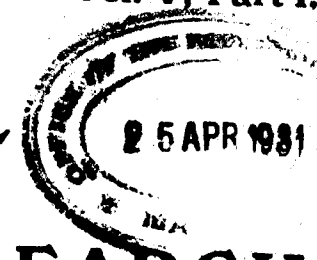


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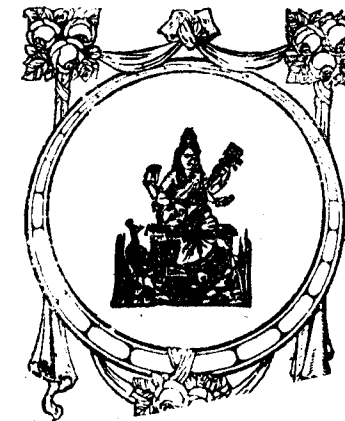
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25 APR 1931

DRAVIDIC FORMS FOR 'BETEL-LEAF.'

BY

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The leaf of the *betel* (*Chavica betle* or *Piper betle* in botanical parlance) is used as a masticatory all over South Asia (India, Ceylon, Indo-China and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago generally). It is found to thrive in a wild state in Java, and presumably therefore in the opinion of botanists it was originally a native of the Eastern Archipelago. Yet throughout India the use of the betel-leaf as a masticatory in conjunction with areca-nut and *cunnam* has become a part of social amenities and even attained a certain degree of importance in Hindu religious ceremonies. These facts led Prof. Przyluski of Paris to inquire into the etymology of the Indo-Aryan term *tāmbūl*. As a result of close investigation, he has shown that this word which has no cognates in Indo-European or Indo-Iranian, is a loan-word from the word-stock of the Austric peoples with whom the Indo-Aryans came in contact on the mainland of India, and among whom the betel-leaf was already a popular favourite as a masticatory ingredient. According to Prof. Przyluski, *tāmbūl* in Indo-Aryan is a form borrowed with slight modifications, from an Austric compound word formed of the prefix *tam* and the base *b(a)lu*. The radical by itself is found in modified shapes used with the meaning 'betel' even to-day in many of the Austric dialects.

The other Indo-Aryan form *pān* (used in Hindi, Bengali, etc.) is structurally native in Indo-Aryan, being derivable from *parṇa* (leaf); but its present semantic content, restricted to the idea of betel-leaf is, according to Prof. S. K. Chatterjee, a prossemic development in Indo-Aryan, obviously induced by the custom of using the betel-leaf as a masticatory.

Prof. S. K. Chatterjee has also shown (*Vidya* "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Indic," page 18; and "Bhāṣatattva Bhūmikā," p. 18) that the word *bārui* and *bāroj* [the former of which occurs in the ...]

bārayi-paḍa (the name of village) in a thirteenth century copper-plate grant] contain the base *bar* which is probably a variant of the Austric radical *bat* (betel). Old Bengali *tabel* and modern Bengali *tamli* have of course to be considered as being derived from the common Indo-Aryan borrowing.

The use of the betel-leaf in Dravidian India is as universal as in Indo-Aryan India. Among the 'higher' castes it has always had a semi-religious importance and everywhere it denotes 'maṅgala,' 'kalyāṇa' and good-will generally. Except among the westernised English-educated classes, the use of the betel-leaf has even to-day a great importance in ordinary social life. Among the masses (to whichever religious creed they may belong) it answers to the same purpose that is fulfilled by tea in China. The following phrases bearing ccesmic significations are illustrative of the importance attached to the use of betel in South India :—

Tamil *வெற்றிலை வைத்தல்* (*vettrilai-vaittal*—the offer of betel-leaf) signifies generally the offering of an auspicious welcome for a marriage party cf. Sanskrit *nīścaya-tāmbūlam*.

Malayāḷam *vettīla koḍukkuga* means in certain contexts 'to form a friendship.'

Malayāḷam *vettīla kīṟippikkuga* signifies similarly in some contexts 'to cause a rupture of unity or friendly relations.'

Tulu *baccira tinṇini* means 'to make peace'.

