkaṇṭha by writing his शिवार्कमणिदीपिका and spreading it by teaching, at a stretch, five hundred learned men maintained by the munificence of Chinna Bomma. Thus we see that the Dikṣita, viewed from one aspect, was a product of his age, as every great personality in History has always been.

Professor Heras, makes the following observations in this connection.

"This proselytism produced warm disputes at the Court itself of the sovereign among the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Scholars. One of these controversies took place between Tātācārya and the court poet Appayya Dikṣita. This scholar was a very fervent Śaiva. He chanted four¹ verses in honour of Śiva wherever he went and by his zeal and preaching reconverted many Vaiṣṇavas to their former faith in Śiva. In the religious disputation with Tātācārya, Appayya Dikṣita was victorious. Hence the royal guru cherished a mortal hatred against him, and even, they say actually plotted to put an end to his rivals' life."

The Professor derives his information from the Indian Antiquary Vol. XXVII, P. 326, and connects the incidents recounted with the Court of Veṅkaṭapati.

1, I think "four" must be read as "forth." [V. M.]

As Prapaṇnāmṛtam itself affirms, propaganda for Vaiṣṇavite conversion was made by Tātācārya the younger under the patronage of Veṅkaṭapati. Appayya Dikṣita lived for more than seven years after the accession of Veṅkaṭapati and during those years certainly visited his court many times. So it is not impossible to believe the version relied on by the learned Professor. Very likely the scholarly controversies took place during the time of the elder Tātācārya and the mass conversion and reconversion with its attendant persecutions happened in the days of the younger Tātācārya who because of his youth perhaps took to missionary activities with extra enthusiasm. Though this latter view is not untenable, I am inclined to think that the weight of evidence is in favour of the former view expressed by me.

I now proceed to refer to the other contemporaries of the Dikṣita whose chronology helps us to fix for him a date as early as 1520 to 1593. I have in my former article referred to an anecdote of a poet called Sārvabhauma visiting Appayya when the latter was barely twenty years old and when he himself was very far advanced in age. I have little hesitation in identifying this Sārvabhauma with the author of the works, भागवतचम्पूः, सालुवाभ्युदयं and अच्युतगयाभ्युदयं. His name was Rājanātha and his titles were numerous. He was commonly known by the title डिण्डिमसार्वभौमकविः. During the days of Praudha Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar, the great Agrahāra of Mūḷanda was founded (in the latter half of the 15th century) by the poet Aruṇagiri who won for himself and his descendants the title of डिण्डिमसार्वभौमकविः in the court of the Sultan. (Vide 1918 Ind. Ant. P. 79) His son was Rājanātha, who was born very likely in the latter half of the 15th century. Rājanātha was the court poet of Sālva Narasiṃha (1486 to '92) and wrote the सालुवाभ्युदय in his court. He was the Court poet of Acyuta Rāya also, and wrote his Acyutarāyābhyudaya in the latter's court. Thus he had enjoyed more than sixty years of court life and was, indeed, very old when he met Appayya, the rising scholar and poet in 1540 or so. Research scholars have hesitatingly advanced the theory of the identity of the authors of both the Abhyudayas. I venture to say that their conjecture is fortified by the above described tradition which affirms that Rājanātha lived to a very old age.

The next important contemporary of Appayya Dikṣita was Ratnakheṭa Dikṣita. He was a protege of Śivappa Naik of Gingi who ruled between the years 1553 and 1575 approximately. In the first half of the century he seems to have enjoyed the patronage of Chinna Virappa Naik of Vellore (the father of Chinna Bomma) and of Candra Śekhara Pāṇḍya of Madura. His reference to a चोळभूवल्लभ in his drama called भावनापुरुषोत्तम is perhaps to Śevappa of Tanjore. Ratnakheṭa growing jealous of the great reputation of the Dikṣita vowed to vanquish the latter in debate, but failing to do so gave his daughter to the Dikṣita in marriage under a divine direction. Rāja-Cūḍāmaṇi Dikṣita the son of Ratnakheṭa was a contemporary of Nilakaṇṭha the grandson of the Dikṣita's younger brother. Both Rāja-Cūḍāmaṇi and Nilakaṇṭha flourished in Tanjore and Madura Courts respectively in the first half of the 17th Century.

The celebrated Govinda Dikṣita was the next great contemporary of the Dikṣita. Traditions are numerous which connect the two Dikṣitas in some situation. Appayya is represented as a boy when he first met Govinda Dikṣita while the latter was teaching his pupils (or performing a sacrifice according to another version). The verse :—

नाहमधीर्ता वेदे न च पठिती यत्रकुत्रचिच्छास्त्रे ।

किं तु दरेन्दुवतंसिनि पुरहिसिनि भूयसी भक्तिः ॥

is put in the mouth of Appayya and the verse :—

अप्यदीक्षित किमित्यतिस्तुतिं वर्णयामि भवतो वदान्यताम् ।

सोऽपि कल्पतरुरर्थलिप्सया त्वद्विरामवसरं प्रतीक्षते ॥

is put in the mouth of Govinda Dikṣita.

These traditions have no basis at all ; for the latter verse is quoted in the name of Bālakavi (of mūlāṇḍam) by Śrī Nilakaṇṭha in his नलचरितनाटकप्रस्तावना I think that Govinda and Appayya were almost of the same age though the former lived longer.

Govinda lived in Vijayanagar as a youth in the days of Acyuta Deva Rāya. With Śevvappa he came to the Chola Kingdom to be the former's minister. Inscriptions of 1549 and 1577 mention him along with Śevvappa. An inscription of 1595-6 records a gift of money for the merit of the Dikṣitan Ayyen

Professor Heras mistakes this to refer to Appayya Dikṣita. In fact Dikṣitan Ayyen is Govinda Dikṣitar and cannot be any one else. In 1597 he crowned¹ Raghunātha as King of Tanjore. In 1605 at his instance the Tiruvāḍi Sthala purāṇa was translated from Sanskrit to Tamil. So Govinda Dikṣita must have been the Minister of the Nāyaks of Tanjore from about 1545 to 1605. The latter date possibly represents his age limit. He ought to have lived for about 90 years if not more. The notion that Appayya Dikṣita has commented on Govinda Dikṣita's हरिवंशसार is not well founded, for whatever might be said about the identification of the commentator, that of the author has been repudiated by M. R. Ry. T. S. Kuppaswami Śāstri of Tanjore.

A cordial relation and a hearty co-operation ought to have existed between Govinda and Appayya Dikṣitas ; but tradition gives little information on this matter except the disapproved ones above referred to. Professor Heras states that Appayya was a protege of Śevvappa also. It is quite likely though I do not understand the source of his information. Sivānanda, indeed, refers to the long and strenuous devotion of the King of Tanjore to the Dikṣita but he gives a wrong name.

Next, mention may be made of Nṛsiṃha Āśrami, sometimes called an ally of the Dikṣita Nṛsiṃha Āśrami, the reputed author of भेदधिकार, अद्वैतदीपिका, विवरणभावप्रकाशिका, वेदान्तसारटीका and तत्त्वविवेक is said to have written his last mentioned work in 1547. He was perhaps an elder contemporary of the Dikṣita.

Samara-puṅgava and his elder brother were the sister's sons of the Dikṣita. The latter, was also a disciple of the Dikṣita. Samara-puṅgava in his यात्राप्रबन्ध gives an account of his brother's life and his pilgrimages. He describes in glowing passages the fame and achievements of Appayya Dikṣita and refers to the कनकाभिषेक. He gives his brother's horoscope which is as follows.

1. (Until Professor Heras authoritatively stated this, it was believed that the coronation took place in 1614).

	Candra.	
Ketu.		Guru.
Śani.		Budha Ravi Rāhu.
	Śukra Lagna.	Kuja.

I sent this horoscope to the late Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai. He fixed its date as 1551 A.D. 22nd August. Samara-puṅgava's brother was patronised by Saluva Makarāya of Karvetinagar whose inscriptional dates are found to fall within the first two decades of the 17th Century.

Thus, history, epigraphy, tradition and literature yield unmistakable corroborations of the date 1520-'93 for Appayya Dikṣita, propounded by me in my last article.

PROF-SRĪNIVĀSĀCHĀRI'S "RĀMĀNUJA'S IDEA OF THE FINITE SELF."

EXAMINATION OF CHAPTER I

BY

PROFESSOR K. SUNDARARAMA AYYAR AVL., M.A., KUMBAKONAM.

Professor Srīnivāsāchāri puts forward (in the *first* chapter of his work) a severe criticism of various points in what he considers to be the Advaita doctrine of Śaṅkara. He labours under serious misconceptions regarding that doctrine, and his criticisms are altogether unjustifiable and misleading. We shall consider them here one after another in order to place the truth in its proper light and remove prejudice and error to the extent we can.

1 It is stated (p. 3) that "Rāmānuja insists on the equal validity of all the Upaniṣadic texts and claims for his interpretation the authority of timeless tradition and logical satisfactoriness and verifies it by a quotation from Dramiḍācārya, etc. On the other hand, according to our author, the Advaitin "distinguishes between *primary texts* and *secondary texts*, *pradhāna* texts and *gauṇa* texts. Śaṅkara, for example, directs attention to the Mahāvākyas and derives his chief thoughts therefrom."

The above passage is so full of errors and misconceptions that we think that our author has undertaken his task of criticising Śaṅkara's views without taking adequate pains to know them as they exactly are. We can assent in reply that (1) Śaṅkara also "insists on the equal validity of all the Upaniṣadic texts," and (2) that he does not distinguish anywhere between what our author calls "primary texts and secondary texts." Śaṅkara himself never in his *Bhāṣyas* makes any distinction between "Mahāvākyas" as distinguished from "other Upaniṣadic texts." The school have called "*avāntara-vākyas*." This is a questionably proper grounds for making this distinction which can be traced to various Upaniṣads included in the canon of later ages. For instance, Vidyāraṇya, in his well-known work, *Pañcadaśī* (*Prakarāṇa Five*), quotes bodily from

the "Śuka-Rahasya-Upaniṣad" all the eight ślokas which explain the purport of the four accepted Mahāvākyas. The great modern Advaitic philosopher, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, in his "*Siddhanta-Bindu*" also makes the distinction between Mahāvākyas and others (*avāntara-vākyas*), and points out that, while the latter explains the purport borne by the "words" (*padas*), the aim of the former is to state the purport (*tātparya*) of the "sentences" in which the "words" occur. The "words" here referred to are such pairs of words as refer to Īśvara and Jīva,—*Brahma* and *Ātmā*, *Tat* and *Tvam*, etc. Further, it must be understood that, even if Śaṅkara has not used the term '*Mahā-Vākya*' in his Bhāṣyas, he could not have been oblivious and indeed he is fully aware of the fact that sentences like "*tat-tvam-asi*", "*aham-brahma-asmi*", etc., are important in the Upaniṣads and that their importance is fully and clearly emphasised in the Chāndogya, Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka, and other Upaniṣads. In the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, "*tat-tvam-asi*" is repeated nine times in the instruction conveyed by the teacher to his pupil,—and such repetition (*abhyāsa*) is accepted as one of the six *tātparya-līngas*,—i. e., indications of the true and ultimate import of the Upaniṣadic teaching and system. We turn to the *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka* and find there the following :—"Whoever has the knowledge, I am Brahman (*aham-brahma-asmi*), he becomes all this (universe)." This shows that this Upaniṣad attaches supreme value to the knowledge conveyed by this sentence. It also explains why the *Śuka-Rahasya-Upaniṣad* (above referred to) and, following it, the great teachers, Vidyāraṇya-Swāmī and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and other later Advaitins have laid stress on what are called Mahāvākyas. It is also worth stating in this connection that the *Tejobindu-Upaniṣad* attaches such supreme importance to this particular *Mahā-vākya* as to dwell on its value and utility at immense length, and evidently this Upaniṣad is intended to convince all who read it that this Mahāvākya expresses the form in which we have the realisation of the supreme beatitude which is the goal of all life in the world of phenomena.

On the grounds above stated, we hold that Prof.-Srīnivāsa-chārīar is in error in saying that Śaṅkara (or any of his followers) do not admit the equal validity of all Vedānta-texts. The Advaitic school of Vedānta holds that *avāntara-vākyas* convey to us the true import of the *padas* (Brahman and Ātman, *Tat* and *Tvam*, *Īśvara* and *Jīva*, etc.,) while the *Mahā-vākyas* convey to us the

true import of the "sentences" (*vākyārtha*) in which any one of these pairs of words occurs so as to teach the supreme knowledge which is to lead to liberation from the transient joys (or sorrows) of the life of wandering through various stages of phenomenal existence. The making of such a distinction is fully supported by the authority of the Upaniṣads and by valid logic and is perfectly consistent with the upholding in full of the equal validity of all Vedānta texts. The two classes of texts have each its own function allotted to it, but combine to establish the Vedānta doctrine on the inretrigable basis of the experience which is the supreme Self and is the one Bliss of Existence Absolute and without a second.

2. Our author states as follows :—"The dualism that we find in the systems of Spinoza, Kant and Śaṅkara disappears in the synthesis of Rāmānuja. His governing idea is that there is no contradiction between the Absolute of Thought and the God of Religion."

Nothing can be a greater error than to suppose that the distinction (in Śaṅkara's doctrine) between Brahman and Īśvara implies "dualism" of any kind. Śaṅkara has specially referred to this objection in his Bhāṣya on Sūtra IV iii, 16 and stated, too, his reply therein. The passage is as follows :—"Are there two Brahmanas higher and lower? Certainly there are two. For, we have the *Praśna-upaniṣad* passage, 'O Satyakāma, the syllable Om is the higher and also the lower Brahman. What, then, is the higher Brahman, what the lower? We reply as follows. Where, denying all distinctions of name and form, etc., due to *avidyā* (nescience), Brahman is taught by such terms as *asthūla* (not coarse), that is the higher (Brahman); where, for the purpose of *upāsana* (pious worship and meditation), the very same (Brahman) is taught as possessing name and form and other qualities by certain texts like 'he whose nature varies with the mind's power of thought (*manomaya*), whose body is breath (*prāṇa*), whose essential nature is the light etc., that is the lower Brahman.' But is there not room for the objection that this distinction of a higher and lower Brahman contradicts the texts asserting non-duality (*advaitīya*)? No, we reply. For, the objection is answered by the fact that these texts refer to name and form which are phenomenal adjuncts due to *avidyā* (nescience)." Śaṅkara goes on to point out that, so long as *avidyā* is not discarded, pious worship of the personal God is maintained, and the fruit gained thereby remains included

within the limits of the *merely* phenomenal world due to such avidyā. Hence, Śaṅkara can nowhere be said to have admitted a dualism of any kind in the universally recognised sense of that term as referring to two distinct (and pluralistic) realities of the same order. The personal God who is the object of pious worship is relegated to, and stands related to the embodied individuals included within the limits of, the world of phenomena *merely*. If any one here objects, how are we to account for the Scriptural injunction (*vādī*) regarding *drashtavya* (to be known). Śaṅkara gives the following reply (*vide* Bhāṣya on Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka, Vol. I, p. 154).—“The knowledge of the Brahman as One, need not be made an injunction, if there is no *adhyāropa* (superposition of a phenomenal object) on Brahman due to *avidyā* (nescience). We do not say that there is no such *adhyāropa* on Brahman of the attributes of what it is not. We only say that Brahman is not to be thought as the producer of *avidyā* (*avidyā-Karṇ*) on account of the superposition of the attributes of what is not Brahman on our own Self (or Brahman).” That is, the *adhyāropa* (of what is not Brahman) which leads to the experiences of the phenomenal world is due to *avidyā* (nescience). Knowledge (of Brahman) is prescribed in order to get rid of *avidyā*,—and, when we are rid of *avidyā*, Brahman shines in its *svarūpa* (or *characterising Content*, i. e., *dharma*, as Śaṅkara calls it in his Bhāṣya on III-iii-2 to which we shall have to refer in a later connection in a more pointed manner). This *svarūpa* (or *Dharma*, or *characterising content*) signifies *Self-Effulgence* (*svapṛakāśatva* or *Sākṣitvam*), *Bliss* (*Ānanda*), *Knowledge* (*Cit-jñāna*), etc. There is really no differentiation possible between Brahman and its *svarūpa* (characterising content). If we differentiate now (i. e., when we have not yet attained to *Brahma-Sākṣātkāra*, Self-Realisation), it is simply due to our *avidyā* and only for the purpose of exposition or conception of what is yet not truly reached in its attributeless essence and its distinguishing (but characterless or featureless) content.

3. Prof. Srinivāsachāri says (p. 4) :—“To the advaitin, experience is rooted in inexplicable illusion (*anirvacanīya*) and contradiction (*Bādhā*).”

The word *anirvacanīya* as applied to *primordial* matter (*mūla-prakṛti*) or *manifested* material objects of the phenomenal universe ought not to be translated as altogether “inexplicable.” Śaṅkara, in *Brahma-Sūtra* (II-i-14), explains it as “not to be

explained, as being either as an existing object (*tatva*) or as different from it (*anyatva*)”—i. e., neither as a permanent reality (Brahman) nor as unreality (the horn of a hare). That is, it has only a *phenomenal* existence and so is transient and stultifiable when the realisation of Brahman is attained. Śaṅkara, in the same context gives a further explanation as follows :—“All Vedānta texts declare that, from the point of view of the highest (or noumenal) existence, the relation between the ruler and the ruled admitted in the practical life of the world does not exist. But from the point of view of the practical life of the world (*vyavahāra*), as also in the Śruti, such practical relationship between Īśvara (ruler of all) and others are spoken of.” What *anirvacanīya* means must now be clear. But we shall add a further explanation. In the Vedānta, the conception of ‘eternal’ (*anadi*) is to be distinguished from the *real* (i. e., *nitya* or *permanent*). Prof. Pringle-Pattison says :—“The *eternal* and the *temporal* are essentially correlative conceptions so that it is only through the characteristic features of time—through some transformation of these features—that we can form an intelligible conception of the eternal.” The conception of Īśvara (creator and ruler of the universe) is included among what are spoken of as *anādi* (beginningless), even as *prakṛti*, *karma*, and some others are similarly included ; and hence it is brought under the category of *vyavahāra*, phenomenal existence. Brahman alone constitutes what he calls *Paramārtha*, the Absolute or Substance.

Further, Prof. Śrinivāsachāri is mistaken in saying that, to the Advaitin, what is *anirvacanīya* (as explained above by us) is an “illusion.” Śaṅkara, in his Bhāṣya on the Sūtra I-iv-3, says :—“The casual potentiality-*bīja-śakti* of the world is of the nature of *Avidyā* (nescience)..... It is denoted by the term *avyakta* (unmanifested)..... in some places, it is denoted by the term *ākāśa*..... in some places, it is denoted by the term *akṣara*..... in some places, it is spoken of as *māyā*.” All these are, therefore, synonymous terms and indicate only the conception of primordial matter and its manifestation in the *phenomenal* world of material objects. No phenomenal existence—not even an *appearance* such as produced before us by the wand of a skilled magician—can be *known* as an “illusion” while it lasts as an experience, as an actual happening, in our waking and conscious life. We must also draw attention to Śaṅkara's clear statement (in his Bhāṣya on Sūtra-II-i, 14) that “the entire complex of

or property', e.g., the *whiteness* of snow; (b) a mere relation of association which sometimes gets attached to an object and at other times stands not so attached, e.g., the connection between a man and his clothing. In the *second* place, the Professor has entirely failed to understand the Advaitin's position in regard to the statement, 'this is that Devadatta'. Prof. Śrīnivāsāchāri says that the Advaitin "establishes bare identity by the removal of contradiction between the subject and the predicate." This is quite wrong. The Advaitin speaks of the removal only of the predicates on account of their evident incompatibility with each other—the different time and space relations which belong to the *second* class of *Vidēyāras* which we have just mentioned above. They do not "inhere" in the subject, as Prof. Śrīnivāsāchāri erroneously asserts, nor does Devadatta become the object of what the Professor calls "contentless cognition" or a "mere abstraction." Devadatta remains the same person, even though the times and places relating to him may differ, and though he gets detached from one relation of time and space and connected with another such. Nor can a difference in a mere time—space relation result in a "modification" of Devadatta which will leave him "contentless" or what our author calls "a bare identity," without any characterising attributes of personality.

Our author has got into this muddle in regard to the sentence, 'this is that Devadatta', in order to make out that, in the corresponding sentence, *tat-tvam-asi*, of the Upaniṣad where *tat* refers to the personal god (Īśvara) and *tvam* signifies the finite self (*Jīva*) the removal of the attributes of each of them will land us in what he calls a "bare identity" or "Contentless cognition". In taking such a view, the Professor shows that he is entirely ignorant of the *Advaitic* interpretation of "*Tat-tvam-asi*," as referring to what the Upaniṣad calls "the one existence only without a second" (*ekam-eva-advītiyam*) without any reference to purely *personal* attributes such as 'Omniscience,' etc., in the case of Īśvara and 'limited knowledge' etc., in the case of *Jīva*. Our author is wrong in supposing that the Brahman of Śaṅkara is "contentless", on account of its being '*nirguṇa*'. The passage in the Upaniṣad where '*nirguṇa*' is mentioned is as follows: "*sākṣi-cetā-kevalo—nirguṇaśca*." Brahman is all these in its essence (*svarūpa*). The passage means "the Self-Effulgent, the knowing, the absolute, that which transcends the (three) *guṇas*". Further, the Professor should refer to the Sūtra III-iii-2—

"Ānanda (Bliss) and others belonging to the Principal Entity" (Absolute substance). Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on this Sūtra begins thus:—"In the Vedic passage referring to Brahman-svarūpa (or characterising and essential content of Brahman) are mentioned certain *dharma*s of Brahman such as Ānanda (bliss) in its essential form it being one solid mass of knowledge (*vijñāna-ghanatva*), etc." This clearly shows that Śaṅkara's conception of "Brahman-svarūpa" is not one which involves what our Professor calls "a contentless cognition", "abstraction," "a bare identity." The Professor has discovered a mare's nest of his own or, like Don Quixote, is tilting with the creations of his fertile powers of fancy, poetic or philosophic. Further, he says in this same context,—"As a matter of fact every substance (*dravya*) is always modified by its essential attribute." Now *dravyas* (also called *arthas*) are either *phenomenal*, or *noaminal*. The former are *impermanent* (*aśāśvata*), as the Gītā, VIII, 15, calls them; the latter are *nitya*, permanent or changeless. Śaṅkara calls Brahman by the name *Paramārtha*, a term which he defines as follows:—"that substance which ever exists with one and the same (essential) characteristic nature" (The Viśiṣṭādvaitin himself also holds that all *jīvas* have the same essential feature, *viz.*, *Jñānākāra* with its capabilities, untouched by material associations). We have seen just now that Śaṅkara's Brahman is conceived by him as possessing what he calls "*Brahma-dharma*s" (Sūtra III-iii-2) which, following Vyāsa, he enumerates as *Ānandarūpa*, etc. Hence, it is not at all to be treated as a "Contentless abstraction." Svāmī Brahmānanda, also in his great work, *Ratnāvalī*, (a commentary on Madhusūdana's commentary on Śaṅkara's Daśa-śloki) teaches us as follows:—"All such sentences as teach *lakṣaṇas* (characterising content or attributes) only refer to the undifferentenced Entity (*akhaṇḍa-vyakti*) which is only indicated by those attributes (*lakṣaṇa-lakṣita*), though adopting the device of conveying knowledge of a (seemingly) related (*viśiṣṭa*) quality". We would specially invite Professor Śrīnivāsāchāri's attention to Brahmānanda's use of the word, *akhaṇḍa-vyakti*, in referring to Brahman. It shows that, to the Advaitin down to the latest time near to us, Brahman is a *vyakti* (or Specific Entity)—Not an 'abstraction' or 'bare identity'—and that Śaṅkara himself speaks of Ānanda, etc., as "*Brahma-Dharma*s", and, in doing so, follows, too, in the wake of the Sūtrakāra Bādarāyaṇa.

DEFINITION OF POETRY OR KĀVYA.

(continued from page 100 of volume III, Part I, J. O. R., M.)

BY

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This observation of Wordsworth as well as that of John Keble that poetry is "a vent for overcharged feeling," brings to our memory Ānandavardhana's śloka :

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।
क्राञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगात्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमगनः ॥

and Abhinavagupta's comments upon it. It would be wrong, however, to think that these critics had ever conceived with any vividness the rasa or its relation to poetry. All we can safely say is that as Goldsmith and Leigh Hunt represent the old Ālaṅkāra school, so William Wordsworth and John Keble represent the very incipient stage of the rasa school, though of course unconsciously. It should be noted here that Wordsworth when making the above observation is thinking only of the finished first-rate poets. An immature poet is never filled with such powerful feelings as would spontaneously overflow. He is more or less

हठादाकृष्टानां कतिपयपदानां रचयिता

(a maker of a few strained words).

A true poet, on the other hand, like an आरूढ or accomplished yogin, whenever he wishes, very easily forgets himself and his environments, and gets into, and identifies himself with, his object of contemplation, when it is utterly impossible for him to prevent from overflowing the feelings that are awakened within him. At that stage, words wait upon him like obedient servants, wishing, why, scrambling as it were, to be employed by him, and he sees that the embodiment of his feelings

is so rapid that his pen cannot keep pace with it and seems to be unusually and awfully slow. "But a perfect artist in the pure style," says Walter Bagehot (E. C. E. p. 457—1) "is as effortless and as natural in any style, perhaps is more so". This is true of all true poets. As he is master of his own style and feels little or no difficulty in expressing his poetic thoughts, Tennyson somewhat self-complacently likens his poetry to the singing of the linnet, which Professor Courthope, in whose mind the hardship of the enormous labour in preparing his lectures seems to be always present and who accordingly cannot think of poets but in their novice state, has failed to appreciate and has done much injustice to true poets. He writes—

"I imagine that Tennyson, perhaps the most skilful poetic artist of the century, completely deceived himself when he declared that he sang "but as the linnet sings". The modern poet has to decide in the first place whether the ideas that present themselves to his imagination are genuine inspirations or only Idols of the Fancy ; then to discover the form best suited to embody his conception to estimate the value of different ideas relatively to the composition as a whole; to select some, to reject others, to arrange what remain; to find the right word for the expression of the thought and the right position of the word in the verse. All these perplexing conditions make the composition of poetry as different as possible from the song of a bird; Art as well as Nature has to be consulted; and if poetic conception is to issue in a permanent form of poetic expression, the poet must be a man not only of the highest invention but of the finest judgment" (L. L. p. 155).

Thus it is seen that though the critic's characterisation of poetry seems on the surface most ambiguous and heterogeneous, yet at the bottom of it, lies hidden the same principle as has guided our Ālaṅkārikas in their definitions of poetry. Nothing, therefore, requires to be said here beyond what we shall have to say with regard to our Ālaṅkārikas' definitions of poetry in the last chapter. So I may end this chapter; but before doing so I wish to briefly consider a topic which, while it has caused immense, unending controversy within the circle of Western critics, is conspicuous by its absence among Indian Ālaṅkārikas.

According to Johnson, it is said, poetry means metrical composition; and there are many others who define poetry in the

1. Thesis approved by the Madras University for the Degree of Master of Oriental Learning.

same way. As the English terms "poetry" and "poet" are always used in such a restricted sense as to carry with them the notion of metre, these definitions seem to hold good as far as the form of poetry is concerned. These words being stereotyped in their colloquial meaning, they were not applicable to prose writers and works, however, eloquent and embellished their language might be. Nor have the prose writers of poetic calibre, a name, either proper to them or common with 'poets', assigned to them in the English language. When, however, gradually, prose-writers rose to prominence, so as to secure for them an equal place with writers of poems, the monopoly of metre over the poetical field began to be questioned; and the question whether metre is a necessary and indispensably important requisite of poetical beauty is not finally settled, though many have fought for and against it.

Such a state of things we do not see in Sanskrit poetics. The Sanskrit word 'kavi', which naturally everybody uses in the sense of the English word 'poet', is general enough in its meaning to indicate at once both the writers of poem and of prose. If thus the word 'kavi' is a common name of both poets and prose-writers, it goes without saying that the word 'kāvyā' derived from 'kavi' by adding the suffix 'ya', meaning work (कर्म)¹, is the common name of both metrical compositions and compositions without metre, provided they are not lacking in elegance, beauty, embellishments and other requisites of this branch of fine art. Bearing this in mind we can clearly see that there was no time in the Indian world of literature when so much importance was attached to metre as to think that without metre there could be no literary composition deserving the name of poetry, or kāvyā.

Even the mantras of the world-old Vedas have two forms, metric and otherwise, the former of which furnishes to some mantras the name of Ṛk, and the latter to others the name of Yajus. And this variation of form in no way affects their importance in sanctity or anything else. Further, the two most famous poeticians of India, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, have divided kāvyā into two kinds 'padya' and 'gadya' which mean poetry and prose. In the Mahābhārata and some purāṇas such as the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, too, we find the prose form used for narrating a

1. Abhinavagupta's derivation is otherwise—कवनीयं कव्यम् (p. 7).

few episodes. All these facts go to show that in the opinion of the men of letters of India, the poetical language can be as good, melodious, beautiful and pleasurable, without metre, as with it. Of the same view Aristotle seems to be. He writes:

"There is another art which imitates by means of language, and that either in prose or verse"

and

I. 6

"Fourth among the elements enumerated comes Diction, by which I mean, as has been already said, the expression of the meaning in words; and its essence is the same both in verse and prose." VI. 18.

Apart from these undiversified views of the ancient authors, I myself do not see any reasonableness in arguing for the necessity of metre in the productions of the poetical art. I do not deny, however, that among common folk, the word 'kavi' as well as 'kāvyā' generally carries the idea of verse. And it is an undisputed fact that most kavis have a tendency to embody their thoughts in metrical language. If one requires proof for this assertion, I would refer of the limited number of prosaic and the superabundance of metrical works of our Indian authors. But this by no means affects my position. For, the cause of the abundance of metrical works and the paucity of prose works is to be found somewhere else and not in the necessity for metre. A beginner in the poetical field cannot but try first to compose verses. Ālaṅkārikas when pointing out ways to become kavis tell us that a would-be kavi should first attempt to acquire full mastery over words, by often making empty, meaningless verses. The idea is that without full power to wield language no one can become a kavi; and that power cannot be well attained otherwise than by constant and energetic effort in making metrical compositions.¹ And a man in his maiden attempt is at a loss to determine which words to use and which not, just as a rustic, who enters a shop in a big town for the first time, is at a loss to choose things as everything is new and strange to him. Therefore, as, in training horses, they are made to put their feet in measured paces, by imposing (with shackles) some restrictions

1. 'Besides these qualifications,' says Newman, (E. C. E. p. 251) 'poetical compositions require that command of language which is the mere effect of practice. The poet is a compositor: words are his types; he must have them within reach, and in unlimited abundance.'

in their movements, so the man, desirous of poetic fame, is to use words so as to make measured lines; and by a continued and steady practice of using those words which fit the given metres and rejecting those which do not fit, he becomes rich in words and is able to use them freely. But at the same time he becomes much accustomed to the metrical composition, and usually inclined to write whatever he wishes to do, in verse, and seldom he tries to write prose. This is why we have not a considerable number of prose works while we have innumerable works of the other kind. And also this is the answer, but not 'that the laws of artistic expression oblige them to do so,' as Professor Courthope says (L. L. p. 71), to the question—"Why have poets always written in metre?" The Professor unnecessarily fears that without metre there would be no distinguishing point between oratory and poetry. Refuting Shelley, he writes:

'Nor does it follow, because the truth and splendour of Plato's imagery are the most intense that it is possible to conceive, that he was therefore "essentially a poet"; the same might be said of the imagery of a great orator; yet oratory is not poetry. The end of Plato was to convince by dialectic, and though for this purpose he may have resorted to rhetorical and poetical methods of persuasion, that does not take him out of the class "philosopher" and transplant him into the class "poet."'

(L. L. p. 70-1.)

I think his own words 'The end of Plato was to convince...' contain the differentia. The orator as well as the scientific writer aims at conviction, while the poet aims at pleasure.

Besides 'oratory is not poetry'; not because the one does not and the other does require metres; but because the former is the art of speaking and the latter is the art of writing. With or without metre, writing is common to both poetry and scientific work. Figures and turns of speech, it may be granted, are common to both poetry and oratory. The aim, conviction, is common to both oratory and science. Poetry is, however, distinguished from oratory by its being indeed partly the art of writing, from science by figures and turns of speech, and from both by its immediate aim, pleasure.

And it will be seen in the next chapter that the universal, which is the object of poetic representation, as distinguished from the particular of History, is not the philosophic universal, the

creative force or law of the universe, but something of a totally different nature. This universal also makes a great difference between poetry and oratory. The role of the poet is to vividly delineate the human life in general and that of the orator to convince his hearers as to this or that particular truth or fact.

When I say that poetry partly consists in the art of writing, it is not meant that without the actual putting down of the words on paper or other like material, there can be no poetry. It does not require much labour to see that the exertion to compose a few words when one begins to write is greater and requires much more concentration of thought than the endeavour to speak a few words. This fact leads us further to see that there is a language which, though not actually written, yet for the sake of convenience may be called "written language", as distinguished from the "spoken language". Of these two languages the former is of the poet, the latter of the orator.

The poet writes, that is, he employs, the "written language." So he wishes to have no audience to hear him when he is at work with his art. And when he has finished his work, he places it before his hearers; but at that time he is nothing more than his audience. Unlike him, the orator has nothing to do without some one to hear him. This is very plainly said by John Stuart Mill:

"Poetry and eloquence are both alike, the expression or utterance of feeling. But if we may be excused the antithesis, we should say that eloquence is heard, poetry is overheard. Eloquence supposes an audience; the peculiarity of poetry appears to us to lie in the poet's utter unconsciousness of a listener. Poetry is feeling confessing itself to itself, in moments of solitude, and embodying itself in symbols which are the nearest possible representations of the feeling in the exact shape in which it exists in the poet's mind. Eloquence is feeling pouring itself out to other minds, courting their sympathy, or endeavouring to influence their belief or move them to passion or to action."

