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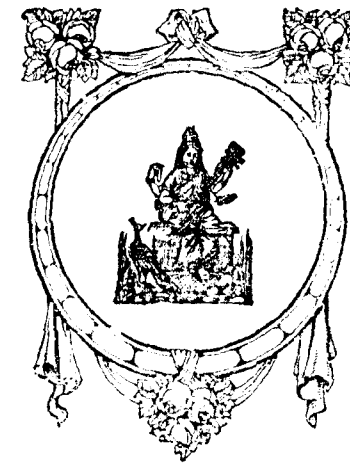
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GRĀMA.

AN EXAMINATION OF A NEW INTERPRETATION.

BY

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Dr. Prāṇ Nāth has proposed a new interpretation of the word *grāma*. He says:¹ "I have shown that the word *grāma* or other synonymous term used in those (old Hindu) records does not mean village, town or city, but an estate, or a 'survey village' or *mauza*. I believe this to be the first time that such an interpretation has been assigned to the word *grāma*." It will be readily admitted that if the new interpretation of Dr. Prāṇ Nāth be well-founded and if it stands the test of criticism, we may have to revise many of the current notions on matters relating to the details of social, economic and political life of Ancient India; and it is the object of this paper to examine the nature of the evidence adduced by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth for his view and the soundness of his interpretation.

It may be observed at the outset that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth appears unconsciously to overstate his case when he claims to have shown that the word *grāma* does not mean village, town or city. It would be enough for his purpose to prove that *grāma* also means 'an estate' in some of its uses, besides meaning 'a village' (no one has ever supposed that it meant a town or city) in its other applications. For his main object is to find a rational way of understanding the numbers attached to the names of countries and districts,² like Banavāsi 12,000 and Raṭṭapāḍi 75,00,000 in the inscriptions mainly of the Kārnāṭaka country. This he may proceed to do without seeking to deny the correctness of the meaning in which the word *Grāma* has been most persistently applied since the Vedic times in all the literature of the country, all

seven. A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India by Dr. *grāma* b. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XX, 1929 p. 3. may well *it*. p. 24.

secular and religious, viz. a village.¹ And it would seem that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's regret that "all the translators of the ancient Indian law books should have committed the mistake of translating *grāma* everywhere by the English word 'village'" is somewhat misplaced. It will be shown below that the legal texts quoted and discussed by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth are easily understood by interpreting *grāma* in the usual sense and that they do not receive any fresh elucidation from the new sense discovered by our author.

The figures quoted above have exercised the minds of several writers before, and despite Dr. Fleet's protest against it,² the interpretation that has received more general acceptance than any other is that these figures have reference to the revenue resources of the regions concerned, probably assessed and standardised at some time and in a manner of which we have, as yet, no information. In dealing with the Administration of the Mysore country under the early Hindu rulers this is, for instance what Mr. Lewis Rice says:³ "The chief divisions of the country had each their revenue value affixed to their name sometimes the numerical designation alone was used, without naming the country. Thus many of the oldest inscriptions speak of the Ninety-six Thousand, and others described certain kings as ruling seven-and-a-half-lakh region. A similar name still survives in that of one of the present taluqs of Coorg, which is called the Yēlusāviraṣīme or the Seven Thousand country. Whether the reckoning has reference to the amount of revenue realised, as seems likely, or to extent of cultivation or to what other denomination of value, is not certain. The nomenclature still lingers in parts of the Malnad, where I was told by an inferior native official that his jurisdiction extended over fourteen villages which constituted, according to the custom of the place, a thousand country." Mr. Rice also adds a note saying "An old report explains the terms thus:—A country yielding 100 niṣka (said to be pagodas) is called a *sīmā* or *kṣetra* etc." But this merits some further attention.

1 See s. v. Grāma in 'A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture' by Dr. P. K. Ācārya.

2. *op. cit.* pp. 24-25.

3. Mysore, I. p. 574 (1897).

Dr. Fleet opposed the interpretation suggested by Mr. Rice on the ground that there were indications in some of the inscriptions that these figures referred to *grāmas* in some cases and that in all others they referred to villages rather than revenue assessment or area of cultivation. The inscriptions on which he based his argument were:—

i. The Aihole inscription of A. D. 634-5 (ed. Fleet)—mentioning 'the three Mahārāṣṭras, containing ninety-nine thousand villages'. *Mahārāṣṭrakāṇām nava-navati-sahasragrāma-bhājām trayāṇām* (I. A. viii, pp. 244 and 242).

ii. The Śilāhāra record of A. D. 1026 (ed. Buhler) which speaks of the 'Konkan containing 1400 villages' *Catur-daśa-grāma-śata-samanvitam samagra-koṅkāṇa-bhuvam* (I. A. v. pp. 280 and 278).

iii. Another Śilāhāra record of 1095 (ed. Telang) where the text has *Caturdaśa-śata-koṅkaṇābhyanlareṣu* (I. A. ix. p. 35) and translation is only 'Konkan fourteen hundred', a note being added by Telang saying 'Villages, of course' (I. A. ix. p. 38).

iv. An inscription from Patna (ed. Kielhorn) of about A. D. 1222 mentioning 'the country of the sixteen hundred villages' *Sa ṣoḍaśa-śatagrāma-deśam-durga-purānvitam* (E. I. i. p. 345). and

v. A Raṭṭa inscription, from Belgaum (ed. Fleet) of A. D. 1219-20, in which 'the meaning of the name of the territorial division, called the Vēlūgrāma or Vēṇugrāma seventy, is explained by a passage which describes Vēlūgrāma as 'resplendent with seventy villages' *Eṇṇattene sandirpūrgaḷim śōbhīpa*' J. B. B. R. A. S. X. 252.

Of these it will readily be seen that No. iii (above) is of no value in deciding the significance of the figure as the text only gives the figure and does not contain the word *grāma*. It will be also noticed that all the other instances except No. ii are in verse; and with the exception of No. i which is in verse, they are rather late references. It may also be observed in passing that Vēṇugrāma seventy was the capital city of a Raṭṭa chief and that the verse describing the city distinctly says that the capital excels all other cities on earth as it has been formed out of the union of seventy villages; and in the other instances the connection of *grāma* with the aggregate is not so unequivocally indicated. One may well hesitate to draw the inference from such evidence that

all the figures coming after names of territories including the well known Raṭṭapāḍi 75,00,000 necessarily indicate the number of *grāmas* in the regions named. Dr. Fleet himself felt a difficulty and said: "These large numbers must be gross exaggerations, based possibly on some traditions or myths. But there appears no reason for objecting to accept the literal meaning of such more reasonable applications as 'the Koṅkaṇ fourteen hundred and-nine-hundred' etc."¹ It is at this point that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth, while he is inclined to agree with Fleet's view that the figures refer to *grāmas*, objects to his rather arbitrary method of accepting the more reasonable figures and rejecting others as mythical or exaggerated. And his claim is that the new interpretation of *grāma* proposed by him has the merit of furnishing a reasonable explanation of all the figures, large and small, attached to names of territorial divisions.

We may now turn to consider the evidence on which Dr. Prāṇ Nāth bases his interpretation. The oldest and apparently, in his estimate, the most important authority in support of his view is a statement in a commentary of the Prajñāpana-upāṅga, a Jain canonical work which runs: '*gāma-nivēsesu*' ityādi, *grasati buddhyādīn guṇān iti grāmaḥ, yadi vā gamyaḥ śāstra-prasiddhānām aṣṭādaśa-karāṇām iti grāmaḥ*,² which may be rendered thus: "*gāma-nivēsesu* etc.: That which seizes the qualities like *buddhi* etc., is *grāma*; alternatively, that which is suitable for the eighteen *karas* well-known in the *śāstras* is a *grāma*." It will be seen that the commentary gives as the primary sense of the word *grāma* the meaning of "the senses" in which the word is commonly employed in Jaina canonical literature³; and then, in view of the context in which the word occurs in the *upāṅga*, there is given an alternative meaning. But one fails to see how even this alternative interpretation furnishes any support to Mr. Prāṇ Nāth's contention. For what are the eighteen kinds of taxes that are said to be reputed in the *śāstras*? The *śāstras* referred to by these Jaina *ācāryas* must be taken to refer to Jaina canonical literature, as there does not appear to have been any established convention on this subject known to the Hindu law books. Turning to the article in the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* on 'Kara' we get the necessary explanation.

1. Quoted by Prāṇ Nāth *op. cit.* p. 25.

2. *op. cit.* p. 26.

3. Monier-Williams Sans. Dic. S. V. *Grāma*

There¹ we find the author quoting, as usual, two ancient *prākṛt gāthās* on the subject and giving an explanation, in Sanskrit, enumerating the 18 kinds of taxes *viz*: 1. *Gōkara* 2. *Mahaśikara* 3. *Uṣṭrakara* 4. *Paśukara* 5. *Chāgalikara* 6. *Tṛṇakara* 7. *Palālakara* 8. *Busakara* 9. *Kāṣṭhakara* 10. *Aṅgārakara* 11. *Silākara* 12. ² *Umbarakara* 13. *Jaṅghākara* 14. *Bali-vardakara* 15. *Ghaṭakara* 16. *Karmakara*³ 17. *Bullagakara* 18. A tax different from the foregoing and improvised according to circumstances.⁴

After this explanation, one may venture to suggest that these taxes might as well be the objects of collection from villages as from individual estates. In fact one may go further and hold that considering that as many as eighteen imposts are involved, it is more likely that an entire village including inhabitants of various castes and occupations was the subject of so many imposts rather than an individual estate. This extract from the canonical literature of the Jains does not therefore furnish the meaning which Dr. Prāṇ Nāth asserts it does *viz*: "an estate or a survey village which can pay eighteen kinds of Government taxes."

The next authority cited by our author is the modern *Prākṛt Lexicon*, the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, of Vijayarājendrasūri (called Vijayacandra by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth), A.D. 1827-1907. From the very learned and equally interesting article on *gāma-grāma* Dr. Prāṇ Nāth has made a long extract and printed it as a note on p. 27 of his book. But once more, the most careful study of the extract or indeed of the entire article fails to reveal any support for the contention of our author. Dr. Prāṇ Nāth, indeed, asserts that the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* also "defines *grāma* as an estate which can pay eighteen kinds of government taxes or which is assessed separately for revenue purposes." This definition in the original runs: "*Gamyo gamanīyo'sṭādaśānām śāstre prasiddhānām karāṇām iti vyutpattiyā, grasate vā buddhyādīn guṇān*

1. Vol. 3, p. 356, col. 2.

2. Apparently a tax on each house. *umbarō dehaḥ*.

3. Profession-tax?

4. *Aṣṭādaśa karasyotpattīḥ svakalpanū-śilpa-nirmitā: pūrvokta sapta-daśa-kara-vyatirikta-svecchayā kalpitāḥ aṣṭādaśaḥ karaḥ, sa cauttika iti prasiddhah.* (ibid.) One may wonder if this is not a misinterpretation of the phrase *Aṣṭārasamākaruppattī* in the *gāthā* which may, after all, mean nothing more than that the eighteenth tax had relation to mines (*Ākara*).

iti vyutpattyā vā pṛṣodarādītvaniruktavidhinā grāmaḥ." The words used here are almost identical with those in the commentary of the Prajñāpana-upāṅga; only the order of the two methods in which the word can be derived is reversed and the *grāma* is described first as the subject of the eighteen imposts and then as the sense organs. There is therefore no more support for the meaning of "estate" in this text than can be found in the other.

Indeed, it would appear that the author of the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* leaves no room for doubt as to his meaning. For he adds within a few lines of the definition quoted above, the clear and unmistakable words: "Jīvānām gomahiṣī manusyādīnām ajīvānām ca grhādīnām yaḥ samudāyaḥ sa dravyagrāma ucyate,"¹ meaning: "that is called *dravyagrāma* which (comprises) a collection of live things like cows, buffaloes, men etc. and things which are not living, like houses." And it is not a little surprising that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth, though he quotes this text, should have so completely ignored its import in his discussion of the word. But that is not all. Dr. Prāṇ Nāth appears altogether to have misunderstood the discussion in the article on *grāma* on which he builds so much. Vijayarājendra quotes an old mnemonic *gāthā* which, in the style of a *sūtra*, sums up a long discussion of the different views about the extent of the *grāma* and the reasons underlying them, and then proceeds to explain it more fully in Sanskrit, giving out the details of argument in each case as it comes up. He introduces the stanza saying: "Tatrāneka-vidha-naigamānām anyānyapi pakṣāṇi yāni vaktavyāni tāni nāma-grāham samgrhṇan āha." Then comes the verse and the enumeration of the ten points to be made, followed by the remark: 'iti niryuktigāthā²-kṣarārthaḥ. Atha bhāvārtha ucyate.' All this is reproduced by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth and yet, he understands the *gāthā* as giving directly and by itself ten different senses in which the word *grāma* may be used, and says categorically: "The word was used in the remotest period of Indian history in ten different meanings, viz. (1) cows (*gāvah*) (2) grasses (*trṇāni*); (3) boundary (*sīmā*); (4) plea-

1. It may be explained that all our discussion (Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's and mine) refers only to *dravyagrāma* of the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*. The other *grāmas* mentioned or discussed are *Nāmagrāma*, *sthāpanagrāma*, *Bhūtagrāma*, *Ātodyagrāma*, *Indriyagrāma*, *Pitṛgrāma* and *Bhāva-grāma*.

2. Dr. Prāṇ Nāth prints '*Niyukti*' which is wrong.

sure-garden (*ārāma*); (5) well (*udapāna*); (8) temple (*deva-kula*); (9) an estate (*avagraha*); (10) owner (*adhipati*)." As a matter of fact the *gāthā*¹ which is so interpreted by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is the subject of an elaborate commentary in the article under reference in the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* and is not easy to understand except in the light of that comment. It will be observed that according to the introductory sentence just preceding the *gāthā* (quoted above), it sums up by means of representative nouns (*nāmagrāham saṅgrhṇan*) the different views to be mentioned in the sequel (*vaktavyāni*). And according to the commentary which follows, the first seven nouns in the *gāthā* up to and including *vāhi* (fence) relate to a discussion of the extent of the village which is concluded with the words: *Evam vicitrābhiprāyānām pūrvanaigamānām sarvā api pratipattir vyapohya sarva viśuddha-naigama-nayasya yāvān vṛti-parikṣēpa-parivṛto bhūbhāgas-tāvān grāma ucyate.*" that is to say, 'thus having negated all the views of the *naigamas* mentioned earlier, we conclude with the view of the best *naigama* that the term *grāma* is applied to that portion of land which is surrounded by a fence raised on all sides.' The other views that have been rejected are: (a) that the term *grāma* may imply all the area over which the cows of a locality wander for grazing, (b) that it may refer only to the area over which people wander to gather grass, fuel and others.

Dr. Prāṇ Nāth writes²: "Take, for instance, the first meaning 'cows'. There was a body of scholars (*naigamāḥ*) who believed that *grāma* meant an estate containing an area as large as that of a pasture-ground. They defined *grāma* as an estate (*kṣetra*) where cows go to graze." The text which is thus rendered by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is this: "*Yāvāntam bhūbhāgam gavaś-caritum vrajati tāvān sarvō'pi grāma iti vyapadēśam labhate.*" This statement cannot by any means yield the meaning attributed to it by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth. The idea of an estate is altogether absent in the text and is imported only by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's imagination. He seems, however, to have been partially misled by a reference to this view occurring a few lines later in the phrase '*yadyapi gavām gōcarakṣetrād-ā sannataram bhūbhāgam*' etc.: but in this context *kṣetra* does not mean a field or an estate, but has

1. *Gāvō tanāi sīmā ārāmam udapāna ceṣa-rupāni vāhiya vaṇām-antara vuggaha tattō ya āhipati.*

2. p. 28, op. cit.

the more general meaning of 'region'. And the view of the *naigama* which, by the way, need not necessarily mean a 'body of scholars,' can only be understood as in (a) at the end of the preceding paragraph. It is unnecessary and it would be tedious to pursue the other inaccuracies in our author's summary of the discussion in the *Prākṛt Lexicon*. It is enough to say that there is no support whatever in the passages cited and discussed by him for the new interpretation he proposes for the word *grāma*.

For the sake of completeness we may sum up the rest of the discussion on *dravyagrāma* here. There are three other *pakṣas* given: (1) that of *saṅgrahanaya*, by which, *grāma* means *devakula*, *sabhā*, *goṣṭha* or *prapā*, (no. 8 in Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's list); (2) that of the *Rjusūtranaya* which equates *grāma* apparently with a person's house-property;—the text being "*Rjusūtrasya svakīyārthagrāhakatvat pūrakīya—vasatō'pyanabhyupagamāt yasya yatpratyekam-ātmīyagraharūpam ekaikam grham tat niyōga iti pratipattavyam. Niyōga iti grāma iti caikorthah.*" and lastly, (3) that of the *śabdanaya* by which *grāma* is applied to the overlord (*adhipati*) of the village. It will be seen then Nos. 9 and 10 in Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's list of different meanings correspond to (2) and (3) just preceding.

It is very surprising indeed that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth should not have given any attention to the view expounded under *Rjusūtranaya* which appears at first sight to make the nearest approach to the new meaning he seeks to impose on the word *grāma*. He simply translates *vuggaha* in the *gāthā* into 'estate' (he does not say on what authority) and leaves the matter there. But does the comment quoted *verbatim* in the last paragraph lead to the meaning of estate? A literal translation of the passage may be offered: 'As the *rjusūtra* conveys the idea of one's property and disapproves even living (on) another's, that which to a person is exclusively his (in his own *avagraha*)¹

1. *Avagraha* is simple and direct perception defined in Jaina epistemics as: *viśaya-viśayi-sannipātū-nantara-samud-bhūta-sattā-mātra-gōcara-darśanū-jjātam-ādyā-mavāntara-sāmānyākāra—viśiṣṭa-vastu-grahaṇa-mavagrahaḥ. Abhi. Rāj. I. 788 col. 2.* The point of view of the *Rjusūtranaya* is brought out best in the following: *yat-sāmpratam-utpannam vartamānakālīnam vastu yacca yasya pratyekam-ātmīyam tadetatadubhaya-svarūpam vastu pratyutpannam ucyate. Tadevāsau nayah prati padyate, tadēva vartamanam-ātmīyam vastu tasyarju-sūtranayasya asti—op. cit. II, 742 col. 2.*

every such house is a *niyōga*: and *niyōga* and *grāma* have both the same meaning. It is thus seen that this peculiar use of the word *grāma* does not mean anything more than a house owned and used by a person.

In all this, and it will be remembered that we have been considering most of the time a discussion in a late nineteenth century lexicon, there is nothing at all to warrant Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's new interpretation of the word *grāma* and he cites no authority, none whatever, for the sweeping assertions he makes in the following: ¹ "In the time of the great Guptas, and even many centuries prior to them, it appears that the word *grāma* was used in official records for an estate, and in poetical and literary works for a village or settlement. A discussion arose among scholars with regard to its technical meaning. They agreed that the word *grāma* meant an estate, whether cultivated, fallow, or *Jāngal*, but they differed as to the size or area to which it referred." What are the data from which Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is led to infer a divergence in the sense in which the word *grāma* was used in official records and in literature? How does he come to the conclusion that this divergence arose in the age of the great Guptas and (centuries do not apparently matter much) even many centuries prior to them? What is the source of the learned writer's statements about the discussion that arose among the scholars of old and the conclusion they reached in anticipation of Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's researches? Until these questions get satisfactory answers, the statements quoted from Dr. Prāṇ Nāth earlier in this paragraph can hardly find credence. Surely they furnish no proof of his thesis.

It must now have become clear that the literary evidence adduced from Jain sources by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth does not carry him anywhere near his conclusion. The meanings attributed to *grāma* generally are (a) the sense-organs, which is the primary sense of the term in Jaina canonical literature and (b) village, as ordinarily understood. In the only instances in which a narrower application of the word is indicated, the meanings given are: (1) a temple, cowshed or watershed (2) a house (the phrase *ekaikam grham* must be noticed) used by its owner and (3) the overlord of a village. There is a far cry from any of these to the new meaning of 'estate' suggested by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth.

1. *op. cit.* p. 26.

However, being satisfied that he has, by means of his references to Jaina literature, sufficiently supported his new interpretation, Dr. Prāṇ Nāth proceeds to apply his result to some ancient inscriptions and legal texts in order to prove that his meaning renders more intelligible what has been hitherto vague, confused and ill-understood. It is necessary to take up these instances one by one and see how far the claim is just.

His first instance is the short inscription no. 20 in the Nāsik caves. The text is :

Nāsikakanam Dhambhikagāmasa dānam.

This was translated by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji into : "The gift of the village of Dhambhika by the inhabitants of Nāsika" and he naturally wondered how a village was given by the people of a city as it was usual only for kings to do so.¹ Dr. Prāṇ Nāth observes : "The difficulty here vanishes if we understand the word *grāma* as meaning an estate" and proceeds to quote the *Dānamayūkha* on the merits of free gifts of land. He is evidently not aware that the difficulty in this inscription vanished many years ago when M. Senart re-edited the inscription and translated it into : "The gift of the village of Dhambhika of the Nasik people" and observed that the entrance to the cave was decorated with a horse shoe arch at the common expense of the people of a portion of the township of Nāsik.² In other words the gift made was the arch-way under which the inscription is found and not a *grāma*.

The next instance does not fare better. It is a quotation from the Nāsik cave inscriptions no. 5: '*tac ca kṣetram vikṣyate sa ca grāmo na vasati evam sati*,' which according to Dr. Prāṇ Nāth means : "it was thought that that field would be cultivated; but as that field (*sa ca grāmo*) is not under cultivation so"; from this two conclusions are drawn by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth : (1) *Kṣetra* could be described as *grāma* and (2) *vasati* means 'cultivation' as well as 'habitation.'³ This is a pitiable instance of the extent to which a scholar might be misled by preconceived notions or by a hankering after originality. In reality this inscription records the kings' order to his officers to give some land in the neighbourhood of the city to some *bhikṣus* in lieu of other land

1. Bom. Gaz. xvi, p. 590 quo. Prāṇ Nāth pp. 28—9.

2. E. I. viii, p. 92.

3. *op. cit.* p. 29.

which had been given to them before, but which was located in an uninhabited village. If anything, in this inscription the distinction between *grāma* and *kṣetra* is most carefully maintained and it is unfortunate that this very inscription should have been taken by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth to point to the opposite conclusion. A longer extract from the text than has been given by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth and Pandit Bhagavan Lal's translation of the same may be reproduced to make the position clear to the reader :¹

"*Bhikṣubhyo grāme kakhadyām pūrvakṣetram dattam tacca kṣētram vikṣyate sa ca grāmo na vasati evam sati yadidānī-matra nagarasīmni rūjakam kṣetram asmatsatkam tata etasya (sic) pravrajitebhyo bhikṣubhyastriraśmikebhyo dadmaḥ kṣetrasya nivartanaśatam.*"

"We had given a field in the east of the village of Kakhadi to the mendicants. That field is being cultivated (but) the village is uninhabited. Such being the case we now give a hundred *nivartanas* of the royal field in our possession on the confines of the city to the recluse medicants of Triraśmi."

