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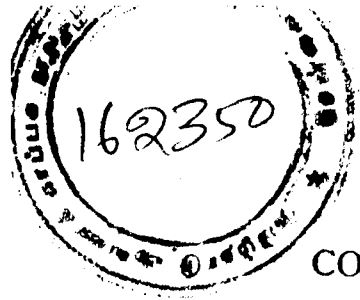
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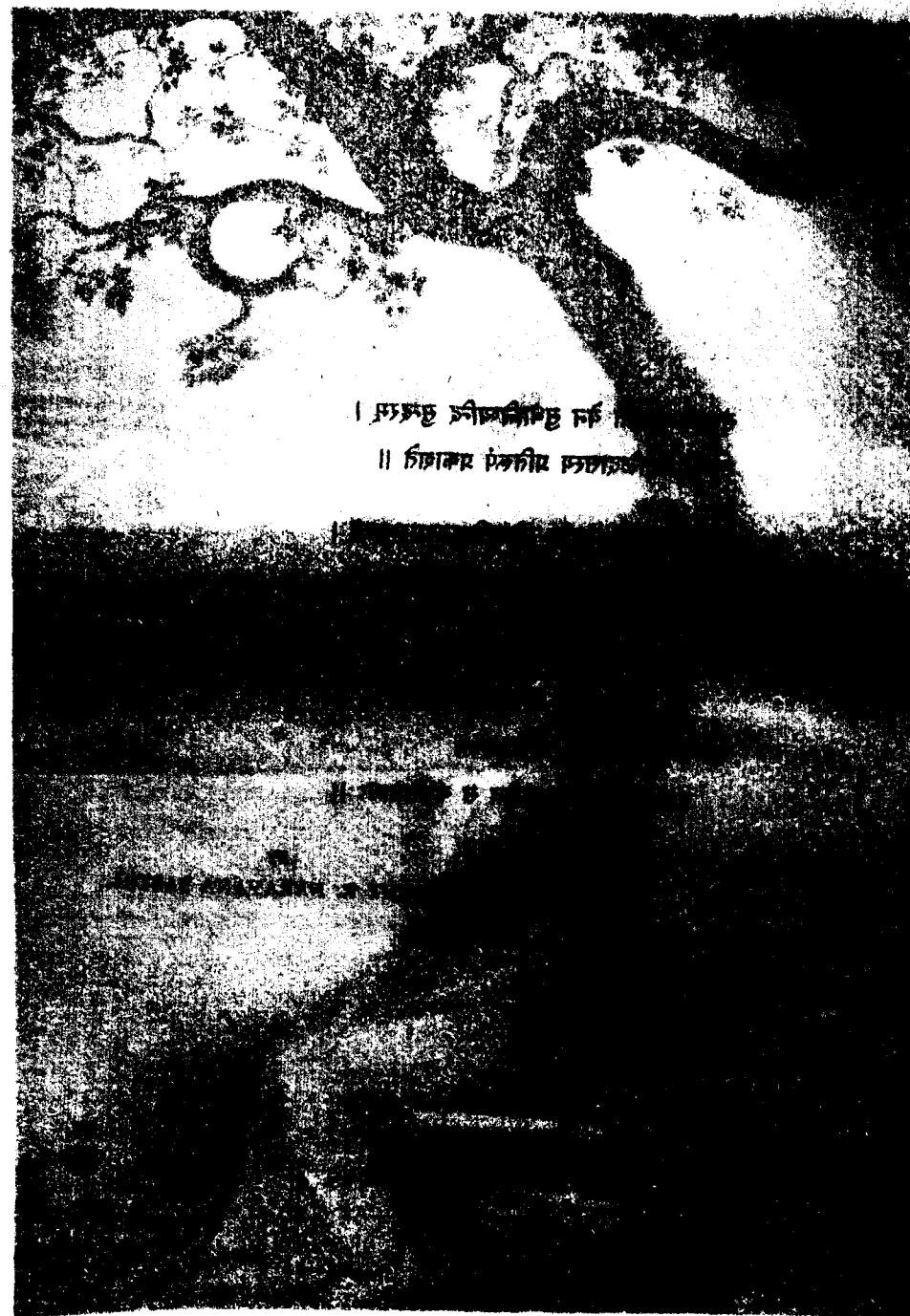
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SIR ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR,

*Advocate-General, Madras and
Member of the Editorial Board.*

We have great pleasure in expressing our heartfelt felicitations to *Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar*, a distinguished member of our Editorial Committee, on the great and well-merited distinction of *Knighthood* that has been conferred on him by the Government of India on 1st January, 1932. This honour has been conferred, evidently in token of his services as Advocate-General of Madras and as a member of the Committee appointed by the Government for drafting the "Sale of Goods Bill" and "Partnership Bill." There has been widespread satisfaction among the general public and among the members of the legal profession throughout the presidency. The distinction has been unique in the sense that no previous incumbent of the high office of Advocate-General of Madras was honoured with this title during his period of office. The Bar has felt a special joy because *Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar* is its head not only by virtue of his office, but also by reason of the princely income, which he has been earning for more than ten years at the Bar, and his large and varied practice, his great powers of advocacy and his erudition in many branches of the Law, including international law and constitutional law. He enjoys a wide popularity by the simplicity of his nature, his affability and accessibility; and his hold on the affections of his countrymen and on the younger section of the Bar is, indeed, very great owing to his discriminating philanthropy, his generous appreciation of intelligence and merit and his encouragement of talent.

The Editorial Committee of the Journal of Oriental Research are specially grateful to him for the keen interest he has been taking in the work of the Journal ever since its inception, and for the generous donation which he has been giving every year towards the finances of the Journal.

THE PORTRAIT OF KĀLIDĀSA

BY

MR. L. KRISHNA DAS, B.A., B.L., ADVOCATE, MADRAS.

An Appreciation by Vivins.

Art is creative and the artist is also a creator. Of recreation in Art it may indeed be said that it is truer and finer than what is wrought by the creative processes of nature. In the latter, the spirit is often overwhelmed and masked by matter and material, at once gross and drossy. It is the supreme function of fine art to reveal the spirit appearing veiled in every object of creation.

The Art of Painting is not the Art of Photography. The painter is not he who merely reproduces in paint the figure, features and flesh of man. What he has to paint is the soul radiating through the flesh—the man that is the spirit, with all the characteristics and the whole history rewritten in language which one can read.

If, therefore, in the case of living human beings the Artist-Painter, under the guise of painting the human figure really paints the human soul, the process comes to be reversed in painting historic persons dead long ago, with regard to whose form, feature or lineaments there are no available records or data.

A poet is known by his personality as revealed in his poems. The spirit of the poet reconstructed by a synthesis imaged in imagination and realized in the vision of the artist, is, by him, appropriately embodied by providing the soul with the vesture of a body in harmony with its own true nature. The artistic process by which such embodiment is effected is a wondrous process of recreation rendering it at the same time truer and finer. All human memory is only a similar artist and what we remember is but what we can or care to put together in imagination.

Here in this picture painted by my friend, Mr. Krishna Das is seen Kālidāsa the great Indian Poet and Dramatist as he appeared in the divine vision of the artist. The poetic soul is

there seen with eyes as those of a child opened wide in wondrous appreciation. The eyes are lifted high, fixed on things high.

The eyes are the windows of the soul and the large beautiful eyes of the Poet are seen there pictured with the poetic soul glistening as it were at the corners. It almost seems that the soul of the great poet is seeking to go out of the frail and delicate body to get *en rapport* with the beauty of the external world. That world sublime and beautiful is in the picture depicted by the sublimity of the Himalayas with its foot in the dark recesses of the forest and with its snowclad peaks towering in skies radiant with the hues of the rising sun, and also by the beauty of the lake with its lotuses still in bud and reflecting in its still waters all the morning glory, almost at the feet of the lonely poet. The antelopes grazing and playing at some distance seem only to be part of the nature depicted in the picture, the sole living being evidently enjoying his loneliness in the solitude he seems to have specially chosen for himself. Such is the setting of the picture.

The refinement and nobility of the soul are sufficiently suggested by the refinement and delicacy of the figure, especially the face. The small mouth slightly opened, apparently unconsciously, shows the soul thirsting for beauty and drinking in all the beauty there is.

The poet seems lost not only in the contemplation of the sublime and the beautiful but also in thought, waiting for some sudden inspiration to give body and shape to a fleeting poetic idea. The palm leaves already written on, lie scattered by the side and the poet pausing in the midst of a partly written leaf, sits in repose looking out as it were for the coming of the beautiful word or the beautiful thought, the inseparable unity of which represented to him the God of his worship even then imaged by him perhaps in those glorious heights he was gazing at. The stile held loosely between the fingers he is merely toying with, indicating forsooth that writing or even the style of writing is the least and last part of the poet. Whom else can this picture represent, the picture of the youthful Brahmin learned, *en rapport* with nature and beauty, following his dharma, refined and delicate in body and soul and writing on the inspiration of the sublime and the beautiful, but the great Kālidāsa of Sanskrit song?

The demands and worries of the professional life of a lawyer are scarcely propitious to the cultivation and development of Art.

Even more than Law, Art is a jealous mistress impatient of interruptions and impertinences. That in the intervals of such preoccupations Mr. Krishna Das should have been able not only to cultivate the art of painting, so little cultivated especially in this Presidency, and that what is more he should have found the necessary inspiration and time for doing such a creditable work is a matter indeed for sincere congratulation.

It is not for me to say whether his true vocation in life is Law or Art. But whatever that may be or prove to be, the work he has achieved is full of promise. May he and his devotion to art be spared long to produce still greater works of a similar kind?

Art, like everything else, can grow and thrive only in a propitious soil and at mosphere. A barren soil will not let the young plant grow. The chill of apathy will nip it in the bud and the hot blast of envy will parch or burn it up. The genial warmth of generous appreciation is a necessary condition for all growth and luxuriance. It is also true that new shades of beauty are revealed only in the sunshine of sympathy. I hope and trust that it may be given to my friend Mr. Krishna Das to receive an adequate measure of appreciation and encouragement from the public of this Presidency. I am glad to think that he has already been the recipient of a small token of recognition from the blessing hands of the Sanskrit Academy of Madras.

In the Indian Renaissance which we of this generation are witnessing in progress under our own eyes, art is destined to take and occupy a high and important place. Will Mr. Krishna Das carve out a niche for himself there?

SOME MORE NYĀYAS.

BY

K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, M.A., (LOND.),

Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Lucknow University.

Students of Sanskrit Literature will always be very grateful to the late Colonel Jacob for the three collections of Nyāyas or 'Popular Maxims' which he published some years ago. They were the result of his wide reading, extending over many years and covering a wide field of Sanskrit Literature. Anybody who is engaged in studying the literature on any Śāstra will find these collections a useful guide. They are all the more useful as Colonel Jacob's explanations of the Nyāyas always include quotations from the passages in which they occur.

Wide as Colonel Jacob's reading was, he was, of course, not familiar with certain branches of Sanskrit Literature, published subsequent to the publication of his three collections. Rich additions are being made in many parts of India to the published literature on the Śāstras and it is only natural that these newly published works should contain Nyāyas not included in Colonel Jacob's collections. I propose to lay a few such before the public, with the explanations which have suggested themselves to me.

१. दर्पणनगरन्याय

The simile of the mirror and the city. This is frequently met with in the Kashmir Śaiva literature.¹ It is one of the tenets of this system that the whole Universe is an emanation from the Supreme Being. This emanation is not different from the Supreme Being, yet it appears to be so. The system, being thoroughly monistic, cannot accept the Universe as a reality separate from the Supreme Being, Paramaśiva. If the Universe were different from the Supreme Being, it would end in dualism. If it were one with the Supreme Being, what is the force of the

1. Here, as elsewhere, Kashmir Śaiva works referred to are those published by the Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir State.

saying: The Universe shines (emanates). जगत् प्रकाशते इति कथं वाच्योक्तिः ? How does it appear different from the Supreme Being? To remove this difficulty the दर्पणनगरन्याय is brought in. Abhinavagupta says in his परमार्थसार

दर्पणनगरे यद्वन्नगरग्रामादि चित्रविभागि ।
भाति विभागेनैव च परस्परं दर्पणादपि च ॥
विमलपरमभैरवबोधात् तद्विभागशून्यमपि ।
अन्योन्यं च ततोऽपि च विभक्तमाभाति जगदेतत् ॥ (p. 35.)

On a clear mirror are reflected towns, villages, rivers, mountains, men, women, animals etc. These reflections appear different from one another, but they are all contained within the mirror. The mirror is, however, not swamped by these reflections. No reflection is beyond the mirror. In that sense, the reflections and the mirror are the same. Still, the mirror is perceived as transcending the reflections. Thus there is भेद as well as अभेद. In the same way, the Universe with all its variety appears in the Supreme Consciousness and yet the latter transcends the Universe. The Universe is not beyond the Supreme Consciousness, in which sense, there is identity between the two, while the latter transcends the former, in which sense they may be said to be different from one another. The analogy must, of course, not be pressed too far, because there is one essential point of difference between the mirror and the Supreme Consciousness. The latter creates the things which are reflected in it, whereas the mirror does not create the things which are reflected in it. While commenting on the verses quoted above Yogarāja quotes the following verse from the विवृतिविमर्शिनी of Abhinavagupta, referring to the difference pointed out above.

अन्तर्विभाति सकलं जगदात्मनीह
यद्विचित्ररचना मुकुरान्तराले ।
बोधः पुनर्निजविमर्शनसारयुक्त्या
विश्वं परामृशति यो मुकुरस्तथा तु ॥

(परमार्थसार p. 39.)

The Nyāya is also referred to in other works belonging to the Kashmir Śaiva system. Thus Abhinavagupta says in his ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी—

तस्य च प्रमातुरन्तः सर्वार्थविभासः चिन्मात्रशरीरोऽपि तत्सामानाधिकरण्यवृत्तिरपि दर्पणनगरन्यायेनास्ति इत्यपि उक्तम् । (Vol. I, p. 244.)

“It has also been said that within that Experiencer, the manifestation of all things, though essentially of the nature of Consciousness and co-existent with it, exists according to the analogy of the mirror and the city.”

Again we read:—

दर्पणतलमिव विततप्रवहन्दीप्रवाहक्रमसमाश्लिष्टम्, अत्र च केवलं दर्पणस्य तथा इच्छा नास्ति । परमेश्वरस्य तु सा अस्ति । (Vol. II, p. 23-24.)

Again we read of the प्रत्यभिज्ञाहृदय—

स्वमितौ न तु अन्यत्र कापि प्राङ्निर्णीतिं विश्वं दर्पणनगरवदभिन्नमपि भिन्नमिव उन्मीलयति । उन्मीलनं चावस्थितस्यैव प्रकटीकरणम् ॥ (p. 6.)

Examples can be multiplied, but the above passages are sufficient for making the idea clear.

२. समधृततुलापुटन्याय

The simile of the two discs of a balance in equilibrium. In such a state, the two discs are of equal importance. Hence the Nyāya is used in the Kashmir Śaiva literature, to illustrate that stage in evolution which is called ईश्वरावस्था. Yogarāja says in his commentary on the परमार्थसार

तथा अत्रैव ‘अहमिदम्’ इति अभेदेन अहन्तेदन्तयोः समधृततुलापुटन्यायेन यः स्वात्मचमत्कारः सैषा तस्य ईश्वरावस्था । (p. 42.)

Abhinavagupta also uses this Nyāya in his ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी प्रकाशस्य यदात्ममात्रविश्रमणमनन्योन्मुखस्वात्मप्रकाशताविश्रान्तिलक्षणो विमर्शः ‘सोऽहम्’ इति उच्यते ; यस्त्वन्योन्मुखः स ‘इदम्’ इति स च स्वप्रकाशमात्रे पुनरनन्योन्मुखरूपे विश्राम्यति परमार्थतः । तत्राद्ये विमर्शेऽपि शिवतत्त्वम्, द्वितीये विधेशता, मध्यमे तु रूपे ‘अहमिदम्’ इति समधृततुलापुटन्यायेन यो विमर्शः स सदाशिवनाथ ईश्वरभट्टारके च..... (Vol. II, p. 196.)

३. अङ्गुलिद्वयन्याय

This simile, like the above, is used to illustrate two things in a state of equal importance. It occurs in the ‘ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी’ of अभिनवगुप्त in a discussion on the nature of memory. While

expounding the views of the Pūrvapakṣin, Abhinavagupta says :—

इह स्मृतिकाले सुस्मृषितोऽर्थो भवतु ध्वंसतां वा इति किमनेन ? अनुभवस्तावत् ध्वस्त इत्यत्र सर्वस्य अविवादः । तमेवं चानुरुन्धाना स्मृति-ज्ञायते । तथा हि—स्मृतौ नार्थस्य प्रकाशः नाध्यवसायः, नापि अनुभवस्यार्थस्य चाङ्गुलिद्वयवत् नापि अनुभवविशिष्टस्यार्थस्य दण्डिवत् । (Vol. I, p. 60.)

The occurrence of this Nyāya, together with the दण्डिन्याय helps to make its meaning clear. The latter, like the चक्रन्याय, illustrates two things of which one appears as subordinate to the other. 'अङ्गुलिद्वयन्याय' as the very name shows, is used to illustrate two things having equal importance just as two fingers in a hand are equal to each other in importance.

४. सहभोजिनामेकपात्रन्याय

The simile of one plate serving in turn many people dining together. This serves to illustrate anything which fulfils many purposes *in succession*. Thus it is the opposite of the देहलीदीपन्याय, the simile of the lamp on the threshold illuminating two rooms at the same time. This Nyāya occurs in the note explaining on the word आवृत्ति of the ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी. Says the author of the note:—

देहलीदीपन्यायेन युगपदुपकारकत्वं तन्त्रत्वम् । सहभोजिनामेकपात्र-न्यायेन क्रमेणोपकारत्वमावृत्तित्वम् । (p. 22. Vol. I.)

(To be continued)

A NOTE ON ŚRĪ VIRŪPĀKṢA.

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH. D.,

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Śrī Virūpākṣa is the sign-manual of the emperors of Vijayanagara with which their inscriptions usually terminate. It is like the signature which every individual affixes to a letter he writes or a legal document which he executes. "The signature," says an ancient writer, "is the life of a letter."¹ The same thing may be said of a document also. The sign, Śrī Virūpākṣa, with which all the Vijayanagara grants, especially those engraved on the copper-plates, end, takes the place of the signature of the emperors.

Why did the emperors of Vijayanagara affix to their *dāna-śāsanas* and probably to other legal documents also, the name of the God Virūpākṣa and not their own? No particular attention has been paid to this question so far, and scholars have generally assumed that as God Virūpākṣa, the presiding deity of Hampi was also *kula-daiva* or the family deity of the Vijayanagara emperors, they adopted this method of signing their documents. The explanation, however, is hardly satisfactory. The family deity of the Saṅgas, Tuluvas and the early Āraṇṇika monarchs was Viṣṇu. Nevertheless, they did not change the sign-manual. Moreover, it was not usually the practice even of pious kings to substitute for their names, the name of the god whom they adored in their legal documents. The Emperor Harṣa, for instance, was a Buddhist, and yet he used to affix his own signature to his *dāna-śāsanas* and other documents, and not that of the Buddha. स्वहस्तो मम महाराजाधिराजस्य श्रीहर्षस्य is familiar to all students of Indian History. The Naiks of Ikkēri were very staunch Liṅgāyats; nevertheless they signed their documents with their own names, e.g., Śrī-Sadāśiva and Śrī Veṅkaṭādri. Nowhere do we come across a king or a line of kings signing the state document with the name of a god, although this god was not, as it

1. Sumati.

happened in the case of the Saḷuvas, Tuḷuvas etc., the family deity.

Mr. C. R. Kṛṣṇamācārī, the present Superintendent of Epigraphy, is the only scholar who bestowed some attention to this problem. In a very interesting paper which he contributed to the Indian Antiquary¹ some years ago, he discusses the sign manual of Vijayanagara rulers; but he does not make any attempt to explain its significance. However, he draws a very useful distinction between the gods of the king and the god of the state. Rāmacandra, Nṛsiṃha, Veṅkaṭeśa, Viṭṭhala etc. might become the favourite deities of the monarchs for the time being, but Śrī Virūpākṣa remained "the guardian God of the empire". "The Vijayanagara throne was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virūpākṣa. The king on the throne neither could nor would dismiss Virūpākṣa from the place of veneration in his heart".² Therefore, "Virūpākṣa continued to be the city-god and the empire-god".³

The capital of every kingdom or empire should have had its own guardian deity. None but the emperors of Vijayanagara allowed the name of the guardian deity of their capital to take the place of their own names in signing their state papers and documents. Even at present, there are several minors with guardians; but no minor is ever permitted to affix the signature of his guardian to a letter or a document which he has to sign. The legal sense of the emperors of Vijayanagara cannot be said to have been inferior to our own. How then did they tolerate the continued existence of this absurdity? We do not believe that Virūpākṣa's guardianship of the city or the empire had anything to do with the sign-manual. The Śrī Virūpākṣa of the Vijayanagara documents should be regarded as a person belonging to the world of legal fictions whose signature was considered indispensable for legalising the state documents. The emperors of Vijayanagara were his agents holding a hereditary power of attorney, managing his affairs. It is only by an assumption of this kind that we can explain continuous use of the sign-manual by the emperors, although their personal faith had drawn some of them to the feet of gods other than Virūpākṣa.

1. I. A. XLIV. p. 219.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

The assumption is not unjustifiable. The temple of Virūpākṣa had been in existence from very early times. The place became famous owing to the shrine of the god. And, according to an early tradition, Virūpākṣa wedded Pampā or Hampādevī.¹ Owing to the importance of the divine pair, the shrine became a coveted place of pilgrimage. Around the shrine sprang up a small hamlet which in course of time grew up into a township. It was appropriately named Hampe or Hampe-Virūpākṣam. The township belonged to Virūpākṣa and his wife. The sage Vidyāranya who was a staunch devotee of Virūpākṣa, was discovered by Harihara, according to tradition, in his temple.² Moreover, it is said that upon Vidyāranya's advice, Harihara made Hampe, which he transformed into Vidyānagara or Vijayanagara, his capital. But, as the township belonged to Virūpākṣa, Harihara could not hold it as his own. Therefore, he obtained, of course, through the agency of Vidyāranya, the hereditary right of managing the township, and the properties belonging to the god, on his behalf. He was managing the township not in his own right but as a servant or steward of the god.

At the time when Harihara made Hampe his capital, his power and resources were not very great. He had to contend against many powerful enemies. On the north there were the Mussalmans, the enemies of his race and religion. On the west and the south, there was Ballāla III who had broken his lance on many a battlefield. And on the east there were several petty warlike chiefs who were busy carving out independent principalities for themselves, out of the dismembered empire of the Kākatīyas. Harihara and his brothers who were anxious to save South India from falling into the hands of the Muhammadans wanted men, and above all money. They could easily command the services of men provided they had money; but where could they get money from? It was the most important problem which they had to solve; and it was the sage Vidyāranya that solved the problem for the five brothers. Tradition has preserved this solution under a miraculous garb. At his request the goddess Durgā "for seven *ghaṭikās* showered gold on the land that was to become the site of the later Vijayanagara or Vidyānagara".³

1. Nellore Inscriptions; Butterworth and Vēṅugōpāla Chetty. C. P. 15.

2. *Ibid.*

3. I. A. XLIV. p. 219.

BHAVASAMKRĀNTI SŪTRA.

RESTORED FROM THE TIBETAN VERSION WITH AN
ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

BY

N. AYYASWAMI SASTRI, MYLAPORE.

Going through the chapter VI of Candrakīrti's *Madhyama-kāvatāra*, I came across a long quotation from *Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra*. For a time, I was not able to get at further particulars regarding this *Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra*. On further investigation I came to understand that this *Sūtra* was among the Kandjour collection of Tibetan translations (Vol. XVII). The actual title of this book, as transliterated in the *sūtra*, is *āryabhavasamkrānta sūtra*. The word *samkrānta* being an ungrammatical form in Sanskrit language, I think it is an incorrect transliteration for *samkrānti*. This fact is also corroborated by further external evidence. In the Tandjour collection we come across another *Bhavasamkrānti* by one Nāgārjuna the title of which is correctly transliterated as we expected. The word *samkrānta* in the *Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra* referred to above is thus evidently a wrong transliteration of the word *Samkrānti*. A closer examination of the contents of Nāgārjuna's *Bhavasamkrānti* and its *Ṭikā* thereon by Maitreyanātha reveals that this book is so named for the reasons that it contains the salient features of the former *Bhavasamkrānti*. The addition of the word *madhyama* to the title of Nāgārjuna's work seems to have been made by Tibetan translators of later date apparently with a view to differentiate between these two works¹. How the two *Bhavasamkrāntis* agree with each other will form the subject matter of a separate paper.

The authenticity of the *Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra* can be recognised from the evidence available in Candrakīrti's *Madhyama-*

1. The restoration of the Sanskrit text of Nāgārjuna's *Bhavasamkrānti* with Maitreyanātha's commentary thereon from Tibetan versions is being prepared by me and will be published with Tibetan versions in due course of time.

kāvatāra itself. An extensive prose section in the *Madhyama-kāvatāra* has been freely quoted from the present *sūtra* and this again agrees verbatim with a portion of *Pitāputrasamāgama sūtra* quoted in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, as Prof. Poussin has pointed out. Moreover, two of the verses from the *Bhava. sūtra* are cited by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* without mentioning the source from which he has drawn them, but as the words of Lord Buddha (उक्तं हि भगवता). They are :—

न चक्षुः प्रेक्षते रूपं मनोधर्मान् वेत्ति च ।
एतत्तु परमं सत्यं यत्र लोको न गाहते ॥
सामग्रया दर्शनं यत्र प्रकाशयति नायकः ।
प्राहोपचारभूमिं तां परमार्थस्य बुद्धिमान् ॥

(M. V. p. 120.)

The variation is, however, noticeable. The order of the verses in the present *sūtra* has been changed; the first coming after the second and the second being the first. According to Candrakīrti, therefore, the *sūtra* belongs to a class of *sūtras* which advocate the theory of *Śūnyatā*.

Going through the text of *Bhavasamkrānti sūtra*, we find two topics mainly dealt with:—the transitoriness of *karman* and its relation to rebirth. During the Lord Buddha's stay at Rājagṛha, Bimbisāra interviews him and puts the following question:—How is it that *karman*s which are momentary in their nature and cease to exist afterwards, present themselves before individual minds causing rebirth? If it is, that these *karman*s produce the desired effect through a mediatory *dharma* called *aviṣraṇḍāśa*, how can such a thing *aviṣraṇḍāśa* exist when everything in the world is one utter *Śūnya*.

Regarding the first question, Lord Buddha gives the following answer in his usual way, citing an illustration. In such a case, past actions appear before the mind's eye in the same way as we are able to remember dreams while we are conscious. We see a woman in our dreams. Do we not recall to our minds this and similar dreams in our waking state? Exactly the same things happen. Our past *karman*s appear before our minds in our last moment and we have rebirth. This rebirth is nothing more than a new sphere of conscious mood in one of

the six realms of rebirth wherein we enjoy the fruits of the past *karmas*.

As for the second question the Lord says: Everything in this world is void. *Karmas* in their turn are of the same nature. There is, therefore, no such thing as disappearance of actions. This non-disappearance we call *avipranāsa*¹. Then the Buddha, in the next following seven verses, dwells upon the nature of the existing world and explains the nature of the Relative Truth and the Absolute Truth. Here ends the discourse.

The Tibetan transcription of this sūtra has been done by me from the Narthang Edition of the Kandjour collection preserved in the Adyar Library. Dr. Von Monen, the general Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, kindly compared my transcript with the manuscript of the same book belonging to the Library of the Society.

The original Sanskrit text of the sūtra, which is lost, has been restored from the Tibetan version and published in the following pages with an English translation. In doing so, the major portion of the prose and verse sections of the sūtra has been identified, either directly or indirectly, with the originals. We may thus, say, with some degree of certainty, that the original sūtra has been, in the main, recovered from oblivion.

1. This interpretation is given by Ārya Nāgārjuna. See his *Madhyamakakārikas* XVII. 21, and Candrakīrti's *vṛtti* thereon.

I

RESTORED SANSKRIT TEXT.