(E. C. E. p. 406).

But this ingenious and discerning critic shares the misfortune, with the poet Lord Tennyson, to be condemned downright by Professor Courthope who, we find, confuses the essence of poetical language and metre. He writes:

"John Stuart Mill attempts to draw a sharp distinction between the genius of the orator and that of the poet; the one,

he says, speaks to be heard, the other to be overheard. I venture to say that a more false description of the life and nature of poetry has never been given to the world. At no great epoch of poetical production was the art of the poet ever entirely separated from that of the orator. Did Homer, Pindar, the Greek tragedians and Aristophanes not speak to be heard? Were the Trouveres, the Troubadours, the Ballad Singers, the Elizabethan dramatists, the English satirists of the Restoration and the Revolution, not dependent on an audience?"

(L. L. p. 85).

I think I may venture to say that none confounds the art of writing poems so much with the art of speaking, as Professor Courthope does. True, Homer, Pindar and others spoke to be heard. But they spoke not to be heard, like orators, when they spoke; but when they stopped speaking. By what is said thus far is only meant that kāvyas are as perfect with prosaic as with metric form and therefore both these forms have an equal value and place as the medium of expression in the art of kavis. But the matter does not stop here. There seem to be some who would go a step further on behalf of prosaic form. According to them prose language is more difficult to acquire than metrical language, and one cannot be a perfect kavi unless he is skilled in prose writing. Vāmana quotes a line—गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति which means 'Prose is the touchstone of poets'. Besides we find a stanza in the beginning of the Vemabhūpālacarita of Vāmana Bāṇa (ascribed to the 15th century) which may be rendered thus :—

Vāmana Bāṇa wipes out the infamy that all the kavis other than Bāṇa (of the Kādambarī fame) are blind in the ways of prose.

This well bears evidence to the fact that even the great poets of old, though adept in verse making, were and were thought to be unskilled in embodying their thoughts and feelings in the form of prose.

I cannot wholly accept therefore Hudson's views on this point. After quoting the following passage of Leigh Hunt—"Fitness or unfitness of song or metrical excitement, make all difference between a poetical and prosaic subject; and the reason why verse is necessary to the form of poetry is that the perfection of the poetical spirit demands it—that the circle of its enthusiasm, beauty and power is incomplete without it,"—

Hudson writes :

"This undoubtedly overstates the case for form, since the writer appears to ignore the fact that the truest spirit of poetry has often been expressed, and very adequately expressed, without recourse to the medium of verse. The difference in question, as I understand it, is not necessarily between a "poetical" and a "prosaical" subject, but between the forms in which perhaps the same subject may be handled."

(L. S. L. p. 89).

But again he writes :

"A mere accessory in fact, it is not. It is rather the form which the poetic spirit seeks spontaneously to fashion for itself; and as such it "perfects" poetry by providing it with its most natural and adequate means of expression."

(Ibid. p. 93).

and again:

"We may conclude, therefore, that while verse is of course often used as the vehicle of purely prosaic thought, it ought not to be so used, and that conversely while an exalted mood of passion and imaginative ecstasy may often find utterance in prose, prose is not its most appropriate or even its most natural medium. The offices of prose and verse are, in fact, distinct; and their distinction is not fortuitous nor arbitrary, but vital."

(Ibid. p. 95.)

If there is no difference between one subject and another as prosaic and poetical, equally there is no such difference between one thought and another. By a great poet any thought can be expressed through prose as well as through verse, without any danger to its spirit or beauty. If this is recognised, there is no meaning in saying that 'the offices of prose and verse are distinct,' and that 'it perfects poetry by providing it with its most natural and adequate means of expression.' If prose is not the natural means of expressing 'an elevated mood of passion and imaginative ecstasy,' no longer verse is such. Is it not indubitably true that the most elevated passion of an Englishman cannot find utterance in French nor that of a Frenchman in English? Only the former bursts forth in English and the latter in French. Which language of them, I should ask, is the natural means of expression of that elevated mood of passion? If both of them are, I fail to see why the same cannot be said of prose and verse. If on the other hand both of them are not, this too may equally apply to prose

and verse and nothing goes against the equality of the two forms of expression. When this is borne well in mind it will seem but reasonable to think that, that "Goethe meant to write in prose . . . but his thoughts instinctively expressed themselves in verse." (I. S. L. p. 95 n.) shows that he had such a greater freedom and ease in verse than in prose, that his readiness for manipulation gave it the colour of being the natural means of expression of his poetic thoughts.

The point to be noted is that the common human ideas have not any particular language as the only proper and natural means of their expression, because we know, an English-born child if brought up in the midst of the French people is undoubtedly able to express whatever it thinks, in French, as freely and as clearly as a French child, and yet, from his ever growing familiarity with his mother-tongue which begins from his childhood, every man is likely to think that tongue is the natural channel of thoughts, which really it is not; in the same way poetical thoughts also have not for the reasons aforesaid, the one or the other of verse and prose as the natural medium of their utterance; and yet one is apt to think one of the forms to be so, from one's close and constant contact with it and the freedom one has in its use. That metre is the part of the perfection of "poetry," I can, however, readily acquiesce in, for when put in a plainer language, it amounts to nothing more than 'metre is one of the component parts of the metrical composition'.

Now there is another point of view from which the relation between the metrical form and the poetical spirit is sought to be established as quite natural and vital and necessary. It is said that like music, metre or rhythm, either of which means a regular arrangement of measured groups of syllables, emotionalises the thoughts of hearers and thus enables them to fully enjoy the beauty of poetry; and as such enjoyment cannot be had through the prosaic form, metre is truly part of poetic perfection. This way of argument also does not seem to have much weight in itself. Absence of metre in the *Vāsavadattā* or the *Kādambarī* does not in the least lessen our enjoyment of it. On the contrary there is an old saying about the *Kādambarī*, which in English means:

'Those who enjoy the rasa of the *Kādambarī* do not relish even food.'

That metre helps us in a way in enjoying a good piece is undeniable. But it does not follow therefrom that such enjoy-

ment is not possible without it. Also that the kind of pleasure derived from poetry in the metrical form is different from the kind of pleasure derived from pieces in the prosaic form, may be true. But it would be a gross mistake to conclude therefrom that one kind is superior to the other. This is, I think, too subtle a point to be explained even by psychologists. This is what is meant by Daṇḍin when he says:

इक्षुक्षीरगुडादीनां माधुर्यस्यान्तरं महत् ।

तथापि न तदाख्यातुं सरस्वत्यापि शक्यते ॥ 1-102

[Between the sweetness of the sugar-cane juice, that of milk, and that of jaggery, etc., there is great difference; and yet that difference, it is quite impossible even for Sarasvatī to explain.]

In music too, it is performed sometimes with *tāla*, and sometimes the singer sings very sweetly without it, the mode of singing being called *ālāpa*.

It is not in the mere metre that the music of poetical expression consists in. It is quite of another kind and is present in the prose as well as in the verse of great poets. When we are speaking of prose as the creation of poets, it should be strictly understood that it has not such a wide application as to include in its sense the almanac prose, the newspaper prose, and daily business prose. Prose is of two kinds—*kāvya* or poetic prose and *vārtā* (वार्ता) or common-place prose. Melody, harmony and rhythm and everything that is required of true poetry may equally be found in poetic prose, and it is that that distinguishes it from the common-place prose and secures for it, it also being 'best words in right order', an equal place with the metrical creation of poets.

Now, therefore, I rewrite, in favour of prosaic form, what James Montgomery has said in favour of metrical form. 'Take the finest passages of the *Kādambarī*, and merely put them into metre with the least possible variation of the words themselves. The attempt would be like the gathering up of dewdrops which appear as jewels and pearls on the grass, but run into water in the hand; the essence and the element remain, but the grace, the sparkle and the form are gone.'

This topic cannot be better concluded than with a passage from John Stuart Mill, in which every word betokens the extraordinary critical acumen of the author:—

"It has often been asked, What is Poetry? And many and various are the answers which have been returned. The vulgarest of all—one with which no person possessed of the faculties to which poetry addresses itself, can ever have been satisfied—is that which confounds poetry with metrical composition: yet to this wretched mockery of a definition, many have been led back, by the failure of all their attempts to find any other that would distinguish what they have been accustomed to call poetry, from much which they have known only under other names."

(E. C. E. p. 398.)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BURMESE BUDDHISM— AN ORIGINAL NOTE.

BY

SUBRAHMANYA JEMBUNATHAN, M.A., F. R. U.,

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The deeper we study the religion of the people of Burma, the more we are struck with the peculiar individuality, and the astonishing coherence and self-consistency that mark the system of Buddhist beliefs in Burma. The philosophical system is more than a rational one, there is evidently a concern for, and an attainment of, proportion and symmetry of the various component factors. It is all the more remarkable when we notice the highly conservative attitude attending the religious character of the people. It will be no exaggeration to say that instead of the usual harsh outlines of rigid orthodoxy, we have a most artistic system cherished by the nation as a whole.

Every scholar of Buddhism has agreed that Burmese Buddhism owes a great deal of debt to the Hīnayāna school of Buddhist philosophy but an exact estimate has still to be made as to the extent of the obligation of Burmese Buddhism to the Hīnayāna and the nature of the original contribution that local scholars made to it. From the beginning of the fifth century to the close of the foreign Cōla suzerainty, the Pāli expositions of Abhidhamma of South Indian commentators like Dhammapāla, Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta were doubtless studied and taught in the monasteries, and translation of the same into the vernacular was rapidly coming into vogue during the regime of Burmese kings. It is also significant that during both periods the works of Northern Buddhists, of the diverse Mahāyāna schools remained for the most part in comparative neglect and that the influence the Mahāyānist philosophy has exerted on the scholars of Burma has been next to nothing.

As we study Burmese Buddhism in its relations with the Hīnayāna Buddhism, while we are able to trace in the Southern Buddhist commentaries the lines of thought developed in the former, the development itself remains an unexplained problem.

The question arises : How did those several, divergent lines of thought present in the early Pāli commentarial literature come to be developed into a unified, self-consistent rational and artistic system? How were the discrepancies incidental to doctrines shaped by diverse hands at different periods in the history of the Hinayāna schools ultimately harmonised into a single system which evidently looks like the result of a single mind?

In the attempt to answer such questions a comparative study of each of the various schools of Hinayāna thought with Burmese Buddhism leads us to observe the striking similarity in the fundamental conception in the amplified detail and in the general method of enquiry, that holds between the philosophy of Burmese Buddhism and that of the Satya Siddhi Śāstra composed originally in Pāli and running into 202 chapters. In this work by Harivarman, the disciple of Kumāralabdha, is inculcated in all its purity, a system most nearly akin to Burmese Buddhism. Making the Sarvaśūnyatāvāda the starting point of his philosophy, Harivarman expounds his views on every item of religious belief and ethical practice and his elaborate discussion of "Atthi Sammutika—Natthi Paramatthika" enables us to perceive how, at every stage of its development, Burmese Buddhism drew its inspiration from the work of one of its own scholars, and not from foreign exegetists like Buddhaghosa or Buddhadatta. Needless, it is to say that this Harivarman was a local scholar and in all probability one of the Śālaṅkāyanas of Arimaddanapura.

While acknowledging the assistance received from without, the original element in Burmese Buddhism should be appreciated in fairness to the genius of Burma.

IS TAMIL SCRIPT PHONETIC OR NO?

BY

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M. A., L. T.

A Script is said to be phonetic if each symbol denotes only one sound and each sound is represented by only one symbol. To determine whether Tamil script is phonetic or no, we will have to examine the number of sounds in Tamil language and that of the symbols that are used to denote them.

Tolkāppiyāṇār, the author of the earliest extant Tamil grammar mentions in the very first sūtra of his work that there are thirty primary sounds¹ and three secondary sounds. What these three secondary sounds are and how they are represented in script are mentioned in the second sūtra.² But some seem to doubt that the word *eluttu* in the first two sūtras refers to symbol since in modern times Tamil language, as pronounced in certain districts as Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, possesses greater number of sounds than the symbols to represent them. But the fact that Tolkāppiyāṇār definitely refers to sound and not to symbol by that word is clear from the third sūtra³ which says, 'Of them, a, i, u, e and o have only one *mātrā* in pronunciation and are named short *eluttu*. Similarly in the 9th sūtra⁴

1. எழுத்தெனப்படுப
அகரமுதனகரவினு வாய் முப்படை தென்ப
சார்ந்தவரன் மாயின் முன்றலங் கடைமே.
2. அவைசாங்
குற்றிய விகரங் குற்றிய லுகா
மாய்க்கென்ற
முப்பாற் புள்ளியு மெழுத்தோ ளன்ன.
3. அவற்றுள்
அ ஐ உ
எ ஒ வென்னு மாயா லைந்து
ஶமராய லிசைக்குங் குற்றெழுத் தென்ப.
4. எனகரவினுவாய்ப்
புகுண்ணெ ணெழுத்து மெய்யென மொழிய.

he names k to ṇ as meṃ and in the 11th⁵ he says that their quantity is each half a mātrā. Can sounds have their quantity as one mātrā or a half of symbols? In the 19th⁶, 20th⁷, 21st⁸ sūtras he says that k, c, ṭ, ṭ, p and ṛ are valḷeḷuttu or voiceless consonants, ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, n, m and ṇ as melleḷuttu or nasals and y, ṭ, ṭ, v, ṭ and ṭ as itaiyeḷuttu or semivowels. This classification can hold good only when *eḷuttu* means sounds and not symbols. Besides throughout the first chapter he makes mention of such words as uruvu⁹ and iyarkai¹⁰ whenever he refers to symbols.

In the second sūtra he says that *Kurriyalikaram* or shortened i, *Kurriyalukaram* or shortened u and *āytam* are provided with dots. Does this not show that even the secondary sounds had symbols to differentiate them from their corresponding primary sounds? The symbols for i and u were differentiated from those for *Kurriyalikaram* and *Kurriyalukaram* by a dot being put over them as *ī* and *ū*. Similarly short e and short o were differentiated in symbol, from long ē and long ō by a dot being put over the symbols for ē and ō as *ē* and *ō*.¹¹

5. மெய்யி னெய்யே யவையெய்யை மெய்யி.
6. வல்லெய்யத் தென்ப கசட தபற.
7. மெல்லெய்யத் தென்ப கவண கமண.
8. ஐண்டெய்யத் தென்ப யாவ வழு.
9. (a) உட்பெய புள்ளி யருவ கும்மே. (தொல். எழுத். 14)
(b) புள்ளி யில்லா வெல்லா மெய்யு
முருகு வாகி யகரமோ வியிர்த்தன
மேனை யுயிரோ வருவியிரிந் துயிர்த்தன
மாய் நியல வியிர்த்த லாதே. (தொல். எழுத். 17)
(c) மெய்யுயிர் கீங்கிற் றன்னுரு வாகும். (தொல். புண. 37)
10. (a) மெய்யி னியற்கை புள்ளியொடு நிலையல். (தொல். எழுத். 15)
(b) எகரத் தியற்கையு மற்றே (தொல். எழுத். 16)
11. எகர ஒகரத் தியற்கையு மற்றே (தொல். எழுத். 16)

N. B. The symbols for e and o at the time of Tolkāppiyānār were *ē* and *ō* and those for ē and ō were *ē* and *ō* while in modern times *ē* and *ō* have become the symbols for e and o and new symbols *ē* and *ō* have been introduced to represent ē and ō. This ought to have come when the scribes began to omit writing dots on palmyra leaves.

Hence it is clear that, at the time of Tolkāppiyānār Tamil script was completely phonetic.

But in modern times the sounds g, j, ḍ, d, b, ś, ṣ, s and h, are introduced in pronouncing Tamil words as தங்கை, தஞ்சை, பண்டம், வந்தான், பம்பாய், ஜாதி, பஞ்சம், மாணம் and அஹம். But the last four words are pure Sanskritic words without being influenced by the rules of Tamil grammar. The same in pure Tamil would be சாதி, பட்சம், மாசம், அகச்ச. As regards the pronunciation of கை, சை, ட, த and second ப, in the first five words, Dr. Caldwell and many others think that they are respectively gai, jai, ḍa, dā and ba, they are made sonants by the influence of the preceding sonant nasal and it will be difficult to pronounce them otherwise. But the following examples from Sanskrit and English may convince the readers that it need not invariably be the rule :—Paṅka, paṅca, ghaṇṭā, danta, paṃpā ; blanket, lunch, ant, pumping. Besides the following statement of Vendryś mentioned in the 60th page of his 'Language' is worth noting 'Difficulty and ease of pronunciation are purely relative conceptions, doubtless quite definite to the speaker, but variable for each language. We cannot appreciate them without a thorough knowledge of the structure of the language. In fact articulatory habits are at the root of the difficulty so that a sound-group which one people find difficult to pronounce may be quite easy for a neighbouring people.' Hence the idea of Dr. Caldwell and others that each set of k and g, c and j, ṭ and ḍ, t and ḍ, and p and b was represented by one symbol need not be true. The first sūtra of Tolkāppiyam which says that there were only thirty primary sounds and the nineteenth sūtra which says that க, ச, ட, த, ப, ந are voiceless consonants clearly prove that sounds g, j, ḍ, d, b were not originally in Tamil language. Besides such sounds as g, j, ḍ, d, b, ś, ṣ, s and h are not even now found in the Tamil language in all places where it is spoken. For instance in Jaffna, it is said that most of them are not found. They are found *in toto* only in such districts as Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore etc. In Tinnevely some of them are not found. The word 'சட்டி' is pronounced by Tinnevely people only as *catti* and not as *ṣaṭṭi* as is pronounced by Tanjore people. The word 'அகம்' is pronounced in Tanjore as *aham*, while in Madras it is pronounced as *agam*. Hence we may say that the Tamil script

is not phonetic in modern times with respect to *certain dialects*, it I may so call it.¹

1. Since Tamil script was phonetic in earliest times and is phonetic with respect to certain dialects found in places where admixture of Sanskrit *tatsama* words is very little, I think that those who are responsible for deciding the transliteration adopted in the Tamil Lexicon, published by the University of Madras have to be congratulated for having chosen such symbols as would *correctly* represent the sounds of Tamil language as spoken in ancient times and as mostly spoken by those who are not influenced by the Sanskrit language, though they might have represented Kurṇiyalikaram and Kurṇiyalukaram by i and u and aytam by a symbol better than k, which gives the mistaken notion that it is a guttural sound, while in fact its organ of articulation is determined by the succeeding voiceless consonant. They have adopted symbols for j, ṣ, ś and h in such Tamilised words as have been borrowed from other languages in recent times.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

LAGHU RAMACARITRAM by Y. Mahalinga Sastri.

The art of abridging a long story in an easy and telling manner is perhaps not commonly given to many who have the faculty to appreciate literature. And to have condensed an epic like the Rāmāyaṇa in a simple and narrative form without leaving out any of the soul-enthraling situations with which the grand tale is strewn all over, adds much to the credit of the author of this small book entitled Laghu Rāmacaritra.

It is needless to add that this tiny publication containing the story of Rāma in verses, flowing and unadorned, would allure young hearts. But even one who has tasted of the original, may derive ample satisfaction to find some of the fine verses of the Great poem chosen in order to enliven the readers. Indeed, this attempt to offer younger minds a foretaste of the beauties of the Rāmāyaṇa is praise-worthy.

Hence we have no little pleasure and pride in appreciating the work of the author in trying to acquaint little boys and girls with the chief incidents of the life of Śrī Rāmacandra, who is almost a household name with us for all that is good and great in man. We hope that authorities of schools and text-book committees will not be slow in prescribing such books for the better training of pupils in schools.

K. CHANDRASEKHARAN.

THE CONCEPTION OF BUDDHIST NIRVANA, by Th. Stecherbatsky, PH. D.—Professor in the University of Leningrad, Member of the Academy of Sciences of Ussr.—Publishing Office of the Academy of Sciences of the Ussr, Leningrad—1927.

[Reviewed by Mahāmahōpādhyāya, Vidyāvācaspati, S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M. A., I. E. S., Madras.]

This book contains the most illuminating contribution in English to the understanding of the exact significance of the Buddhist ideal of *Nirvāṇa*. Professor Stecherbatsky has attained a remarkable degree of success in his endeavour to disentangle the concepts of *Nirvāṇa* and *Śūnya* from the hazy and misleading

descriptions of their nature given by Indian authorities and several European writers and to show how these concepts are not wholly negative and nihilistic in their import and how *Śāṅgya* should be rendered intelligible by the English equivalent 'relative' and not by the wholly misleading term 'void'. Unprejudiced scholars would certainly like to congratulate Professor Stecherbatsky on his able exposition of the central tenets of Buddhism and on his lucid account of the development of Buddhist thought. A special need of praise is due to him for redeeming the 'genuine Buddhism of Buddha' from its unreliable accounts, such as we find in Dr. A. B. Keith's *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon* and as misrepresent it to be 'nothing but obscure theurgic, a product of a barbarous age, lacking both system and maturity, a fact historically reflected in the Negativism of Mahāyāna'. Sections XVIII, XIX and XX contain very suggestive correlations of Brahmanical and European parallels with Buddhist doctrines. A very useful and trustworthy English rendering of the text of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamika-kārikās* and Candrakīrti's commentary thereon—called 'Prasannapadā' is appended by the author to his scholarly dissertation on *Nirvāṇa*.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

BHAVABHŪTI'S *UTTARĀMACARITA* with Ghanaśyāma's commentary in Sanskrit and English introduction, notes and translation—published by the Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay—Third edition: 1929—Rs. 3—8—0.

[Reviewed by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Professor
S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I. E. S.]

This edition of the *Uttarāmacarita* is of great value to students and teachers. It contains a scholarly and critical introduction by Professor Kane, in which all the available particulars about Bhavabhūti and Ghanaśyāma including those about the former that were brought to notice for the first time in some very recent contributions by me and other scholars, are ably summarised. Professor Kane, with his characteristic judgment, draws pointed attention to the best readings in the text where necessary and his English notes will prove to be very helpful to University students.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

243. *Valiyēṇa varūṁ pūlak kīlaviyū*
Mavviya ūlaiyal cēvi leṇṇa.

It is said that the word 'vali' denoting one of the five elements is of the same nature (*i.e.*) it takes the increments 'attu' or 'in' after it in *case-relation sandhi*. Ex. vali + pōyiṇāṇ = vali-y-attu-p-pōyiṇāṇ or vali-y-iṇ-pōyiṇāṇ.

244. *Uṭimarak kīlavi melleṭuttu mikumē.*

If the word 'uṭi' denoting a kind of tree (is followed by a voiceless consonant), the corresponding nasal is inserted after it. Ex. uṭi + kōṭṭu = uṭi-ñ-kōṭṭu etc.

245. *Puḷimarak kīlavik kanmē cāriyai.*

The word 'puḷi' denoting tamarind tree takes after it the increment 'am' (if it is followed by a voiceless consonant *i.e.*, k, c, t or p). Ex. puḷi + cetiḷ = puḷi-y-añ-cetiḷ etc.

246. *Ēṇaiḥ puḷiḥṇeyar melleṭuttu mikumē.*

A nasal is inserted after the word 'puḷi' denoting anything other than the tamarind tree. Ex. puḷi + kūḷ = puḷi-ñ-kūḷ etc.

247. *Valleṭuttu mikinn māṇa millai*
Yakvali yaṇṇal valakkat tāṇa.

There is no harm if a voiceless consonant is inserted (instead of a nasal in the previous case) if it is so in usage. Ex. puḷi-k-kūḷ etc.

248. *Nāṇmur rōṇṇun toḷiṇilaik kīlavik*
Kāṇṇṇai varuṭa laiya miṇṇē.

Any noun (ending in 'i' and) denoting a star takes the increment 'āṇ' after it, if it is followed by a verb. Ex. paraṇi + koṇṭāṇ = paraṇi-y-āṇ-koṇṭāṇ etc.

249. *Tiṇkaṇ muṇṇari ṇikkē cāriyai.*

Any noun (ending in 'i' and) denoting a month takes the increment 'ikku' after it (if it is followed by a verb). Ex. āṭi + koṇṭāṇ = āṭi + ikku + koṇṭāṇ = āṭi-kku-k-koṇṭāṇ etc.

250. *Ikāra viṇṇuḷi yākāra viyarrē.*

The change in sandhi when the standing word ends in ī is the same as that when it ends in ā (in *non-case-relation sandhi*). Ex. ti + kaṭitū = ti-k-kaṭitū, ti-c-ciṭitū etc.

251. *Niyeṇ ṇeyaru miḷakkarḥ ṇeyaru*
Miyēṇa marūya viṇṇavarai kīlaviyū
Māvayin valleṭut tiyarkai yākum.

There is no change in sandhi when the standing word is *mī*, *pī* or *mī* denoting place and it is followed by *k*, *c*, *t* or *p*. Ex. *mī kuriyāi* etc.; *pī titu* etc.; *mīkaṇ* etc.

252. *Ṭamvārai kīlavimūṇi valleduttu mikūṇ*
Muṭaiṇilai moliyu muṭavēna molīpa.

It is said that there are words before which a voiceless consonant is inserted when the standing word is *mī*. Ex. *mī-p-pal* etc.

Note.—Sūtras 250 to 252 deal with *non-case-relation sandhi*.

253. *Vēṇṇumaik kaṇṇu mataṇō rayrē.*

The same is the case in *case-relation sandhi* (i.e.) a voiceless consonant *k*, *c*, *t* or *p* is inserted after a standing word ending in *ī* and before the coming word commencing with a voiceless consonant. Ex. *ī + kāl* = *ī-k-kāl*; *ī-c-cirakū* etc.

254. *Nīye yurupēya yurupēya ṇilaiyū*
Mūvayin valledut tiyarkai yākum.

The single lettered word *nī* (when it stands as the standing word and when it is followed by *k*, *c*, *t* or *p* is changed to *niṇ*) as before case-suffixes. In that case no voiceless consonant is inserted after it. Ex. *mī + Kai* = *nīṇkai*.

Note.—Sūtras 253 & 254 deal with *case-relation sandhi*.

255. *Ukara vūṇṭi yakara viyarrē.*

The change in *non-case relation sandhi* when the standing word ends in *u* (and when it is followed by *k*, *c*, *t* or *p*) is the same as when it ends in *a*. Ex. *kaṭu + kuritū* = *kaṭu-k-kuritū* etc.

256. *Cuṭṭiṇ muṇṇaru mattoṭiṇ rākum.*

The same is the case after the demonstrative root *u*. Ex. *u-k-korṇaṇ* etc.

257. *Ēṇavai varinē mēṇilai yiyala.*

If the demonstrative root *u* is followed by those other than *k*, *c*, *t* or *p* (i.e., by *ṇ*, *u*, *m*, *y* or *v*), the change in sandhi is the same as after the demonstrative root 'a' mentioned before. Ex. *u-ṇ ṇāṇ*, *u-n-nūl*, *u-m-maṇi*; *u-v-yāl*; *u-v-vaṭai*.

258. *Cuṭṭumuta liṇṭi yiyalṭā kumṇē.*

There is no change in sandhi if the standing word is one commencing with a demonstrative root and ending in *u* (i.e.) *atu*, *itu* & *utu*. Ex. *atu kuritū* etc.

259. *Aṇṇuvāru kālai yāvō kutalu*
Maivāru kālai meyvāraintu keṭutaluṇ
Cēyṇṇu maruṇṇi yurilleṇa molīpa.

It is said that in poetry the final *u* of *atu*, *itu* or *utu* is changed to *ā* if it is followed by the word *aṇṇu* and it is dropped before the suffix 'ai'. Ex. *atu + aṇṇu + amma* = *atāṇṇamma* etc.; *atu + ai + marṇu + amma* = *atāmaṇṇamma* etc.

Note.—Sūtras 255 to 259 deal with *non-case-relation sandhi*.

260. *Vēṇṇumaik kaṇṇu mataṇō rayrē.*

The same is the case in *case-relation sandhi* (i.e.) the change in *case-relation sandhi* when the standing word ends in *u* and is followed *k*, *c*, *t* or *p*, is the same as that when the standing word ends in *a*. Ex. *kaṭu + kaṭumai* = *kaṭu-k-kaṭumai* etc.

261. *Erucēṇ cerucu mammeṇu cēvaṇṭ*
Tiripīṭa ṇuṭaiya teriyuṇ kālai
Yammiṇ makaraṇ ceruvayir keṭumē
Tammorṇu mikūṇu valledut tiyarkai.

When the standing words are *eru* and *ceru* and they are followed by *k*, *c*, *t* or *p*, the increment 'am' is added after the former and 'a' followed by the same consonant (i.e., *k*, *c*, *t* or *p*) after the latter. Ex. *eru + kuḷi* = *eru + am + kuḷi* = *eru-v-aṇ-kuḷi*; *eruvaṇcēṇu* etc.; *ceru + kaḷam* = *ceru + ak + kaḷam* = *ceru-v-ak-kaḷam*; *ceru + cēṇai* = *ceru + ac + cēṇai* = *ceru-v-ac-cēṇai* etc.

262. *Lakara vukara nīṭiṭa ṇuṭaittō*
Yukaram varuta lāvayī ṇāṇa.

If the standing word ends in *ḷu*, *u* may be lengthened to *ū* and another *u* is inserted after it. Ex. *paḷū-u-p-pallaṇṇa paruvu-kirppāvaṭi*.

263. *Oṭumarak kīṭavi yutimara viyarrē.*

The change in sandhi when the standing word is *oṭu* is the same when it is the word *uṭi* denoting a tree. Ex. *oṭu + kōṭu* = *oṭu-ū-kōṭu* etc.

Note.—Cf. sūtra 244.

264. *Cuṭṭumuta liṇṭi yurupēya ṇilaiyū*
Morriṭai mikāa valledut tiyarkai.

If the standing word commences with a demonstrative root, ends in *u*, and is followed by *k*, *c*, *t* or *p*, it takes (the increment *aṇ*) as it does before a case-suffix and the succeeding consonant is not doubled. Ex. *atu + kōṭu* = *ataṇkōṭu* etc.

Note.—Sūtras 260 to 264 deal with *case-relation sandhi*.

265. *Ēkāra vīṇuti yākāra viyāṇē.*

The change (in *non-case-relation sandhi*) when the standing word is a noun and ends in ū is the same as that when it ends in ā (when it is followed by k, c, t or p). Ex. koṇṇū + kaṭṭu = koṇṇū-k-kaṭṭu etc.

Note.—Cl. sūtra 222.

266. *Vīṇaiyēñē kiḷavikkū mūṇṇilai moliḷkku*
Nīṇaiyēñē kalai yēvakai vāṇaiyāṇ.

None prevents the same change in sandhi when the standing word is a verbal participle ending in ū or finite verbs of the second person ending in ū (and when they are followed by k, c, t or p). Ex. mūṇṇū + koṇṭāṇ = mūṇṇū-k-koṇṭāṇ etc.; kūtū + korā = kūtū-k-korā etc.

Note.—Sūtras 265 & 266 deal with *non-case-relation sandhi*.

267. *Vēṇṇumaik kaṇṇu mataṇṇō vāṇṇē.*

The same is the case in *case-relation sandhi* (i.e.) the change is the same when the standing word ends in ū as that when it ends in ā. Ex. koṇṇū + kuḷām = koṇṇū-k-kuḷām etc.

Note.—Cl. sūtra 225.

268. *Kūṇṇuḷuḷu timparu mōḷuḷu moliḷkku*
Nīṇṇuḷuḷu mūkarak kiḷari.

When the standing word is one-lettered word ending in u or when it has a short vowel previous to its final u, u is also inserted. Ex. tū + kuṇai = tū-u-k-kuṇai; uṇū + kuṇai = uṇu-u-k-kuṇai etc.

269. *Pūṇē ṇorūṇēya rāyiyal piṇṇē*
Yāṇaiyē velleḷuḷu mikulatu murittē.

The same change does not take place when the standing word is pū; a voiceless consonant may also be inserted after it. Ex. pū + koṭi = pū-k-koṭi.

Note.—Iḷampūraṇar says that the expression 'āyiyalpiṇṇē' in the sūtra suggests that the change in sandhi must be different from it and hence a nasal is inserted after ū as pūñ-koṭi. But there is no mention of nasal in the previous sūtras. Perhaps he says so in analogy with oṇu-ñ-kōṭu, uti-ñ-kōṭu etc., mentioned in sūtras 244 & 263.

270. *Ūṇē ṇorūṇēya rāṇṇu civaṇṇu.*

The one-lettered word ū (takes u after it in *case-relation sandhi*) in the same way as the word ā (when it is the standing word). Ex. ū + kuṇai = ūṇkuṇai.

Note.—Cl. sūtra 232.

271. *Akkey cāriyai ṇeṇṇalatu murittē*
Takkavali yāṇṇal valakkat tāṇa.

Learn that, in usage ū takes the increment akku after u. Ex. ū + kuṇai = ūṇakkukūṇai.

272. *Āṇū makatūṇ vāyirū ṇeyarkku*
Mūṇṇilai vāṇṇu māṇa millai.

There is no harm if the increment iṇ is inserted after the standing words āṇū and makatūṇ. Ex. āṇū + kai = āṇū-v-iṇ-kai; makatūṇ-v-iṇ-kai.

Note.—Sūtras 267 to 272 deal with *case-relation sandhi*.

273. *Ēkāra vekarāṇu ṇeyarkkī rākā*
Mūṇṇilai moliya vēṇṇamaṇṇar ṇalarar
Tēṇṇamaṇṇu cīṇṇu māṇṇi yāṇa.

E and o never stand as final members of nouns; they stand so only in the verbs of second person except when they are used as particles to denote certainty and superiority respectively. Ex. ē e, o o; ē e koṇṭāṇ, o o koṇṭāṇ.

274. *Tēṇṇa vekarāṇuṇ cīṇṇu ṇorvū*
Mēṇṇu riyarkai velleḷuḷu mikū.

A voiceless consonant (k, c, t or p) is not inserted after the particles e denoting certainty and o denoting superiority. Ex. yāṇē koṇṭēṇ; yāṇō koṇṭāṇ.