The contrast between *kṣetra* and *grāma* cannot be more emphatically brought out than by their first mention in this inscription followed by the phrases *tacca kṣetram* and *sa ca grāma* which relate respectively to the *pūrvakṣetra* and *kakhadi* village mentioned before.

Again Dr. Prāṇ Nāth says² : "The definition given by the *kāmikāgama*, *karaṇāgama* and *Mayamata* of the *ekabhoga-grāma* or *Kuṭika grāma* also shows that *grāma* means an 'estate.' According to them an *ekabhogagrāma* means a property or an estate which can be enjoyed by one family, consisting of the owner and his servants." This is, indeed, strange reasoning. Because some books apply the name *ekabhoga-grāma* to a *grāma* enjoyed by one owner and his servants therefore *grāma* means 'estate'! One should rather be led to infer that a *grāma* usually has not one owner enjoying it but several owners and that the adjective *ekabhoga* is intended to mark off the special kind of

1. Bom. Gaz. xvi, p. 561. See also E. I. viii, pp. 73—4. M. Senart prefers to read *na kasate* for *va kasate* in the Prākṛt original of the inscription and to translate "but this field is not tilled ; nor is the village inhabited."

2. *op. cit.* p. 29.

grāma under reference from the more ordinary *grāmas*. This means again, that ordinarily *grāma* means a village in the ordinary sense of the term and not 'estate.' In other words, in an *ekabhogagrāma* as everybody knows the *grāma* is the estate; the ordinary *grāma* is made up of many estates of varying sizes.

Lastly, Dr. Prāṇ Nāth quotes the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and *Kauṭilya* in his support and also holds that¹ "going further back to the period of the *vedas* and *upaniṣads* we find that the word *grāma* was used more clearly for an estate." We may at once dismiss the reference to the *vedas* and *upaniṣads* as beside the point; none of the citations made by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is such as could not be easily interpreted without the aid of his new meaning for the word *grāma*; nor does this new meaning bring any fresh light to our aid in understanding the texts concerned. These texts and others of much greater significance from Vedic literature have been subjected to an exhaustive discussion by the authors of the Vedic Index² in their article on *grāma*, a reference to which will show clearly that this word is not once used anywhere in the sense of 'an estate.' Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is equally wrong in the way in which he interprets a comment on a *sūtra* in Bodhāyana. The *sūtra*³ has "*grāmānte grāma-sīmānte vā*" and here it is necessary to distinguish between *grāma* and *grāma-sīmā* and this is the comment: "*grāmānto vāstu sīmā Itarāḥ kṣetrasīmā*" which means "*grāmānta* is the boundary of the living part of the village (*vāstu*); the other (*grāmasīmānta*) is the boundary of the (cultivated) fields (of the village)." This meaning does not satisfy Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's requirements and he asserts that *vāstu* "is defined by *Kauṭilya* 'as an estate containing land, garden, house and well etc.'"; unfortunately the text of *Kauṭilya*, which is quoted by him also, is quite against this view: "*Grāham kṣetram ārāmas-setubandhas taṭākam ādhāro vā vāstuh.*" Here, the *vā* in *Kauṭilya*'s sentence shows that *vāstu* is the name applied to every one of the things mentioned before—house, garden, field, tank etc. and not the name of all of them taken together and constituting an estate; and Dr. Shama Sastry has rightly translated this into:⁴ "Houses, fields, gardens, buildings

1. *op. cit.* pp. 30-3.

2. See Macdonnel, & Keith—Vedic Index s. v. *grāma*.

3. See Prāṇ Nāth *op. cit.* p. 32.

4. Shama Sastri's Eng. Transl. of *Kauṭilya*, 1915, p. 211.

of any kind (*setubandhaḥ*), lakes and tanks are *each* called *vāstu*." All the other references to *Kauṭilya*'s use of the word *grāma* that are made by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth do not by any means strengthen his case any the better. In most of these instances the meaning 'village' gives much better sense (e. g. *Paragrāma*—enemy village in *prakaraṇa* 171) than the meaning 'estate'; and in no instance is there any difficulty in adopting the usual meaning.

We have reserved to the end the discussion of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* text quoted by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth. It is this:¹

Sāmāntā vā samagrāmāś-catvāro'stau daśāpi vā |

Raktasragvasanāḥ sīmām nayeyuḥ kṣiti dhāriṇaḥ ||

Here according to Dr. Prāṇ Nāth, *Samagrāmāḥ* can only mean 'having equal estates.' Otherwise, he says, we are led to postulate 'an absurd system of administration in ancient India' by which the affairs of every village would have been meddled with by men from forty other villages and landowners would have been meddled with by men from forty other villages and landowners would 'have been forced to wander about from one village to another and neglect their own estates.'² The steps by which this *reductio ad absurdum* is reached are these. If *grāma* does not mean 'estate' it should mean 'village'; and *sāmāgrāmāḥ* then would mean 'people possessing equal villages.' Then there is a statement of *Kauṭilya* that disputes about *vāstu* (see the proceeding paragraph) should be settled with the aid of neighbours (*sāmānta*); there is another statement that the sale of land and other immoveable property should be effected in the presence of forty disinterested neighbours. Dr. Prāṇ Nāth mixes up these statements of *Kauṭilya* with the text of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* in order to arrive at this astounding statement of his opponents' case:³ "Interpreting *samagrāmāḥ* as denoting people possessing equal villages, would mean that disputes, sales and purchases etc. connected with a field in a village, were to be settled by the people living in other villages or, in other words, that each village was governed by a group of forty villages. The constituent villages of the group would vary in the case of different villages; and if two or

1. Yāj. II, 152 (*Mitākṣara*) and 156 (*Viśvarūpa*. Triv. Sans. Series.

2. Prāṇ Nāth *op. cit.* pp. 30-1.

3. *op. cit.* P. 31.

more disputes or sales, etc., were going on simultaneously, the inconvenience and difficulties arising from such a regulation may readily be conceived!" In his haste to find fault with another interpretation of *samagrāmāḥ*, Dr. Prāṇ Nāth appears to have so far lost his bearings as to introduce the number forty from Kauṭilya's text into the verse from the *smṛti* in utter forgetfulness of the other numbers—"four, eight or ten"—mentioned in the verse itself! Again, if we turn to see how this verse is understood by the jurists who have interpreted the text of the *smṛti*, we find that none of them understands *samagrāmāḥ* to mean 'people possessing equal villages', so that, after all, Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's ingenious discussion has not touched the real meaning of the text. Viśvarūpa understands *samagrāmāḥ* to mean "disinterested villagers" and says "*samāḥ Apakṣapātinaḥ samāśca te grāmāśca samagrāmāḥ.*" Viññāneśvara understands it to mean "an even number of neighbouring villagers"—"*sama-saṁkhyāḥ pratyāsanagrāmīṇāḥ,*" and is followed Devaṇabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛticandrikā*¹. The verse under reference lays down only that in cases of dispute as to boundaries in which no tangible evidence on either side is forthcoming, an even number of villagers, four, eight or ten, shall settle the boundary, following a certain definite procedure. And though there is a slight difference of interpretation as to the first member in the compound word *samagrāmāḥ* all commentators are unanimous in accepting that *gramāḥ* here means *grāmīṇāḥ*, villagers.

We have thus seen that the authorities cited by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth in support of his new interpretation have, in every instance failed, on scrutiny, to sustain the burden he seeks to place on them. An interpretation which can perhaps just be rendered plausible only at the cost of so much special pleading in the course of which lexicons have to be misinterpreted, epigraphs misquoted and legal texts misapplied can hardly find any ready acceptance at the hands of serious students who mind accuracy in methods of research and precision in the results attained. It is true that this discussion had led to the purely negative result that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth has not succeeded in establishing by proper evidence the new interpretation of the word *grāma* proposed by

1. See p. 257 of Viśvarūpa Triv. Sans. Series no. LXXIV p. 233 of the *Mitākṣarā* Bombay N. S. Press, 1918, and p. 542 of the *Smṛticandrikā* Vol. III part II no. 48 of the Bibl. Sanskrita, Mysore.

him¹. But considering the extent of damage done in the field of Indian historical study by the facility with which plausible errors gain popular currency, perhaps even this negative conclusion will not be held altogether valueless. And with regard to the numerical figures attached to the names of countries and districts in the South Indian Inscriptions and elsewhere we are still in the same position as before, as Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's apparently neat solution of the difficulties involved has not turned out to be as sound as it looked.

1. In pp. 33-9 of his work Dr. Prāṇ Nāth continues his effort to sustain his interpretation mainly with the aid of translations of Muhammadan historians. But I have not felt it necessary to prolong the discussion further as no fresh points are made by him in these pages and the inaccuracies in his treatment of the subject are too obvious to escape the attention of a careful reader. I shall only add that *Zakṣa-kṣitīśa* (p. 38 and n. 3) only means 'Lord of the 100,000 country' not lord of a country which contained 100,000 tracts of land or estates.'

STUDIES IN THE UPANIṢADS.

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(Continued from page 126 of Vol. IV, J. O. R. M.)

SECTION VII

MORAL STANDARDS.

The assertion of the Upaniṣads that the Knower of the Ātman transcends good and evil has been so very often misunderstood, that no mistake of this kind ought to surprise us any more. Still it gives us something of a shock when even sympathetic students like Hume, alter his careful translation of the Upaniṣads, can say, "The possession of some metaphysical knowledge actually cancels all past sins and even permits the knower unblushingly to continue in 'what seems to be much evil' with perfect impunity, although such acts are heinous crimes and are disastrous in their effect for others who lack that kind of knowledge". Knowledge, as the Upaniṣads conceive it, is different from what we generally mean by knowing. The knowledge that they strive for is something that pertains to the very nature of the Ātman. The Knower of Brahman becomes Brahman. "Being very Brahman, he goes to Brahman."¹ Again and again the Upaniṣads tell us that what we know, that we gain, and that we become. Who knows the *Gāyatrīśāman* woven upon the vital breaths becomes possessed of vital breaths². The *arka* fire and the *aśvamedha* are one divinity—Death. He who knows this wards off death again, death obtains him not, death becomes his body.³ He who knows the support of that *śāman* becomes supported⁴.

1. Bṛh. 4. 4. 6.

2. Ch. Up. 2. 11. 2.

3. Bṛh. Up. 1. 2. 7.

4. Bṛh. Up. 1. 3. 27.

Whoever thus knows I am Brahman, becomes this All.¹ All past sins are cancelled because the knower of the Ātman has become one with the All—the whole world has ceased to exist for him. Gone are the fifteen parts according to their station. Even all the sense organs in their corresponding divinities! One's deeds and the self that consists of understanding All become unified in the Supreme Imperishable.²

As for the knower of the Ātman being permitted to continue unblushingly in sin, there can be no knowledge of the Ātman without the total extinction of all desires—He is '*akāma*, *niṣkāma* *āptakāma*, *ātmakāma*.'

When are liberated all
The desires that lodge in one's heart,
Then a mortal becomes Immortal,
Therein he reaches Brahman.³

According to the Chāndogya "Only they who find that Brahman world through the chaste life of a student of sacred knowledge, only they possess that Brahman world."⁴

The Upaniṣads, therefore, may very well assert that neither good nor evil conduct has any meaning for the Brahman knower. That they do have a very real meaning for the seeker after knowledge, the Upaniṣads are very far from denying. The man, who has not realized the self, is bound by all the laws of the world of name and form, whose essence is truth⁵, is led downward by evil, and upward by good action. Nowhere in the Upaniṣads are virtue and goodness underrated—the necessity of purifying our minds by good thoughts and actions is as strongly emphasised in the earliest as in the later Upaniṣads. The doctrine of Karma and Transmigration is based upon an unfaltering conviction in the power of the deed.

"Yājñavalkya", said he, 'when the voice of a dead man goes into fire, his breath into wind, his eye into the sun, his mind into the moon, his hearing into the quarters of

1. Bṛh. 1. 4. 10. See also Ch. 2. 11; 12; 13; 14; etc. Ch. 4. 3. 8; 4. 5. 3; 4. 6. 4; 4. 7. 4; 4. 8. 4; Taitt. 1. 3. 4; 1. 5; 3. 8; Kausi 2. 6; 2. 14; 31; etc.

2. Muṇḍ. 3. 2. 7.

3. Bṛh. 4. 4. 7.

4. Ch. 8. 4. 3. See also 8. 5. 4.

5. Ch. 6. 16. 3.

heaven, his body into the earth, his soul (Ātman) into space, the heirs of his head into plants, the heirs of his body into trees, his blood and semen are placed in water, what then becomes of this person? The two went away and deliberated: what they said was Karma, what they praised was Karma. Verily one becomes good by good action, bad by bad action."¹ "According as one acts, according as one conducts himself, so does he become. The doer of good becomes good, the doer of evil becomes evil."²

"Now verily a person consists of purpose (*kratumaya*). According to the purpose which a person has in this world, this does he become on departing hence. So let him form for himself a purpose." says Śāṇḍilya³

It is therefore clear that the earlier Upaniṣads cannot be accused of countenancing evil, or of not laying stress upon the value of good deeds and thoughts. The later Upaniṣads are ás emphatic.

Not he who has not ceased from bad conduct,
Not he who is not tranquil, not he who is not composed,
Not he who is not of peaceful mind,
Can obtain Him by Intelligence.⁴

The later upaniṣads are so deeply impressed with the thought that our salvation lies within ourselves and that liberation means desirelessness, that they regard all pleasures with suspicion.

*anya cchreyo' nyadutaiva preyas-te ubhe nānārthe puruṣam
sinītaḥ |*

*tayoḥ śreya ādadānasya sādhu bhavati hīyaterthādi ya u preyo
vr̥ṇīte ||⁵*

The senses are looked upon as vicious horses that may carry the individual self to destruction if not held in firm control by the mind and intellect. They lead us outward instead of allowing

1. Bṛh. 3. 2. 13.

2. Bṛh. 4. 4. 5.

3. Ch. 3. 14. 1.

4. Kaṭha 2. 24.

5. Kaṭha. 2. 1.

us to turn to the light within us. "The self existent pierced the opening outwards."

The rules of conduct enjoined by the earliest Upaniṣads can be observed in Ch. 8. 15. where the student after undergoing the prolonged mental and moral discipline of Brahmacharya in his teacher's house, returns to continue his study in a home of his own concentrating his senses on the Ātman and living, so that he injures no creature, a blameless and exalted life. In Bṛh. 5. 2. the divine voice is said to thunder forth *Da, Da, Da*, meaning *dāmyata, datta, dayadhvam*—restrain yourselves, give, be compassionate. Taitt. 1. 11. is a teacher's parting advice to his disciple about to enter life. He is bidden to speak the truth, to practice virtue, and not to neglect study. He must not break off his line of progeny, must fulfil his duty to the gods (sacrifice) to the fathers (rites for the manes) be mindful of welfare and prosperity. Mother, father, teacher and guest are to be revered as gods. Only those acts that are irreproachable should be practised, not others.

The moral standard of the Upaniṣads therefore is very exalted, but already here in one of the earliest of them, we can discern the first signs of a hardening of the moral consciousness. that has gone very far in our own times, and that by a refusal to adapt its standards to changing conditions has laid us open to repeated charges of injustice, cruelty and even immorality. ('*Yānyasmākam sucariṭāni, tāni tvayopāsyāni no itarāṇi*!') This spirit has developed and carried us into a realm of inconsistencies where, in the name of religion and morality, we wink at a thousand abuses because they have come down to us from the past together with much that is glorious and true for all ages and countries.

SECTION VIII. INTERNAL EVIDENCES REGARDING THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE UPANISADS.

1. *The Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Accounts of the Pañcāgnividyā.*

The Bṛh. and Chānd. accounts of the *Pañcāgnividyā* represent the same tradition but the Chānd. one seems to be earlier.

1. Taitt. 1.

This is evident from a careful comparison of the two passages and is interestingly confirmed by the tradition that makes Uddālaka Āruṇi who receives the *Vidyā* from Jaivali and from whom the Chānd. is largely derived, the teacher of Yājñavalkya of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka.

Comparatively insignificant details in the symbolic representation of the five fires are curiously misplaced in the Bṛh. Up. while these are correctly given in the Chānd. account.

THE FIVE FIRES DOCTRINE.				
Parts of the Sacrificial Fire.				
Fire	Fuel	Smoke	Flame	Sparks.
I. Bṛh. Yonder World	Āditya	Rays	Day	Quarters of space. Intermediate quarters.
Ch. Yonder World	Āditya	Rays	Day	Moon. Stars.
From this Soma arises.				
II. Bṛh. Parjanya	Year	Clouds	Lightning	Hail stones.
Ch. Parjanya	Wind	Clouds	Lightning	Hail stones.
Rain arises.				
III. Bṛh. This world	Prṛthivī	Fire	Night	Stars.
Ch. Earth	Year	Ākāśa	Night	Intermediate quarters.
Food arises.				
IV. Bṛh. Puruṣa	The open mouth.	Prāṇa	Speech	Ear
Ch. Puruṣa	Speech	Prāṇa	Tongue	Ear

From this arises semen, which is offered in the sacrificial fire of woman and from this—

V. oblation arises the *puruṣa*.

It is evident that in this conception of the sacrificial fire in which Śraddhā is offered and from which Soma arises of which the Sun is fuel, its rays the smoke, the day the flame, the moon and the stars are more appropriately the coals and the sparks than the quarters and the intermediate quarters given in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. That this is a misplacement and not due to a difference in the conception of the whole image, is shown by the occurrence of stars and the moon as the coals and sparks in the third sacrificial fire in Bṛh. where the Chānd. has instead the quarters and intermediate quarters which are the very details that the Bṛh. misplaces in the first fire. It is obvious that here again the quarters and the intermediate quarters that the Chānd. mentions are more appropriate to the sacrificial fire of the earth in which rain is offered to produce food than the moon and stars which the Bṛh. gives in this place. In the same fire (Prṛthivī in Chānd. and this world in Bṛh.) the former gives the year as the fuel instead of Prṛthivī which is needlessly repeated as the fuel in Bṛh; and here again the Chānd. version is more in keeping with the idea than the Bṛh. one.

Less evidently the description of the fourth fire (*puruṣa*) in the two Upaniṣads betray the same characteristics. We are therefore justified in assuming that if both these accounts independently represent a common tradition, then the Chāndogya more faithfully represents it, and we may also assume that the Bṛh. account is derived from the Chānd. passage, which is the earlier text.

This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the Bṛh. combines these misplacements of minor details due to a shuffling of materials in a story that is repeated, with certain developments of the doctrine that are not found in the Chānd. At any rate we have to note that in the corresponding passages of the two versions, the language in Bṛh. readily admits of interpretation according to later ideas while the Chānd. texts have to be strained to yield such meanings.

1. Ch. 5. 10. 2. चन्द्रमसो विद्युतं तत्पुरुषोऽमानवः स एतान् ब्रह्म गमयति. एष देवयानः पन्था इति ॥

The souls that travel by the Devayāna in the Ch. version¹ are apparently conveyed directly from the lightning to Brahman while in the Brh.¹ it is only said that they attain the Brahman world "where they dwell for long ages. For these there is no return." But it is *not* said they attain Brahman straight away.

Again the Brh.² brings the waxing and waning of the moon into relation with the ascent and descent of the Souls—a later development. At any rate the idea in a confused form is certainly present in the Brh. passage while the Chānd.³ one ignores it.

If these instances are merely due to more guarded and flexible language in the Brh. then it is remarkable that the Chānd. in all these places should thus differ from the Brh. when the two texts in most parts are in general verbal agreement with each other.

The most striking example of such a difference in the two version is Chānd⁴. where, side by side with the two paths, the Upaniṣad outlines a third place as a condition of small continually recurring creatures thus:—"Be born and die". The change of words in the Brh. version is certainly remarkable.⁵ "Those who know not the two ways become creeping and flying insects and whatever there is here that bites."⁶

1. Brh. 6. 2. 15. देवलोकदादित्यं आदित्याद्वैद्युतं तान् वैद्युतान् पुरुषो मानस एव ब्रह्मलोकान् गमयति ते तेषु ब्रह्मलोकेषु पराः परावतो वसन्ति तेषां न पुनरावृत्तिः ।

2. Brh. 6. 2. 16. ते चन्द्रं प्राप्य अन्तं भवन्ति, तांस्तत्र देवा यथा सोमं राजानमाप्यायस्वापक्षीयस्वेत्येवमेतांस्तत्र भक्षयन्ति, तेषां यदा तत्पर्यवैति—अथेममेवाकाशं अभिनिष्पद्यन्त आकाशाद्वायुः.....

3. Ch. 5. 10. 4, 5.....पितृलोकादाकाशम्, आकाशाच्चन्द्रमसम्, एष सोमो राजा तद्देवानामन्नं तं देवा भक्षयन्ति...तास्मिन् यावत्संपातमुषित्वाऽथैतमेवाध्वानं पुनर्निवर्तन्ते यथेतमाकाशमाकाशाद्वायुम्.....

4. Ch. 5. 10. 8. अथैतयोः पथोर्न कतरेण च न तानीमानि क्षुद्राणि असकृदावर्तीनि भूतानि भवन्ति जायस्व द्वित्र्यस्वेत्येतत्तृतीयं स्थानम्, तेनासौ लोको न संपूर्यते—तस्माज्जुगुप्सेत तदेव श्लोकः । स्तेनो हिरण्यस्य सुरां पिबंश्च गुरोस्तल्प-मावसन् ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति चत्वारः पञ्चमश्चाचरंस्तैरिति ।

5. Brh. 6. 2. 16.

6. Hume's translation. (अथ य एतौ पन्थानौ न विदुः ते कीटा तक्का यदिदं दन्दश्चकम्) ।

The words in Ch. do not point to the third place as the condition into which the guilty are born again but only indicates it as the condition of those who do not travel by either of the two paths, transmigration or emancipation. When interpreting them as referring to the third place as the fate of the wicked, Deussen is influenced by the corresponding text of the Brh. which says so in so many words. The standpoint of the Ch. seems rather to be in favour of denying to insects and flies and other fleeting creatures, individual souls, and exempting them from the sway of Karma. But the tendency of the doctrine in its development would be to extend itself to all creatures great and small till at last as in the later Upaniṣads trees and plants were brought under its sway, and as time went on even feelings were attributed to them.¹ In Brh. and Ch. trees and plants, rain etc. are *transit stations* of the migrating soul in a special sense—there are not yet separate *births* of these souls.