॥ भवसङ्क्रान्ति नाम महायानसूत्रम् ॥

नमस्तर्बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वैभ्यः ।

1. एवं मया श्रुतम् । एकस्मिन् समये भगवान् राजगृहे विहरति स्म कलन्तकनिवासे¹ वेणुवने महता भिक्षुसङ्घेन सार्धं द्विशतपञ्चाशद्भिर्भिक्षुभिः संब्रुलैश्च बोधिसत्त्वमहासत्त्वैः । अथ भगवाननेकशतसहस्रपरिवारपरिवृतः पुरतोऽवलोक्य धर्मं दशयति स्म ।² आदौ कल्याणं मध्ये कल्याणमवसाने कल्याणं स्वर्थं सुव्यञ्जनं केवलं परिपूर्णं परिशुद्धं पर्यवदातं ब्रह्मचर्यं प्रकाशयति स्म ॥

2. तदा मगधराजः श्रेण्यो³ बिम्बिसारः महता राजविभवेन महता च राजबलेन राजगृहान्महानगरान्निष्क्रम्य येन वेणुवनं येन च भगवान् तेनोपसङ्क्रामीत् । उपसङ्क्रम्य भगवतः पादौ शिरसा अभिवन्द्य त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य एकान्तेऽतिष्ठत् । एकान्ते स्थित्वा मगधराजः श्रेण्यो बिम्बिसारो भगवन्तमेतदवोचत् । कथं भगवन् कृतं कर्म सञ्चयं प्रतिरुध्य चिरनिरुद्धं मरणकाल उपस्थितं मनसोऽभिमुखीभवति । शून्येषु सर्वसंस्कारेषु कथं कर्मणामविप्रणाशोऽस्ति ॥

1. For the origin of the name "Kalantakanivāsavenūvana" See Rochill: The life of the Buddha, p. 43. (1892).

2. Here compare राष्ट्रपालपरिवृच्छा (B. B. II.) ed. by Finot, p. 2, LL. 13—14 and also मञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प (T. S. S. LXX. part I) p. 5, where there is a wrong reading of सर्वे जन for सुव्यञ्जन. This formula is commented upon by Bodhisattva Asanga in his महायानसूत्रालङ्कार (ed. Levi) p. 82, thus :—

आदिमध्यपर्यवसानकल्याणो (धर्मः) यथाक्रमं श्रुतचिन्ताभावनाभिर्भक्तिवृद्धि-
बुद्धिहेतुत्वात् ।स्वर्थः संवृतिपरमार्थसत्ययोगात् । सुव्यञ्जनः
प्रतीतपदव्यञ्जनत्वात् । चतुर्गुणं ब्रह्मचर्यम् । केवलं परैरसाधारणत्वात् । परिपूर्णं त्रिधातु-
क्लेशप्रहाणपरिपूर्णात् । परिशुद्धं स्वभावविशुद्धितोऽनासत्त्वात् । पर्यवदातं मलविशुद्धितः
सन्तानविशुद्ध्या क्षीणासत्त्वानाम् ।

3. = Tib. bzo-sbyans. See Tib. version of the Buddhacarita, X. 10 and 16 (Leipzig, 1928).

4. Read for chab-mi-ḥtshal, chud-mi-ḥdsah.

3. एवमुक्ते भगवान् मगधराजं श्रेण्यं बिम्बिसारमेतदवोचत् । तद्यथा महाराज पुरुषः सुप्तः ²स्वप्ने जनपदकल्याण्या स्त्रिया सार्धं परिचरेत् । स शयितविबुद्धो जनपदकल्याणीं तां स्त्रियमनुस्मरेत् । तत्किं मन्यसे महाराज संविद्यते ²स्वप्ने सा जनपदकल्याणी स्त्री ॥

4. आह । नो हीदं भगवन् ॥

5. भगवानाह । तत्किं मन्यसे महाराज अपि नु स पुरुषः पण्डित-जातीयो भवेत् । यः ²स्वप्ने जनपदकल्याणीं ³स्त्रियमभिविशेत् ॥

6. आह । नो हीदं भगवन् । तत्कस्य हेतोः । अत्यन्ततया तु भगवन् स्वप्ने ²जनपदकल्याणी स्त्री न संविद्यते । नोपलभ्यते । कुतः पुनरनया [सार्धं] परिचरणा । ⁴एवं विघातस्य क्लमथस्य भागी स्यात् ⁵ ॥

7. ⁶भगवानाह । एवमेव महाराज बालोऽश्रुतवान् पृथग्जनश्चक्षुषा रूपाणि दृष्ट्वा सौमनस्यस्थानीयानि रूपाण्यभिविशेत् ⁷ ॥ ⁸अभिविशेत् अनु-रज्यते ⁹ । अनुरक्तः संरज्यते । संरक्तो ¹⁰रागजं द्वेषजं मोहजं कर्म कायवाङ्मनोभि-

1. From this nearly up to the end of the prose section of our Sūtra almost agrees with a part of the large extract cited from पितापुत्रसमागम in Śikṣāsamuccaya, pp. 252, LL. 3—653, 13. Variants will be noted below. Candrakīrti also quotes these passages in his मध्यमकावतार = म० अ० (B. B. IX.) p. 127, L. 17.

2. शि० स० : स्वप्नान्तरे. म० अ० omit. संविद्यते स्वप्ने सा...महाराज.

3. शि० स० : ०स्त्रियमनुस्मरेत् । तथा सार्धं क्रीडितमभिविशेत् । म० अ० : जनपदकल्याण्या स्त्रिया सार्धं परिचरेत् । तच्छयितविबुद्धस्तां जनपदकल्याणीं स्त्रियमनु-स्मरेत्.

4. शि० स० : अन्यत्र यावदेव स पुरुषः for एवम् । म० अ० add स पुरुषः.

5. शि० स० add यस्तामभिविशेत् ।

6. The following is in agreement with passages cited from पितापुत्रसमागम in बोधिचर्यावतारपञ्चिका, pp. 477, LL. 3—479, 1.

7. बो० प० : अभिविशेते ।

8. शि० स० et बो० प० : सोऽभि०

9. शि० स० : सन्ननुनीयते । अनुनीतः, बो० प० : समनुनीयते. म० अ० omit. अनुरज्यते । अनुरक्तः.

10. शि० स० et बो० प० : रागजं कर्माभिसंस्करोति । त्रिविधं कायेन चतुर्विधं वाचा त्रिविधं मनसा.

रभिसंस्करोति । तच्च कर्माभिसंस्कृतं ¹ निरुध्यते । निरुद्धं न पूर्वं दिशं निश्चित्य तिष्ठति । न दक्षिणाम् । न पश्चिमाम् । नोत्तराम् । नोर्ध्वम् । नाधः । न ² विदिशं निश्चित्य तिष्ठति । ³तत्कर्म कदाचिन्मरणकालसमय ⁴ उपस्थिते ⁵ तत्सभागस्य कर्मणः क्षयात् चरमविज्ञाने ⁶ निरुद्धे मनसोऽभिमुखीभवति । तद्यथापि नाम ⁷सुप्तशयितविबुद्धस्य जनपदकल्याणी स्त्री । एवं हि महाराज चरमविज्ञानं ⁸ निरुध्यते । औपपत्त्यशिकं प्रथमविज्ञानमुत्पद्यते यदि ⁹वा देवे । यदि वा मनुष्ये । यदि वासुरे । यदि वा नरकेषु । यदि वा तिर्यग्योनिषु । यदि वा प्रेत्येषु । तस्य च महाराज प्रथमविज्ञानस्य ¹⁰समनन्तरनिरुद्धस्य ¹¹तत्समगा चित्तसन्ततिः प्रवर्तते । यत्र विपाकस्य प्रतिसंवेदना प्रज्ञायते । तत्र ¹²महाराज न कश्चिद्वर्गोऽस्माद्लोकात्परलोकं सङ्क्रामति । च्युत्युपपत्ती च प्रज्ञायते । तत्र महाराज यश्चरमविज्ञानस्य निरोधः । सा च्युतिरिति संज्ञा । यः प्रथमविज्ञानस्य प्रादुर्भावः । सोपपत्तिरिति । ¹³चरमविज्ञानं महाराज निरोधेऽपि न कचिद्रच्छति ।

1. Ibid. add ०स्कृतमादित एव क्षीणं निरुद्धं विगतं विपरिणतं न पू०

2. Ibid. add नानुविदिशम् । नेह । न तिर्यक् । नोभयमन्तरा ।

3. Ibid. : तत्पुनः कालान्तरेण मरणकालसमये प्रत्युप०. म० अ० :

कदाचित्कालान्तरेण मरणकाल उपस्थिते.....निरुद्धे तस्यैव कर्मणो मनोऽभि०.

4. Tib. tshod = समय ?

5. शि० स० et बो० प० add. जीवितेन्द्रियनिरोधे आयुषः परिक्षयात् ।

6. Ibid. ०ज्ञानस्य निरुध्यमानस्य मनस आरम्भणीभवति ।

7. Tib. ñal-ñal-ba-las-sad-pa. शि० स० शयितविबुद्ध ।

8. शि० स० : ०ज्ञानेनाधिपतिना तेन च कर्मणा आरम्भणेनौपपत्त्यशिकद्वय-प्रत्ययं प्रथमविज्ञानम् । बो० प० : ०ज्ञानेनाधिपतिना तेन च कर्मरम्भणेन औपपत्त्यशिकं प्रथमम् ।

9. शि० स० et बो० प० : यदि वा नरकेषु । यदि वा तिर्यग्योनिषु । ...यमलोके । ... आसुरे काये । ... मनुष्येषु । ... देवेषु ।

10. Ibid. add. औपपत्त्यशिकस्य ।

11. शि० स० : अनन्तरसभागा. बो० प० : अनन्तरं स०.

12. This and the following sentence come after उपपत्तिरिति in शि० स० et बो० प०.

13. Ibid. : चरमविज्ञानमुत्पद्यमानं न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । निरुध्यमानं न कचि-द्रच्छति । कर्माप्युत्पद्यमानं न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । निरुध्यमानं न कचिद्रच्छति । प्रथमविज्ञानमुत्पद्यमानं न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । निरुध्यमानं न कचिद्रच्छति ।

औपपत्त्यंशिकं प्रथमविज्ञानमुत्पादेऽपि न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । तत्कस्य हेतोः । स्वभावराहितत्वात् । तत्र महाराज ¹चरमविज्ञानं चरमविज्ञानेन शून्यम् । च्युति-श्चुल्या शून्या । कर्म कर्मणा शून्यम् । प्रथमविज्ञानं प्रथमविज्ञानेन शून्यम् । उप-पत्तिरुपपत्त्या शून्या । कर्मणामवि प्रणाश²श्च प्रज्ञायते । प्रथमविज्ञानस्य महाराज औपपत्त्यंशिकस्य समनन्तरनिरुद्धस्य निरन्तरा चित्तसन्ततिः प्रवर्तते । यत्र विपाकस्य प्रतिसेवेदना प्रज्ञायते । एवं भगवानाह । सुगत एवमुक्त्वा अन्यच्च शास्ता एवमवोचत् ॥

8. सर्वमेतन्नाममात्रं संज्ञामात्रं व्यवस्थितम् ।
वचनादन्यभूतं हि वक्तव्यं न च विद्यते ॥
9. येन³ येन हि नाम्ना वै यो यो धर्मोऽभिलष्यते ।
नासौ संविद्यते तत्र धर्माणां सा हि धर्मता ॥
10. नाम्ना⁴ हि नामता शून्या नाम्ना नाम न विद्यते ।
अनामकाः सर्वधर्मा नाम्ना तु परिदीपिताः ॥
11. इमे⁵ धर्मा न विद्यन्ते कल्पनायाः समुत्थिताः ।
साप्यत्र कल्पना शून्या यया शून्या विकल्पिताः ॥
12. चक्षुरूपं पश्यतीति 'सम्यग्दृष्ट्या यदुच्यते ।
मिथ्याश्रद्धस्य लोकस्य तत्सत्यं संवृतीरितम् ॥

1. *Ibid.* These sentences are in a different order : चरमविज्ञानं ... । कर्म ... । प्रथमविज्ञानं ... । च्युतिः ... । उपपत्तिः ... ।

2. *Ibid.* अवन्ध्यता. Here ends the agreement between the भवसङ्क्रान्तिसूत्र and the पितापुत्रसमागमसूत्र. The quotation of our Sūtra in the Madhyamakāvatāra also ends here.

3. Cited in the Tattvasamgrahapanjikā (G. O. S.) p. 12, (उक्तं ताथिना) and again it is cited on the page 275, where we have न स संविद्यते in the third pāda.

4. This verse is in quite agreement with one of the verses cited from the Lokanūthavyākaraṇa in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 241, LL. 13—14, where in the second pāda of the first line it reads नाम्नि for नाम्ना of our text.

5. Compare the Lankāvatāra Sūtra (kyoto, 1923), p. 265, verse

10. असारका इमे धर्मा मन्यनायाः समुत्थिताः ।

साप्यत्र मन्यना शून्या यया शून्येति मन्यते ॥

6. अतैमिरिकेणेत्यर्थः ।

13. ¹सामग्र्या दर्शनं यत्र प्रकाशयति नायकः ।

प्राहोपचार² भूमिं तां परमार्थस्य बुद्धिमान् ॥

14. न चक्षुः प्रेक्षते रूपं मनोधर्मान् वेत्ति च ।

एतत्तु परमं सत्यं यत्र³ लोको न गाहते⁴ ॥

15. एवमवोचद्भगवान् । मगधदेशराजः श्रेण्यो बिम्बिसारः ते बोधिसत्त्वास्ते च भिक्षवः सदेवमानुषासुरगन्धर्वश्च लोको मुदित्वा भगवतो भाषितमभ्यनन्दन् ॥
॥ आर्यभवसङ्क्रान्ति नाम महायानसूत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥

II

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One (*i. e.* Lord Buddha) was once staying at the Bamboo-grove, called Kalantakanivāsa, which is situated in Rājagṛha, with a large assembly composed of Bhikṣus numbering two hundred and fifty and innumerable Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas. Thereupon, the Blessed One who was surrounded by many hundreds of thousands of followers, beholding ahead, preached Dharma and explained the Brahmācārya (celibacy) which is blessing in the beginning, blessing in the middle, blessing in the end, full of good significance, full of good letters and syllables, unmixed, quite perfect, quite pure and quite clean.

2. Then, Bimbisāra the king of Magadha an expert in arts, with all his royal pomp and grandeur and with all his royal forces, came out of Rājagṛha the great city and arrived at the Bamboo-grove where the Blessed One was staying. On arriving, he bowed at the feet of the Blessed One and walking around Him three times from left to right, stood in a corner. While standing there, Bimbisāra the king of Magadha, the expert in arts, asked the Blessed One thus: How, O Blessed One! does an action that has been done, long after its accumulation is checked and it has disappeared, present itself at the time of death

1. The following two verses are cited in the Madhyamakavṛtti p. 120 (उक्तं हि भगवता).

2. Tib. reads gdags-pahi-sa = प्रज्ञतिभूमि

3. Tib. reads. तत्र

4. = Tib. dpogs-so.

and appear before the mind (*manas*); and how is there no annihilation (*avipranāśa*) of actions when everything is empty?

3. The Blessed One replied to Bimbisāra the king of Magadha the expert in arts, as follows:—Take for example, O king! a man, who, while asleep, dreams that he was roving about with some beautiful young woman of a city. When he wakes up from sleep he may remember that young woman. What do you think, O king? Does that woman exist in the dream?

4. He said: No, Blessed One.

5. The Blessed One said: What do you think, O king? Would that man be considered wise who would cling to that woman [who appeared] in his dream?

6. He said: No, Blessed One. And why so? Because the young woman in the dream does not exist at all; nor could she be got at; then how could there be any roving about with her? And thus he becomes an object of failure and fatigue.

7. The Blessed One said: Even so, O king! a foolish, untaught, worldling, when he sees beautiful forms, becomes attached to them; being attached to them, he begins to like them and after liking, he feels a passion for them; and feeling a passion, he performs the action that springs from the passion, indignation and ignorance, by means of body, speech and mind; and that action which is performed disappears. Disappearing, it does not go towards the east, nor south, nor west, nor north, nor up, nor down, nor to the intermediate points. But at a period later on, when the time of death comes in, and when the last consciousness disappears by the exhaustion of one's action of similar kind,¹ that action appears before the mind, as the young woman to a man who was asleep and was awakened from sleep. So, O king! the last consciousness disappears and the first consciousness associated with rebirth is born either amongst gods or men, or demons, or in the hells or in the womb of beasts or amongst *pretas*. And immediately after this first consciousness disappears, O king! a new series of thought belonging to that [first consciousness] arises where the experience of ripening of the act is to

1. तत्सभागस्य कर्मणः क्षयात्. सभाग = सदृश. See मध्य० वृत्ति p. 321.

l. 6. But तत्सभागं कर्मन् is translated by C. Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse thus: "the action that is his share." See Śikṣāsamuccaya, English translation, p. 234.

be felt. There is, O king! nothing that goes from this world to another; but death¹ (*cyuti*) and rebirth¹ (*upapatti*) take place. What is, O king! the disappearance of the last consciousness that is known as "death". What is the manifesting of the first consciousness that is known as "rebirth". The last consciousness, O king, when it ceases, does not go anywhere. The first consciousness, when it arises, does not come from anywhere. And why so? Because they have no reality. So, O king! the last consciousness is of itself empty, death of itself empty, action of itself empty, the first consciousness of itself empty, rebirth of itself empty. And the inexhaustibility of actions comes into play. Immediately after the disappearance of the first consciousness associated with rebirth, O king! an uninterrupted new series of thought arises, where the experience of the ripening of the act is to be felt. So spoke the Blessed One. The Buddha (*Sugata*) the commander (*Śāstā*) having spoken in this way, also said as follows:—

8. All this is only a name and the name alone stands. There is nothing capable of speech apart from words.

9. By whatever particular names, particular things may be called, they [the things] do not exist in them [those names] indeed; this is what is known as thinghood (*dharmatā*) of all things (*dharma*).

10. Namehood is void of name, by name there is no name. Nameless are all things; but they are illuminated by names.

11. These things do not exist, but are born of imagination. That imagination is itself empty by which the empty things are discriminated.

12. That which is uttered by a man of correct perception that "the eye sees the form (*rūpa*) is called Relative Truth (*samvrttisatya*) in the view of the world of false faith.

13. Where the Leader (*Nāyaka* = Buddha) teaches that the perception (*darśana*) arises by the aid of a concatenation of cause and conditions, the wise declare that it is the *upacārabhūmi* of the Absolute Truth.

14. The eye sees not the form and the mind knows not the things; this is the Absolute Truth unto which the world reaches not. Thus spoke the Blessed One.

1. च्युति and उपपत्ति in corresponding passages in Śikṣāsamuccaya are translated "rebirth" and "arising" respectively. But this is evidently an error.

15. Bimbisāra the king of Magadha, the expert in arts, those Bodhisattvas and Bhikṣus and the world comprising gods, men, demons and angels, being pleased, greatly praised the teaching of the Blessed One.

Here ends the Noble Bhavasamkrānti,
a Mahāyāna Sūtra.

III. TIBETAN VERSION.

RGYA-GAR. SKAD. DU| ĀRYA. BHA. BA. SAM. KRĀ. NI.
TA. NĀ. MA. HĀ. YĀ. NA. SŪ. TRA| BOD. SKAD. DU|
H̄PHAGS. SRID. PA. H̄PHO. BA. SHES. BYA. BA.
THEG. PA. CEN. POHI. MDO||

sañs. rgyas. dañ| byañ. chub. sems. dpah.
thams. cad. la. phyag. htshal. lo||

1. hdi. skad. bdags. gis. [f. 280a] thos. pa. dus. gcig. na|
bcom. ldan. h̄das. rgyal. pohi. khab. na. hod. mahi. tshal. bya.
ka. la. nta. ka. gnas. pa. na. dge. sloñ. ñis. brgya. lña. bcuhi. dge.
sloñ. gi. dge. hdun. chen. po. dañ| byañ. chub. sems. dpah. sems.
dpah. chen. po. rab. tu. mañ. po. dañ. thabs. gcig. tu. bshugs. te|
de. nas. bcom. ldan. h̄das. h̄khor. brgya. stoñ. du. mas. yoñs. su.
bskor. ciñ. mdun. gyis. bltas. nas. chos. ston. to| tshañs. par.
spyod. pa| thog. mar. dge. ba| bar. du. dge. ba| tha. mar. dge. ba|
don. bzañ. po| tshig. h̄bru. bzañ. po| ma. h̄dres. pa| yoñs. su.
rdsogs. pa| yoñs. su. dag. pa| yoñs. su. byañ. ba. yañ dag. par.
ston. to|

2. dehi. tshe. yul. ma. ga. dhehi. rgyal. po. bzo. sbyañs.
gzugs. can. sñiñ. po. rgyal. pohi. khab. kyi. groñ. khyer. chen.
po. nas. byuñ. ste| rgyal. pohi. h̄byor. pa. chen. po. dañ. rgyal.
pohi. mthu. chen. pos. phyir. hod. mahi. tshal. ga. la. ba. dañ|
bcom. ldan. h̄das. ga. la. ba. der. soñ. ste. phyin. nas| bcom.
ldan. h̄das. kyi. shabs. la. mgo. bos. phyag. htshal. te| lan. gsum.
bskor. ba. byas. nas. phyogs. gcig. tu. h̄dug. go|| phyogs. gcig. tu.
h̄dug. nas. yul. ma. ga. dhañi. rgyal. po. bzo. sbyañs. gzugs. can.
sñiñ. pos bcom. ldan. h̄das. la. h̄di. skad. ces. gsol. te|| bcom.
ldan. h̄das. ji. ltar. na. las. bgyis. śiñ. bsags. pa. hgags. nas. yul.
riñ. du. hgags. pa. hgum. pañi. dus. kyi. tshe. [f. 280b] ñe. bar.

gnas. śiñ. yid. la. mñon. du. h̄gyur. lags| h̄du. byed. thams. cad.
stoñ. pa. la. ji. ltar. las. rnams. chud.¹ mi. h̄dsah. bar. gdah.|

3. de. skad. ces. gsol. pa. dañ| bcom. ldan. h̄das. kyis. yul.
ma. ga. dhañi. rgyal. po. bzo. sbyañs. gzugs. can. sñiñ. po. la.
h̄di. skad. ces. bkañ. stsal. to||² rgyal. po. chen. po. h̄di. lta. ste|
dper. na. mi.³ shig. ñal. bañi. rmi. lam. na. yul. gyi. bud. med.
bzañ. mo. dañ. lhan. cig. tu. yoñs. su. spyod. pa. rmis. la| de ñal.
ba. las. sad. nas. yul. gyi. bud. med. bzañ. mo. de. dran. na. rgyal.
po. chen. po. h̄di. ji.⁴ sñam. du. sems|⁵ rmi. lam. gyi. yul. gyi.
bud. med. bzañ. mo. de. yod. dam|

4. gsol. pa| bcom. ldan. h̄das. de. ni. ma. mchis. lags. so||

5. bcom. ldan. h̄das. kyis. bkañ. stsal. pa| rgyal. po. chen.
po. h̄di. ji. sñam. du. sems| ho. na.⁵ gañ. rmi. lam. gyi. yul. gyi.
bud.⁶ med. bzañ. mo. la. mñon. par. shen. pañi. mi. de. mkhas.
pañi. rañ. bshin. can. yin. nam|

6. gsol. pa| bcom. ldan. h̄das. de. ni. ma. lags. te| de.
ciñi. slad. du. she. na| bcom. ldan. h̄das. rmi. lam. gyi. yul. gyi.
bud. med. bzañ. mo. hañ.⁷ śiñ. tu. ma. mchis. śiñ. mi. dmigs.
lags. na. de. dañ. yoñs. su. spyod. pa. la. lta. ga. la. mchis. te|
h̄di. ltar. mi. de. ni. phoñs. śiñ. dub. pañi. skal. pa. can. du.
h̄gyur. lags. so||

7. bcom. ldan. h̄das. kyis. bkañ. stsal. pa| rgyal. po. chen.
po. de. bshin. du. byis. pa. so. soñi. skye. bo. thos. pa. dañ.
mi. ldan. pa [f. 281a] hañ.⁸ mig. gis. gzugs. rnams. mthoñ. na.⁹
yid. bde. bar. h̄gyur.¹⁰ bañi. gzugs. rnams. la. mñon. par. shen. te|

1. Xyl: chab. mi. htshal.

2. It is already noticed that these passages are cited in the Madhyamakāvatāra. Different readings of this text and of the citation in the Tibetan version of the Madhyamakāvatāra (=M.A.) will be noted below.

3. M. A.: ma. shig.

4. M. A.: ci.

5. These sentences are omitted in M. A.

6. M. A.: bud. med. bzañ. mo. dañ. lhan. cig. spyod. pa. rmis. la| de. ñal. ba. las. sad. nas. yul. gyi. bud. med. bzañ. mo. de. dran. pañi. mi. de.

7. M. A.: yañ. ma. mchis.

8. M. A.: yañ.

9. M. A.: nas.

10. M. A.: gyur. pañi.

mñon. par. shen. par. gyur. nas.¹ rjes. su. chags. par. hgyur. ro|| rjes. su. chags. nas. kun. tu.¹ chags.² par. hgyur. ro|| kun. tu. chags.³ nas. hdod. chags. las. byuñ. ba. dañ| she. sdañ las. byuñ. ba. dañ| gti. mug. las. byuñ. bañi. las. lus. dañ| ñag. dañ| yid. kyis. mñon. par. hdu. byed. de.⁴ las. de. mñon. par. hdus. byas. par. gyur. nas. hgag. go. hgag. pa. na. śar.⁵ phyogs. su. brten. te. gnas. pa. ma. yin| lho. phyogs. su. ma. yin| nub. phyogs. su. ma. yin| byañ. phyogs. su. ma. yin| steñ. du. ma. yin| hog. tu. ma. yin| phyogs. mtshams. rnams. su. brten. te. gnas. pa. ma. yin. no.⁵|| dus. gshan. ji. tsam. shig. na. hchi. bañi. dus. dañ. tshod.⁶ ñe. bar. gnas. pañi. tshe. de. dañ| skal. pa. hdra. bañi. las. zad. nas. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. ma. hgag. pañi. tshe. hdi. lta. ste| dper. na. ñal. ñal. ba. las. sad. pañi. miñi. yul. gyi. bud. med. bzañ. mo. lta. bur. las.⁷ de yid. la. mñon. du hgyur. ro|| rgyal. po. chen. po. de. ltar. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. ma. hgag. ciñ. skye. bañi. char. gtogs. pañi. rnam. par. śes. pa. dañ. po. yañ. na. ni. lhañi.⁸ nañ. du| yañ.⁹ na. ni. miñi. nañ. du| yañ. na. ni. lha. ma. yin. gyi. nañ. du| yañ. na. ni. sems. can. dmyal. bañi. rnams. su| yañ. na. ni. dud. hgro. rnams. su⁹| yañ. na. ni. yi. dāgs [f. 281 b] rnams. su. hbyuñ. bar. hgyur. ro|| rgyal. po. chen. po. rnam. par. śes. pa. dañ. po. de. hgags. ma. thag. tu. gañ. la. rnam. par. smin. pa. myoñ. bar. hgyur. ba.¹⁰ mñon. pa. de. dañ. skal. pa. hdra. bañi. sems. kyi.¹¹ rgyud. hbyuñ. ño|| rgyal. po. chen. po. de. la. chos. gañ. yañ. hñig. rten. hdi. nas. hñig. rten. pha. rol. tu. hpho. bañi.¹² med. la. hchi. hpho.¹³ dañ. skye. bar. mñon. pañi. yod. de| rgyal. po. chen. po. de. la. gañ. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. ma. hgag. pa. de. ni. hchi. hpho.¹³ shes. bya|

1. These words omitted in M. A.
2. M. A. : chags. pa. skyed. par. byed. do.
3. M. A. : kun. tu. omitted.
4. M. A. : do.
5. These words shortened in M. A. : gnas. pa. ma. yin. pa. nas. phyogs. mtshams. rnams. su. ma. yin. no. shes bya. bañi. bar. dañ.
6. M. A. : 'tshod' omitted.
7. M. A. : yid. las. de. ñid. la.
8. M. A. : lha. dag. gi.
9. These words shortened in M. A. : nañ. du. shes. bya. ba. nas. yañ. na. ni. yi. dāgs. rnams. su. hbyuñ. bar. hgyur. ro. shes. bya. byañi. bar. dañ.
10. M. A. : bar.
11. M. A. : rgyun.
12. M. A. : yañ.
13. M. A. : hpho. ba.

gañ. rnam. par. śes. pa. dañ. po. hbyuñ. ba. de. ni. skye. ba. shes. byaho|| rgyal. po. chen. po. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. ma. hgag. pañi. tshehañ.¹ gañ. duhañ.¹ mi. hgro| rnam. par. śes. pa. dañ.² po. skye. bañi. char. gtogs. pa. hbyuñ. bañi. tshehañ. gañ. nas. kyañ. mi. hoñ. ño|| de. ciñi. phyir. she. na| ño.³ bo. ñid. dañ. bral. bañi. phyir. ro|| rgyal. po. chen. po. de. la. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. ma. ni. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. mas. stoñ. hchi. hpho. ni. hchi. hphos. stoñ.⁴ las. ni. las. kyis. stoñ. rnam. par. śes. pa. dañ. po. ni. rnam. par. śes. pa. dañ. pos. stoñ.⁴ skye. ba. ni. skye. bas. stoñ. la| las. rnams. chud. mi. za. bar.⁵ mñon⁶ pañi. yod. do|| rgyal. po. chen. po. rnam. par. śes. pa. dañ. pohi. skye. bañi. char. gtogs. pa. hgags. ma. thag. tu. bar. ma. chad. par. gañ. la. rnam. par. smin. pa. myoñ. bar. hgyur. ba. mñon. pañi. sems. kyi. rgyud. hbyuñ. ño|| bcom. ldan. hdas. kyis. de. skad. ces. bkañ. stsal. te| bde. bar. gśegs. pas. de. skad. gsuñs. nas. ston. pas. gshan. yañ. hdi. skad. ces. bkañ. stsal. to||

8. hdi. dag. thams [282 a] cad. miñ. tsam. ste||
hdu. śes. tsam. du. gnas. pa. yin||
brjod. pa. las. ni. gshan. gyur. pa||
brjod. par. bya. ba. yod. ma. yin||
9. miñ. ni. gañ. dañ. gañ. gis. su||
chos. rnams. gañ. dañ. gañ. brgod. p.||
de. la. de. ni. yod. ma. yin||
hdi. ni. chos. rnams. chos. ñid. do||
10. miñ. gis. miñ. ñid. stoñ. ba. ste||
miñ. ni. miñ. gis. yod. ma. yin||
miñ. med. pa. yi. chos. rnams. kun||
miñ. gis. yoñs. su. brjod. par. byas||
11. chos. rnams. hdi. dag. yod. min. te||
rtog. pa. las. ni. kun. tu. hbyuñ||
gañ. gis. stoñ. par. rnam. rtog. pa||
rtog. pa. dehañ. hdi. na. med||
12. mig. gis. gzugs. ni. mthoñ. ño. shes||
yañ. dag. gzigs. pas. gañ. gsuñs. pa||

1. M. A. : yañ.
2. M. A. : dañ. po. omitted.
3. M. A. : rañ. bshin. dben. pañi. phyir. ro|
4. M. A. : stoñ. ño.
5. M. A. : add yañ.
6. M. A. : mñon. no. Here ends the quotation.