275. *Ēkāra vīṇuti yūkāra viyāṇṇē.*

The change in *non-case-relation sandhi* when the standing word (is a noun), ends in ē (and is followed by a voiceless consonant) is the same as that when it ends in ū. Ex. cē + kaṭṭu = cē-k-kaṭṭu etc.

276. *Māṇuko leccamaṇṇu vīṇṇu mēṇṇu*
Kūṇṇiya velleḷuḷu tiyarkai yākum.

There is no change in sandhi if k, c, t or p follows the particle ē when the latter denotes negation, question or number. Ex. yāṇē koṇṭēṇ etc.; niyē koṇṭāy? nilanē, nīrē, tiyē etc.

277. *Vēṇṇumaik kaṇṇu mataṇṇō vāṇṇē.*

The same is the case in *case-relation sandhi* (i.e.) the change is the same when the standing word ends in *ē* as that when it ends in *ū*. Ex. *ē* + *kaṭumai* = *ē-k-kaṭumai* etc.

278. *Ēye nirutik kekaram varume.*

Ē will be followed by *e*. Ex. *ēe-k-kōṭṭil* etc.

279. *Cēven maraṭṭeva roṭumara viyarre.*

The sandhi when the standing word is *cē* denoting a tree is the same as that when it is *oṭu* denoting a tree. Ex. *cē* + *kōṭṭu* = *cē-ñ-kōṭṭu*.

Note.—Cf. sūtras 244 & 263.

280. *Perṛa māyīṇ murra vṇṇeṇṭum.*

If the standing word *cē* denotes *perṛam* (and is followed by *k*, *e*, *t* or *p*), it takes the increment *ṇ* after it. Ex. *cē* + *kōṭṭu* = *cē-v-ṇ-kōṭṭu* etc.

281. *Aikara vīṇṭiṭṭi peyarniloi muṇṇar*
Vēṇṇumai xāyīṇ velleṭuttu mikumē.

If the standing word ending in 'ai' is a noun (and is followed by *k*, *e*, *t* or *p*), *k*, *e*, *t* or *p* is respectively inserted after it. Ex. *yāṇai* + *cevi* = *yāṇai-e-cevi* etc.

282. *Cuṭṭumula liṇṭi yurupiya ṇilaiyum.*

If the standing word ends in *ai* and commences with a demonstrative root, the sandhi is the same as that when it is followed by a case-suffix (i.e.) it takes the increment *varṇu* after it. Ex. *avai* + *kōṭṭu* = *avai-y-aṇṇu-k-kōṭṭu*.

Note.—Cf. sūtras 123 & 178.

283. *Vicaimarak kiṭaviṇṇu ṇemaiṇu namaiṇu*
Māmuṭṭi peyarnū cēmara viyala.

If the standing words are *vicai*, *ṇemai* and *namai*, all denoting trees, the sandhi is the same as that when it is *cē* denoting a tree. Ex. *vicai-ñ-kōṭṭu*, *ṇemai-ñ-cetiṭ*, *namai-n-tōl* etc.

Note.—Cf. sūtras 244, 263 & 279.

284. *Paṇaiṇu maraiṇu māviraik kiṭaviṇṇu*
Niṇaiṇuṇ kālai yaṇṇuṇṭu civaṇṇu
Maiye nīṇṭi yaraivaraṇṭu keṭumē
Meyyava ṇoliya veṇṇamaṇṇar pulavar.

Learned men say that, if the standing word is *paṇai*, *arai* or *āvirai*, it takes in sandhi the increment 'am' and in the case of *paṇai* and *āvirai*, their final *ai* is also dropped. Ex. *paṇai* + *kāy* = *paṇaṇkāy*; *āvirai* + *kōṭṭu*; *araiyaṇkāṭṭu*.

285. *Paṇaiṇṇu muṇṇa vaṭṭuvanu kālai*
Nilaiṇṇu rāku maiye ṇuyirē
Yākāram varu'a lārayi ṇāṇa.

If *paṇai* and *aṭṭu* are respectively the standing word and the coming word, *ā* is substituted for *ai*. Ex. *paṇai* + *aṭṭu* = *paṇā-aṭṭu*.

286. *Koṭṭimūṇ variṇē yaiyava nīṇṭak*
Kaṭinilai yīṇṇē velleṭuttu mikutu.

If the standing word *paṇai* is followed by the word *koṭṭi*, *ai* is not dropped and none prevents the insertion of the voiceless consonant (*k*) between them.

287. *Tiṇkaḷu nālu muṇṭukiḷan taṇṇa.*

If the standing word ending in *ai* is the name of a month or a star, the sandhi is the same as that mentioned before (i.e.) in sūtras 248 & 249. Ex. *cittirai* + *koṇṭāṇ* = *cittiraikkuk-koṇṭāṇ*; *Paraṇi* + *koṇṭāṇ* = *paraṇi-y-āṇ-koṇṭāṇ*.

288. *Maṭaiṇṇu kiṭavi vaṭṭiya ṇilaiyum.*

The standing word *maṭai* behaves in sandhi in the same way as the word *vaṭṭi*. Ex. *maṭai* + *koṇṭāṇ* = *maṭai-y-attu-k-koṇṭāṇ*, *maṭai-y-iṇ-koṇṭāṇ*.

Note.—Cf. sūtra 243.

289. *Ceyyṇṇu maruṇṇiṇ vēṭkai yeṇṇu*
Maiye nīṇṭi yaraṇṇuṇ variṇē
Meyyoluṇ keṭuta leṇṇamaṇṇar pulavar
Yākāra ṇakāra mālal vēṇṭum.

Learned men say that, in poetry, if the standing word is *vēṭkai* and the coming word is *avā*, *ai* with the preceding (*k*) is dropped and *ṭ* is changed to *ṇ*. Ex. *vēṭkai* + *avā* + *naliya* = *vēṇavānaliya*.

Note.—All the sūtras from 281 to 289 deal with *case-relation sandhi*.

290. *Ōkāra vīṇṭi yēkāra viyarre.*

The change in (*non-case-relation*) sandhi when the standing word ends in *ō* is the same as that when it ends in *ē*. Ex. *ō-k-kaṭṭu*.

Note.—Cf. sūtras 222, 265 & 275.

291. *Māṇuko leccamūṇ vīṇṭuṇ maiyamūṇ*
Kūṇiya velleṭṭi tiyarkai yākum.

There is no change in sandhi if the standing word ends in *ō* denoting negation, question or doubt. Ex. *yāṇō koṇṭēṇ* etc.

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A CRITICAL EDITION
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OF
ANANDAVARDHANA
WITH
THE LOCANA OF ABHINAVAGUPTA
AND
THE KAUMUDĪ OF UTTUNGODAYA

EDITED BY
Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S.
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and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*

AND

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.,
Librarian, Adyar Manuscripts Library.

The only edition of the Dhvanyāloka till now available is full of mistakes. Those mistakes have been now removed with the aid of a large number of Manuscripts and difficult textual problems are satisfactorily solved. An important feature of this edition is that a scholarly and extensive commentary on the Locana, called Kaumudī, which was till now practically unknown is printed along with the Locana. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri adds a small Vytti called Upalocana. The edition will be accompanied by an elaborate Introduction and critical Notes and many appendices and indexes.

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ANTIQUITY AND EVOLUTION OF ART IN INDIA.

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B.A. (HONS.),

Madras.

The oldest examples of drawing and design executed by the hand of man are to be seen in the quaint but highly appreciable figures of animals and birds scratched on pieces of bone with the bringing into being of which the first race of primitive man is credited as the father of the first piece of art in the world. The caves of Altamira in Spain that contain certain remarkable specimens of colour drawings of wild beasts like the bison etc. carry the history of art to an almost incredible, but yet really true, early date—about 50000 years prior to the times in which we are living. And that shows that art expression has been part of the very life and nature of man. The earliest scripts of the world like the Egyptian and the Chinese etc. are all picture-scripts. What the eye sees creates a greater impression on a person than what the ear hears. In other words form is much more powerful than sound. 'रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्' says Kālidāsa. The first in order is रम्याणि वीक्ष्य—form is given greater prominence.

Human nature being the same all the world over, the same spirit and influences work in all countries and climes, bringing into being results not totally unlike except for the inevitable modifications due to the insurmountable difference of territory and temperature, habits and life, environment and influences. It is, therefore, interesting to study the history of the origin and development of art and culture in every part of the globe. The story of the antiquity and evolution of the art of India is as pleasant as that of any other land and merits as careful a study. It is the purpose of this paper to deal with that fascinating account of the art of our land which has been such a force in the forming of the traits of our people and such an influence over the art of other nations of the east like China and Japan.

The earliest known actual record of painting in India is found in the caves of Ramgarh and these are supposed to be of the 2nd century after Christ. But the fact of earlier works being undiscovered does not prove in any way their absence. That painting and sculpture are age-long arts is easily ascertained by us through the all too numerous references to these branches of art in works dating long long before the Christian era.

Taking a peep into the dim remote past when the ṛṣis (mantradrastārah) chanted the Vedic mantras we find evidences of a very useful nature in all the four śākhās. In the Rg-veda we have the exceedingly charming concept of Uṣas, the lovely Goddess of Dawn, represented as very youthful, dressed gaily like a dancer, appearing in the east and unveiling her charms.

अधि पेशांसि वपते नृत्त्रिवापोर्णुते वक्ष उन्नेव व्रजहम् ।
ज्योतिर्विश्वस्मै भुवनाय कृण्वती गावो न व्रजं व्युत्पा आवर्तमः ॥

Rg. V. Sam. I, 92, 4.

[Sāyaṇa's com. नृत्त्रि नृत्यन्ती योषिदिव । पेशांसि । रूपनामैतत् । सर्वैर्दर्शनीयानि रूपाण्युषा अधि वपते । स्वात्मन्यधिकं धारयति । एवं प्रथमतः अन्धकारं स्वकिरणैर्निरस्य वक्षः स्वकीयमुरःप्रदेशमपोर्णुते ।]

एषा प्रतीची दुहिता दिवो नून्योषेव भद्रा नि र्णिणीते अप्सः ।
व्यूवर्तती दाशुषे वार्योणि पुनर्ज्योतिर्युवतिः पूर्वथाकः ॥

Rg. V. Sam. V, 81, 6.

[Com. एषोषाः प्रतीच्यभिमुखा सती दिवो दुहिता नूनं सर्वान् प्राणिनः प्रति भद्रा योषेव कल्याणवेषा योषिदिवाप्सो रूपं निरिणीते । प्रेरयति । युवतिर्नित्ययौवना सर्वत्र मिश्रयन्ती वा पुनरद्यापि पूर्वथा पूर्वमिव ज्येतिस्तेजोऽकः । करोति ।]

Such a delightfully happy conception reveals the truly artistic imagination that prevailed in the Vedic age. It is a glorious word-picture as thoroughly immortalised in the minds of imaginative listeners as the most powerful art treasure hanging on the walls of an art-gallery in the minds of appreciative spectators.

But the concept of Uṣas is after all a concept and a word-picture and does not go a great way in giving actual evidence of

the work of art that was going on in the Vedic period. We have, therefore, to look to indubious and marked evidences proving the actual working of men at painting, sculpture etc. The concept of Tvaṣṭā and Viśvakarmā in the Vedas, especially of the former, is our greatest help in this matter. Ideas of form, beauty, feminine grace etc. are quite common in the Vedas and the person who fashions that (form and beauty) like a modeller is Tvaṣṭā. In the lines.—

सुधृष्टमे वपुष्ये न रोदसी पिता यत्सीमभि रूपैरवासयत् ॥

Rg. V. Sam. I, 161, 2.

addressed to Dyāvā-Prthivī we have it said that the two worlds are like two very proud and fair women clothed by their father (creator Viśvakarmā) with beauty. The Yajur-veda gives us the charm of feminine beauty in the lines—

पुरन्ध्रियोषेत्याह । योषित्येव रूपं दधाति । तस्माच्छ्री युवतिः प्रिया भावुका ।

Tai. Brāh. III, viii, 13, 2.

In the Rg-veda there are passages like—

त्वष्टा रूपाणि हि प्रभुः पशून्विश्वान्समानजे । तेषां नः स्फातिमा यज ।

Rg. V. Sam. I, 188, 9.

[Sāyaṇa. समानजे । सम्यगनक्ति । व्यक्तीकरोति]

त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिशतु ।

Rg. V. Sam. X, 185, 1.

[Com. पिशतु अवयवीकरोतु]

describing Tvaṣṭā as the lord of form, fashioning form and beauty. In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa we have again the line—

स्त्रीषु रूपमश्विनैतन्निधत्तम् ।

Tai. Brāh. II, vii, 17, 3.

Commenting on it Sāyaṇa says—

अश्विना हेऽश्विनैतद्रमणीयं रूपमेतदीयासु स्त्रीषु निधत्तं स्थापयतम् ।

In the lines of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa—

त्वष्टा पशूनां मिथुनानां रूपकद्रूपपतिः ।

Tai. Brāh. II, v, 7, 4.

त्वष्टा वै पशूनां मिथुनानां रूपकत् । रूपमेव पशुषु दधाति ।

Tai. Brāh. III, viii, 12, 2.

we have Tvaṣṭā referred to again as rūpakṛt, which word denotes a sculptor in Classical literature. The line मिथुनानां is further explained in the Atharva-veda, wherein is found—

त्वष्टा जायामजनयत् त्वष्टास्यै त्वां पतिम् ।

त्वष्टा सहस्रमायूँ पि दीर्घमायुः कृणोतु वाम् ॥

Atharva. Sam. VI, 78, 3.

Sāyaṇa quotes from the Yajur-veda to explain it. In the R̥g-veda Samhitā we have Tvaṣṭā compared to a wood-carver fashioning various forms in the lines—

अयं यथा न आभुवत्त्वष्टा रूपेव तक्ष्या । अस्य कृत्वा यशस्वतः ।

R̥g. V. Sam. VIII, 102, 8.

[Sāyaṇa अयमग्निर्नोऽस्मान् तक्ष्या विकर्तव्यानि रूपेव त्वष्टा रूपाणि वर्धकिरिव]

Tvaṣṭā is spoken of as fashioning the embryos into different shapes even in the mother's womb. Thus the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka describes him as going into the womb to fashion the models in the line—

अन्तः प्रविष्टं कर्तारमेतम् । त्वष्टारं रूपाणि विकुर्वन्तं विपश्चिम् ।

Tai. Āraṇ. III, II, 2.

Bhaṭṭabhāskara gives the following explanation—

रसाणि विकुर्वन्तं विविधं मानुषादिभेदेन कुर्वन्तं विपश्चि विपश्चितं मेधाविनम् ।

Tvaṣṭā is called a Vipascit here; and we should remember that painting, sculpture etc. are strictly branches of Vijñāna and this is specially emphasised by Bāṇa when he refers to painters as vijñānins in his Harṣacarita—

.. विश्वकर्ममन्दिरमिति विज्ञानिभिः । p. 97.

This function of Tvaṣṭā of creating forms, the number of new beings produced being proportionally equal to the number of embryos he takes it into his head to fashion into suitable forms, is given in the line of the Taittirīya Samhitā

यावच्छो वै रेतसः सितस्य त्वष्टा रूपाणि विकरोति तावच्छो वै तस्य जायते । Tai. Sam. I, v, 9, 1.

Sāyaṇācārya, in explaining the following passage of the Atharva-veda

त्वष्टा येषां रूपधेयानि वेदास्मिन् तान् गोष्ठे सविता नियच्छतु ।

Atharva, Sam. II, 26, 1.

remarks गर्भगतवत्सरूपाणि वेद कर्तुं जानाति । करोतीत्यर्थः and then quotes यावच्छो वै etc. from the Taittirīya Samhitā.

Exquisite jewels for ornamentation and powerful weapons of war were fashioned and we have evidences in the lines—

त्वष्टा यद्वज्रं सुकृतं हिरण्ययं सहस्रमृष्टिं स्वपा अर्धतयत् ।

धत्त इन्द्रो नर्यपांसि कर्तवेऽहन्वृत्रं निरपामौजदर्णवम् ॥

R̥g. V. Sam. I, 85, 9.

त्वष्टा माया वेदपसामपस्तमो बिभ्रत्पात्रा देवपानानि शंतेमा ।

शिशीति नूनं परशुं स्वायसं येन वृश्वादेतेशो ब्रह्मणस्पतिः ॥

R̥g. V. Sam. X, 53, 9.

त्वष्टास्मै वज्रं स्वयं ततक्ष । R̥g. V. Sam. I, 32, 2.

describing Tvaṣṭā as fashioning the powerful Vajra weapon for Indra, the golden goblet etc. In the Rudrādhyāya of the Yajus-samhitā Bhagavān is spoken of as having the form of every living being in the world and he is addressed as Rathakāra *i. e.* chariot-maker, Takṣa *i. e.* wood-carver, Kulāla *i. e.* potter, Karmāra, *i. e.* metal-worker etc. in the lines—

नमस्तक्ष्म्यो रथकारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः कुलालेभ्यः कर्मारेभ्यश्च वो नमः ।

Tai. Sam. IV, 5, 4.

These references point to active work in wood, clay and metal. The question regarding smelting ore and casting weapons, vessels etc. is a decided factor. About the fashioning of figures and images in the Vedic age we have to fish out evidences. On the question whether idols and images existed or not in the Vedic period there is a difference of opinion. But a careful examination of the evidences shows clearly that images ought to have been in existence and doubts are dispelled like magical charms by a powerful enchanter. The first clue in this direction is given by Bhagavatpāda Śrī Śaṅkarācārya in his Sātrabhāṣya wherein he shows that descriptions of Īśvara as Hiraṇyasmaśru and the like, given in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad etc. are quite correct since they represent the *upāsana-mūrti*.

यत्तूक्तं हिरण्यश्मश्रुत्वादिरूपवत्त्वश्रवणं परमेश्वरे नोपपद्यत इति, अत्र ब्रूमः—स्यात् परमेश्वरस्यापीच्छावशान्मायामयं रूपं साधकानुग्रहार्थम्,

.....अपि च, यत्र तु निरस्तसर्वविशेषं पारमेश्वरं रूपमुपदिश्यते, भवति तत्र शास्त्रम् “अशब्दमस्पर्शमरूपमव्ययम्” इत्यादि । सर्वकारणत्वात् विकारधर्मैरपि कैश्चिद्विशिष्टः परमेश्वर उपास्यत्वेन निर्दिश्यते—“सर्वकर्मा सर्वकामः सर्वरसः” इत्यादिना । तथा हिरण्यश्मश्रुत्वादिनिर्देशोऽपि भविष्यति ।

Sūtra-Bhāṣya on I-1-20.

If we proceed with this idea of Sagunamūrti as advocated by the Vedas we can understand epithets like *hiranyaṇi* etc., in the lines—

हिरण्यपाणिः सविता विचर्षणिः । Rg. V. Sam. I, 35, 9.

हिरण्यहस्तो असुरः सुनीथः । Rg. V. Sam. I, 35, 10.

and the like, as hinting at lustrous images of the Sun in gold wherein the *ṇi* etc. are absolutely and really pure gold. It is this sense of golden idols that Mr. B. C. Bhaṭṭācārya emphasises in his book ‘Indian Images’ and tries to prove the existence of idols in the Vedic period.

But that by itself will prove nothing unless and until we have positive evidences to substantiate the faint hints that gleam here and there through the Vedic texts. Mr. Hirananda Sastri has shown how the ṛk—

क इमं दशभिर्ममेन्द्रं क्रीणाति धेनुभिः ।

यदा वृत्राणि जङ्घनदथैनं मे पुनर्ददत् ॥ Rg. V. Sam. IV, 24, 10.

[Sāyaṇa. मम मदीयमिमं स्वभूतमिन्द्रं धेनुभिः प्रीणयित्रीभिर्दशसंख्या-
क्रामिः स्तुतिभिः कः क्रीणाति । क्रयं करोति । तदानीं हे केतारो युष्माकं
मध्य एवमपि समयः क्रियते । यदायमिन्द्रो वृत्राणि त्वदीयान् शत्रून् जङ्घनत्
हन्यात् अथानन्तरमेवैनमिन्द्रं मे मह्यं पुनर्ददत् । पुनर्दद्यात् ॥]

refers in unequivocal terms to a figure of Indra and not to the god of that name in the heavens¹. The reference to a sort of bartering, selling and purchasing of Indra for milch cows etc. shows clearly that it is an *arcā* referred to. Sāyaṇa, however, explains the word ‘*dhenu*’ as ‘*stuti*’ i. e., praise (hymn). There is also another ṛk which is similar in its import—

1. See the summary of his paper ‘Image worship in India’ in the Proceedings of the third Oriental Conference held at Madras.

महे चन त्वामद्रिवः परा शुल्काय देयाम् ।

न सहस्राय नायुताय वज्रिवो न शताय शतामघ ॥

Rg. V. Sam. VIII, 1-5.

[Sāyaṇa. हे अद्रिवो वज्रवन्निन्द्र त्वाम् ।....महे च महतेऽपि शुल्काय
मूल्याय न परा देयाम् । न विक्रीणामि । हे वज्रिवो वज्रहस्तेन्द्र सहस्राय सहस्रसंख्याय
च धनाय न परा देयाम् । अयुताय दशसहस्राय च शुल्काय न परा देयाम् ।
हे शतामघ बहुधनेन्द्र शताय । बहुनामैतत् । अपरिमिताय च धनाय न परा
देयाम् । न विक्रीणामि । उक्तसंख्याद्भनादपि त्वं मम प्रियतमोऽसीत्यर्थः ॥]

In the ṛk

कासीत्प्रमा प्रतिमा किं निदानमाज्यं किमासीत्परीधिः क आसीत् ।

छन्दः किमासीत्प्रउगं किमुक्थं यदेवा देवमयजन्त विश्वे ॥

Rg. V. Sam. X, 130, 3.

there is the specific use of the word *Pratimā* which is explained as an idol *devatā-pratimā* by Sāyaṇācārya

तथा प्रतिमा हविःप्रतियोगित्वेन मीयते निर्मायते इति प्रतिमा देवता ।

The use of the word *Nirmīyate* is here significant. But, there are yet doubts in spite of Mr. Hirananda Sastri’s interpretation of the ṛk

क इमं दशभिर्ममेन्द्रं क्रीणाति धेनुभिः ।

whether Indra had his form represented through idols. Such doubts can easily be dispelled since we have positive references to idols of Indra in classical literature also. The great logician Udayanācārya in his monumental work, the *Nyāyakusumāñjali* has a passage—

प्रतिमाद्यस्तु तेन तेन विधिना सन्निधापितरुद्रोपेन्द्रमहेन्द्राद्यभिमानि-
देवताभेदाः, तत्र तत्राधनीयतामासादयन्ति, दष्टमूर्च्छितं राजशरीरमिव,
विषापनयनविधिनापादितचैतन्यम् । सन्निधानं च तत्र तेषामहङ्कारममकारौ
चित्रादाविव स्वसादृश्यदर्शिनो राज्ञ इति नो दर्शनम् । Stabaka. I, p. 61.

wherein Indra, Viṣṇu and other devatās are spoken of as manifesting their power in the icons (of deities) after proper saṁskāras. If we are to make any real sense out of the two last quoted references from the Rg-veda and if we understand them with the

help and in the light of the passage from Udayanācārya given above we have to, without any qualms in the matter, accept the existence of idols in the Vedic period.

In the Sāma-veda Brāhmaṇa there are references to devatā-yānas etc. specifically pointing to deities kept in temples. The lines of the Śaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa—

देवतायतनानि कम्पन्ते देवताप्रतिमा हसन्ति रुदन्ति नृत्यन्ति स्फुटन्ति
स्विद्यन्त्युन्मीलन्ति निमीलन्ति ।
Śaḍ. Brāh. V. 10.

specifically refer to mūrtis in temples. These temples might be the same as the Devamāna mentioned in the Rg-veda which is the type of mansion desired by those who request the devatās to bless them with gifts etc. The Devamāna or the mansion of the gods mentioned in the lines—

इदं यमस्य सादनं देवमानं यदुच्यते ।

इयमस्य धम्यते नाळीरयं गीर्भिः परिष्कृतः ॥ Rg. V. Sam. X, 135, 7.

[Sāyaṇa इदं यमस्य नियन्तुरादित्यस्य वैवस्वतस्य वा सदनं स्थानम् । ... । यत्सदनं देवमानं देवैर्निर्मितमित्युच्यते सर्वत्राभिधीयते]
is given as the exquisite type of a building to be desired by men for themselves—

भोजायाश्च सं मृजन्त्याशुं भोजायास्ते कन्या इ शुभमाना ।

भोजस्येदं पुष्करिणीं वेश्म परिष्कृतं देवमानेव चित्रम् ॥

Rg. V. Sam. X, 107, 10.

[Sāyaṇa तथा भोजस्य दातुरेव हृदयाह्लादकरं वेश्म गृहं भवति । कीदृशम् ? पुष्करिणीव । पुष्कराणि पद्मानि यस्याः सन्तीति पुष्करिणी सरसी । सा यथा पद्महंसादिभिरलंकृता भवति तद्वत् परिष्कृतं वितानादिभिरलंकृतम् ।]

Incidentally it may be stated that the Indian temple can be traced back to the Vedic age and seen rather faintly in the ideas of the Devamāna and the elaborately constructed Yajña-śālās wherein the devatās are invited (devatāhavana is done). Mūrtipūjā (idol worship) can be easily traced to be the practical outcome of the Sāyaṇa descriptions in passages like—

त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे, चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो
अस्य, हिरण्यश्मश्रुः ।

and the series of तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka beginning with the line—

पुरुषस्य विद्म सहस्राक्षस्य महादेवस्य धीमहि । तन्नो रुद्रः प्रचोदयात् ॥

wherein the forms of various deities are given. Further in the line of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa—

हस्त्यश्चरथपदातीनां पिष्टमयीं प्रतिकृतिं कृत्वा पिष्टस्वेदं स्वेदयित्वा
सर्षपतैलेनाभ्यज्य तासां क्षुरेणाङ्गान्यवदार्याग्नौ जुहुयात् 'अभि त्वा शूर नो नुमः'
इति रहस्येन यत्र हीशब्दो यावतां जुहोति सर्वे न भवन्ति ।

Sāma. Vidhā. Brāh. III, vi-11.

we have the mention of dolls of elephants, horses, chariots, footmen etc. All these point to active work at modelling obtaining in the Vedic age itself.

But while making these statements we should remember that the meanings of various words have changed from time to time and the words Citra, Śilpa etc. as found in literature are slightly different in meaning from those in the Vedas. In the lines—

आग्नेयः कृष्णग्रीवः सारस्वती मेधी बभ्रुः सौम्यः पौष्णः श्यामः
शित्तिपृष्ठो बर्हिस्पत्यः शिल्पो वैश्वदेव ऐन्द्रोऽरुणो मारुतः कल्मष ऐन्द्राग्रः
सं हितोऽधोरागः सावित्रो वारुणः पेतवः । Tai. Sam. V, 5, 22, 1.

the word Śilpa is explained by Sāyaṇa as शिल्पो बहुरूपः । The Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa shows that 'Śilpa' applies to dance, and vocal and instrumental music.

त्रिवृद्धै शिल्पं नृत्यं गीतं वादित्रमिति Kau. Brāh. XXIX, 5.

In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa we have the word Śilpa occurring in the lines—

अथ जघनेन कृष्णाजिने पश्यात् प्राङ् जान्वाक् उपविशति स यत्र
शुक्लानां च कृष्णानां च सन्धिर्भवति तदेवमभिमृश्य जपत्यृक्सामयोः शिल्पे
स्य इति यद्वै प्रतिलिख्य तच्छिल्पमृचां च साम्नां च प्रतिलिख्येत् स्थ इत्येवैतदाह ॥

Sat. Pa. Brāh. III-ii-1, 5.

explained by Sāyaṇa as—

मन्त्रस्य शिल्पपदं व्याचष्टे—“यद्वा” इति । ‘प्रतिरूपं’ प्रतिकृतिः । ‘वै’ शब्देन लोकप्रसिद्धिरुच्यते । लौकिका हि हरितुरगादिप्रतिरूपं शिल्प-मित्याहुः । शुक्लकृष्णयोरेव कर्त्तमप्रतिरूपत्वं तैत्तिरीयके उक्तम्—“एष वा ऋचो वर्णो यच्छुक्लं कृष्णाजिनस्यैष साम्नो यत् कृष्णम्”—इति ।

Hence Silpa is taken to mean the art of modelling, painting etc. The word Prati-rūpa, very common in later Sanskrit literature meaning a picture, is used here in that sense. The use of the word Prati-rūpa in this context is as important as that of the word Prati-mā in the same text (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa) in the lines—

अन्तरिक्षलोको वै प्रमान्तरिक्षलोको ह्यस्माच्छोकात्प्रमित इव प्रतिमा छन्द इत्यसौ वै लोकः प्रतिमैष ह्यन्तरिक्षलोके प्रतिमित इवास्तीव्यच्छन्दः ॥

Sat, Brah. VIII. iii-3 (5).

The word Citra means variegated as found in चित्रश्रवस्तमं etc.; sometimes it also means wonderful. Abhinavagupta refers to this striking significance of the word, चित्रमिति । विस्मयकृत् p. 34, Locana on Dhvanyāloka. Variegation produces wonder; and the thing that is variegated and produces wonder is generally a picture; and hence it is so called. The psychology behind the change of meaning that these words have undergone is easily seen if only we try to see it earnestly.

The artistic insight of the Vedic seers is also to be seen in the picturesque constructions of Yajñśālās and Vedīs as in the Garuḍacayana etc. All these show the appearance of Garuḍa, Śyena etc. when seen from the air (in an aerial view). The various forms of religious and secular architecture consisting of buildings of various shapes, daṇḍākāra, maṇḍalākāra, Padmākṛti etc. are all to be traced finally to these types of Yajñśālās.

In the Rāmāyaṇa we have references to Devatāsadmas wherein Arcās or idols are worshipped—the same as those mentioned by Bhagavān Manu wherein Devalakas worship. Bharata sees ill omens on his way from the Kekayarājya back to Ayodhyā. In Ayodhyā he finds that everything wears a mournful attitude, that people are wan and worn out, the high road deserted, the temples neglected and so on.

अपेतमाल्यशोभान्यध्यसंमृष्टाजिराणि च ।

देवागाराणि शून्यानि न चाभान्ति यथापुरम् ॥

देवतार्चाः प्रविद्धाश्च यज्ञगोष्ठ्यस्तथाविधाः ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, II, 71, Śl. 40-41.

We have also specific references to devālayas in the Mahābhārata in plenty. All these go to show the work that was done by sculptors and architects.

Regarding painting we have the reference to the Citraśālā in the Rāmāyaṇa itself. In the beautiful and vivid description of the palace of Rāvaṇa which is one of the most masterly strokes of the poetic muse in the literature of the world—not of India alone—we have the mention made of Citraśālāgrhas (i. e., picture galleries) wherein paintings are hung or painted on the wall.

लतागृहाणि चित्राणि चित्रशालागृहाणि च ॥

क्रीडागृहाणि चान्यानि दारुपर्वतकानि च ।

कामस्य गृहकं रम्यं दिवागृहकमेव च ॥

ददर्श राक्षसेन्द्रस्य रावणस्य निवेशने । Rāmāyaṇa, V, 7, Śl. 36-38.

Cf. स तस्य मध्ये भवनस्य मारुतिर्लतागृहांश्चित्रगृहान्निशागृहान् ।

जगाम सीतां प्रति दर्शनोत्सुको न चैव तां पश्यति चारुदर्शनाम् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V, 12, Śl. 1.

Cf. आपानशाला विचितास्तथा पुष्पगृहाणि च ।

चित्रशालाश्च विचिता भूयः क्रीडागृहाणि च ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V, 12, Śl. 13.

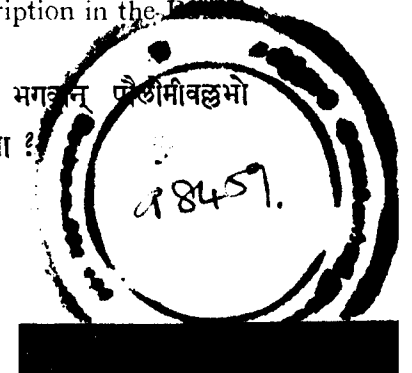
In the Uttarakāṇḍa the Puṣpakavimāna is described as full of ornamental or decorative pictures.

ब्रह्माश्चर्यं भक्तिचित्रं ब्रह्मणा परिनिर्मितम् ।

निर्मितं सर्वकामैस्तु मनोहरमनुत्तमम् ॥ Rāmāyaṇa, VII, 15, Śl. 42.

The word भक्ति is here used in the sense of ‘decorative’. The description of Indra's chariot given by Rājaśekara in his Bālārāmāyaṇa as painted all over with pictures of the valiant deeds of Paraśurāma can easily be traced to this description in the Rāmāyaṇa.

दशरथः—तन्नमुचिसूदनसारथे ! कथय स भगवान् पौष्ठीमीवल्लभो
भृगुपतिचरितानि बहुमन्यते, न वा ?



मातलिः—किं नाम बहुमन्यते न वेति शृणु, श्रावयामि ।

आस्थानसन्निवितासंगृहे विमाने जैत्रे रथे च सततं सुरचक्रवर्ती ।

रामस्य चित्रलिखितानि कुतूहलेन वीरो विलोकयति पूर्वविचेष्टितानि ॥

यदस्यैव पुरन्दरस्यन्दनस्य चतुर्दिशं मत्तवारणीयफलकेषु रामचित्रं लिखितम् ।
(अङ्गुल्या निर्दिशन्) तत्तावदितो दीयतां दृष्टिः ।

(Then comes an exhaustive list of choice pictures depicting the important incidents in Paraśurāma's life.) Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act IV. That the citrakāras were given a seat in the royal court is a piece of information first supplied to us by the Rāmāyaṇa;

अथ कर्मन्तरे राजा समाहूय महामुनीन् ।

पार्थिवांश्च नरव्याघ्रः पण्डितान्निगमांस्तथा ॥

.....