The extraordinary importance attached to the betel-leaf all over Dravidian India raises the question whether the Dravidian words for 'betel' were native in Dravidian or borrowings as in Indo-Aryan. Special significance attaches to this question in view of the postulate recently made by Prof. Przyluski and others that the Dravidians and the Austries might have lived in close contact for large periods of time in pre-Aryan India. It is not only possible but even probable that the intimate contact between the Dravidians and the Austries on the mainland of India resulted in the exchange of words from one language-group to the other. I have already tried to show elsewhere that some kind of relationship may have existed between the Dravidic forms for 'cheek,' 'pomegranate,' etc. and Austric words denoting 'cheek,' 'pomegranate,' etc. and Austric words denoting 'cheek,' 'pomegranate,' etc. It is not possible in all cases of such Dravidic-Austric word-correspondences, to determine which group is the lender and which the borrower; but with the materials at our disposal

and with the criteria (limited as they are) available for us, it is possible (and necessary too) to outline perspectives which may be useful for further research.

While in the case of word-correspondences between Austric and Indo-Aryan a number of definite tests¹ could be applied in order to demonstrate the foreign origin of Indo-Aryan borrowings, all these tests are not available for Dravidian. In these Dravidic-Austric parallelisms, therefore, we have to make what use we can of the tests available for us and indicate how far the Dravidian forms when confronted with ancient Dr. bases may have been native and whether at all a structural and semantic connection could be postulated between the Dravidian forms on the one hand and the Austric forms on the other, on the basis of collateral considerations such as historical possibilities and linguistic analysis. The question of the lender and the borrower might in any case still remain open in a large number of instances owing to our imperfect knowledge of the conditions in which Dravidic-Austric contacts may have developed.

The object of this article is only to envisage the problem raised by Dr. words for 'betel-leaf' and to consider, by the application of such tests as are available for us, if the Dravidian words denoting 'betel' are native or not in Dr.

Dr. forms for betel.

The following are the forms used for 'betel-leaf' in the different Dravidian dialects :—

(1) The tests applicable in the case of Indo-Aryan are the following:—

(a) If the words under reference showing structural and semantic identity with Austric forms have no cognates in Indo-European and Indo-Iranian, the question of borrowing definitely crops up. (b) If, further, the ideas denoted by the IA words are unique features of the *habitat* of the Austric peoples, additional strength is afforded to the theory of borrowing. (c) If still further it could be shown by an analysis of Austric forms that the IA words under reference correspond to the secondary or derivative forms of Austric (as in the case of IA *tāmbūlam*, as Prof. Przyluski has shown), the question of IA words being borrowings from Austric becomes a likelihood.

So far as Dravidian is concerned the tests (a) and (b) are practically not available. We have also to remember that the *habitat*, customs, etc. of the Austric-speaking peoples and the Dravidians might have shared common features in a very ancient past.

Tamil: *vettrilai*, colloquial *vettilai*, *veḷḷilai*, *mellilai*, *tirayal*, *tāmbūlam*.

Malayāḷam: *vettīla*, *tāmbūlam*, *tambaḷam*.

Kannāḍa: *beḷudile*, *tāmbūlam*.

Tuḷu: *baccira*, *tāmbūla*.

Telugu: *tamalapāku*, *tāmbūla*.

Gōṇḍi: *bīr-āki*.

Kuvi: *tāmla*.

Kurukh: *ṣān*.

Tāmbūlam and *ṣān* among the above are borrowings from Indo-Aryan. Telugu *tamalapāku* is a compound of *tamala* (a modified adaptation through Prākṛt of Sanskrit *tāmbūla*) and *pāku* which is probably native Dravidian.

Tamil *veḷ-l-ilai* (white or shining leaf) and *mel-l-ilai* (tender leaf—*mel* is probably a tadbhava from Sanskrit *mṛdu*) are characteristically expressive terms, descriptive of certain conspicuous features of the leaf. Kannāḍa *beḷudile* should be allied to Tamil *veḷḷilai*. Old Tamil *tirayal* is another expressive native word for 'betel' which apparently refers (as its base *tir* to 'turn' implies) to the irregularly climbing nature of the plant. Cf. in this connection the old Tamil word *tiraṅgal* signifying 'pepper-vine'.

All the other words given above appear to be related. They are all compounds constituted of a second component meaning 'leaf' and a first constituent meaning 'betel'. All these exist only as compound forms; we have to note that the first component by itself does not exist separately with the signification 'betel'.

Phonetic aspects of the first component.

The phonetic variations in the structure of the first components *vettr-*, *vett-*, *bacc-*, etc., are all characteristically Dravidian.

Old Tamil *ttr* (with the alveolar *tt*) appears in the modern colloquial as dental *tt* as a general rule. Cf. *kāṭtru*, *kāttu* (wind), etc.