- hjug. rten. log. pahi. dad. can. la||
 kun. rdsob. bden. par. de. gsuñs. so||
13. tshogs. nas. mthoñ. shes. gañ. dag. tu||
 ḥdren. pas. rab. tu. bstan. mdsad. pā||
 de. ni. don. dam. gdags. pañi sa||
 blo. dañ. ldan. pas. bkañ stsal. to||
14. mig. gis. gzugs. rnam. mi. mthoñ. shiñ||
 yid. kyis. chos. rnam. mi. rig. pa||
 de. ni. bden. pa. mchog. yin. te||
 de. la. hjig. rten. mi. dpogs. so||
15. bcom. ldan. ḥdas. kyis. de. skad. ces. bkañ. stsal. nas|
 yul. ma. ga. dhañi. rgyal. po. bzo. sbyañs. gzugs. can. sñiñ. po.
 dañ| byañ. chub. sems. dpañ. de. dag. dañ| dge. slon. de. dag.
 dañ| lha. dañ. mi. dañ. lha. ma. yin. dañ. dri. zar. bcas.
 pañi. hjig. rten. yi. rañ. te| bcom. [282-b] ldan. ḥdas. kyis.
 gsuñs. pa. la. mñon. par. bstod. do||
- ḥphags. pa. srid. pa. ḥpho. ba. shes. bya.
 ba. theg. pa. chen. poñi. mdo.
 rdsogs. so||

SOME MINOR WORKS OF ŚRĪ CITSUKHĀCĀRYA.

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Śrī Citsukhācārya was one of the greatest of Advaitins belonging to the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. Several works of his have come down to us, though only two of them have seen the press. The following works of Citsukha are available at present:—

1. *Tattvapradīpikā*, a work printed already in the Nirnaya-sagara Press, Bombay.
2. *Nyāyamakarandavyākhyā*, a commentary on the Nyāya-makaranda of Ānandabodha, published in the Chowkhamba Press, Benares.
3. ¹*Brahmasūtrabhāṣyabhāvaprakāśikā*, a commentary on the Bhāṣya of Śrī Śaṅkara.*
4. ²*Brahmasiddhivyākhyā*—*Abhiprāyaprakāśikā*, a commentary on the Brahmasiddhi of Maṇḍanamiśra.
5. ³*Pramāṇaratnamālavyākhyā*—*Sambandhokti*, a commentary on the *Pramāṇaratnamālā* of Ānandabodha.
6. ⁴*Adhikaraṇasaṅgati*.
7. ⁵*Adhikaraṇamañjarī*.
8. ⁶*Naiṣkarmyasiddhīkā*—*Bhāvatattvaparakāśikā*, a commentary on the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*.
9. ⁷*Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa Vyākhyā*—*Bhāvadyotani*.

* An edition of this work is under preparation by the author of this paper, under the auspices of the Madras University.

1.	See	G. O. Mss.	Library.	R. No.	3020
2.	"	"	"	"	3853
3.	"	"	"	"	3273
4.	"	"	"	"	3305
5.	"	"	"	"	"
6.	"	"	"	"	3271
7.	"	"	"	"	4305.

In all these works he tells us that he is the pupil of one Jñānottama. In the *Tattvapradīpikā* we are informed that this Jñānottama is Gauḍa, i.e., a native of Bengal. The following colophon occurring at the end of the *Tattvapradīpikā* is worthy of note in this connection:—

इति श्रीगौडेश्वराचार्यपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यज्ञानोत्तमपूज्यपादशिष्यश्री-
परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीचित्सुखमुनिविरचितायां तत्त्वप्रदीपिकायां चतुर्थः
परिच्छेदः ॥

The word Gauḍeśvarācārya leads to the conclusion that Jñānottama was a native of Bengal.

We know of another Jñānottama who is the author of a commentary on the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* of Sureśvara. But that Jñānottama is different from the teacher of Citsukha, for he is said to belong to the village Maṅgala in the Coladeśa.¹

Regarding Jñānottama, the teacher of Citsukhācārya we have very little information, except what Citsukha and the commentator on the *Tattvapradīpikā* tell us. In the closing pages² of the *Tattvapradīpikā* we find—

एवं हि न्यायसुधायाम् आराध्यपादैरुपपादितं संसारमूलकारणाविद्या
यद्यप्येकैव, तथापि तस्याः सन्त्येव बहव आकाराः ॥

And Pratyagrūpabhaṅgavān, while commenting on this passage, remarks—

आराध्यपादाः स्वगुरवः ज्ञानसिद्धिकाराः । पादशब्दश्च पूजार्थः ।
तत्प्रणीतं च वेदान्तप्रकरणं न्यायसुधा ॥

From these extracts it is clear that Jñānottama was the author of a work on Vedānta, *Nyāyasudhā* by name. It may be surmised that the word Jñānasiddhikāra means the author of a work by name Jñānasiddhi. The Jñānasiddhi and the *Nyāyasudhā* referred to here are otherwise unknown.

The line of sannyāsins beginning with Jñānottama occupies a very important place in the galaxy of Advaitic writers of the

1. See Introduction to the *Naiṣkarmya Siddhi*—Edited by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, B.S.S.

2. See Page 395 of the *Tattvapradīpikā*. N. S. P.

12th and 13th centuries. The names of those persons may be indicated in tabular form as follows:—

Jñānottama
(Pupil.) Citsukhācārya
(Pupil.) Sukhaprakāśa
(Pupil.) Ānandagiri.

The works of Jñānottama and Citsukha have been referred to just now. Sukhaprakāśa is the author of a work by name *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā*, a copy of which is deposited in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. (R. No. 2902.) It deals with the *adhikaraṇas* of the *Brahmasūtras* in a lucid form. Sukhaprakāśa has, in addition, commented upon the *Tattvapradīpikā* and a copy of this work also is found in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. (R. No. 5203.) Ānandagiri, we all know, was the famous commentator on the works of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. Fuller information regarding Ānandagiri is given in the Introduction to Ānandagiri's *Tarkasaṅgraha*, published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

Regarding the date of Citsukha there is not much difficulty. The date of Ānandagiri, as given by Mr. Tripāṭhī, B.A. the editor of the *Tarkasaṅgraha*, is fairly near the remark. He says on page xx of the introduction that Ānandagiri should have lived in the latter half of the 13th century. Calculating back from this date, one may conclude that the last quarter of the 12th century is the period of the literary activity of Citsukha.

In the following pages the *Adhikaraṇamañjarī*, a short compendium of the *adhikaraṇas* of the *Brahmasūtras*, is presented for the first time. The edition of this short treatise is based on two copies of the work found in the Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. (R. Nos. 1492 and 3305 designated A and B respectively.) The *Adhikaraṇamañjarī* will be followed by the other minor work the *Adhikaraṇasaṅgati* in a further issue of this Journal.

॥ अधिकरणमञ्जरी ॥

श्री चित्सुखाचार्यविरचिता

॥ अथ प्रथमः पादः ॥

प्रणम्य नरकारातिचरणाम्बुरुहद्वयम् ।
 मुनिना चित्सुखाख्येन मञ्जरी चारु रच्यते ॥ १ ॥
 बन्धाध्यासोऽगतार्थत्वं संभवो ह्यधिकारिणः ।
 विषयादेश्च सद्भावः शास्त्रारम्भाय दर्शिताः ॥ २ ॥
 लक्षणद्वयमीशस्य सार्वज्ञागममानते ।
 सिद्धे वेदान्तमानत्वं विध्यस्पृष्टे परात्मनि ॥ ३ ॥
 ईक्षितुश्चाप्रधानत्वं पुच्छस्य स्वप्रधानता ।
 ब्रह्मत्वं मण्डलस्थस्य हिरण्यवपुर्भूतः ॥ ४ ॥
 आकाशस्य परेशत्वं अस्य लोकस्य का [या] गतिः ।
 प्रस्तावदेवतायाश्च प्राणस्य परमात्मता ॥ ५ ॥
 स्वःपरस्तादुपन्यस्तज्योतिषश्चित्प्रकाशता ।
 गायत्रीपदबोधित्वं तदुपाधेश्चतुष्पदः ॥ ६ ॥
 प्रज्ञात्मनश्च प्राणस्य परमात्मत्वमीरितम् ।
 पादेऽधिकरणान्याद्ये द्वादशैतान्यनुक्रमात् ॥ ७ ॥

॥ इति श्रीमच्छारीरकाधिकरणमञ्जर्या प्रथमस्याध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

हरेर्मनोमयः प्राणशरीरश्चेत्युपासनम् ।
 ब्रह्मक्षत्रौदनो विष्णुर्मृत्युर्यस्योपसेचनम् ॥ ८ ॥
 गुहां प्रविष्टौ जीवेशौ परेशोऽक्षिणि वामनीः ।
 अन्तर्यामी पराक्षान्यो भूतयोनिश्च सर्ववित् ॥ ९ ॥
 वैश्वानरो विराड्विष्णुरिति सप्त द्वितीयके ।

॥ इति प्रथमस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

१. A. omits this ardha.

२. A. ब्रह्मक्षत्रादिजगतः संहारो परमेश्वरः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

द्युभ्वाद्यायतनं ब्रह्म भूमा प्राणातिगो हरिः ॥ १० ॥
 सोऽक्षरं वियदाधारो ध्यातव्यः परमेश्वरः ।
 दहरश्च तथोद्भूतो जीवः पाप्मादिवर्जितः ॥ ११ ॥
 सर्वावभासकश्चायं दृष्टबुद्धमितश्च सः ।
 तद्विषाधिकृता देवा मन्त्राद्यैर्ज्ञातविग्रहाः ॥ १२ ॥
 न तु शूद्रः श्रुतिमुखात् तद्वयात् कम्पते जगत् ।
 स एवेशः परं ज्योतिराकाशो नामरूपकृत् ॥ १३ ॥
 जीवोक्तिर्ब्रह्मतां वक्तुं तृतीये स्युश्चतुर्दश ।

॥ इति प्रथमस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

अव्यक्तं कारणाभेदाच्छरीरं रथरूपितम् ॥ १४ ॥
 तेजोऽम्भोभूमयी माया त्रिरूपाजेति कल्पिता ।
 प्राणादयः पञ्चजनाः पञ्च ते पञ्च पञ्च न ॥ १५ ॥
 विगानं नागमान्तानां सर्वज्ञे कारणेऽद्वये ।
 कर्मेशस्य जगत् ब्रह्म द्रष्टव्यं चित्तवृत्तदृक् ॥ १६ ॥
 निमित्तं प्रकृतिश्चेशो नाभावाण्वादि कारणम् ।
 चतुर्थेऽष्टौ मिलित्वैकचत्वारिंशत् समन्वये ॥ १७ ॥

॥ इति प्रथमस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ अध्यायश्च समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

समन्वयविरुद्धेऽर्थे न सांख्यानं स्मृतिः प्रमा ।
 योगानां च विरुद्धेऽशे योगे यद्यपि सा प्रमा ॥ १८ ॥
 विलक्षणाजगज्जन्म वृश्चिकस्येव गोमयात् ।
 मानं न तर्कस्मृतयो नेशैक्याद्विश्वसङ्करः ॥ १९ ॥
 कल्पितं ब्रह्मणि जगत् तद्वेतोर्न हिताहिते ।
 अब्राह्मसाधनं ब्रह्म पयोवद्विश्वकारणम् ॥ २० ॥
 अचिन्त्यशक्तिमद्ब्रह्म न कात्स्न्येन विवर्तते ।
 अनिन्द्रियोऽपि विश्वेशो विश्वशक्तियुतः श्रुतेः ॥ २१ ॥

आप्तकामस्य लीलेयं स्वभावाल्लोककल्पना ।
न वैषम्यं न नैर्घृण्यं कर्मापेक्षे जगद्गुरौ ॥ २२ ॥
स्युर्मायिनः परे सर्वे कारणानुगुणा गुणाः ।
स्मृतिपादगता न्यायाः क्रमादेते त्रयोदश ॥ २३ ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

प्रधानं न प्रवर्तेत चेतनेनाप्रवर्तितम् ।
चेतनाज्जडजन्म स्यात् ह्रस्ववत्परिमण्डलात् ॥ २४ ॥
अपास्तकर्महेतुभ्यो नाणुभ्यो जायते जगत् ।
क्षणिकेभ्यस्तु न तरां समुदायाद्यसंभवात् ॥ २५ ॥
नाभावो बाह्यभावानां प्रत्यक्षादिविरोधतः ।
न चानेकात्मकं वस्तु व्यवहारविरोधतः ॥ २६ ॥
नावेदमान ईशानो वैषम्यादिप्रसङ्गतः ।
व्यूहाद्व्यूहान्तरोत्पत्तिभावो भागवतो भ्रमः ॥ २७ ॥
इति न्यायाः क्रमादष्टौ तर्कपादावलम्बिनः ।

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

आदौ वियत उत्पत्तिरुत्पत्तिर्मातरिश्चनः ॥ २८ ॥
अनुत्पत्तिः परेशस्य तेजसः पवनाज्जनिः ।
तेजसोऽपामन्नशब्दपृथिव्याः संभवोऽम्भसः ॥ २९ ॥
ईशावेशश्चोत्तरेषां प्रतिलोमाल्लगो जनेः ।
खसृष्ट्योक्तक्रमाबाधो नाद्यन्तौ पुंसि देहगौ ।
नापि सर्गे विसर्गोऽस्य तस्य चैतन्यरूपता ॥ ३० ॥
अनणुत्वं स्वतश्चास्य कर्तृत्वं च श्रुतेर्वशात् ।
अस्य चोपाध्यधीनत्वमीश्वरायत्तता तथा ॥ ३१ ॥
ज्ञेयांशत्वं वियत्पादे न्यायाः सप्तदशेत्यमी ।

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

इन्द्रियाणां समुत्पत्तिस्तत्संख्यैकादशात्मना ॥ ३२ ॥
तेषां सौक्ष्म्यपरिच्छेदौ मुख्यप्राणस्य संभवः ।
वायुक्रियाभ्यां तद्भेदः करणानामिवाणुता ॥ ३३ ॥
अक्षाणां देवतापेक्षा प्राणतत्त्वातिरिक्ता ।
व्याकृतेरीशकार्यत्वं प्राणपादे नया नव ॥ ३४ ॥
अविरोधे नयाः सप्तचत्वारिंशदितीरिताः ।
॥ इति द्वितीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ अध्यायश्च समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

गतिर्भूतांशयुक्तस्य कर्मशेषः पतत्सु च ॥ ३५ ॥
चन्द्राग्रासिरपुण्यानामाकाशादिसरूपता ।
तेभ्योऽचिरान्निष्क्रमणं तेषामस्थावरात्मता ॥ ३६ ॥
इति वैराग्यपादेऽस्मिन् नयाः षडनुवर्णिताः ।

॥ इति तृतीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

स्वप्नस्य मायामात्रत्वं नाडीद्वारा परे लयः ॥ ३७ ॥
तस्य तत्रैव चोत्थानं मोहावस्थाविभिन्नता ।
परस्य निर्विशेषत्वं तस्य चाप्रतिषिद्धता ॥ ३८ ॥
तस्माद्वस्त्वन्तराभावः तस्यैव फलदातृता ।
एवं पदार्थपादेऽस्मिन्नष्टौ न्याया निरूपिताः ॥ ३९ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

शाखाभेदेऽपि विद्यैक्यं तदैक्ये च गुणागमः ।
उद्गीथविद्ययोर्भेदश्छान्दोग्यारण्यकस्थयोः ॥ ४० ॥
विशेषणविशेष्यत्वमुद्गीथोक्कारशब्दयोः ।
सर्वत्र प्राणविद्यासु वसिष्ठत्वादिसन्निधिः ॥ ४१ ॥

विद्याभेदात्तत्र तत्र चिदानन्दाद्युपस्थितिः ।
 अर्थादिभ्यः परत्वेन पुरुषस्यैव बोधनम् ॥ ४२ ॥
 अम्भःप्रभृति लोकानां स्रष्टा यः परमेश्वरः ।
 सद्विद्यायां चात्मतत्त्वगृहीतिर्वाजिनामिव ॥ ४३ ॥
 प्राणस्य वासोऽभिध्याने विधिराचमने न सः ।
 या विद्याग्निरहस्योक्ता बृहदारण्यकेऽपि सा ॥ ४४ ॥
 मण्डलाक्षिस्थपुरुषौ क्रमादहरहं गुणौ ।
 शाण्डिल्याद्यासु विद्यासु न संभ्रूयादयो गुणाः ॥ ४५ ॥
 भिद्यते विदुषो यज्ञाद्विद्या सा पुरुषाभिधा ।
 विद्यासन्निधिपाठेऽपि नाङ्गत्वं मन्त्रकर्मणोः ॥ ४६ ॥
 उपायनोपसंहारः पुण्यदेहानिसन्निधौ ।
 प्रायणे कर्मणां हानिर्न व्यध्वनि विधूननम् ॥ ४७ ॥
 सगुणासु गतिः साध्वी निर्गुणासु निरर्थिका ।
 सर्वाश्च सगुणा विद्या देवयानसमन्विताः ॥ ४८ ॥
 विद्याया मोक्षहेतुत्वं प्रारब्धादेव संहतेः ।
 निषेधबुद्ध्यः सर्वाः स्युः सर्वत्र परात्मनि ॥ ४९ ॥
 एकार्थता द्वा सुपर्णावृतमित्यादिमन्त्रयोः ।
 तथैव चैकविद्यात्वं कहलोलोपस्तवाक्ययोः ॥ ५० ॥
 अन्योऽन्यात्मकते चिन्त्ये जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः ।
 या सत्यविद्या निर्दिष्टा सैवैषाहरहं गुणा ॥ ५१ ॥
 शरीरदहराः सर्वे स्तुतिध्यानफला गुणाः ।
 प्राणाहुतीनां लोपः स्यात् प्राप्तभक्तोपजीवनात् ॥ ५२ ॥
 साङ्गं कर्माङ्गविज्ञानं कर्मणः फलभेदतः ।
 ध्येयौ समीरणप्राणौ भेदेन गुणभेदतः ॥ ५३ ॥
 नाङ्गं मनश्चिदादीनि न शरीरात्मतात्मनः ।
 शाखाभेदेऽपि चोद्गीथाद्युपासनसमन्वयः ॥ ५४ ॥
 सुतेजःप्रभृतीनां च समस्यैव विचिन्तनम् ।
 उपास्यैक्येऽप्यहंकाराद्विद्याः शब्दादिभेदतः ॥ ५५ ॥
 अहंप्रहोपासनासु विकल्पोऽनियमेन तु ।
 अनहंप्रहरूपासु यथाकामं समुच्चयः ॥ ५६ ॥

अङ्गाश्रितोपासनासु नाङ्गवत् स्यात्समुच्चयः ।
 इत्थं गुणोपसंहारे न्यायाः षट्त्रिंशदीरिताः ॥ ५७ ॥
 ॥ इति तृतीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

स्वतो मुक्तिफला विद्या नाश्नुते कर्मशेषताम् ।
 गृहमेधिवदेवान्ये विधीयन्ते[यित] आश्रमान्तरम् ॥ ५८ ॥
 विधेयताङ्गविद्यानां विद्याङ्गत्वं कथासु च ।
 न कर्मपेक्षते मुक्तौ धीः स्वसिद्धावपेक्षते ॥ ५९ ॥
 अनुज्ञा चाप्यभक्षस्य यज्ञादेर्नित्यतापि च ।
 विधुराणामधिकृतिर्यत्यादेराश्रमच्युतिः ॥ ६० ॥
 निष्कृतिर्व्रतलोपस्य पूतस्याप्यस्य बाह्यता ।
 ऋत्विक्कर्माङ्गविज्ञानं विधिमौनस्य बाल्यवत् ॥ ६१ ॥
 बाल्यं दम्भादिविरहो जन्मन्यनियमो धियः ।
 नियमो विद्यया मुक्तेर्न्यायाः सप्तदशेत्यमी ॥ ६२ ॥
 पुरुषार्थे तदित्थं स्युः सप्तषष्टिस्तु साधने ।
 ॥ इति तृतीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ अध्यायश्च समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

आवृत्तिः श्रवणादीनां स्वात्मत्वमतिरीच्यते ॥ ६३ ॥
 तदभावः प्रतीकेषु ब्रह्मधीर्मनआदिषु ।
 अङ्गेष्वर्कादिविज्ञानं ध्यानस्यासीनकर्मता ॥ ६४ ॥
 ध्याने दिगाद्यनियमः प्रयाणावधि तत्कृतिः ।
 अपापतात्मविज्ञानात्ततश्च सुकृतात्ययः ॥ ६५ ॥
 प्रारब्धं क्षीयते नास्मान्न नित्यं तद्वि धीफलम् ।
 अङ्गकर्मापि विद्यास्यै भोगात्प्रारब्धसंक्षयः ॥ ६६ ॥
 इत्थं चतुर्थप्रथमे पादे न्यायाश्चतुर्दश ।

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

वाग्वृत्तिविलयश्चित्ते प्राणे तद्वृत्तिसंक्षयः ॥ ६७ ॥

प्राणवृत्तेर्ल्योऽध्यक्षे समोत्क्रान्तिरुपासके ।

लयस्य शक्तिशेषत्वं तेजआदेः परात्मनि ॥ ६८ ॥

अनुत्क्रान्तिः परविदः कलानां प्रलयः परे ।

तस्य चानवशेषत्वं गतिर्ध्यातुः सुषुम्नया ॥ ६९ ॥

रात्रावपि प्रभावातिः फलातिरयनद्वये ।

एवमुत्क्रान्तिपादेऽस्मिन्नेकादश नयाः क्रमात् ॥ ७० ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

अर्चिरादिपथैकत्वं स्वर्वायू वत्सरोपरि ।

तटितो वरुणेन्द्राद्यास्तथैषां देवतात्मता ॥ ७१ ॥

कार्यं ब्रह्मैव गन्तव्यं प्रतीकालम्बिनां न तु ।

इत्यर्चिरादिपादेऽस्मिन्नयाः षडनुभाषिताः ॥ ७२ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

आविर्भावः स्वेन मुक्तौ तस्य ब्रह्माविभक्तता ।

तत्र मायामयैश्वर्यं संकल्पादेव तत्कृतिः ॥ ७३ ॥

विकल्पोऽस्य शरीरादेस्तत्प्रवेशः प्रदीपवत् ।

सृष्ट्यादिवर्जमैश्वर्यं न्यायाः सप्तान्वयपादिकाः [दगाः] ॥ ७४ ॥

अष्टात्रिंशत्फलाध्याये न्याया एवमितीरिताः ।

रामप्रहेन्दुसंख्याता न्यायाः शारीरकाश्रयोः ॥ ७५ ॥

॥ इति ज्ञानोत्तमपूज्यपादशिष्येण चित्सुखमुनिना विरचितायाम्

अधिकरणमञ्जर्या

चतुर्थस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ अध्यायश्च समाप्तः ॥

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| १. A. सावशेषत्वं | ३. A. तत्र ब्रह्माविकल्पता |
| २. A. स्मृताः | ४. A. वैयासिकाः स्मृताः |

HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL AND THEIR RELATION TO THE GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT.

BY

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(Continued from page 195 of Vol. V.)

Since the 11 sounds $\dot{n}$, $\ddot{n}$, η , n , m , $\underline{n}$, y , l , v , $\dot{l}$ and $\&$ can come as *orralapeṭai* after one short vowel or two short vowels, in the middle of words in the case of all and at the end in the case of all except $\&$, the number of *orralapeṭai* is $11 \times 4 - 2 = 42^1$. Since *kurriyal-ikaram* takes the place of *kurriyal-ukaram* when the latter is followed by 'y' in sandhi and there are 36 *kurriyal-ukaram* and the 'i' in the particle 'miyā' in such words as *kēṇmiyā* is *kurriyal-ikaram*, its number is $36 + 1 = 37^2$. Since *kurriyal-ukaram* may be preceded by one of the 7 long vowels alone, two or more vowels except 'au' (which are therefore 11 in number), *āyṭam*, 6 voiceless consonants, 6 nasals and all semi-vowels except 'v' (which are therefore 5 in number), its number is $7 + 11 + 1 + 6 + 6 + 5 = 36^3$. Since *aikāra-k-kurukkam* may be found at the beginning, the middle and the end of words, its number is 3⁴. Since *aukāra-k-kurukkam* can be had only at the beginning of words, its number is only 1⁵. Since *makara-k-kurukkam* can be had after η and $\underline{n}$ and before v , as in *maruṇṇm*, *pōṇṇm*, *taruṇm-valavan*, its number is 3⁶. Since *āyṭam* may be

1. *Ṇa-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa va-ya-la-ṇa v-āyṭam*
Aṭapāṇ kuril-iṇai kurir-kīl-iṭai-kāṭai
Mikalē yavarriṇ kurir-y-ām vēṇē. (Ibid. 92.)
2. *Yakaram vara-k-kura ḷ-u-t-tiri y-ikaramum*
Acai-c-col miyā-v-i ṇ-ikaram-uṇ kuriya. (Ibid. 93.)
3. *Neṭilō ṭ-āyṭa m-uyir-vali meli-y-iṭai*
Toṭar-mōḷi y-iṭuti vaṇmai-y-ū r-ukaram
A-kum pīramēl toṭara-v-um pērum-ē. (Ibid. 94.)
- 4 & 5. *Tar-cuṭ ṭ-aṭapōḷi y-ai-mmū val-i-y-um*
Nai-y-u m-au-v-u mutal-aṭ rākum. (Ibid. 95.)
6. *Na-ṇa-muṇṇum va-k-ṇā micaiyu-ma-k kurukum.* (Ibid. 96.)

substituted for *l* or *ḷ* in sandhi, as in *al+tiṇai=aḷṭiṇai* and *mul+titū=muḷṭitū* and its *mātrā* is 1 (according to him), the number of *āyta-k-kurukkam* is 21.

Naccinārkkinīyar repeats under Tol. E. 1 the opinion of Iḷampūraṇar.

The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* mentions that the secondary sounds are 240 in number consisting of *kurṛiyal-ikaram*, *kurṛiyal-ukaram*, *āyṭam*, 216 *uyirmey*, 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, 11 *orṛaḷapeṭai*, shortened 'ai' and shortened 'au' and *makara-k-kurukkam* and condemns Naṇṇūlār and says that *āyṭam* never reduces itself to 1 of a *mātrā*, and that other sounds like *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, etc., except *uyir-mey* remain the same, whether they stand at the beginning, the middle or the end of words and that therefore the number 369 mentioned by Naṇṇūlār cannot stand².

Civañāṇa-muṇivar, on the other hand, says that there is no purpose served by taking *uyirmey* as *cārpeḷuttū*, that *uyirala-peṭai* is only a short vowel added to the previous long vowel to lengthen its *mātrā*, that *orṛaḷapeṭai* is only a consonant that is added for the sake of lengthening the *mātrā*, and shortened 'ai' shortened 'au' and *makara-k-kurukkam* are produced at the same part of the vocal organs as 'ai', 'au' and 'm' respectively, but vary only in their quantity. Besides one cannot say that *kurṛiyal-ikaram* and *kurṛiyal-ukaram* are shortened 'i' and shortened 'u' in the same way as shortened 'ai' and shortened 'au'. For, had it been the opinion of Tolkāppiaṇār, he would have designated them as *kurṛikaram* and *kurṛukaram* and not as *kurṛiyal-ikaram* and *kurṛiyal-ukaram*, and would not have indicated a separate symbol for them as he now does in Tol. E. 2.³

1. *La-ḷa-v-ṭi ṛ-iyaiṇṇū m-āyṭa m-a-ḷ-kum*. (Ibid. 97.)

2. *Āyṭa-k-kurukkam-onṛu iṇṇeṇaṇum... uyirmey-y-olittū ēṇaiya-v-ellām iṇṇeṇṇumaiyāṇ-aṇṇi eḷuttu-vēṇṇumaiyāṇ aiṇṇaṇam paḷkūmaiṇṇi cārpeḷuttū munṇūṇṇarupattōṇpatām eṇṇal niraṇṇpātū*.

3. *Iṇi immūṇṇumē-y-aṇṇi uyirmey mutaliyavaṇṇaiyūṇ cārpeḷuttēṇpārum uḷarālō v-eṇṇi:—... uyir-mey eṇṇpataṇṇai... orṇumai-nayam-parṇi onṇū eṇṇpataṇṇāl oru payaṇ-iṇṇumaiyāṇum... aḷapeṭai cārpeḷuttēṇa vēṇṇūmai munṇar-k-kāṭṭapattatūkalāṇum, aikāra-k-kurukka mutaliyaṇa... vēḷeluttēṇa p-paṭū-v-ākalāṇum vaṇṇūlārum... uyir-mey, uyir-aḷapeṭai, aikāra-k-kurukkam mutaliya eḷuttukkaḷai-c-ṇiṭtū tirintamai-parṇi vēḷeluttēṇa yāṇṇūṇ collūmaiṇṇum atu poruntātu eṇa maṇṇukka*. (T. M. V. 29—30).