It cannot be admitted that this mention of the third place in the Ch. and the corresponding text in the Brh. imply a belief in eternal retribution as Barua suggests.² A belief that is so opposed to the whole trend of Upaniṣadic thought as the doctrine of eternal punishment in any form—more directly to the very doctrine of Karma which this section is engaged in expounding, cannot be read into the texts even in a vague and undefined form. The inconsistency involved is too great.

The Chāndogya, therefore, does not extend transmigration and Karma to insects and flies while the Brh. by a striking change of expression in the corresponding texts reflects a later stage of the doctrine by extending it in a logical and consistent development, to every creature great and small making of the third place of the Ch. a state of punishment for those who neither do good deeds nor seek emancipation by renouncing all action. The Brh. account therefore is later than the Ch. account of the five-fires doctrine and seems to be derived from the latter.³

1. Manu: अन्तःसंज्ञा भवन्त्येते सुखदुःखसमन्विताः ।

2. See his very interesting classification of Souls into rational or transcendental, the mundane, the infernal and animal souls on Pages 94-5 Pre. Bud. Ind. Phil.

3. The Kauṣītaki more clearly than the Brh. says that all creatures, great or small are possessed of individual souls and come under the laws of Karma. This is not an imitation as Deussen suggests of the

The questions also in the two accounts show that the Ch. represents more faithfully the original tradition.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka.

1. वेत्थ यथेमाः प्रजाः प्रयत्यो विप्रतिपद्यन्त इति

2. वेत्थो यथेमं लोकं पुनरापद्यन्ता इति ।

3. वेत्थो यथासौ लोक एवं बहुभिः पुनः पुनः प्रयद्भिर्न संपूर्यत ३ इति

4. वेत्थो यतिथ्यां आहुत्यां हुतायां आपः पुरुष वाचो भूत्वा समुत्थाय वदन्ती ३ इति ।

5. वेत्थो देवयानस्य वा पथः प्रतिपदं पितृयाणस्य वा यत्कृत्वा देवयानं वा पन्थानं प्रतिपद्यन्ते पितृयाणं वापि न ऋषेर्वचः श्रुतम् ।

द्वे सृती अशृण्वं पितृणामहं देवानामुत मर्त्यानाम् । ताम्यामिदं विश्वमेजत्समेति यदन्तरा पितरं मातरं चेति ॥

Chāndogya.

1. वेत्थ यदितोऽधि प्रजाः प्रयन्तीति ।

2. वेत्थ यथा पुनरावर्तन्त इति ।

3. वेत्थ पथोदेवयानस्य पितृयाणस्य च व्यावर्त्तना इति ।

4. वेत्थ यथासौ लोको न संपूर्यत ३ इति ।

5. वेत्थ यथा पञ्चम्यामाहुतावापः पुरुषवचसो भवन्तीति ।

The first and fifth questions in Bṛh. overlap. The answer that the Upan. suggests for the third question is implied in the second question itself. The order of the questions is not so consistent. The questions in Ch. are all definite, do not overlap, and are fully and consistently answered in the Upaniṣad. The difference in the first question in the two Upaniṣads is significant. The Ch. says "to what do these creatures go on departing hence," the answer is "the Moon" which is common to both paths in the Ch.¹ The Bṛh. omits the Moon from the Devayāna and there is a change in the form of the question which is not now

Ch. passage in 6. 9. 3; it appears to be rather the other way about and the Ch. passage an imitation of the Kauṣ. one, or the original passage on which the Kauṣ. text is based; because the Ch. account commits an important omission that cannot be easily explained if we treat the passage as the original—namely it omits "*puruṣa*" and is therefore quite incomplete by the most important factor in the list. This cannot be readily accounted for in the original text, but may easily have taken place in a mere mechanical enumeration that follows an already well-known list.

1. Compare Kauṣ.

relevant. This change makes the first question in the Bṛh. a sort of supplement to the fifth in the same series and no longer necessary and definite.

The first question "How do the departing souls separate?" and the fifth question "What is the access of the Devayāna and of the Pitr̥yāna—by doing what, do the souls gain the one or the other?" do not require separate answers.

The second question in both Upaniṣads is the same and deals with the manner of the souls' return journey to the world.

The third question in Ch.—"what are the courses of the Devayāna and Pitr̥yānas" follows the same line of thought. The third question in Bṛh. is "How is that world not filled up by those who go from hence continually?" and the fourth, "In what oblation does the water become a human voice?" the fifth, "What is the access to the two paths?" Now compare the order of the questions in Ch. Following the third question which completes the description of the journey to and from the Moon, the Upaniṣad puts the fourth question "How is that world not filled up?" and concludes by the question "In what oblation does the water become a human voice and rise up and speak?"

The fourth question in Ch. is practically the same as the third in the Bṛh. but in the latter the answer implied seems to be that yonder world is not filled up by those who go hence because they do not remain there permanently. The second question is based upon this knowledge, only the manner of the return being questioned, while the questions admit also the two paths of transmigration and of emancipation. The third question in Bṛh. therefore is not necessary. In Ch. however the question means something else which has been superseded by the later development of the doctrine that is acknowledged by the Bṛh. alone. Immediately after describing the third place as the condition of insects and flies which are not on either of the two paths of transmigration or of *mokṣa*—thus—"Be born and die"—the Upaniṣad asserts, "By this, that world is not filled up." These fleeting creatures who are born and die do not go to the Moon to travel by either of the two paths.

The whole of the section that follows is an obvious interpolation¹ to bring the doctrine into harmony with its subsequent

1. Ch. 5. 10. 8, 9, 10. The interpolated passage begins with—तस्माज्जुगुप्सेत in 5. 10. 8., continues through 5. 10. 9 and 5. 10. 10. Of these 8 & 9 have already been quoted.

development. *Tasmājjugupseta, tadeṣa lokah*, makes of the third place a state to be avoided—the result of sinful deeds as in the Brh. It ends in a weak and unnecessary anticlimax. "But he who knows the five fires thus, is not stained with evil, even though consorting with those people. He becomes pure, clean, possessor of a pure world (*puṇyalokah*) who knows this".¹ It is the original object of the Upāsanā not to make the knower the possessor of a meritorious world, but rather the opposite—to take him along the Devayāna to Brahman without return—to *mokṣa* which cannot be called *puṇyaloka*.

Of these, the Chāndogya Upaniṣad has the original version.²

The strife of the devas and asuras. Found in Ch. 1. 2, and Brh. 1. 3.

It is a characteristic of the Upaniṣads that they glorify those parts of the ritual connected with the Veda to which they belong, in expounding their own teachings. Thus the Brh. brings its cosmology into relation with the Aśvamedha—the most important of the animal sacrifices; in the Kaṭha, Naciketas chooses as his second boon instruction in the Naciketas Fire that leads to heaven; the Kauṣītaki enjoins the worship of Brahman as *Ukthya* and the Chāndogya in its first two *Prapāṭhakas* is chiefly engaged in glorifying the Udgītha and the Sāman.

The section of the *Devāsura* rivalry is found in the Brh. after a description of the world as the sacrificial horse, and an account of creation leading up to the institution of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. This glorification of the Udgītha as the breath in the mouth, followed by a glorification of the Sāman as breath, comes after this, and in the fourth Brāhmaṇa, the Upaniṣad goes on with the account of creation under the analogy of the procreation by the Self. In the Ch. the section occurs in 1-2. The Chāndogya begins with an identification of the Udgītha (as the essence of all things) with the mystic syllable *Om*, and in the second *Khaṇḍa*, the Udgītha is identified with the breath in the mouth; in the third, the Udgītha and its syllables are variously identified; the fourth and fifth continue the same theme; the sixth and seventh give the cosmic and personal interrelations of the

1. अथ ह य एतान् एवं पञ्चामीन् वेद न सह तैरप्याचरन् पाप्मना लिप्यते
शुद्धतः पुण्यलोको भवति य एवं वेद य एवं वेद.

2. Professor Deussen thinks otherwise for reasons given in his *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 105.

Udgītha, and in the eighth and ninth the Udgītha is identified with the Ultimate as space.

The features of the *Devāsura* rivalry-story are the superiority of breath among the functions and a glorification of the Udgītha by an identification of the two. The first feature may belong equally to both Upaniṣads, but the second is more natural and appropriate in a Sāma Veda Upaniṣad. When we find this secondary feature faithfully reproduced in both versions we are justified in assuming that the borrowing has taken place on the part of the Yajur Veda Upaniṣad—the Brhadāraṇyaka.

In the Chāndogya, Udgītha is revered as *Om*, (1. 1. 1) its syllables as heaven, atmosphere and earth, breath, speech and food, sun, wind and fire and the three Vedas—the sun and *vyāna* are also revered as Udgītha—and in the account of the rivalry of the gods and demons, the functions, one by one, are revered as the Udgītha. The idea of reverencing the Udgītha and its syllables as breath, *Om* etc. is therefore found in more than one place. In the Brh. however the Gods first approach the Prāṇas and ask them to sing the Udgītha, but in 1. 3. 23, the Udgītha is identified with Prāṇa. Strictly speaking the Brhadāraṇyaka has no business to be glorifying the Udgītha at all, and when we find it devoting a whole *Brāhmaṇa* to it, and indulging in the apparent inconsistency of making the breath sing the Udgītha in the first place and following it up by the identification of the breath as the Udgītha (like the Ch.) we may reasonably assume that the Chāndogya account is the original from which the Brhadāraṇyaka derives this section.

The very fact that the Brh. retains the secondary feature of the glorification of the Udgītha argues for the originality of the Chāndogya version.

In the Brh. moreover the discussion of the superiority of breath is wedged in between two expositions of creation theories and is more naturally placed in the Chāndogya among various identifications of the Udgītha with *Om*, the sun, etc. though, in this, the glorification of the Udgītha becomes the chief feature of the story or at least of equal importance with the superiority of breath.

In the light of these facts the elaborations of the Brh. are also suspicious. The bodily functions are connected with their cosmical Upaniṣadic equivalents, and breath is described as

the eater of food. There is also an elaboration of some details in the story.

This is found in the Ch. 5. 1. 6—12., Bṛh. 6. 1. 7—13., Kauṣī. 2. 14., Praśna 2. 2. 4. Of these the Brh. account is derived from the Chāndogya and the others based upon these accounts. The reasons for assuming this order are given by Professor Deussen himself.¹

Ch. 8. 4. 1-2; Bṛh. 4. 4. 22 also Muṇḍ. 2. 2. 5, Śvet. 6. 19. In the Ch. 8. 4. the image of the Soul as the *setu* which holds apart the worlds and keeps back the evils of this world crossing over to the other, is found. Neither good nor evil, day nor night nor death nor sorrow passes over to the other world which is free from all evil. Passing over this dam we leave evils behind and enter the world of perpetual light. In the Bṛh. 4. 4. 22 this idea is alluded to, briefly, thus among a host of epithets " *eṣa bhūtādhipatiṣeṣa bhūtapāla eṣa setur vidharāṇa eṣām lokānāmasambhedāya* ," and Professor Deussen traces back the Chāndogya passage to this brief allusion, on the supposition that the *setu* comparison is suggested by Yājñavalkya's words in the Bṛh. 3. 8. 9.—

"*elasya vā akṣarasya praśāsane Gārgī sūryācandramasau vidhṛtau tiṣṭhataḥ*"

and that in the Chāndogya there is confusion of images of the Ātman as a separating dam and then as bridge, because the original idea has been obscured by time. There appears to be no confusion of images in the Ch. passage, the image of the Ātman as a separating dam is maintained. The evils of this world are kept apart from the joys of the other world,—we pass over from one to the other when we attain salvation. A somewhat similar idea is found in the Bṛh. 4. 3. 9, where the *Vijñānamaya Ātman*, standing in the intermediate condition of sleep, sees both this world and the other world.

Later Upaniṣads (Śvet. 6. 19. and Muṇḍ. 2. 2. 5) have taken over this idea from the Ch. and owing to the suggestion in the last part of the section, *setu* seems to be used in the sense of a bridge in both places.

1. Philosophy of the Upan. p. 104.

The conception of the body as the city of Brahman also belongs to the Ch. 8—1.

"*atha yadidamasmin brahmapure daharam puṇḍarikam veśma daharo'sminnantarākāśastasmin yadantastadanveṣṭavyam tadvāva vijijñāsitavyam iti.*"

This conception is perhaps allied to that of the five heavenly doorkeepers of the heart (Ch. 3. 13)—the vital breaths correlated with the bodily functions, and the sun, moon, fire, Parjanya and space. These are the five Brahman men, doorkeepers of the heavenly world. This idea is present in the Bṛh. also.

"*puraścakre dvīpadaḥ puraścakre catuṣpadaḥ puraḥ sa pakṣībhūtā puraḥ puruṣa āviśaditi sa vā ayam puruṣaḥ sarvāsu pūrṣu purīṣayo nainena kiñcanānāvṛtam nainena kiñcanāsamvṛtam.*"

This conception of the Chāndogya has influenced later Upaniṣads also. (Muṇḍ. 2. 2. 7.) The Kaṭha mentions the eleven-gated city of the Unborn (5. 1). There is the city with 9 gates of Śvet. 3. 18—etc.—and, through these of later literature. Praśna 4. 3. where the fires of Prāṇa keep watch in the city of our body seems to follow Ch. 3. 13—(The doorkeepers of the heavenly world).

The Ch. in 1. 2 mentions five: eye, smell, speech, ear, mind: three: mind, breath and speech in 6. 5. 6; apparently four in 3. 13. and 5. 23. 2, eye, ear, speech, mind—the wind corresponds to breath. The Bṛh. 1. 3. mentions five as in the Ch. 1. 2., in 3. 1. 3-6 four are mentioned, speech, eye, breath and mind. Seven in 2. 2. 2, and with the voice eight (2. 2. 3—4) 3. 7. 18-26; eight again, breath, speech, tongue, eye, ear, mind, hands and skin, six in Bṛh. 4. 1. 2-7, speech, breath, sight, hearing, mind and heart. The later ten *indriyas* are for the first time mentioned in the Bṛh. 2. 4. 11. in Yājñavalkya's instruction to Maitreyī.

These are mentioned in several Upaniṣads Ch. 8. 6. Bṛh. 2. 1. 19, 4. 2. 3; 4. 3. 20; 4. 4. 8-9; Kauṣī. 4. 19. Praśna 3. 6.

In the Ch. 8. 6—these are of five colours, and connected with the sunrays, similarly coloured—This forms a sort of highway between the worlds. In sound sleep one creeps

into these arteries and reaches *tejas*—In death the knower departs by the artery that leads up by the crown of the head, and enters the sun—the non-knower departs by the others and is turned back from the sun. In the Bṛh. these veins are called *hitāḥ*—In 4. 2. 3. they are in the heart and nourish the individual soul,—the one leading up is the path on which it travels. They are the abode of the soul in deep sleep in the Bṛh. 2. 1. 19 and 4. 3. 20. In 2. 1. 19 the number is given 72,000, and they spread forth into the *purīṭaḥ*. In 4. 3. 20 they are filled with fluid of five colours. The Bṛh. 4. 4. 8-9 speaks of the 'ancient narrow path' by which the Brahman-knower travels. He is called *taijasa* which recalls the theory peculiar to the Chāndogya of heat as the first emanation from being—into which we are reabsorbed, and the Ch. 8. 6. 3. where in sound sleep, the self reaches *tejas* and in death—the sun. On this path there are the five colours, derived from the Ch. 8. 6. 1.

Kauṣī. 4. 19. In this also the veins are called *hitāḥ*. They are of five colours, according to the Chāndogya version.

The 3 passages are quoted below:—

atha yā etā hṛdayasya nāḍyastāḥ piṅgalasyāṇimnastiṣṭhanti śuklasya, nīlasya, pīṭasya, lohitasya. Ch. 8. 6. 1.

tā vā asyaitā hitā nāma nāḍyo yathā keśāḥ sahasradhā bhinnāstāvātāṇimnāstiṣṭhanti śuklasya nīlasya piṅgalasya haritasya lohitasya pūrṇāḥ. Bṛh. 4. 3. 20.

.....*hitā nāma hṛdayasya nāḍyo hṛdayāt purīṭatama-bhipratānvanti yathā sahasradhā keśo vipūṭitastāvadanvyaḥ piṅgalasyāṇimnā tiṣṭhante śuklasya kṛṣṇasya pīṭasya lohitasya iti.....* Kauṣī. 4. 19.

We may safely assume that the Ch. passage is the earliest and that the two others are derived from this. In Bṛh. 2. 1. 19 the veins are said to be 72,000 in number, and on the basis of this and the 101 of the Ch. 8. 6. 8. the Praśna mentions the 101 arteries to each of which belong a hundred smaller ones, to each of these smaller 72,000. In other ways too the Praśna 3 betrays dependence on the Ch. 8. 6.

Other reasons. The Bṛh. is reminiscent of the Chāndogya in other ways—Bṛh. 5. 6.

This person, here in the heart, is made of mind, is of the nature of light, is like a little grain of rice, is a grain of barley.

This very one is the ruler of everything, is lord of everything, governs this whole universe, whatsoever there is.¹

In the Ch. 6. 13. the immanent soul is illustrated by salt dissolved in water.

In the Bṛh. 2. 4. 12 and in 4. 5. 13 (both in Yājñavalkya's instruction to Maitreyī) the salt simile is employed—in 2. 4. 12 like the Ch. 6. 13 as a mass of salt dissolved in water and in 4. 5. 13—in illustration of the same fact as in 2. 4. 12) there is a change, and the conception is of a mass of salt without inside or outside entirely a mass of taste, is found. Here also we may infer the suggestion of the Chāndogya for the comparison, though the idea illustrated is not that of the Chāndogya.

The evidence detailed above justified the conclusion that of the two earliest Upaniṣads, the Chāndogya is the earlier, and that the Bṛhadāraṇyaka is in places dependent on the Chāndogya.

Tradition makes Uddālaka and Yājñavalkya contemporaries and even shows the former as the teacher of the great philosopher of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. The Chāndogya contains some of the oldest historical material in the Upaniṣads in the story of Raikva and Jānaśruti and Satyakāma Jābāla. In the matter of symbols and *upāsānās* too the Chāndogya as a whole does not appear to have passed beyond the earliest stages—and in the case of old narratives preserved in both Upaniṣads the Bṛhadāraṇyaka often shows developments that are wanting in the Chāndogya.

All this is interestingly confirmed by the greater sanctity that seems to belong traditionally to the Chāndogya. Out of twenty-eight fundamental passages in Bādarāyaṇa's Sūtras twelve are taken from the Chāndogya, and four each from the Kaṭha and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, two each from the Taittiriya and Kauṣītaki, and four from the Atharva Upaniṣads.² The same striking preference is shown by Śaṅkarācārya also as Deussen has himself pointed out.³ This is all the more strange. For Śaṅkara's Advaitism, the Bṛhadāraṇyaka is much more adapted than the Chāndogya Upaniṣad whose philosophical sections have a prevailing tinge of pantheism that would perhaps better bend itself to a Viśiṣṭādvaitic interpretation.

1. See the Śāṅḍilyavidyā—Ch. 3. 14.

2. Deussen. Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, p. 28.

3. Ibid p. 30.

LAKṢAṆARATNĀVALI
AN UNKNOWN WORK OF ŚRĪMAD APPAYYA DĪKṢITA

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The Lakṣaṇaratnāvalī, the available portion of the text of which is reproduced below, is a hitherto unknown work of Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita. While engaged in the preparation of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts—Alaṅkāra section—in the Sarasvatī Mahāl Palace Library, Tanjore, I had the opportunity to come across a fragmentary copy of the work, Lakṣaṇaratnāvalī, with a commentary. The commentator does not give out his name, but considering the way in which the commentary begins and considering also Appayya Dīkṣita's way of commenting on his own works, I am tempted to believe that the commentary too is by the same illustrious writer. The work deals with the definitions relating to the technical terms of Sanskrit Dramaturgy. As preserved in that library, the text is incomplete as also the commentary. A vigorous search may enable scholars to trace the work in its entirety.

The commentator, whoever he might have been, tells us that the work is by Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita and that it was composed by the Dīkṣita at the express request of King Venkaṭapati, the person that induced him to compose the Kuvalayānanda. The following introductory note in the commentary of the work under description is worthy of note:—

अथ श्रीमन्तः अप्पय्यदीक्षिताः सर्वविद्याकलाकलापचातुर्यसत्तारस-
स्वारस्यविज्ञानसरस्वतः सारस्वतावतारप्रथितमहिम्नो महीपालचूडामणेः श्रीवेङ्कटा-
भिधानस्य स्वाभिलाषपरिपूरणकामधेनोः नियोगेन निखिलकाव्यनाटकलक्षण-
निबन्धनं चिकीर्षुः तत्र लक्षणरत्नावल्याख्यां लक्षणपद्धतिं प्रदर्शयन् स्वात्मदेवस्य
निखिलदेवताराध्यपादुकस्य निःशेषमुवनावनदक्षस्य श्रीचन्द्रशेखरस्य प्रणामं
समस्तदुस्तरप्रतिबन्धकनिवर्तकं निबध्नाति नान्धाख्यपद्येन ॥

Comparing this extract with the last verse of the Kuvala-
yānanda,

अमुं कुवलयानन्दमकरोदप्पदीक्षितः ।

नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

it is just possible for us to see that the two Venkaṭapatis are identical with each other.

Below I have reproduced the textual portion of the Lakṣaṇaratnāvalī, omitting the commentary. My main object in giving this fragment is only to make scholars aware of the fact that there is a new work of Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita dealing with the principles of dramaturgy. Let us hope that ere long the work may be recovered in its entirety.