चित्रज्ञानं वृत्तसूत्रज्ञानं गीतनृत्तविशरदान् ॥

शास्त्रज्ञानीतिनिपुणान् वेदान्तार्थप्रबोधकान् ।

एतान् सर्वान् समानीय गातारौ समवेशयत् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, VII, 94. Śl. 4, 9-10

and Rājaśekhara confirms it in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā.

राजा कविः कविसमाजं विदधीत । राजनि कवौ सर्वो लोकः कविः
स्यात् । स काव्यपरीक्षायै सभां कारयेत् । सा षोडशभिः स्तम्भैश्चतुर्भिर्द्वारै-
रष्टमिर्मत्तवारणाभिरुपेता स्यात् । तदनुलग्नं राज्ञः केलिगृहम् । मध्येसभं चतुः-
स्तम्भान्तरा हस्तमात्रोत्सेधसमणिभूमिका । तस्यां राजासनम् । तस्य चोत्तरतः
संस्कृताः कवयो निविशेरन् ।पश्चिमेनापभ्रंशिनः कवयः, ततः परं
चित्रलेप्यकृतो माणिक्यबन्धकालैकटिका स्वर्णकारवर्धकिलोहकरा अन्येऽपि
तथाविधाः । दक्षिणतो भूतभाषाकवयः, ततः परं मुजङ्गगणिकाः प्लवकशौभिक-
जम्भकमल्लाः शलोपजीविनोऽन्येऽपि तथाविधाः ।

Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, I. Chap. X, p. 54, 55.

The Rāmāyaṇa also gives us some account of the two Śilpins, Daiva and Āsura—Viśvakarma and Maya, who are famous in Sanskrit literature. In the Kiśkindhākāṇḍa the monkeys are given to understand the history of these two Śilpins by Svayam-prabhā who answers their queries regarding the beautiful golden palaces etc. in the cave that they so very much admired.

मयो नाम महातेजा मायावी दानवर्षभः ॥

तेनेदं निर्मितं सर्वं मायया काञ्चनं वनम् ।

पुग दानवमुख्यानां विश्वकर्मा बभूव ह ॥

येनेदं काञ्चनं दिव्यं निर्मितं भवनोत्तमम् ।

स तु वर्षसहस्राणि तपस्तप्त्वा महावने ॥

पितामहाद्वरं लेभे सर्वमौशनसं धनम् ।

वनं विधाय बलवान् सर्वकामेश्वरस्तदा ॥

उवास सुखितः कालं कंचिदस्मिन् महामते ।

Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 51, Śl. 10-14.

Mansions built according to the various famous designs like Svastika, Padma, Sarvatobhadra etc. testify to a high sense of design shown by Śilpins as stated in the Rāmāyaṇa in the description of Laṅkā.

गृहमुख्यैः पुरी रम्या बभासे द्यौरिवाम्बुदैः ॥

प्रज्ज्वाल तदा लङ्का रक्षोगणगृहैः शुभैः ।

सिताभ्रसदृशैश्चित्रैः पद्मस्वस्तिकसंस्थितैः ॥

वर्धमानगृहैश्चापि सर्वतः सुविभूषिता ।

तां चित्रमाल्याभरणां कपिराजहितङ्करः ॥

राघवार्थं चरञ्ज्रीमान् ददर्श च ननन्द च ।

Rāmāyaṇa, V, 5, Śl. 6-9.

The pages of this noble work show a very high and developed art amongst the people described therein who are shown to possess a very well developed æsthetic sense.

Coming to the Mahābhārata we find equally numerous references to painting and sculpture if not more. On the very high authority of Kṣemendra, who quotes the śloka—

अतद्यान्यपि तथ्यानि दर्शयन्ति विचक्षणाः ।

समे निम्नोन्नतानीव चित्रकर्मविदो जनाः ॥

in his Kavikāṇṭhābharṇa as a verse from the Mahābhārata proving the encyclopædic knowledge of Bhagavān Vyāsa which includes a mastery of the technique of painting as well, we can assert confidently that the Mahābhārata contains a lot of information on painting. And a study of the work justifies the statement of

Kṣemendra whose quotation, given herein above, is repeated by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*.

The story of the clay model of Droṇa prepared and worshipped by Ekalavya given in the lines—

स तु द्रोणस्य शिरसा पादौ गृह्य परन्तपः ।
अरण्यमनुसंप्राप्य कृत्वा द्रोणं महीमयम् ॥
तस्मिन्नाचार्यवृत्तिं च परमामास्थितस्तदा ।
इष्वस्त्रे योगमातस्थे परं नियममास्थितः ॥

Ādi Parva, 134, Śl. 33-34.

is too well known. Equally well known is the iron image of Bhīma brought and placed before Dhṛtarāṣṭra after the Kurukṣetra war.

तस्य संकल्पमाज्ञाय भीमं प्रत्यशुभं हरिः ।
भीममाक्षिप्य पाणिभ्यां प्रददौ भीममायसम् ॥
प्रागेव तु महाबुद्धिर्बुद्ध्या तस्येक्षितं हरिः ।
संविधानं महाप्राज्ञस्तत्र चक्रे जनार्दनः ॥
तं गृहीत्वैव पाणिभ्यां भीमसेनमयोमयम् ।
बभञ्ज बलवान् राजा मन्यमानो वृकोदरम् ॥

Strī Parva, 12, Śl. 15-17.

Cf. आयसी प्रतिमा येन भीमसेनस्य सा पुरा ।
चूर्णीकृता बलवता सोऽवलामाश्रितः स्त्रियम् ॥

Āśrama Parva, 3, Śl. 63.

These references show that modelling and sculpture and image making was very popular. There is mention in the Epic of idols kept in devālayas regularly worshipped daily with special pūjās offered to them on special joyous occasions.

पताकाभिर्विचित्राभिर्ध्वजैश्च विविधैरपि ॥
वेश्मानि समलं चक्रुः पौराश्चापि जनेश्वर ।
देवतायतनानां च पूजाः सुविविधास्तथा ॥
संदिदेशाय विदुरः पाण्डुपुत्रप्रियेः सया ।

Āśvamedha Parva, 70, Śl. 15-17.

(Here the special joyous occasion is Parīkṣit's birth.)

But we have other references to painting etc. of a more important nature. The śloka

उद्यानमभिपश्यन्तो भ्रातरः सर्व एव ते ॥
उपस्थानगृहैः शुभ्रैर्वलभीभिश्च शोभितम् ।
गवाक्षकैस्तथा जालैर्यन्त्रैः सञ्चारिकैरपि ॥
संमार्जितं सौधकारैश्चित्रकारैश्च चित्रितम् ।

Ādi Parva, 128, Śl. 39-41.

show how workers whitewash walls before painting them. Bhatti-citra (*i. e.*, adorning the wall with various paintings portraying graphically various striking situations from ancient anecdotes of heroes and gods) was but a regular feature in India and references to this are only too numerous in literature. Bāṇa¹, Kālidāsa², Śātavāhana³, Śrī Harṣa⁴ and a host of others have remarked about

1. प्रत्यग्रलिखितमङ्गल्यालेख्योज्ज्वलितभित्तिभागमनोहरिणि ।

Kādambarī, p. 136.

दिवसावसानेषु विश्लेषणीता मृणालसूत्रैश्चित्रभित्तिविलिखितानि चक्रवाक-
मिथुनानि संघटयति । *Ibid.*, p. 446.

सुतया वासभवने चित्रभित्तिचामरग्राहिण्योऽपि चामराणि चालयञ्चक्रुः ।
Harṣacarita, p. 127.

2. चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालभङ्गाः ।

नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरब्धसिंहप्रहृतं वहन्ति ॥

Raghuvamśa, XVI, 16.

विद्युत्स्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः ।

....प्रासादास्त्वां तुल्यितुमलम् ॥ Meghadūta, II, 1.

3. नववधूं प्रति सतीवृत्तशिक्षणार्थं कापि बन्धुवधूराह—

दिअस्स असुद्धमणस्स कुलवधूणिअअकुडुलिहिआइं ।

दअहं कहेइ रामाणुल्लगसोमिच्छि चरिआइं ॥

[देवरस्याशुद्धमनसः कुलवधूर्निजकुडुल्यलिखितानि ।

दिवसं कथयति रामानुल्लगसौमित्रिचरितानि ॥]

Gāthāsaptasatī, I, 35.

com: दिअस्सेति । अयमाशयः—कुलस्त्रिया रामायणवृत्तान्तं गृहभित्तौ
विलिख्य तत्र विमातृजेऽपि रामे सभायैऽनुल्लगानि लक्ष्मणस्य चरित्राणि
कथयित्वा दुष्टद्वयो देवरः प्रत्याख्येयः, न तु प्रकटम् । कुटुम्बविघट-
नादिभयादिति भावः ॥

4. भित्तिचित्रलिखिताखिलक्रमा यत्र तस्थुरितिहाससंकथाः ।

this special feature of the walls of Indian homes and mansions. *Bhittikriyā* is also emphasised in the *Śilpa* works and the importance that attaches itself to this process is made manifest by such passages as

भित्तौ हि चित्ररचना चतुरस्यापि जृम्भते ।

Sthavirāvalīcarita, II, 483.

from the work of Hemacandra and

किं च—अनुकृष्टधर्मयुक्तस्य वर्णनीयस्यालङ्कारणमप्यसमुचितभित्ति-
नागोद्धिखितालेख्यवन्न शोभातिशयकारितामावहति । *Unmeṣā*, III, p. 135.
from the *Vakroktijivita* of Rājānaka Kuntaka.

Now to go back to the *Mahābhārata*; we have the passage in the *Sabhāparva* wherein the *Rākṣasī Jarā* reveals her identity to *Bṛhadratha*, the king of *Magadha*, and tells him that her picture was drawn on the walls of the palace and worshipped since she was his *grhadevatā* and protected his family. She was the *Grhadevatā* of every house and expected her picture to be painted on the walls of every house whose inmates, she undertook to protect. She further informs the king that the joining of the two cast-away pieces of the body of the new born prince and bringing him to life was her work whereby she exhibited her goodwill to the king who worshipped her.

गृहे गृहे मनुष्याणां नित्यं तिष्ठामि राक्षसी ।

गृहदेवीति नाम्ना वै पुरा सृष्टा स्वयम्भुवा ॥

दानवानां विनाशाय स्थापिता दिव्यरूपिणी ।

यो मां भक्त्या लिखेत् कुड्ये सपुत्रां यौवनान्विताम् ॥

गृहे तस्य भवेद्दृष्टिरन्यथा क्षयमाप्नुयात् ।

त्वद्गृहे तिष्ठमाना तु पूजिताहं सदा विभो ॥

लिखिता चैव कुड्येऽहं पुत्रैर्बहुभिरावृता ।

गन्धपुष्पैस्तथा धूपैर्भक्ष्यैर्भोज्यैः सुपूजिता ॥

Sabhāparva, 18, Śl. 2-4.

पद्मनन्दनसुतारिसुतामन्दसाहसहसन्मनोभुवः ॥

Naiṣadha, XVIII, 20.

प्रियं प्रियां च त्रिजगज्यिष्ठियौ लिखाधिलीलागृहभित्तिं कावपि ।

इति स्म सा कारुवरेण लेखितं नलस्य च स्वस्य च सख्यमीक्षते ॥

Ibid., I, 38.

So we know that such a habit of worshipping was common. This custom of painting the gods on the walls and worshipping them obtains even today in all Hindu households throughout India; and the famous examples in south India are the pictures of *Varalakṣmī*, *Vaṭasāvitṛi* and *Citrāgupta* which form important features of the *vratas*.

In the *Vanaparva* we have the story of *Satyavān* wherein *Nārada* answers the queries of king *Aśvapati* regarding the charming prince whom his daughter had chosen for her husband in spite of his poverty. The sage describing the prince gives out how the highly noble and truthful king *Dyumatsena*, having become blind and in that helpless state lost his kingdom through the machinations of his evil enemies, repaired to the forest with his young queen and baby boy *Satyavān* who was also called *Citrāśva* because of the inordinate passion he showed even as a child to painting and sculpture being overfond of drawing and painting the horse and modelling it in clay—the horse being a highly favourite animal with him.

बालस्याश्वाः प्रियाश्वास्य करोत्यश्वांश्च मृन्मयान् ।

चित्रेऽपि विलिखत्यश्वांश्चित्राश्च इति चोच्यते ॥

Vanaparva, 293, Śl. 13.

Here we are shown how natural instinct or Divine gifts work even in childhood and we learn that a true artist is born and not made, that the germ of genius is visible in the child. Such children can be singled out as in the case of *Satyavān* who was called *Citrāśva* because of his peculiar characteristic. It also shows how very common it was for even children to take to painting and modelling as hobbies and points out to a state of affairs in the land where such arts were properly practised and prepared an atmosphere that created an incentive in the minds of children and encouraged them to work at them.

In the *Mahābhārata* as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have some account given about *Viśvakarmā* and *Maya* the two famous architects of the gods and demons. In the *Ādiparva* we are told that *Viśvakarmā* is the son of *Prabhāsa*, the last of the eight *Vasus*. He is the *Śilpaprājāpati*, the foremost amongst the artists, the master of a thousand arts. He is the woodcarver of the gods and being the cleverest workman manufactures all their jewels. The numerous *Vimānas*, beautiful aerial cars and palatial mansions in heaven are all his handiwork. Human beings adopt his *Śilpa*

technique and the secrets of his science and prepare works of art and hence worship him as the Divine architect to whom they owe everything.

प्रभासस्य तु भार्याया वसूनामष्टमस्य ह ॥
विश्वकर्मा महाभागे जज्ञे शिल्पप्रजापतिः ।
कर्ता शिल्पसहस्राणां त्रिदशानां च वर्धकिः ॥
भूषणानां च सर्वेषां कर्ता शिल्पवतां वरः ।
यो दिव्यानि विमानानि त्रिदशानां चकार ह ॥
मनुष्याश्चोपजीवन्ति यस्य शिल्पं महात्मनः ।
पूजयन्ति च यं नित्यं विश्वकर्माणमव्ययम् ॥

Ādiparva, 66, Śl. 28-31.

This last line is echoed in the line कारवोऽपि यं विश्वकर्मेत्युपास्ते तस्मिन्.....भगवति भवे सन्देह एव कुतः of Udayanācārya in his Nyāyakusumāñjali (Stabaka I). The greatness of Viśvakarmā as a creative artist is best given out in the Ādiparva wherein the creation of Tilottamā is narrated. The plan conceived by Pitāmaha for doing away with the wicked demons Sunda and Upasunda is to create the most beautiful damsel ever human or divine eye beheld and Viśvakarmā is entrusted with this most arduous task. The most beautiful of everything in the world is taken as the material for the creation and Tilottamā, the loveliest of celestial damsels, is the result of such work—a beautiful and ravishing bait for the demons who annihilate themselves in a mad desire to possess her each for himself.

पितामहं नमस्कृत्य तद्वाक्यमभिनन्द्य च ।
निर्ममे योषितं दिव्यां चिन्तयित्वा पुनः पुनः ॥
त्रिषु लोकेषु यत्किञ्चिद्भूतं स्थावरजङ्गमम् ।
समानयदर्शनीयं तत्तदत्र च विश्ववित् ॥
कोटिशश्चैव रत्नानि तस्या गात्रे न्यवेशयत् ।
तां रत्नसङ्घातमयामसृजद्देवरूपिणीम् ॥
सा प्रयत्नेन महता निर्मिता विश्वकर्मणा ।
त्रिषु लोकेषु नारीणां रूपेणाप्रतिमाभवत् ॥

न तस्याः सूक्ष्ममप्यस्ति यद्गात्रे रूपसंपदा ।
नियुक्ता यत्र वा दृष्टिर्न सज्जति निरीक्षताम् ॥
सा विग्रहवतीव श्रीः कामरूपा वपुष्मती ।
जहार सर्वभूतानां चक्षूषि च मनांसि च ॥
तिलं तिलं समानीय रत्नानां यद्विनिर्मिता ।
तिलोत्तमेति यत्तस्या नाम चक्रे पितामहः ॥

Ādiparva, 213, Śl. 12-18.

Maya is mentioned as the clever architect of the splendid city of Yudhiṣṭhira called Indraprastha. The best illustration of Maya's skill as an architect etc. is to be seen in the humorous description of Duryodhana's awkward predicament in the Sabhā of Yudhiṣṭhira where he mistakes *sthala* for *jala*, *jala* for *sthala*, open doors for closed gates and closed ones for open ones etc.

तस्यां दिव्यानभिप्रायान् ददर्श कुरुनन्दनः ।
न दृष्टपूर्वा ये तेन नगरे नागसाहये ॥
स कदाचित् सभामध्ये धार्तराष्ट्रो महीपतिः ।
स्फाटिकं स्थमलासाद्य जलमित्यभिशङ्कया ॥
स्ववस्त्रोत्कर्षणं राजा कृतवान् बुद्धिमोहतः ।
दुर्मना विमुखश्चैव परिचक्राम तां सभाम् ॥
ततः स्थले निपतितो दुर्मना व्रीडितो नृपः ।
निश्चसन् विमुखश्चापि परिचक्राम तां सभाम् ॥
ततः स्फाटिकतोयां वै स्फाटिकाम्बुजशोभिताम् ।
वापीं मत्वा स्थलमिव सवासाः प्रापतज्जले ॥
जले निपतितं दृष्ट्वा भीमसेनो महाबलः ।
जहास जहसुश्चैव किङ्कराश्च सुयोधनम् ॥

....
पुनर्वसनमुत्क्षिप्य प्रतरिष्यन्निव स्थलम् ॥
आरुरोह ततः सर्वे जहसुश्च पुनर्जनाः ।
द्वारं तु पिहिताकारं स्फाटिकं प्रेक्ष्य भूमिपः ॥
प्रविशन्नाहतो मूर्ध्नि व्याघूर्णित इव स्थितः ।
तादृशं चापरं द्वारं स्फाटिकोरुकपाटकम् ॥

विघट्टयन् कराभ्यां तु निष्क्रम्याग्रे पपात ह ।
द्वारं तु वितताकारं समापदे पुनश्च सः ॥
तद्वृत्तं चेति मन्वानो द्वारस्थानादुपारमत् ।

Sabhāparva, 47, Śl. 2.7, 11-13.

Apart from the references to art as such, there are other passages from which we see that the real impetus to art must have been very great in the age of the great Epic, since the king's recognition of the services of the Śilpīns appears to have been very distinct, as we see in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa where a seat of honour is given to him in the royal court: in the Sabhāparva we have Nārada questioning Yudhiṣṭhira about the general welfare of the kingdom and also about his proper discharge of kingly duties; and one of these duties happens to be remuneration to the Śilpīns by way of encouraging their work.

द्रव्योपकरणं किञ्चित् सर्वदा सर्वशिल्पिनाम् ।

चातुर्मास्यावरं सम्यङ्नियतं सम्प्रयच्छसि ॥ Sabhāparva, 5, Śl. 118.

The abundance of painting in the early centuries before Christ is evidenced by the references to pictures in works of almost a recondite nature. In the Mahābhāṣya, Patañjali, talking in a most unaffected way, brings in some references to paintings and pictures in quite a natural manner. In his own quaint way he puts the question चित्रेषु कथम् ? and answers it चित्रेष्वप्युद्गूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसकर्णयश्च (Mahābhāṣya, Keilhorn's Edn. Vol. II, p. 36. Bhāṣya on Pāṇini. III, i, 2 under Vārtika. 15). Under the sūtra स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् (IV, i, 54) we have in the Mahābhāṣya the kārikā referring to the *aṅga* (limb) of a doll through the injunction तेन चेत्तत्तथायुतम् and that shows the large production of dolls by carvers and the like to the extent of its influencing the ideas of men, usages in language and the record of it.

अद्रवं मूर्तिमतं स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।

अतस्थं तत्र दृष्टं च तेन चेत्तत्तथायुतम् ॥

दीर्घनासिक्यर्चा । तुङ्गनासिक्यर्चेति । Keilhorn, Vol. II, p. 222.

The *pratyaya* 'Kan' used for denoting that the thing meant is a doll or image of a particular object is also indicative of the tremendous output of images by potters, carvers etc. giving rise to peculiar special usages. Under the sūtra इवे प्रतिकृतौ (V, iii, 96)

we have the example given अश्च इवायमश्चप्रतिकृतिः अश्चकः. Images of distinguished personalities also appear to have been prepared largely as we see there are records of special usages in such cases too. गोत्रेऽलुगचि (IV, i, 89)... काश्यपप्रतिकृतयः काश्यपा इति (Keilhorn, p. 241). Well known and current things are generally used as examples for elucidating any principle. Explaining the sūtra जीविकार्थे चापण्ये (V, iii, 99) Patañjali gives the words Vāsudeva, Śiva, Skanda, Viṣṇu and Āditya used in the sense of images (*arcās*) of those gods.

अपण्य इत्युक्ते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्वीर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति । Keilhorn, Vol. II, p. 429.

These rules have given rise to such grammatical conundrums and epigrammatical verses like

रामं सीतां लक्ष्मणं जीविकार्थे विक्रीणीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक् ।

अस्मिन् पद्ये योऽपशब्दं न वेत्ति व्यर्थप्रज्ञं पण्डितं तं च धिग्धिक् ॥

and अर्चासु पूजनार्थासु चित्रकर्मध्वजेषु च ।

इवे प्रतिकृतौ लोपः कनो देवपयादिषु ॥

Paintings were mostly done in the royal palaces (*Rājaveśmas*), the public art galleries (*Citraśālās*), temples (*Devaveśmas*) and private houses. Of paintings executed in the royal palaces there are lots of instances. In the Uttararāmacarita we have the whole of Rāma's life described as painted on the walls of the royal *Citraśālā*.

लक्ष्मणः—जयतु जयत्वार्यः ! आर्य ! अर्जुनेन चित्रकरेणास्मदुपदिष्ट-
मार्यस्य चरितमस्यां वीथ्यामभिलिखितम् । तत्पश्यत्वार्यः । U. R. C., Act, I.

In the Kathāsaritsāgara we are told that Vāsavadattā consoled herself in the palace of Padmāvatī by looking at the pictures of Sītā's life painted on the walls.

तत्र वासवदत्ता च प्रविष्टा चित्रभित्तिषु ।

पश्यन्ती रामचरिते सीतां सेहे निजव्यथाम् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb, III, Taraṅga ii, Śl. 27.

In the Navasāhasāṅkacarita there is again a description of the royal *Citraśālās* filled with beautiful pictures of various types.

कदाचिल्लोचनातिथ्यमासेनालेख्यवेश्मनि ।
स मृगन्याविनोदेन पस्पृशे पार्थिवो हृदि ॥ 1. 1.
यदेव सा तर्जितचन्द्रकान्तिरजायतेन्दीवरपत्रनेत्रा ।
चित्रस्थितानां गृहदेवतानामिति स्फुरन्ति स्म तदेव वाचः ॥ IX. 36.

We have a similar description in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita

आक्रान्तरिपुचक्रेण चक्रकोटपतेः परम् ।
लिखिताश्चित्रशालासु तेनामुच्यन्त दन्तिनः ॥ IV. 30.

In the Mālavikāgnimitra, the Viddhasālābhāṅjikā and a number of other works we have art galleries in palaces elaborately described. About the public galleries filled with pictures we have some information in the Kādambarī in the lines

सुरासुरसिद्धगन्धर्वविद्याधरोगाध्यासिताभिश्चित्रशालाभिरविरतोत्सवप्रमदावलोकनकुतूहलादम्बरतलादवतीर्णाभिर्दिव्यविमानपङ्क्तिभिरिवालंकृता । Kā. p. 99.

The elaborate description of the Citraśālā in the Nāradaśilpa is the most informative one on the public art house. About the pictures in temples we can learn a lot from the very frescoes themselves still lingering on the walls of some dilapidated or deserted old temples least frequented by people except for the stray cases of some piously-minded old fashioned people of the last century—as in Tanjore. In the Kathāsaritsāgara we are told of how the walls of Devakulas are painted; how there is a lot of frieze-work all over the walls, pillars, towers etc. The various painted personalities step out of the frames and back into them, so to say, as the story informs us.

कुतो मुरजशब्दोऽयमिति राजनि पृच्छति ।
वेतालः सोऽब्रवीद्देवकुलं देवात्र विद्यते ॥
दिव्यकौतूहलं तच्च निर्मितं विश्वकर्मणा ।
तत्रैष मुरजध्वानः संध्याप्रेक्षणके प्रभो ॥
इत्युक्तवान् स वेतालो राजा चाहं च कौतुकात् ।
तत्रागच्छाम संयम्य तुरगं प्रविशाम च ॥
अपश्यामार्चितं चात्र तार्क्ष्यरत्नमयं महत् ।
लिङ्गं तदग्रे चोदप्रदीपकं प्रेक्षणीयकम् ॥
अनृत्यन् सुचिरं तत्र दिव्यरूपा वरास्त्रियः ।
चतुर्विधेन वाधेन गानगान्धर्वयोगिना ॥

प्रेक्ष्यान्ते दृष्टमस्माभिस्तत्राश्चर्यं प्रविश्य यत् ।
स्तम्भस्थपुत्रिकास्वन्तर्गतकयो लयमागताः ॥
गायना वादकाद्याश्च चित्रस्थपुरुषेष्वपि ।

K. S. S., Lamb. XVIII, Taraṅga iv, Sl. 128-134.

Paintings and carvings in relief of Pārvaṭī were done generally on the pillars of temples.

अथागाच्चित्रकृतेन पथा रूपकृता सह ॥
स स्तम्भं वीक्ष्य सुश्लक्ष्णं तत्र गौरीं समालिखत् ।
रूपकारोऽपि शस्त्रेण क्रीडयैवोल्लिखेत् ताम् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. VII. Taraṅga iii, Sl. 8-9.

In the Upamitibhāvaprapaṇcākaṭhā we are given to understand that even Jain temples were filled with pictures—all on walls.

विचित्रचित्रविन्यासैर्भ्राजते देवमन्दिरैः ।

आक्षिप्तवालहृदयैर्निश्चलीकृतलोचनैः ॥ Prastāva I. 15. p. 12.

Regarding paintings in private houses we have lots of references in literature. The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa describes the mansions in Alakā as 'Sacitrāḥ'. Paintings on walls described in the verse of the Haraviṇaya

सिन्दूरराजिषु घनं स्फुरदन्यवर्णभेदेष्वलक्ष्यमधिमन्दिरमिति चित्रम् ।
भाति स्म निर्जितजरच्छुकघोणशोणरागोल्बणच्छवि रवेः करचक्रवालम् ॥
XIX. 17.

appear to be those in private mansions. All rich people as a rule, and most of the poorer classes that could afford it, got their walls painted. In the Naiṣadha we are told that the citizens got Damayanti's life painted on their walls.

ते तत्र भैम्याश्चरितानि चित्रे चित्राणि पौरैः पुरि लेखितानि ।
निरीक्ष्य निन्युर्दिवसं निशां च तत्स्वप्नसंभोगकलाविलासैः ॥ X. 35.

The house of Cārudatta, as described in the Mṛcchakaṭika, contains faded pictures on the walls painted probably in the days of his prosperity but grown dim by the wear and tear of time.

स्तम्भेषु प्रचलितवेदिसंचयान्तं शीर्णत्वात् कथमपि धार्यते वितानम् ।
एषा च स्फुटितसुधाद्रवानुलेपात् संक्लिन्ना सलिलभरेण चित्रमितिः ॥

Act. V, Sl. 50.

was the only daughter of Gaṇapati, whom he brought up like a son, giving her the education and training befitting the future ruler of the country. In some of her inscriptions Rudrāmbā is even called Rudradēva-mahārāja.

The reigns of Gaṇapati and his gifted daughter form the most glorious period of Kākatīya history. Some local chieftains indeed tried to make trouble for Rudrāmbā at the death of her father, but they were soon overpowered by the tact of the queen and the energy of her more loyal subordinates, and the long reign of this noble daughter of Gaṇapati well deserves the encomium of Marco Polo. "She was a lover of justice, of equity and of peace; she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before."

It was under Gaṇapati, however, that the sway of the Kākatīyas, first attained its widest expansion, and their armies carried the limits of the empire, though only for a time, as far south as Kāñcīpuram and beyond.¹ Gaṇapati was not merely a great soldier, but a far-sighted statesman and a wise patron of the arts and letters. The manner in which he set about solving the problem of succession to his throne, by himself training his only daughter in kingship; gives proof of the breadth of his vision and the strength of his indomitable will.

Marco Polo calls Gaṇapati's country the kingdom of Mutfili. Mutfili is doubtless the same as Mōṭupallī, now an obscure fishing village on the coast in the Bāpaṭla Taluq of the Guṇṭūr district. There are two ancient temples at Mōṭupallī and about a dozen inscriptions bearing witness to the antiquity and celebrity of the place. Till the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mōṭupallī was the centre of a considerable coasting trade and coasting vessels could come in closer to shore here than at other ports on that coast. The dates of the inscriptions at Mōṭupallī imply that the importance of Mōṭupallī as a port-town did not begin much earlier than the beginning of Gaṇapati's reign, if at all. The earliest inscription in Mōṭupallī seems to be one² dated Ś. 1153 recording the gift of a lamp for the merit of Gaṇapati by his feudatory Mahāmaṇḍaliśvara Siddhayadēva-mahārāja. It must have been an important emporium of Kākatīya kingdom when Marco Polo landed there and spent some time, about thirty years

1. *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 136 and 168.

2. 606 of 1909.

after the death of Gaṇapati; and this was evidently the reason why he designated the kingdom by the name of Mutfili.

The most important of the Mōṭupallī inscriptions gives us an excellent idea of the steps taken by Gaṇapati to develop the port. This inscription¹ dated in Ś. 1166, is a unique charter of protection to foreign merchants and an invitation to them to come and trade without fear of hostility or oppression on the part of his officials. This charter is another proof of the eminence of Gaṇapati as a ruler who fostered the economic advancement of his subjects.

In his wise policy of developing the overseas trade of his kingdom, Gaṇapati was only following the best traditions of ancient times. Almost from pre-historic days there was a regular overflow of population and culture from Dekkan and South India to Burma, and the Malay peninsula and the Archipelago. The author of the *Periplus* and the ancient geographer Ptolemy, Fa Hian, Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing—let alone the less known Chinese travellers and chroniclers—Salyman, Abu Zayd and other Arab writers furnish evidence that throughout the first ten centuries of the Christian era, the maritime trade of South India with the East and the West had a continuous and on the whole flourishing history. Then came the Cōḷa empire which united the Telugu and Tamil countries for nearly three centuries and was as powerful on sea as on land. The Cōḷa emperors sent embassies to China and naval expeditions to Malaya and Sumatra. They encouraged foreigners to come and settle in their country and one of the most celebrated of such foreign colonies on Indian soil was the settlement at Negapatam where the rulers of Sumatra built and maintained a large Vihāra for the use of their countrymen. Indians were not slow to go out to foreign lands, and a Tamil inscription at Sumatra of the year Śaka 1010 attests the presence in that island of the representatives of perhaps the most powerful merchant-guild of South India at the time.

In course of time the empire of the Cōḷas weakened, and as is the rule when great empires fall, many small powers set up a precarious independence, and a period of confusion supervened. In this period the trade of the country must have suffered an enormous contraction, and foreigners must have become less will-

1. 600 of 1909, E. I. XII, 188 ff.

ing to risk their wares and persons in a country where there was no security, and no settled government that could be trusted to pursue a sane economic policy. In all countries and times, trade is sensitive to changes in political conditions. When there was confusion in China in the ninth century A.D., Indian and Arab traders who used to go for trade to China withdrew to the Malay peninsula, and the Chinese had to go to the Southern seas carrying their own merchandise in their own vessels, and this was the beginning of the Chinese navigation of the high seas. The foreigners did not return to Chinese soil until the tenth century when settled conditions were restored, and the Imperial government took special measures to invite the foreigners to come and trade as before.

The Mōṭupallī inscription of Gaṇapati seems to imply that conditions were unfavourable to the advent of foreign traders on the coast of the Telugu country at the time of the inscription. The local rulers exacted from them all kinds of extortionate dues under one pretext or another, and were only too ready to turn their misfortunes to account by forcibly seizing whatever they salvaged from a wreck. Gaṇapati put an end to all this and guaranteed fair treatment and a hearty welcome to the foreign traders who came to Mōṭupallī. He averred his sympathy for the enterprise of merchants who valued wealth more than they feared death, and fixed a definite schedule of dues to be collected on the various articles of trade. Marco Polo mentions precious stones and fine cotton goods as the chief articles of export from Mōṭupallī. Gaṇapati's inscription gives a long list and the rate of customs duties on each article in the list. The text of the inscription is as follows;

तेनानेन श्रीगणपतिदेवमहाराजेन सकलद्वीपान्तरीपदेशान्तरपट्टनेषु गतागतं कुर्वाण्येभ्यः सांयात्रिकेभ्य एवमभयशासनं दत्तम् । पूर्वं राजानः पोतपात्रेष्वन्यदेशादेशान्तरप्रवृत्तेषु दुर्वातेन समापतितेषु भग्नेष्वतीर्थसंगतेषु च संभृतानि कनककरितुरगरत्नादीनि वस्तूनि सकलानि बलादपहरन्ति । वयमपि प्राणेश्वरोऽपि गरीयो धनमिति समुद्रयानकृतमहासाहसेभ्यस्तेभ्यः क्लृप्तशुल्कादृते कृपया कीर्त्यै धर्माय च सर्वं वितराम इति । तत् शुल्कपरिमाणम्—

1. एककुमटि डिगुमटिनि मुप्परियिटनु ओक्कटि ।

2. श्रीगंधमु तुलामु ओक्कटिनि ग १२ ।

3. कर्पूरमुनकु चीनिकर्पूरानकू मुल्लालकू वेळ ग १ कि०—॥॥॥
4. पंनारु दंतमु जवादि कर्पूरतैलमु रागि तगरमु¹ रिसेय (?) सीसमु पट्टुनूळ पवडमू गंधद्रव्यालकून वेळ ग १ कि०—१ ।—
5. मिरियाळ वेळ ग १ कि०—॥॥—
6. पट्टु एल्लवानिकिन्नि स्वरूपमु ओक्कटिकिनि ०५ ॥
7. पेंकळ लक्ष ओक्कटिकिनि ग १०३

Translation.