I totally agree with Civañāṇa-muṇivar. I may add that the definition given to *cārpeḷuttū* by the commentators on Naṇṇūl to include vowel-consonants does not at all hold good. (Cf. 1.221. *supra*.) They say '*tammōṭṭū tām cārntatū*'. In the vowel-consonant 'ka', we may say that 'k' is in the company of 'a' or 'a' is in the company of 'k'. Hence either of the two may be said to be *cārpeḷuttū* with respect to the other. How can the whole be called *cārpeḷuttū*? Besides it may be noted here that in many places the sounds 'ka', 'ca', 'ṭa', etc. are used to represent only the consonantal sound 'k', 'c', 'ṭ', etc. to enable the hearer to understand what consonant is pronounced and Tolkāppiaṇār himself says so in the sūtra *Meyyi ṇ-iyakka m-akaramōṭṭū civaṇṇum*. E. 46. He has also used the symbols 'ka' (ḷ), 'ca' (ḷ), etc. to represent 'k' (ḷ), 'c' (ḷ), etc.¹; besides for the purpose of representing the sounds 'kā', 'ki', 'kī', etc., the symbols denoting 'ā', 'i', 'ī' etc. are added to the symbol denoting 'ka' and not to the symbol denoting 'k'. These three points, it seems to me, may have led the author of *Nēminātam*, Naṇṇūlār and others to mistake *uyirmey* for a unitary sound. As regards *aḷapeṭai* and shortened 'ai', Tolkāppiaṇār himself has mentioned them in the sūtras,

Mūvaḷa p-icaitta l-ōr-eḷut t-iṇṇē. (Tol. E. 5.)

Niṭṭam vēṇṇi ṇ-a-v-v-aḷa p-uṭaiya

Kūṭṭi y-eḷūta l-eṇṇaṇṇar ṇulavar. (ibid. 6.)

and

ōr-aḷa p-āku m-iṭṭaṇṇumā r-uṇṇē

Tēruṇ kūlai mōḷi-vayi ṇ-āṇa. (ibid. 57.)

but has not included them among secondary sounds.

1.223. *Classification of secondary sounds*:—The secondary sounds are not classified by Tolkāppiaṇār either as vowels or as consonants, or as neither. But according to Naṇṇūlār and the later grammarians except Civañāṇa-muṇivar they may be classified into vowel secondary sounds, consonant secondary sounds and secondary sounds that are neither. This point will be dealt with at greater length in 1.348, 1.3481, 1.3482, 1.3483, 1.3484, 1.47 & 1.5.

1. Cf. *Valleḷut t-eṇṇa ka-ca ṭa ta-pa-ra*. (Tol. E. 19.)

Melleḷut t-eṇṇa ṇa-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa. (Ibid. 20.)

Iṭai-y-eḷut t-eṇṇa ya-ra-la va-ḷa-ḷa. (Ibid. 21.)

1.3. VOWELS: 1.31. CLASSIFICATION.

1.311. *Ancient period*:—(Tolkāppiyaṇār says that) there are 12 vowels from 'a' to 'au' which may be classified thus:

Primary vowels: { Simple vowels: { Short: a, i, u, e & o
Long: ā, ī, ū, ē & ō
Diphthongs¹ ai and au

Secondary vowels; ī (shortened i) and ū (shortened u).²

1.312. *Medieval period*:—The primary vowels are the same as those in the ancient period; but the secondary vowels are 'i', 'ū', 'ai' (shortened ai) and 'au' (shortened au) and uyirāḷa-ṭetai, āa, īi, ūu, ēe, aii, ōo and auu.

1.313. *Modern period*:—According to Ilakkaṇa-ṭiḷakkam and Toṇṇūl-ṭiḷakkam the primary vowels are the same as those of the ancient period and the secondary ones as those of the medieval period; but according to Civañāṇa-muṇivar's Tolkāppiya-mutaṛ-cūttira-ṭirutti both the primary and the secondary vowels are the same as those of the ancient period.

N.B.—The parallelism between

'Aukāra viṇuvāy-ṭ paṇṇīr-ḷuttum
uyir-eṇa molīpa'. (Tol. E. 8.)

and

'Akārādyāḥ svarā jñēyāḥ
aukārāntāḥ caturdaśa'. (B. N. p. 170, 8.)

is worth noting; but we cannot say definitely whether the extant text of Nāṭya Śāstra is anterior or posterior to Tolkāppiyam.

1. He does not mention the name diphthongs, but suggests it in the sūtras

Akara ikara m-aikāra m-ākum. (Tol. E. 54.)

Akara ukara m-aukāra m-ākum. (Ibid. 55.)

2. He does not mention 'i' and 'ū' as vowels, though, for practical purposes, they may be taken as such.

1.32. *Quantity of vowels*:—Short vowels have one mātrā,¹ long vowels and diphthongs two² and secondary vowels half³. The shortened 'ai' and the shortened 'au' have one mātrā according to Tolkāppiyaṇār⁴ and one and a half according to Peruntēvaṇār⁵ and Kuṇavira-paṇṭitar⁶; but only one mātrā according to Naṇṇūlār⁷ and the later grammarians.⁸

1.33. *Quality of vowels*:—All vowels are open sounds, as is seen from the statement 'aṅkāntiyalum' in the sūtra

'Avaṛṛuḷ

A ā ā-y-iraṇ ṭ-aṅkāntiyalum' (Tol. E. 86) and

'avaṛṛōraṇṇa' in the sūtra,

I-ī e-ē ai-y-eṇa v-icaikkum

A-ṭ-ṭā l-aintu m-avaṛṛō r-aṇṇa.

Avaitūm,

Aṇ-ṭaṇ mutāṇū vīlimṭ-ura l-uṭaiya.' (ibid. 86.)

and 'itaḷkuvintiyalum' in the sūtra,

'U-ū o-ō au-v-eṇa v-icaikkum

A-ṭ-ṭā l-aintu m-itaḷkuvin t-iyalum.' (ibid. 87.)

All the later grammarians agree with Tolkāppiyaṇār in this point.

1. Avaṛṛuḷ

A i u

E o eṇṇu m-appā l-aintum

Ōraḷa picaikkun kūrreḷut t-eṇpa. (Tol. E. 3.)

2. Ā ī ū

Ē ai

Ō au eṇṇu m-appā l-ēlum

Īraḷa picaikku netṭeḷut t-eṇpa. (Ibid. 4.)

3. Avviya ṇilaiyu m-eṇai mūṇṇē. (Ibid. 12.)

4. Ōraḷa pāku m-iṭaṇum-ā r-uṇṭē

Tēruṇ kālai molivayi ṇ-āṇa. (Ibid. 57.)

5. Aikāra aukāra-k kuṛukkaṇkaḷ oṇṇarai

māttirai peṇum. (V. C. 5 Comm.)

6. Kuriṇṭilka ḷ-oṇṇiraṇṭu....

.....

.....

Ai-yau v-aḷaṇ oṇṇarai. (N. N. E. 5.)

7. Mūṇṇu uyirāḷapu iraṇṭām neṭil oṇṇē

Kuṇṭilōṭu ai au-k kuṛukkam oṇṇaḷapu

.....(Na. 99.)

8. Neṭil-in aṇ ṭai-yau-k kuṛukkan kuṇṭil-oṇṇu

.....(I. V. 24.)

A and *ā* are guttural vowels¹ *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē* and *ai* are palatal² and *u*, *ū*, *o*, *ō* and *au* are labial³. The minute distinction as regards the place of production of *i* or *ī*, *e* or *ē* and *ai*, and of *u* or *ū*, *o* or *ō* and *au* is not clearly expressed, but it is mentioned that their distinction is only small.⁴ & ⁵ The places of production of *i*, *ū* are modified, according to Tolkāppiyam, by the consonant in whose company they are.⁶ It seems to me that it is the consonant that precedes them that modifies their places of production; for instance in the words *nākkīyālū* (*nākkū* + *yālū*) and *lappīyālū* (*lappū* + *yālū*), *i* is respectively guttural and labial. Similarly in the words *nākkū*, *laccū*, *kaṭṭū*, *mattū* and *lappū* 'ū' is respectively guttural, palatal, alveolar or cerebral, dental and labial. But the authors of Nāṇṇūl and Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam⁷ say that they (*i* and *ū*) respectively agree with 'i' and 'u' in the place of production. Civañña-muṇivar on the other hand agrees with Tolkāppiyaṇār⁸ and he seems to be correct.

1. *Avarṇuḷ*
A ā āyiraṇ ṭ-āṇkūn tiyalum. (Tol. E. 85.)
2. *Iī ēē ai-y-eṇa v-icaikkum*
Appū l-aintu m-avarṇō r-aṇṇa
Avaitūm
Aṇpaṇ mutavū viḷimpura l-uṭaiya. (Ibid. 86.)
3. *U ū o ō au-v-eṇa v-icaikkum*
Appū l-aintu m-itaḷ-kuvin tiyalum. (Ibid. 87.)
4. *Tattan tiripē ciṇiya v-eṇpa* (Ibid. 88.)
5. This is perhaps after the model of Prātiśākhya. For instance in Śaunakaprātiśākhya it is said that *e*, 2nd *varga*, *i* & *ī* *ai*, *y* & *ś* are palatals. Cf. *Tālavayavēkūra cakāravargā vikārāikārānyakārah śakārah* (R. V. P. i, 19). Similarly *u*, *ū*, *o*, *ō*, 5th *varga*, *v* & *upadhmāniya* are said as labials. (Cf. R. V. P. i, 20).
6. *Cārntu-vari ṇ-allatu tamakkiyal pila-v-eṇa-t*
Tērntu-velip paṭutta v-eṇai mūṇṇum
Tattañ cārpiṇ piṇappoṭu civaṇi
Oṭta kūṭciyir ram-m-iyal p-iyalum (Tol. E. 101).
7.
Cārpeḷut tēṇavun tammuta l-aṇaiya. (Na. 87.)
Cārpeḷut tēṇavun tam-muta l-aṇaiya. (I. V. 13.)
8. *Ṭamum paṇṇukkūṭum kuṇṇiyal-ikarak kuṇṇiyal-ukaraṇkaṇiṇṇ*
ayku-c cārpeṇavē-y-aṇṇi-k kuṇṇikiyicaittaṇku-k kārāṇamākā
eṇakkolka. (T. M. V. p. 28.)

1.34. *Treatment of each vowel sound.*

1.341. 'A' : 1.3411. Dr. Caldwell says in p. 133 "In Tamil 'a' is the heaviest of all the simple vowels and therefore the most liable to change. It evinces a tendency to be weakened into 'e' (Cf. Skt. *balam*—strength, with Tamil *belam*: Skt. *japa*—prayer, with Tamil *śebam*. See also the pronoun of the first person)".

It seems that the change of 'a' to 'e' in the above *tadbhava* words is not due so much to the heaviness of 'a' as to the peculiar way in which 'g', 'j', 'ḍ', 'd' and 'b', the third plosive consonant of each *varga* in Sanskrit is pronounced. They are pronounced as 'gə', 'jə', 'ḍə', 'də' and 'bə'. When the Tamilians first learnt these sounds which were new to them, they had a tendency to write *belam* for *balam* though later on they began to adopt both the forms *paḷaṇ* and *peḷaṇ*. This may be clearly seen from the following table:

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Gaṅgālira</i>	<i>keṅkāṭiram</i> ¹
<i>Garuḍa</i>	<i>keluḷaṇ</i> ²
<i>Gatāyus</i>	<i>ketāyu</i> ³
<i>Gaja</i>	<i>kecam</i> ⁴
<i>Japa</i>	<i>cepaṇ</i> ⁵
<i>Bahuvrīhi</i>	<i>vekuviriyaṇ</i> ⁶ .

But at the same time they use the same sounds without change also.

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Gagana</i>	<i>kakaṇam</i> ⁷

1. *Keṅkā-tirattu-t-ēcam.* (P. K. 33, 220.)
(The country on the banks of the Ganges.)
2. *Keluḷaṇḍ nanta ṇeṇṇā.* (C. C. 1926.)
(Whether Nanda is Garuḍa.)
3. *Camar purintavaṇ-rāṇum ketāyu v-āyiṇāṇ.* (V. P. 405, 37.)
(Even he who engaged himself in battle lost his life.)
4. *Keca turaka mutalāṇa caturāṇkam.* (Tā. 33, 6.)
(The four limbs consisting of elephants, horses, etc.)
5. *Cepaṇ-tavan-tāṇam.* (C. P. 319, 2.)
(Meditation, penance and gifts.)
6. *Vekuviriyāṇ.* (Pi. 24.)
(Possessive compound.)
7. *Kakaṇa-vāṇarkaḷ* (Ka. P. i. 493, 13.)
(Residents of celestial regions.)

Sanskrit	Tamil
Gaṅgā	kaṅkai ¹
Gaja	kacam ² .

The same change does not generally take place when 'a' is preceded in Sanskrit by *kh* or *gh*, *ch* or *jh*, *dh*, *ph* or *bh*.

Sanskrit	Tamil
Khadyōta	kaccōtam ³
Ghaṭa	kaṭam ⁴
Chala	calam ⁵
Jhaṭiti	caṭiti ⁶
Dharaṇi	taraṇi ⁷
Phala	paḷam ⁸
Bhaya	payam ⁹ .

Hence we may safely infer that 'a' generally changes to 'e' when it is preceded by the third consonant of each varga and not by the second or the fourth. Besides such a change is not seen in pure Tamil words.

1.3412. Dr. Caldwell further observes that "'a' has almost entirely disappeared from the end of nouns in Tamil and has been succeeded by 'u' or 'ei'. Where final 'a' changes into 'ei' in Tamil, it generally changes into 'e' in Canarese.... In Telugu and especially in Malayāḷam, this vowel is less subject to changes".

1. *Kaṅkai kaṅkai y-eṇṇa vācakattālē*. (P. A. T. 80, 1.)
(With the words of the Ganges, the Ganges.)
2. *Kaca-rata-turaka-mū-k-kaṭal*. (Kampar, B. 149, 22.)
(The vast sea of elephants, chariots and horses.)
3. *Kaccōtam eṇṇi karuti*. (Ka. P. i. 569, 43.)
(Having taken it to be glow-worm.)
4. *Kaṭamunī-cēṇṇalōṭum*. (Ka. P. i. 133, 65.)
(With the arrival of the pot-sage Agastya.)
5. *Cala-p-pataiyāṇ iravir rākkiyat-ellām*. (Pari. 43, 57.)
(All the on-slaughts of the Indian Cupid at nights.)
6. *Caṭiti vīlntū*. (C. P. 84, 20.)
(Having fallen soon.)
7. *Taraṇi-mēr rīlakam-aṇṇāy*. (C. C. 1178.)
(You are like a *tilka* on earth.)
8. *Pala-v-iṇ paḷam*. (P. N. 109, 5.)
(Jack-fruit)
9. *Payattinōṭuṇ cella*. (T. T. P. 206, 21.)
(To go with fear.)

No doubt the nouns that end in 'a' in Tamil are rare. The few cases where they end in 'a' are *palla*, *pala*, *cila*, *uḷḷa*, *illa*, etc.¹ But whether the 'a' that stood at the end of words was changed to 'u' or 'ei' deserves careful examination. Because Telugu and Malayāḷam have 'a' at the end where Tamil has 'ai' and Canarese 'e', as is seen from the following table, he seems to conclude that 'a' was the final sound at the end of such words in the parent Dravidian Language.

Tamil	Telugu	Malayāḷam	Canarese
kaṭai	kaḍa	kaḍa	kaḍe
karai	kara	kara	kare
kaḷai		kaḷa	kaḷe
kaṛai	kara	kaṛa	kaṛe

But considering the statement of Dr. Caldwell, that "Tamil being probably the earliest cultivated of all the Dravidian idioms, the most copious, and that which contains the largest portion and the richest variety of indubitably ancient forms, it is deservedly placed at the head of the list", (C. D. G. p. 6.), and considering the fact that words ending in 'ai' are found in Tol-kāppiyam (Cf. *avai-y-ivai y-eṇṇa varūm peyarum*...Tol. Col. 167) and that it is more natural for 'ai' to be lightened to 'e' (as is found even now in spoken Tamil *yānai* as *yāne*, *karai* as *kare*, etc.) and later to 'a' as Tolkāppiyāṇār says that 'ai' may be changed to 'ay'², the 'y' of which may afterwards be dropped, is it not more reasonable to assume that the parent Dravidian language had 'ai' at the end of such words instead of 'a'? But in the medieval period 'a' before the palatal explosives 'c' and 'ñ' and semi-vowel 'y' in the middle of words had a tendency to change to 'ai' mostly in literary works perhaps by the influence of prosody. Cf. *aracaiṇ* for *aracai* in *kali-araiṣaiṇ* (Ep. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. VII, V. G. line 90), *maiñcu* for *mañcu*, *maiyaḷ* for *mayal*, etc.³ Then through analogy 'ai' was substituted for 'a' even before non-palatal sounds. Cf. *paḷaimai*, *iḷaimai*, for *paḷamai* and *iḷamai* respectively. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement that 'a' is most liable to change may apply to a certain

1. Cf. *Palla pala-cila v-eṇṇum peyarum*
Uḷḷa v-illa v-eṇṇum peyarum
.....(Tol. Col. 168.)
2. *Akara-t t-impar yakara-p pulḷiyum*
Ai-y-e peṭuñ-ciṇṇi meṇ-peṇa-t iḍṇum. (Tol. E. 56.)
3. *A ai mutal-iṭai y-okkuñ ca-ñā-ya-muṇ*. (Na. 123.)

extent only in the medieval period and in the modern period. Cf. *carilai* for Skt. *carila*.

1.3413. Besides it may be interesting to note that the Tamil pronunciation of 'a' may have influenced the South Indians to pronounce the Sanskrit 'a' at the end of words like *paśya*, *vada*, *gaccha*, etc. as an open vowel though it is a close one according to P. A. 8.4.68 and M.B.i.15.14 and it is still pronounced in North India as such.

1.34111. 'Ā': 1.34111. The statement of Dr. Caldwell that 'ā' is formed in Tamil by the coalescence of two short a's¹ is quite against the genius of the Tamil language. This is one of the points where Tamil differs generally from Sanskrit. If two short a's come together in Tamil as *pala* + *aṛam*, an intervocalic 'v' is generally inserted between them as *palavaṛam* and they can never coalesce into 'ā'.

1.34112. Again he says that 'ā' becomes poetically 'ō'.² This existed even in the ancient period and is supported by *Tolkāppiyam*³. But he says that *viṇṇavar* becomes *viṇṇōr*. This need not be. A personal noun *viṇṇār* may be formed by adding the plural suffix 'ār'⁴ to the noun *viṇ* and 'ō' may be substituted for 'ā'⁵ in the same way as the final 'a' in Sanskrit is pronounced as 'o' by Bengalis at the present day. Cf. *villōṇ* for *villāṇ*; and *nallōr* for *nallār* in the stanza.

villōṇ kālāṇa kālālē...nallōr yār kol-aḷiyar tāmē. (Ku. T. 7.)

1.34113. He then says that final 'ā' of Sanskrit feminine abstracts becomes 'ai' in Tamil. This may be accepted as a general rule though modern writers do not strictly adhere to it.⁶

1.342. 'I'. This is inserted when Sanskrit words having conjunct consonants, one of which is generally 'y', 'r' or 'l', are Tamilised. Cf. *ṭattiyam*, *ilakkiyam*, *vāttiyam* *ṭattiram*,

1. & 2. C. D. G. 133.

3. *Ā-v-ō v-ākum peyarum-ā r-uḷavē*
Ā-y-ita ṇ-aṛital ceyyul l-uḷlē. (Tol. Col. 195.)

4. *Ar ār pa-eṇa varūu mūṇṇum*
Pallōr maruṇkiṇ ṭaṭarkkai-c collē. (Ibid. 206.)

5. *Pāl-aṛi maraṇi ṇ-ammū v-iṇṇum*
Ā-v-ō v-ākuṇ ceyyu l-uḷlē. (Ibid. 211.)

6. Cf. *anukampam* for Skt. *anukampā* in '*anukampam...uṭai-yarē ciṇantār.* (Civa. pala. 39.)

(Great are they who have compassion.)

cukkilaṁ for Skt. *paṭhya*, *lakṣya*, *vādyā*, *paṭra* and *śukla*¹. In ancient period this is substituted for a final 'y'. Cf. *nāi* (नै) for *nāy*².

1.3421. 'Ī'. The final 'ī' in *nī* is shortened when case-suffixes are added to it³.

1.343. 'U'. Dr. Caldwell says that "u is of all vowels the weakest and lightest and is largely used especially at the end of words for euphonic purposes or as a help to enunciation. The Tamil rule with regard to the addition of 'u' to words which end in a consonant is that in words which end in any hard or end in a consonant, viz., *k*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *t* or *p*, or in the hard rough *r* which is peculiar to these languages, the hard consonant shall be followed by 'u' in consequence of its being impossible for Tamilian organs of speech to pronounce those letters without the help of a succeeding vowel. In most instances this enunciative 'u' is not merely short but so very short that its quantity is determined by grammarians to be equal only to a fourth of the quantity of a long vowel.... It often happens (though it is not an invariable rule) that the final surd to which enunciative 'u' has been appended, is doubled apparently for the purpose of furnishing a fulcrum for the support of the appended vowel. Thus the Sanskrit *vāk* becomes *vākkū*. The rule is further extended in Tamil so as to apply to the final consonants of syllables as well as to those of words. If a syllable, though in the middle of a word, terminates in one of the hard consonants above mentioned and if the initial consonant of the succeeding syllable is one which cannot be assimilated to it, the final consonant is doubled and 'u' is affixed. Thus Skt. *advaita* becomes in Tamil *attuvaida*".

Here three points are to be noted:—(1) The rule stated above holds good only in the case of *tadbhava* words (i.e.) words tamilised from Sanskrit; for no pure Tamil word can have according to the Tamil grammarians, *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* or *r* as the final

1. *Kūṭṭeluttin-ṭiṇ ya-ra-la-k-kaṭṭiṇṇiṭṭiṇ kūṭṭitaiyē*
Ōṭṭeluttāka-ṭ perum-or-ikāram.... (V. Tat. 8.)
2. *Ikara yakara m-iṇṇuti viravum.* (Tol. E. 58.)
3. *Nī-ye ṇ-oru-peyar neṭu-mutal kuṇukum*
Āvayi ṇ-akara m-orṇā kum-m-ē. (Ibid. 180.)

member¹. (2) The 'u' that is added at the end of such words have, in the opinion of the Tamil grammarians, for their quantity one mātrā² and not half a mātrā as stated by Dr. Caldwell; for, this 'u' does not play the same part in sandhi as 'ū' (*kurriyal-nkaram*) at the end of pure Tamil words:—*vākkū* (*tadbhava* of *vāk*)+*iñkē* becomes *vākkū-v-iñkē*; while *nākkū* (pure Tamil word)+*iñkē* becomes *nākkiñkē*, the intervocalic 'v' being inserted in the former case and 'ū' being dropped in the latter case³. (3) The addition of 'u' at the end of a syllable under the conditions stated above has certain limitations. It cannot hold good where there are two or more conjunct consonants. For instance, the Sanskrit word *plutākṣara* is tamilised into *pulutākkaram* and not *pulutākkūṣaram*. Hence the same law may be modified thus:—wherever in the middle of a word two or more conjunct consonants which can not be assimilated to each other appear, the intervocalic 'i' (*vyakta* into *viyattam*) or 'u' (*pluta* into *pulutam*) is inserted since the genius of the Tamil language is to minimise the conjunct consonant. 'U' alone is not inserted, but 'i' also is inserted; this is generally determined by the consonants that precede and those that follow. This point is clearly stated in *Viracōliyam* and *Naṇṇūl*, the grammars of the medieval period⁴. *Viracōliyam* speaks of the

1. *Na-na-na-ma na-ya-ra-la va-la-la-v-enṇum*
Aṭ-pati u-oyrē pulli y-iruti. (Ibid. 78.)

2. *Ētu, tātu enṇum vaṭa-moli-y-iruti-y-ukaramum...kuruki-y-icaittal-v-enṇum...aiṇṇam icaiyūmaiyn...kurriyal-ukaram tamil-c-aiṇṇappelluttākalin vaṭamoliyīn vārātāyirru.* (T. M. V. 28.)

3. But it must be noted that the final 'u', whether at the end of pure Tamil words or *tadbhava* words or *tatsama* words, is now pronounced as if its 'ū', though grammars sanction it only in certain cases. This is a clear case where *false analogy* has played its part to the full; for instance, the final 'u' in 'itu' must have one mātrā and must be pronounced as 'u', but it is now pronounced as 'ū' though it is quite against the rules of grammar.

4. *Kūtteluttin-pin va-ra-la-k-katōṇṇitir kūttitaiyē*
Ōtteluttāka-p peṇum-or-ikāram va-v-vu-k-k-or-u-v-v-ām
Mūtteluttu-t-tami l-allaṇa-pōm-vēru tēya-c-collin
Mūtteluttum-m-ita nāl-ay-mayrai vikārattinē. (V. Tat. 8.)
Inaintiyal kūlai ya-ra-la-k-k-ikaram-um
Ma-v-vu-k-k-ukaram-um nakara-k-k-akaram-um
Micai-varum ra-v-vali y-u-v-vu m-ām piṇa. (Na. 149.)

insertion of 'i' and 'u', while *Naṇṇūl* speaks of that of 'a' also as in *arataṇam*, the *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *ratna*¹, which is seen in the following sentence,

'*arataṇak kalaca viyaṇ karam*' (T. P. kaṭavuḷ, 3)

(Big hand holding a pot made of gems.)

1.3431. 'Ū'. Ū, as Dr. Caldwell says, is sufficiently persistent.

1.344. 'E' & 'O'. These two sounds, Dr. Caldwell says, are not found in Sanskrit. His statement is almost true; but Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* says that 'e' and 'o' are not generally found in Sanskrit, but find a place in the *Sātyamugri* and *Rāṇāyaniya Śākhās* of the *Sāma Vēda*². The same point is noted in *Tolkāppiya-mutaṭ-cūttira-virutti*³.

M. J. Vinson says that 'e' and 'o' are always preceded by 'y' & 'w' respectively. This is true in the Tamil districts of India; but in Jaffna, I hear that it is not so⁴.

1.345. 'Ē' and 'Ō'. Dr. Caldwell seems to think like the Tamil grammarians of the modern period that these two sounds are the same as are found in Sanskrit. The author of *Pirayōka-vivēkam* says in his commentary under the 5th sūtra '*akara v-ikaram-ē karam-ākum*' (*a* and *i* become *ē*) and '*akara v-ukaram-ōkaram-ākum*' (*a* and *u* become *ō*) and calls them *canti-y-akkaram*. *Civaṇṇa-muṇivar* also says so.⁵ But it seems to me that they are entirely different; for the Sanskrit 'ē' and 'ō' are diphthongs in their origin wherever they represent the Indo-Germanic tauto-syllabic *ai*, *ei* and *oi*, and tauto-syllabic *au*, *eu* and *ou*, respectively. They are still remembered as such in *Prātiśākhya*s

1. This insertion of a vowel at the beginning is called *prothetic anaptyxis* and the same in the middle is called *medial anaptyxis*. This plays a large part in the Indian *Prākṛts*. Cf. *ittiyū* for *strī* and *paḍuma* for *padma*.

2. *Chandōgūnām sātyamugri rāṇāyanīyāḥ ardhamēkaram ardhamōkaraṇ cādhyiyatē; naiva hi lokē nānyasmin vēdē ardha ēkārārōrdha-ōkārō vāsti* (M. B. i. 22, lines 21, 23 & 24).

3. *Ekara okaraṇkaḷ...cūmuvētam-uṭaiyūruḷ oru-c-cūrār icai parṇi-k kulūu-k-kuripōla k koṇṭōtupa-v-ākalāṇum* (T. M. V. 26).

4. A temporary fact of Phonetics in Dravidian, *Dixieme Serie* tome 18, 1911....(J. A.)

5. *Ekaram-āvatu akarakkūrum-ikarakkūrum...tammul-otticaittu naramataṇkal-pōnṇākalāṇum...ivvūrūtal-parṇi ē, ō, ai, au enṇu nāṇ-kiṇaiyum vaṭaṇūlūr cantiyakkaram-enpar.* (T. M. V. 24.)

(R. V. P. i, 11: and A. V. P. iii, 40), and by the Sanskrit Grammarians Pāṇini, Patañjali and others. Cf. *ēcaḥ sandhyakṣarāṇi*. For grammatical purposes too, they are such when *a* and *i* coalesce into 'ē', and *a* and *u* coalesce into 'ō' and wherever they are respectively split into *ay* and *av* in sandhi as in *dēvē + iha* and *gurō + iha* which respectively become *dēvayīha* and *guravīha*. But they are not diphthongs wherever they represent the Indo-Germanic *az*. In pronunciation, they became simple long vowels even in the *Saṃhitā* period. This is seen from the fact that, in sandhi if the initial member of the succeeding word is 'a' and the final member of the preceding word is 'ē' or 'ō', the 'a' is elided.¹ (cf. *harē + atra = harētra*; *gurō + atra = gurōtra*) Cf. *luṇyatē tu akāra-ēkārāukārapūrvah* (Tai. P. xi, 1): *ēkāra-ukārāntāt pūrvah padādēvakārasya* (A. V. P. iii, 53). For grammatical purposes it is more an exception that they are simple long vowels rather than a general rule. But in Tamil they are always simple sounds as in the parent Indo-European language, and not diphthongs; for *a + i* becomes *a-v-i* or *ā + i* becomes *ā-y-i* as in *a-v-v-iṭam* and *ā-y-irutiṇai*, and so also *a + u* becomes *a-v-u* as in *pala-v-uṇṭu*. This difference in their nature is one of the points which determine that Tamil is independent of Sanskrit.