॥ लक्षणरत्नावली ॥

वन्दारुवृन्दारकमौलिरत्न-

ज्वालासमुद्भासिपदारविन्दम् ।

नतेप्सितार्थार्पणकामधेनुं

नमामि बालेन्दुलसत्किरीटम् ॥ १ ॥

यत्राष्टभिर्द्वादशाभिरष्टादशभिरेव वा ।

द्वाविंशत्या पदैर्युक्ता सा नान्दी परिकीर्तिता ॥ २ ॥

आशीर्नमस्क्रियारूपः श्लोकः काव्यार्थसूचकः ।

नान्दीति कथ्यते तस्यां पदानां नियमोऽपि वा ॥ ३ ॥

माङ्गल्यशङ्खचक्राब्जकोककैरवशंसिनी ।

नान्दी पदैर्द्वादशाभिरष्टाभिर्वाप्यलंकृता ॥ ४ ॥

गर्तगङ्गारनिम्नाण्डपल्लवप्रमुखैः पदैः ।

नवार्थवाचकैश्चापि तथोपक्षयवाचकैः ॥ ५ ॥

पूर्वोत्तरविरुद्धार्थैः शैवबीभत्ससूचकैः ।

प्रकृतानुपयुक्तार्थैः अलंकारविवर्जितैः ॥ ६ ॥

संहारवाचकैश्चापि तथा मरणवाचकैः ।

एवमाद्यैः पदैर्द्वाविंशत्या नान्दीकल्याणदा भवेत् ॥ ७ ॥

शृङ्गारलीलारसिकं मन्दस्मितविराजितम् ।

प्रसन्नं वरदं देवं भक्ताभयवरप्रदम् ॥ ८ ॥

वनितामुखसौन्दर्यविनोदनसमुत्सुकम् ।

IV—32

कन्दर्पकोटिसौन्दर्यं स्वप्रबन्धप्रभुं शुभम् ॥
 प्यायेन्नान्दीमुखे भक्त्या तत्परं मङ्गलं चरेत् ॥ ९ ॥
 आरब्ध.....नोऽवविशुद्धितोः
 कल्याणिनीं कामपि भाव्यनिर्जराम् [?] ।
 न पद्म.....छन्नसमस्तपात्रः
 कुर्यादयं सूत्रधूमेव नान्दीम् ॥ १० ॥
 प्रथमं भारतं शाब्दं स्वयं सम्यगधीत्ययः ।
 शिष्यान् पाठयति प्राङ्गः सूत्रधारः स कथ्यते ॥
 तेनैव कार्यं नान्द्याख्यं शिष्यवर्गसभान्तरे ॥ ११ ॥
 नान्दीप्रशंसनादूर्ध्वं पूर्वैरङ्गार्चनं चरेत् ।
 पौष्पमञ्जलिकं श्रेयः प्रगायन्निजसंस्तरम् ॥
 रङ्गपीडानिवृत्त्यर्थं विकिरेदूर्ध्वदिग्मुखः ॥ १२ ॥
 ततोऽपनीय नेपथ्यात् कुटुम्बाद्रङ्गमण्डपम् ।
 प्रविश्य तत्समाजाग्रथान् चतुर्दशकलाविदः ॥ १३ ॥
 भरताचार्यसिद्धान्तपारगान् सर्वसंमतान् ।
 प्रस्तुत्य वरयेत्किञ्चित् अभिनेष्यामि वः पुरः ॥ १४ ॥
 रूपकं श्रीमतामिष्टं किञ्चिद्विज्ञाप्यतामिति ।
 तेषां प्रच्छन्नपात्रत्वात् तदुक्तिरनुसंधेत् ॥
 तैर्यथेष्टनियोगे तु तादृशीं स्मृतिमानयेत् ॥ १५ ॥
 रूपकं लक्षणोपेतं नटादिप्रभपूर्वकम् ।
 महयेत् कृतिनेतारं कविं च कुलशीलतः ॥ १६ ॥
 भारतीं च प्र[चापि] शंसित्वा प्रबन्धार्यस्य सूचकैः ।
 पदैः प्रसङ्गकरणं पूर्वैरङ्गमिति स्मृतम् ॥ १७ ॥
 पूर्वैरङ्गविधेः पश्चात् प्रस्तावनमुदाहृतम् ।
 अर्थान्तरपदैः शब्दैः अप्राकृतपदैरपि ॥
 प्रकृतार्थप्रशंसा स्यात् रूपकोपक्रमस्तथा ॥ १८ ॥
 सूत्रधारादल्पविधो गीतिशास्त्रविशारदः ।
 भावप्राहयिता प्राङ्गो नट इत्यभिधीयते ॥
 तज्जातीया तु वनिता नटीति परिकीर्त्यते ॥ १९ ॥

ŚAKA-PALLAVAS IN INDIAN HISTORY

BY

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(Continued from page 165. of Vol. IV, J. O. R. M.)

ii. The dynasty of Caṣṭana.

Caṣṭana, son of Ysamotika, became ruler of Mālva in 78 A. D. The circumstances that led to the foundation of this as of every other Śaka-Pallava dynasty are unknown. The Āndhra kings who ruled from sea to sea from 50 B. C. lost ground so that it was possible for Śakas to seize Mālva. From the fact that this family of Caṣṭana was called Śaka, we may infer that it was descended from the Śakas that had settled in the West coast from ancient times. Caṣṭana's capital was Ujjayini and he is identical with Tirasthenes, Kiug os Ozena (*Ujjayini*), mentioned by Ptolemy.¹

It has been pointed out that he was the founder of the Śaka era. Cunningham long ago assigned the foundation of this era to Caṣṭana and later scholars have for no proper reason ignored this suggestion of Cunningham. The Śaka era must have been founded by a Śaka and, so far as we know, Caṣṭana was the only Śaka who began to rule in 78 A. D. The first person who used the era was his grandson, Rudradāmā whose Juṇāgaḍh inscription is dated in the year 72, which must be of this era. This era was used, naturally without a name, by his descendants so long as they ruled. Eras, at least in India, were not proclaimed with a flourish of trumpets and given a baptismal name at the time of their inception. When the era first migrated south it was first used by Maṅgaleśa in the Bādāmi inscription of 578 A. D., where it is described as 'the year when the Śaka King was anointed.' As Caṣṭana was the only possible Śaka who could have been crowned 72 years before

1. Ind. Ant. xiii. p. 369.

a date when Rudradāmā was reigning, we are driven to conclude that the Śaka era was counted from the year of his coronation as Cunningham thought, though his successors in Indological studies have abandoned the theory on very insufficient grounds. The era travelled from the Karnāṭa to the Telugu and Tamil countries. It got the name of Śālivāhana Śakābda in the XIV century, under the Vijayanagara Kings. In time *Śakābda* (and its contracted form, *Śaka*) came to be used in the sense of 'era', and even the absurd phrase Vikrama Śaka came into use.

Modern scholars have attempted to discover the founder of the Śaka era in Northwest India, and one has suggested the possibility of Kanīṣka being its father. To support this guess, he has unwarrantably antedated Kanīṣka's reign, though Kanīṣka was not at all a Śaka. Another has speculated on Arya being the founder of the Śaka era, but these speculations have been made, not on the basis of historical evidence, but only, as pointed out already, for the purpose of propping up pet theories.

Ujjayinī, which has been from the middle of the I millennium B. C. associated with everything characteristically Hindu in Central India, as Benares in Northern India, became Caṣṭana's capital. From there he issued coins which bear a *caitya* between a crescent and a star. The *caitya* being a common type of Āndhra coins, Rapson thinks that its use by Caṣṭana is probably due to association with the Āndhras, and "It may well signify some extension of his power at their expense".¹ Instead of Rapson's hesitant phrase, we ought to say that Caṣṭana must have defeated the Āndhras and wrested from them a very important portion of their dominions, and Śaka-Pallava Kings did in other parts of India which they conquered, issue coins imitating the type of those of their predecessors. His father who bore a very outlandish name, which has been read as Yzamotika or Ghśamotika, was not a Kṣatrapa, nor did he issue coins, and hence it is certain that Caṣṭana was the first ruler of his line. He struck coins both as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa, which shows that he acquired at first a petty district and then extended his sovereignty far and wide. In his case, no amount of ingenuity, in the interests of the theory that Kṣatrapa meant a local Satrap, a deputy of a King, can invent any kind of suzerain

power claiming supremacy over him and succeeding Kings of Mālava. In so far as his successors are concerned, we frequently find "a Mahākṣatrapa and a Kṣatrapa reigning at the same time—the latter occupying the position of heir-apparent and regularly in due course succeeding to the higher dignity".¹ Hence in their case Kṣatrapa merely meant a *Yuvarāja* and Mahākṣatrapa, a *Mahārāja*.

Caṣṭana, and after him, his son, Jayadāmā, issued coins, but with no dates on them. Caṣṭana is represented on his coins as wearing a moustache and a plain cap, with long hair reaching the neck, and, in one coin at least, arranged in ringlets.² His dominions were extensive and included Kāthiāvāḍ, south Gujarāt, Mevād and Mālva. From this we can easily infer that the Āndhra power had, in the west, diminished very much and its centre of gravity slowly began to shift towards the east. His son, Jayadāmā, seems to have lived and died a mere Kṣatrapa, without assuming the higher title, why we do not know.

The greatest King of this time was Rudradāmā, who succeeded to the throne, sometime before 52 Śaka (130 A. D.). Four Prākṛat stone-inscriptions of the time of Rudradāmā, dated in the year 52, i. e., 130 A. D., have been recently brought to light and published by R. D. Banerji who says that,³ "The object of all four inscriptions is to record the erection of funeral monuments by the relatives of the deceased. In the inscriptions themselves these monuments are termed *laṣṭis*." One was erected by Madana, son of Sihila (Simhila) to the memory of his sister Jēṣṭavīrā, the daughter of Simhila of the Opaśati (Aupaśatika) *gotra*, on the second day of the dark half of Phaguṇa (Phālguna), during the reign of Rāja Rudradāman. The second was to the memory of Ṛṣabhadeva, son of the same Simhila erected by the same person as the former on the same day. The third too was built by the same man on the same day, to the memory of his wife, Yaśadatā, a *śrāmaṇerī*, daughter of Sihamitra of the Śenika *gotra*. On the same day was erected the fourth one for Ṛṣabhadeva, a *śrāmaṇerā*, by his father Treṣṭadata. These inscriptions were found in Kacch and are interesting only

1. Edited and translated by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.* vii. p. 36-49.
2. *Bom. Gaz.* I. i. p. 22.
3. *E. I.* xvi. pp. 19-25.

1. *Cat. Ind. Coins.* p. cxv.

down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper storeys, gates and raised places of shelter—scattered, broke to pieces, [tore apart] . . . with stones, trees, bushes, and creeping plants scattered about, was thus laid open to the bottom of the river :—By a breach four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as many broad, [and] seventy-five cubits deep, all the water escaped, so that (the lake) almost like a sandy desert; [became] ugly to look at. . . . for the sake of . . . ordered to be made by the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya king Candragupta; adorned with conduits for Aśoka the Maurya, by the Yavana king Tuṣaspha, while governing; and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) seen in that breach, the extensive dam . . . he, who, because from the womb he was distinguished by the possession of undisturbed consummate Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and chosen their lord to protect them; who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battles; who (showed) compassion . . . not failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to face; who grants protection of life to people repairing to him of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before him; who is the lord of the whole of the eastern and western Akarāvanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Svabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Niśādha and other territories gained by his own valour, the towns, marts and rural parts of which are never troubled by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like, where all subjects are attached to him, and where through his might the objects of [religion], wealth and pleasure [are duly attained]; who by force destroyed the Yaudheyas who were loth to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kṣatriyas; who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, on account of the nearness of the connection did not destroy him; who [obtained] victory . . .; who reinstates deposed kings; who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma; who has attained wide fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of grammar, music, logic and other great sciences; who . . . the management of horses, elephants and chariots, the use of sword and shield, pugilistic combat and other

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. . . . the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces, who day by day is in the habit of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful treatment; who is bounteous; whose treasury by the tribute, trees, and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds and (other) precious things; who prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned; whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent in marks and signs, such as (auspicious) length, dimension, and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength: who himself acquired the name of Mahākṣatrapa; who has been weighed with many garlands at the *svayaṁvaras* of king's daughters;—he, the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāmā, in order to . . . cows and Brāhmaṇas for a thousand years, and to increase his religious merit and fame,—without oppressing the inhabitants of the town and country by taxes, forced labour, and acts of affection—by (the expenditure of) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length . . . [on] all [banks] . . . (and so) had (this lake) made (even) more beautiful to look at.

When in this matter the Mahākṣatrapa's councillors and executive officers, who, though full, endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (regarded as) futile on account of the enormous extent of the breach opposed the commencement (of the work), (and) when the people in their despair of having the dam built were loudly lamenting, (the work) was carried out by the minister Suviśākha, the son of Kuhaipa, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra (a minister) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (of the people), who was able, patient, not wavering, not arrogant, upright (and) not be bribed, (and) who by his good government increased the spiritual merit, fame, and glory of his master."¹

This inscription of 150 A. D. has many points of interest to the historical student. First it describes the ideal of a king as conceived by the Brāhmaṇas of the II century A. D. The king's

1. *Ep. Ind.* viii, *op. cit.*



Handwritten notes in the right margin: '5/27' and 'Dm 5-3'.

chief function was to protect "towns, marts and rural parts (*nagara, nigama, janapada*) from "robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like", i.e., included the organization of a police force, a force of hunters of noxious animals, and of hospitals, besides the departments of public works and irrigation. He was assisted by a legislative assembly (*matiasiva*) and an executive council (*karmasaciva*), who together formed the cabinet of ministers (*amātya*). The form of government was, then, what would now-a-days be called constitutional monarchy and differed from it only in this fact that the 'constitution' did not grow gradually on account of the constant pull in opposite directions by the king and the legislative body, but came down from several centuries previously, having its origin in the ordinances of the *Śāstrakāras* developed from the references in Vedas to the practice of the Vedic age and gradually altered by the authors of the, *Dharma Śāstras* and *Artha Śāstras* from age to age to suit the exigencies of changing conditions of the country. The ideal of conduct and code of personal honour as described in the inscription is also worth noting. When kings departed very much from the ideals inculcated, they became so unpopular that they were removed (exiled or assassinated) by a rising of his subjects against him or their power became so weakened that the dynasty was easily replaced by a new dynasty. This was the "sanction" behind the constitution. In every family dry rot sets in after a few generations and royal families which have degenerated have to be removed from power in two or three hundred years. But the change of dynasties did not affect the position of the ministers or other important officers, who were all drawn from the highly educated classes either by royal selection or popular acclamation, without any elaborate system of vote-taking.

The list of royal accomplishments given in the inscription is no piece of courtly flattery, for in India from very old times, as the *Artha Śāstras*, the *Dharma Śāstras* and the *kāvyas* unanimously testify, princes underwent a rigorous course of training and even those who developed moral or political debility in after years were well-known to be thoroughly accomplished in the arts and sciences of the day. Hindu *rājās* have always been noted for their intimate acquaintance with, and liberal patronage of, all knowledge—fine arts, military arts, the sciences and the industries. The tradition of the necessity of princes to

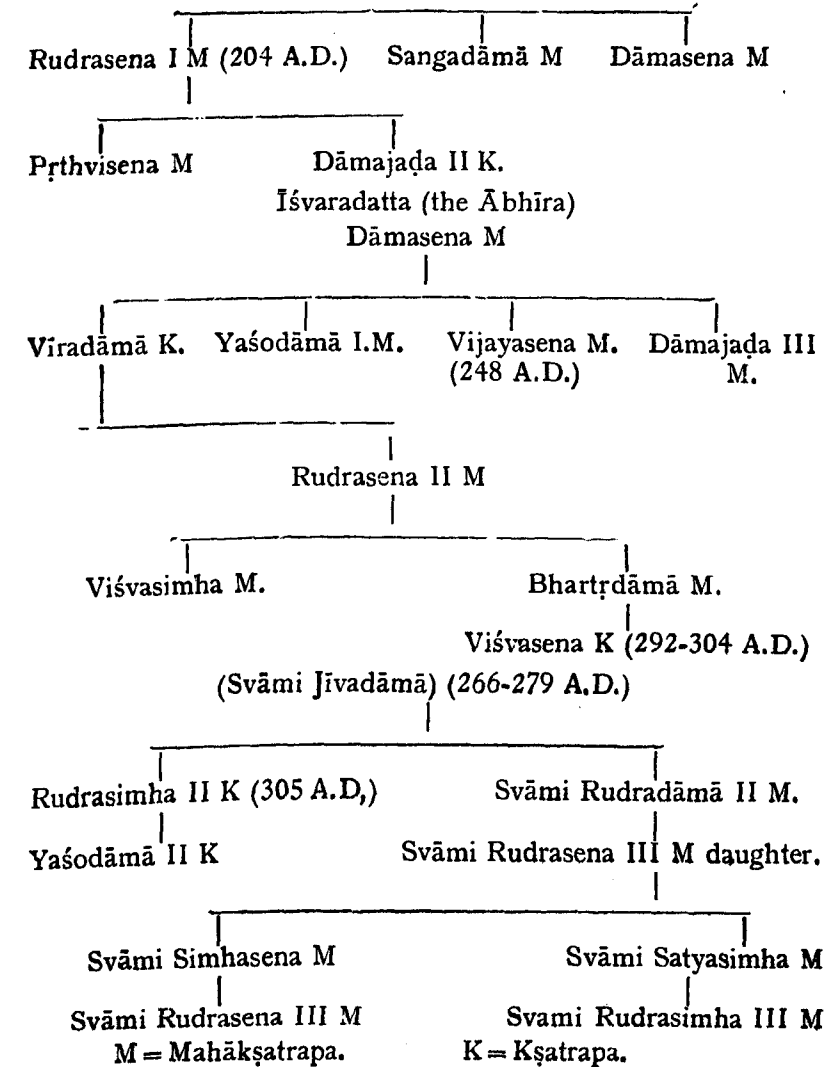
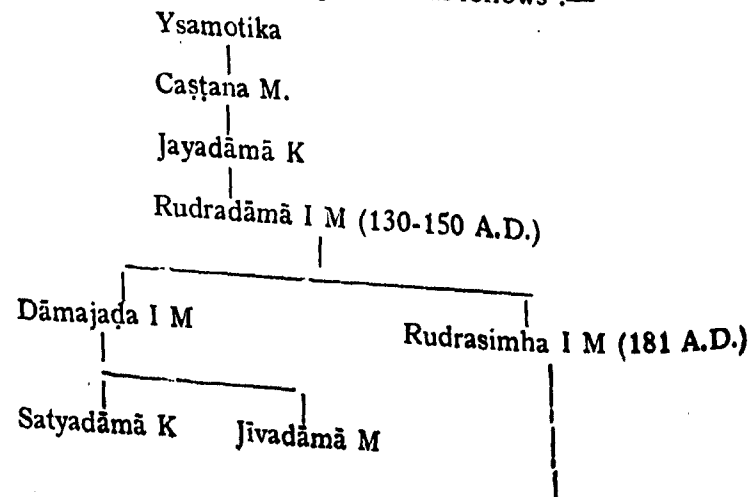
be highly accomplished is not yet dead in India. The inscription casually mentions some departments of knowledge of which princes were masters, such as the *Śāstras*, (especially, *Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma*), grammar (*Śabdavidyā*), music (*gāndharva vidyā*, including dancing), logic (*nyāya*) and other great *vidyās*, which Rudradāmā memorized, meditated on, understood correctly and practised (*pāraṇadhāraṇaviññānaprayoga*). The arts mentioned are the managements of horses, elephants and chariots (*turaga-gaja-ratha-caryā*), the use of sword and shield, pugilistic combat, etc. (*asicarma viyuddhādī*), and the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces (*parabalalāghavasauṣṭhavakriyā*), which means military tactics. Books on all these subjects existed in those days, including on the disposal of soldiers on the battlefield (called in those days *vyūha*), attributed to Skanda, and this fact may well be kept in mind by modern scholars who try to pull forward to many centuries A. D. Sanskrit books on these subjects. The inscriptions also tell us that in the second century after Christ there existed in the country volumes of prose and verse (*gadyapadya*), "clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned", (*sphuṭalaghumaḍhuracitrakāntaśabdasamayodārālankṛta*). The whole phrase and especially the last word *alankṛta* clearly indicates that rhetoric and poetics (*alankāraśāstra*) had been fully developed by that time.

This inscription, besides informing us that a great work of engineering, which most of the counsellors and executive officers fought shy of, on account of the vastness of the work to be done, was carried out by the local governor, shows the extent of solicitude that the government felt for relieving the loud lamentations of the people. We are specifically informed that the expenses of the undertaking were paid from the public funds, and, may infer, that no additional tax was levied to reimburse the treasury. From the inscription we also learn that the sources of royal revenue were practically the same as those mentioned in the *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya. They were tributes (*bali*), tolls (*śulka*) and shares of produce (*bhāga*) from below and above the earth, from the sea and from manufactures; besides these there were the taxes (*kara*), contribution of labourers (*viṣṭi*) and "acts of affection" (*prāṇayakriyā*), which probably corresponded to a super-tax, more or less voluntarily levied from wealthy persons on special occasions, which, the inscription says,

Rudradāmā did not oppress the people by levying. The revenues were lodged in the treasury in the shape of gold, silver, diamonds and collections of other precious things (*vaiḍūrya-ratnopaṇaya*).

The phrase "himself acquired the name of Mahākṣatrapa" (*svayam adhigatamahākṣatrapandmnā*) has been misinterpreted to mean that he acquired the districts catalogued above by the might of his own arm; but it is a mere formal eulogy, for we know that Caṣṭana it was who conquered them. The only wars of Rudradāmā seem to have been two. The first one with the Yaudheyas, proud descendants of an old Kṣatriya tribe coming down from the days of the Mahābhārata war, who refused to submit to him. The second was with Śātakarṇi, whom he twice defeated and forgave. This Śātakarṇi was Rudradāmā's son-in-law, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi, the Siri Polemaios of Ptolemy. This war was the last attempt of the Āndhras to regain supremacy in Western India.

The successors of Rudradāmā are all known from their coins dated regularly in the Śaka era. They did not succeed in the regular line of primogeniture; why we do not know. Another puzzle about them is that some called themselves *Kṣatrapas*, and others *Mahākṣatrapas*. One of them, Rudrasimha called himself *Kṣatrapa* in 102-3 Śaka, *Mahākṣatrapa* in 103-110, then again *Kṣatrapa* in 110-2, and again *Mahākṣatrapa* in 113-9. The variations in the title perhaps corresponded to variations in extent of power, or to the having or not of feudatories. The succession lists of the Kṣatrapa Rājās, made out by Rapson in his *Catalogue of Indian coins*, p. cliii is as follows :—



It will be seen from an inspection of the table of Kṣatrapa Rājās that the dynasty was threefold, the first ending with Dāmajaḍa II, the second with Viśvasena and the third with Rudrasimha. Of the first dynasty three inscriptions besides Rudradāmā's have been found.¹ One is undated and probably belongs to the time of Rudradāman's first son, Dāmajaḍa. It was discovered buried "in front of one of the cells of an extensive complex of caves in Girinagara (Junāgadh). The caves probably belonged to the Jains, because the word *kevalī* can be deciphered in the inscription which is otherwise undecipherable.