“By this glorious Mahārāja Gaṇapatidēva the following edict (assuring) safety has been granted to traders by sea starting for and arriving from all continents, islands, foreign countries, and cities.

Formerly kings used to take away by force the whole cargo, viz. gold, elephants, horses, gems, etc., carried by ships and vessels which, after they had started from one country for another, were attacked by storms, wrecked, and thrown on shore.

But We, out of mercy, for the sake of glory and merit, are granting everything besides the fixed duty to those who have incurred the great risk of a sea-voyage with the thought that wealth is more valuable than even life.

The rate of this duty (is) one in thirty on (all) exports and imports.

On one *tulām*² of sandal, 1 pagoda $\frac{1}{4}$ *faṇam*.

On 1 pagoda's value of (country) camphor, Chinese camphor, and pearls, $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$ *faṇam*.

On 1 pagoda's value of rose-water, ivory, civet, camphor-oil, copper, zinc, riseya (?), lead, silk-threads, corals, and perfumes, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ *faṇam*.

On all silks, $5\frac{1}{2}$ *faṇams* per bale (? *svarūpa*).

On every lakh of areca-nuts, 1 pagoda $3\frac{1}{4}$ *faṇams*.

1. Zinc (Hultzsch). Tin?

2. Hultzsch takes *tulāmu* to be the same as *tulamū*, a rupee-weight. But if he is right in interpreting the symbols that follow to mean 1 pagoda and $\frac{1}{4}$ *faṇam* (ग=gadyana, ०=ruka, १= $\frac{1}{4}$ and—= $\frac{1}{8}$ in this inscription according to Hultzsch), the तुलामु must have been a much higher denomination. In Tamil *tulām* is 100 *palam*, each *palam* being of the weight of six rupees.

[In the Śaka year eleven hundred and sixty-six, named Krōdhin, at the great Dēśyūyakkonḍapaṭṭaṇa (also) named Mōṭupaḷli, Gaṇapatiḍēva set up for the sake of glory (this) edict-pillar which resembles a staff for the support of the eternal (law of) justice (dharma) which is stumbling in the mire of the Kali age."]

As this inscription calls sea-going a *mahāsāhasa*, we may draw the inference that the overseas trade of the country had passed more or less completely into the hands of foreigners, and that the indigenous population had already lost their maritime instincts and developed the new dread of the sea that has been so general in modern India. The edict of Gaṇapati was renewed more than a century later, in Śaka 1280, by the Reḍḍi king Annapota Reḍḍi.¹ A new schedule of taxes on imports which came into force under the Vijayanagar kings is recorded in an inscription of Dēvarāya Uḍaiyār in Śaka 1312.

BAHURŪPAMIŚRA'S
COMMENTARY ON THE DAŚARŪPAKA.

BY

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In the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, there are two commentaries on the Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya, one by Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṃha who has commented on Bhoja's Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa also and another by Mahāmahopādhyāya Bahurūpamiśra. The former is not as noteworthy as the latter. It can be said that Bahurūpamiśra's commentary is the best we have on the standard dramaturgic text of Dhanañjaya, barring of course the Avaloka of Dhanika. Since the Sāhasāṅkiya Ṭikā and the Ṭikā of Devapāṇi on the Daśarūpaka quoted by Raṅganātha Dikṣita in his commentary on the Vikramorvaśīya have not yet come to light, we cannot say anything about their worth.

The commentary of Bahurūpamiśra is contained in two MSS.,—i. R. 3670 which breaks off in the middle of chapter two and ii. R. 4188 which begins from where R. 3570 stops and runs up to the end. The work is, therefore, completely available to us, except for a small portion at its very end. Part of the commentary on the last verse of the Daśarūpaka which says that Lakṣaṇas like Bhūṣaṇa, etc., and Sandhyantaras like Sāma, etc., are not dealt with since they are included in one or the other Bhāva or Alaṅkāra, is lost to us.

Bahurūpamiśra quotes Śāradātanaya and hence must be later than him. Bahurūpa considers Śāradātanaya as a great authority and quotes Śāradātanaya's definition of Toṭaka with the words "इत्याचार्याः" (R. 4188, P. 37).

I

One of the important features of Bahurūpa's Daśarūpa-vyākhyā is that it is one of the few works that give us copious references to and quotations from Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Śr. Pra.), a work whose very hugeness stood in the way of its

1. 601 and 602 of 1909.

circulation. Bahurūpa follows and borrows from Śāradātanaya who is himself a student of the Śr. Pra., some of the special opinions of which, he has recorded in his Bhāvaprakāśa. But it is not through the second hand source of Śāradātanaya that Bahurūpa is acquainted with Bhoja's Śr. Pra. He has carefully gone through Bhoja's big work.

In his commentary on chapter I, Bahurūpa quotes often from Bhoja, mentioning the names, Bhoja and Śr. Pra. The quotations here are from two chapters, XI and XII, of the Śr. Pra., the former containing the description of the several varieties of dramatic composition and the latter dealing exclusively with the construction of drama. These quotations number about fourteen and all of them are found in the Śr. Pra. In one case, however, Bahurūpa makes a slight mistake and that is in his first quotation. (R. 3670, P. 4.)

“भोजराजेन नाटिकायाः प्रकरणनाटकयोः अन्तर्भावः, सट्टकस्य नाटिकान्तर्भाव उक्तः ।”

On p. 421, chap. xi, Vol. I, (Mad. MS.) of the Śr. Pra. Bhoja describes these two dramas, Nāṭikā and Saṭṭaka and he does not “include” the Nāṭikā in the Prakaraṇa and the Nāṭaka, and the Saṭṭaka in the Nāṭikā. What exactly is said of them by Bhoja is that the Nāṭikā is *derived* from the Prakaraṇa and the Nāṭaka—प्रकरणनाटकभेदः—and that the Saṭṭaka is *like* the Nāṭikā—नाटिकाप्रतिमः ।

There is one more noteworthy point in Bahurūpa's quotations from the Śr. Pra. here. The chapter on the construction of drama, the twelfth, in Bhoja's Śr. Pra. is quoted by Bahurūpa by the name ‘Nāṭakaprakāśa.’ Though the name is not very inappropriate, the name itself is not found in the MS. of the Śr. Pra. The colophon to chapter twelve calls the chapter ‘प्रबन्धाङ्गचतुष्पष्टिचतुष्टयप्रकाशः.’

The other citations from the Śr. Pra. in the first part of the work in R. 3670 are three. The total number of quotations from and references to Bhoja and his Śr. Pra. in the second part of the work in R. 4188 is thirteen.

i. The last three citations in the first MS. and the first two in the second are Bhoja's definitions of the four Rītis, as given by Bhoja in the chapter on Anubhāvas, the xvii, (Vol. III, Mad. MS.), in the Śr. Pra. These definitions are based not only

upon the definite Guṇas of Daṇḍin but upon such concepts as Upacāra, Yaugika-prayoga, Rūḍhi-prayoga, etc., a kind of Rīti-definition we are first acquainted with by Rājaśekhara (Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, I, pp. 8—9) and which the Agnipurāṇa also borrows from Bhoja.¹ Rājaśekhara speaks of only three Rītis and Bhoja adds the Lāṭī.

ii. Bhoja's definitions of Narmasphoṭa (an Aṅga of the Kaiśikī vṛtti), of Utthāpaka (an Aṅga of the Sāttvaṭī vṛtti), of the Suddha-ṣṣkambha in a Prakaraṇa, Bhoja's explanation of the name Vyāyoga—these are some of the other references to the Śr. Pra. in the second MS.

iii. A noteworthy reference is to Bhoja's fifth Vṛtti called ‘Vimiśrā’. Bahurūpa refers to Bhoja's new Miśra vṛtti and quotes Bhoja's verse on it from chapter twelve of the Śr. Pra. Few writers had noted this Miśra vṛtti of Bhoja. Prakāśavarṣa, as has been pointed out in my article on him and his Rasārṇavālaṃkāra in the last number of this journal, notes this new Vṛtti but calls it Sādhāraṇī and attributes it to a Mahā Bhāmaha! Bhoja's Miśravṛtti is criticised by Śiṅgabhūpāla. Vide J. O. R., VII, ii, pp. 102-3.

The other important topics upon which Bahurūpa quotes Bhoja are Sāhitya, Guṇa, Alāṃkāra and Rasa.

iv. Bhoja considers poetry as the Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha and analyses this Sāhitya as comprising twelve aspects, falling into three departments of four. The first two sets of four go together and are the grammatical and logical relations; the last four stand above them as literary or poetical. The first eight are Vṛtti (Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Gauṇī), Vivakṣā, Tātparya (and Dhvani) and Pravibhāga, four Kevala-śabda-sambandha śaktis and Vyapekṣā, Sāmarthya, Anvaya and Ekārthibhāva, four Sāpekṣa śabda sambandha śaktis. The last four are Doṣahāna, Guṇādāna, ‘Alāṃkārayoga and Rasāviyoga. This Sāhitya gives the scheme of Bhoja's huge treatise also. It is clearly summarised by Śāradātanaya in his Bhāvaprakāśa (Ch. vi, pp. 145—152) and by Bahurūpa on pp. 73—80 of R. 4188. Even the illustrative verses given by Bhoja are reproduced. Bahurūpa follows Śāradātanaya's text closely in summarising

1. I have explained this subject in an article on “Rīti and Guṇa in the Agnipurāṇa” which will be shortly appearing in the Indian Historical Quarterly.

Bhoja. The mention of Rasa as Vākyaṛtha brings in the subject. Bahurūpa holds the last, Rasaviyoga, as the end whose realisation the other eleven Sāhityas help.

v. The greatest contribution of Bhoja, even according to Bhoja himself, is his new Alamkāra theory of Rasa. Bahurūpa knows it but he follows Dhanañjaya's view on Rasa. Therefore, Bahurūpa does not follow Bhoja on Rasa. He accepts only eight Rasas, dismissing even Sānta, but Bhoja considers all Bhāvas as capable of becoming Rasas. But, under the first Rasa of Śṛṅgāra, Bahurūpa refers to the view of Bhoja: (p. 95.)

“केचित्तु—अभिमानाहङ्कारादिपर्यायोपासनासहायः चित्तवृत्तिविशेषः
शृङ्गारः ; स च तत्तत्सामग्रीविशेषसमासादितवैलक्षण्यः सलिलमिव बुद्बुद-
तरङ्गफेनमुक्तादिभावं वीराद्भुतादिभावं भजत इति ।”

This is one of the few instances where Bhoja is referred to without the mention of his name. Bahurūpa says that Bhoja synthesised, so to say, all the other seven Rasas in the first, *viz.*, Śṛṅgāra, which is like water. Of it, Vira and the others are manifestations even as bubble, wave, foam, etc., are several forms of the same water. This is not a correct statement of Bhoja's new Rasa theory. Many writers, ancient and modern, know that Bhoja glorified Śṛṅgāra and at once they jump to the conclusion that Bhoja was one who sought to merge all Rasas in Love, the Śṛṅgāra developing from the Ratisthāyibhāva. The fact is that Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra is different. It is the basic psychological factor of Ego called by the three names Alamkāra, Abhimāna and Śṛṅgāra and it is of this that other Rasas are held as several manifestations. Even sexual love, the first Rasa of Śṛṅgāra developing from Rati, is its modification as much as Vira, Adbhuta, etc. The primary significance of the word Rasa itself pertains only to this Prakṛti of Alamkāra-Abhimāna-Śṛṅgāra and the developed (Prakṛṣṭa or Puṣṭa) states of Rati, etc., are only its Vikṛtis and are called Rasas only secondarily.

vi. Bahurūpa treats of Guṇas, Alamkāras, etc., in the suitable places, though they are not dealt with in the Daśarūpaka. He follows Bhoja completely on Guṇas and considers them as Alamkāras, as the Alamkāra called Svabhāvokti. Bahurūpa gives three sets of Guṇas, Śabdaguṇas, Arthaguṇas and Vaiśeṣika-guṇas, the last being the Doṣas which become Guṇas according to the Aucitya of the situation. He gives the twenty-four Guṇas,

all as given by Bhoja in his Śṛ. Pra. and the Sarāsvatī-kaṇṭhābharana.

vii. Alamkāras: (a) To state briefly, to Bhoja, as to Daṇḍin, everything contributing to the beauty of poetry—Kāvya-śobhākaradharma—is Alamkāra. Guṇas and Alamkāras and Rasas are all Alamkāras. Poetry is 'Alamkṛta Vākya'. This Alamkāra is of three kinds, Guṇa-pradhāna (Svabhāvokti), Alamkāra-pradhāna (Vakrokti) and Rasa-pradhāna (Rasokti). This threefold classification of poetic expression and the related ideas of Bhoja are given by Bahurūpa on pp. 107—108. (R. 4188.)

This means, poetry is distinguished by Alamkāra, which is Ukti of three kinds. Ukti is beautiful mode of speech and poetry is thus Uktipradhāna or Abhidhāpradhāna or Kavividyāpāra-pradhāna. Bahurūpa develops Bhoja in this manner and points out how Bhoja's position leads to Bhāmaha's characterisation of poetry as Vakrokti and to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's distinction of poetry from Śāstra and Ākhyāna on the basis of the shifting of emphasis from word and idea, Śabda and Artha, to the manner of expression. It is a pity that there are gaps in the lines in the MS. in this section which forms almost the end of the commentary.

“केचित् शोभाकरत्व-अविशेषात् रसगुणयोरलङ्कारत्वं मन्यन्ते ।
तन्मते त्रिविधा सूक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, वक्रोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्र गुण-
प्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, उपमारूपक(लङ्कारप्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, विभावानुभाव-
व्यभिचारिसंयोगादसनिष्पत्तौ रसोक्तिः) ।

अतः शब्देन अर्थप्रतिपादनं भूषयितुं यत् कविना उपादीयते,
तत् सर्वम् अलङ्कारः) । अत एव भट्टनायकेन अभिधाव्यापारः (काव्ये प्रधान-
मित्युक्तम्) —

“(शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

(अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु) वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।

द्वयोर्गुणत्वे (व्यापारप्राधान्ये) काव्यमेव तत् ॥”

भामहेनापि—

“सैषा सर्वैव (वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो) विभाव्यते ।”

(R. 4188. pp. 107-8.)

(b) Secondly, Bahurūpa accepts Alamkāras (the Vakrokti class) as dealt with by Bhoja. Its three classes, Alamkāras of

Śabda, of Artha and of both, their exact number and nature—all these given by Bhoja both in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābhāṣa* and the *Śr. Pra.* are accepted by Bahurūpa (p. 106).

(c) Thirdly, Bahurūpa also accepts Bhoja's magnification of *Sauśrṣṭi* as the greatest *Alaṅkāra*. Since Bhoja considers everything as *Alaṅkāra*, there was to him *Alaṅkāra* everywhere in poetic expression and, according to him, in a given place, there was a *Sauśrṣṭi* of many *Alaṅkāras*. *Sauśrṣṭi* thus gained great importance in Bhoja who considered it as the only means of achieving *Rasa-aviyoga*, the non-divorce of *Rasa*, from a verse or poem. This idea is accepted by Bahurūpa who says:

अयं च रसो गुणालङ्कारवशात् संसृष्टिवशादेव कवीनां पोषणीयः ।

(R. 4188, p. 104.)

Says Bhoja:

“यद्यपि प्रसङ्गतः तन्त्रयुक्त्या तत्र तत्र उपवर्णितः (रसः),
तथापि गुणालङ्कारसन्निवेशविशेषजन्यत्वात् नानालङ्कारसंसृष्टावेव प्रकृष्टत्वं
लभते । * * * संसृष्टिरेव प्रकृष्टं भूषणम् अवधार्यते ।”

Śr. Pra. Mad. Ms., Vol. II, p. 356.

II

The next notable writer whom Bahurūpa follows is *Śāradātanaya* whom, as has been pointed out already, he considers as *Ācārya*. Many of the examples given by Bahurūpa for the various types of drama are reproduced from the *Bhāva Prakāśa*.

One instance of these borrowings from *Śāradātanaya* can be specially pointed out here. *Śāradātanaya* refers to a dramatist named Subandhu who classified *Nāṭaka* into five kinds, *Pūrṇa*, *Prasānta*, *Lalita*, *Bhāsvara* and *Samagra*. Bahurūpa borrows all this information from the *Bhāvaprakāśa*.

Śāradātanaya's illustrations of these five types are also reproduced by Bahurūpa. In this connection, it has to be pointed out that the fifth type called *Samagra* is illustrated by *Śāradātanaya* by a drama called *Nṛttacārā*.

सर्वेषां यत्र रूपाणि दृश्यन्ते विविधानि च ।

नाटकं नृत्तचाराख्यं तत्समग्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥

Bhā. Pra., VIII, p. 241. Gaek. Edn.

The other reading given in the footnote is *Nṛttavāra*. Bahurūpa

refers to it and his reading is *Nṛtyacāraka*. (p. 37). “समग्रं यथा नृत्यचारादि ।”

In an article entitled *Nṛttapāra* in Vol. I, No. 3 of the now defunct “*Tirumalai Śrī Venkateśa*”, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi quietly takes *Śāradātanaya* as giving here a drama called *Nṛttapāra*. He says that Bahurūpa also gives it as *Nṛttapāra*. The MS. in the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, as noted above, gives it as *Nṛtyacāraka* and not as *Nṛttapāra*. The Gaek. Edn. of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* refers to a *Nṛttacāra* or *Nṛttavāra* but not to any *Nṛttapāra*. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi quotes also the farce *Bhagavadajjuka* as giving in its prologue the same dramatic type as *Nṛttapāra*. The published text of the farce does not give *Nṛttapāra* but gives ‘*Vāra*’, (without the addition of *Nṛtta*), the variant in the *Bhā. Pra.* If we can suggest on the basis of the new kind of drama of Subandhu named *Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhārā* quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Sāmānyābhinaya* chapter, *Cāra* or *Vāra* may be a mistake for *Dhārā*. Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi considers the reading *Nāṭyadhārā* in the *Abhinavabhāratī* as a clerical error for *Pāra*. He must have understood the context in which Abhinava quotes of *Nāṭyāyita* which is explained by Abhinava as a long succession or a series (*Dhārā*) of play within play and this demands that the correct reading must be *Dhārā*. *Pāra* makes no sense here. It is not likely that the *Nāṭyadhārā* of Abhinava which is a chain of *Garbha-nāṭakas* is the same as the *Samagra Nāṭaka* called by *Śāradātanaya* *Nṛttacāra* or *Nṛttavāra* and *Nṛtyacāraka* by Bahurūpa.

III

Among the many lost dramas mentioned and quoted by Bahurūpa, some of the names are those given by Dhanika, Bhoja and *Śāradātanaya*. We meet with in Bahurūpa's commentary the following dramas:

Daśagrīvanigraha and *Nāyakānanda* (Acts of the *Anargha-rāghava*), *Pāṇḍavānanda*, *Mālatikā* (*Vithi*), *Rāmābhayudaya* (of *Yaśovarman*), *Nalavijaya*, *Devīpariṇaya*, *Menakānuṣa*, *Mada-lekhā*, *Stambhitarambha*, *Taraṅgadatta* (*Prakarāṇa*), *Padmāvatī-pariṇaya* (*Prakarāṇa*), *Puṣpadūṣitaka* (*Prakarāṇa*), *Mūdhavī* (*Naṭikā*), *Lalitanāṅgara* (*Bhāṇa*), *Śaśikalā* (*Prahasana*), *Bhagavadajjuka* (*Prahasana*), *Tārakoddharaṇa* and *Vṛtroddharaṇa*

इति द्वादशसहस्रीकारः ।

Sāradātānaya simply refers to a text in 12,000 Ślokas in chapter XII, line 9, p. 287. (Bhā. Pra. Gack. edn.)

(c) Bahurūpa quotes also from Kohala. Quotations from Kohala are available everywhere but no work of his has as yet come to light.

(d) Bādarāyaṇa.

On p. 21, (R. 4188), Bahurūpa says:—

“यथोक्तं बादरायणेन—

‘यद्यप्यङ्गानि भूयांसि पूर्वङ्गस्य नाटके ।

तथाप्यवश्यं कर्तव्या नान्दी विघ्नोपशान्तये ॥”

This is a very frequently quoted verse and it is found on p. 197, Chap. VII, (lines 4-5) of Sāradātānaya's Bhā. Pra., which seems to be the source for later writers who quote it anonymously. But it is not ascertainable on what authority Bahurūpa quotes this as a verse from some dramaturgic text attributed to Bādarāyaṇa (Vyāsa). Pūrṇasarasvatī, in his commentary on the Mālātmādhava (p. 6, Mad. MS. R. 3071), quotes this as Bādarāyaṇa's.

Numerous Devas and Ṛṣis are found in the pantheon of Nātyācāryas, but Vyāsa is found mentioned as one of them by only one writer, Sāradātānaya. The Bhāvaprakāśa refers to Vyāsa on pp. 55 and 251. On p. 55, one account of the origin of Rasa is begun as given by Vyāsa but it is strangely closed on p. 58 (lines 13-14) as given by Nārada to Bharata ! On p. 251, Vyāsa is cited as holding in agreement with Āṇjaneya, another writer on Saṅgīta and Nāṭya, that the Utsrṣṭikāṅka has three acts !

व्यासाङ्गनेयगुरवः प्रादुरङ्कत्रयं यदा ।

Bharata is said to give it as an one-act piece and Kohala, as a two-act piece. Utsrṣṭika-āṅka itself means obviously an one-act piece. But Bharata does not speak at all of the number of acts in this type. The Daśarūpaka also is silent upon this point. Bhoja only reproduces Bharata.

(e) It was pointed out in my articles on the Writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī and the Vṛttis in the J. O. R. (Vol. VI, p. 168 and Vol. VII, pp. 91-101) how Udbhaṭa held a strange view on the subject of the Vṛttis. It was also pointed out how the Daśarūpaka refers to and criticises Udbhaṭa on Vṛttis but makes a mistake in stating Udbhaṭa's view. Dhanika does not

throw any light on the passage. Bahurūpamiśra comments on the verses but his remark also is mistaken.

भारत्याः शब्दवृत्तित्वेन अर्थवृत्तित्वं निराकुर्वन् आरभटीमुपसंहरति—

‘एभिरङ्गैश्चतुर्थेयं नार्थवृत्तिरतः परा ।’

भारती तु तृतीयेऽभिधास्यत इत्याह—

‘चतुर्थी भारती सा तु वाच्या नाटकलक्षणे ।’

एवं स्वमतेन अर्थवृत्तित्रयं शब्दवृत्तिं चैकामभिधाय अधुना उद्धट-
मतानुसरिणां भारतीमप्यर्थवृत्तिमाचक्षमाणानां पुनः शब्दवृत्त्यङ्गीकारेण वृत्ति-
पञ्चकप्रतिज्ञानं भवेदित्याह—

‘भारती सात्त्वती चार्थवृत्तिमारभटीमिति ।

पठन्तः पञ्चमीं वृत्तिमौद्धटाः प्रतिजानते ॥’

एतच्च प्रतिज्ञामात्रमेव, नोपपत्तियुक्तम्, भारत्याः शब्दवृत्तित्वेन अर्थवृत्ति-
त्वाभावात् इत्युक्तं प्रतिजानत इति । P. 14. R. 4188.

Udbhaṭa did not hold Vṛttis to be five; he did not hold two Bhāratīs, one of Śabda and one of Artha; his Artha-Vṛtti is different. (See J. O. R., Vol. VII, p. 91-101).

(f) Of the distribution of the Rasas over the four Vṛttis, I have spoken in a special section in my paper on the Vṛttis in the J. O. R., Vol. VII, pp. 45-49. On this subject of the ‘Rasa-Niyama’ of the Vṛttis, Bahurūpamiśra quotes Udbhaṭa as assigning Raudra, Bhayānaka and Bibhatsa to the Ārabhaṭī, Vīra, Raudra and Śānta to the Sāttvatī and Śrṅgāra, Hāsyā and Karuṇa to the Kaiśikī.

आरभव्यनुवृत्तौ तु उद्धटः—

रौद्रे भयानके चैव बीभत्से च विचक्षणैः ।

काव्यशोभाकरी वृत्तिरियमित्यं प्रयुज्यते ॥

तथा सात्त्वत्यनुवृत्तौ स एव—

वीर(र)रौद्रेऽद्धुते शान्ते वृत्तिरेषा बुधैर्मता ।

तथा कैशिक्यनुवृत्तौ स एव—

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणा(ण)रसातिशयसिद्धये ।

एषा वृत्तिः प्रयत्नेन प्रयोज्या विबुधैर्ध्रुवम् ॥ P. 15. R. 4188.

It is not known from which work of Udbhaṭa these Anuṣṭubhs are quoted by Bahurūpa.

(g) Of the relation between Vṛtti and Riti, I have spoken in my Vṛtti paper in two sections. (J. O. R., Vol. VII, pp. 51 and 108-111.) Generally speaking, Vṛtti comprehends both Prayṛtti and Riti; but, as Rājaśekhara says, Vṛtti is 'Ceṣṭa-vinyāsa-krama', Prayṛtti is 'Veṣa-vinyāsa-krama' and Riti is 'Vacana-vinyāsa-krama'.

“तत्र वेदविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, त्रिविधविन्यासक्रमः वृत्तिः, वचन-
विन्यासक्रमः रीतिः ।” K. M. I. 3.

Bahurūpamiśra has two interesting quotations in this connection. He quotes an unknown writer who goes to the extent of defining Vṛtti as Riti, a mode of speech, “Vāṇī”. He quotes the writer on the Kaiśiki and the Ārabhaṭi Vṛttis.

“अन्यैस्तु रीतिनियमगर्भं च कैशिकीलक्षणमुक्तम् । यथा—

या नृत्तगीतप्रमदोपभोगदेशा....संकीर्तनचारुवन्वा ।

माधुर्ययुक्ताल्पसमासरम्या वाणी स्मृतासाविह कैशिकीति ॥”

P. 6. R. 4188.

“अन्यैस्तु रीतिनियमगर्भं आरभटीलक्षणमुक्तम् । यथा—

या चित्रयुद्धश्रमशस्त्रपार्तिर्मथेन्द्रजालद्रुतलङ्घनाढ्या ।

ओजस्विगुर्वक्षरचन्वगाढा श्रेया बुधैः सारभटीति वृत्तिः ।”

P. 12. R. 4188.

The first halves of the verses define Vṛtti as 'Ceṣṭā' but the verses end by defining Vṛtti as 'Vacana'. This writer would equate Kaiśiki Vṛtti with Vaidarbhi Riti and Ārabhaṭi Vṛtti with Gaudī Riti.

VI

Besides the noteworthy points above surveyed, there are two more that deserve notice.

i. While discussing Rasa, Bahurūpa says that there are some writers who consider Rasa as pertaining primarily to the character in the drama and who hold consequently that the Rasa realised by the spectator is only a semblance of that Rasa of the character, Rasa-ābhāsa. Bahurūpa refutes this view.

“केचित्तु रामादिगत एव रसः काव्यप्रतिपाद्यः, सामाजिकगतस्तु
रसाभास इति प्रतिजानते । तत्तु वयं न मृष्यामहे ।” p. 83. R. 4188.

Though the ancients like Daṇḍin and Lollaṭa (Abhinava-
bhārati, Vol. I, Gack. edn., p. 274) held Rasa as residing in the
character and the actor, it is not said anywhere by any writer
that the Rasa of the Sāmājika is only Rasa-ābhāsa, though this
seems to be the logically inevitable end of that view.

ii. Nāṭakālaṅkāras and Lakṣaṇas.

Bharata deals with a concept called Lakṣaṇa in Chapter XVII
and its meaning, history etc. were examined by the present writer
in an article on Lakṣaṇa in the J. O. R., Vol. VI, pp. 54-82. The
Lakṣaṇas are thirty-six in number. Bharata's text contains two
recensions, a list of thirty-six lakṣaṇas in Anuṣṭubh verses and
another of the same number in Upajāti verses. A few are found
in both lists. The Lakṣaṇas came to be called in later literature
Nāṭyālaṅkāra and Bhūṣaṇa also. Some of them resemble
Sandhyaṅgas, some Bhāvas and some Alaṅkāras, a fact which
explains their disappearance in later times. One of the few
writers who still deal with it in later times in Bahurūpamiśra.

The Daśarūpaka refers to Lakṣaṇa in two places. It says in
Ch. III, 32-33:

रसं वा न तिरोदध्यादस्त्वलङ्कारलक्षणैः ।

Dhanika says here : लक्षणैः भूषणादिभिः । Dhanika takes Alaṅ-
kāra as Upamā etc., but Bahurūpa takes it in two senses, Upamā,
etc., and Nāṭakālaṅkāras like Atīśaya etc.

“उपमादयोऽलङ्काराः । अतिशयादयो नाटकालङ्काराः । शोभोदाहरण-
संशयदृष्टान्तश्चमागुणवाद(गुणानुवाद)आनन्द(आक्रन्द)कपटादीनि लक्षणानि ।”

p. 35, R. 4188

The Daśarūpaka says in the last verse—

पट्त्रिंशद्भूषणादीनि * * * ।

लक्ष्मसन्ध्यन्तराङ्गानि सालङ्कारेषु तेषु च ॥

Commenting on this also, Bahurūpa gives two concepts
called Nāṭakālaṅkāra and Lakṣaṇa. As far as we can see now,
Māṭṛgupta, as quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary
on the Śākuntala, is the earliest writer to mention the concept
Nāṭyālaṅkāra, besides Lakṣaṇa. Śāradātanaya gives the
Lakṣaṇas themselves as Bhūṣaṇas and Nāṭyālaṅkāras. His list
contains more than thirty-six, probably sixty-four which is
Bhoja's number. Bahurūpa gives his two sets of Nāṭakālaṅkāras

and Lakṣaṇas in the last page of the MS. There are gaps in the enumeration and the text is lost after the enumeration. So we are not able to have Bahurūpa's explanation of what these two exactly mean and how they differ. He must, of course, have agreed with the Daśarūpaka that they are included in Bhāvas and Alarṅkāras. From what we can see from the enumeration, we can say that Bahurūpa borrows from Śāradātanaya whose single list he divides into two under the two heads of Nāṭakālarṅkāras and Lakṣaṇas. Bahurūpa's position corresponds to that of Viśvanātha but there is no evidence to find out who is the later of the two and whether one borrowed from the other.

FIVE STAGES OF PRE-VEDIC DETERMINATIVE-
COMPOUND-ACCENTUATION AS SURMISED BY
THE HISTORIC SURVIVALS OF THEIR
REPRESENTATIVES IN SANSKRIT.

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It was shown in my previous paper that even in the Sanskrit of the later Vedic period there survived some determinative compounds which faithfully preserved the logical accent on the first member and it was also seen that probably on account of false perception (from our stand-point), later on the final member of the determinative compounds might have come to be accented. An attempt too, was made to show how determinatives might have served as basis for the evolution of a new class of compounds—the epithetised class—which might have been formed from out of the existing stock of old determinative compounds, for, as Brugmann says, side by side with forms like rāja-putra¹-s (king's son) we have forms like rāja-putra-s (having kings for sons).¹

This view is further supported by the following dictum current among the followers of the Mahābhāṣya—

“न कर्मधारयान्मत्वर्थीयेन भवितव्यम्”

which is however not an actual quotation from the Mahābhāṣya, but a Nyāya deduced from what Patañjali says in a number of places with regard to this topic. Nāgeśa is of the same opinion for says he in his Uddyota under Pāṇini's sūtra—

“वर्णो वर्णेन” (P. II, 1, 69.)

अयमेवार्थतः पठ्यते “न कर्मधारयान्मत्वर्थीयः” इति भाष्ये ।

Patañjali says under the same sūtra the following, commenting upon the Vārtikas—

समानाधिकरणसमासाद्वयवृत्तिः and कदाचित् कर्मधारयः सर्वधनाद्यर्थः इष्टिरियं पठिता । समानाधिकरणसमासाद्वयवृत्तिरिष्टः, कदाचित् कर्मधारयः, सर्वधनाद्यर्थ इति ।

The object of this paper is, as it had been already foreshadowed, to mark the various stages of determinative compound accentuation in the primitive Indo-European. The first stage is represented by the historic survivals of such non-epithetised compounds as a-kumāra-s (no boy any longer)¹—where the accent of the first member is preserved intact in the compound. Rg Vedic compounds like

bhaga¹ bhātasya¹ (Rv. I, 4, 5).

vipra¹ jūtaḥ (Rv. I, 3, 5).

a-strīam (Rv. I, 15, 5).

an-ādhrstāsaḥ (Rv. I, 19, 4).

a gohyam (Rv. X, 64, 3).

pu¹-raṇdhīm (Rv. II, 38, 10; I, 116, 7).

puram¹-dhiḥ (Rv. I, 116, 13).

may all be taken to represent this stage in the pre-Vedic language.

Pāṇini brings a number of historic survivals of this stage of determinative compound accentuation, in the Sanskrit of the later Vedic period within the scope of some special sūtras he framed for them.

We shall see them, one by one.

“तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्या.”

(P. VI, 2, 2.)

a-brāhmaṇaḥ, ku-brāhmaṇa-s,

ku-vr̥ṣala-s, niṣ-kauśāmbi-s,

nir-vāraṇasi-s, tulya-lohita-s,

sadr̥śa-śvetāḥ, sadr̥śa-mahān,

śaṁkulā-khaṇḍa-s,

1. Brugmann, Grundriss, Vol. II, Page 93.

kiri¹-kāṇa-s, akṣa¹-śaṇḍa-s,

pāna¹-śaṇḍa-s, śastri¹-śyāmā

kūmuda-śyeni, nyagrodha-

parimaṇḍalā, muhūrta¹-sukham,

haraṇīya-cūrṇam, āti-khaṭva-s,

āti-māla-s

nāsatyābhyām (Rv. I, 116, 1).

patayan¹ maṇdayāt-sakham¹ (Rv. I, 4, 7).