M. J. Vinson is of opinion that these two also are preceded by 'y' and 'w' in their pronunciation. But I hear that such is not the case in Jaffna.

1.346. 'AI': 1.3461. Dr. Caldwell says in p. 133 that "*ei* unlike the Sanskrit diphthong '*ai*' represents *e* and *i* and not *a* and *i*." The reasons he adduces for the same are (1) 'it is represented in Grantha and Malayāḷam by a double *e* and in Telugu-Canarese by a character which is compounded of *e* and *i*'; (2) it is also to be observed that the Tamil *ei* is the equivalent of the *e* of the Malayāḷam accusative and is the ordinary representative of the final *e* of Canarese substantives and verbal nouns; (3) it is worthy of notice also that Kumārilabhaṭṭa in transliterating Tamil *naḍei* into Sanskrit characters writes it not as *naḍai*, but as *naḍe*."

If the first reason holds good for Tamil '*ei*', it holds good for Sanskrit '*āi*' also, since it is represented in Devanāgarī script as two *e*'s (॒॒); it is not safe to determine the nature of a sound

from its symbol.¹ The second point has already been answered under 1.3412. As regards the third point, Kumārilabhaṭṭa may have had in his mind the forms of spoken Tamil but not of written Tamil for he says *cōr* for *cōṛū*.² The 'u' at the end is only 'ū' and so people may have pronounced *cōṛū* as almost similar to *cōṛ*. I have already stated that the final 'u' or 'ū' is spoken only as 'ū'. Similarly *naḍai* also may have been pronounced as *naḍe*, as is done even now. Hence Dr. Caldwell's third reason also cannot stand. Besides, Tolkāppiyaṇār clearly says that *ai* may be split into *a* and *i*³ and *ay* may be used instead of *ai*⁴. It also appears to me that the way in which Tamil *ai* was, and is, pronounced may have influenced the pronunciation of Sanskrit *ai* in the pre-Christian Era; for, in the earliest times, it is possible that the latter was pronounced as *āi* since it represented generally the Indo-Germanic *āi*, *ēi* and *ōi*. At the time of the author of Taittiriya-Prātiśākhya, it appears it was pronounced as *a* ($\frac{1}{2}$) *i* ($1\frac{1}{2}$) where *a* had half a *mātrā* and *i* one and a half *mātrās*.

Cf. *Akārārddham āikārāukārayōḥ ādiḥ*

and

Ikārō adyardhaḥ pūrvasya śēṣaḥ. (Tai. P. ii, 26 and 28.)

The same, it seems to me, was the pronunciation at the time of Patañjali.

Cf. *Āicōśca uttarabhūyastvāt*. (M. B. i, 22, 18.)

It has been accepted that Patañjali lived in the 2nd century before Christ. The Tamil extant Grammar Tolkāppiyam may be taken to belong at least to the beginning of the Christian era, and there is no inscription or literary work in Telugu, Kanarese and Malayāḷam belonging to that date. It is evident that, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār, *ai* in Tamil was pronounced in the same way as it is now, since he says *ai* may sometimes be written as *ai* (அஇ) or *ay* (அய). Hence I am led to believe that the present

1. The symbols in Telugu for *v*, *p*, *s*, *n* and *h* have greater similarity than dissimilarity and it is not safe to conclude from it that they are related sounds.

2. *Cōr ityuktē* (K. T. V. under 1—3—9 and pp. 200 and 201 in Vol. 42 of the Indian Antiquary).

3. *Akara ikara m-āikāra m-ākum*. (Tol. E. 54.)

4. *Akara-t t-impar yakara-p pulḷiyum*
Āi-y-e ṇeṭuñ-ciṇai mey-peṇa-t tōṇṇum. (Ibid. 56.)

pronunciation of Sanskrit *ai* might be due to the influence of Dravidian languages, especially Tamil.¹

1.3462. This *ai* is different from Sanskrit *ai* in two ways. Sanskrit *ai* is, for grammatical purposes, *āi*, and it is formed by the coalescence of *a* or *ā* with *ē*; but, in Tamil, if *a* or *ā* is followed by *ē*, both would respectively become 'avē' generally and *āvē* or *āyē*, but never 'ai'. Hence, this cannot be said to be a diphthong in the same way as the Sanskrit *āi*; but it may be called so since it is split into *a* and *i*, or *a* and *y*, if it stands at the beginning of a word. Cf. *airavāṇam* அரவணம் or *ayvāṇam* for *airavāṇam* (அரவணம்).

1.347. 'AU'. Dr. Caldwell states that 'it has been placed in the (Dravidian) alphabets solely in imitation of Sanskrit. It is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives; and when such derivatives are used in Tamil, they are more commonly pronounced without the aid of this diphthong. Ordinarily, the diphthong is separated into its component elements; that is, the simple vowels *a* and *u*, from which it is derived, are pronounced separately, with the usual euphonic *v* of the Tamil between them to prevent hiatus.—e.g. the Sanskrit noun *saukhyam* is ordinarily pronounced and written in Tamil as *śavukkiyam*.' (C. D. G. 136.) The same opinion is held by M. J. Vinson² and G. U. Pope.³ Their whole argument stands on the assumption that it is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives. But there are words like *avvai*, *ṭavvam*, *kavvutal*, *vavvutal*, etc. which are pure Tamil words. In such cases *au* is replaced by *av* as *avvai*, *ṭavvam*, *kavvutal*, *vavvutal*, etc. and not by *avu* as in *śavukkiyam* as stated by Dr. Caldwell. Cf. *nāy kavvi* (N. 70.) *kavviyum* (P. N. 188. 4). Besides, Tolkāppiaṇār

says that the initial *au* of a word may be split into *a* and *u*¹ and Ṭampūraṇar says under Tol. E. 56 that it may be replaced by *av* as *ai* is replaced by *ay*. But Sanskrit *āu* though it was pronounced even at an early period as *au*² is for grammatical purposes only *āu* and can be replaced by only *āv* and not *av*. It also seems to me that the Tamil pronunciation of *au* may have changed the pronunciation of Sanskrit *āu* as in the case of *āi*, since the Sanskrit *āu* ought to have been once pronounced as *āu* and then as *a* ($\frac{1}{2}$) *u* ($\frac{1}{2}$) at least till the time of Mahābhāṣya.

1.348. 'Ī'. This sound is peculiar to Tamil. It is found in the middle of words like *kēṇmīyā*,³ and in places where the final 'ū' of a word is followed by 'y'⁴ as in *nāki + yāti = nāki-yāti*.

What could be its origin? This may have been originally in the parent Dravidian language a glide almost similar to 'ū', and it may have been represented by 'ī' whenever it was followed by the palatal semi-vowel *y*. Hence the Tamil grammarians have stated that *ū* changes to *ī* when the former is followed by *y* in sandhi.

1.3481. 'Ū': 1.34811. It has already been stated that this differs from *u* both in quality and quantity and also undergoes change in sandhi quite differently from it. This is not found in Sanskrit, but it plays a large part in Tamil and so Tolkāppiyam contains one full chapter explaining the changes which it undergoes in sandhi. It is used as the final member of words except in the word *nūntai*⁵ after a voiceless consonant in words other than those which have only one short vowel which is not followed by a conjunct consonant or āytam.⁶ Thus in *atu*, *itu*, *utu*, *u* is not *kurriyal-ukaram*; but in *aṅkū*, *aṣṭū*, *aḷapū*, *yāti*, it is *kurriyal-ukaram*. *U* in *ēlu*, the modern form of ancient *ēl* cannot

1. When Taittiriya-Prātisākhya says that *ai* was *a* ($\frac{1}{2}$) *i* ($\frac{1}{2}$) it refers in all probability to its pronunciation. Śukla Yajurveda Prātisākhya says that the first part of *ai* and *au* is *a* and the second part *ē* and *ō*. This evidently refers to the etymology of the same. Rg-vēda Prātisākhya and Atharva-vēda Prātisākhya do not seem to say anything definitely on this point. But Dr. A. A. MacDonell says that *ai* and *au* were pronounced as *ai* and *au* even at the time of Prātisākhyas. (M. V. G. 15. 4.) I am not able to find out why he has said so.

2. Sur un caractere singulier dans l'alphabet Tamoul in J. A. Onzieme Serie tome vii, 1916, p. 313, 4.

3. P. H. T. L. p. 13.

1. *Akara ukara m-āukāra m-ākum*. (Tol. E. 55.)

2. M. V. G. 15, 3.

3. *Kurriya likara niṇṇal vēṇṭum*
Yāveṇ ciṇai-micai uraiyacai-k kiḷavi-k-
Kāvayin varūm makara m-ūrntē. (Tol. E. 34.)

4. *Puṇariya ṇilai-yiṭai-k kuṇukalu m-urittē*
Uṇara-k kūṇ munṇar-t tōṇṇum. (Ibid. 35.)

5. *Kurriya l-ukara muṇai-p-peyar maruṅkiṇ*
Oṇṇiya nakara-micai nakaramoṭu mutalum. (Ibid. 67.)

6. *Nettēlut t-imparun toṭarmoli y-īṇṇum*
Kurriya l-ukaram vallū rūrntē. (Ibid. 36.)

be *kurriyal-ukaram* according to its definition in grammar, though it is pronounced so now. I have already stated that it has for its organ of articulation that of the previous voiceless consonant.¹ (Cf. 1.22. *supra*)

What could be its origin? Was it formerly *u* and was then shortened on account of accent or was it a vowel glide like the neutral vowel which appeared in pronouncing the final voiceless consonants and later on taken as a secondary sound? If it were the former, it need not play in sandhi a part different from *u*. I have already stated that it (*ü*) is dropped if it is followed by a word commencing with a vowel, while *u* takes the intervocalic *v* when it is followed by a vowel. cf. *nākkū + iñkē = nākkūñkē*; *atu + iñkē = atuvñkē*. Hence the latter view that it was in the parent Dravidian a vowel glide is worth considering. If that be so, we have to assume that the Tamil grammarians happened to recognise the glide, take it as a secondary sound and conclude that no voiceless consonant could be the final member of any word.²

1.3482. *UYIR-ALAPEṬAI*: 1.34821. The authors of *Viracōliyam*, *Nēminātam*, *Naṇṇūl*, *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam* and *Pirayōka-vivēkam* state that the seven sounds, *āa*, *īi*, *ūu*, *ēe*, *aii*, *ōo*, *auu* are *uyir-aḷapeṭai* each having three *mātrās* and have taken them as secondary vowels.

But *Tolkāppiyaṇār* has not mentioned them under secondary sounds; for it seems to me that in cases of *aḷapeṭai*, *āa*, *īi*, etc. are not single sounds according to him, but two sounds made up of *ā* and *a*, *ī* and *i*, etc. This is clear from the following points mentioned by him. He states in the sūtra

Mū-v-aḷa p-icaitta l-ōr-clut l-iñrē. (Tol. E. 5.)
that there is no single sound having three *mātrās*; in the sūtra
Niṭṭam vēṇṭi n-a-v-v-aḷa p-uṭaiya
Kūṭṭi y-clūta l-eṇmaṇār pularar. (ibid. 6.)

1. *Cārntu-vari n-allatu tamakk-iyal p-ila-v-eṇa-t*
Tērntu-velip paṭutta v-ēṇai mūṇṇum
Tattañ cārpiṇ pīrappoṭu ciṇaṇi
Oṭta kūṭciyir ram-m-iyal p-iyalum. (Ibid. 101.)

2. Here it is worth noting that the vowel-glide *i* between *d* & *r* in the Sanskrit word *Indra* has appeared as a separate letter in the word *Indira* derived from the same. Similarly, the second *a* in the word *manḍratha* which originally was *manḍritha*. (Wackernagel's *Altindisch Grammatik*.)

he says that, if the quantity of a sound is to be lengthened, separate sounds having the desired additional quantity should be added. In the sūtra

Kunṇicai molī-vayi n-iñricai niraikkum
Neṭṭelut t-imṇa v-otta-kur reḷuttē. (ibid. 41.)

it is said that as many short like-vowels are added after a long vowel as the additional *mātrās* needed. In the sūtra

E-eṇa varum-uyir meyyi r-ākātū. (ibid. 71.)

it is said that *e* cannot be the final letter of a word if it is preceded by a consonant and in the sūtra

Ekara v-okaram peyarkkī r-ākā
Munṇilai moliya v-eṇmaṇār pularar
Tērramun ciraṇṇu m-alvali y-āṇa. (ibid. 273.)

it is said that it follows *ē* denoting certainty or superiority. Hence in *ēe koṇṭāṇ*, *e* is taken to be a sound separate from *ē*. In the sūtra

Tērra v-ekaramun ciraṇṇi n-orvum
Mēr-kū r-iyarkai valḷeḷuttū mikumē. (ibid. 274.)

he says '*tērra v-ekaramun*' which clearly shows that *ē* and *e* in *ēe* are considered separate sounds. In the sūtra

Ē-y-e n-iṇṇi-k k-ekaram varumē. (ibid. 278.)

he says that *e* will follow *ē*. That the same is the case with *o* in *ōo* is inferred from the sūtras Tol. E. 273 and

Vērrumai-k kaṇṇu m-ataṇḍ v-arṇē
Okaram varuta l-ā-vayi n-āṇa. (ibid. 293.)

In the sūtra

Kurriyalaṇ munṇaru m-ōreḷuttu molikkum
Ariya-t tōṇru m-akara-k kiḷavi. (ibid. 227.)

it is said that *a* is inserted after *ā*, the final member of the standing word, if it is preceded by a short vowel as *palā-a-k-kōtū* or if it happens to be a single lettered word.¹ In the sūtra,

Aḷapeṭai mikūn m-ikara-v-iṇṇeyar
Iyarkaiya v-ākuñ-ceyarkaiya v-eṇṇa. (Tol. Col. 125.)

he says that the word ending in *i* which generally appears with *aḷapeṭai* in the nominative case remains as it is without any change in the vocative case. For instance, the word

1. It may be noted that the author of *Pirayōka-vivēkam* says that in *marūaṭi*, *paṇḍaṭṭu*, *a* is separate from *ā* and an intervocalic *i* is not inserted between them. (P. V. P. 49.)

tolī can be used in the same form as nominative or vocative. Here he states that the final member of such words is *i* and not *ī*. Besides in Ceyyūḷ-iyal, a section in the third chapter of Tolkāppiyam, he says that *aḷaṭṭai* may be taken as a separate syllable in prosody¹. For example in *paṇivār tēcu* (Pattu. 220, 230) *tē* is taken as one *acai* and *cu* as another, though *e* is added to prolong the quantity of *ē*.² Similarly in *kaṭaak kaḷirrimēl* (K. 1087) *kaṭā* is taken as one *acai* and *ak* as another.³

The reason why he does not treat *āa*, *īi*, etc. in cases of *aḷaṭṭai* as single sounds seems to me this. In Manusmṛti there is a line

Akāraśāṣya nāmnāntē cācyah pūrvākṣarah plutaḥ

(M. S. 2. 125.)

in connection with the use of *pluta* in *pratyabhi-vādana*. This is interpreted by some commentators that *a* is only *uḷalakṣaṇam* here and it means that the final syllable of the name of the person who prostrates himself before another should be *pluta* in the blessings offered by the latter, in the same way as is said by Pāṇini; (i.e.) if Dēvadatta is a *dr̥iḷa* and prostrates himself before another, another should say 'āyusmān bhava Dēvadattaḥ'; if he is *Harī*, 'āyusmān bhava Harēḥ' etc. But Haradatta, the author of Padamañjarī, a commentary on Kāśikāvṛtti, interprets the same line in a different way. The final syllable should be *pluta* and an 'a' should be added to it at the end. Hence the *pratyabhi-vādana* should be in the form 'āyusmān bhava Dēvadattaḥ a'. Similarly if two persons *Śambhu* and *Pinākaṭṭai* are at a distance and they are called, the forms that should be used in the vocative case are *Śambhoḥ* and *Pinākaṭṭaiḥ* in the opinion of Pāṇini and *Śambhoḥ a*, and *Pinākaṭṭaiḥ a*, in the opinion of Haradatta. Similarly if they are not at a distance, the forms that should be used are *Śambhaḥ* and *Pinākaṭṭaiḥ* according to Pāṇini, and *Śambhaḥ va* and *Pinākaṭṭaiḥ va* according to Haradatta⁴. The latter says that his interpretation is based on what is said in Bharataśāstra.⁵

1. *Aḷaṭṭai-y-acai-nīlai-y-ākalu-m-urittē*. (Tol. Ceyyū. 17.)

2 & 3. These are cases of hiatus allowed by Tolkāppiyāṇār.

4. Pandit Reprint 12. Kāśikā vyākhyā uttarārdha p. 960 and P. A. S. 2. 83, 8. 2. 84 and 8. 3. 107.

5. I searched for this statement in the extant editions of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, but I was not able to find it out.

From this it is evident that there were two schools as regards the use of *pluta*. Tolkāppiyāṇār having in his mind the view of the author of Bharataśāstra may have thought that, since a separate syllable *a* is used by him in all places, there is no need for the previous sound to be *pluta*, and hence may have said that there is no need for a sound *aḥ* having three *mātrās* before the final *a*. Besides to have *a* even after *iḥ*, *eḥ*, *oḥ* may not have appealed to him. Hence he may have thought that, if one wants to use similar sounds, one might as well use *ī*, *ū*, *ē* and *ō* with *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* following them. This is most probably the reason for his saying that there is no single sound having three *mātrās* (Tol. E. 5). Hence, according to him, *aḷaṭṭai* is that sound *a*, *i*, *u*, etc. which is super-added to the preceding long vowel *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, etc. It may be worth noting that the term *aḷaṭṭai* is adapted from the term *pluta* though in a somewhat different sense.

But the author of Vīracōḷiyam in the light of what is said in Pāṇini's grammar may have mistaken *aḷaṭṭai* for *pluta* in Sanskrit and hence has stated that *āa*, *īi*, etc. are *aḷaṭṭai* and the others may have followed him. They have taken them as secondary sounds, since according to them secondary sounds are those which are other than primary sounds and no primary sound has more than two *mātrās* for its quantity. If *aḷaṭṭai*, according to them, has three *mātrās*, they should have given separate names for *āaa*, *āaaa* and so on. But they have not done so. Perhaps they too may be called *aḷaṭṭai* in the same way as a sound of four *mātrās* in Sanskrit is called *pluta*¹. The authors of Nēminātam, Naṇṇūḷ, Ilakkaṇa-ṇaḷakkam and Tonṇūḷ-ṇaḷakkam have followed the author of Vīracōḷiyam in toto in this point; but the authors of Naṇṇūḷ and Ilakkaṇa-ṇaḷakkam, when they make mention of the vowels that can stand finally in words, say that the short vowels can stand finally even when they are part of *aḷaṭṭai*.² This is not consistent with their statement that *aḷaṭṭai* has three *mātrās*. Hence it seems to me that they two did not have a decisive idea about it.

Uraiyaṇṇiyar and Naccinārkkinīyar in commenting on the sūtra

1. *Iṣyata ēva catur mātrah plutaḥ* (M. B. iii. 421, 13 & 14.)

2. *Kuṇṇuyi r-aḷapi ṇ-iṇṇ m-ekaram*
Meṇṇē ṭēlū ton na-v-vo-tūm-au
Kakara vakaramō ṭūku m-eṇṇa. (Na. 108 & I. V. 29.)

Niṭṭam vēṇṭi n-a-v-aḷa-p uṭaiya

Kūṭṭi-y-clūṇṭa l-cṇmaṇār pularar. (Tol. E. 6.)

say that the long and the short vowel should be pronounced together. Hence it appears that, in their opinion, *āa*, *ii*, etc., are pronounced as vowels having three *mātrās*, but for grammatical purposes they are separate sounds. Civañāṇa-muṇivar, on the other hand, says that *aḷaṭṭai cluttu* has three *mātrās*¹ and it is made up of one long vowel and one short vowel and since it is used in the place of the long vowel only for lengthening its *mātrā* without any change in meaning, it is not included as a separate sound, and hence it is not included among vowels.² On considering the sūtras in Tolkāppiyam mentioned above, it may be clear that Civañāṇa-muṇivar confounds the *pluta* in Sanskrit with *aḷaṭṭai*. But in the definition of *cārpeḷuttu* or secondary sounds he agrees with Tolkāppiyaṇār and hence he has not included *aḷaṭṭai* among them.

The number of *uyir-aḷaṭṭai* is 7 according to the grammarians of the medieval and modern periods except Naṇṇūlār. He says that they are 21 taking into consideration the place in a word where it occurs, whether at the beginning, middle or end. But since the sound is generally the same whether it is at the beginning, middle or end, it does not appear to be scientific to further sub-divide 7 and make them into 21.

1.3483.—‘Shortened *ai*’: Ancient Period. Tolkāppiyaṇār mentions that ‘*ai*’ has in certain positions only one *mātrā*,³ but does not say where it so happens, nor does he include such ‘*ai*’ among secondary sounds, since it has the same place of articulation as ‘*ai*’ though reduced in quantity, and it may sometimes be used as the initial letter of a word as *aiyam* and hence does not satisfy this definition of *cārpeḷuttu* or secondary sounds.

Medieval and Modern Periods. The author of Viracōḷiyam says that the shortened *ai*, has for its quantity one *mātrā* and a half. The author of Nēminātam agrees with him and includes it among secondary sounds. The authors of Naṇṇūl, Ilakkaṇa-

1. *Mūṇru mātṭiraiyūy uccarikkūṇkāl aḷaṭṭai y-cluttenṇum* (T. M. V. p. 24.)

2. *Aḷaṭṭai annēṭṭelutṭiṭu* . . . (p. 24, Line 3.) *nuṇṇuṇṇarvāṇḍrntu-ṇarka* (T. M. V. p. 24.)

3. *Ōraḷa pāku m-iṭaṇum-ā r-uṇṭē*
Tēruṇ kūlai mōḷi-vayi ṇ-āṇa. (Tol. E. 57.)

viḷakkam and Tonṇūl-viḷakkam say that it has only one *mātrā* for its quantity. C. J. Beschi says that it is shortened in such words as *aippaci* where it is the initial letter, in words like *maṭaiyaṇ* where it is medial and in words like *kuḷalai* where it is final. All of them include it among secondary sounds since it is other than ‘*ai*’ having two *mātrās* and hence satisfies their definition of *cārpeḷuttu*. The division by Naṇṇūlār of ‘shortened *ai*’ into three according to its place in a word is unnecessary and unscientific. Civañāṇa-muṇivar agrees with Tolkāppiyaṇār.

Since no purpose is served by taking ‘shortened *ai*’ as a secondary sound, the opinion of Tolkāppiyaṇār seems to me to be the sound one.

1.3484. ‘Shortened *au*’: Ancient Period. Tolkāppiyaṇār does not speak definitely about this; but the commentators on the sūtra

Ōraḷa p-āku m-iṭaṇum-ā r-uṇṭē
Tēruṇ kūlai mōḷi-vayi ṇ-āṇa. (Tol. E. 57.)

say that what holds good for ‘*ai*’ holds good for ‘*au*’ also.

Medieval and Modern Periods: The ‘shortened *au*’ is considered in the same way, as ‘shortened *ai*.’ Viracōḷiyam says that it has one and a half *mātrās* while the rest, one *mātrā*. Whatever is said of ‘*ai*’ holds good of ‘*au*’ also. C. J. Beschi says that *au* is shortened to *āu* only when it stands initially. Dr. Caldwell does not make mention of the shortened *au*.

1.35. Vowel Gradation. This plays only a very small part in Tamil. In the declension of pronouns like *nī*, *nām*, *tāṇ*, the *i* and the *ā* are shortened in the oblique cases as *ninnai*, *ninnāl*, etc., *nammai*, *namnāl*, etc., *taṇnai*, *taṇnāl*, etc., and *yā* in the pronoun *yāṇ* is shortened to *e* in the oblique cases as *eṇnai*, *eṇnāl*, etc. But on the whole its part in the Tamil language is very small since the cases and the conjugation in Tamil are not classified as strong and weak, except that the nominative case may be considered strong and the remaining weak.

In some of the verbal forms of monosyllabic roots having *ā*, *ā* is shortened to *a*.

Root.	Present Tense.	Past Tense.	Future.	Past Relative Participle.
<i>tā</i>	<i>tarukirāṇ</i>	<i>tantāṇ</i>	<i>taruvāṇ</i>	<i>tantā</i>
<i>kāṇ</i>	<i>kāṇkirāṇ</i>	<i>kaṇṭāṇ</i>	<i>kāṇpāṇ</i>	<i>kaṇṭa</i>
<i>cā</i>	<i>cākirāṇ</i>	<i>cettāṇ</i>	<i>cāvāṇ</i>	<i>cetta</i>

Sometimes the negative forms of verbs have long vowels, while the positive forms short ones.

Root.	Affirmative.	Negative.
kāṇ	kaṇṭāṇ	kāṇāṇ
vā	varuvāṇ	vārāṇ
tā	taruvāṇ	tārāṇ

In forming nouns from certain verbs, the short vowels are lengthened.

Root.	Noun.
viṭu	vīṭū
keṭu	kēṭū
paṭu	pāṭū
miṇ	mīṇ
cuṭu	cūṭū

This is one of the most important points where Tamil differs from Indo-European languages in general and Sanskrit in particular where gradation plays a very prominent part.

13.6. *Initial and final vowels in words in Tamil and in Sanskrit ; Their Similarities and Dissimilarities:* Tolkāppiaṇār says that all the 12 primary vowels can stand both as the initial and the final member of words, but the final *au* can be preceded only by *k* or *v*, the final *e* cannot be preceded by any consonant, the final *o* by any consonant except *n*, the final *ē* and *ō* by *ñ* and *n* and *ū* by *n* or *v*.¹ Of the secondary vowels *ū* cannot stand at the beginning, while shortened *i* can stand neither at the beginning nor at the end. The author of *Viracōḷiyam* differs from Tolkāppiaṇār in the fact that *e* and *o* cannot stand as final members. This is possibly due to the fact that, according to the latter, *e* in *ēe* (a particle denoting certainty) is not a part of it in the same way as is taken by the former and the word 'no' might have become obsolete in his time.²

1. *Paṇṇī r-uyiru mōḷi-muta l-ākum.* (Ibid. 59.)
Uyir-au v-eñciya v-iṇuti y-ākum. (Ibid. 69.)
Ka-va-v-ō ṭiyaiyi n-au-v-u m-ākum. (Ibid. 70.)
E-ena varum-nyir me-y-y-ī ṭ-ākātū. (Ibid. 71.)
O-v-v-u m-aṇṇē na-v-v-alaiṇ kaṭaiyē. (Ibid. 72.)
Ē ē enum-uyir ṇakāra-t-t-illai. (Ibid. 73.)
Ū ū kāra na-va-v-ōṭu navilā. (Ibid. 74.)
2. *Īru-makara ṇakaraiṇkaṭāmu m-iṭai-y-inattil*
Ērum-vakara m-oḷintaintum-īrain tēḷil-uyirum

But Nannūlār and other grammarians agree with Tolkāppiaṇār in this respect.¹ According to them *alaṭeṭai* and 'shortened *ai*' can stand both at the beginning and at the end, 'shortened *au*' only at the beginning, *u* cannot stand at the beginning and *i* cannot stand either at the beginning or at the end.

The Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya, the Śukla Yajur-vēda Prātiśākhya and Atharva-vēda Prātiśākhya say that ! (ॐ) cannot stand as final.² The Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya adds *ṛ* also in the 1st verse of the 12th chapter.³ The Śukla Yajur-vēda Prātiśākhya adds that *ṛ* can stand as final only in the first members of compounds.⁴ It seems to me that in mentioning the initial and the final vowels in words, Tolkāppiaṇār has followed the Prātiśākhyas since Pāṇini considered it unnecessary to mention them.

Vīṇumali-vēṇ kaṭaiṇ-kumari-k-kiṭai mēvirrenṇū
Kūṇun-tamiḷinuk k-iṇṇeluttām-enṇar kōḷ-vaḷaiyē. (V. C. 8.)

1. *Āvi ṇa-ṇa-na-ma-na ya-ra-la-va la-ḷa-mey*
Cāyu m-ukara nāl-āṇu m-iṇē. (Na. 107).
2. *Nalkāraḥ svarēsu.* (R. V. P. 1. 9.)
Svarūśca ḷkāravarjam. (S. Y. V. P. 1. 87.)
Anḷkārāḥ svarāḥ payaḥ. (A. V. P. 1. 4.)
3. *Nāntam yānti . . . ḷkārāḷakārau.* (R. V. P. 12. 1.)
4. *ṇakārarkārāvagrahē.* (S. Y. V. P. 1. 88.)

THE ŚĀTYĀYANA BRĀHMAṆA.

BY

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The Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa was regarded till now as one of the lost Vedic Brāhmaṇas. Two copies of this Brāhmaṇa are mentioned by Oppert in his list of Mss. existing in south India but neither of the copies could be traced. The only information we had till now regarding the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa was based upon the quotations from that work found in the bhāṣya of Sāyaṇa on the Ṛg Veda. A few references to that Brāhmaṇa are also found in other works.