1. E. I. xvi—201.

The next inscription mentions Rudrasihā (Rudrasimha I Mahākṣatrapa) and the year 103 Śaka (181 A. D.), Rudrasimha who changed from Kṣatrapa to Mahākṣatrapa twice. During the time when he was Kṣatrapa for the first time, his *senāpati* Rudrabhūti, son of *senāpati* Bāpaka, the Ābhīra, dug a well and embanked it at the village (*grāma*) of Rasopadra on the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha under the constellation Rohiṇī.¹ The next belongs to the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I and the year 127 Śaka (265 A. D.) in the dark fortnight, fifth *tithi* of Bhādrapada. It is in mixed Sanskrit and Prākṛt. It records the erection of a *śatra* (probably a dialectical form of *satra*). It gives a genealogical list from Caṣṭana and prefixes the phrase *bhadramukha*, 'of gracious appearance,' to the names of Mahākṣatrapas and not of Kṣatrapas.² All the three inscriptions belong to Kāthiāwāḍ, and hence we may infer that the first Caṣṭana dynasty did not lose the province of Surāṣṭra during its rule. It may also be pointed out that the style of dating the inscription had altered under the Kṣatrapas, the older way being to mention the season (*ṛtu*), the number of the fortnight in the season, and the *divasa*, all in Prākṛt; this old fashion continued among the Āndhras, the Pallavas of Kāñcī, the Ābhīras and the Ikṣvākus, even after the Kṣatrapas had adopted the fashion of dating in months, *tithis* and *nakṣatras*. But in both fashions of dating the week—day was not mentioned, because it had not been introduced into India.

About 235 A. D. this first Caṣṭana dynasty was interrupted by Iśvaradatta (also Iśvarasena). His coins are found in Mālva, Gujārāt and Kāthiāwāḍ. Bhagavān Lāl Indrāji was of opinion that the "Ābhīras probably came by sea from Sindh, conquered the western coast and made Trikūṭa" in Aparānta their capital. Iśvaradatta was their leader. "He probably attacked, and gained a victory over, the Kṣatrapas. When he had consolidated his power, he began to issue his own coins, copying the Kṣatrapa coinage of the district."³ He assumed the titles Rājā and Kṣatrapa and founded an era on 5th September, 248 A. D., known as the Traṅkūṭaka era and later as the Kalacuri or Cedi era. Iśvaradatta is probably the same as Māḍhari-

1. E. I. xvi, p. 235.

2. E. I. xvi, p. 239.

3. Bom. Gaz. I, ii, p. 194, Cat. Ind. Coins. p. cxxxvi,

putra Iśvarasena, in whose reign Viṣṇudattā, a Śakānī, made an endowment of money to provide medicines for the sick among the monks of any sect residing on Mount Triraśmi¹. Apparently gratuitous medical help to the poor was a standing institution in ancient India which, besides kings, ordinary people patroinzed.

The second Caṣṭana dynasty ruled up to 304 A. D. But during 266 A. D. to 279 A. D. Svāmi Jivadāmā of a collateral branch of the line was ruling over Mālva without bearing any title indicative of royalty—*rājā* or *kṣatrapa*. In 279 A.D. the 13th year of the reign, which was increasing *svarājya* and victorious, of Jivadāmā, the valiant, the possessor of sunlike heroism (*āditya-vīrya*), the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śrīdharavarmā the Śaka, son of Nanda the Śaka, made a reservoir of water (*jalaniḍhi*), pure and sweet to the sight, and accessible to all, at all times.² The inscription informs us further that Śrīdhara was a *dharma vijaya*, 'conqueror through *dharma*', as Aśoka claimed to be five hundred years before. The phrase was not new when Aśoka used it, the ideal of *dharmavijaya* being an old Hindu one. The date of the inscription is given as *Śrāvaṇabāhulasya daśamī*, the tenth *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa. This fashion of dating in the *tithi*, *śuddha* or *bahula* (bright or dark *pakṣa*) of the lunar months was introduced by the Kṣatrapas and followed later by other dynasties and is now universal. Hence we have to infer that at Ujjayinī, the head-quarters of India, astronomical studies throughout the ages, which lies on the central meridian to which all Indian astronomers have to adjust their calculations, there already existed an active school of astronomy, patronized by the Kṣatrapa *rājās* and competent to correct the calendars and to act as the *jyotiś śāstrācāryas* for the whole of India.

The third Caṣṭana dynasty was founded by Jivadāmā's son, Rudrasimha II, Kṣatrapa, who began to strike coins in 305 A. D. The last Kṣatrapa coin is dated in 397 A. D. but by that time the power of the Kṣatrapas had very much shrunk, and a line of kings whose name ended in Varmā had begun to rule in a part of Mālva so early as 300 A. D., and the last Kṣatrapa king Rudra-

1. Ep. Ind. viii. p. 88.

2. Ep. Ind. viii. p. 232.

simha III, "the king of the Śakas, while courting another man's wife, was butchered by Candragupta [II], concealed in his mistress's dress", circa 400 A. D. Bāṇa¹ wrote about it two centuries after the event but V. A. Smith rejects his testimony with the airy remark that "the tale does not look like genuine history." I do not propose to criticise Smith's claim to be able to separate fact from fiction from the 'look' of the statement of a competent authority, but feel bound to point out that his own account of the end of the Kṣatrapa dynasty may be poetry but is certainly not history. He says, "we may feel assured that differences of race, creed and manners supplied the Gupta monarch with special reasons for desiring to suppress the impure foreign rulers of the West. Candragupta Vikramāditya . . . cannot but have experienced peculiar satisfaction 'in violently uprooting' foreign chieftains who probably cared little for caste rules".² All this is pure romancing because Rudradāmā, one of the early kings of this line is not only described as an ideal Hindu *rājā*, and a master of all Śāstras, but specially as one 'through whose might *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* are fulfilled' and 'who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma'. Again his successors patronized the premier Śāstrins of the time, who acted as leaders of the whole of India.

Surāṣṭra, Mālva and Koṅkaṇ were, from their geographical position, the districts of India which had a very expensive commercial intercourse with Persia, Arabia, East Africa, Egypt and the Mediterranean coast of Europe, from very early times. This trade reached its greatest development when the Kṣatrapas ruled at Ujjayinī and an account of it is deriveable from the pages of the *Periplus*. From its central position and from the fact that roads led to the city from North India as well as the seaports on the West and East of India, it was the great entre-port of this immense trade. The Kṣatriya kings encouraged, and took part in this trade, for the direct proceeds from inland and foreign trades, besides customs duties, was the chief source of the immense wealth of Indian *rājās*, the revenue from land-taxes, which were only one sixth of the produce, being but small in volume. In the interests of this trade several embassies went from India, both by land and by sea, to the Roman emperors. Most of them went from Ujjayinī. Ptolemy, as we have seen, mentions Tiast-

1. Bāṇa. *Harṣacarita*, Bk. vi.

2. *Early Hist. of Ind.* iv Ed. p. 309.

henes of Oyene¹. The embassy that went to Syria in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa (Elgabulus), who ruled from A.D. 218—222, and whose chief was not in Mesopotamia by Sardesanes was from a Kṣatrapa Rājā². Its head was Sandames, *i. e.* a man of the name of Candra (Tsanda). Bardesanes was especially struck by the Indian ascetic philosophers of the Brāhmaṇa and Jaina varieties—the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas—by their vegetable food and contempt of death, and the honour they received from kings and the common people. Stobaios, quoting from Bardasanes describes, the ordeal by water prevalent among the Indians. He also describes an Indian cave temple, such as it was fashionable to excavate in the early centuries of the Christian era, in central India; this one was dedicated to Ardhanārīśvara. "There is," he says, a large natural cave in a very high mountain almost in the middle of the country, wherein there is to be seen a statue of ten, say, or twelve cubits high, standing upright with its hands folded cross-wise and the right half of its face was that of a man, and the left that of a woman; and in like manner the right hand and right foot, and in short the whole right side was male and the left female, so that the spectator was struck with wonder at the continuation, as he saw how the two dissimilar sides coalesced in an indissoluble union in a single body"³. 'The commercial intercourse of which this embassy was an incident led to colonies of Indian traders (and scholars) being settled in Alexandria till 215 A. D., when Caracalla massacred the Alexandrians and expelled the foreigners⁴, after which Indian trade reached the Roman empire partly *via* Abyssinia and partly *via* Asia minor.

One result of this intercourse, so far as India was concerned, was that Indian savants studied Greek astrology and its hand-aided astronomy and introduced it at Ujjayinī in the age of the Kṣatrapas. Before this time there prevailed in India Vedic Astronomy, which regarded the Sun as the central god of the Bhūloka and was not tainted by astrological notion such as that

1. *Ind. Ant.* 1884. p. 360.

2. Mc Crindle. *Ind. Ant.* pp. 169-174.

3. "Such figures are to be found in the rock-temples and on Scythian [*i. e.*, Śaka Pallava] coins". Mc Crindle's note. *Ind. Ant.* p. 73.

4. *J. R. A. S.* 1907, p. 953 (Kennedy),
IV—34

the sun was, as the Greeks thought, a planet, like Venus, Mars, and Jupiter and that a malevolent one. The object of the *Vedāṅga jyotiṣa* was the measure of time and the equation of the lunar year with the solar year for the purpose of fixing correctly the proper season for the commencement of the Vedic Yajñas: its objects, during the long ages when Vedic culture dominated India, were not the prediction of events in the life of the individual or the mollification of the evil planets. The Indian year was measured with reference to the apparent motion of the sun and the moon among the stars and was divided into three seasons of eight *pakṣas* each, and the difference between the solar and the lunar years adjusted by the addition of two lunar months once in five years, which formed a Vedic *yuga*. The idea of seven planets and that of a week of seven days, each ruled by one of these planets is quite unknown to the Vedas or the literature dependent on them. They came from the Greeks. Taking our Greek Astronomic-Astrology the scholars of Ujjayinī developed it in ways of their own and modern Indian Astronomic Astrology was the result.

(To be continued).

LIFE OF COKKANĀTHA MAKHIN OF KAUŚIKA GOTRA FROM LITERARY SOURCES.

BY

N. VAIDYANATHA SASTRI, SIROMANI.

Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore.

Cokkanātha Makhin was the son of Nārāyaṇa, who had performed the *Dvādaśāhkratu* and who was widely recognised by the name of *Saṅcāribhāṣya*. He belonged to Kauśika gotra and Kaṇḍramāṇikka bhaccaraṇa community. His mother was called Gaṇapati.¹ He was so proficient in Vyākaraṇa that he was called by Rāmabhadra Dikṣita, the author of Jānakīpariṇaya, शाब्दिकसार्वभौम.²

After studying Vyākaraṇa under his own father, he studied Śrauta and Mīmāṃsā under Veṅkaṭeśamakhin, the son of Govindamakhin, who was the minister of Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore and who was the living at Tiruvālūr or Maṇigrāma (modern Maṇikkuṭi) a village near Tiruvālūr. Encouraged by his ācārya, Cokkanātha wrote his Bhāṣyaratnāvalī and Dhātu-

1. शिवं गणपतिं चाम्बां द्वादशाहादियाजिनम् ।

तातं नारायणं नत्वा धातुपाठं समारभे ॥

इति संचारिभाष्यश्रीद्वादशाहादियाजिनः ।

पुत्रेण चोक्कनाथेनादादिः पदैरलंकृतः ॥ धातुरत्नावली by चोक्कनाथ

इति श्रीकौशिककुलतिलकसंचारिभाष्यश्रीद्वादशाहादियाजिपौत्रेण शब्दतन्त्रस्व-
तन्त्रचोक्कनाथशास्त्रिपुत्रेण बालपतञ्जलिद्वादशाहयाजिना कृतायां शब्दकौमुदी-
व्याख्यायां शाब्दिकरक्षाख्यायां कारकप्रकरणम् ।

2. अप्रत्युपक्रियसमस्तपदप्रबोध-

विश्राणनोपकृतिनिस्तुलितानुकम्पम् ।

शेषं द्वितीयमिव शाब्दिकसार्वभौमं

श्रीचोक्कनाथमखिनं गुरुमानतोऽस्मि ॥ परिभाषावृत्तिव्याख्या by
रामभद्रदीक्षित ।

ratnāvalī. During his stay there, he became a staunch devotee of Tyāgēśa.¹

He had a wide circle of pupils receiving instruction from him in Śrauta and Vyākaraṇa. He was so much pleased with the shrewd intellect of Rāmabhadra Dikṣita who studied Vyākaraṇa under him that he gave away his daughter in marriage to him. The latter felt so deeply grateful to his father-in-law that he never failed to pay homage to him in any of his works. The way in which Rāmabhadra Dikṣita refers to Cokkanātha clearly shows how great a pandit Cokkanātha was. In some places he refers to him as शब्दकौमुद्याः कविः, sometimes as चोक्कनाथमखिप्रवराः, sometimes as श्रौतधर्मा इव मूर्तिमन्तः, sometimes as शाब्दिकसार्वभौमः etc.²

1. उमासहायः परमः प्रीयतामीश्वरोऽमुना ।

ईशानं सर्वविद्यानामीश्वरं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।

ब्रह्मवेदाधिपं वन्दे त्यागेशं स शिवोऽस्तु मे ॥

धातुरत्नावली by चोक्कनाथ

त्यागेशदेशिकनिदेशवशंवदानां

आजानभक्तिवशनीतसदाशिवानाम् ।

श्रीचोक्कनाथमखिनां निखिलेडितानाम्

उल्लासयन्तु मम वाचमपाङ्गलीलाः ॥

गीतासुन्दरम् by सदाशिवदीक्षित

श्रीमद्वीथिविटङ्कशङ्करकृपास्फारीभवत्साहिती-

त्रैविद्येन कृतार्थयन् कविवरान् विद्वज्जनप्रागमणीः ।

श्रीगोविन्दमखीन्द्रनन्दनमखिश्रीयज्ञनारायण-

स्फीताहृष्टकृतोदयो विजयते श्रीवेङ्कटेशाध्वरी ॥

तेनायं प्रहितः फणीश्वरफणामाणिक्यसम्मण्डिते

त्यागेशाङ्घ्रियुगे फणीन्द्ररचितां तां भाष्यरत्नावलीम् ।

सारामर्पयतेऽर्थपुष्टिनिपुणां प्रीत्यै भवानीपतेः

संस्कारज्वलितां तमः प्रणुदतीं श्रीचोक्कनाथः सुधीः ॥

भाष्यरत्नावली by चोक्कनाथ

2. फणिप्रागमिवागुम्फप्राणनाड्यदुक्तये ।

कलये शब्दकौमुद्याः कवये गुरवे नमः ॥

उणादिमणिदीपिका by रामभद्रदीक्षित

पारि—आं स्मरामि यस्मै किल निखिलविद्वज्जनश्लाघनीयवैकुण्ठशास्त्रब्रह्मादर-

Sadāśiva Dikṣita who spent the evening of his life in the court of Tulaja or Tukkoji (1729 A. D. to 1735 A. D.) at Tanjore and who is the author of गीतासुन्दरम् was also one of Cokkanātha's pupils. In one of his verses he suggests that the real name of Cokkanātha was Sundarēśvara and that of his wife, Mīnākṣī.¹

Cokkanātha seems to have taken his son-in-law to the court of Madura, where Nīlakaṇṭhamakhin, who possibly studied under Venkaṭēśamakhin along with him, was the chief minister of the Nāyak-ruler and the President of the Pandits' Board. Rāmabhadra Dikṣita so well acquitted himself in Madura that he was highly appreciated by the Pandits there and richly rewarded for

शिष्यसहस्रसंभाव्यमाननिजप्रभावाः श्रौतधर्मा इव मूर्तिमन्तस्तत्रभवन्त-
श्चोक्कनाथमखिप्रवराः वितीर्णवन्तोऽपि प्रथममात्मकन्यकामन्यामिव पुनरपि स्नेहेन
निरवद्यां वितरन्ति स पदविद्याम् ॥

शृङ्गारतिलकम् by रामभद्र

यं भाष्यं महदध्यजीगपट्टपिः श्रीचोक्कनाथाध्वरी

यो रामस्य च नीलकण्ठमखिना बाणस्तवं कारितः ।

व्याचष्टे किल रामभद्रमखिनस्तस्यासाधिष्यः कृति

भोगीन्द्रस्य च वेङ्कटेश्वरकविर्यस्यां निबद्धं यशः ॥

पतञ्जलिचरितव्याख्या by वेङ्कटेश

यस्यानुग्रहदृष्टिर्मर्पयति श्रीबालकृष्णो गुरुः

सोऽयं दीव्यति चोक्कनाथमखिनामक्रीतदासः कविः ॥

जानकीपरिणयम् by रामभद्र

1. श्रीमद्भोसलवंशरत्नतुलजक्षमापालचूडामणेः

कल्याणं कलयन्तु सन्ततममी लीलाविशेषोज्ज्वलाः ।

कामं हेमपयोजिनीपरिसरे मध्येकदम्बद्रुमं

मीनाक्ष्या सह सुन्दरेश्वरविभोरानङ्गनित्योत्सवाः ॥

श्रीचोक्कनाथमखिनां निखिलेडितानां

उल्लासयन्तु मम वाचमपाङ्गलीलाः ॥

गीतासुन्दरम् by सदाशिवदीक्षित

यस्य स्तौति मतिं मनीषिसदसि श्रीनीलकण्ठाध्वरी

कोण्ड्योतिषिकश्च यस्य कुरुते सम्मानमार्यैस्समम् ।

जानकीपरिणयम् by रामभद्र

his scholarship and erudition, even though he was introduced to the assembly of the Pandits for the first time.¹

Cokkanātha's works known to us are शब्दकौमुदी, भाष्यरत्नावली and धातुरत्नावली.

It is understood that a portion of भाष्यरत्नावली is in the Temple Manuscript Library at Tiruvadamardūr.

The manuscript of धातुरत्नावली is found in the Tanjore Palace Library. This is a small work containing 430 verses dealing with the roots of ten conjugations with their peculiarities. It is worth while publishing it and Sanskrit students, at the early stage of their study, may, with advantage, memorise those verses.

Manuscripts of शब्दकौमुदी are found both in the Tanjore Palace Library and the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.² The commentary on the same called शान्दिकरक्षा written by his son बालपतञ्जलिद्वादशाहयाजिन्³ is found in the Tanjore Palace Library.

I believe that all his works were highly appreciated by contemporary scholars and particularly by Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita.⁴

1. सर्वशास्त्राणि स्वातन्त्र्येण विवृण्वतां नीलकण्ठमखिनां सदसि सकृत्प्रविष्टस्यापि समुल्लसति सरसपदसन्दर्भवैदग्ध्यं ॥ शृङ्गारतिलकम् by रामभद्र.

2. Reference to शब्दकौमुदी is found in the Tamil Pirayōkavivēkam by Subrahmanya Dikṣita thus:—இந்தாஹுட் சந்தேசம் தோன்றுவதனை மகாபாடியம், கையடம், சித்தாந்தகௌமுதி, சந்திகௌமுதி, வாக்கியபதியம், அரிபீடிகை, தாதுவிருத்தி, பதமஞ்சரி, சந்திகௌத்துவம் கற்றவரைக்கேட்க.

3. This बालपतञ्जलि might be identical with the 'Patañjali' referred to by Subrahmanya Dikṣita, a native of Kurukūr (modern Ālvārtirunakari) in Pirayōkavivēkam, a grammatical treatise in Tamil, since he is said to have lived in Malabar and he was one of the brothers-in-law of Rāmabhadra Dikṣita.

சென சந்திர முகராம பத்திர தீக்கிதர்க்குப்
போதொடு சென்று புகல்வோ மவர்க்கும் பொழுதில்லையென்
மேதினி யிற்றமிழ் செய்நீர யோக விவேகத்தன்னைப்
பேதமி லாத பதஞ்சலி பாற்சென்று பேசுவமே.

4. श्रीमद्वाक्यपदप्रमाणगहनप्रच्छादितोच्चावचः-
स्फीतार्थप्रतिपादनार्थनिपुणश्रीनीलकण्ठाध्वरी ।

The name Cokkanātha might have been given to him by the Cokkanātha Nāyak (1662 A. D. to 1682 A. D.) who ruled at Madura, in recognition of his scholarship.

His date. He was a contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita who wrote his नीलकण्ठविजयचम्पू in 1638 A. D.; he studied under Veṅkaṭeśamakhin who was in the court of Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore who began to rule in 1614 A. D.; and Rāmabhadra Dikṣita was patronised by the King Sāhaji of Tanjore who ruled from 1684 to 1710 A. D., as is evident from the grant of Sāharājapuram which states that 'four shares were given to Rāmabhadra Dikṣita, a Ṛgvedi Brāhmaṇa of the Kauṇḍinya gotra and Āśvalāyana sūtra, son of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dikṣita and grandson of Nallādikṣita. From these facts it is easy to conclude that Cokkanātha should have lived in the 17th century after Christ.