[The true characteristic of tatpuruṣa compounds was not lost sight of in compounds like āti-khaṭva-s and āti-māla-s not only through the preservation of the logical accent on the first member, but in another way also as Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita records in his Siddhānta Kaumudī which is as follows:—

‘उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः’ इत्यपि प्राचां प्रवादः प्रायोऽभिप्रायः.....

अतिमालादौ तत्पुरुषे चाभावात्² ॥

Further, the importance of the first member in tatpuruṣa was recognised as is seen in the following passage in the commentary Bālaṁanoramā under the sūtra—

“परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः” (II, 4, 26.)

‘अर्थपिपली’ इति । अस्य एकदेशिसमासस्य पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानतया पूर्वपदलिङ्गे प्राप्ते उत्तरपदलिङ्गार्थं विधिः ॥]

Kātyāyana restricts the scope of the operation of this sūtra (VI, 2, 2.) when it comes to the question of accentuation of such tatpuruṣas whose prior member is अव्यय, in the following manner.

“अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानाम्”

Hence āyajñasācaḥ (Rv. VI, 67, 9).

This shows that the logical accent of determinatives when the first member is an avyaya other than नञ्कु etc. should have long ago shifted forward the accent in the pre-Rgvedic language.

1. cf. Sāyaṇa on this मन्दयतीन्द्रे सखा । सप्तमीति योगविभागात् समासः ।

2. page 417 Bālaṁanoramā edition.

Other sūtras of Pāṇini representing this stage are :—

“वर्णो वर्णवनेते” (P. VI, 2, 3).

kr̥ṣṇāsāraṅgaḥ, lohita-kalmāṣaḥ

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे (P. VI, 2, 4).

aritra-gādham udakam “Water as low or fordable as an Aritra i.e. of the depth of a pestle.”

gō-lavaṇam “so much salt as may be given to a cow.”

दायाद्यं दायादे (P. VI, 2, 5).

dhānadāyādaḥ

प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः (P. VI, 2, 6).

gāmana ciram, vyāharanākṛcchram

पदेऽपदेशे (P. VI, 2, 7).

mūtrapadena prasthitaḥ, uccārapadena prasthitaḥ

निवाते वातत्राणे (P. VI, 2, 8).

kuṭinivātam

शारदेऽनार्तिवे (P. VI, 2, 9).

rājjuśāradam udakam “fresh drawn water.”

अध्वर्युकषाययोर्जातौ (P. VI, 2, 10).

pracyādhvaryuḥ | kāṭhādhvaryuḥ | kalāpādhvaryuḥ |

sarppirmanḍa-kaśāyam | umāpuṣpa-kaśāyam | dauvārika-kaśāyam

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये (P. V, 2, 11.)

pitṛsadṛśaḥ

द्विगौ प्रमाणे (P. VI, 2, 12).

prācyā-saptasama-s

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे (P. VI, 2, 13).

1. This and some of the following sūtras, for instance from VI, 2, 24 upto VI, 2, 31 are significant, for the compounds brought under their scope are समानाधिकरणसमासः.

madra-vāṇijaḥ | go-vāṇijaḥ

मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके (P. VI, 2, 14.)

bhikṣā-mātram (a genitive compound)

pāṇinyupajñam

ikṣucchāyam

सुखप्रिययोर्हिते (P. VI, 2, 15.)

gāmana-sukham | gāmana-priyam

प्रीतौ च (P. VI, 2, 16.)

brāhmaṇa-sukham pāyasam

chātra-priyaḥ anadhyāyaḥ

स्वं स्वामिनि (P. VI, 2, 17.)

go-svāmī

पत्यावैश्वर्ये (P. VI, 2, 18.)

damūnā gr̥hapatirdame (R̥v. I, 60, 4.)

[According to the following sūtra the original accent on the first member is retained optionally in some determinative compounds. Probably in these, the true reason for accenting the prior member might have been forgotten long before. Hence is the option for the retention of the original logical accentuation in these determinative compounds.]

वा भुवनम् (P. VI, 2, 20.)

bhuvana-patiḥ

आशङ्काबाधनेदीयसु संभावने (P. VI, 2, 21.)

gāmanā-śāṅkam | gāmanā-bādhām | gāmana-nediyāḥ

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे (P. VI, 2, 22.)

ādhyapūrvah

सन्निधिसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये (P. VI, 2, 23.)

madrasavidham madrasaveśam | madrasadeśam

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु (P. VI, 2, 24.)

vispaṣṭakāṭukam

श्रज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये (P. VI, 2, 25.)

gāṇatā-śreṣṭham | gāṇatā-śreyas | vacana-jyeṣṭham |
vacana-jyāya-s | gāṇatā-vamam | gāṇatā-kamīṣṭham | gāṇatā-
pāpiṣṭham | gāṇatā-pāpiyaḥ

कुमारश्च (P. VI, 2, 26.)

kumāra-śramapā | kumāra-kulāḥ | kumāra-tāpasī

[The different ways of accenting the karmadhāraya compounds in which the word kumāra is the prior member during the historical period, is as interesting as the different ways of accenting the compounds formed with pati as the second member. According to the next sūtra P. VI, 2, 27 कुमारः प्रत्येनासि, in the compound kumāra-pratyenaḥ, the accent is on the first syllable. (Probably this was the earlier accentuation of the compound). Then by the following sūtra, the first syllable of kumāra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting, 'the name of a horde'.]

पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम् (P. VI, 2, 28.)

kumāra-cātakāḥ | kumāra-lohadhvajāḥ | kumāra-
balāhakāḥ | kumāra-jīmūtāḥ

This rule being optional, we have forms like kumāra-cātakāḥ etc. also by the sūtra VI, 2, 26. But we have also forms like kumāra-cātakāḥ, representing the last stage of determinative compound accentuation. Fortunately for us, some compounds formed with—pati in a similar manner suggest the different stages of determinative compound accentuation that strengthens our position.¹

1. vasu-patim (Rv. I, 9, 9.)
- mēdhapati [Kāth. 16, 21. (244, 10.) T. S. 3, 3, 6, 1.]
- bhuvana-patiḥ
- paviṭra-patiḥ (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III, 1, 3, 23.)
- haviṣpatiḥ (Rv. I, 12, 8.)

The next sūtra (VI, 2, 29) I have already noticed in my previous paper. (J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, part II.)

By the following sūtra

बहुन्यतरस्याम् (VI, 2, 30.)

the accent on the first member is optionally preserved in compounds formed with bahu as the first member.

bahu-māsyah | bahu-kapālah | bahu-bhagālah

Otherwise the accent is shifted to the last syllable of the compounds.¹

Similarly the next sūtra

दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च (P. VI, 2, 31.)

pañca-diṣṭiḥ | pañca-vitastiḥ

The next sūtra (P. VI, 2, 32.) speaks of the accentuation in some सप्तमीतत्पुरुष compounds.

सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वन्धेष्वकालात् (P. VI, 2, 33.)

sāṁkāśya-siddhaḥ | kāmṇya-siddhaḥ

or by Phiṭ sūtra III, 16.

सांकाश्यकाम्पिल्यनासिक्वदार्वाघाटानाम्

the accent in these compounds is on the second syllable of the first word as

sāṁkāśya-siddhaḥ | kāmṇya-siddhaḥ | bhrāṣṭra-pakvaḥ |
cakra-bandhaḥ

The following three sūtras of Pāṇini relate to a particular kind of karmadhāraya compounds in regard to our first stage of determinative compound accentuation.

grha-patiḥ (Rv. I, 60, 4; 12, 6.)

prajā-patiḥ (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III, 1, 3, 22.)

viś-patim (Rv. I, 12, 2.)

cit-patiḥ (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III, 1, 3, 22.)

1. This was because, as we have already seen, during the historical period the true reason for accenting the prior member of the determinatives was forgotten.

(two Dīmas), *Bhīmaṅkrama* (Vyāyoga), *Amṛtamathana* and *Śakrānanda* (two Samavakāras), *Indulekhā*, *Vakulavīthī* and *Kāmadattā* (three Vīthīs), *Nāgavijaya* (Utsrṣṭikāṅka), *Kuṣumaśekharaṅvijaya* and *Ūrvaśīmadana* (two Īhāmṛgas) and *Udāttarāghava* (of Māyurāja).

Those names that are in Italics in the above list are given by Bahurūpa himself and are not known to us from other writers. Of these, the *Bhagavadajjuka* has come to light and has been published.

The verse “का भूषा वलिनां etc.” from the *Pāṇḍavānanda* quoted by Bahurūpa is quoted by Dhanika, and Abhinava. The author of the *Pāṇḍavānanda* is not known.

The *Mālatikā Vīthī* is first quoted by Bhoja's Śr. Pra. in Chap. XII. Bahurūpa quotes a longer passage which is of some importance. On p. 82, Dhanika quotes the passage wrongly as from the *Vikramorvaśīya* where it does not occur. Śāradātanaya copies Dhanika's mistake on p. 230, lines 15-16.

Two of Bahurūpa's references to the *Rāmābhyudaya* are valuable in that they shed light on some parts of the contents of the drama which we do not know from other sources. On p. 32 (R. 4188), he refers to the *Rāmābhyudaya* as having avoided the way in which the *Anargharāghava* twisted the episode of the killing of Vālin. On p. 33., he says that the *Rāmābhyudaya* gives us briefly in a *Viṣkambhaka* the defacing of *Śūrpaṇakhā* which is the seed of the enmity that is to grow between *Rāvaṇa* and *Rāma*.

The names *Nalavijaya* to *Padmāvatīpariṇaya* are borrowed from *Śāradātanaya*, and *Puṣpadūṣita* is a *Prakaraṇa* quoted by Abhinava and *Rāmacandra* and *Guṇacandra* in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*.

The *Mādhavī* must be noted. It is not mentioned by *Śāradātanaya* or anybody else. Bahurūpa gives it as a *Nāṭika* in four Acts. (p. 41.)

Lalitanāgara Bhāṇa and *Śaśikalā Śuddha prahasana* (p. 44) are two more names we know from Bahurūpa for the first time. The *Śakrānanda Samavakāra* is perhaps on the theme of the *Indradhvajotsava*, Indra's flag-festival. The *Kāmadattā Vīthī* is not mentioned by Bhoja or *Śāradātanaya* or by anybody else and so also the *Nāgavijaya Utsrṣṭikāṅka* and *Ūrvaśīmadana Īhāmṛga*.

Tarakoddharāṇa and *Vṛtroddharāṇa Dīmas*, *Amṛtamathana* *Samavakāra*, *Indulekhā* and *Vakula Vīthīs* and *Kuṣumaśekhara Īhāmṛga* are taken from the *Bhāvaṇaprakāśa*.

Some interest attaches to the *Bhīmaṅkramavyāyoga* referred to by Bahurūpa himself.

He says on p. 45 in illustration of *Vyāyoga*:

‘यथा सिन्धुराजभीमविक्रमादयः’

We are not able to decide whether *Sindhurāja* is the name of the author of the *Bhīmaṅkrama* or is the name of a *Vyāyoga* itself.

Bahurūpa quotes the *Udāttarāghava* of Māyurāja thrice. The first two quotations on pp. 58 and 67 are the same as found on pp. 102-3 and 110-111 of the *Avaloka* of Dhanika. It can only be inferred from the *Avaloka* that *Citramāya* who alarms *Sītā* and *Rāma* with report of danger to *Lakṣmaṇa*'s life is really a *Rākṣasa* in the guise of a hermit. Bahurūpa clearly says that he is a demon in the guise of a hermit—“मृग(मुनि)रूपधारिणा उक्ते” p. 67. On 112, the *Avaloka* quotes two verses “किं लेभेन विलङ्घितः etc.” and “कः समुचिताभिषेकात् etc.” without mentioning their source. In the third quotation on p. 67, Bahurūpa tells us that the passage comprising these two verses are from the *Udāttarāghava*.

IV

(a) On p. 46. (R. 3670), Bahurūpa says:—

“सूत्रणं सकलाङ्गानां ज्ञेयमङ्गमुखं बुधैः’ इति षट्सहस्रीकारः ।”

We know that *Ṣaṭsahasrikāra* refers to *Bharata*, author of the *Nāṭya śāstra*. The *Daśarūpakāvaloka* and the *Abhinavabhāratī* point to the fact that the *Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra* had the other name ‘*Ṣaṭsahasrī*’. But Bahurūpa's quotation is not traceable in the *Kāvyamālā* edn. or the *Kāśī* edn. of the *Nāṭya śāstra* which give the definition of *Aṅkamukha* differently. (Chapter XXI, Śl. 116, *Kāśī* edn., Chap. XIX, Śl. 111, K. M. edn.)

(b) Bahurūpa refers to a text in 12,000 *Granthas*, the *Dvādaśa sahasrī*. He quotes the definition of *Aṅkāvatara* from it.

“समाप्यमान एतस्मिन्नितराङ्गार्थ[स्य]सूचनम् ।

समासतो हि नाट्यज्ञैरङ्गावतर इष्यते ॥’

(R. 3670. P. 47.)

In the Gāthāsaptasatī we find an excellent utility of pictures painted on household walls recorded.

नववधूं प्रति सतीवृत्तशिक्षार्थं कापि बन्धुवधूराह—

दिअरस्स असुद्धमणस्स कुलवहू णिअअकुड्डलिहिआइम् ।

दिअहं कहेइ रामाणुल्लगसोमिच्चिरिआइम् ॥ I. 35.

Such a great impetus was given to painting by filling practically all the walls of every home with pictures that art reigned as a fair queen over a sunny land breathing the fragrance of an aesthetic zephyr. That the kings were great patrons of art need not be repeated. As we see it in the questions of Nārada in the Mahābhārata (quoted elsewhere in this article) so also we see it plainly given in the passage from the Arthaśāstra that the ruler had to support the Śilpīns and Śilpācāryas. In the Kāthāsaritsāgara we have a lot of information regarding painters, painting masters, and all the rest of that class of workmen. The different arts being learnt as a hobby by all the elite of the land, the noblemen and other gentlemen specialising in every branch of study, especially the fine arts, we have lots of cases of Citrācāryas like Nāṭyācāryas and the like in royal households and also in private houses. The Kathāsaritsāgara tells us of how Naravāhana-datta specialised in all arts including painting.

नरवाहनदत्तः स हेषयन् वरचारणान् ।

तस्यां प्रियायां नृत्यन्त्यां सर्वातोद्यान्यवादयत् ॥

जिगाय चागतान् दिग्भ्यो विविधान् पण्डितांस्तथा ।

गजाश्वरथशस्त्रास्त्रचित्रपुस्तदिकोविदः ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. VI, Taraṅga viii, Śl. 171, 172.

A painting master named Roladeva is engaged by princess Madanasundarī, an adept in painting, to make an exquisite picture from a rough sketch of a prince done by her.

उपाध्यायेदृगालिख्य चित्रे मे देहि रूपकम् ।

इत्युक्त्वा वेपमानेन पाणिना धृतवर्तिना ॥

शनैरालिख्य सा भूमौ दर्शयन्ती नृपात्मजा ।

अलेखयन्मया कंचिद्युवानं रूपवत्तरम् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. IX, Taraṅga v, Śl. 68-69.

(To be continued.)

FOREIGN TRADE UNDER THE KĀKATĪYAS.

BY

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The kingdom of Mufili "was formerly under the rule of a king, and since his death, some forty years past, it has been under his queen, a lady of much discretion, who for the great love she bore him never would marry another husband. And I can assure you that all that space of forty years she had administered her realm as well as ever her husband did, or better; and as she was a lover of justice, of equity and of peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before. The people are idolators, and are tributary to nobody. They live on flesh, and rice, and milk. It is in this kingdom that diamonds are got. * * * In this kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams, and those of highest price; in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web! There is no king nor queen in the world but might be glad to wear them. The people have also the largest sheep in the world, and great abundance of all the necessities of life."

Such is the description left by the observant Venetian traveller Marco Polo who visited the Kākatīya kingdom towards the end of the reign of Rudramahādēvi and of the thirteenth century A.D. Marco Polo calls Rudramahādēvi the queen of Gaṇapatidēva, and there is also a manuscript¹ in the Mackenzie collection which retails the story that Gaṇapati made war against Dēvagiri, conquered its king, and took his daughter, named Rudramā-dēvi to be his wife. The manuscript adds that after Gaṇapati's death in Śaka 1180, his widow Rudramā-dēvi ruled Wārangal with celebrity till she transferred the crown in Śaka 1216 to Pratāpa-Vira-rudra, a son of her daughter Umaka by Vira-bhadra-rāja. By the more trustworthy testimony of the inscriptions and of the *Pratāparudra-yaśōbhūṣaṇa*, Rudrāmbā

1. Taylor, III, p. 483.

महान्वीर्यपराङ्मुखीष्वासजात्राभारभारतहैलिहिलोरवप्रवृद्धेषु

(P. VI, 2, 38.)

mahā-vrihiḥ | mahā-parāṅmukhī |
mahā-gr̥ṣṭiḥ | mahā-śvāsaḥ | mahā-jātrābhārah | mahā-bhārah |
mahā-bhārataḥ | mahā-hailibilah | mahā-rauravaḥ | mahā-
pravṛddhaḥ

क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे (P. VI, 2, 39.)

mahā-kṣullaka-vaiśvadevam | kṣullaka-vaiśvadevam M. S. 2, 11,
5 (P. 143, 5) Kāth. 18, 11 (P. 273, 3.)

उष्ट्रः सादिवाग्ययोः (P. VI, 2, 40.)

uṣṭrasādiḥ | uṣṭravāmi

The following sūtras again speak of some other determinative compounds which retain the original accent of the first member.

गौः सादसादिसारथिषुः (P. VI, 2, 41.)

gō-sādaḥ | gō-sādiḥ | gō-sārathiḥ |

कुहगार्हपतरिक्तगुर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपापारेवडवातेत्तिलकद्रुः

पण्यकम्बलोदासीभाराणां च (P. VI, 2, 42.)

kuru-gārhapatam | rikta-guruḥ or rikta-guruḥ¹ | asūta-
jaratī | āśhila-dr̥ḍharūpā | pāre-va-ḍavā² | taittilakadrūḥ | paṇya-
kambalaḥ³ | dāsi-bhārah | rāye sa purāndhyām (Rv. I, 5, 3.)⁴

1. For rikta has acute either on the first or the second syllable by Pāṇini's sūtra रिक्ते विभाषा. (VI, 1, 208.)

2. This is a samāsa with the force of इव, and there is irregularly no elision of the case-ending. This closely resembles the dvandva compound dvā-dāsa.

3. The vārtikakāra says that this compound has acute on the first syllable, only when it is a name संज्ञायामिति वक्तव्यम्.

4. The case-ending of पुर is retained here as a vedic anomaly. cf. Sāyaṇas comments on the compound purān-dhyām :—

पुरंध्याम् । पुरंधिः पुरुधीः । पृषोदरादित्वात् (Pāṇini VI, 3, 109) उकार-
स्यामादेशः, ईकारस्य ह्रस्वश्च । आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्

चतुर्थी तदर्थे (P. VI, 2, 43).

yūpa-dāru

अर्थे (P. VI, 2, 44).

devatārtham

क्ते च (P. VI, 2, 45).

gō-hitam¹

The following sūtra too speaks of the retention of the original accent of the first member in karmadhāraya compounds whose last member is a past participle in 'kta'. कर्मधारयेऽनिष्ठा (P. VI, 2, 46.)

śreṇi-kṛtāḥ | ūka-kṛtāḥ | pūga-kṛtāḥ | nidhāna-kṛtāḥ |

The next two sūtras bring within their scope the dvitīyā and tṛtīyā tatpuruṣa compounds respectively whose second member is a past participle.

अहीने द्वितीया (P. VI, 2, 47.)

kaṣṭa-śritāḥ | grāma-gataḥ |

तृतीया कर्मणि (P. VI, 2, 48.)

rudra-hataḥ | tvo-tāsaḥ | mārāraja-hataḥ | manurhitāḥ² |
indra-tvotāḥ. Rv. I, 132, 1; VIII, 19, 16.

(Pāṇini VI, 2, 199. vārtika. 1.) इत्याद्युदात्तत्वम् । अथवा पुरं शरीरं धीयते अस्यामिति कर्मण्यधिकरणे च (Pāṇini III, 3, 93) इति किप्रत्ययः । अलुक् छान्दसः । नन्विषयस्यानिसन्तस्येति पुरशब्द आद्युदात्तः । दासीभारादित्वात् (VI, 2, 42.)

1. It should be noted that in compounds of this type, the second member is a past participle. Hence they resemble closely compounds like su-kṛtam. (Rv. I, 85, 9a.)

2. Rv. I, 13, 4. Skandasvāmin is inclined to take it also as a locative compound. He says here ;—मनुना प्रजापतिना निहितः स्थापितः मनु(ध्याय ? ध्यपर्या) यो वा मनुशब्दः मनुष्येषु निहितः उपकारक इत्यर्थः cf. page 93 of Rksamhitā with Skandasvāmin's bhāṣya. T. S. S.

In Rv. I, 14, 11. he takes it to be an ablative compound also. Vide page 104. *ibid.*

Now Pāṇini proceeds to enumerate some other determinative compounds of the adjectivally descriptive class which quite logically accent the first member (though optionally).

हिरण्यपरिमाणं धने (P. VI, 2, 55.)

dvīsuvarṇa-dhānam

प्रथमोऽचिरोपसंपत्तौ (P. VI, 2, 56.)

prathamā-vaiyākaraṇaḥ¹

कतरक्तमौ कर्मधारेय (P. VI, 2, 57.)

katara-katṭhaḥ | katama-katṭhaḥ

आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः (P. VI, 2, 58.)

āryabrāhmaṇaḥ | āryakumāraḥ

राजा च (P. VI, 2, 59.)

rājābrahmaṇaḥ | rājākumaraḥ²

“ग्रामः शिल्पिनि (P. VI, 2, 62.)

grāma-nāpitaḥ | grāma-kulālaḥ

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् (P. VI, 2, 63.)

rāja-nāpitaḥ | rāja-kulālaḥ³

1. But if the compound does not mean a novice and on the other hand means ‘the first grammarian or a grammarian of the first rank’, it has accent on the final. Here the device of denoting a different meaning through shift of accent must certainly be a later one.

2. The next sūtra takes into account the पट्टीतपुष्य. पट्टी प्रत्येनसि (P. VI, 2, 60.)

rāja-pratyenāḥ.

And the next sūtra speaks of the accusative compounds in which the second member is a past participle in ‘kta’ के नित्याये (P. VI, 2, 61.)

nitya-prahasitaḥ

3. These may be karmadhāraya or genitive compounds. Here also a device was invented by which through shifting the accent to the last syllable of the compound, the idea of praise was lost.

Pāṇini then proceeds to describe the accent of certain compounds of the non-epithetised class under the अधिकारसूत्र

आदिरुदात्तः¹ (P. VI, 2, 64.)

सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे (P. VI, 2, 65.)

mukṭe-kārṣāpaṇam | hale-dvipadikā

yājñikāśvaḥ ‘the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer’.

vaiyākaraṇa-hastī

युक्ते च (P. VI, 2, 66.)

gō-vallavaḥ

विभाषाध्यक्षे (P. VI, 2, 67.)

gavādhyakṣaḥ ‘a superintendent of cows’.

(this accent being optional, we have the form gavādhyakṣaḥ too.)

पापं च शिल्पिनि (P. VI, 2, 68.)

pāpa-nāpitaḥ

(when it is appositional compound, but when it is a genitive compound, it is pāpa-nāpitaḥ.)

1. It is significant that Pāṇini says here आदिरुदात्तः—the initial syllable of the first member of some determinative compounds gets the acute. He does not say now as before that the original accent of the first member (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वर) is preserved in these unepithetised compounds.

Originally this farthest retraction of the accent to the first syllable of the determinative compounds might have been due to a desire to bring out in an impressive manner the importance of the first member, being the accentuation of greatest dignity and force.

Vide. Bopp’s “Comparative accentuation of the Greek and Sanskrit languages” (Vergleichendes Accentuation system, nebst einer gedrängten darstellung der grammatischen Uebereinstimmungen, des Sanskrit und Griechischen) Page 16-17. quoted by W. D. Whitney in the bibliographical notice. Volume 5 of the Journal of the American Oriental Society (1856). Page 205.

But later on this reason might have been forgotten and more mechanically the first syllable of the first member of the determinative compounds might have come to be accented.

गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे (P. VI, 2, 69.)

jaṅghā-vātsyaḥ | bhāryā-sauśrutaḥ | vāśabrāhmacrteyaḥ |
kumārī-dākṣaḥ | kambala-cārāyaṇyaḥ | ghṛta-raudhiyaḥ | odana-
paninīyaḥ | bhikṣā-māṇavaḥ | vṛṣali-brāhmaṇaḥ | bhaya-
brāhmaṇaḥ

अङ्गानि मेरेये (P. VI, 2, 70.)

mādhva-maireyaḥ "the maireya prepared from honey".

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु (P. VI, 2, 71.)

bhikṣā-kamsaḥ | bhājī-kamsaḥ

गोविडालसिंहसैन्यवेपुषमने (P. VI, 2, 72.)

dhānya-gavaḥ | go-biḍālaḥ | tṛṇa-simhaḥ | saktu-
saindhavaḥ

अके जीविकार्थे (P. VI, 2, 73.)

danta-lekhakaḥ

प्राचां क्रीडायाम् (P. VI, 2, 74.)

uddālaka-puṣpabhañjikā

अणि नियुक्ते (P. VI, 2, 75.)

chattra-dhāraḥ

शिल्पिनि चाकृजः (P. VI, 2, 76.)

tāntu-vāyaḥ

संज्ञायां च (P. VI, 2, 77.)

tāntu-vāyaḥ "a kind of insect, spider".

गोतन्तियवं पाले (P. VI, 2, 78.)

gō-pālaḥ | tānti-pālaḥ | yava-pālaḥ

णिनि (P. VI, 2, 79.)

puṣpa-hārī

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतयेव (P. VI, 2, 80.)

uṣṭra-kroṣi | dhvāṅkṣa-rāvi

युक्तारोह्यादयश्च (P. VI, 2, 81.)

yuktā-rohī | āgata-yodhī | āgata-nardī | āgata-prahārī |
kṣīra-hōtā | bhāginī-bhartā | āśva-trirātraḥ | garga-trirātraḥ |
samapādaḥ

दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे (P. VI, 2, 82.)

kuṭijah | kāsajah | tuṣajah | bhrāṣṭrajah | vāṭajah

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः (P. VI, 2, 84.)

mālla-grāmaḥ

घोषादिषु च (P. VI, 2, 85.)

dākṣi-ghōṣaḥ | dākṣi-kaṭaḥ | dākṣi-piṅgalaḥ | kunda-
tṛṇam | āśrama-muniḥ

छात्र्यादयः शालायाम् (P. VI, 2, 86.)

chātri-śālā | āli-śālā | bhāṇḍi-śālā

प्रस्थेऽवृद्धमकर्षादीनाम् (P. VI, 2, 87.)

indra-prasthaḥ

मालादीनां च (P. VI, 2, 88.)

mālā-prasthaḥ | śoṇā-prasthaḥ

अमहन्नवं नगरेऽनुदीचाम् (P. VI, 2, 89.)

brahma-nagaram

अमे चावर्णं यच् त्र्यच् (P. VI, 2, 90.)

guptārmanam | kukkūtārmanam

1. In their origin, the accentuation of these compounds at least, on the initial syllable of the first member might have been due to analogy with these determinative compounds which logically preserved the original word accent of the first member that was on the initial syllable. This guess is tenable, for, as Brugmann records (see section 672 of Vol. I of the Comparative Grammar) we have a number of such changes in accentuation due doubtless to analogy.

Examples—For *ganvās I. du. 'we come' (from *gn-uās) came ganvās after the singular ~~ganvā~~ like gānti; the formal similarity with the forms, accented on the root, which had arisen phonetically, occasioned this innovation, cf. alongside these ga-thās ga-tās etc. Presents with original ā in the root syllable, as

आदिश्चिह्णादीनाम् (P. VI, 2, 125.)

cihāṇa-kantham| māḍura-kantham

In all probability the determinative compound-accentuation passed through these two stages in the stress-dominating period of the primitive Indo-European tongue.

When pitch came to preponderate, replacing the original stress, the accent on the initial syllable of the determinative compounds must have slowly been displaced by a rhythmical accent and the next definite stage we can mark in determinative compound-accentuation definitely is the one where the last syllable of the first member comes to bear the accent.

Historic survivals of these may be brought under such sūtras of Pāṇini as have to be read together with the अधिकारसूत्र—

अन्तः (P. VI, 2, 92.)

These sūtras are the following:—

सर्वं गुणकास्त्वै (P. VI, 2, 93.)

sarva-śvetah| sarva-mahān

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः (P. VI, 2, 94.)

añjanā-girih

कुमार्या वयसि (P. VI, 2, 95.)

vṛddhā-kumārī| jarāt-kumārī

उदकेऽकेवले (P. VI, 2, 96.)

guḍodakam

द्विगौ क्रतौ (P. VI, 2, 97.)

garga-trirātraḥ| kusuravinda-saptarātra-s| caraka-trirātra-s

One of the earliest compounds representing this stage of determinative compound-accentuation is probably the compound viśva-śambhavam (Rv. I, 23, 20.).

bhārāmi, caused the accent in those verbs whose root syllable had unaccented 'a' to pass over to the root syllable; gacchāmi 'I come' from *gñ-skho (cf. icchāmi pchāmi etc.).

Sāyaṇa, in spite of his pronounced predilection to take the compounds in which the word Viśva occurs as the first member, as epithetised compounds generally¹ is forced, however, unwillingly, though at least for a time, to interpret this compound as a dependent Tatpuruṣa. Says he:—सर्वस्य जगतः सुखकरम् एतन्नामकं चाग्रिम् । It is of great interest to note how Sāyaṇa struggles to explain the accentuation of this compound. Says he:—व्यत्ययेन पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् ।

This passage may present to any one considerable difficulty and is likely to confuse. I despaired and was about to give up the attempt to successfully interpret this small bit in Sāyaṇa as lost, when my most revered professor Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppaswami Śāstrigal kindly gave me the correct interpretation of the passage in question and that is the following:

“By the सामर्थ्य of the word व्यत्यय in the passage, two meanings have to be got. We first arrive at the sense that the original accent of the first word is retained anomalously in the compound Viśvaśambhavam though the compound is Tatpuruṣa. But this is not enough, for the original accent of the word Viśva is on the first syllable (Viśvaśabda being kvan-pratyayānta) by the sūtra “ञित्वादिर्नित्यम् (Pāṇini, VI, 1, 197).

So by व्यत्ययेन we have to take again that this original accent (being on the first syllable) of विश्वशब्द in the compound, is further anomalously shifted to the end of the first word by the Vārtika under the sūtra of Pāṇini ‘परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्’ (P. VI, 2, 199.)²

Sāyaṇa had already quoted this sūtra in a previous passage.³ Hence he does not quote it here again. (on Rv. I, 23, 20).”

(This interpretation of the passage व्यत्ययेन पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं in Sāyaṇa is justified also in the light of his comments on the

1. See in support of this remark Sāyaṇa's comments on Rv. I, 35, 4a; I, 160, 1a; 4b; I, 9, 7 etc.

2. Though this sūtra and Vārtika under it are obviously intended to explain the irregularity in the matter of epithetised compound accentuation alone, see below towards the end of this paper.

3. In his comments on Rv. I, 9, 7.

accent of the determinative compound *viś-patni* (Rv. I, 12, 2.) where also he drags the sūtra *परादिश्छन्दसि बहुव्रीहि* (P. VI, 2, 199.) which is in all likelihood intended by Pāṇini to explain the anomaly in accentuation of some epithetised compounds only.

Sāyaṇa says here:

“पत्यविश्वर्ये” इति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरे प्राप्ते “परादिश्छन्दसि बहुव्रीहि” इत्युत्तरपदाद्युदात्तत्वम् ।

As any one can easily see, Sāyaṇa must have been quite naturally dissatisfied with his own explanation of the accentuation of the compound *Viśva-śambhuvam* when it is taken to be *Tatpuruṣa*. So he suggests another alternative by which the compound is taken as *Bahuvrīhi* when the anomalous accentuation can be easily explained by the following sūtra of Pāṇini.

“बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम्” (P. VI, 2, 106.)

However, it is remarkable that Sāyaṇa was very much inclined to regard the compound *Viśva-śambhuvam* as a *Tatpuruṣa*, though for satisfactorily explaining its accent according to his own light, he rather reluctantly took it as *Bahuvrīhi*, falling in line with his usual practice of regarding generally the compounds in which the word *Viśva* occurs as the first member, as epithetised compounds.¹

सभायां नपुंसके (P. VI, 2, 98.)

gopāla-sabham | *strī-sabham*

पुरे प्राचाम् (P. VI, 2, 99.)

devadatta-puram | *kārṇī-puram* | *nāndī-puram*

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च (P. VI, 2, 100.)

ariṣṭa-puram | *gauḍa-puram*

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले (P. VI, 2, 102.)

kusūla-bilam | *kūpa-bilam* | *kumbha-bilam* | *śāla-bilam*

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु (P. VI, 2, 103.)

1. To this same stage of determinative compound accentuation belongs also the compound—

devedyam (Rv. X, 64, 3.)

pūrveṣukamaśamī | *aparā-kṛṣṇamṛttikā* | *pūrva-pañcālāḥ* | *pūrva-yāyātam* | *pūrva-cānarāṭam*

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि (P. VI, 2, 104.)

pūrva-pāṇinīyaḥ
(compare VI, 2, 36 of Pāṇini, quoted below.)

उत्तरपदबृद्धौ सर्वं च (P. VI, 2, 105.)

sarva-pañcālakah | *aparā-pañcālakah*?

(To be continued.)

1. *Karmadhāraya* compound formed by Pāṇini's sūtra II, 1, 58.

2. It should be noted that Pāṇini proceeds to enumerate those *Bahuvrīhi* compounds which accent the final syllable of the first member in the next five sūtras from P. VI, 2, 106 to P. VI, 2, 110.

SOME TERMS OF KAUTALIYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA
IN THE LIGHT OF COMMENTARIES.