As early as 1897 Professor Hanns Oertel of the Yale University contributed a paper to the Journal of the American Oriental Society on the *Parallel Passages from the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa to Fragments of the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa*. (page 15—48.) In this paper the Professor remarks that there is a close parallelism between the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa and the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa and he shows the agreement in a clear form. Long before 1827, A. C. Burnell, as soon as he discovered the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, sent in a note to the London Academy regarding the contents of the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa and there he remarked (Vol. XV, pp. 126.) "Were it not that the Jaiminiyas consider the Śātyāyana school to be different from theirs, I should identify this new Brāhmaṇa with the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa quoted by Sāyaṇa. Probably the difference between the two schools, if there really be any, is very small."

According to Burnell and H. Oertel, the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa should have belonged to the Sāma Veda, and that accounts for the close parallelism that exists between the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa and the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa. This conjecture of Burnell and Oertel receives corroboration from the remarks in the *Prapañcahṛdaya*, a work published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. On the other hand, the reference to this Brāh-

maṇa in the Caranavyūha makes it out to be a Brāhmaṇa of the Yajur Veda. Writing as late as 1929, Paṇḍit Bhagavad Datta of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, states it to be his opinion, that this Brāhmaṇa should have belonged to the Sāma Veda alone. All these writers had only the fragments of the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa before them when they wrote what they did.

I was fortunate enough to come across a fragmentary copy of the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa, written in Telugu characters on palm leaf. It consists of 54 leaves with 8 lines on each page. The first leaf is missing and therefore we are not able to say in what form it exactly began. It abruptly ends in the middle of the 53rd leaf, a fact which indicates that the manuscript is incomplete. I have been able to identify this work as the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa on the strength of the statement found in the first leaf of the manuscript which contains a list of the several works that are contained in the big volume.

The following subjects are dealt with in the portion that is now available.

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Audumbari | 11. Yajñāyajñiavidhāna |
| 2. Bahispavamāna | 12. Ukthyavidhāna |
| 3. Ājyavidhāna | 13. Rātriparyāyavidhāna |
| 4. Gāyatravidhāna | 14. Atirātra |
| 5. Mādhyandina | i. Vairūpavidhāna |
| 6. Rathantaravidhāna | ii. Vairājavidhāna |
| 7. Vāmadevyavidhāna | iii. Śoḍaśavidhāna |
| 8. Naudhasavidhāna | iv. Śākvaravidhāna and |
| 9. Kāleyavidhāna | 15. Mahāvratā. |
| 10. Ārbhavavidhāna | |

Regarding the divisions of this Brāhmaṇa as found in this manuscript, a few words are necessary. On the second page of the manuscript we find No. 3. The numbering continues up to 10 on page 8 of the manuscript where we find षष्ठोऽध्यायः. On page 13 we find सप्तमोऽध्यायः, after No. 10 as before. On page 19 we find similarly अष्टमोऽध्यायः. The numbering of sections after the eighth adhyāya presents some changes. After section 5 on page 23 the numbering begins from 1 again and goes up to 6, where, curiously enough, we find प्रथमोऽध्यायः.

1. See page 19.

Sections 1 and 2 after प्रथमोऽध्यायः are missing and the first number we come across is 3. There is a change again after No. 4 and we find Nos. 1 to 6 continuously. The numbering begins from 1 again and goes up to 7, where we find द्वितीयोऽध्यायः. Then again the number begins from 1 and goes up to 6, on page 36. The numbering begins again and ends with 6 on page 40, where we find तृतीयोऽध्यायः. As before, the numbering begins from 1 and ends with 6 on page 43. Six more sections are again found and at the end of the 6th we find चतुर्थोऽध्यायः. Then we find six sections continuously and after the 6th we find only No. 10 on page 50 where we find the words चतुर्थोऽध्यायः. There are six more sections and the manuscript abruptly ends.

For the sake of convenience, and with the hope that scholars may be able to identify other copies of the work, I reproduce below one section from the beginning.

....आस्तोत्रे मग्ना शस्त्रं प्रतिष्ठिति तेन ब्रह्मवर्चस्यः किं ज्योतिष्टोमस्य ज्योतिष्टोमत्वमित्याहुः विराजं संस्तुतः संपद्यते विराड्वा छन्दसां ज्योतिः ज्योतिः समानानां भवति य एवं वेद ज्येष्ठयज्ञो वा विष (?) यदग्निष्टोमः प्रजापतिः प्रजा असृजत ता अस्मै ज्येष्ठयाय नातिष्ठन्त स एतमग्निष्टोममपश्यत् तमाहरत् ततोऽस्मै प्रजाः श्रेष्ठयायातिष्ठन्त तिष्ठन्तेऽस्मै समानानां श्रेष्ठयाय य एवं वेद यन्वि (?) त्याहुः गायत्रं प्रातस्सवनं त्रैष्टुभं माध्यन्दिनं सवनं जागतं तृतीय-सवनं क तर्हि तुर्य (?) छन्दोऽनुष्ठुभिति छन्दसां ह अन्ववल्गुर्हि यजमानोऽन्ववल्गुप्यतेऽष्टाक्षरा गायत्री हिंकारो नवमः एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुप् द्वादशाक्षरा जगती छन्दोभिरेवानुष्ठुभमाप्नोति यो हानुष्ठुभं सर्वत्रापि सवनान्यन्वायत्तां वेद सर्वत्रा ह्याविर्भवत्येषा वा अनुष्ठुप् सर्वत्रापि सवनान्यन्वायत्ता तद्य एवं वेद सर्वत्राह्याविर्भवति यद्वैराजानोऽध्वानं धावयन्ति येऽध्वानं वीर्यवत्तमास्तान्युञ्जते (?) त्रिवृत्पञ्चदशस्तदश एकविंशति (?) ते वै सोमानां वीर्यवत्तमास्तानेष युक्ते स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य समष्टये चतुष्टोमो भवति प्रतिष्ठां वै चतुष्टोमः प्रतिष्ठित्यै ॥ ३ ॥

THE BĀÑAS.

BY

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It is indeed a matter for gratification that the name Bāṇa or Vāṇa, as it is called in Tamil, is found in the inscriptions of most of the dynasties of South India that held sway over the country from about 345 A. D. to 1500 A. D. To pursue the history of those people who were called the Bāṇas or the Vāṇarāyars is therefore a pleasant quest for any student, much more so to the historian as while dealing with the Bāṇas he has to deal with a race of feudatories that served almost all the important powers of South India.

Unfortunately for these Bāṇas, they should have started under an evil star, for they not only began as subordinate officials in charge of the administration of portions of the kingdom but continued almost throughout to be just feudatories of the ruling powers and nothing more till about 1500 A. D. Now they were the vassals of the Kadambas of Banavāsi; then of the Western Cālukyas. When the Pallavas of Kāñcīpuram were in power they swore their allegiance to them. So did they too to the Nolamba-Pallavas. After the decline of Pallava power they became the vassals of the Cōḷas and later on when the Pāṇḍyas became powerful they transferred their allegiance to the latter. We say that they should have started under a bad star because, though they never preferred to be submissive and though consequently their restlessness was often visible in sporadic attempts to regain their independence, especially when any one ruling power was waning, they never gained their end. Instead, reactionary forces set in and the Bāṇas found themselves, after every sporadic attempt at independence, more submissive, with the difference that instead of Master Pallava they had Master Cōḷa or Pāṇḍya to obey now. Like the Śambuvarāyans who were Cōḷa feudatories, they indicated their subjection to the ruling powers by employing the names of the kings and the

princes of the ruling family as their *aliases*¹. This they did so long as they were forced to retain their subordinate character.

This feudatory family "which played an important part in the ancient history of Southern India" claims descent from the demon Mahābali (Mahāvali) and his son Bāṇa, whence it is called the Bāṇa family. The Bāṇa crest was a bull, the banner bore the emblem of a black buck and their drum was called *paśāca*².

References to the Bāṇas are made in inscriptions dating from very early times. The earliest mention is in the Talagunḍa inscription of the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman (430-450 A.D.) in which it is said that Mayūrasarman, the first Kadamba king (345-370 A.D.) was helped by an ally of his called "Bṛhad Bāṇa" in his fight with the Pallavas in the forests of Śrī Parvata and that he levied tribute from this "Bṛhad Bāṇa" as well as from other kings³. It would appear that the territory of this "Bṛhad Bāṇa" was very near Śrī Parvata, i.e., the present Śrīśailam in the Kurnool district.

From the Mallohalli plates⁴ we learn that the progenitor of the Gaṅga line, the illustrious Koṅgaṇivarman (425-450 A.D.) was "a wild fire in consuming the stubble of the forest Bāṇa", while the Hastimalla plates⁵ state that the Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇi (Koṅgaṇivarman) was "consecrated to conquer the Bāṇa-maṇḍala". In the Devarhalli plates⁶ it is narrated that the "Bāṇa-kula" was confounded by "the Nirguṇḍa Yuvarāja Duṇḍu".

The term "Bṛhad Bāṇa" in the Talagunḍa inscription corresponds to the Tamil term *Perum-Bāṇa* of the territorial term *Perum-bāṇaṣṣāḍi*. It was by the latter term that the Bāṇa dominions were denoted. This takes us to the question what exactly the Bāṇa capital was and where the Bāṇa territory was located.

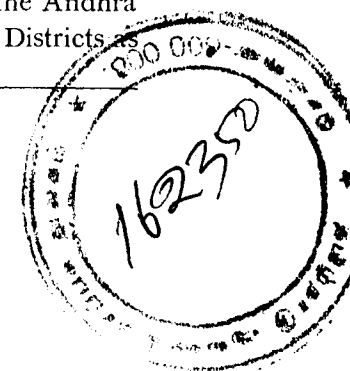
According to tradition the Bāṇa capital was known as *Parivipuri*, whose other forms were *Praṣmī*, *Parvipura*, *Parivai*,

1. M. E. R., 1919, p. 98, para 21.
2. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 388.
3. E. I., VIII, p. 30.
4. I. A., V, 136.
5. E. C. X, IV.
6. I. A., II, 156.

Parvai, *Parvi*, *Parivaiṣura*, *Parvipurī* and *Parigipura*. Indeed the last term, *Parigipura*, has led the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya to identify it with Parigi in the Hindupur Taluk of the Anantapur District¹. The claim of Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District for the Bāṇa capital, inasmuch as it was also known by the appellation *Vāṇaṣṣuram*, is easily explained by him as merely meaning that Tiruvallam was one of the important towns, if not the capital, of the Bāṇa territory. Long after the Bāṇas had ceased to rule, their scion, wherever they were, claimed to be lords of *Parivipura* and of *Nandagiri*, another equally important place. *Nandagiri* is the present Nandi-drug in the Chikballapur Taluk, Kolar District, Mysore. The fact that most of the inscriptions of the Bāṇas have been found in the Arcot, Kolar, Anantapur, and Kurnool districts makes one believe that the term *Perumbāṇaṣṣāḍi* which denoted the Bāṇa territory was applied to the large tract of territory with Śrīśailam in the north, Kolar and Puṇḡanūr in the west, Kālahasti in the east and the river Pālār in the south. In the north they appear to have been the governors of the Pallava territory till the latter were driven down by the western Cālukyas in the latter part of the 6th century A.D. And when the Cālukyas became powerful they transferred their allegiance to them. They are often heard of as participating in petty cattle-raids and skirmishes. Sometimes they are actually seen participating in frontier wars².

The Bāṇa territory was also known as *Vaḍugavali-mēṛku*, *vaḍugavaliyīṇ-mēṛku*, *Vaḍugavali* 12000, and also in Sanskrit as *Āndhrāt paṭhaḥ paścimato kṣitih*, i.e., "the land to the west of the Āndhra road or of the country called Āndhrāpatha". *Vaḍugavali-mēṛku*, is a Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit form used here. The Vaḍugas are taken to be Kanarese by some³, but it is more reasonable to take them to be the Telugus to whom the name is more commonly applied by the Tamils. Venkayya identifies *Vaḍugar-mēṛku* with a portion of the modern Ceded Districts, which alone would strictly be situated to the west of the Āndhra country⁴. Even to-day the Telugus regard the Ceded Districts

1. E. I., xi, p. 231.
2. *Ibid.* p. 230.
3. M. E. R., 1915, Part II, para 36.
4. E. I., xi, p. 231.



situated to the west of the Āndhra country. Venkayya's identification is strengthened by the fact that "the Pallava dominions originally extended into the Ceded Districts and that the Bāṇas were also ruling some frontier province in that part of the country during the time of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman". The rise of the western Cālukya power in the 7th century acted as a check not only to the Pallava power in the Telugu country but also to that of the local Bāṇas who appear to have guarded the Pallava territories there. Consequently the Bāṇas, as Venkayya supposes, were forced into the northern portion of the North Arcot district¹.

The Bāṇas and the Cālukyas.

We have already seen that Śrīśailam was in the vicinity, if not the actual seat of the territory of "Bṛhad Bāṇa", a contemporary of Mayūraśarman. And we know that Śrīśailam is in the Kurnool district, one of the Ceded Districts and that on its southern border lies Gooty. It was in the Gooty province that the earliest known inscriptions, one of them dated, of the Bāṇas were discovered in 1920². All the three inscriptions are the records of the western Cālukya king Vijayāditya Satyāśraya Prthivīvallabha who ruled from 696 to 733-34 A. D. The first two (nos. 333 and 343) are in archaic Kanarese while the third (no. 359) is in archaic Telugu. These three inscriptions are from different places in the Gooty Taluk of the Anantapur District. The first record (no. 333) registers a grant of land made by Vikramāditya, while Bāṇarāja was ruling over the *Turamara-Viṣaya*. The second inscription (no. 343) records the gift of the village of Nāḍanūru and certain taxes in the country of Bāṇarāja. The third inscription (no. 359), which is an important record, is assigned to the same Vijayāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Prthivīvallabha and is written in Telugu. It refers to a fight between the governors of *Turamara-Viṣaya* belonging to Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, son of Balikulatilaka Narasiṃha Bāṇādhirāja and the lords of Puḷagicheṇuvu. Being dated in the 23rd regnal year of Vijayāditya it may be assigned to 719-720 A. D. In the fight referred to in this record it appears that the rulers of the *Turamara-Viṣaya* were defeated by the chief Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, son of Narasiṃha Bāṇādhirāja, who acted on behalf of the king, Vijayāditya. We

also learn that Vinayāditya, the father of Vijayāditya of the present record, had encamped in 692 A. D. at a village called Citrasēḍu in the *Toramara-Viṣaya*¹. Citrasēḍu is the modern Chitrasēḍu in the Gooty Taluk and *Toramara-Viṣaya* is certainly the *Turamara-Viṣaya* of the record under discussion. The country now covered by the Gooty Taluk should have formed the ancient *Turamara-Viṣaya*, which about 719-20 A.D., the date of the present record, was governed by a Bāṇa chief, Vikramāditya Bali Indra, in the name of the western Cālukya Vijayāditya Satyāśraya. "The mention of a fight with the rulers of this Viṣaya in the time of Vijayāditya suggests clearly that this part of the country was invaded by enemies (probably the Pallavas or their feudatories from the south-east of it) some time between 692 and 720 A.D. and temporarily occupied by them. The Bāṇa chiefs mentioned above, governed this territory as vassals of the western Cālukya kings as shown by other inscriptions"². And Vikramāditya Bali Indra probably owed his *alias* "Vikramāditya" to the fact that he was a feudatory of the western Cālukyas, the grand-father of Vijayāditya being Vikramāditya.

The Bāṇas and the Pallavas.

In the following century we find the Bāṇas changing their allegiance to the Pallavas and moving down from the Gooty tract to the northern part of the modern North Arcot District. Most of their inscriptions of this period are found in the present Chittoor region. For a long time the chronology of these Pallava feudatories was almost obscure. But to-day it is no longer possible to complain of dearth of materials. The information given by the Guḍimallam plates of the Bāṇa Vikramāditya II, when combined with the information found in other records such as the Udayēndiram plates of Vikramāditya III, five Bāṇa inscriptions (stone) from Guḍimallam, Gūlgānpode stone inscriptions and the Muḍiyanūr plates gives us a connected genealogy of these Bāṇas as indicated in the following table:—

1. E. I, xi, p. 231.

2. M. E. R., 1920, nos. 333, 343 and 359.

1. Bombay Gaz., vol. I, part II, p. 369.

2. M. E. R., 1921, p. 87, para 2.

Guḍimallam plates (E. I. xvii, pp. 1-7)	Udayēndīram plates (E. I. iii, pp. 74-79)	Five Bāṇa inscriptions (stone) from Guḍimallam (E. I, XI, pp. 222-229)	Gūlgānpode inscriptions (stone) (I.A., x, pp. 36-40)	Muḍiyānūr plates (I. A., xv, pp. 172- 175 & E.C. x, IV).
Virōcana. Bali.	Bali. Bāṇa. Bāṇādhīrāja.			Mahābali.
Nandivarman. Vijayāditya (I) Malladēva.	Jayanandivarman. Vijayāditya (I) Malladēva <i>alias</i> Jagadēkamalla.	Vijayāditya Mahāvali Vāṇa- rāya, feudat of Dantivarman (no. B.)		Nandivarman. Vijayāditya-dēva. Vadhūvallaḥha Mal- lidēva Nandivar- man.
Vikramāditya (I) Jayamēru. Vijayāditya (II) Prabhumēru. Vikramādityavar- man (II) (heir-apparent)	Bāṇavidyādhara. Prabhumērudēva Vikramāditya (II) Vijayāditya (II) Pugalvippavar- gaṇḍa. Vijayabāhu Vikra- māditya (III) (denot)	Vikramāditya Vāṇavidyā- dhara Māvali Vāṇarāya, feu- dal of Nandivarman III & Nripātunga (nos. A & C). Vijayāditya Mahābali Vāṇa- rāya (nos. D & E).	Vikramāditya Jayamēru Bāṇavidyādhara Śrī Mahāvali Bāṇarasa (no. II). Mahāvali Bāṇarasa Pra- bhumēru (no. I).	

Leaving aside the mythical personages in the Bāṇa genealogy we get the following historical persons who were occupying the North Arcot district between roughly 700 to 970 A.D., most of them being feudatories of the later Pallavas beginning with Nandivarman Pallavamalla :—

1. Nandivarman or Jayanandivarman.
2. Vijayāditya-Dēva I.
3. Malladēva *alias* Jagadēkamalla.
4. Jayamēru Vikramāditya I Bāṇavidyādhara.
5. Prabhumēru Vijayāditya II.
6. Vikramāditya II.
7. Vijayāditya III Pugalvippavargaṇḍa.
8. Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III.

Luckily we have ample materials in the shape of inscriptions regarding the above 8 persons.

1. *Nandivarman* or *Jayanandivarman*—Should have received this name as being a feudatory of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. From an inscription dated in the 62nd regnal year of Nandivikramavarman we learn that the Pallava king of that name had an unnamed Māvali-Vāṇarāya as his feudatory¹. Though Venkayya has identified this Pallava with Nandivarman III, the son of Dantivarman², it is clear, in the present state of our knowledge of Pallava history, that the long reign extending to 65 years with which Nandivarman Pallavamalla is associated would warrant the Nandivikramavarman of the inscription under discussion being identified with Nandivarman Pallavamalla (714-778 A.D.).

2. *Vijayāditya-dēva I*—was a feudatory of Dantivarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla as is evident from one of the Guḍimallam inscriptions³ dated in the 49th regnal year of Dantivarman (778-829 A.D.). In this, a Bāṇa chief, Vijayāditya Mahāvali Vāṇarāya is said to be a feudatory of Dantivarman.

1. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 91.
2. E. I., xi, p. 234.
3. *Ibid.* p. 225, B.

3. *Malladēva*.—We know of this chief from an inscription¹, and from the Muḍiyanūr plates professing to be dated in the Śaka year 261 (338 A.D.) and consequently declared spurious. If we discard the date furnished by the latter plates there seems to be no objection to admit its evidence. The plates say that Nandivarman was of the Mahābali race and that he was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya-dēva, who was succeeded by Malladēva who bore the titles *Vadhūvallabha* and Nandivarman, and resembled the Bodhisattva—"a very uncommon and ancient looking allusion". If we admit the evidence furnished by these spurious plates we have to admit two things, that he bore the title *Vadhūvallabha* and that he took on himself the name Nandivarman to mark his subjection to the Pallava Nandivarman, who in this case is surely Nandivarman III, (829-853 A. D.) the son of Dantivarman.

4. *Jayamēru Vikramāditya I Bāṇavidyādhara*.—This chief, who was also a Pallava feudatory, entered, however, into a matrimonial alliance with the Gāṅgas. He married Kundavvai, the daughter of Pratipati-Araiyar, i. e., of the Gāṅga king Prthvīpati I², who was a contemporary of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Amōghavarṣa I and of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa³. There are three inscriptions speaking of his connection with the Pallavas, thereby corroborating the evidence with regard to his date furnished by the Gāṅga alliance alluded to above. If the Gāṅga alliance indicated that this Bāṇa should be assigned to the third quarter of the ninth century the inscriptions speaking of his connection with the Pallavas prove this point. Of the three inscriptions, two are of Nandivarman III and the third of Nṛpatuṅga. The first which is dated in the 17th regnal year of Nandivikramavarman⁴ speaks of a Vikramāditya Māvali Vāṇarāya as a feudatory of the Pallava king. The second speaks of the same Bāṇa chief and is dated in the 23rd year of Nandippōttaraiyar, who is identified with Nandivarman III (829-853 A. D.). The third inscription is dated in the 24th year of Nṛpatuṅga (853-879 A. D.), the son and successor of Nandivarman III and speaks of a Vāṇavidyādhara Mahābali

Vāṇarāya, who can be identified with this Bāṇa chief¹. This inscription contains the usual *praśasti* attendant on almost every Bāṇa inscription, viz., *sakalajagat-trayābhīrandita-surāsūradhīśa-Paramēśvara-pratihārīkṛta-Mahābalikulōdbhava*, from which we learn that Mahābali, the progenitor of the Bāṇa race was made door-keeper by Paramēśvara (Śiva). It also contains the reference to the Bāṇa territory by the term *Vaḍugavalīyīm-mēṛku*.

5. *Prabhumēru Vijayāditya II*.—He is referred to in an inscription² as the son of Vāṇavidyādhara and his queen Mahādēvi-Aḍigaḷ alias Māraka-maḍigaḷ. This inscription being dated in Śaka 820 (898 A. D.) and containing no reference to the Pallavas proves that by Śaka 820 the Bāṇas had no masters and that our Vijayāditya was not a Pallava feudatory but an independent king. Fortunately for him he lived at a time when the Pallava power had almost waned. To denote his independence his records are dated in Śaka years. One, as we have seen was dated in Śaka 820. Another is dated Śaka 827 (905 A.D.)³ and is a record of a Bāṇa called Vijayāditya Vāṇarāya who is identical with Vijayāditya II. A few inscriptions discovered in the Punganūr Zamindari of the North Arcot District make mention of Mahāvali--Bāṇarasa--Vikramāditya--Bāṇakandarpa--Jayamēru, Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-Bāṇavidyādhara, and Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-Vijayāditya-Vīracūḷāmaṇi-Prabhumēru. The third Bāṇa in the list can be identified with Prabhumēru Vijayāditya II, while the first two are identical with Vijayāditya II's father, Jayamēru Vikramāditya I Bāṇavidyādhara. From these inscriptions we also learn that Vijayāditya II had the title '*vīracūḷāmaṇi*'. One of these inscriptions speaks of a battle fought at Sōremaṭi, to capture which Vijayāditya II, or more probably his father allied with the Vaidumba king Gaṇḍa Trinētra and opposed on behalf of the Permanaḍi (i. e., the western Gāṅga king) the Nolamba king (Vīra-Mahēndra?), and Rācamalla and Mayindadi⁴. A Bāṇa bearing the title "*vīracūḷāmaṇi*" and therefore identical with Vijayāditya II, is said to have repelled a raid made on Kōyaṭūr i. e., Laḍḍigam in the Punganūr Zamindari, by Kāḍuvaṭṭi-Muttarasa, a general of a Nolamba (Vīra-Mahēndra?). The fight with

1. M. E. R., 1905, no. 301.

2. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 99.

3. E. I., xvii, p. 3.

4. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 94.

1. E. I., xi, p. 226.

2. *Ibid.* p. 227, D.

3. *Ibid.* p. 228, E.

4. *Ibid.* p. 235.

Kāḍuvattī-Muttarasa is attested to by one of the Gūlgānpode inscriptions, in which it is stated that "by order of Prabhumēru, a hero fought against the Kāḍuvattī force"¹. The title Prabhumēru in this inscription removes all doubts on the point and proves that the raid on Kōyaṭūr was indeed made in the reign of Vijayāditya II.²

Vijayāditya II appears to have ruled till 910 A.D. An inscription from Maṇigaṭṭa-Gollarahalli³ attests to a Bāṇa called Bejeyitta (Vijayāditya)—Bāṇarasa, who is none other than Vijayāditya II, ruling in Śaka 811 (909 A.D.). The next year, however, Śaka 832 (910 A. D.) witnesses his death as is proved by an inscription in Tamil found on a hero-stone from Cendattūr recording the death of Māvali-Vāṇarāyar *alias* Kudiparitaṇḍikkāmaṇār, whom I identify with our Bāṇa, in a cattle-raid at Cendattūr⁴.

The Bāṇas and the Cōḷas.

6. *Vikramāditya*.—How long he ruled, it is not easy to ascertain. But it was during his reign that the Bāṇas lost the little independence that they had got in the reign of Jayamēru Vikramāditya I. The Cōḷa Vira-Nārāyaṇa Parāntaka I (907-952—3 A.D.) is said to have suddenly "uprooted by force two lords of the Bāṇa kings"⁵. Though we are in the dark as to who the two Bāṇas were that were uprooted and whether they were uprooted simultaneously or in succession, we learn from other sources that the Cōḷa Parāntaka I conquered the Bāṇa kingdom (probably only a part of it) and made it over to his Gāṇga feudatory Pṛthivīpati II Hastimalla in or before A.D. 915-16⁶, and that the recipient was called Śembiyaṇ Māvalivāṇarāyan, *i.e.*, "the Mahā-valivāṇarāja (who was a feudatory) of the Cōḷa king"⁷.

1. E. I., xi, p. 235.

2. I have said here very little of the connection between the Bāṇas and the Nolambas as my friend, Mr. M. S. Sarma, who has much specialised knowledge on this point, will shortly be publishing an article on this.

3. E. C., x, Kolar, Mb. 229.

4. M. E. R., 1921, no. 168.

5. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 387, verse 9.

6. E. I., xi, p. 238, 2n.

7. S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 389.

7. *Vijayāditya III Pugalviṣṭavarganḍa*.—The title *Pugalviṣṭavarganḍa* that he bore was also borne by a brother-in-law of the Cōḷa prince Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka I, who was killed in the battle of Takkōlam in 949 A. D. by Būtuga, the western Gāṇga feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. This Bāṇa appears to have been a contemporary of Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariṇjaya, the sons of Parāntaka I. We hear of a daughter of Ariṇjaya and sister of Rājakesarivarman Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II (950-966 A.D.) being given in marriage to a Bāṇa king.¹

8. *Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III*.—According to the Udayēndiram plates this chief was a friend of Kṛṣṇa-rāja. Dr. Hultzsch has identified the Kṛṣṇa-rāja with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (about A. D. 950) of whom we know from other sources that he made extensive invasions of the south. The reason for the Bāṇa chief calling himself the "dear friend of Kṛṣṇa" (*Kṛṣṇarāja-priyaḥ*) is not far to seek. We know already that the Cōḷa Parāntaka I gave a part of the Bāṇa kingdom to his Gāṇga feudatory Pṛthivīpati II, who was also the recipient of the titles "Śembiyaṇ Māvalivāṇarāyan" and "Bāṇādhirāja" at the hands of his kind lord. This Bāṇādhirāja was therefore a temporary usurper and a predecessor of our Bāṇa chief. He was indeed the Cōḷa king's candidate for the Bāṇa throne, while Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III, the legitimate ruler of the Bāṇa throne, was the protégé of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.²

It has been supposed that the history of the Bāṇas came almost to an abrupt end with the conquest of the *Perumbāṇappāḍi* by Parāntaka I and its transference to the Gāṇga Pṛthivīpati II Hastimalla in about 915-6 A. D. This was however not the case for we learn that soon after 915-6 A. D. the Bāṇas seem to have moved further south, crossed the river Pālār which was till then the southern boundary of the *Perumbāṇappāḍi* and settled down on the banks of the river South Pennār (*Pinākinī*) calling the new colony *Vāṇakōppāḍi* or *Vāṇagappāḍi*.³ Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III appears to have ruled till about 969 A. D. In an inscription of the Cōḷa Āditya II Karikāla (966-970 A. D.) a certain Vāṇakōvaraiyar Vīraparumar is referred to, who is ostensibly identical with Vikramāditya III⁴.

1. M. E. R., 1911, no. 215.

2. E. I., xvii, p. 3.

3. M. E. R., 1906-7, part II, para 46; E. I., xi, p. 238.

4. *Ibid.* 1906, no. 109.