The traditional account about Cokkanātha is as follows: Cokkanātha's grandfather was called Bhāṣyam, his father with his brother Aṇṇāsāstrin received a grant of some lands at Pinṇaṅkuṭi, a village near Kuṭumiyāmalai in Pudukottah state. Cokkanātha's śarman was Sundareśvara and he became a sannyāsin in the eve of his life. He had, in addition to his daughter who was married to Rāmabhadra Dikṣita, three sons Nārāyaṇasubrahmaṇya, Bālacandra and Vaidyanātha, of whom Nārāyaṇasubrahmaṇya, a sound scholar in Sāmaveda and Śrauta, was the court vidvān at Pudukottah and Tanjore; Bālacandra appears to be the śarman of Dvādasāhayāji Bālapatañjali. The latter seems to have left Pinṇaṅkuṭi and settled near Malabar, possibly patronised by the kings at Madura. This is inferred from the fact that Nārāyaṇa, the eldest son of Nārāyaṇasubrahmaṇya had no issue and adopted Subrahmaṇya, one of the four grandsons of Bālacandra from Malabar.¹

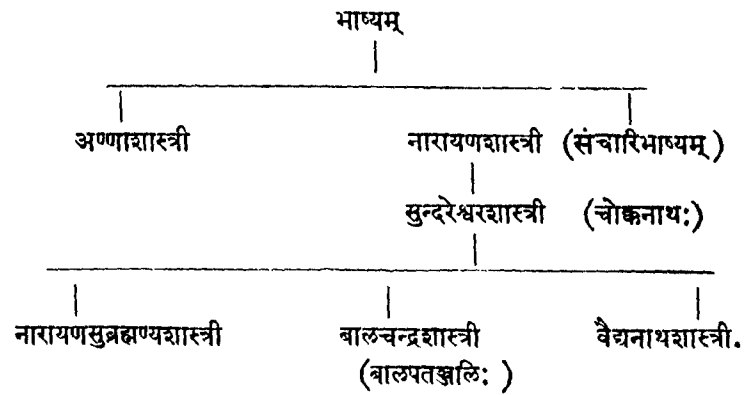
This Cokkanātha should not be confounded with Cokkanātha makhin, the son of Sudarśana bhaṭṭa; and he should be differen-

यं भाष्यप्रकटीकृतौ घटयते द्वेधार्थदानात्कृति
तस्यान्ये सुधियः कथं न विमलाः पुष्णीयुरर्थप्रदाः ॥
भाष्यरत्नावली by चोक्कनाथ

1. I am indebted to Dr. P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., L.T., Asst. Editor, Tamil Lexicon, who is the grandson of Bālapatañjali's grandson for this information.

tiated from Cokkanātha, the son of the famous Tippādhvarin, the latter two Cokkanātha's not belonging to Kauśika gotra.

The genealogy of Cokkanātha may be represented as follows:-



AŚOKA'S RELIGION THE EVIDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

BY

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Years ago Buhler wrote that in his view 'a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brāhmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life.' He continued that he was convinced that a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's Empire agreed with those prescribed by the Brāhmanical *Rājanīti* and that certain other details would be intelligible with the consultation of other *śāstras*. "This conviction" the learned indologist continues to remark, "of course has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhist interpretation of various words and terms."¹ A careful study of the inscriptions of Aśoka and the *Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra* demonstrates beyond doubt that what Buhler gave out as a suggestion has after all its basis in fact. An endeavour has been made by me elsewhere to interpret various words and terms in the inscriptions in the light of the Kauṭaliyan texts.² A comparative study of the details has led me to the one conclusion that after all there is very little of Buddhism if epigraphical testimony is alone to be relied upon.

An attempt is made here to discuss the monuments of Aśoka and see how far they help us in determining his religion. According to tradition Aśoka was a great builder of cities, *stūpas* and pillars. The founding of two cities Śrīnagara, the capital of Kāśmir and Dēva-paṭṭana (Deo-pātan) of Nepal are ascribed to him. With regard to the *stūpas* or monasteries there is an incredible legend in the *Mahāvamśa* (Ch. V.) according to which Aśoka caused 84,000 *vihāras* to be built all over India. This is incredible as can be gathered from the number (84,000) which is

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 246.

2. See my forthcoming book on the *Mauryan Polity*.

certainly fantastic. Fa-hien the Buddhist enthusiast easily believed this version to which he has given currency¹. Coming to the pillars Fa-hien noticed six² and Yuan Chwang fifteen³. Of these about five can now be identified among the existing monuments. Among the latter again there are pillars discovered by the spade of the archaeologist which find no mention in the memorable despatches of the two Chinese travellers.

A remarkable instance in this connection is the discovery of Lauṛiyā-Ararāj pillar with no capital and Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh pillar, the capital being bell-shaped 'with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a lion facing the north.'⁴ These contain the inscriptions of Aśoka in beautifully cut characters. Again Yuan Chwang makes no mention of the pillar at Kauśāmbī or the edict pillar at Sārnāth in his itinerary⁵. Though the absence of a reference would appear strange at first sight, still these Chinese visitors could not be set to have exhausted the list. Surely they noted such of those which they observed in person and those which they gathered only by hearsay. It is a known fact that by the time of their visit the knowledge of Aśokan script has become past history and there were hardly any expert linguist to decipher those inscriptions, when these Chinese pilgrims could record "wrong readings of these inscriptions, the results of mere guess-work or hearsay information of local people".⁶ It is also possible their record of monuments suffered from such defects. The following may be cited as the two instances where their accuracy is open to question. Cunningham who discovered an elephant pillar in the village of Sankisa in the Farrukhabad district identified it with the pillar at Sankassa noticed by the Chinese pilgrim, who mistook a lion for the elephant at its top.⁷ Though it is contended that Sankisa was not Sankassa, still there is a difference of opinion among scholars and the question cannot be taken once for all conclusive. Again if the

1. Legge's trans. p. 69.
2. *Ibid.* p. 80.
3. Watters I, 334 and 383; II, 5, 6, 28 etc.
4. See Ar. Report Vol. I, pp. 67-73.
5. *Ar. Sur. of India* An Report for 1922-23, p. 13.
6. R. K. Mookerjee *Aśoka*, Prefatory note, pp. VII and VIII.
7. *Ar. Sur. of India* An. Report Vol. I, p. 274.

pillar at Sārnāth discovered by Oertel¹ can be identified with that mentioned by Yuan Chwang, then there is justification to call the latter's statement incorrect. For the discovered pillar measures only thirty-seven feet above ground, while the pillar of Yuan Chwang is mentioned as seventy feet in height nearly double its size.²

Either Yuan Chwang refers to a different pillar altogether, or his calculation is wrong. According to V. A. Smith notwithstanding the discrepancy, the pillar must be that seen by Yuan Chwang.³ These discrepancies in the accounts of the Chinese travellers considerably detract the value of these documents as original sources of information. Many of the monuments mentioned therein are yet to be discovered, and the few so far discovered do not bear infallible testimony as to their correctness and accuracy. We must not forget the fact that these travellers visited India centuries after Aśoka's death, and to them the history of his monuments and his inscriptions was mostly the history of tradition as it is to us to-day. Again their accounts proceed on the assumption that Aśoka was a devout Buddhist, and this conviction has led them to find a specially Buddhistic interpretation of such monuments. The discovery of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya and a new interpretation of the words and terms in the Edicts in the light of that treatise lead us to another direction to conclude that Aśoka was mainly Brahmanical in religion. It is regretted that this problem has not yet had adequate treatment at the hands of the scholars. Perhaps these parallels will tend to demolish the theory that Aśoka was a Buddhist. And after all Buddhism of the days of Aśoka was not very much different from the established religion of the land.⁴

Advocates of the theory that Aśoka was a Buddhist emperor, have endeavoured to find explanation, sometimes forced and sometimes unconvincing, for setting up pillars at different places in which we find them to-day, and secondly for the animal symbolism which characterises some of these monuments. In

1. *Ar. Sur.* Report 1904-5 p. 69.
2. On Yuan Chwang, Watters N. P. II 50; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western world*. Vol. II, p. 46.
3. Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXV, p. 230.
4. See my article on the *Early History of Buddhism*. B. H. S Vol. II, pp. 51-74.

these explanations these writers are mainly guided by the accounts of the two Chinese travellers whose trustworthiness has to be taken at a discount in the light of critical examination.

We propose to tackle this problem from independent sources by applying the well known historical method. It is generally agreed that the pillars and even the *stūpas* are no innovations of Aśoka and could be traced to much earlier times. This point is brought home by Aśoka's own words. He says that he enlarged to twice its size the *stūpa* of Konāgamana, the previous Buddha at Nigliṇa.¹ From this it would appear that the *stūpa* of Konāgamana existed before Aśoka, though it is not possible to fix the origin of the building to a definite date. Again both in the Minor Rock Edict (Rūpnāth text)² and in the Pillar Edict VII³ Aśoka says that his proclamation was caused to be inscribed wherever pillars of stone existed in his empire so as to give an element of permanence to the record of his achievements. This means Aśoka disowns the erection by him of all monolithic columns generally ascribed to him. These monuments were already there and a statesman like Aśoka found them convenient material to inscribe his Edicts so as to make them widely known to the public in all quarters of the Empire.

It is rather difficult to trace the origin of monasteries in India. Wherever the ascetics congregated in large numbers, there arose a monastery, whether they were the followers of the orthodox religion or whether they succeeded from it. Monastic organisation did not commence with the Buddha for we know it is the Brāhman sannyāsin who formed the model for the sage of Kapilavastu to put his institution on a more stable basis. In fact the philosophical side of Buddhism can be traced to the epoch of the early Indus Valley civilisation as testified by the recent finds in Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Referring to a broken statuette at Mohenjodaro, R. Chanda remarks: "This 'priest' of Mohenjo-

1. Nigali Sagar Pillar, *Corpus*, p. 165.

2. ह्य च अभि सालाठभेसिलाठंभसि लाखापेतवय त ॥ Nigali Sagar Pillar, *Corpus*, p. 165).

3. इयं धम्मलिवि अत अभि सिलाभंभानि व । सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटवियाएनएस चिलठितिके सिया ।

Delhi-topra, *Ibid.* p. 131.

daro in whom we propose to recognise the prototype of the images of Buddha and Jina, is not found in isolation, but other elements of Buddhism or rather the primitive background of Buddhism are also traceable in the Chalcolithic religion of the Indus valley. One of these is the cult of the *pīpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*) worshipped by the Buddhists as the Bodhi tree of Gautama Buddha. A seal unearthed at Mohenjodaro shows a *Pīpal* tree with twin heads springing from the trunk."¹

The same antiquity can also be claimed with regard to the pillars. *Stambha*,² *sthūnā*,³ *sthānu*,⁴ *dhvaja*⁵ are the terms in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* to denote pillars or posts. Of these the *dhvaja* is exclusively used in warfare and means a standard so much so that the Mahābhārata uses the term *dhvajinī* in the sense of an army.

In the *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* the term *stambha* occurs in the sense of a pillar⁶ as also in the *sūtras*.⁷ There is of course the familiar expression *yūpa* in all the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* meaning a post thereby. Like the *dhvaja*, the *yūpa* was meant for a particular purpose. It was always associated with the Vedic *yajñas*.⁸ Thus the pillars represented certain symbols, religious or secular to the Vedic Indian as also to the later Indian. In the Epics and the Purāṇas there are references to the *Indradhvaja* and its worship.⁹

According to the Purāṇas it was only a post of wood that was the chief object of worship in the festival of Indradhvaja. Kautālya refers to the fixing of a pillar, six parts of which are to form its height on the floor, twice that to be entered into the ground, and one fourth to serve as capital.¹⁰

1. See Ramprasad Chanda: *Memoirs of Ar. Sur. of India*. No. 41 p. 34.

2. I. 34. 2.

3. I. 59. 1.

4. X. 40. 13.

5. VII. 85. 2.

6. xxx. 9.

7. Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 483.

8. *Ibid.* p. 194.

9. *Vīramitrodaya*, pp. 421-433 *Rāma, Kiṣkindha*, ch. 16, st. 35.

10. स्तम्भस्य परिक्षेपाः षड्व्यायामाद्विगुणो निखातः चूलिकायाश्चतुर्भागः ।

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The *Mānasāra*, the accredited work on architecture has a long chapter on the *stambha*¹ where different kinds of columns for different purposes are defined with regard to their size, shape, and moulding. To these may be added the phallus pillar—*liṅga-mudrā-stambha*.²

In the Archaeological Report for the year 1861-62 A. Cunningham in the course of his remarks on the Lauriya-Nandangarh Pillar which stands in the direct route from Bettiah to Nepal says: 'the pillar itself has now become an object of worship as phallus or *liṅga*', this being traditionally ascribed to Bhīma the Pāṇḍava prince.³ In this connection it may be pointed out that tradition ascribes some pillars to the five Pāṇḍava brothers and especially to Bhīmasena. A tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital, the Pathari Pillar, containing inscription of Parabala in the Bhopal Agency of Central India goes to-day by the name of Bhīmasen.⁴ Another noteworthy point to which we wish to draw attention is that the pillar as a religious symbol did not exclusively relate to the phallus and hence the cult of Śiva. We have instances of Lakṣmī pillar. The pillar is regarded as goddess Lakṣmī and worshipped as such. For a monolith pillar of Lakṣmī-Kambha,⁵ we have inscriptional evidence of pillars of victory (*jayastambha*) erected by Samudragupta at Allahabad, by Rājārāja⁶ and by Dēvarāja II.⁷ The above survey shows how from the days of the *R̥gveda Saṁhitā* down to the Vijayanagar times, these pillars have been erected with some object in view, secular or religious. It then transpires that monolithic columns were not a special feature of Aśokan architecture. They existed before him and were also erected many years after him. Aśoka caused his Edicts to be inscribed on the free standing pillars. Some he might have erected but most of them already stood.

Modern Archaeological study attributes the following monuments among others to this Mauryan Emperor.

1. Ch. XV.
2. *Ep. Car.* Vol. XII, No. 108.
3. Vol. I, p. 74.
4. *Ar. Sur. of India*. Vol. X, p. 70; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 168-169.
6. *S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 168.
7. *Ibid.* pp. 163 and 165.

- (1) The enlarging of the *stūpa* of Konāgamana.
- (2) Erecting of three sets of caves in the Barabar Hills of Bihar.
- (3) The *stūpa* at Sāñci.
- (4) A *stūpa* at Bhārhut.

(5) Four uninscribed pillars—those at Rāmpurvā with bull capital, Sankisa with elephant capital, Bakhra (Vaiśālī) with lion capital, and Kōsam (Kauśāmbī) with no capital.¹ According to Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahani the capital no doubt originally crowned the pillar.

(6) Other so-called Aśokan pillars are those discovered at Tōpra, and Meerut (removed by Firoz Tuglak to Delhi in 1356 A. D.), Allahabad, Lauriya-Ararāj, Lauriya—Nandangarh, Rāmpurvā, Sāñci, Sārnāth, Rummindēi and Niglīva. These contain his inscriptions.²

In the examination of Aśoka's religion, however, the animal capitals more than the pillars themselves are pressed into service. V. A. Smith who has discussed this question in an article in the *Z. D. M. G.*³, taking for granted the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims, observes :

9	examples of	lion
2	"	elephant
2	"	bull
1	"	horse
1	"	wheel
1	"	garuḍa
1	"	man
2	"	four lions back to back.

and thus finds the lion to be the favourite symbol. The same writer has tried to interpret what these animals symbolised. Of these again the lion, the elephant, the bull, and the horse are explained as the riding animals of the guardians of four quarters. They are Vaiśravaṇa or Kubēra with the lion on the

1. See *Ar. Sur. of India, An. Report* for 1922-23, p. 13.
2. Bakhra and Rāmpurvā pillars are assigned to the reign of Bindusāra (*Memoirs of Ar. Sur.* No. 30, p. 31).
3. Vol. LXV, pp. 221-240.

north,¹ Dhṛtarāṣṭra with the elephant on the East, Virūḍha² with horse on the South, and Virūpakṣa with the bull on the West. This theory is said to be current as tradition in Ceylon, supported, according to him, by the evidence of archaeology. From this Smith formulates the theory³ of the universality of the church, 'the congregation from the four quarters, present and absent'. Secondly the lion is the *vāhana* or the riding animal of Kubēra the king of the Yakṣas, and this god is worshipped by the Buddhists from Khotan to Ceylon.

Thirdly the selection of the symbol was influenced in some cases by the origin of monks.

Fourthly the number four has some mystic significance but it does not occur to him.

We shall now proceed to examine these statements in seriatim. It is possible that some of the animals are the *vāhanas* or the guardians of four quarters. But the Ceylon tradition adverted to by Vincent Smith is incredible for the reason it is neither the Buddhist view nor the Brahmanical view. For example we do not meet with the word Dhṛtarāṣṭra and even Virūḍha in the sense of a god affording protection to a certain *dik* or quarter in the accredited early Buddhist works like the *Jātakas*. If these deities have anything to do with the Buddhist conception of the four quarters of the world, it is just possible that they should have been mentioned in some connection or other. It would then appear that the Ceylon tradition seems to be a distorted version of the Brahmanical conception of *dik-pālas*. According to the Brahmanical literature there are *aṣṭa-dikpālas* or eight deities for the eight quarters including N. E., S. E., S. W. and N. W. Confining for our present purpose to the four principal quarters, Kubēra is the lord of the North, Indra

1. Dhṛtarāṣṭra may be identified with Indra. धृते राष्ट्रे येन सः । is the term and means he who held the kingdom under this sway. That Indra is the lord of the East is supported by the Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Black Yajur Veda. प्रची दिक् इन्द्रो देवता.

2. Virūḍha can be identified with the Vedic God Agni, the sacred fire that spirings up by the churning of two logs of asvattha wood for sacrificial purposes. The Brāhmaṇa says. अश्वोरपं कृत्वा यदश्वत्थे तिष्ठः From this it can be inferred that the horse is associated with Agni. According to the Hindu calculation Āgnīya is south-east. Therefore the Ceylon tradition may be a confusion between south and south-east.

3. Z. D. M. G. Vol. LXV, pp. 238-9.

the lord of the East, Yama the lord of the South, and Varuṇa the lord of the West.¹ According to the *Mānasāra*, the treatise on Indian Architecture, a human being is the *vāhana* of Kubēra, the elephant for Indra, the buffalo for Yama and the crocodile for Varuṇa.² With regard to other animals occurring on the top of the pillars, Garuḍa is the riding animal of Viṣṇu whose worship is conducive to the destruction of enemies (*śatrunāśa*).³ From Chapters LXII and LXIII of the *Mānasāra* we learn that the bull is the riding animal of Śiva and the lion is the *vāhana* of gods (*devānām vāhanam*). But generally the lion is associated with the goddess Durgā, the consort of Śiva. We do not meet with the horse as the special *vāhana* of any deity, and it would appear that it was the common vehicle of all gods. An examination of the Reports of Archaeology issued by the respective circles shows the erection of such pillars by various kings in different places. We have Garuḍa capital on the Heliodoros pillar of 170 B. C.⁴ down to the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and perhaps later.⁵ In these places the mythical bird Garuḍa is symbolical of the worship of Viṣṇu. Again⁶ we find three elephant pillars of the Hoysala time standing S. E. of the Huniśeśvara temple at *agra-hāra* Bachahalli⁷ lion pillars in the *navaraṅga* in the Vidyāśaṅkara Temple at Śrīṅgeri. If we examine the purpose with which these were erected, the aims seem to be different and do not almost agree. It is, therefore, difficult to make these figures on the capitals as connoting particular symbols. For the same animal symbolically represented as one thing in the Buddhist literature and as the other thing in the Brahmanical literature. In fact most of these animals and even more are found mentioned in the *Jātakas* perhaps symbolising the Buddha himself. In the *Jātakas* it is said that the Bodhisattva came to live as a bull⁸ and

1. *śabdakalpadruma*, p. 709.

2. P. K. Ācārya, *Ind. Architecture* p. 83.

3. *Mānasāra* Ch. LXI. p. 82, P. K. Ācārya ed.

4. *Ar. Sur. of India, An. Report* for 1908-9, pp. 126-9.

5. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 164.

6. *See Mysore Arch. Report* for the year 1914-15.

7. *Ibid.* pl. IX. 3. p. 20 and *Ibid.* (1916) pl. VII, p. 14.

8. Nos. 28 and 29: Vol. I, pp. 71-4.

was also conceived by an elephant in the Himalayas.¹ The *Jātaka* No. 23 shows the Bodhisattva coming to life as a through-bred Sindh horse² while the *Jātaka* No. 145 shows that he was a maned lion.³ There is again the evidence of the Bodhisattva coming to life as a young Garuḍa.⁴ Not only here but also in the different other *Jātakas* such things are mentioned.

Let us pass in review what the Brahmanical literature has to say of these animals. In the *R̥gveda Saṁhitā* there are a number of references to the lion and in a hymn⁵ it is compared to Rudra and is spoken of as the dread wild beast that slays.⁶ The *hastin* or elephant is also met with in the early *Saṁhitā*⁷ and is famed for its strength and virility.⁸ The Vṛṣabha or the bull occurs in more than one place.⁹ The bull is represented as sacrifice, *Yajña* (R. V. IV. 58. 3). The word *Vṛṣan* literally sprinkling is used with reference to Indra who kills the Vṛtra (clouds) and lets flow the waters by Soma sacrifice. We know Indra and Soma are intimately connected with sacrifice. We have again the mention of *Aśva* or horse in a number of places.¹⁰ There are two hymns in praise of the horse god Dadhikrāvan (R. V. IV. 39 & 40). The latter is worshipped for sweetness which is identical with *madhuvidyā* or highest knowledge.¹¹ Thus the horse is intimately connected with *Jñānam* or knowledge.¹² It is significant to note that Yājñavalkya received the *yajus* from the Sun god in the shape of a horse.¹² All these animals, at least most of them, have in course of time become the riding animal of various deities as is testified by the Purāṇa literature and the *Āgama* texts as well as the *Śilpaśāstra* texts. Even to-day in all the Hindu temples we find the bull or *Nandī* standing against the image of Siva, the lion against the image of Durgā

1. No. 73. *Ibid.* p. 175.

2. *Ibid.* p. 61.

3. *Ibid.* p. 306.

4. No. 360, Vol. III, p. 124.

5. II, 33, 11.

6. Vedic Index Vol. II, p. 448.

7. R. V. I. 64. 7 & IV. 16. 14.

8. Vedic Index Vol. II, p. 501.

9. I. 94, 10 & VI. 46. 4.

10. R. V. I. 83. 1. See other references quoted in the *Vedic Index*.

11. I am indebted to Dr. Kunhan Raja for this information.

12. See *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Ch. 61. st. 21.

the elephant against the image of Subrahmanya (this is only in some temples) and the Garuḍa against the image of Viṣṇu. Thus we see that long before the epoch of the *Jātakas*, animal symbolism has been worked in detail and realised to the full. This formed a model for the Buddhists who adopted the institutions of the established religion so far as they served their purpose. In fact the Buddhism in the days when the *jātakas* were composed did not materially differ from the earlier form of Hinduism and it is difficult to differentiate the purely Buddhist from the purely Brahmanical. The Buddhist idea was then more or less the Hindu idea, and it is not almost correct to differentiate anything markedly Buddhist even in the period of Aśoka. Thus the theory of universality of the church falls to the ground.