BY

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(1) *Parihāra*.

Dr. Shama Śāstri's translation of the verse,

Paracakrāṭacīgrastam vyadhūrbhikṣapīditam|
Deśam pariharedrāja vyayakrīḍāśca vārayet||

in (Book II, chapter 1, in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya runs thus:—The king shall avoid taking possession of any country which is liable to the inroads of enemies and wild tribes and which is harassed by frequent visitations of famine and pestilence. He shall also keep away from expensive sports." This rendering may be said to be untenable for the reasons that it is not in the nature of Kauṭalya to ask the *vijigīṣu* to desert the country which is harassed by enemies and wild tribes and that there is no point in saying, in one and the same śloka, that a king should leave the disturbed country alone and also keep away from expensive sports. Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri's interpretation viz., *deśam . . . , paracakrādibhyo dūrīkuryāt*¹ (the king shall protect the country from the inroads of enemies, etc.) is strained. Both the scholars take the verb '*pariharet*' in the verse in its ordinary sense 'shall avoid', while the Malayalam commentary² and the Cāṇakyaṭikā³ explain it to mean 'shall make remission of

taxes'. This interpretation is not only appropriate to the context but also in consonance with the statement made by the author in the chapter on 'Remedies against national calamities' (IV. 3) that the king should support the people when they are afflicted from any kind of calamities as a father his sons.¹ The noun form *parihāra* is commonly found to convey the sense 'remission of taxes, and it appears that the author takes the verbal form also in that sense. In the light of these remarks, I would propose—the following rendering of the verse:—The king shall avoid levying taxes in the country which is troubled by enemies and wild tribes, or affected by disease and famine, prohibiting the people therein from expensive amusements.

(2) *Varca*.

The Malayalam² commentary which invariably quotes the metrical portion of the text reads *varcānām* instead of *varjānām* in the closing verse of Book II, chapter 8, Koṣṭhakaṅgaṇa-*varjānām agnikuṭṭanaśālayoḥ| Vivṛtānām ca sarveśām sāmānyo bhoga iṣyate||* and explains it to mean 'latrine'. Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri who closely followed this commentary for his edition of the work has noted this reading in his Sanskrit commentary but not allowed it to go into his text probably because the word *varca* ending in *a* is not common in Sanskrit. He takes *varjānām* in the sense of 'latrine' for which, however, no authority is given.³ I think that *varcānām* can be taken as an archaic usage of Kauṭalya and *varjānām* a corrupt reading; and it can be explained as 'latrine' as done by the Malayalam commentary. Again, commenting on the passage, *Sarveśām śālā-khātodaṇāvacca snāna-grha* in Book II, chapter 5, the same commentary says that the *śālās* of the treasure house etc, should be provided with ditches, wells, latrines, bathrooms etc. The Cāṇakyaṭikā on the Arthaśāstra has the following note on the passage, *Sarveśāmīti kośa-grhādīnām, śālāḥ khātādibhiryuktāḥ, odaṇānam śarīrasthityartham, varcogrham ucchvāsabhūmih.*

written by Bhikṣuprabhāmati. Quotations of Sarvānanda in his commentary on Amarakośa (Tri. Skt. Series, No. 38) under the name of Cāṇakyaṭikā are traceable in this work.

1. सर्वत्र चोपहतान् पितेवानुग्रहीयात् (IV, 3).

2. Tri. Skt. Series, No. 80, p. 50.

3. The word 'avaskara' also is used in the Arthaśāstra in the sense of 'latrine'. Compare Kāśikā on Pāṇini, VI, 1, 148.

1. Tri. Skt. Series, No. 79, p. 115.

2. Manuscripts of the commentary are available in the Oriental Mss. Library, Trivandrum and Madras. It extends from the beginning to the end of the 7th Adhikaraṇa, and paraphrases in ancient Malayalam the commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmin and leaving the faulty readings it is as good as its Sanskrit original in reconstructing the text.

3. This is another ancient commentary in Sanskrit on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya. A copy of this work running up to the end of Book III, chapter I, is found in the Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras. From the colophon at the close of Book II, chapter 3, it can be seen that it was named Cāṇakyaṭikā and

In the light of these notes, the passage can be reconstructed thus:—*Sarveṣāṃ kālāḥ khātopāpāna-varca-snanagrha*, etc., where evidently *varca* stands for 'latrine'. The passage restored above throws light on the meaning of the word *vaca* of Aśoka inscription (R. E. VI). It is rendered 'secret retreat' by Senart, 'latrine' by Bühler and 'closet' by Smith. Jayaswal (I. A. 1918, pp. 53-55) objects to this rendering saying that "no king in his senses would ask officers to announce the business of suitors in his latrine". According to him, *vaca* stands for *vraja* which is used in the Arthaśāstra in the sense of 'herd of cattle, whether of horses, or camels and so forth'. Vidhusēkhara Bhaṭṭācārya (I. A. 1910, p. 55) also takes *vaca* as equivalent to *vraja*, but explains it as 'road', on the ground that *vaca* itself cannot mean 'latrine' and *vacakūṭi* is used in Pāli in that sense. As *varca* is found to occur in the Arthaśāstra¹ in the sense of 'latrine' and as *vaca* is more allied to *varca* than *vraja*, the rendering of the word as 'latrine' by Western scholars may be taken as correct. In explaining an ancient text, evidence of usage seems to be a better authority than our common sense.

If *varcagrha* or *varcabhūmi* (*vacabhūmi*) can be accepted as 'latrine', the word *vaca-bhūmikās* of Aśoka inscription (R. E. XII), I think, may tentatively be rendered as officers in charge of sanitation.

(3) *Daśabandha* and *Pañcabandha*.

Doctors Shama Śāstri and Gaṇapati Śāstri take the word *daśabandha* to mean '10 times' in the passage, *Yathakālam anāgatānam apustanvikānam vā deyadaśabandho daṇḍaḥ* (Book II, chapter 7). According to them, the passage would show that the adhyakṣas who fail to present themselves at the proper time for remittance or bring with them the cash book or the amount shall pay a fine of ten times the amount due from them. In other words, if the annual revenue to be remitted into the royal exchequer by an adhyakṣa be a lac of rupees, any delay in remittance on his part or failure to produce the cash book, will bring on him a penalty of no less than 10 lacs of rupees. It is incredible that Kauṭalya whose rule regarding punishment is that it should be just and reasonable and in proportion to the gravity of the offences, should have prescribed such an abnormally high penalty for a minor fault. The rendering also contradicts the subsequent passage, *Akṣatāhorūpaharam māsam akāṅkṣeta-māsād ūrdhvaṃ māsadvīsatottaram daṇḍam dadyāt*, where an adhyakṣa

who did not prepare the daily accounts is allowed a month for its preparation, and fine is imposed on him only after the lapse of one month. Again, *pañcabandha* is understood by both these scholars to mean '5 times' in the passage, *Nivīm . . . bhakṣayato'-ṣṭaguṇaḥ Nāśayataḥ pañcabandhaḥ pratidānam ca* in the same chapter which is explained as the accountant who eats up the revenue shall be fined 96 paṇas, and he who destroys it shall not only pay a fine equal to 5 times the amount lost but also make good the loss. Here also it is apparent that the rendering into '5 times' brings in great disparity between the penalties for offences of more or less the same nature. *Daśabandha* occurs in four more places and *pañcabandha* on six other occasions in the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra and it can be seen that the interpretation put on the words by the above scholars does not fit in, in the passages that contain the words. A clue to the correct interpretation of the words is, however, found in a passage in the Arthaśāstra itself. With regard to non-payment of wages to servants by masters, the author says *Vetanādāne daśabandho daṇḍaḥ ṣaṭpaṇo vā. Apavyayamāne dvādaśapaṇo daṇḍaḥ pañcabandho vā* (Book III, chapter 13), that is the master who fails to pay wages to servants shall be fined *daśabandha* or 6 paṇas and the servant who, after receiving payment, denies it shall be fined *pañcabandha* or 12 paṇas. As *daśabandha* and *pañcabandha* are mentioned here as equivalents in value to 6 and 12, it is clear that the proportion between the numbers denoted by the words should be 1: 2, which is possible only if they are taken in the sense of one tenth and one fifth. The commentaries,¹ both Sanskrit and Malayālam, explain the words as *daśamabhāga* (1/10) and *pañcamabhāga* (1/5). The terms also occur in Manu and Yājñavalkya and the commentators,² one and all, are found to take them in the sense of 1/10 and 1/5. It is, therefore, certain that *daśabandha* means one tenth and *pañcabandha* one fifth.³

1. तत्रेति—प्रतिबन्धे प्रतिबन्धद्रव्यदशबन्धो दशभागो दण्डः । (Bhaṭṭasvāmī, II, 8.) and देयदशबन्ध इति—आयस्य यद् विशुद्धा नीवी देया तस्य दशभागः सप्तसहस्रेषु सप्तशतानि विनाशयतो रक्षाशैथिल्याद् अनाहतस्य पञ्चबन्धो नष्टपञ्चमो भागः . . . । (Cāṇakyaṭīkā, II, 7.)
2. दशबन्धो दशमभागः । (Medhātithi on Manu, VIII, 107.) सप्तदशबन्धकं दशांशस्याधिकमित्यर्थः । (Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkya, II, 75.) पञ्चबन्धः पञ्चमो भागः (Ibid. II, 175.)
3. The interpretation of *daśabandha* as *daśaguṇa* by VIII—46

Dr. Shama Śāstri says that the interpretation of *pañcabandha* as one-fifth by Viṣṇānēśvara cannot be accepted, as much as *pañcabandha* is less than *daśabandha* as shown by the contrast that Kaṭyāya draws between those words in the passage, *Parasparābhrye caigām uttamāḥ paroḥkṭā daśabandham dadyuh, avarāḥ pañcabandham* (Book III, chapter 11). The author has, of course, drawn a contrast between the words in the above passage but not in the sense in which the learned translator has taken them. He has misinterpreted the passage thus:—“If the above persons (masters and servants, etc.) sue each other, they shall be punished with the highest amercement. Creditors guilty of *paroḥkṭā* shall pay a fine of 10 times the amount; but if incapable to pay so much, they shall, at least, pay five times the amount sued for.” Dr. Shama Śāstri takes ‘*uttamāḥ*’ in the sense of *uttama-sāhasa-daṇḍa* (the highest fine). The use of the word in the plural in that sense is found nowhere else in the Arthasāstra. Again, to say that Kaṭyāya imposes the highest fine on a master who sues against his servant, is, to say the least, doing injustice to that ancient author. *Uttamāḥ* means ‘the first’ or ‘the former’ (in the pairs, masters and servants etc., in the previous passage), as in *Prayojyānām uttamāḥ kāmbojaka-saindhavāraḥ (aja-rūnāyajaḥ śeṣāḥ pratyavarāḥ* (Book II, chapter 30). Again, *avarāḥ* in the passage as found in the Mysore edition, is a palpable error for *avarāḥ* which means ‘the latter’ or ‘the inferior’ (servants etc. in the pairs). The word *Paroḥkṭā* does not mean ‘an offence’ as taken by Dr. Shama Śāstri. It is not found in the extant smṛti literature, nor even in the lexicons, but the commentaries explain it as ‘defeat’ or ‘defeated party in lawsuits’; and parallel passages in Smṛtis also use the words ‘*parājaya*’ and ‘*hīna*’ in the place of *paroḥkṭā*.²

Dr. Ganapati Śāstri seems to be based on a faulty reading of the Malayālam commentary.

1. परोक्तदण्डः पराजयदण्डः पञ्चवन्धः । (Cānakyaṭika, IV, 1.)

2. Compare ‘साक्षिणः सन्ति मेत्युक्त्वा दिशेत्युक्ते दिशेन्न यः ।

धर्मस्थः कारणैरतैर्हीनं तमपि निर्दिशेत् ॥’

(Manu, VIII, 57.)

with ‘प्रतिज्ञाय देश निर्दिशेत्युक्ते न निर्दिशति. इति

परोक्तदण्डः ।’ (Arthasāstra, III, 1.) and also

‘स चेत् विपक्षात् प्रब्रूयाद् धर्मं प्रति पराजितः’ (Manu, VIII, 58.) with

‘विपक्षाद् ऊर्ध्वम् अप्रतिब्रूवतः परोक्तदण्डं कृत्वा’ । (Arthasāstra, III, 1.)

In the light of these remarks, I would render the passage thus:—
In a lawsuit between these persons (masters and servants etc.), if the former (masters etc.) fail, they shall pay a fine of one-tenth of the amount sued for; if the latter (servants etc.) fail, they shall pay a fine of one-fifth of the amount. The rule *Paroḥkṭādaṇḍaḥ pañcabandhaḥ* (Book III, chapter 1) lays down that a fine of one fifth of the amount sued for is leviable from all defeated parties in law suits, while a distinction is made in the case of masters etc., and the fine is reduced to one-tenth, when they get defeated in a suit against servants etc.

In commenting on this passage, Dr. Ganapati Śāstri says that the defeated master should pay *daśabandha* to the servant and the defeated servant *pañcabandha* to the master.¹ This comment amounts to saying that the successful party shall recover not only the amount sued for but also one tenth or one fifth more from the defeated party which seems to be unreasonable.² *Daśabandha* or *pañcabandha* being a *daṇḍa* (penally paid in cash) it is appropriately the king’s share; and it goes under *durga*, one of the principal sources of income (*āyasarīra*) of the state. This point is not clear in Manu (VIII, 107) and Yājñavalkya (II, 75), but the commentators explicitly state that the fine denoted by the words is payable to king.

(To be continued)

1. Tri. Skt. Series, No. 80, p. 68.

2. The Malayālam commentary has the note on the passage, ‘the defeated master etc., should pay *daśabandha* to *svāmī*’, where *svāmī* means ‘king’; while the Trivandrum commentary has taken it to denote ‘master’.

SŪKTAŚLOKĀḤ.

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This small work containing only nine stanzas, is attributed to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the famous poet, philosopher, scholar and bhakta of Malabar, the author of *Prakriyasarvasva*, a work on grammar,¹ *Mānimeyodaya*, a work on *Mīmāṃsā*,² *Narāyaṇīya*, a devotional work³ and many short *Kāvya*s. He is also famous as a vedic statistician; and this work shows his command of vedic statistics.

The *R̥gveda* consists of over ten thousand stanzas divided into 1017 sūktas. These sūktas are grouped into ten Maṇḍalas. Parallel to this, there is another division of the *R̥gveda* into eight Aṣṭakas. Each Aṣṭaka is divided into eight Adhyāyas. And the Adhyāyas are subdivided into Vargas. In this division, it will be noticed that the end of every sūkta marks also the end of a Varga. Thus some sūktas may have only one Varga, some may have two and some more. A sūkta never ends in the middle of a Varga.

In the following stanzas, the author gives the number of Vargas in each of the Sūktas in the *R̥gveda*. Of the nine stanzas, the first is only introductory; in this he gives the directions for finding out the number of Vargas in a given sūkta. Then in the remaining eight stanzas, he gives the number of Vargas contained in the Sūktas of the eight Aṣṭakas.

1. A commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtras, published as No. 106 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by Pandit K. Sambasiva Sastrigal.

2. Edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as No. 19 by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastriar, also edited with translation and notes by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri in the T. P. H. Oriental Series, Adyar, Madras.

3. Edited as No. 18 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastriar.

In each of these eight stanzas, there are eight places where the letter ऋ appears, and this marks the end of an Adhyāya. I have noted the places by putting the corresponding numbers above the syllables. Every consonant has a value. The system of notation is what is current in South India. The letters क to झ represent the numbers 1 to 9. Similarly the letters ट to थ also represent the numbers 1 to 9. The letters प to म represent the numbers 1 to 9. The letters य to र represent the numbers 1 to 5. And the letters ऌ to ॡ represent the numbers 1 to 8. There are two distinct *l* sounds in the South Indian languages, which can be written as ल and ॢ. The first has the value of 3; the second is usually placed in the alphabets of South Indian languages after ह; and as such it is given the value of 9. The letters ञ and ण usually represent 0. But here the letter न stands for 10. The letter श is taken in the alphabets of the South Indian languages as a distinct letter and usually it has the value of 6, ण having the value of 6. But here the author gives it the value of 12. The syllable प्र means here a pair of sūktas each having two Vargas. If there is a conjunct consonant, the first consonant indicates the number of Sūktas having the same number of Vargas and the second consonant indicates the number of Vargas in each of those Sūktas. These are the general directions which the author gives in the first stanza.

Notes on Stanza.

1. Every consonant stands for a certain number. The scheme of notation is what is current in South India.
2. The letter ऋ shows that an Adhyāya ends. All the places where the letter occurs are marked by the number of the Adhyāya whose end it indicates.
3. The first letter in a conjunct consonant indicates the number of Sūktas having the same number of Adhyāyas (which number is indicated by the second member of the conjunct consonant). Thus in द्वे which is the second syllable in stanza 2, द shows the number of Sūktas having the same number of Vargas, namely 8, and र shows the number of Vargas in each of these eight Sūktas, namely 2.
4. The letter श indicates the number 12.
5. The letter प्र shows that there are 2 Sūktas each having 2 Vargas. Thus the first syllable in stanza 2, which is प्रो, shows that the first 2 Sūktas have 2 Vargas each.
6. The letter न indicates the number 10.

नत्वा विभञ्जरादीन् कथमपि च मया कथ्यते व्यञ्जनोक्त्या
 मूक्तानां वर्गसंख्या स्फुटामह तु तकाराक्षरध्यायपूर्वी ।
 युक्तायं तुन्यमूक्तान्युपदिशतु भवेद्वादशोक्तौ श्वकारः
 प्रेति स्याद्द्विद्विकोक्तौ भवतु च दशसंख्याभिधायी नकारः ॥ १ ॥

प्रोद्रेकादीतिरूपे विमलवरगिरा पूर्वगीते गुरुरो
 भार्गवश्रीगौरिगुप्तखिलपुरमगुरुप्रयम्बेर्यागतौ गाः ।
 खेलेष्टाभ्राह्मरागोत्तरपटुभिरुरुह्याप्रमैवाखिलाभिः
 प्रेड्या विप्रप्रवर्यरुरयमतिभी रूपिणी मेऽग्रगा स्तात् ॥ २ ॥

लोलोयार्थकल्पा रुपितपकरगीप्राज्यरूपिण्यतुन्या
 गाढालीना वतगैखररिपुपटलरेककल्पाप्रयार्ता ।
 पृष्ठालोलेप्रपर्यायितपटुभगमीस्फोटकाभातुल्यार्था
 गौरी पैरार्यलोलालुपितकरयोवीर्यभोगौ व्रतास्तु ॥ ३ ॥

श्रीरूपाख्याद्यरागाकलितविभुवलिष्टोत्तरा प्रेर्यपुण्यः
 प्राणौघाभाति^३ यापि प्रयकुलभुवि लोलार्तुला प्रेड्यकायाम् ।
 पाटीराभाभिरक्तस्फुटपटुकमलोदोत्तरास्फुरेखां
 रेख्यप्रख्येयकायः पटुरतिरकृपापूरकायादियेताम् ॥ ४ ॥

पुष्पाख्यप्रापिकोलोखितरुरिकृपाकौटरी वल्लरीका
 तुर्योक्तौ योगलीलागुरुकटका भारती याद्वपारा ।

प्रेर्यप्रख्यः प्रकारापररतिरखरान्यावनान्तैर्गुरुद्रा
 कान्तं स्याद्याशुचीडाचितंविचलबलप्रेड्यखेलागतिः स्तात् ॥ ५ ॥

प्रख्योऽप्रेष्टावमातौ^१ भुकुटिपटपटुह्यापिगौरी कुमारी
 तारप्राज्योरुमल्लतुरयपटुपूज्येष्टवाटीपरीतौ ।

रम्याभाः प्रेक्ष्यते^२ या प्रकटिपटपटार्याः पुरारे कुटीरे
 पापापङ्क्तिः^४ कृपारामसदमभृति^५ हेळासु मोषीकरोतु ॥ ६ ॥

पटुसर्गे रागवासाशितविषचणेशाभिपौर्यागतो^६ वे
 वेलावर्याभ्रकासेचिदतुभगभावेऽभ्रगे भूतैर्वर्गे ।

गोवलिश्रीरतीत्रा पटपटुककुचा सुप्रभालितरूपा
 रागाभोगोप्ररुद्रोत्तरयपटुयास्यन्यका पुण्यकीर्तिः^७ ॥ ७ ॥

न्यस्यर्चर्चैर्चर्चं स्फुटितपटुकपुण्यैरिनैरीज्यते^३ या
 व्यामोक्षप्रेरिते^४ डैरपकुटिलमृगप्रायका रम्यपूर्तिः^५ ।
 कोटीरायाडुरेखाकुलगडुललर्ताकारखेला कुटीरे
 रामारं रोगरेफा तुंगबलरयो लीलयाप्रे रतास्ते ॥ ८ ॥

रेखाप्रायारिपूरे पुरटपरिरामार्तरं लोललीला
 भ्रातृप्रेयोऽग्ररूपे कटपटकलितोभे शिवे गण्डितो^६ धैः ।
 गूढोप्राप्रेखातां रुररिपरिरखश्रीप्रतिष्ठे कुटीरे
 पाल्येयाज्यासैकेज्या पटुकटकपुटिज्यार्यकाज्या कृपाज्या ॥ ९ ॥

Of these nine stanzas, the first is introductory and the remaining eight stanzas give the number of Vargas in the various Sūktas of the eight Aṣṭakas. I give below a chart showing the number according to the stanzas. Each column in the chart represents the Adhyāyas in the Aṣṭakas. Against each of the syllables in the stanzas, I give the corresponding number. When a number is given as 2×2, it means that the 2 Sūktas have 2 Vargas each. If one number alone is given, it represents the number of Vargas in that one Sūkta. For easiness of reference I give, before the syllables, the number of the Sūkta according to the Maṇḍala division. I have also given the number of Sūktas and the number of Vargas in each of the Adhyāyas, at the foot of the column. On the top, I have given the number of Sūktas and the number of Vargas in the various Aṣṭakas. The total number of Sūktas is 1017 and the total number of Vargas is 2006.

AṢṬAKA I.

Maṇḍala I. 1 to Maṇḍala I. 121.

No. of Sūktas 121. No. of Vargas 365.

1, 2 प्रो 1×2	20	रू 2	33	गु 3	47	खि 2	62	गा: 3	81	र 2	95,96 प्र 2×2	113	मो 4
3-10 दे 8×2	21	प 1	34	रू 2	48	ल 3	63	खे 2	82	प 1	97-99 व्या 3×1	114	रू 2
11 का 1	22	वि 4	35	रो 2	49	गु 1	64	ले 3	83	उ 1	100 वि 6	115	वि 1
12-19 प्रो 8×2	23	म 5	36	भा 4	50	र 2	65-70 व्या 6×1	84	भि 4	101,102 प्र 2×2	116	मो 5	
(त)	24	ल 3	37,38 न 2×3	51	ग 3	71-74 आ 4×2	85	रू 2	103,104 प्र 2×2	117	मे 5		
25	25	व 4	39-43 प्रो 5×2	52	गु 3	75-78 व्या 4×1	86	रू 2	105 व 4	118-120 प्र 3×2			
26	26	र 2	44 नो 3	53	रू 2	79	रा 2	87,88 व्या 2×1	106,107 प्र 2×1	121	गा 3		
27	27	नि 3	45 दे 2	54,55 प्र 2×2	80	मो 3	89,90 प्र 2×2	108 रू 2	(स्ताव)				
28	28	रा 2	46 गु 3	56,57 प्र 2×1	(त)		91 मे 5	109 रू 2					
29	29	पू 1	(व्या)	58 खे 2			92 वा 4	110 र 2					
30,31 व 2×4				59,60 प्रो 2×1			93 खि 2	111 य 1					
32	32	मो 3		61 ग 3			94 ला 3	112 म 5					
		(दे)		(ता)			(वै:)	(वि)					
19	37 13	38 14	35 15	29 19	31 14	32 18	37 9	26					

AṢṬAKA II.

Maṇḍala I. 122 to Maṇḍala III. 6.

No. of Sūktas. 119. No. of Vargas. 221.

122	लो	3	137	प	1	158-	166	गे	3	184-	पृ	1	9	प	1	24	ला	3	37	क	1
123	लो	3	138	क	1	160	व्या 3×1	ख	2	185		10		उ	1	25,26	वाँ 2×1	38	र	2	
124	ला	3	139	र	2	161	गा	3	168	र	2	190	वा 6×2	म	4	27	गौ	3	39	र	2
125,126	वाँ 2×1	140		गौ	3	162	डा	4	169	रि	2	191	लो	ग	3	28	री	2	40	यो	1
127-130	अ 4×1	141,142		प्र 2×2	163		लो	3	170	पु	1		13	गौ	3	29	वो	1	41	वो	4
131	क	1	143-150	ज्य 8×1	164		ना	10	171	प	1	1	लो	स्वो 7×2	30	रा	2	42,43	अ 2×1		
132-134	व्या 3×2	151		रू	2	165	व	3	172	ट	1	2-4	अ 3×2	ट	1	31,32	अ 2×1				
135	रू	2	152	पि	1		(ता)	लो	3	5		प	1	का	1	33	लो	3	1	मो	4
136	पि	1	153-157	अ 45×1				रे	2	6,7		वाँ 2×1	23	भा	4	34	ला	3	2	नौ	3
	(त)			(वु)				क	1	8		पि	1	(वु)		35	लु	3	3-6	अ 4×2	
								क	1		(त)					36	पि	1		(ताखु)	
								177-179	व्या 3×1								(त)				
								180-182	अ 3×2												
								183	वा	1											
								(ता)													
15	26	21	27	8	26	18	29	16	29	15	32	13	25	13	27						

AṢṬAKA III.

Maṇḍala III. 7 to Maṇḍala V. 8.

No. of Sūktas. 122. No. of Vargas 225.

7-11	श्री 5×2	30	वि	41	40	रा	2	56	या	1	5	ला	3	19,25	खु	7	2	33	रो	2	51	र	2
12	रू	2	31	मु	4	41,42	प्रे	2×2	57	वि	1	6,7	प्रे	2×2	26	३	2	34	रू	2	52	रू	1
13	पा	1	32	ब	3	43,44	धं	2×1	58,59	प्र	2×2	8-10	ल्य	3×1	27	प	1	35	रू	2	53	पा	1
14-17	ल्य	4×1	33	लि	3	45	पु	3	60	य	1	11	का	1	28	उ	1	36	रे	2	54	प	1
18-25	य	8×1	34-39	हो	6×2	46-50	प्यः	5×1	61	कु	1	12	याम्	1	29	क	1	37	लो	2	55	र	2
26	रा	2	(त)	(त)		51,52	प्रा	2×2	62	ल	3	13	पा	1	30	म	5	38	रे	2	56	का	1
27	गा	3				53	नौ	5	1	उ	4	14	दी	1	31	लो	3	39,40	ल्य	2×1	57	वा	1
28	क	1				54	धा	4	2	वि	4	15	रा	2	32	हो	4	41,42	प्र	2×2	58	३	२
29	लि	3				55	भा	4	3	लो	3	16	भा	4	(त)			43,44	ल्य	2×1	१-७	३	२
(त)							(ति)		4			17	भि	4				45	य	1	८	वे	1
								(बु)		ला	3	18	र	2				46	का	1		(अम्)	
												(क)						47	यः	1			
																		48	प	1			
																		49	उ	1			
																		50	र	2			
																		(ति)					
23	34	10	26	16	31	11	25	14	26	14	30	18	27	16	26								26

SŪKTAŚLOKĀḤ

AṢṬAKA IV.

Maṇḍala V. 9 to Maṇḍala VI. 61.

No. of Sūktas. 140. No. of Vargas 250.

9	गु	1	33	र	2	47,48	वो	2×1	63	या	1	2	र	2	17,18	नं	2×3	29-35	स्या	7×1	48	वि	4
10-15	प्रा	6×1	34	र	2	49	कौ	1	64-71	४	8×1	3	ख	2	19	र	2	36-43	या	8×1	49	ब	3
16-24	व्य	9×1	35	रे	2	50	यो	1	72	पा	1	4	रा	2	20-27	दा	8×2	44	शु	5	50	ल	3
25,26	प्रा	2×2	36	कू	1	51	ग	3	73	रा	2	5-14	प्रा	10×1	28	का	1	45	नौ	6	51	ब	3
27	वि	1	37	पा	1	52	लो	3	74,75	प्रे	2×2	15	व	4	(नं)			46	डा	3	52	ल	3
28	को	1	38	कौ	1	53	ला	3	76,77	धं	2×1	16	ना	10				47	चि	6	53,54	प्रे	2×2
29-31	ल्ले	3×3	39	ट	1	54	गु	3	78,79	प्र	2×2	(नं)						(न)			55-58	ल्ल	4×1
32	लि	2	40	री	2	55	र	2	80,81	ल्यः	2×1										59	ले	2
	(न)		41	व	4	56	र	2	82,83	प्र	2×2										60	ला	3
			42-44	ल्ल	3×3	57	र	2	84	का	1										61	ग	3
			45	री	2	58	क	1	85	रा	2										(निस्ताव)		
			46	का	1	59	ट	1	86	प	1												
				(बु)		60	का	1	87	र	2												
						61	भा	4	=														
						62	र	2	1														
							(ती)																
24	33	14	28	16	31	26	36	15	30	12	25	19	35	14	32								

AṢṬAKA V.

Maṇḍala VI. 62 to Maṇḍala VIII. 11.
No. of Sūktas. 129. No. of Vargas 238.

62,63	प्र 2×2	2-5	सु 4×2	20	र 2 36	र 2 60	र 2 81	वा 1 101	कु 1 101	1 5	हे 8
64,65	ल्यो 2×1	6	कु 1	21,22	प्र 2×2	र 2 61-65	म्या 5×1	82,83	प्र 2×2	1 6	का 9
66-68	प्रे 3×2	7	दि 1	23-30	ज्यो 8×1	य 1 66	भा: 4 84	क 1 103	रा 2 7	2 7	स 7
69-74	ष्टा 6×1	8	प 1	31	र 2 39	प 1 67,68	प्रे 2×2	85	दि 1 104	5 8	मो 5
75	व 4 9		र 1 32	म 5 40	ड 1 69-80	प्र 12×1	86	प 1 1	स 7 9	7 9	चो 4
1	मा 5 10		प 1 33-35	हा 3×3	41	प 1	(ने)	87	र 1 2	8 10	क 1
	(तो)		ड 1	42-49	ज्यो 8×1	प 1		88	प 1 3	5 11	रो 2
	12,13	ल्यो 2×1	वि 1	50-55	ष्ट 6×1	वा 4		89,91	म्या 2×1	4	(ड)
	14	पि 1	मो 3	56	भा 1	ग 1		90,91	वा 2		
	15	रो 2	कु 1	57	शो 1	र 1		92	ग 1		
	16	रि 1	मा 5	58	प 1	र 1		93	रा 2		
	17	रि 1	मा 5	59	रि 1	र 1		94	र 2		
	18	रि 1	मा 5					95	कु 1		
	19							96	शो 1		
								97	र 2		
								98	वा 1		
								99	वा 1		
								100	प 1		
15	27 18	30 16	30 24	30 21	27 20	25 8	33 7	30			

AṢṬAKA VI.

Maṇḍala VIII. 12 to Maṇḍala IX. 43.

No. of Sūktas 124. No. of Vargas 313.

12	ष्ट 6 21	वि 4 32	पे 6 46	व 6 57	व 4 71-74	4×2	87	रू 2 13	र 2
13	स 7 22	वि 4 33	वे 4 47	म 4 58,59	ने 2×3	75	प 1 88	वा 1 14	र 2
14,15	ने 2×3	व 6 34	ला 3 48	ग 3 60	मो 3 76	र 1 89	रा 2 15	य 1	1
16	रा 2 24	व 6 35	व 4 49	भा 4 61	व 4 77	प 1 90	गा 3 16	प 1	1
17	ग 3 25	ने 5 36,37	वो 2×1	वे 4 62-64	हि 3×3	ड 1 91	मो 4 17	ड 1	1
18	वा 4 26	शा 5 38-41	प्र 4×2	51-54	प्र 4×2	क 1 92	मो 3 18	वा 1	1
19	सा 7 27	वि 4 42	का 1 55	ने 3 70	र 2 80	कु 1 1-3	19-25	व्य 7×1	7×1
20	शि 5 28	चौ 1 43	से 7 56	मू 4	(तो)	4 5-12	प्र 3×2	26-35	व्य 10×1
	(व)	29,30	वो 2×1	वि 6		7 36	का 1	37	पु 1
		31	ग 3 45	द 8		(व)	38-42	व्य 5×1	5×1
			(तो)				43	की 1	1
9	40 11	40 14	49 11	36 14	38 16	38 18	39 31	33	

To make this article complete, I am giving below three more stanzas which too comprise vedic statistics. These stanzas are also attributed to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.

1. जानन्नपि द्विषा मोदं सयज्ञः पातना नरः ।

रसं भिन्नाय मांसादो नरस्तस्य जलाधिपः ॥

No. of aṣṭakas	जानन्	8
" " maṇḍalas	अपि	10
" " adhyāyas	द्विषा	64
" " anuvākas	मोदं	85
" " sūktas	सयज्ञःपा	1017
" " vargas	तनानरः	2006
" " Ṛks	रसंभिन्नाय	10472
" " ardharcas	मांसादोनरः	20875
" " words	तस्य जलाधिपः	193816

2. स्यान्नः श्रीर्या मधुरानाथस्यात्मा पयोऽब्धिकन्याभूत् ।

चलगात्री दिव्येड्या सा विष्णोः कामिनी पुष्ट्यै ॥

No. of Vargas having:	13 ardharcas: त्री	2
2 ardharcas: स्या	14 " दिव्येड्या	118
3 " नः	15 " सा	7
4 " श्री	16 " विष्णोः	54
5 " र्या	17 " का	1
6 " मधु	18 " मि	5
7 " रा	19 " नी	0
8 " नायास्या	20 " पु	1
9 " त्पाप	21 " ष्ट्यै	1
10 " योब्धिकन्या		
11 " भूत्	Total—2006	
12 " चलगा		

3. कीदृग्द्विजेन्द्रैकपदायुचां च संख्याविभागो नृपतिश्च कीदृक् ।

षट्त्रः समीड्योऽस्त्रनिधिः प्रकृत्या नासाधुकृत्प्राज्ञदितोऽधेकज्ञः ॥

No. of Ṛks	of 1 pada:	षट्त्रः	6
" " "	" 2	समीड्यो	157
" " "	" 3	स्त्रनिधिःप्र	2902
" " "	" 4	कृत्यानात्ता	7011
" " "	" 5	धुकृन्प्रा	219
" " "	" 6	ज्ञहि	80
" " "	" 7	तोधि	96
" " "	" 8	कज्ञः	1
			10472

SUBHŪTICANDRA'S COMMENTARY
ON THE AMARAKOŚA.