The province of *Vāṇagappāḍi* appears to have come into existence as such prior to 949 A. D.¹ and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (about 950 A.D.) appears to have given it to a Vaidumba feudatory of his. Another feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III, the Gāṅga Prṥthvi-Gaṅgaraiyar (who was different and later than the Prṥthivīpati who was a contemporary of the Cōḷa Parāntaka I) was an ally of the Bāṇas as is evident from his espousing the daughter of a Vāṇakōvaraiyar. It is not clear why the Bāṇa territory should have been apportioned to the Vaidumba by Kṛṣṇa III, "the dear friend" of Vikramāditya III or why a Gāṅga should espouse a Bāṇa lady unless it be that the protégé of the Cōḷa Parāntaka I was the person defeated by Kṛṣṇa III and his territory (*i. e.*, a part of the kingdom that was given to him by Parāntaka I) was the province handed over to the Vaidumba feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III. The Bāṇa lady that was espoused by the Gāṅga should then be of the main legitimate line, to which Vikramāditya III belonged and whom Kṛṣṇa III was bent on restoring to his legitimate throne. Kṛṣṇa III should have helped Vikramāditya III along with the Gāṅga feudatory against the Cōḷa protégé and the result was a grateful matrimonial alliance between the Bāṇa and the Gāṅga. We have no doubt that Vikramāditya III was almost a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III just like the Vaidumba, the Gāṅga and other feudatories of the latter. And Kṛṣṇa, the mighty invader of the south as he was, appears to have united these minor powers by marriage ties and the like so that they can help him against the imperial power of the south, the Cōḷa.

The subsequent history of the Bāṇas under the Cōḷas is meagre and almost fragmentary. With the advent of Rājarāja I (985-1014 A. D.) they appear to have become feudatories of the Cōḷas. Though a Bāṇa called Vāṇarāja Aḷagumaiyan is mentioned in an inscription of Pārthivendravarman from Tirumāl-puram it is not clear if he had become a feudatory of the latter, who preceded Rājarāja I by perhaps a few years.² But of their subjection to Rājarāja I we have proof, for in an inscription from Jambai in the South Arcot district³ a Bāṇa with the usual Bāṇa titles and named Maṇavan Narasiṃhavarman *alias* Rāja-

rāja-Vāṇa-Kōvaraiyar is mentioned as a feudatory of Rājarāja. The fact that the Bāṇa here has adopted the name of Rājarāja as his *alias*, in accordance with the Bāṇa custom, proves our point. About this Bāṇa we have it that he built a tank at Nerkuṇṇam (Vayiramēga—Caturvēdimāṅgalam).

In the time of Rājendra Cōḷa I (1012—1044 A. D.), the son and successor of Rājarāja I, we find that the Bāṇa territory (*Vāṇagappāḍi* or *Vaḍagarai-Vāṇagappāḍi*) was called Madhurāntaka-vaḷanāḍu. This is strictly in accordance with the Cōḷa custom of naming places under their subjection with their own names and titles. And in the time of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120 A. D.) it was called Rājendra-vaḷanāḍu¹. Kulōttuṅga did not stop there. He named his throne at Muḍigonḍaśola-puram Vāṇādhirājaṇ². The Bāṇas appear to have taken service under the Cōḷas. Thus for instance Kulōttuṅga I counted among his officers a Vāṇarājaṇ, and his son Vikrama-Cōḷa (1118-1135 A. D.) had two, a Mahābali-Vāṇarāja and a Virudarājabhayaṅkara-Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ.³ Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1216 A. D.) had a Bāṇa feudatory who was called Rājarājadēvaṇ Ponparappiṇāṇ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ of Ārkaḷūr, who is however different from his namesake who was a feudatory of Kō-Peruñjiṅgadēva (1243 A.D.), for the latter, though also a Ponparappiṇa-jiṅgadēva, has been identified by Venkayya with Magadēśaṇ Vāṇakulōttamaṇ and Vīramāgadan Rājarājadēvaṇ Ponparappiṇāṇ Magadaipperumāl mentioned in inscriptions from the South Arcot district and Kuḍimiyāmalai in the Pudukottah state. The fact that he bears the *alias* Rājarājadēvaṇ shows his subjection to the Cōḷa, for we know that Kulōttuṅga's son was Rājarāja III.

As regards the Bāṇa feudatory of Kō-Peruñjiṅgadēva, we have inscriptions of his in the South Arcot district and the Pudukottah state. His title Magadēśaṇ or Magadaipperumāl has come for some discussion at the hands of Dr. Hultzsch and Venkayya. Both connect the Magadai-maṇḍalam referred to in one of the inscriptions of the above chief⁴ with the Makara or Magara kingdom that the Hoysala Narasiṃha II is said to have

1. E. I., xi, p. 239.

2. *Ibid.*

3. M. E. R. 1906, No. 86.

1. M. E. R., 1906-7, Part II, para 46.

2. *Ibid.* 1910, Nos. 93—96.

3. E. I., xi, p. 239, 7n.

4. M. E. R., 1903, No. 10.

conquered. While Dr. Hultzsch locates the Magara in the Coimbatore or Salem district, Venkayya places it between South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts. His remarks are as follows:— "At Tittagudi on the border between the districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot has been found an epigraph of Magadēśaṃ Poṇṇarappiṇa Vāṇakōvadaraiyar recording the gift of a village in Magadai-maṇḍalam. Three other records from the same village show that the district of Magadai should have been close to the village, if it was not actually included in it. It would not be an altogether wild conjecture to suppose that Mahara, Makara and Magara of the Hoysala inscriptions is identical with the Magadai-maṇḍalam ruled over by the Vāṇakōvadaraiyar - - - mentioned - - -. If this identification be true, it would indicate the movement of the Bāṇas further south as far as the Pudukkottai state. The chief of this province who was evidently a feudatory of the rebel Peruṇjiṅga had to be overcome before the latter could be attacked by the Hoysala generals commissioned to liberate the Cōla king Rājarāja III from captivity.¹ When the Bāṇas become feudatories of Kō-Peruṇjiṅga, their action only means that they show their usual spirit of restlessness already alluded to and make a bid for independence by making common cause with the rebel chief against the Cōla Rājarāja III, especially when the Cōla power was waning.

The Bāṇas and the Pāṇḍyas

When Cōla power fell in about 1250 A. D. and the Pāṇḍyas came to rule the land, the Bāṇas found again to their dismay that they had now Master Pāṇḍya instead of Master Cōla, for we learn from Pāṇḍya inscriptions that the Bāṇas had become now Pāṇḍya feudatories.²

Most of them held office under the Pāṇḍya sovereigns in the 13th and the 14th centuries A. D. From a few inscriptions of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. A. D. 1251 A. D.) from Chidambaram³ we learn that he "inflicted a severe defeat on the Telungas at Mudugur, slaughtering them and their allies, the Āryas, right up to the bank of the Pērāru and driving the Bāṇa chief into the forest"⁴. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri

1. E. I. xi, p. 240.

2. *Ibid.*

3. M. E. R., 1913, Nos. 332, 340 and 361.

4. *Ibid.* 1914, part II, para 18.

takes this campaign of Sundara Pāṇḍya to have taken place some time before 1260 A. D., the enemy against whom the campaign was primarily directed being Gaṇḍagōpāla, a Telugu-Cōda ruler, who was perhaps helped by the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati and the Bāṇa chieftain who is said to have been "driven into the forest." Who this Bāṇa chief was is not clear.

There are references in the records of Kulaśekhara (acc. A. D. 1268) and his contemporary Vira Pāṇḍya to a number of chieftains with names ending in Vāṇādirāyaṇ or Māvali Vāṇādirāyaṇ, who were in charge of the administration of portions of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. In later times these chieftains took advantage of the rivalry among the Pāṇḍyan princes and the consequent weakness of the central government to bid for freedom and to "restrict the actual rule of the later Pāṇḍyas to the Tinnevely district." So long as they were under the Pāṇḍya subjection they seem to have been employing the names of the ruling kings and the princes as their *aliases*. This becomes also apparent from the fact that their Pāṇḍya suzerains referred to them in terms evincing paternal interest like *piḷḷai*, *makkaḷ* etc.

From the records of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. 1251 A. D.) we get the name of a Bāṇa feudatory called Parākrama Pāṇḍya Mābeli Vāṇādirāya *alias* Pāvanaṅgakāra.¹ He was also called Makkanāyanār. Another Bāṇa chieftain of the name Vikrama Pāṇḍya Mahābali Vāṇarāya-Nāyanār has been assigned to this period.² Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya (acc. 1253 A. D.) had in his service a Mābeli-Vāṇarāyar whom he calls Piḷḷai Kulaśekhara. The term Kulaśekhara, as we have seen, was a mark of subjection of the Bāṇa to the Pāṇḍya ruler, while the term Piḷḷai was a mark of almost parental interest that the said Pāṇḍya ruler had for his subordinate officer. The term Kulaśekhara associated with the name of this Bāṇa leads one to identify this Bāṇa with a Piḷḷai Mābali-Vāṇarāyar, who was serving Māravarman Kulaśekhara (acc. A. D. 1268) as the latter's governor of the province of Kōṇāḍu, which formed part of the present Pudukkottah state. Another Bāṇa officer of both Sundara Pāṇḍya and Māravarman Kulaśekhara was entrusted with the province of Kēraḷaśiṅga-Vaḷanāḍu, which has been identified with a portion of the present Ramnad district, and this Bāṇa appears to have

1. M. E. R., 1916, part II, para 28.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 187.

enjoyed the governorship of this province from about 1251 A. D. to 1292 A. D.

When, in the second half of the 14th century the Pāṇḍya power had waned and the Pāṇḍyas themselves were forced to loose Madura and had to content themselves with their southernmost possessions in the Tinnevely district, we find the Bāṇas asserting themselves. It appears that Kampana, the Vijayanagara viceroy, was assisted by the Bāṇarāya chieftains in his final conquest of Madura, the Pāṇḍya capital, "and these quondam feudatories of the Pāṇḍya kings doubtless had an interest in thus restricting the range of Pāṇḍya power." It appears that these Bāṇa chieftains had an easy time under the Vijayanagara monarchs and had vast opportunities to rise to prominence.

It has not been possible to identify the Bāṇa that is said to be the author of *Trivikrama-ṛitī*, a Prākṛt grammar, though we have got the information that he claims himself to be a descendant of the Bāṇa family and had the name Trivikramadēva, whence the name of the work. But this much is clear, that he was a Bāṇa chieftain of the 15th century.¹

Two Bāṇa chieftains, one named Sundara Toḷ Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar, and the other Muttarasa Tirumalai Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar were first noted by Sewell, who remarks that they were rulers of Madura in the period 1451-1499 A. D.² The subsequently discovered inscriptions at Srivilliputtūr in the Tinnevely district record that these two Bāṇas "obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya throne in 1453 and 1476" and that they were popularly known as "Mahāvali Vāṇādhirāja".³

From a few inscriptions from different places in the Madura district⁴ we get some detail about two Bāṇas that were powerful in the country in the 16th century A. D. The earlier of the two was one Mahābali-Vāṇādhārāya-Nāyaka. The other that followed him was Sundarattōḷ-Uḍaiyār Māvali-Vāṇādarāyar also known as Sundarattōḷuḍaiya Mahābali-Vāṇādarāyar or more simply Māvali Vāṇādarāyar. He bears the qualification *iṇḍakālam eḍuttai. i. e.*, "who revived the past." This epithet is best explained by Venkayya as suggesting that the said Bāṇa was responsible for

the re-establishment of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, and it would appear as though he is cautioning us not to rely too much on this expression when he follows his translation of the expression with the following remarks:—

"This may be taken to show that he took some part in the attempt made by the contemporaneous Pāṇḍya princes Śrīvallabha and Kulaśēkhara to set up a show of Pāṇḍya sovereignty".¹

We have thus seen that the study of the history of the Bāṇas has been the study of "the movement of a tribe from one part of Southern India to another."

[*Note.*—It was remarked on page 302 *ante* (lines 19 and 20) that all the three inscriptions, Nos. 333, 343 and 359 of 1920 belong to Vijayāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Prṥhivīvallabha (A. D. 696-734.) Though, in No. 343 the name Vijayāditya does not occur. The ascription of this record to the same king is based upon the presence of the birudas Satyāśraya Śrī Prṥhivīvallabha in the said record.]

1. E. C., x, VIII.

2. Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, ii, p. 223.

3. I. A., xv, p. 173; E. C., x, VIII.

4. M. E. R., 1902, Nos. 585 & 587; 1903, Nos. 109, 113, 121.

1. E. I. xi, p. 240.

MĀDHAVA: AN UNKNOWN BHĀṢYAKĀRA FOR
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There is the Bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda called the Vedārtha-prakāśa by Sāyaṇa Mādhava. It is called the Mādhaviya Vedārtha-prakāśa as well. In this Bhāṣya, Sāyaṇa refers to a Mādhava Bhaṭṭa¹, who has been now identified with Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya². There is a third Mādhava, who is the son of Nārāyaṇa Sūri and who has written a Bhāṣya on the Sāmaveda.³ Besides these three Mādhavas, there is a fourth Mādhava who has written a commentary on the Ṛgveda. So far as I know there is only one manuscript of this work available and that is now in the possession of the Adyar Library. It is numbered XIX L. 52.

It is an old palm leaf manuscript, written in Grantha characters. The writing is legible, but the manuscript is worm-eaten in parts. It contains 87 folia each folio is about 18 inches long and 1½ inch wide, with an average of 8 lines a side, each line containing an average of 2½ Granthas. Thus the total extent is about 3500 Granthas. The manuscript is complete for the first Aṣṭaka.

The work opens :

ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

1. सारभूता सुसंग्रहा

2. द्वादशयनुक्रमणिका

3. क्रियते संहिता समाम्

4. पदक्रमः स्वरः पादः

5. देवं सु ति....भक्तयः

6. देशान्देशान्तराणि समयः

7. उपाया दश....

1. R. V. X, 86, 1.

2. Government Oriental Mss. Library, R. 3076, 3703, and Adyar Library 38 D. 15, Mysore Catalogue of 1900 No. 2; T. S. S. xcvi.

3. Mss. are available at Bodlein, Berlin, Calcutta Sanskrit College, Bikaner.

There are thus six anuṣṭup lines (though defective in some lines) and a fragment of the seventh line. There must be one more line to make up two anuṣṭup stanzas. There is no lacuna between the lines in the manuscript, and it is not possible to fix the exact position of the missing pāda. It is very likely that the first pāda is

ओं नमो वासुदेवाय ।

This is found to be the first pāda in his Anukramaṇis. His Ākhyātānukramaṇi opens:

ओं नमो वासुदेवाय धातवो नामयोनयः ।

The last line may be:

उपाया दश कीर्तिताः

In the second pāda extracted above there is a reference to Dvādaśī Anukramaṇi. And in the last 4 pādas the names of some of the Anukramaṇis are given; and in the last line there is the word दश.

The Anukramaṇis are :

(1) पदक्रम (2) स्वर (3) पाद (4) दैव or देवता (5) सुप् (6) तिङ् (7) उपसर्ग (8) समय ।

सु in the fifth line must be for सुप्, and ति... must be तिङ् देशान्देशान्तराणि must be a mistake. It can be only देशान्तराणि as the metre shows.

In the body of the Bhāṣya, so far as it is available, he mentions the following Anukramaṇis of his :

(1) स्वर (2) छन्दस् (3) निपात (4) विभक्ति (सुप् and तिङ्) (5) समय (6) इतिहास ।

I give below the complete list of references to his Anukramaṇis, which Mādhava gives in the available portion of his Bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda:

1. तत्र यथेत्यस्य अनुदात्तत्वमुपमार्थस्य भवति । प्रकारवचनस्य उदात्तता वक्तव्या । इति स्वरानुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्¹ ॥

1. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 25, 1.

2. तत्र एकान्याभ्याम् समर्थ्याम् अन्येकशब्दयोगे पूर्वाह्यातस्य उदात्तत्वे शाखान्तरे भवति । दाशतय्यां च अनुदात्तत्वमेव । यदान्यशब्दो न श्रूयते तदानीं विकल्पेन भवति । तत्सर्वं स्वरानुक्रमणामुक्तम्¹ ॥

3. नरेति चामन्त्रितम् अर्थस्वभावात् आयुदात्तम् इति स्वरानुक्रमणामुक्तम्² ॥

4. पश्यन् हिरण्यचक्रान् इति पादान्ते छन्दोऽनुक्रमणामुक्तमस्माभिः³ ॥

5. श्रुधीति पादान्तः । हवमित्येतदप्यन्वितम् ।.....

तत्र अर्धचर्मध्ये सन्देहे सति पादान्तनिर्णयहेतवः सर्वे छन्दोऽनुक्रमणामस्माभिरुक्ताः⁴ ॥

6. उपमार्थ्याः सम्प्रत्यर्थाश्च भवन्ति अनन्वितोपमार्थाः इति निपातानुक्रमणामस्माभिरुक्तम्⁵ ॥

7. इह वाक्यात्मकेषु येषु पदत्रेलायां हानोपादानं शाकल्यः करोति तत्कारणं समयानुक्रमणामुक्तम्⁶ ॥

8. अत्रावस्तेति अकारप्रक्षेपो न कृतः शाकल्येन । अस्ति हि चेदकारः प्रकृतिभावेन भवितव्यम् । अयं च न्यायः अन्तःपाद-लङ्लुङोः अकारप्रक्षेपे सर्वत्र अनुसन्धातव्यः । तत्र वक्तव्यं प्रपञ्चेन समयानुक्रमणामस्माभिरुक्तम्⁷ ॥

9. सर्वत्र निदानं समयानुक्रमणामुक्तम्⁸ ॥

10. अडागमकारणे हेतुः समयानुक्रमणामस्माभिरुक्तम्⁹ ॥

11. हानोपादानयुक्तः । तत्र कारणं समयानुक्रमणामुक्तम्¹⁰ ॥

12. ते मा इत्यादेः सार्वविभक्तिकत्वं विभक्त्यनुक्रमणामुक्तम्¹¹ ॥

13. यो न इति सार्वविभक्तिके इति विभक्त्यनुक्रमणामुक्तम्¹² ॥

1. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 30, 19.	7. " RV. i, 25, 19.
2. " RV. i, 117, 18.	8. " RV. i, 34, 4.
3. " RV. i, 89, 5.	9. " RV. i, 25, 1.
4. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 25, 13.	10. " " i, 31, 8.
5. " " i, 61, 8.	11. " " i, 30, 9.
6. " " i, 65, 1.	12. " " i, 36, 20.

14. अङ्गिर इत्यात्मन एवामन्त्रणम् । तच्च वाक्यात् पृथग्भूतम् । इति विभक्त्यनुक्रमणामुक्तम्¹ ॥

15. अयं च न्यायः सर्वत्रानुसन्धेयः । प्रपञ्चितं च विभक्त्यनुक्रमणामुक्तम्² ॥

16. शाख्यायनकोक्त इतिहासः अस्माभिरितिहासानुक्रमण्यां प्रपञ्चेनानुवर्णितः³ ॥

17. इतिहासानुक्रमणामुक्तः स इतिहासः⁴ ॥

18. कुर्म इति....नुक्रमणामस्माभिरुक्तम्⁵ ॥

Devarāja in his Nighaṇṭubhāṣya (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal) says that Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya wrote a Bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda, and he has also written a large number of Anukramanīs.⁶ In the body of the Nighaṇṭubhāṣya, he quotes very often from Mādhava. A large number of quotations are found in the newly discovered Bhāṣya of Mādhava, I give the following :—

1. Mādhava :

विवस्वान् । आदित्यश्चेदायुदात्तः⁷ ॥

Devarāja :

विवस्वच्छब्द आदित्यत्राच्यायुदात्तः । अन्यत्र मनुष्यविशेषे यजमाने द्वितीयाक्षरमुदात्तम् । इति माधवः⁸ ॥

2. Mādhava :

फलभेदनकर्मापि । भिन्....⁹ ॥

Devarāja :

माधवस्तु फलभेदनकर्मापि । भिन्दन् गच्छति फलसंयुक्तो गच्छतीति वा इति निरवोचत्¹⁰ ॥

3. Mādhava :

इष्टिशब्दः हविर्यज्ञ आयुदात्तः । यज्ञमात्रे अन्तोदात्तः¹¹ ॥

1. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 112, 18.	Edition.
2. " " i, 53, 7.	7. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 31, 3.
3. " " i, 84, 14.	8. p. 187.
4. " " i, 116, 12.	9. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 62-4.
5. " " i, 25, 3.	10. p. 67.
6. p. 4. Bibliotheca Indian	11. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 30, 12.

Devarāja :

इष्टिशब्दः हविर्यज्ञ आयुदात्तः । यज्ञमात्रे अन्तोदात्त इति
माधवः¹ ॥

From this it is certain that Devarāja is quoting from this Vedabhāṣya, and also from the Anukramanī written by this Mādhava. It is true that there are quotations from the other Mādhavas already known.

About the new Mādhava, we know that his name is Mādhava² and that he belongs to the village designated Gomati³. I give below all the colophons found at the end of the various Adhyāyas in the first Aṣṭaka.

1. निपुणमतिषु धर्मस्ते युगेऽस्मिन्न लभ्या
मदि....विदथ स्युर्हेत्व....स्ते भवन्ति ।
कृतथ च निरुक्तं जानते न चैतत्
कृतमतिरपि कश्चिद्वैदिको वाक्यवित् स्यात् ॥
2. इत्यध्यायं दाशतय्या द्वितीयं
ग्रामे ग्रामे जातो गोमतिर्व्याचकार ।
यस्मिन् विप्राः सोमपाः शीलवन्तो
यान्नास्पृक्षीन् स्वभावः कलेर्यः ॥
3. इत्थं निरुक्तः प्रथमाष्टकस्य
तृतीय आसीदनुवाक एषः ।
पश्यन्तु तं सूक्ष्मदृशो द्विजाग्रया
ये शाब्दिका ये च निरुक्तनिष्ठाः ॥
4. अथ मतिं गहनार्थो व्याकृतोऽध्याय इत्थं
नति....न...इह कश्चिद्दृश्यते मृग्यमाणः ।
कृतमपि तिर...देवादर्वुदे मानवः स्यात्
पुरुषमृगविधानं चाश्वमेधे हि मृष्टम् ॥
5. इत्यध्यायो व्याकृतो दाशतय्याः
शक्या सोम पञ्चमो माधवेन ।
भूयांसोऽस्मिन् संशयच्छेदनीयाः
ते निर्णयाः पण्डितैर्वाक्यविद्विः ॥

6. इन्द्रो मदायेत्यमभून्निरुक्तः
षष्ठोऽनुवाकः प्रथमाष्टकस्य ।
सूक्तानि चास्मिन्स्तु चतुर्दशासन्
पूर्वोऽनुवाकस्त्वधिकश्चतुर्भिः ॥
7.कर्माण्यृषिराह कुत्सः
कक्षीवदार्ये जेषिभिश्च तत्र ।
नासीत् प्रपञ्चः कथितस्तु येषां
बहुश्रुतास्तानि वदन्तु विप्राः ॥
8. धातः किं द्विज साधु तेन चरितं किं तद्विधायालं
किं ते तैः कृतमाहुरार्य इमे सूक्तं दुरुक्तं समम् ।
विस्पष्टं लिखितेषु तच्च सदृशं प्रज्ञाश्च दृष्टा
प....तादृशानहमिदं श्रेष्ठं निरुक्तं मया ॥

This Mādhava is different from Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya, who is the author of R̥garthadīpikā. I give below the Commentary on two mantras selected at random to show that the two commentaries are different from each other.

(i) Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya :

आ तु न इन्द्र¹ । पुत्रमिन्द्रसममिच्छन् कुशिको ब्रह्मचर्यं चचार ।
तस्येन्द्रः स्वयमेव पुत्रो बभूव । सास्य कौशिकता । स सुवर्णरजताभ्यां
कुशिभ्यां परिगृहीत आसीत् सास्य कुशिकतेति वा ब्राह्मणम् । आभि-
मुख्येन क्षिप्रं पिबेन्द्र कौशिकास्माकं प्रहृष्यन् सोमं नवतमम् आयुश्च सुष्ठु
प्रवर्धय । कुरु च सहस्रधनस्य संभक्तारं मधुच्छन्दसम् ॥

The present Mādhava :

आ तु¹ । आपित्र शीघ्रं न इन्द्रसुतम् । कौशिक । वृत्रेण युध्यन्
इन्द्रस्वाध्यायकालालाभात् वेदान् निराचकार । स वृत्रं हत्वा विश्वामित्रमुपेत्य
तं पुनरध्वैष्ट । सास्य कौशिकता इति शाठ्यायनकमुक्तम् । कौशिको
ह स्मै नमः ब्रह्माणमुपनिपत्य इति च ताण्डकम् । स सुवर्णरजताभ्यां
कुशिभ्यां परिगृहीत आसीत् । सास्य कुशिकता इति अध्वर्युब्राह्मणम् ।
मन्दसानो मोदमानः । सतात्मरूपजनः । नव्यं नवकम् अपमृष्ट्यम् आयुः ।
प्राणानां चिरमयनं प्राणेष्वेवायुर्दधाति सर्वत्वायेति ब्राह्मणम् । कृषि सहस्रसाम्

ऋषिं मधुच्छन्दसम् । स भृषिम् अर्पसेत् दर्शनार्थात् । दर्शनम् अर्थस्यापि
व्यमन्त्रणम् ॥

(ii) Mādhava son of Venkātārya :

त्वं तम्¹ । त्वं तं ब्रह्मणस्पते सोम इन्द्रश्च मर्त्यं यज्ञस्य पत्नी दक्षिणा च
रक्षतु दारिद्र्यात् आहन्तुर्वा रक्षसः ॥

The present Mādhava :

त्वं तम्² । त्वं तमिममस्माकं यज्ञं ब्रह्मणस्पते सोम इन्द्रश्च मर्त्यमंहसः
आहन्तुः सपत्नात् पातु । परोक्ष उत्तमः पादः दक्षिणा च तं पातु
इति । दक्षिणा ददतेः । प्रजापतेर्दुहिता या दानदेवता । इति ॥

There are some places where both the Mādhavas deal with the same point. But neither makes a reference to the other. I give the following instances:

(i) Mādhava son of Venkātārya :

प्रायेण व्यक्तिभेदस्य वीप्सैकस्या अपि कचित् ।
अग्निमग्निं हवीमभिरिति तत्र निदर्शनम् ॥
वदन्त्यन्ये कालभेदादग्निर्कोऽपि भिद्यते ।
विद्यते तत्र वीप्सैति देश भेदादथापरे³ ॥

The present Mādhava :

अग्निमग्निम् । एकोऽप्यग्निः भेदादनेक इव । दशभेदादित्यपरे । तन्न
समञ्जसम्⁴ ॥

(ii) Mādhava son of Venkātārya :

सुतसोमपरिज्ञानं न त्वागमनकारणम् ।
न चोदात्तमिहाख्यातं वक्ष्यते तत्र कारणम् ॥
ऋचामभिहितानां यथा पश्चात् समन्वयः ।
हेतुत्वहेतुमद्भावौ तथैवात्रापि संगतौ⁵ ॥
अत्र ब्रूमोऽर्थसंस्थानमिह यस्मिन् भवेत्तिडि ।
तत्तु सर्वानुदात्तं स्यादसंस्थित उदात्तवत्⁶ ॥

1. RV. i, 10, 11.

2. RV. i, 18, 5.

3. Kārikā iv, iii, 4 and 7.

4. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 12, 2.

5. Cf. T. S. S. Edition VR i....

6. Kārikā i, i, 14.

The present Mādhava :

अपर्यवसितार्थत्वादाख्यातमुदात्तम् । दृश्यम् इति । चवायोगे प्रथमा
इति चाधीमहे । यत्राख्यातयोरितरेतरापेक्षा नास्ति द्वे अण्युदात्ते भवतः । यत्र
त्वपेक्षा तत्र विवक्षायां पूर्वमुदात्तम् । अविवक्षितश्चेत् सोऽर्थः अनुदात्तत्वमेव ।
इति वैयाकरणाः¹ ॥

(iii) Mādhava son of Venkātārya :

एवंविधेषु मन्त्रेषु तस्मादेक ऋषिर्मतः ।
प्रधानोऽन्ये त्वप्रधाना इति मन्यामहे वयम् ॥
स च प्रधानो निर्देशादस्माभिर्ज्ञायते कचित्² ।
ऋज्राश्वः प्रष्टिभिरिति विस्पष्टमृषिराह च³ ॥
प्राधान्यञ्चात्मनो दृष्टौ भ्रातृणामप्रधानताम् ।

The present Mādhava :

तत्रैतदवगन्तव्यम् । बहुव्रीहिकेषु मन्त्रेषु एकः प्रधानो द्रष्टा । अन्ये तु
प्रोत्साहकाः । तथा च ऋज्राश्वः प्रष्टिभिरिति ऋज्राश्वस्यैव प्राधान्यम् अत्र श्रुतम्⁴ ॥

The following points are clear. (1) There are three Mādhavas who have commented on the Ṛgveda, namely Sāyaṇa Mādhava, Mādhava son of Venkātārya and the present Mādhava. (2) It is the last of the three that has written the Anukramaṇi which Devarāja attributes to Mādhava son of Venkātārya. (3) The second and the third Mādhavas cannot be identical. (4) Devarāja identifies all the Mādhavas with Mādhava son of Venkātārya.

In the Trivandrum Palace Library, there is a work called the Nāmākhyātānukramaṇi. I give below a few stanzas from the beginning of the work.

हरिः श्रीगणपतये नमः । अविघ्नमस्तु ।
लोकः पदं स्वरो वाक्यं समभिव्याहतिः श्रुतिः ।
आर्षाण्यपि च शास्त्राणि पदार्थज्ञानहेतवः ॥
व्युत्पत्तिस्तत्र लोकस्य पारम्पर्यसमागता ।
अग्निवाय्वादयः शब्दास्तत्र सर्वे निदर्शनम् ॥
प्रकृतिप्रत्ययव्यूहात् पदार्थपरिकल्पनम् ।

1. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 24, 1.