The second statement of Vincent Smith that Kubera, the king of the *yakṣas*, is worshipped by the Buddhists from Khotan to Ceylon, and hence his *vāhana*, the lion is the favourite symbol may now be examined. Early Buddhism began as a monastic sect, the only difference between it and the prevailing religion being in philosophic doctrines. The monks of this early organisation had no belief in the existence of a personal god and much less in the image worship of other deities and gods. Their ideal was *Nirvāṇa* and the pleasures of heaven found no place in the conception of their life after death. Put shortly, the worship of gods like Kubera which is claimed from Khotan to Ceylon is a later growth in the tree of Buddhist religion. Further the *yakṣas* are a class of the heavenly servants belonging to the category of Gandharvas, Kimpuruṣas and Kinnaras who always waited not only on their lord but on other gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. In fact one of the laudatory verses addressed to our principal deities is *yakṣagandharvabhishevite*. Again Kubera is the accredited Treasurer of the heavenly kingdom, and is a guardian deity of the north according to the Hindu notions of universe. If the lion is his riding animal, the lion capital, the favourite of all capitals, has nothing to do with the Buddhists but on the other hand connotes distinct notions of the early form of Hinduism. That the lion is the *vāhana* of Kubera rests on a frail reed of the Ceylonese tradition. But there is evidence to show that the Ceylon kings were using the lion-flag from very early times.¹ It is largely claimed by the Purāṇas as

1. See *Rasanāyagam Ancient Jaffna* p. 43.

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the riding animal of Durgā, the consort of Śiva. We have a number of portrait sculptures in many a temple in all India illustrating these. If this is accepted, the *śakti* cult can be traced to several centuries before the Christian era of which these monuments with the crowning sculptured lions are a relic. A simple evidence of the antiquity of this animal symbolism is afforded by the *śāsta* temples located on the main roads between two big villages, where we see huge images of lions, elephants and horses, symbolical of the god Śāstā. Śāstā is a very old deity and it is a pity that such temples are now almost in ruined condition. Śāstā seems to be another form or variant of *śakti* and *śakti*. It would appear that these animals which were largely used in ancient warfare beginning with the wars between the *Devas* and the *Asuras*, gradually became the *vāhana* of one god or other, when arts of peace were developed. Those pre-Aśokan pillars with animal capitals were pillars of victory, planted as memorials by ancient kings of whom we have unfortunately no record, the images of the capital representing the emblem of their ensign, symbolical of the object of their worship. This is more or less the view taken by Ram Prasad Chanda¹. Here it is pointed out that Mauryan Pillars crowned by animal standards were primarily intended for worship. Chanda refers² to the Bharhut rail with an elephant with the driver carved on one side and a horseman with a Garuḍa-standard on the other representing a procession which offers a parallel to the procession of four-standard-bearers in a find of a three-sided prism of faience at Mohenjodaro.³ Among the four standards, two of the ensigns are not distinct and the other two are crowned by a bird and the bull. This serves as a basis to trace pillar cults to the Chalcolithic period in the Indus Valley. If due consideration is given to this fact as indeed we should the conjectures in regard to the selection of the symbols turn out to be mere conjectures and nothing more.

The other argument is that the choice of the symbol might be influenced "by the origin or nationality of the monks of an adjoining monastery. A column erected near a monastery occupied by southern monks might well be placed under the care

of the guardian of the south." This is again a surmise that has no legs to stand on. This theory is based on the assumption that the four animals were symbolical of the guardian deities of four quarters. When the very premises is questioned, there is no force in building a theory on doubtful issues. Archaeological inference nullifies completely this assumption. The extant pillars discovered and attributed to Aśoka, and the locale which the Chinese travellers assign them tell a different tale altogether. In other words all the pillars in the north do not possess the lion on their tops, in the east the elephant, in the south the horse, and in the west the bull. There is no system or method in the arrangement of these monuments. The fact of the matter is that these pillars and capitals, at best most of them, stood in the age Aśoka uncared for, and on these he got them inscribed. As most of them were not erected by the king himself, surely he could not be responsible for their arrangement at different localities. Thus with the attribution of these monuments to Aśoka being open to question, the Buddhist tradition that he erected these as fitting memorials to perpetuate the fame of some of Buddha's acts is not convincing.

Lastly Smith attaches some mystic importance to the number four. Four are not the symbols assigned to these monuments by the Chinese records. There are seven capitals distinguished, the three additions being the wheel, Garuḍa and man. The idea of four animals has perhaps been suggested by the figures of these animals carved on the Sārnāth Pillar which is itself a veritable museum of sculptures, which are, according to Sir John Marshall, 'masterpieces in point of both style and technique.'¹ Garuḍa, Smith agrees, is the vehicle of Viṣṇu, and he explains this away by saying that to the Ceylon Buddhists Viṣṇu was the protector of the island. Smith even goes to the length of hazard a conjecture that the image of the Garuḍa could have been later on substituted in the place of the original capital. That this is only a fiction of the imagination is proved by the fact of tracing a Garuḍa pillar as early as 170 B. C. of which we have already spoken. It is just possible that such pillars existed before 170 B. C. In a word the cult of Śiva and Viṣṇu was so popularly prevalent that it was difficult for the early Buddhist to rise in

1. *Ar. Sur. of India, An. Report* for 1904-5 p. 36; *Ibid* 1908-9 see note on p. 145.

1. See *Memoirs of Ar. Sur. of India* No. 34, pp. 31-33.
2. *Memoirs of Ar. Sur. of India* No. 41, p. 35.
3. See *An. Report of Ar. Sur. of India* 1925-26 p. 87.

revolt and cry a halt. Among the monuments described there are still two more images, that of a wheel and of a human being. That the wheel need not be necessarily the *dharma cakra* of the Buddhists is obvious from the association of ideas with which we have been concerned so long. Among the chief emblems of Viṣṇu is the *Cakra* and perhaps the wheel is this *Cakra* considering that Viṣṇu is worshipped and Garuḍa is regarded symbolical of Him.

Again the representation of the figure of a man on one of the monuments suggests that the pillar is more symbolical of Kubera than the lion. For it is a human being who is the *vāhana* of Kubera. Hence Kubera is styled *Naravāhana*¹. This will also solve once for all the mystery of the figure of a man on the capital.

We can add to these peculiar symbols, the facts of the abacus of the Lauriya Nandangarh pillar 'ornamented with a row of Brāhmāṇī geese pecking their food.' According to the *Mānasāra* (Ch. LX) the goose (*haṁsa*) is the *vāhana* of Brahma. The chapter closes with the statement that "rows of geese should be beautifully carved or painted in the temples of the gods and in the mansions of Brahmans and kings."² As usual we have also the *haṁsa Jātaka*³ where the Bodhisattva is said to have been born as the Buddha. The Bodhisattva is said to have been born as an ascetic, as a Brahman, as a householder, as a merchant, as a smith, as a teacher, as a pupil, as a robber, as a barber, and so forth. Surely it would be foolish to regard every one of these as symbolising the Buddha, and it is indeed difficult to reconcile these different births ascribed to Gotama. Just as Hindu mythology has it that Viṣṇu took ten *avatārs*, in the shape of fish, pig, tortoise etc. with a definite object in view for such incarnation, the Buddhist mythology could attribute these various previous births of the Buddha in different guises. From this it would be rash to conclude that this or that symbolises the Buddha.

Another peculiarity to be noticed in discussing the capital of the column above mentioned is that the capital is in the shape of a bell. The bell capital is generally traced to the Persepolitan

model. E. B. Havell has valid reasons to suppose that the shape of the capital is not that of a bell but of a lotus, the flower sacred to Viṣṇu.¹ According to A. K. Coomaraswami the lotus capital and the lotus pedestal or seat (*padmaṣiṭha*, *padmāsana*) represent one and the same form, and that the *padmaṣiṭha* is found in connection with Śrī Lakṣmī early in the second century B. C. and may well be much older. From an examination of the Vedic sources it is concluded that the symbolical significance of this motif consists of representing the waters which support the earth.² As against these authorities to maintain that the shape of the capital is that of a bell and that it has something to do with the Buddhism is quite an untenable proposition.

In the light of these explanations it is not fair to attribute the *stūpas* and pillars associated with Aśoka to some Buddhist motif and then speak of Aśoka as a Buddhist. The fact that he enlarged to twice the size the *stūpa* of Koṇāgamana whom orthodox Buddhism would style as heretic, and also the act that he got three caves erected in the Barābar Hills for the sect of the Ajivikas, the rival sect of the Buddhists, are enough to infer that Aśoka had profound sympathy with sects which Buddhism would not ordinarily tolerate.

If again we are to alight at a new interpretation to the animal symbolism as the one we have given above, there is no justification for the theory that the monuments too go to prove Aśoka's faith in Buddhism. On the other hand there is sufficient testimony to the catholicity of religious views adumbrated by the monuments which is the most wonderful and the best relieving feature of the Hindu religion. It is absurd to think of Buddhists worshipping Viṣṇu and Kubera. It is not easy to believe that such ferocious animals like the lion and the elephant symbolise the Buddha himself, the enlightened sage of Kapilavāstu. The *Jātaka* tales mentioning the Bodhisattva coming to life in different forms of animals, birds and human beings perhaps intended, to demonstrate the universality of the Buddha's soul and exhibit him to the world at large as the all-pervading One. Whatever this may be, the monuments of Aśoka cannot carry conviction home to decide the religious leaning of the emperor to Buddhism.

1. *Āryan Rule*, p. 106.

2. See Ind. His. Quar. Vol. VI, No. II the article on the *Origin of the Lotus*, (so-called Bell) Capital pp. 373-375.

1. Ind. Architecture : P. K. Ācārya P. 83, note.

2. *Ibid.* p. 81.

3. Vol. IV, p. 264 (502).

NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

TOLKAPPIYACCOLLATIKARAKKURIPPU [IN TAMIL]—A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE COLLATIKARAM WITH ALL THE AVAILABLE COMMENTARIES by Dr. P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., L.T., Ph. D., Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras. xxx + 26 pages. Price Rs. 3-2-0 or six shillings.

Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri has laid the public under deep obligation to him by his valuable publication, the Tolkāppiyaccollatikāraṅkurippu. It is well known, to bear repetition, that the oldest extant Tamil Grammar happens to be the Tolkāppiyam, composed long ago by a great grammarian, who possessed, besides a good knowledge of Tamil, high proficiency in Sanskrit. Several commentators, including Ḥampūraṇar, Cēnāvaraiyar, Naccinārkinīar, Teyvaccilaiyār, Kallāṭaṇar etc. have composed learned commentaries upon the Tolkāppiyam and almost all of these knew Tamil and Sanskrit to an equal degree. It was the combined knowledge of these two languages that enabled these scholars to compose standard commentaries. A perusal of these will clearly show the extent to which they were indebted to their knowledge of Vyākaraṇa, Tarka and Mīmāṃsā. Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri combines in himself a good knowledge of the śāstras with a clear perspective of the technicalities of Tamil Grammar and this has eminently fitted him to confidently undertake a systematic research in the Tolkāppiyam. The author has utilised all the commentaries referred to above, besides availing himself of the information which works like the Prātiśākhya of the Ṛg, Taittiriya and Śukla Yajurvedas, the Nirukta of Yāska, the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Śikṣā of Pāṇini, the Vākyapadiya of Bhartṛhari and the commentary of Helārāja thereon afford. It is needless to point out that many of the Cāṅgam works have been abundantly used in the course of the work. We agree with Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Aiyangar that the solution of the problem of Uriccol *i.e.*, that it is the base of a noun or verb, is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of Tamil Grammar.

We heartily congratulate the author on this, his able production and request him with Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Aiyangar as

he remarks in his preface, to continue his researches in the other two chapters of the Tolkāppiyam *i.e.*, the Eḷuttatikāram and the Poruḷatikāram and give us the benefit of his studies.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

REPORTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE COCHIN STATE FOR THE YEARS 1926-27, 1927-28.—by P. Anujan Acchan. Cochin Govt. Press. Price as 12, each.

The two reports under review clearly indicate that the Archaeological Department of the Cochin State has been turning out useful work in spite of the limitations under which it has to carry on its duties. The discovery of the ruins of a city near Tiruvañcikkulam believed to have been the ancient capital of Ceramān Perumāḷ, the disciple of Sundaramūrti Nāyanar, is indeed very important and if the Government continue the excavations and expose the city, it will form a land-mark in the history of South Indian archaeological finds.

The reports are accompanied by a number of plates illustrating the ancient monuments of Cochin. The inscriptions that were discovered by the department have also been edited, but it would have been better if the estampages of such inscriptions were reproduced along with them.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS
ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
VOL. X PARTS i TO iv.

1. *A Peep into Later Buddhism* : Mr. B. Bhattacharya deals with the cultural History of India for the whole of the Tāntric period from the 7th century A. D. to the advent of the Muhammadans in India, as based on the "apparently uninteresting and much neglected and much hated literature of Tāntrism."

2. *Slow progress of Islam power in Ancient India* : by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. This forms No. 1 among the Indian Studies wherein an attempt is made to trace the progress of Islam power in India from 712, A.D. when the Arabs first invaded India till 1192, A. D. when the Mahomedans have been recognised to have settled their hold on India.

3. *The use of the cases in Vedic Prose* : Mr. Sukumar Sen.

4. *Studies in Economics in Ancient India* : by Mr. Ambuj Nath Banerji. The author divides the articles into four heads: (1) Divisions of Learning in Ancient India (2) Nature and scope of Vārttā (3) Relation between Vārttā and other sciences (4) Students and teachers of Vārttā in Ancient India.

5. *A few thoughts on Semantics* by Prof. N. H. Purandhare.

6. *Words in R̥g Veda* : by Principal Rajvade (continued). The Vedic words *amati*, *yahu*, *yahva*, *yahvi*, *yahvīḥ* and *yahvatīḥ* are dealt with in this number.

7. *Ekādaśādyādhikaraṇa of Murāri Miśra* : by Mr. Umesha Misra. This pamphlet is edited from a Ms. preserved in the Nepal Durbar.

VOL. XI, Pt. I.

1. *A fragmentary inscription of Maṇḍu* : by Mr. K. K. Lele. This is a hymn composed by the great poet Bilhana who was patronised by Vindhyavarmadeva and Subhaṭavarmadeva (12th Century A. D.).

2. *Jātinirākṛti of Jitāri* : by Mr. Giuseppe Tucci. This a short polemical treatise refuting the theories of the Naiyāyikas, Jainas and Mīmāṃsaks.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS 285

3. *The age of Pāṇini and Sanskrit as a spoken Language* : Prof. K. A. Pāṭhak adduces arguments in favour of the theory that Sanskrit was a spoken language during the age of Pāṇini (7th century B. C.).

4. *Were the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa known to Pāṇini* : by Prof. K. B. Pāṭhak. In disagreement with the opinion of Goldstucker the writer concludes that "the Śukla Yajurveda and its Brāhmaṇa were considered Vedic works in the days of Pāṇini."

INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

February 1930.

Nāsūm Inscription of Īśānabhaṭa of Samvat 887. Only a fragment of the inscription is published. It records the installation of an image of Śiva by one Gamuṇḍasvamin, the preceptor of the chieftain Īśānabhaṭa, son of Dhanika, who is contemporaneous with the Guhila chief of Dhavagarta of Dabok inscription dated 207 Harṣa Samvat = 813 A. E.

Bengal's contribution to Philosophical literature in Sanskrit : Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, deals with the Bengali authors of Vaiṣṇava and philosophical works.

Periods in Indian History : Mr. F. G. Richards inaugurates a different scheme in naming the historical periods of India.

Origin of Caste system in India : by Mr. S. C. Hill. The article is to be continued.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

January 1930.

Discussion of the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness and subjective idealism in Nyāyasūtras :

"Kṣaṇikavāda" and "Viññavāda" have not been presupposed, as they are believed to be, by the Nyāya sūtras.

Le nom de l'écriture Kharoṣṭi : by Mr. Jean Przyluski. The writer gives a different derivation to the word Kharoṣṭi.

REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. Vol. I. No. 1. March 1930.

Reign of realism in Indian Philosophy : by Mr. R. Nagaraja Sarma. The importance and place of the philosophy of Madhva among the different schools of philosophy is clearly pointed out.

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वीणावासवदत्तम्

चारः—^१“जइ वच्छराओ ससाहणो आअच्छदि तदा तुवं पळाइअ आअच्छ” इति
अथ्य सालंकायणेण उत्तम् । एसो दाणिं बलम् उज्झिअ णिग्गदो ;
सव्वदा सिद्धं कज्जम् ।

राजा—घोषवती तावत् ।

औपागायकः—(प्रविश्य घोषवतीहस्तः)^२जेदु भट्टा ! एसो सि ।

राजा—त्वं मदनुपदमागच्छ ।

औपगा—^३भट्ट ! तह ।

विदू—^४भो ! एसो कच्चायणो विसदिमत्तेण बलेण परिवुदो अगदो गदो ।
अहं दाणिं तुए एव्व सह गमिस्सम् ।

राजा—वयस्य ! शीघ्रमस्माभिर्गन्तव्यम् । अतस्त्वं विष्णुत्रातेन सह गच्छ ।

विदू—^५भो ! तुए एव्व अहं आअच्छामि ।

राजा—वयस्य ! तिष्ठ त्वम् । मम खलु प्राणैः शापितः ।

विदू—^६एसो सि । गच्छ तुवं विअआअ ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

चारः—^७भट्ट ! ण दाणिं चिराइदव्वम् ।

राजा—भद्र ! त्वमग्रतो भूत्वा मार्गमादेशय ।

चारः—^८तह । इदो इदो ।

१. “यदि वत्सराजः ससाधन आगच्छति तदा त्वं पलाय्य आगच्छ” इति आर्यशालङ्कायनेन उक्तम् । एष इदानीं बलमुज्झित्वा निर्गतः ; सर्वदा सिद्धं कार्यम् ।
२. जयतु भर्ता ! एषोऽस्मि ।
३. भर्तः ! तथा ।
४. भो ! एष कात्यायनो विंशतिमात्रेण बलेन परिवृतो अग्रतो गतः । अहमिदानीं त्वयैव सह गमिष्यामि ।
५. भो ! त्वयैवाहमागच्छामि ।
६. एषोऽस्मि । गच्छ त्वं विजयाय ।
७. भर्तः ! नेदानीं चिरायितव्यम् ।
८. तथा । इत इतः ।

(सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति)

राजा—अहो सुन्दरपाटलस्य जवविशेषः । इह हि—

तरुगहनमिदं नदीप्रवाहे पतितमिवोभयपार्श्वयोर्विरूढम् ।
अभिमुखमभिधावतीव वेगात्प्रमुखगतं समवेक्ष्य दूरतो माम् ॥

चारः—^१पविसह जमुणाकच्छं । अज ! दिट्ठिया चउ(त्थ)म्माअवशिष्टे दिअसे
संपत्तह (परिक्रम्य) भट्ट ! एसो खु सो वारणो अदिमुत्तअसाल-
च्छाआए ठिदो ।

राजा—सखे ! अयमत्र । एष हि—

समसितनखरान्तः कार्मुकाकारवंशः
सुहनुकटललाटो दीर्घपुच्छो दृढांसः ।
पृथुतरमुखकर्णो व्यायतावृत्तहस्तो
जलभरगुरुमेघश्यामपूर्वोच्छ्रिताङ्गः ॥

चारः—^२(आत्मगतं) दाणिं फुळामि विअ । (प्रकाशम्) मुहुत्तअं तिन्दुअच्छाआए
विस्समिस्सम् ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

राजा—(अश्वादवरुह्य) भृङ्गारकस्तावत् ।

चेटः—(प्रविश्य भृङ्गारकहस्तः)^३जेदु भट्टा ! एसो आणीदो ।

राजा—(आचम्य) औपागायक ! घोषवतीमानय ।

औपगा—^४भट्ट ! एसा घोसवदी ।

राजा—(प्रगृह्य वीणां मूर्च्छयति)

१. प्रविशामो यमुनाकच्छम् । आर्य ! दिष्टया चतुर्थभागावशिष्टे दिवसे सम्प्राप्ताः स्मः । भर्तः ! एष खलु स वारणः अतिमुक्तकसालच्छायायां स्थितः ।
२. इदानीं फुल्लामीव । मुहुर्ते तिन्दुकच्छायायां विश्रमिष्ये ।
३. जयतु भर्ता ! एष आनीतः ।
४. भर्तः ! एषा घोषवती ।

चेटः—^१अहं दाणिं तर्हि एव उवविसिस्सम् ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

राजा—(आत्मगतम्) किं नु खलु क्षीणो मे बाहुः ? वेपते मे सव्यं चक्षुः ।

औपगा—^२हृदि ! पडिपुय्यं (पडिमुहं ?) कण्णअरुत्ते (रुन्तुअं ?) वाअसो कूजइ ।

बहुचोराणं आवासं खु इदं वणगहणम् ; किं णु इ भवे !

(ततः प्रविशति चोरसेनापतिः खड्गहस्तश्चेष्टश्च)

चोरः—अहो नु खलु राज्ञां प्रभावो नाम ! वत्सराजो वनमिदं प्रविष्टवानिति श्रुतमात्रेणैव भिन्नो नः सङ्घातः ।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

राजा—(वीणां वादयन् गायति)

निरुपमबलवीर्यशौर्यतेजः कुवलयनीलतनो मनोज्ञवंश ।

शृणु वचनमनेकपप्रबर्हं व्रज वशतां मम भद्र भद्रमस्तु ॥

(नेपथ्ये भेरीपटहशङ्खाकुष्ठः शब्दः क्रियते)

राजा—हन्त ! वञ्चिताः स्मः नीलकुवलयतनुरप्रतिनिधिरयं हस्तीति । केनाप्यसौ मदाकर्षणार्थं नियुक्तः प्रणिधिः ।

औपगा—^३सन्वदो परिवुदह । साउहेहिं मणुस्सेहिं ।

राजा—(औपगायकाय वीणां दत्त्वा, अश्वमारुह्य) असौ खलु प्रदेशस्तुरगसञ्चरणायोग्य इव दृश्यते । तदागम्यताम् ।

(सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति)

राजा—भोः !