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D.,

Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

Subhūti-Candra, the Buddhist is a comparatively old commentator on the Amarakośa. Till recently the work was known only through references to it in the commentaries of Makuṭa, (1431 A.D.) Bhānujī (1600 A.D.) and others and through a partially preserved translation of the work in Tibetan. The peripatetic search party of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras recovered a big fragment of the commentary extending from almost the beginning to the end of the first varga in the second Kāṇḍa. The manuscript is numbered R. 2933 (1-35-44) and consists of 205 pages. The work bristles with innumerable references to several ancient works and authors, many of whom are unknown or little known to us to-day. The following is a complete list of the authors and works mentioned in the commentary.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Abhidharmakośaṭīkā. | 20. Bopārita. |
| 2. Āgama. | 21. Brhatkathā. |
| 3. Ajaya. | 22. Budhaśataka. |
| 4. Āmaradatta. | 23. Candragomin. |
| 5. Amaramālā. | 24. Citralekhā. |
| 6. Anekārthakośa. | 25. Cittaṭṭa. |
| 7. Āścaryamañjarī. | 26. Damayantīkathā. |
| 8. Bhāgavṛtti. | 27. Daṇḍiyamaka. |
| 9. Bhāguri. | 28. Daṇḍyalatnakāra. |
| 10. Bhānumatī. | 29. Dhamañjaya. |
| 11. Bharata. | 30. Dattila. |
| 12. Bhārata. | 31. Dharanī. |
| 13. Bhāṣāvṛtti. | 32. Dharmadāsa. |
| 14. Bhāravi. | 33. Dhātupradīpaṭīkā. |
| 15. Bhāṣyakāra. | 34. Gīrivilāsa. |
| 16. Bhāṣyaṭīkā. | 35. Gomin. |
| 17. Bhaṭṭi. | 36. Gomin Dhātupāṭha. |
| 18. Bhojarāja. | 37. Gopālita. |
| 19. Bhūpālacarita. | 38. Govardhana. |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 39. Govardhana Vṛtti. | 79. Pūrṇacandra. |
| 40. Govardhana Uṇādi Vṛtti | 80. Pūrṇacandrādhātupārā- |
| 41. Halāyudha. | yaṇa. |
| 42. Hārāvali. | 81. Puruṣottama's U ṇ ā d i |
| 43. Hariprabodha. | Vṛtti. |
| 44. Harṣacarita. | 82. Puruṣottama's Durghaṭa. |
| 45. Jānakīharaṇa. | 83. Puruṣottama's Vṛtti. |
| 46. Jānakīrāghava. | 84. Rabhasa. |
| 47. Jātakamālā. | 85. Raghu. |
| 48. Jayāditya. | 86. Raghukāra. |
| 49. Jinedra. | 87. Raghuṭīkā. |
| 50. Jñāpakasamuccaya. | 88. Rakṣita. |
| 51. Kādambārī. | 89. Rakṣitādhātupradīpa. |
| 52. Kālidāsa. | 90. Rāmadāsa. |
| 53. Kāmandakīya. | 91. Rāmāyaṇa. |
| 54. Kappañābhyaṇḍaya. | 92. Ratnakośa. |
| 55. Kāśikā. | 93. Ratnamatī. |
| 56. Kātantraviśeṣa. | 94. Rudra. |
| 57. Kātantravyākaraṇa. | 95. Rudra's Rūpamañjarī. |
| 58. Kātya. | 96. Rudradāsa. |
| 59. Kātyāyana. | 97. Śabdārṇava. |
| 60. Kāvyaḍarśa of Vāmana. | 98. Śākāṭyana. |
| 61. Kīcakavadha. | 99. Śālihotra. |
| 62. Kumārasambhava. | 100. Sāmbapurāṇa. |
| 63. Mādhava's Paryāyaratna- | 101. Sārasaṅgraha. |
| mālā. | 102. Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa. |
| 64. Mādhavikāma. | 103. Śāśvata. |
| 65. Māgha. | 104. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. |
| 66. Mahārṇava. | 105. Sūryaśataka. |
| 67. Mālatīmādhava. | 106. Sūryasiddhānta. |
| 68. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. | 107. Tārapāla. |
| 69. Murāri. | 108. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. |
| 70. Nalodaya. | 109. Uddyotakara. |
| 71. Nāmamālā. | 110. Uṇādi Vṛtti. |
| 72. Nārada. | 111. Ūṣmabheda. |
| 73. Nāṭakaprakriyā. | 112. Vallabha. |
| 74. Nāṭakaratnakośa. | 113. Vallabha's Māgha Vyā- |
| 75. Nyāsakāra. | khyā. |
| 76. Pālakāpya. | 114. Vāmana. |
| 77. Pāṇinīyadhātupārāyaṇa. | 115. Vāmana's Liṅgānuśāsana. |
| 78. Prākṛtānuśāsana of Can- | 116. Vararuci. |
| dragomin. | 117. Vararuci's Prākṛtasūtra. |

118. Varnadeśana.

119. Vasavadatta.

120. Vayupurana.

121. *Venūsaṃhāra*.

122. Vibhaktasavarman

123. Vidagdhamukhamandana.

A short account of the life of the late J. J. YASOMISIA.

works and a number of some of the most important of these

works and authors is given below. The most

is given below:-

ABSTRACT

THE JOURNAL OF PHARMACOKINETICS AND PHARMACODYNAMICS

This is by Yačemižan, 1963.

words: *by* *rasolmsra*. It is referred to in the following

- words:—

11

समिद्धं निबध्यत कावामः ॥

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follows:

as follows.

॥ कृष्णं नमः कर्ता विषय

विना शरीर य. पत्ता न.

2. P. 156.

In other verses attributed to him we find a Kuntaleśvara referred to. The Bhūpākarita here referred to might have been a biography of either Bhoja or the Kuntaleśvara, who ever he might have been.

The Gaṇaratnamahodadhī quotes two verses of Cittapa.

The name Cittapa is variously spelt as Cittapa, Chittapa, Chittipa, Chinnama, Chitrana etc.

BUDHAŚATAKA.

The Budhaśataka should have been a kāvya full of Anuprāsas and Yamakas. One reference to that work is found here. It reads:

अनुभुवनगुरोहं साहोद्विग्रहः¹ ।

The name of the author of the Śataka is not known.

CITRALEKHĀ.

The Citralekhā represents one of the varieties of Kathā, known as Upakathā. The work is found referred to in works like Śṛṅgāraprakāśa etc. In the work under notice it is referred to thus:—

चरितं विचित्रमन्यत् सोपकथाचित्रलेखादिः² ।

DAMAYANTĪKATHA.

This is a kāvya of the type of the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu. This work is referred to thus:

साह्याधिकेव साङ्गा सोच्छ्वासापि गद्यपद्यमयी ।

दमयन्तीवासवदत्तादिरिहोच्यते.....³ ॥

GIRIVILĀSĀ.

This is a kāvya apparently on Śiva. The only quotation found so far justifies this surmise. The quotation is as follows:—

यो विभर्ति जटाजूटगाढखण्डोरगोज्झिताम् ।

आशीमिव कलामिन्दोर्गङ्गानिर्णयनीमिव ॥⁴

GOVARDHANA.

Apart from an Upādi-Vṛtti, Govardhana seems to have commented upon the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. The reference is as follows:—

1. P. 10. 2. P. 95. 3. P. 95. 4. P. 149-150.

तथा च श्रविष्ठादिसूत्रे [पा. ४. ३. ३४] गोवर्धनः—षड्-
दधातीति षड्दन षड्दा संज्ञायां षष आ धस्य च टुत्वं अषाढः असोढो
नासाढः (?) वारविरत्रेति षत्वम् एत आत्वं निपातनात् इति ॥¹

His Upādi-Vṛtti is referred to twice.

JANAKĪRAGHAHA.

This is evidently a kāvya on the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The only quotation from the work runs as follows:—

लङ्कासमृद्धमापन्नः क्रीडारण्येषु पुष्पकः ।

सीते लोहितपत्रस्त्वाम् अशोकोऽसौ हरिष्यते ॥²

KĀTANTRAVYĀKARAṆA.

The Kātantra-Vyākaraṇa is usually attributed to Śarvavarman. The Kṛt portion is said to have been written by Katyāyana and Subhūti records the same tradition. He says:—

पदरुजकिशस्पृशोचां हि घञ् इति कातन्त्रव्याकरणे कात्यायनसूत्रम्³

KĀVYĀDARŚA.

The Kāvyaśālikārasūtravṛtti of Vāmana is referred to herein as Kāvyaśārśa. The passage runs thus:—

तदुक्तं काव्यादर्शे वामनेन “दुर्गन्धिमदादिपदे इत्समासान्तो दुर्लभः
सुन् [उत्पू] इत्यादिसूत्रे दुःशब्दस्य पाठात्”⁴ ।

It is worth noting that Śarvānanda too refers to this passage of from the Kāvyaśālikārasūtravṛtti (p. 183, Vani Vilas Edn.) as from Kāvyaśārśa.

MĀDHAVĪKAMA.

The Mādhavikāma seems to have been a work like the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa. It is instanced along with the Harṣacarita as a typical Ākhyāyikā in the following words:—

कन्यापहारसङ्गरसमागमाभ्युदयभूषितं तस्याम् ।

नायकचरितं ब्रूते नायक एवास्य वानुचरः ॥

वक्त्रापरवक्त्रवती सोच्छ्वासा संस्कृतेन गद्येन ।

साह्याधिकेति कथिता माधविकाहर्षचरितादि ॥⁵

1. P. 58-9. 2. P. 16-7.
3. P. 172-3. 4. P. 82. 5. P. 94.

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NĀṬAKAPRAKRIYĀ.

The following quotation from a work called Nāṭakaprakriyā is found on page 116 of the manuscript. The citation runs as follows:—

प्रेष्ये हञ्जति वाच्या तु गणिकाचाञ्जुं कति च ।

समानश्च वयस्येति हण्डेत्येति चाधमे ॥

The Nāṭakaprakriyā is a work otherwise unknown.

NĀṬAKARATNAKOŚA.

There are three references to a work called Nāṭakarātṇakośa. The following extracts are cited from that work.

समापनं सम्यगर्थानां प्रस्तुतानां महौजसाम् ।

नानाभावोत्तराणां च भवेन्निर्वहणं तु तत् ॥¹

महादेवी परिष्कारसमाह्वाने समुत्सुका ।

हञ्जे चेटीं प्रति प्राह हलायां च सखीं प्रति ॥

हण्डे नीचस्तु नीचेषु सौम्येति प्रियकारिणि ॥²

लीलाविलासो विच्छित्तिः विभ्रमः किलिकिञ्चितम् ।

मोहायितं कुट्टमितं विम्बोको ललितं तथा ॥

विकृतं चेति विज्ञेयाः स्त्रीणां चेष्टाः स्वभावजाः ।

भावश्च हेलविक्षेपमौग्ध्यमदपतनाद्यपि ॥³

The author of this work is different from Kumbhakarna who wrote several Ratnakośas, of which the Nāṭakarātṇakośa too was one. The present work should be much older. The other works wherein references to this work or found are the commentaries on the Amara by Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānuji.

PURUṢOTTAMA.

Puruṣottama is credited with several works in this commentary. The are:—

1. The Uṇadisūtra-Vṛtti.

2. The Durghaṭa.

3. The Durghaṭa-Vṛtti.

4. Raghuṭīkā.

The Uṇādi-Vṛtti is referred to as follows:—

तन्दीर्घलृरिगोलिशकुलिहल्यावलिधूलिः इति गोवर्धनपुरुषोत्तमो-
णादिवृत्तौ⁴ ।

1. P. 115.

2. P. 116.

3. P. 132.

4. P. 144.

Ujjvaladatta refers to Puruṣottama's commentary on the Uṇādi.

Puruṣottama seems to have composed a work called Lakṣya-lakṣaṇa Durghaṭa, a work known through a single reference, which reads as follows:—

उक्तं च लक्ष्यलक्षणदुर्घटे पुरुषोत्तमेनैव¹ ।

The Vṛtti is the Bhaṣavṛtti, available in print.

The Raghuṭīkā, a commentary on the Raghuvarṇśa by Puruṣottama is mentioned in the following words:—

त्रिकाण्डशेषे तु पुरुषोत्तमेन.....तेनैव रघुटीकायम् “गेये केन विनीतौ वाम्” इत्यत्र व्याख्यातम् ; वामिति युवामित्यर्थः ; युशब्दस्तु वृत्तभङ्गात्लुप्तनिर्दिष्टः यथा दिङ्नाग इत्यर्थे² ॥

RATNAMATI.

Ratnamati, the grammarian, is older than Vardhamāna, the author of the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi. Rāyamukuṭa cites extracts from this author in several places. Two citations from the work of Ratnamati are found in this work and they suggest that the author should have composed some sort of a commentary on the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Ratnamati, as the name suggests was a Jain. The following are the references to Ratnamati:—

“ध्रु स्थैर्ये” इति क्षिपकादिसूत्रे रत्नमतिः ॥³

एतच्च “मूर्तौ घनः” इत्यत्र रत्नमतिनाप्युक्तम् ॥⁴

VALLABHA.

Vallabhadeva, the commentator on the Māghakāvya is one of the earliest commentators on Māgha. He was the grandfather of Kayyaṭa, the famous grammarian, and author of a commentary on the Devīśataka of Ānandavardhana. The latter work was written about 976 A. D. and his grandfather should have been older by at least fifty years. The Māghavyākhyā should have been written about the beginning of the tenth century, A. D. Vallabha's teacher was Prakāśavarṣa and he should be distinguished from the author of the Rasārṇavālaṅkāra. This Vallabhadeva is different from the compiler of the Subhāṣitāvali.

114. VĀMANA.

Vāmana's Kāśikāvṛtti is referred to several times. Three of the reference are to the Liṅgānuśāśana⁵ of Vāmana published in the Gaekwad Series.

1. P. 105.

2. P. 23.

3. P. 30.

4. P. 156.

5. Pages 55, 168, 198.

VOPALITA.

Vopālita is a lexicographer of some antiquity. The name of this writer is variously spelt as Vopahita, Bopahita, or Gopahita. There are six¹ extracts from the lost lexicon of Vopālita. The first, second and fourth of these extracts are from the *pūrvakāṇḍa*² of the lexicon of Vopālita. The work of Vopālita should have contained at least three *kāṇḍas*, *pūrvakāṇḍa*, *strikāṇḍa* and *klibakāṇḍa*. The last of the extracts makes possible another conjecture (i.e.) that the lexicon should have been one of synonymous and that in the arrangement, the author should have followed Śāśvata who gave the first place to synonyms which could be arranged in full verses, then to *ardhas*, and then to *pādas*. Vopālita is older than 1100, A. D.

VYĀDI.

Two references to Vyādi are seen here. Both are from the lost lexicon of Vyādi. The extracts are:—

शुच्युज्ज्वलास्तु शृङ्गारो वीर उत्साहवर्धनः ।³

कुवलयमुपलं स्यात् नीलमिन्द्रीवरं हि तत् ॥⁴

1. P. 56, 85, 141, 173., 194, 200.

2. P. 120.

3. P. 182.

4. “विपुवत् समरात्रिवासराः” इति पुंस्काण्डे बोधालितः । p. 56.

“कल्पापश्चित्रकिम्भीरो धूसरो क्लिग्धपाण्डुरो” इति पुंस्काण्डे बोधालितः ।

“शम्बूको जलशुक्तिस्तु” इति पुंस्काण्डे बोधालितः । p. 173.

p. 85

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY SERIES NO. 6. CITRAPRABHA, A COMMENTARY ON HARIDIKṢITA'S LAGHUSABDARATNA—BY BHAGAVATA HARI SASTRI, PANDIT, VIZIANAGARAM SAMASTHANAM, EDITED WITH NOTES BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA TATA SUBBARYA SASTRI, HEAD PANDIT, MAHARAJA'S SANSKRIT COLLEGE, VIZIANAGARAM—PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY, WALTUR, pp. 450. Rs. 4. 1932.

The Citraprabhā is a commentary on the Laghuśābaratna, which is itself in turn, a commentary on the Prauḍhamanoramā of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. It is known to most of us that the Śābdaratna is a tough work, requiring elucidation in several places. Paṇḍita Bhāgavata Hari Śāstri, the author of the work, like others, felt the need for an exposition and has rendered a distinct service to the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra by giving the world a good and authoritative commentary. The work has no pretensions to antiquity, for the author lived between 1811-1898; but the work shows in a remarkable degree the extent to which the torch of Śāstraic learning has been kept up.

The Editor of the work, Mahamahopadhyaya Tata Subbarya Sastri is one of the few authorities on the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra, now living. That he has edited the work vouches for the accuracy of the edition. The service rendered to the cause of Sanskrit by the Maharaja of Bobbili by making a princely donation to the Andhra University, ear-marked for the furtherance of Sanskrit and Telugu learning is one, for which every one of us ought to be grateful.

T. R. C.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY SERIES NO. 9.—ANDHRA MIMAMSA NYAYA MUKTAVALI—A TREATISE ON PURVA MIMAMSA DARSANA BY K. GOPALAKRISHNAMMA M.A., L.T. LECTURER IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES, GOVERNMENT ARTS COLLEGE, RAJAHMUNDY, PUBLISHED BY THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY, WALTUR, pp. 244, Rs. 2. 1933.

Mr. Gopalakrishnamma is already familiar to the Andhra public as the author of the two treatises Āndhrāmīmāṃsāpari-

bhāṣā and Andhramīmāṃsārthaśāstramu. The volume under review is another work on the same subject. The Andhramīmāṃsānyāya-muktāvalī is a Telugu rendering of the famous Sanskrit manual of Apadeva, the Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśika. The author has successfully attempted at presenting the principles of the Mīmāṃsāśāstra in a form intelligible to those that are not sufficiently familiar with Sanskrit. The explanatory notes added under technical words will be found to be of great help in understanding those terms. Mr. Gopalakrishnamma has done a distinct service to the Andhra public by this work.

T. R. C.

INDIAN CULTURE—JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE 55, UPPER CHITPORE ROAD, CALCUTTA, ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION Rupees 6 or 10 shillings.

This is a welcome addition to the Journals of Indological research published in India in recent years. It is a quarterly Journal; and so far, three parts have been issued, beginning with the July number of 1934. It deals, in a scholarly spirit, with a large variety of topics relating to the cultural life of ancient and medieval India. The articles that have appeared in the first three issues stand at a commendably high level of critical scholarship and justify the hope that the standard set up in the first three numbers will be maintained in the future issues of the Journal.

ED.

THE JOURNAL OF VEDIC STUDIES. EDITED BY PROFESSOR RAGHU VIRA, M.A., PH.D. D. LITT. ET. PHIL. S. D. COLLEGE, LAHORE AND FIVE OTHER DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS (VOL. I, NO. I, 1934), ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION Rs. 12 or 20 shillings.

This periodical is devoted to the publication, in instalments, of critical editions of important works representing the Vedic literature of India. The works to be published in this periodical are expected to be of immense value in understanding and reconstructing various phases of the cultural history of ancient India.

ED.

வன்மை மென்மை கடுமை யென்ற
முதுமை யின்மை சிறத்த விழித்தல்
புதுமை பழுமை யாக்க மென்ற
இன்மை யுடைமை நாற்றந் தீர்தல்
பன்மை சின்மை பற்று விடுதலென்று
அன்ன பிறவு மதன்பால மென்மனார்.
Vaṇṇam vaṭivē y-aḷavē cuvaiyē
Taṇmai vemmai y-acca m-eṇṇrū
Naṇmai tīmai ciṇumai ṣerumai
Vaṇmai meṇmai kaṭumai y-eṇṇrū
Mutumai y-ilamai ciṇatta l-ilittal
Putumai paḷamai y-āḷka m-eṇṇrū
Iṇmai y-uṭaimai nāṇṇu tīrtal
Paṇmai ciṇmai paṇṇu viṭutal-eṇṇrū
Aṇṇa pīraṇu m-aṭaṇ-pāla v-eṇṇmaṇār.

They say that the ablative case denotes colour, shape, measure, taste, coolness, hotness, fear, goodness, badness, smallness, largeness, hardness, softness, ferocity, agedness, youth, superiority, inferiority, newness, oldness, source, absence, presence, smell, separation, many-ness, few-ness, absence of attachment etc.

Ex. *Vaṇṇam.*

Kāḷkaiyir karitu kaḷam-paḷam.

(The fruit named kaḷam-paḷam is blacker than crow.)

Vaṭṭam.

Itaṇi vaṭṭam atu.

(It is more round than this.)

Aḷam.

Atu itaṇi neṭitū.

(It is longer than this.)

Cuvai.

Auvaikkīnta nelli-k-kaṇi amiṭṭinum iṇitū.

(The nelli-fruit offered to the poet Auvai was sweeter than ambrosia.)

Taṇmai.

Nīriṇum taṇṇitu putalvar totukai.

(Children's touch is cooler than water.)

Vemmai.

Veyiliṇuṇi kaṭitū avar col.

(His word is hotter than sun.)

J

Accam.

Kaḷḷarīṇ aṇcum.
(He is afraid of thieves.)

Naymai.

Niṇṇiṇu nalla naṇre (Pura. 66).
(He is not at all better than you.)

Timai.

Iranta vekūḷiyir rite ciṇanta
Uvakai maḷiḷeciyir cōrvu (Kuraḷ, 531).
(Forgetfulness on account of extreme joy is worse than
boundless anger.)

Ciyumai.

Atu itaṇiṇ ciṇitū.
(It is smaller than this.)

Perumai.

Ārppelu kaḷaliṇum peritū (Pura. 81).
(Uproar was bigger than the roar of the seven seas.)

Vaymai.

Atu itaṇiṇ valitū.
(It is harder than this.)

Meṇmai.

Nīriṇu m-iṇiya cāyal pāri (Pura. 105).
(Pāri more tender than water.)
Malarīṇu mellitu kāmam (Kuraḷ, 1289).
(Sentiment of love is more tender than flower.)

Kaṭumai.

Avāṇ-col urumiṇuṇ kaṭitū.
(His word is more dreadful than thunder.)

Mutumai.

Kaṇṇaṇiṇ mūltōr paṇai-k-koḷiyon.
(Bakurāma was older than Kaṇṇaṇ.)

Iḷamai.

Nammir poruṇaṇu m-iḷuyāṇ (Pura. 78).
(The warrior is younger than we.)

Ciṇattal.

Tammir periyār (Kuraḷ, 444).
(Those who are superior to themselves.)

Iḷittal.

Atu itaṇiṇ iḷittatū.
(It is inferior to this.)

Putumai.

Atu itaṇiṇ putitū.
(It is newer than this.)

Paḷamai.

Atu itaṇiṇ paḷaiyatū.
(It is older than this.)

Ākkam.

Poruḷ vāṇikattiṇākum.
(Property is acquired by trade.)

Iṇmai.

Varunta-k-kāṇṭa l-ataṇiṇu m-ilamē (Pura. 61).
(We see them suffer much less than that.)

Uṭaimai.

Avāṇ ivāṇiṇ uṭaiyaṇ.
(He possesses much more than this man.)

Nārram.

Atu itaṇiṇ nārum.
(It will smell better than this.)

Tirtal.

Teṇ-pulaṇi kāvali ṇ-orī (Pura. 71).
(Having been deprived of the rule of Pāṇṭiyaṇ land.)

Ciṇanta.

Pēr-ama r-uṇka ṇ-ivaḷiṇum pirika (Pura. 71).
(May I be bereft of this superior and noble lady (of mine)
who has beautified her eyes with collyrium.)

Paṇmai.

Eṇ-kō vāḷiya.
Naṇṇīr-p paḷḷuḷi maṇaliṇum pala-v-ē (Pura. 9).
(May our king live for years greater than the sands of
the river Paḷḷuḷi with clear water.)

Ciṇmai.

Avārrir cila ivai.
(These are fewer in number than they.)

Paruvitūtal.

Avāṇ kāmattir parru-vittāṇ.
(He has turned his mind from love.)

79. ஆறு குவதே,

அதுவெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி
தன்னிலும் பிறிதினு மிதன திதவெனும்
அன்ன கிளவிக் கிழமைத் ததவே.

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Ārā kucalē,
 Alu-veṇa-p peyariya vēṇumai-k kilaṇ
 Tanninum pīṇiṇu m-ilāṇa t-ilu-veṇum
 Anna kilaṇi-k kilaṇai t-atu-ē.

The sixth case called *alu-veṇumai* denotes the relation between an object and its inseparable elements or between one object and another.

Ex. Alitō tāṇē Pāriyatu parampē (Pura. 109).

[The Parampu (name of a hill) of Pāri (name of a chieftain) deserves our pity.]

Marratū

Tunṇarūṇ kaṭāṇ pōla (Pura. 94).

(Like the state of other elephants in rut.)

Note.—1. The *kilaṇai* or relation denoted by the genitive case is of two kinds:—*tar-kilaṇai* or the inseparable relation as of an object with its parts, qualities, actions etc. and *pīṇiṇ-kilaṇai* or the separable relation as between a master and a servant, a lord and his property etc. Ḥampūraṇar classifies *tar-kilaṇai* under five heads:—*onru-pala-kulīya-tar-kilaṇai* or the relation of many with one of the same sort, as *ellatu kuṇṇai* (the heap of gingelly seed); *vēru-pala-kulīya-tar-kilaṇai* or the relation of one made up of things of different sorts, as *paḷaiyatu kuḷam* (the collection of army—which consists of different things—cavalry, elephants, chariots and foot-soldiers—); *onriyār-kilaṇai*, or the relation of an object and its quality, or its state, as *cāṭṭaṇatu fennmai* (the greatness of Cāṭṭaṇ) *uṇṇiṇ-kilaṇai* or the relation of an object and its part, as *cāṭṭaṇatu kaṇ* (eyes of Cāṭṭaṇ); and *meṇ-tirintāya-tar-kilaṇai* or the relation of an object and its transformed state as *cāṭṭaṇatu mūṭṭamai* (the advanced age of Cāṭṭaṇ). Cēṇavaraiyār repeats the same. Naccinārkkinīyar quotes *Atupāl-urimaiyum* *atūṇṇar-kilaṇai* as the sūtra of Agastya in support of this. Pīṇiṇ-kilaṇai, Cēṇavaraiyār classifies, under three heads:—*Poruṇiṇ-kilaṇai* or the relation of different objects, as *kapilaratu pāṭṭi* (the stanza composed by the poet Kapilar), *kāḷṭatu yāṇai* (elephants of the forest), *nīlattiṇ-kilaṇai* or the relation of an object and the land occupied by it, as *yāṇaiyatu kāṭu* (the forest of elephants) and *kāḷattiṇ kilaṇai* or the relation of an object and the time, as *veḷḷiyatu āṭci* (the period of rule of Venus).

Note 2.—All the commentators from Ḥampūraṇar to Teyvacilaiyār mention in their respective commentary that 'a' should be taken as the genitive suffix if the noun governed is plural as

cāṭṭaṇa yāṇai-kal (the elephants of Cāṭṭaṇ). Similar usage is found in earlier works. For example there is a sentence '*kaliru avara kappuṭaiya kayam paṭiyūnai*' in the 15th stanza of Pura-nāṇūṇi, which means 'you have enabled the elephants to plunge into their tanks which are well guarded. Here 'a' in *avara* does not seem to be the genitive case-suffix. Strictly speaking '*avara kayam*' means 'the tanks which belonged to them', where the word '*avara*' is a *kuṇṇiṇ-viṇaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* in the same way as '*avara*' in '*kayam avara*' is a *viṇai-k-kuṇṇiṇ*. Similarly the word *kappuṭaiya* here is a *viṇaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* as the word *uṭaiya* in *tūm-uṭaiya neṇcam* (Kural, 1299) (the hearts which they have) and means those who had protection. Originally *uṭaiya* was used in such cases where the noun governed was in plural number and later on by confusion it began to be used as a genitive suffix whether it is followed by a noun in the plural or singular number. There are two reasons for such confusion:—

(1) The *aṇṇai* nouns like *kayam* may have the same form both in singular and plural, on the strength of the sūtra

Terinilai y-uṭaiya v-aṇṇai y-iyar-peyar
Orumaiyum paṇmaiyeum viṇaiyotu varumē.

(Tol. Col. 171.)

(2) The *viṇai-k-kuṇṇiṇ* and the *viṇaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* have the same form. For instance in the sentence '*kayam avara*' *avara* is a *viṇai-k-kuṇṇiṇ* and the final 'a' in '*avara*' is the plural ending sanctioned by the sūtra

A ā va eṇa varūu m-iṇṇi
Aṇṇai mūṇṇē pāla-v-aṇi collē. (Tol. Col. 9.)

So also is 'a' in *avara* in the sentence '*avara kayam*'. Hence in later Tamil 'a' in '*avara kayam*' was taken to be a genitive case-suffix.

Note 3.—Dāmōdaraṇ Pillai's edition of Cēṇavaraiyam reads '*Niṇkum-atāṇṇi-kilaṇiyiṇ-ṇōṇṇum*'. Śaiva siddhānta edition reads '*Niṇkum kilaṇiyiṇ-ṇōṇṇum*'. The latter seems to be the correct one.

80. இயற்கையி னுடைமையின் முறைமையிற் கிழமையின்
 செயற்கையின் முதுமையின் வினையி னென்ற
 கருவியிற் றுணையிற் கலத்தின் முதலின்
 ஒருவழி யுறப்பிற் குழவி னென்ற
 தெரிந்துமொழிச் செய்தியி னிலையின் வாழ்ச்சியின்
 திரிந்துவெறு படுஉம் பிறவு மன்ன

கூற்ற மரத்திற் றேன்முன் னினவி
 ஆறன் பரவ வென்மரத் துலவி.
Iyarkaiyi n-uṭaimaiyiṉ muraimaiyir
Ceyarkaiyiṉ mutumaiyiṉ viṇaiyi n-cuṛā
Karuviṉ ruṇaiyir kalattiṉ mutaliṉ
Oru-vaḷi v-uṇuppiṉ kuḷuṇi n-cuṛā
Terintu-moli-c-eytiṉ ṇalaiyiṉ vāccaiyiṉ
Tirintu-veṇ paṭṭum piṇaṇu m-aṇṇa
Kūṛiya maruṇṇir rōṇṇuṇ kiḷavi
Aṇṇ paḷu v-cuṇaṇṇar paḷavar.

Wise men say that the sixth case denotes the nature, possession, relationship, connection, action, advanced state, effort, instrument, association, document, capital, limb, collection, composition, state, residence and the rest which come under the category of the species of relation.

Ex. *Iyarkai.*

Cāttanatu iyarkai.
 (Cāttan's nature.)

Uṭaimai.

Cāttanatu uṭaimai.
 (Cāttan's possessions.)

Muraimai.

Āvinatu kaṇṇu.
 (Cow's calf.)

Kiḷamai.

Cāttanatu kiḷamai.
 (Cāttan's relation.)

Ceyarkai.

Cāttanatu ceyarkai.
 (Cāttan's deed.)

Mutumai.

Avanatu mutumai.
 (His advanced state.)

Viṇai.

Avanatu viṇai.
 (His attempt.)

Karuvi.

Cāttanatu vāḷ.
 (Cāttan's sword.)

Tuṇai.

Avanatu tuṇai.
 (His associate.)

Kalam.

Cāttanatu orri-k-kalam.
 (Cāttan's lease-deed.)

Mutal.

Cāttanatu mutal.
 (Cāttan's capital.)

Oruvali-y-uṇuppu.

Yāṇaiyatu kōṭu.
 (Elephant's tusk.)

Kuḷū.

Paṭaiyatu kuḷū.
 (Collection of army.)

Terintu-moli-c-eyti.

Kapilaratu pāṭṭu.
 (Kapilar's stanza.)

Nilai.

Cāttanatu nilai.
 (Cāttan's state.)

Vāccai.

Yāṇaiyatu kōṭu.
 (Forest where elephants dwell.)

Note 1.—Teyvaccilaiyār mentions that the statement *Kūṛiya-uṇṇir-rōṇṇuṇ-kiḷavi* in the seventh line of the sūtra suggests suffix *uṭaiya*. But this sūtra should be taken to specialise the ning of the sixth case as the sūtras 72, 74, 76 and 78 do, of second, third, fourth and fifth, case respectively.

81. எழா குவதே,

கண்ணெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கினவி
 வினையெய் யிடத்தி னிலத்திற் காலத்தின்
 அனையகைக் குறிப்பிற் றேன்று மதுவே.

Ēḷā kuvalē,

Kaṇ-ṇ-ṇa-p peyariya vēṇṇumai-k kiḷavi

Viṇai-cey y-iḷatti ṇilattiṉ kālattiṉ

Aṇai-vakai-k kuṇṇippiṉ rōṇṇu maṭu-v-ē.

The seventh case called the *Kaṇ-vēṇṇumai* denotes the place time of action.

Ex. *Kiḷ-p-pā l-oruvaṇ kaṇṇi*

Mēṇ-pā l-oruvaṇu m-avan-kaṭ paṭumē. (Pura. 183.)

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

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

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

Q. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

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

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

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

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— . . . The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review," November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppaswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . .

"New India," 20th December, 1926.— . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.— . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . . .

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.— . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions.



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