2. Kārikās, v-iv, 11, 12a, b.

3. Kārikā v-iv, 15.

4. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 100, 1.

पदमित्युक्तमस्माभिर्धनो हन्ता हनो यथा ॥
 स्वरः प्रसिद्धो ब्रह्मस्तेन चार्थाः प्रकल्पिताः ।
 नामाख्यातविभागश्च स्वरादेवावगम्यते ॥
 ज्ञातार्थानि पदानि स्युर्वाक्यनिर्णयहेतवः ।
 बाक्यं तदुक्तमस्माभिरपामर्थं निदर्शनम् ॥
 अर्थो हि निम्नवाच्यत्र कृतोऽर्थः वाक्ययोगतः ।
 पदयोरेव संयोगः समभिध्याद्वतिर्धता ॥

Further on in the Introduction, Mādhava says that he has written twelve Anukramapīṣ. The twelfth is the Bhāṣya itself. So he calls the Bhāṣya the द्वादश्यनुक्रमणिका in the introductory stanzas of the Bhāṣya, quoted in the beginning of this Paper. Only the Ākhyātānukramanī and the Nāmānukramanī are available. I quote below what he says about his Anukramapīṣ :

1. आख्यातानुक्रमणिका पठितव्याप्रतो नृभिः ।
2. अनुक्रमणिका नाम्नामध्येया तदनन्तरम् ।
नासंस्कृता अधीयीरन्ननुक्रमणिके इमे ।
3. निपातानुक्रमणिका शीलनीया ततो द्विजैः ।
4. अनुक्रमणिका तुर्या गूढार्थपदगोचरा ।
तथैवाव्यक्तसंस्कारा निरुच्यन्ते क्रमादिति ।
5. पञ्चम्यनुक्रमणिका विभक्त्यर्थप्रदर्शिनी ।
तया सुसिद्धविभक्त्यर्थवृत्तयो दर्शिता इति ।
6. अनुक्रमणिका षष्ठी स्वरतोऽर्थस्य निर्णयः ।
7. सप्तम्यनुक्रमणिका शाकल्यमनुधावति ।
व्याख्यातैवं हि तेनेयं संहितापददर्शनात् ।
समयानुक्रमणिका यत्नेन महता द्विजैः ।
बहुचैरवगन्तव्या तस्मात्प्राज्ञतमैरिति ।
8. अनुक्रमणिका तस्मादार्षी प्राह्याष्टमी द्विजैः ।
9. छन्दोऽनुक्रमणी तस्माद्राह्या सूक्ष्मेक्षिकापरैः ।
10. दशम्यनुक्रमणिका देवतानां प्रदर्शिनी ।
11. एकादशीतिहासानामनुक्रमणिका ततः ।

12. एताभिरेकादशभिर्वास्वर्थो नावमासते ।
द्वादश्यनुक्रमणिका तासामर्थं वदेदिति ।
अङ्गैः किं चैकादशभिरर्था ये प्रतिपादिताः ।
व्यक्ता भवन्ति ते सर्वे मन्त्रार्थानां प्रदर्शनात् ।

In a certain recension of the R̥gvedabhāṣya by Skandasvāmin, which is different from the recension for which the first Adhyāya has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as No. XCVI, there are many quotations from the Nāmānukramanī of the present Mādhava. I give some quotations.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. ऋतुर्वीर्योर्जितं शची | 5. ऋतं मघो देवतातिः |
| 2. ब्रह्म वीर्यं ऋतुर्वेतम् | 6. यज्ञोऽमात्रोऽद्भुतो ब्रह्म |
| 3. स्त्रियो योषा योषणा माः | इतीमे महतिश्रुताः |
| 4. दधिक्षा वह्निवाघतौ | |

I am bringing out an edition of this recension of the R̥gvedabhāṣya by Skandasvāmin. I may here mention that none of these quotations is found in the recension published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. If Skandasvāmin is really quoting from the present Mādhava, he must be one of the earliest of Vedic commentators, as Skandasvāmin is, on the evidence now available, placed at about 600 A. D. The available portion of the Vedabhāṣya by the present Mādhava will be soon published by me.

ISṬA-SIDDHI : AN OLD ADVAITIC WORK.

BY

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In concluding his *Advaita-siddhi* which has become a classic of Indian philosophy, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī remarks¹ that there were in his time three advaitic works bearing the title of *Siddhi* and that he added a fourth to them. He is comparatively a recent writer (1500 A. D.) but the three works to which he refers are all very old. They are : (1) The *Naīṣkarmya-siddhi* of Sureśvara which is well known and has been published more than once. It is as a work contemporaneous with Śaṅkara and is indeed said to have been composed at his suggestion.² (2) The *Brahma-siddhi* of Maṇḍana Miśra which is now for the first time in the course of publication under the editorship of Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppaswāmi Śāstrī. This work also may be taken as contemporaneous with Śaṅkara. Perhaps it is slightly earlier.³ (3) The *Iṣṭa-siddhi* of Vimuktātman which is little known now. It is of this work that some account is proposed to be given here, indicating particularly its place in the history of Vedāntic thought. Its author, as known from the colophon⁴, was a disciple of one Avyayātman and seems to have written

सिद्धीनामिष्टनैष्कर्म्यब्रह्मगानामियं चिरात् ।

अद्वैतसिद्धिरधुना चतुर्थी समजायत ॥

(p. 900, Nirṇaya-sāgara Edition.)

2. See i. 3. (Bombay Sanskrit Series. No. xxxviii.)

3. Contrary to common belief, Sureśvara and Maṇḍana Miśra are not the same. See JRAS. for 1923, pp. 259—63.

4. The colophon is as follows :—

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यस्य श्रीमदव्ययात्मभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यस्य
विमुक्तात्मभगवतः कृताविष्टसिद्धावष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥
Some Manuscripts substitute विमुक्ताचार्य- for विमुक्तात्म.

another work named *Pramāṇa-ṛṭta-nirṇaya* (28)¹. Manuscripts of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* are rather rare, they being found only in a few public libraries. They are also generally incorrect, evidently because the work has ceased to be studied for a very long time ; and the copies of it made in later times have not been properly scrutinized. The work is now being printed and will soon appear in the Gackwad's Oriental Series².

It is well known that Rāmānuja in his *Śrī-bhāṣya* has instituted a searching examination into the advaitic doctrine of Śaṅkara. In doing so he has, as may be expected, taken as his authority for Advaita, the statements of Śaṅkara himself, and of other celebrated exponents of the doctrine like the Vivaraṇa-kāra.³ But in one essential portion of his examination which is designated the *mahāpūrva-pakṣa*⁴ and in which are found summarised some of the characteristic features of the Advaita such as the unity, permanence, self-dependence etc. of *anubhūti* or Brahman, Rāmānuja draws his information solely from the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*. We have for this the authority of no less a person than Vedānta Deśika⁵; and it is fully corroborated by the arguments as given in this portion of the *Śrī-bhāṣya* and even by some of the phrases and turns of expression which Rāmānuja

1. The figures within brackets, whether in the body of the Paper or in the foot-note, refer to the pages of the Deva-nāgarī Manuscript in the Mysore Oriental Library.

2. I have to express my gratitude to the Curators of the Oriental Libraries in Madras and in Mysore for permitting me to consult the MSS. of the work in the Libraries and lending or furnishing me copies of them.

3. Cf. e.g. passages occurring on pages 69 and 172 of the Nirṇaya-sāgara Edn. of the *Śrī-bhāṣya* on the first four *sūtras* with those on p. 26, in the Edn. issued from the same Press of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-sūtra* with *Ratna prabhā* etc. and on page 13 of *Pañca-pādikā-vivaraṇa* (Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series) respectively.

4. Pp. 45—69 : in the Nirṇaya-sāgara Edition.

5. See *Tattva-tīkā* (p. 34 part ii of the Conjeevaram Edn.), his incomplete commentary on the *Śrī-bhāṣya* where he quotes the first stanza of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* and states that the summary of the *mahāpūrva-pakṣa* is according to the arguments of that stanza. This stanza is—

यानुभूतिरजमेयानन्तात्मानन्दविग्रहा ।

महदादिजगन्मायाचित्रमिति नमामि ताम् ॥

takes from the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*. The very word *ambhūti* which he so frequently uses in this connection in the sense of Brahman is taken from it. It is clear from this that the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* was once held in high estimation by scholars in Southern India where Rāmānuja wrote; and that the work is important not only for tracing the development of the Advaita doctrine but also for a proper appreciation of the reasoning adopted by Rāmānuja in refuting that doctrine. Its importance is further indicated by the references to it found throughout the literature of both these schools of Vedānta.¹ We shall mention some of these in the sequel.

It would be useful if the chronological position of such an important work could be ascertained. We know that it is older than Rāmānuja. The references to it traceable in other Vedāntic works are all later than Rāmānuja; and their evidence is consequently of no use to us in this connection. One of these, however, is in a work which is definitely earlier, viz. the *Ātma-siddhi* of Yāmunaċārya who belonged to the same Vedāntic tradition as Rāmānuja and is stated to have been his *parama-guru* or preceptor's preceptor. In discussing the nature of the self from various standpoints in this work, Yāmuna quotes the first stanza of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* and attempts to refute the advaitic position as stated in it.² This is the very stanza which, according to the *Tattva-tikā*, Rāmānuja had in mind in criticising the conception of Brahman in the Advaita. In fact, Rāmānuja in this respect traverses the same ground as Yāmuna had done before him. This shows that the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* was regarded as a work of authority on the Advaita by 1100 A. D. which date we may assign to one that is reckoned as the *parama-guru* of Rāmānuja. No clear reference to our work is known in any earlier writing so that we must fix 1050 A. D. as the inferior

1. See (i) *Tattva-pradīpikā* of Citsukha pp. 83 (com.) 363 (com.) and 381 (Nirṇaya-sūgara Edn.) (ii) *Kalpa-taru* on *Vācas-pati's Bhāmātī* p. 932 (Nirṇaya-sūgara Edn.) (iii) *Advaita-siddhi*, p. 440. (iv) *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṃgraha* of Vidyūraṇya, p. 225. (Vizianagaram Series). (v) *Vedānta-sūtra*; Edited by Jacob (Nirṇaya-sūgara Press), p. 89. (vi) *Sarvārtha-siddhi* on *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa* by Vedānta Deśika, p. 417. (Benares Edn.) The stanza which is quoted here and is described as 'a child's prattle' is *Iṣṭa-siddhi*, i, 9.

2. See p. 21 of the work printed at Conjeevaram under the title of *Siddhi-traya*.

limit of its date, assuming that it should have taken at least 50 years for the work to have attained the standing implied by its being referred to as an authority by the followers of a rival school of thought. This limit receives support from a rather unexpected quarter—the *Śrī-kaṇṭha-carita* of Maṅkhaka which belongs to the early part of the 12th century.¹ In the last canto of this work which gives a glowing description of contemporary men of letters, mention is made of an author who commented upon the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*. This, by the way, shows that the work was well known in the North also in Rāmānuja's time. As regards its superior limit, we have to depend upon the references to other works which it contains. Generally speaking, Vimuk-tātman quotes sparingly, quotations even from Śaṅkara being rare. He of course cites many passages from the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-gītā. He also quotes from Bādarāyaṇa, Gauḍapāda and Bhartṛhari. But they are all too early to be of any avail to us in determining the date of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*. The latest writer to whom the book refers is Sureśvara. There are two quotations in it from him: one in the last chapter and the other in the last but one. The first cannot be traced in any of the printed works of Sureśvara, including the *Vārttika* on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.² The second passage is found in the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* (iv 53) so that, even if we should leave out of consideration the first of these passages, we still have one which is definitely from Sureśvara. Since Sureśvara was a pupil of Śaṅkara, we may conclude that the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* cannot be earlier than 850 A. D. These limits, viz. 850 to 1050 A. D. are all that we can fix for the work with the data we at present possess. There is one circumstance however which at first sight seems to determine the time of our work quite definitely; and we should refer to it here. Sarvajñātman, disciple of Sureśvara, refers according to the commentators on his *Samkṣepa-Śārīraka* to the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*.³ If that is so and if the author of the *Iṣṭa-*

1. See *Kāṇya-mālā* Series No. 3 (xxv 32).

2. The printed *Vārttika*, it may be stated, does not contain all the verses of the work. See Editor's note on page 298. (Ānandaśrama Edn.)

3. See Madusūdana's commentary (Benares Edn.) on iv, 14. Compare also the other commentaries in the Ānandaśrama Edn. of

siddhi in his turn quotes from Sureśvara, it is clear that all the three writers should have been contemporaries. Probably they were; but it seems somewhat risky to draw such a conclusion on the basis of what is stated by commentators who wrote several centuries later.

There is also another circumstance that has to be mentioned in this connection; but, while it may furnish a point of some biographical interest, it does not take us nearer the truth about the date of our author. There is a book with the title *Nyāya-makaranda* published in the Chowkhamba Series at Benares; and in this volume are included two other short treatises by the same author, viz. Ānandabodha. Ānandabodha's name is well known as that of a great exponent of the Advaita and his importance will be indicated if we mention that one of the five definitions of *mithyātra*—a conception of fundamental importance for the Advaita—is ascribed to him¹. In one of these short treatises, viz. *Pramāṇa-mālā*, Ānandabodha quotes the following half-śloka² which is found in the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* (120) prefacing it with the words *etaderoktam gurubhūḥ*—

नान्यत्र कारणात्कार्यं न चेत्तत्र क्व तद्ववेत् ।

'An effect cannot be dissociated from its material cause; and if it does not abide there, where else could it be?' We may conclude from this, though we cannot be quite sure about it, that Ānandabodha was a disciple of Vimuktātman³. There is nothing improbable in this, for Ānandabodha was an early writer on the Advaita as shown, for example, by the fact that his *Nyāya-makaranda* has been commented upon by Citsukha (1300 A. D.)⁴. Further, Ānandabodha quotes more than once from the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* and his view in regard to more than one detail of Advaitic

the work. The original contains only the general expression *mukti-kovidāḥ*, i. e. 'those that are well-versed in the knowledge leading to release'.

1. See *Laghu-candrikā* on *Advaita-siddhi*, p. 440 (Nirn: sag. Press).

2. See p. 4. I owe this reference to Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuṇḍaswāmi Śāstrī.

3. It is strange that the colophon in none of the three works of Ānandabodha mentions his *guru*.

4. See Introduction to *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* (Bombay Sans. Series) 1925 p. xxxvi.

doctrine is identical with that maintained in the latter¹. Ānandabodha's date is not known; but he frequently refers to Vācaspati² who is now generally taken to have flourished in the first half of the ninth century (841 A.D.)³. If the author of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* be the *guru* of Ānandabodha, he cannot be earlier than 850 A.D.—a result at which we have already arrived.

The work is described by the author himself as a *prakaraṇa* or 'manual' of the Vedānta. It is divided into eight chapters of which the first is much the biggest, occupying over one-half of the work. The remaining chapters also are of unequal length. It is written throughout in *anuṣṭubh* stanzas which are commented upon by the author himself—a method of exposition which seems to have been common at one time. Speaking generally, the work exhibits more interest in the theory than in the practical aspects of Vedāntic teaching. The contents of the several chapters may be briefly stated as follows:—

Chapters 1-5: These are devoted to establishing the doctrine of what is known as *anirvacanīya-khyāli* or the Advaitic view of Error as against the views adopted in the other systems. In other words, the aim of these chapters is to defend the doctrine of Māyā; and this doctrine, it appears, is what is intended to be understood by the term *iṣṭa* occurring in the title of the work⁴. In these chapters is contained one of the fullest expositions of the various theories of Error known to Indian philosophy.

Chapter 6: This discusses the problem of what constitutes the *āśraya* or the seat of *avidyā* or Māyā. As is well known, there are two views here some like Vācaspati maintaining that the *jīva* is the *āśraya*; and others like Sureśvara holding that it is Brahman⁵. The view taken here is the latter.

1. See e.g. pp. 199 & 359 on which are mentioned ideas found respectively on pp. (30) (291) of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*.

2. See e.g. pp. 163 & 197.

3. See Keith: Indian Logic & Atomism, pp. 29-30.

4. Compare:—

अतो मायात्मा एको मयेष्टः सिद्धः 1 (277).

5. See e.g. *Siddhānta-śeṣa-saṃgraha* pp. 55 & 65 (Kumbhakonam Edition).

Chapter 7 : This deals with the question whether there is only one jīva or many and in this connection reviews the materialistic doctrine that denies the soul altogether, pluralistic doctrines like the Nyāya that recognize many souls, all being viewed as other than the Supreme and that school of Vedānta which assumes a relation of identity-in-difference (*bheda-bheda*) between the jīva and Brahman. The conclusion reached is that there is only one jīva, which is no other than Brahman itself associated with Māyā.

Chapter 8 : This is about the nature of *avidyā-nirvṛtti*, the disappearance or negation of *avidyā* which is itself conceived as neither *sat* nor *asat*. Granting *avidyā*, the opponent asks how its disappearance which is required as a pre-condition of release is to be conceived. This is a favourite question with the critics of the Advaita who not only attack the doctrine of Māyā directly but also try to refute it indirectly by showing the impossibility of conceiving the negation of *avidyā*. More than one explanation of it is given here. One of them is that *avidyā-nirvṛtti* is *pañcama-prakāra* by which we have to understand that it is neither *sat*, nor *asat*, nor *sadasat*, nor other than *sat* and *asat* but is of a fifth variety. It looks as if the explanation was borrowed from the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism which conceives of its ultimate, *vis. Śūnya* in exactly the same way—as discarding the four predicables of *sat* etc. (*catuṣkoṭi-vimuktā*)¹. This explanation of the negation of *avidyā* is found in the first chapter of the work. In the present chapter two other explanations are suggested as alternative ones. They are—(i) that it may be equated with Brahman itself on the principle that all negation is eventually expressible in positive terms and (ii) that it is *anirvacanīya* or other than 'is' or 'is not' like *avidyā* itself. It is the first of the three explanations that has come to be associated in Advaitic tradition with the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*².

1. See *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, Ch. ii.

2. See commentaries on the *Saṃkṣepa-śārīraka*, iv. 14, a stanza already referred to. The *Siddhānta-leka-saṃgraha* of Appaya Dīkṣita ascribes the view to Ānandabodha (p. 436). But see *Nyāya-makaranda* pp. 352-9.

NOTE ON THE MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF BHAKTI-RĀJA.

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.

In the April-June (Vol. V, Part II-1931, pp. 128-143) number of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras I edited the above plates. A few corrections, and one or two points of interest that escaped my notice at the time of writing find a place in this note.

In the first place, my identification of the date of the grant from the data available in the plates as Monday, 21st October, 1355 A.D., needs revision. I am thankful to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Deputy Director-General of Archæology for drawing my attention to this, and communicating to me his calculations which run as follows¹:-

"I think, we should take 'Śaka 1277' as an 'Expired' year and not as a 'Current' one. It is also equally possible that the expression '*Mahākārttikyām*' may denote the Kārttika *amāvāsyā*, instead of Paurṇimā. The following dates may be considered and against them I have also noted the ending moments of their respective *tithis* as given on page 315 of the Ephemeris (L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV).

Day	Date	Month	Year A.D.	Tithi ending moment
1. Monday	24	October	1356	Amāvāsyā .40
2. (a) Monday	7	November	1356	14.60
2. (b) Tuesday	8	November	1356	Paurṇimā .67

Item 1 is a possible equivalent if 'Amāvāsyā' stands for the expression 'Mahākārttikī'. Items 2 (a) and (b) will show that the Paurṇimā tithi began on Monday evening and ended on

1. Mr. Dikshit's letter to me on this point is reproduced here.

Tuesday evening. The observances connected with the Kārttika Paurṇimā, such as the gift and floating of lighted lamps are more appropriate to the evening and it is therefore very probable that of the two days over which the Paurṇimā extended, the first, *i.e.* Monday was considered as the ceremonial Paurṇimā, suitable for the donation".

Thus Monday, 7th November 1356 A.D. appears to be the most probable date corresponding to the data given in the plates. The cyclic year would then be Dundubhi instead of Mammatha.

A few readings in the text (pp. 137-143) should be corrected as follows:—

P. 137- Text, line 7- Instead of "mahair" read "mahō"

P. 138- " " 19& } " " b(h)amdhavi- read "bhanavī-
20 } " " yam " yam "

P. 139- " " 34 " " "ya yēṣām" read "yajuṣām"

P. 140 Translation-verse 4, lines 3 and 4-Instead of "who treasure most the elevation of their souls or who care most for self-respect" read "who take their origin from themselves (*i.e.* who are sprung either from the sun or the moon)".

P. 141 " verse 10, lines 8 and 9-Instead of "He received or upheld or supported the friendly reverence of his leige, Bhōja-rāja—" read "He obstructed the passage of the vessel containing objects of worship that Bhōja-rāja sent to the sun, in token of his reverence to the latter".

P. 142 " verse 18, line 3-Instead of "the reservoir of fame and virtue" read "the abode of *yajus*, *i.e.* a student of the *Yajur-vēda*".

What has been narrated above with reference to the obstruction by Karikāla of the passage of the vessel containing objects of worship that Bhōja-rāja sent to the sun (p. 141, verse 10, lines 8 and 9) requires elucidation. For this Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's article in Telugu on "The Polavarti stone inscription of Karikāla" published in the *Bhārati*,¹ and *Navacōḷa caritra*² by

1. *Bhārati* (Telugu), Vibhava, puṣya, 1929, pp. 90-91.

2. Lingana Kavi, *Navacōḷa caritra*, (pub. Andhrapatrika Press, Madras, 1923), pp. 16-17.

Lingana Kavi are helpful. In both, the part of the hero is played by Karikāla. While, however, in the former the king who does worship to the sun is called, as in our plates of Bhakti-rāja Bhōja-rāja, in the latter he is known by the name of Bhāskara Cōḍa. The account found in the Doctor's article is more reliable than that found in the *Navacōḷa caritra*, being based on a stone inscription³ of probably the 11th century A.D.

The story narrated in the "*Navacōḷacaritra*" being highly interesting, a short account of it is given below:—

While Karikāla was ruling the land there was a king called Bhāskara Cōḍa who was a great devotee of the sun. Every morning, about 10 A. M., he would worship the sun, get choice food served in 1,20,000 gold plates, and looking at the sun wave his hands upwards, offering them, as it were, to the deity. Immediately all the plates containing the offerings would mount up in the air and reach the sun, who would gladly partake of them. Then the plates would descend to the king. On account of the favour that the sun showed to the king by accepting his offerings, the latter got so conceited and puffed up with pride that he refused to obey the mandate of Karikāla, who sent to him his men asking him to help him in the task of erecting embankments for the river Kāvērī. His refusal was reported to Karikāla who once again demanded of him his obedience ere he would be forced to take steps to teach him to obey his command. But Bhāskara Cōḍa was stubborn saying that his own power and valour were unshakable inasmuch as he had the favour and support of the sun-god, who was daily accepting his offerings.

On hearing this, Karikāla sent a mandate to the sun-god as follows:—"You are hereby prohibited from accepting Bhāskara Cōḍa's offerings, as he has refused obedience to me, a devotee of Śiva." The sun-god preferred to do as Karikāla bade him, as he was loth to bring on his head the wrath of Śiva, whose devotee Karikāla happened to be. And on the next day, when Bhāskara Cōḍa sent his usual plates of offerings, they mounted up in the sky but were not accepted by the sun. Thereupon they descended down to the king who, on seeing that they were not accepted by his god, put up fervent prayers to him requesting him to accept them, and to let him know if he was guilty of any crime that prevented the god from showing him the usual favour. On

3. *Bhārati* (Telugu), Vibhava, Māgha, 1929.

being told by the sun-god that his disobedience to Karikāla was the crime that he was guilty of and that unless he did as the latter bade him to do he (sun) would be forced to refuse his offerings, Bhāskara Cōḍa agreed to do so; thereupon the sun accepted the offerings. Bhāskara Cōḍa went to Karikāla with all humility and helped him in the latter's task. Karikāla received the convert with open arms and rewarded him suitably.

The account of this story found in Dr. Venkataramanayya's article "The Polavarti stone inscription of Karikāla" is as follows:—

4. *Bhōjaṣṭūjārghyaṣātrāṇi trīṇi Sūryārṣitāni ca |
Nijājñāyāmbharasthāni cakrē taṁ dāsavan-nyānam||*

"The king (i.e. Karikāla) stopped the passage of three vessels containing offerings of worship dedicated to the sun-god by Bhōja, and by his command made them stay in the sky. (By doing so) he made him (Bhōja), as it were, his slave".

The latter account is more reliable than the former for two reasons:—

(1). It agrees with the account found in our plates of Bhakti-rāja. The name of the sun-worshipping king is given as Bhōja in both while in the *Navacōḷacaritra* he is styled a Cōḍa (Cōḷa) and is called *Bhāskara Cōḍa*.

(2). It is a stone inscription dating from the 11th century A.D.² The *Navacōḷacaritra*, however, was written by Lingana, a Telugu poet who lived in the latter half of the 15th century A.D.³

1. *Bhūratī*, puṣya, 1920, p. 91.

2. *Ibid.* p. 90.

3. Lingana, *Navacōḷa caritra*, (pub. Andhrapatrika Press, 1923), p. 4.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE FIVE LAWS OF LIBRARY SCIENCE BY S. R. RANGANATHAN ESQ., M.A., L.T., F.L.A., Librarian, Madras University Library and Secretary, Madras Library Association. Published by the Madras Library Association. Demy 8 Vo. calico bound pp. i—xxxii + 1—458. Price Rs. 5.

This book has been published by the Madras Library Association as its Publication series No. 2 and as the first of a contemplated series of books on the technical and practical aspects of library work. The author, Mr. S. R. Ranganathan, is a trained expert in the subject of library science, having undergone special training in England in libraryship and made an intensive study of library work of all types by visits to libraries in various parts of England. As the librarian of the Madras University Library, he has harnessed to his task the knowledge he has so acquired. The Library "has developed in his hands wonderfully into a live human institution" with an increase in the issue of volumes from the library and a large influx of readers to it. It is, indeed, a very happy idea that the Madras Library Association, under the able and energetic guidance of its President, Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Advocate, Madras, should have chosen Mr. Ranganathan, to write this book. The history of the Library Movement in the various countries of the world, its progress and present condition, and the principles of the management and use of libraries have all been brought together under the title "The Five Laws of Library Science." As Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer says, "the author has a trained analytical intellect." According to him, the five laws are—books are for use; books are for all; every book its reader; save the time of the reader; the library is a growing organism. In his exposition of them, he has exhibited a wealth of learning, a mastery of detail, a fine sense of humour, and a polished style. Anybody who picks up this book for study may, at the outset, wonder how any person could manage to write a book of more than 400 pages on what may be considered a simple and recondite topic. To his agreeable surprise, however,

he will find that what appear to be simple propositions have until recently not been sufficiently realized by educated men in the management and use of libraries and that a good deal of special training and scientific instruction is involved in them. Above all, he will find it very interesting reading and will not like to close the book until he has perused it right through. This is, in fact, the highest compliment, that an author may lay claim to. Mr. Ranganathan has used the arts known to authors for the purpose of sustaining the interest of the reader. He often illustrates his statements by humorous anecdotes like the one about the application to the Readership in Mathematics by a graduate, at page 49 ; and he clothes certain of his conclusions in the garb of dialogues, such as the one we read at page 25 between "The Rule of Least Space" and "Rule of Least Cost" and the First Law ; and the one at page 237 between the Development Minister, the Finance Minister, the Director of Public Instruction, etc., in a departmental conference.

In India, where the percentage of literacy among its vast population is very small, the modern system of library science must be considered absolutely necessary, specially for the purpose of liquidating the large mass of ignorance by the establishment of rural libraries all over the country. The movement is in its infancy here ; but its progress is entirely due in the Madras Presidency to the propaganda and the organising work of the Madras Library Association. This book will easily be a standard treatise in the literature that is gathered by them for the propagation of the principles of library science among the educated public and for the enlightenment of the library staff.

We have great pleasure in congratulating the author on this nice and interesting volume, which has been so finely printed and got up by the Madras Law Journal Press. It contains a foreword by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer who has given expression to his appreciation of the book and of the author. It is, indeed, no small achievement to have earned the praise of one who is a great scholar and a discerning critic. It contains also a very interesting introduction by Mr. W. C. Berwick Sayers, Chief Librarian, Croydon, one of the masters of the science. One remark of his about this book is very noteworthy. He says, "It is unique, I believe, in that it attempts for the first time a comprehensive survey by a librarian, who has a peculiar Indian mind and reflects his own racial culture and basic theories of the

art of book distribution, as it is understood in the modern library world."

We hope and trust that Mr. Ranganathan will continue his labours and bring out many more works on the practical and scientific aspects of library work, which will enrich India's contribution to the literature on a world subject. The following Sanskrit verses composed by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri enumerate the 'five laws' in a cryptic manner to be easy of remembrance.

“कोशवान् हि सदाचार्यः पञ्चसूत्रीपरायणः ।
पुस्तानि पठितुं¹ तानि सर्वेभ्यः² स्वस्वमाप्नुयुः ॥
पठन्तं³ समयं तस्य शेषेत् कोशः⁴ सदापि च ।
वर्धमानः स चिन्मूर्तिः⁵ पञ्चसूत्रीं विदन्त्विमाम् ॥”



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SELECT OPINIONS.

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Würzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

Q. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. Q. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory. . . . A journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles: a pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— . . . The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review," November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppaswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . .

"New India," 20th December, 1926.— . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.— . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . . .

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.— . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . . .

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