Old Tamil *ttr* regularly appears as alveolar *tt* (after dropping *r*) in Malayāḷam.

-*cc-* of Tuḷu is the palatalised resultant of the original consonant group *tt*. cf. Tuḷu *bacc-* (to be dried) with Tamil *vattru* with the same meaning.

Initial *v-* of Tamil corresponds generally to *b-* of Kannāḍa and Tuḷu.

The second component.

So far as the second components meaning 'leaf' are concerned, all of them except *-āki* in the Gōṇḍi form are derived from a common base. Tamil *ilai* shows the characteristic Tamil ending *-ai* to which Kannāḍa *-e* and Tuḷu *-a* correspond. *r-* of Tuḷu *ira* corresponds to *-l-* of other southern deatects, as in Tuḷu *kāru* (leg) beside Tamil-Kannāḍa *kāl* (leg), Tuḷu *ṣaru* (teeth) beside Tamil-Kannāḍa *ṣallu* (tooth), etc.

In Gōṇḍi *bīr-āki*, the first component appears to be allied to Santālī *bīr* (jungle). So far as the second component is concerned, it is certainly native Dr., since we have Kui *āku*, (leaf), Malayāḷam *aka*, Kannāḍa *age*, Tuḷu *aga*, Telugu *āku*, Kurukh *akhuā* (sprout, shoot).

If we were to seek for the derivation of *āku*, *āki* in Dravidian itself, it may be traced to *ag-* (to grow) found in Kannāḍa and related to Dravidian *āg* (to be produced) f. etc.

There is little doubt that the first and the second constituents of

vettrilai
baccira
vettilai

are related. So far as the second constituent is concerned, we have seen already that it is native Dravidian.

The question we have next to take up is whether the base on which the first components have been formed is native Dravidian or not. We shall merely indicate here certain perspectives along which explanations may be sought for. Preliminarily, we may note here the significant fact that there is no word in Dravidian allied to the first constituent of *vettrilai*, etc., and existing in an uncompounded state, with the meaning, 'betel'. We shall, therefore, have to reconstruct the probable base on which *vettr-*, *bacc-*, etc. may have been formed, and then on the one hand examine the structural and semantic affinities of this base to other Dravidian bases, and on the other its probable relationship to Austric forms.

Reconstruction of the probable Dr. base.

(i) It is a characteristic phenomenon of Tamil phonology that alveolar or 'cerebral' *r* appears, in accented positions and under the assimilative influence of other sounds, as *ttr* (*tt* being

alveolar), *lhr*, therefore, or *velhr* may be traced to a base with a final alveolar *r* or cerebral *ṛ*. As for the initial sound, opinions differ as to whether *v* or *b* is original, though I myself am inclined to regard *v* as the original. The included vowel appears as *-e-* in Tamil, and as *-a-* in Tulu. Without entering for the present into the question as to what the original character of the vowel may have been, we may here content ourselves with recognising that $v_c^a r$ or $b_c^a r$ reveals itself as the base.

(ii) Alternatively, the base may be sought for along a different path also. *lhr* (with the long alveolar *l*) of Tamil appears usually as the assimilative resultant of *l + l* also, as in *viltru*, the past tense base formed the *vil* (to sell) and the past affix *tu*. If we consider *lhr* of *vettrilai* to have been produced thus, the base would emerge as $v_c^a l$ or $b_c^a l$.

Resemblance of this base to Austric forms.

The Austric forms given by Prof. Przyluski in his lists are the following:

<i>balu</i>	<i>mlur</i>	Basic type <i>balu</i> or <i>malu</i> .
<i>bolon</i>	<i>malua</i>	
<i>blu</i>	<i>melu</i>	
<i>flu</i>	<i>mlu</i>	

Now, whichever of the two reconstructed Dr. base-groups : $v_c^a r$, $b_c^a r$ or $v_c^a l$, $b_c^a l$ may have been the real basis on which the Dravidian words have been formed, a comparison of these bases and the Austric forms does reveal a certain structural correspondence between the initial bilabials and the liquids.

Is this resemblance fortuitous? An intimate structural parallelism such as is evident here, can be affirmed to be accidental, only when we are in a position to establish that the Austric base on the one hand and the Dravidian base on the other could be traced on the one side and on the other to more elementary radicals which have no relationship, either structural or semantic, to each other. In the absence of such conclusive proof, the question of relationship between the Austric and the Dravidian forms cannot be summarily dismissed as being entirely unlikely.