तिष्ठ प्राग्जयधन्व नागरक हे कात्यायनोपेहि मां

पृष्ठं चुन्द भजस्व सव्यमरिमन्नुक्षापसव्यं मम ।

१. अहमिदानीं तत्रैवोपविशामि ।
२. हा धिक् ! पडिपुय्यं (प्रतिमुखं) कर्णारुन्दं वायसः कूजति । बहुचोराणामावासः खलु इदं वनगहनम् । किन्तु खलु भवेत् !
३. सर्वतः परिवृताः स्मः सायुधैर्मनुजैः ।

मा गा हंसक दूरमुप्र भव मत्पार्श्वेऽवतिष्ठामिजि-

द्वेहि व्याघ्र हयः (यं ?) शिवेन सहिताः शेषा भवन्त्वग्रतः ॥

अश्व—^१साहु जहाणत्तं सव्वे ठिदा ।

(प्रविश्य)

शालङ्कायनः—देव ! मा साहसं कार्षीः । परीतोऽसि महता हयगजकालेन प्रद्योतबलेन ।

राजा—आः ! तस्यैव दुरात्मनः प्रयोगः खल्वसौ ।

भवतु पुनरितः प्रभृत्यहं तत्कुलमिह हन्मि समस्तमाकुमारम् ।

वनमिव सुसमृद्धमातृगेभ्यस्तरुपरिघट्टनजो हिरण्यरेताः ॥

शाल—कुशालिनमक्षतं त्वां द्रष्टुमिच्छति महासेनः ।

राजा—(आत्मगतम्) यथाक्रममारुन्धाः क्रिया विद्वद्भिरनपहास्याः सफलाश्च भवन्ति । अतः सामादिनयैरिमामापदमुत्तरेयम् । (प्रकाशम्) कस्त्वम् ? किं ते गोत्रम् ?

शाल—देव ! सूर्यदत्तो नाम्ना शालङ्कायनो गोत्रेण ।

राजा—सुप्रभातमद्य यच्चिरामिषितो भवतो दर्शनोत्सवः समासादितः । एष खल्वर्थानुबन्धोऽर्थो नाम । साधु, इहागम्यताम् ।

शाल—अग्नय इव नात्यासन्नेन नातिदूरस्थितवता ननु सुखसेव्या राजानः ।

औपगा—^२पदीआळीव (पदिआईव ?) धुत्तो बहणो ।

राजा—आगच्छेदानीं गच्छामः । कुरुष्व तावत्त्वद्भ्रूक्षेपानुवर्तिनीं वत्सेश्वरलक्ष्मीम् ।

कुतः—

विन्यस्य सम्यङ्निजराज्यभारं प्रज्ञाश्रुतिश्रीमति सूर्यदत्ते ।

खप्स्याम्यहं स्वस्थमनाः कदेति या प्रार्थना साद्य मम प्रसिद्धा ॥

शाल—प्रतिगृहीतो देवस्य प्रसादः । किन्तु स्वामिनो यथोद्दिष्टकारिता ननु परत्रेह च हितसुखयोर्निदानम् ।

१. साधु, यथाशक्तं सर्वे स्थिताः ।
२. प्रतिवादीव धूर्तो ब्राह्मणः ।

राजा—भो सूर्यदत्त ! तत्रभवान् भरतरोहकस्त्वद्गुणविभूतिमसहमानश्चण्डाल
इव वराहकलहे द्वयोरेकतरवधेनात्मनो वृत्तिमपेक्षमाणस्त्वां निष्पन्नं
जिघांसुरीदृशेष्वासन्नापायेषु नियुनक्ति, लकुटस्थानीयस्त्वं तस्य संवृत्तः ।

शाल—महासेनस्याहं भृत्यो न भरतरोहकस्य ।

राजा—आर्य ! प्रद्योतस्यातिकूरस्य समीपचारिणो व्याघ्रसमीपचारिणो मृगस्येव
नियतस्तव प्रत्यवायः । ततस्तत्र स्थानं न श्रेयस्करं भवतः । अपि च,
परीक्ष्यतां तावद्भवता ।

जालेन वह्निवदवार्यतरस्त्वयाहं
प्रद्योतनो (तो) ध्रुवमतस्तव मृत्युरेव ।

पौरोप्रहस्तिपकनापितसूदमुख्यान्
योऽहन् कृतागसमसौ न हिनस्ति किं त्वाम् ॥

शाल—(कर्णौ पिधाय) शान्तं शान्तं पापम् । नाहं भर्तुरपवादं श्रोतुं समर्थः ।
अस्थाने पुनर्देवेन वाग्व्ययः क्रियते । कुतः—

अभेद्यया स्वाम्यनुरागरक्षया सदा कृतस्वस्वयनं मनो मम ।
अतः परेषां परुषाक्षरायुधैर्न भिद्यते भेदवचोमहाप्रहैः ॥

अपि च

प्रद्योतं भज मुक्त्वास्त्रं श्रेयः स्यात्ते महत्ततः ।
देशकालौ हि विद्येते क्षमायास्तेजसोऽपि च ॥

राजा—हा धिक् !

कः क्षत्रियः सहजमानमयामृतस्य
श्रीमद्यशःसमुपदंशवतो रसज्ञः ।
शस्त्रं विहाय वशातां द्विषतामुपेया-
द्यायामकर्कशदृढायतपनिवाहुः ॥

अश्व—^१ भट्ट ! आरूढो एसो हत्थिणं । सज्जो होहि ।

१. भर्तः ! आरूढ एष हस्तिनम् । सज्जो भव ।

औप—^१ हत्थिवको सखगभीषणं उत्तिविआमाणसजिरीरणिअरंपपुच्छसीहणादं (?)
वणगच्छदोणिगदं सत्तुवलं परिक्खिदं च अह्माणं जोहेहि ।

राजा—भवतु भवतु ।

अहमारिपृतनानामद्य साश्वद्विपानां
धरणितलमसृग्भिस्तर्पयिष्यामि कोष्णैः ।
वृकशुनकशृगालान् काककङ्कांश्च मांसै-
र्दयिततरयुगान्तं प्राणदानैः कृतान्तम् ॥

(निष्क्रान्तः सार्धमौपगायकाश्चबन्धकाम्याम्)

शाल—अहो, क्षात्रं तेजः ! अहमप्यात्मनो बलस्यो(पान्ते)भविष्यामि ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

चेटः—^२अय्य ! भीददाए सुट्टु अहं वाउळो को एसो देसो ?

चोरः—अरे ! नन्वयं यमुनाकच्छः ।

चेटः—^३अय्य ! इदाणि खु मए अभिण्णादम् ।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

चोरः—(आकर्ण्य) अये ! अरण्ये महदाक्रुष्टम् । श्रुतं मया ह्यथ शालंकायनः
प्रविष्टवानिति । न खलु किञ्चिद्वत्सराजस्तेन छलितः स्यात् ।

चेटः—(परिक्रम्य अवलोक्य सभयम्)^४ अय्य ! इदो इदो विलोहेहि । केसाकेसी
संपहारो संवुत्तो ।

चोरः—हन्त ! तदेवात्र संवृत्तम् । वात्सिका आवन्तिकाश्च खल्वमी योधाः ।

एते हि—

समुन्नदन्तो धृतचापशूलप्रासासिशक्तिक्षुरिकागदाधैः ।

परस्परं घ्नन्ति रुषा प्रवीरा द्विधा विभक्ता इव मृत्युदंष्ट्राः ॥

१. हस्तिपकः सखगभीषणं (?)
सिंहनादं वनकच्छदो निर्गतं शत्रुवलं परीक्षितं च अस्माकं योधैः ।
२. आर्य ! भीततया सुष्ठु अहं व्याकुलः । क एष प्रदेशः ?
३. आर्य ! इदानीं खलु मया अभिज्ञातम् ।
४. आर्य ! इत इतो विलोक्य । केशाकेशि संप्रहारः संवृत्तः ।

चेटः—^१ अय्य ! एदस्स सल्लरुक्खस्स समीवे चिट्ठिअ सुहं णं पेक्खिस्सामो ।

चोरः—अरे ! सम्यगुपलक्षितं भवता । (उभौ परिक्रम्य तिष्ठतः)

चेटः—^२ अय्य ! को णु खु एसो पटुमवणं विअ जोहाणं मुहवणं छिंदतो तुरअ-
चक्कं विअ जुद्धमंशे पारेब्भमदि ?

चोरः—अये ! नन्वेष वत्सराजः अयं हि—

हुतहुतवहतेजाः कुञ्चितभूपताकः

प्रचुररुधिरलितः प्रोद्यतप्रांशुखड्गः ।

विचरति गतशङ्कः शत्रुसंघान् विनिघ्नन्

तुरगगतिविशेषात् सर्वतो दृश्यमानः ॥

चेटः—^३ अय्य ! एसो खु सवरराओ “अरे कच्चाअणा ! पुत्तं मे साणुगं एसिअ कहिं
गच्छसि” ति भणिअ भट्ठिणो समीवं एव्व धावइ ।

चोरः—अरे ! पश्य पश्य ।

परिघूर्ण्य भुजेन रोषदीप्तो

नृपतिः काञ्चनतालसन्निभेन ।

अवधीदुरसि प्रदीप्तशक्त्या

द्विषमेषो न्यपतत्क्षितौ गतासुः ॥

चेटः—^४ अय्य ! मज्झिदा विअ भूमी भट्ठिणा णिहदेहिं सवरबळेहिं दुहिणं विअ
वणगहणम् ।

चोरः—सम्यगाह भवान् ।

यथा यथा हरिरिव माहिषं गणं

नराधिपः सममिनिहन्ति निर्दयम् ।

१. आर्य ! एतस्य सालवृक्षस्य समीपे स्थित्वा सुखं ननु प्रेक्षिष्यामि ।

२. आर्य ! को नु खल्वेषः पद्मवनामिव योधानां मुखवनं छिन्दन् तुरगचक्रमिव
युद्धमध्ये परिभ्रमति ?

३. आर्य ! एष खलु शबरराजः “अरे कात्यायन ! पुत्तं मे साणुगम् एष्यति,
कुत्र गच्छसि” इति भणित्वा भर्तुः समीपमेव धावति ।

४. आर्य ! मज्झिता इव भूमिः भर्त्रा निहतैः शबरबलैः दुर्दिनमिव वनगहनम् ।

तथा तथा शबरबलं समन्ततो

निशामुखे तिमिरमिवाभिवर्धते ॥

चेटः—^१ ह द्वि ! हदा सव्वे भट्ठिणो जोहा ।

चोरः—अरे ! गता स्वामिपिण्डानुगम्यमिति ब्रूहि ।

चेटः—^२ कोसुम्भरणकञ्चुओ हिउडिभग्गभीसणो तव्वणअणो आअण्ण-
पुण्णचाओ को एसो ?

चोरः—अयं ननु शालङ्कायनः । एष खलु राजानं सस्मितं बाणैरलंकुर्वाणः—
शरेण तीक्ष्णायसतेजनेन

पादोरुदेशे न्यवधीनरेन्द्रम् ।

चेटः—^३ ह द्वि !

चोरः—प्रासेन राज्ञा निहतोऽसमूले

व्यपेतसंज्ञो न्यपतद्दरायाम् ॥

चेटः—^४ अविहा ! एदेण अजं णळगिरिपडिमेण हत्थिणा सरमअं विअ
भट्ठारं करअन्तो अहिपददि हत्थिजोहो ।

चोरः—अहो, बलौदार्यं राज्ञः !

उद्धीक्ष्यैनं रौद्रमभ्यापतन्तं

राजा प्रासं क्षितवानुप्रतेजाः ।

भिन्नात्मासौ विप्रहे तेन नागः

त्रासाद्रौति प्रावृषीवाभ्रराशिः ॥

चेटः—^५ ह द्वि ! गजारोहणं हिअअप्पदेसे तोमरेण हदो भट्ठिणो तुरओ ।

१. हा धिक् ! हताः सर्वे भर्तुर्योधाः ।

२. कौसुम्भरणकञ्चुकः भुकुटीभङ्गभीषणः तप्तनयनः आकर्णपूर्णचापः
क एषः ?

३. हा धिक् !

४. अपिहा ! एतेन अयं नलगिरिप्रतिमेन हस्तिना शरमयामिव भर्तारं कुर्वन्
अभिपतति हस्तियोधः ।

५. हा धिक् ! गजारोहकेन हृदयप्रदेशे तोमरेण हतो भर्तुस्तुरगः ।

चोरः—अरे ! पश्य पश्य । एष खलु राजा त्वरिततरं मञ्चादवरुद्धा हरिणप्लुतके-
नोत्प्लुत्य कैशिकामार्गेण प्रहारेण—

निकृत्तवान् द्विरदपतेर्महाभुजं
महासिना सदशनमश्मककेशम् ।

पतन्नसौ व्यपगतजीवितोऽवधीत्
स्वशस्त्रिणः स्वयमचलाभविग्रहः ॥

चेटः—^१ अय्य ! अत्यगदो भवो सुय्यो । धूमादि खु सव्वं वणगहनम् ।

चोरः—सम्यगुक्तं शेखरकेण ।

न्यस्यैव गङ्गामवतीर्य सन्ध्यां
रणाजिरेऽस्मिन् क्षतजाभिताम्रे ।
परं स्वतेजश्च नरेन्द्रसिंहे
निमग्नवानम्बुनिधौ विवस्वान् ॥

चेटः—^२ अय्य ! भट्टिणो भीददाए तहिं तहिं रुक्खाबुदसरिरी ठिदा
संभु (सबर ?) बीरा ।

चोरः—एष खलु राजा—

कृत्वा सुखेन गणनीयमरातिसैन्यं
भूमिं कळेवरशतैरतिदुर्गमां च ।
युद्धाङ्गणे चरति भूमिपतिः श्रमार्तः
गाढप्रहारपरिविह्वलयेव गत्या ॥

चेटः—^३ ह द्दि ! पडिदो भट्टा ।

चोरः—इदानीमस्तमितः सूर्यः ।

चेटः—^४ अय्य ! एसो खु भट्टा उज्झितसज्जोपसुटो विअ सीहो भीदभीदं
उवअदेहि अमिस्सेहि बद्धो ।

१. आर्य ! अस्तंगतो भगवान् सूर्यः । धूमायते खलु सर्वे वनगहनम् ।
२. आर्य ! भर्तुः भीततया तत्र तत्र वृक्षावृतशरीराः स्थिताः शबरबीराः ।
३. हा धिक् ! पतितो भर्ता ।
४. आर्य ! एष खलु भर्ता उज्झितसज्जोपसुटः (?) इव सिंहो भीतभीतमुपगतैः
अमित्रैः बद्धः ।

चोरः—कष्टं कष्टम् !

भूमिः कराग्रेण विवर्तिताद्य

आसेन भग्नो हिमवान् महाद्रिः ।

आसारवृष्ट्या शमितोऽग्निरौर्वो

विनिर्हृतः कीटशतैरनन्तः ॥

चेटः—^१ अय्य ! एहि, इह ण ठादव्वं अहोहि ।

चोरः—तथास्तु (परिक्रम्य) अहो खलु नु विधेर्दुरतिक्रमता ! एष हि—

अतुलबलपराक्रमप्रभावः

प्रथितयशाः समरवर्णाद्दिगात्रः ।

नरपतिरिभिर्निबध्य नीतो

बलिर्विव भोगिपभोगपाशबद्धः ॥

(निष्क्रान्तौ)

॥ द्वितीयोऽङ्कः ॥

१. आर्य ! एहि, इह न स्थातव्यमस्माभिः ।

यौग—(निश्चस्य)

अपि नाम भवेन्नृपस्यशान्ति-

निरतस्य ग्रहणे वनद्विपानाम् ।

अपि नाम न लक्षतां च यामः

स्फुटधिग्वादशरस्य पण्डितानाम् ॥

प्रतीहारी —(प्रविश्य)¹आणीदं मए जहाणत्तं सव्वम् ।

यौग—भद्रे ! आनय ।

प्रती—²अय्य ! इदं । (दत्त्वा निष्क्रान्ता)

यौग—किं नु खलु हस्तान्मे लेखनी पतिता (विचार्य) भवत्वहमेव तत्र यास्यामि ।

प्रतीहारी — (प्रविश्य)³ जेदु अय्यो । उपाअमस (उपासअमद?) समीवादो किलबन्धओ एअदो ।

यौग —(आत्मगतम्) बन्धक इति । एतदप्यनिमित्तमेव । (प्रकाशं) अहमेवैनं प्रत्युद्रमिष्यामि ।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

यौग—(निश्चस्यात्मगतम्) निराशमिव मे मनः स्वामिनं प्रति । अथवा अनियतं हि निमित्तं नाम ।

प्रती—⁴अय्य ! एसो खु सो । (निष्क्रान्ता)

यौग—(विलोक्य) अये ! दृष्टपूर्वं इव ।

(प्रविश्य पाशुपतवेधो हंसकः)

⁵जेदु भवम् ।

यौग—अये ! हंसको दिष्टया वेषान्तरेणायमागतः ।

1. आनीतं मया यदाशतं सर्वम् ।

2. आर्य ! इदम् ।

3. जयत्वार्यः । उपासकमठ(?)समीपात् किल बन्धक आगतः ।

4. आर्य ! एष खलु सः ।

5. जयतु भवान् ।

TOLKĀPPIYAM

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THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY. January 1930.

The theories of validity in Indian Philosophy : by Mr. S. B. Maitra states the theories of validity and invalidity as conceived by the Sāṃkhya, Vedānta, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Bauddha schools of Philosophy.

INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

December 1929.

Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire : by Rai Bahadur Ram prasad Chanda. The writer bases this article mainly on the Hāthigumpha inscription. This instalment is the second in the series.

Machinery of administration as depicted in Kauṭilya : by Dr. N. N. Law. This is the second instalment in the series of articles; this deals with the officers in the royal household and the department and espionage.

Subandhu or Bāṇabhaṭṭa—Who is earlier? by Prof. Sivaprasad Bhaṭṭāchārya.

On some Tāḍluk texts in Ancient Kambiya : by Dr. Bagchi. Works like Jayadrathayamala; Brahma Yamala; Niśvasatattiva Samhita, Sammohatantia, Sangītalola are considered.

Commentary on Śāradūtanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa : by Mr. V. Venkatarama Sarma. A fragment is published. March 1930.

Machinery of administration in Kauṭilya : by Dr. N. N. Law. This is a continuation from the previous number.

Problems of Nāṭya Śāstra : by Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh. Whether Bharata or Ādibharata is the basis for the Nāṭya Śāstra is discussed, the Nāṭya Sūtra legend about the origin of Nāṭya is untrustworthy; the disappearance of the Nāṭasūtras of Kṛṣaśva and Silalin the father of the Nāṭasūtra is due to Socio-political influences after Pāṇini.

Antiquity of Tāntrism : by Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti. A succinct history of Tantrism as found in various passages of literature is made out.

Bharatavākya : by Mr. Vibhutinatha Jha. Bharatavākya are written by the actors and not by the authors.

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
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Sarvānanda and Vallabhadeva : by Mr. S. K. De. A defence of the date of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, as advanced by the doctor himself.

La loi de Symetre dans la Chāndogya Upaniṣad : by Mr. P. J. Przyluski.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.
September—December 1929.

A new Śilpa work : by Mr. P. N. Bose.

A note on (*buddha*) pratimālakṣaṇam of the 13th century A. D.

JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF BENGAL.

The Chauhanas : by Mr. R. R. Haldar.

A chronological sketch of Chauhanas (Chahamānas) of Sāmbhar, Ājmer and Ranthanbhor.

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.
July and October 1929.

Sātavāhanas—were they Āndhras : by Pandit V. Prabhākara Sastri. The Pandit opines that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras and adduces evidences in favour of his theory.

The Evolution of Brahmanical Hierarchy : by Mr. Bhīma Sankara Rao.—This is a continuation of the article which appeared in Vol. III of the above journal. This instalment deals with the fall of the Brahminical hierarchy and the growth of Buddhism.

Judicial system in Ancient India : by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu. This part deals with the Trial by Ordeal.

MORNING STAR.

March 1930.

The Vrātya and the Yati : (to be continued) by Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Chanda. After elucidating the origin of the Dhyānayoga, he concludes that Yoga as a system of exercise for giving magical powers originated mainly among the Non-Brahmin or Pre-Aryan population in Ancient India.

Parallel passages in the Gītā and the Bible : by Dr. Susil Sarkar.

THE EPIGRAPHICA INDICA.

October 1929.

The Garavapāḍu grant of Gaṇapatiḍva : Saka 1282. by C. R. Krishnamacharlu : It is to be noted that this grant gives out the geneology of the Kākatīyas.

The Junagādh inscription of Jivadāman I. : by Mr. R. D. Banerji. The inscription under consideration pertains to the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Jivadāman I. who reigned somewhere between the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A. D.

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Cēravamicūvali : by Pt. M. Raghava Iyengar. A geneological table of the Cēra Kings accordings to the *Marumakkattāyam* and the *Makkattāyam*.

CENTAMILCELVI.

Patrons of Tamil Literature : by Mr. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai. The author gives a list of 16 Kings who were great patrons of learning, including Nālaikkilavaṇ-nākaṇ, Tiru-k-killi, Ātaṇ, Veḷimāṇ and others.

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वीणावासबद्धम्

१७

विद्—^१भो किं पुनः कादम्बम् ?

राजा—सखे, विष्णुत्रात ! अहमेनं गृहीत्वा सायं सप्तपर्णवेदिकाद्वारे वासार्थमाग-
मिष्यामि । त्वं तु पुनः—

क्षीणव्याधितवृद्धनिन्दितगजान् दन्ताधिकान् धेनुकान्

बालान् गर्भवतीर्विलक्षणतमाञ्छेतादिवर्णाधिकान् ।

प्रातैश्वर्यसुखांश्च वारणवरांस्यक्त्वा प्रशस्तान् गजान्

बद्धाथ व्रज साधनैः परिवृतस्तत्रैव वस्तुं सखे ॥

विष्णु—यदाज्ञापयति देवः ।

चारः—^२भट्ट ! कालातिक्रमेण अलिअवादी विअ भट्टिणो समीवे भविस्सम् ।

राजा—भट्ट ! बहुशो दृष्टप्रत्ययं ननु ते वचः ।

चारः—^३अदो एव मए भणीयदि ।

राजा—सुन्दरपाटलस्तावत् ।

अश्वबन्धकः—(प्रविश्य) ^४भट्ट ! एसो सुन्दरपाटलो ।

राजा—आनय(इत्यश्वमारुह्य) विष्णुत्रात ! गच्छ त्वम् । कात्यायनमिश्रानग्रतः कुरु ।

विष्णु—यदाज्ञापयति देवः । कष्टं भोः !

नृपाः प्रभुत्वात्प्रतिषेधवामा

जिह्वो विधिस्तद्वशवर्ति कार्यम् ।

साचिव्यतो नापरमस्ति पुंसां

विषाददुःखायशसां निदानम् ॥ (निष्क्रान्तः)

१. भोः ! किं पुनः कर्तव्यम् ?

२. भर्तः ! कालातिक्रमेण अलीकवादीव भर्तुः समीपे भविष्यामि ।

३. अतः खलु मया भण्यते ।

४. भर्तः ! एष सुन्दरपाटलः ।