The Austric radical.

Is it possible to trace the bases on the one side and on the other to more elementary radicals by discussing affiliations? Prof. Przyluski has tried to connect the type *b(ɔ)lu* or *m(ɔ)lu* with the Austric verbal root *mul*, *mua*, 'to roll up' (Vide 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian,' page 18), but one does not feel that his attempt has been adequate or conclusive on the semantic side.

Are the bases of the Dravidian forms native?

We shall take up the group : $v_c^a l$, $b_c^a l$ first. Is it possible to relate these to any other known native Dravidian base?

(a) Gundert in his Dictionary explains *vettrilai* as being composed of *ver* (mere) and *ilai* (leai). Phonetically, this explanation is quite satisfactory, since the cerebral *ṛ* can give rise to *lhr* in Tamil and since other similar formations like Tamil *vettrurai* (mere word), and Mal. *vellai* (poor man) etc. in which *ver* with the meaning 'devoid of', 'mere' etc. do exist. It is the semantic derivation that creates difficulty. Why should the betel-leaf have been considered as the 'mere leaf'? It may of course have been considered 'the leaf *par excellence*' in view of its being a universal favourite as the essential component of the people's masticatory; and the ancient Dravidians—who, it may be observed here, denominated plants through very suggestive and expressive names (vide below) may have associated with this favourite leaf a kind of affective feeling of admiration and called it the 'mere leaf'. Nevertheless, Gundert's suggestion strikes us as rather naive and unconvincing.

(b) Another possible suggestion is that the base *ver* may be connected with *vēr* (root).¹ *vēr-ilai* would then suggest the

1. That *vēr* appears to have been associated conspicuously with the naming of plants will be clear from the following Tamil names of plants :—

vēr-kadalai or 'root-gram' 'ground-nut' which term appropriately describes the way in which the fruits bury themselves like roots under the ground.

vetti-vēr or *vilal-vēr*, 'Andropogon muricatum' has roots valued for its stimulant properties.

Ginger or 'Zingiber officinalis' has, besides the usual name *injī* also an expressive term *vēr-kombu* (sprout of root) to denote it. The rhizomes of ginger are suggestively described by this term.

scandent nature of the plant itself and the appearance of the leaves at the nodes from which roots also appear. Possibly the climbing stem may also have been mistaken for a variety of root (as in the case of the 'ground-nut' fruit called *v. r-kaḍalai*).¹

Semantically, therefore, it is possible to connect *vēr* meaning 'root' with *vettrilai*.

But there exist difficulties on the phonetic or structural side. In the first place, it may be observed that the production of *ttr* in genitival contexts in Tamil is associated² more with *r* than with *r* which is the final sound in the modern form *vēr* (root). It may, however, be said in answer to this objection that post-dental and alveolar *r*³ may have alternated with cerebral *r* (as in Tamil *kar*, *kaṇu*) and that both the alveolar and the cerebral could have suffered the change to *ttr* in an ancient period as some rare extant instances would testify. Again what appears as a post-dental *r* in *vēr* may very well have been alveolar at an ancient period as is suggested by the base from which *vēr* and other words have been produced.

Another difficulty is in regard to the length of the vowel. *Vēr* as it appears to-day has a long vowel, while *vettr*, etc. appear

vēr-kuccu (root-stump) is the name given for a kind of underground caespitose grass with plenty of fibrous roots.

Vēram (that which has roots) denotes in classical Tamil what is ordinarily known as *śēmū* or 'colocasia arum'.

Again, the *tippali* or *pipali* plant with root-like catkins is described merely as *vēr*.

1. That the Dravidians could describe plants expressively would be clear from the above and also from instances like the following:—

nannūri (well-smelling), 'Hemidesmus indicus' with aromatic roots.

Kāttādi 'casurina' 'what moves with the wind.'

Puga(j)-ilai 'tobacco' or 'smoke-leaf.'

Kaṇṇappu (dark) for 'poppy'

Kāñjōri (that which irritates), 'Tragia involucrata' which possesses stinging hairs all over its surface.

Tamil *kundru-maṇi*, Mal. *kunji-kkuru*, 'Abrus precatorius' possessing small, coloured round seeds.

Mullu-murukku, 'Erythrina indica' having prickles in abundance.

2. Vide my paper on Alveolar *t*, *d* in the "Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute", Vol. I.

3. For a discussion of the different varieties of *r* in Dravidian, cf. my paper on Dr. *r*-sounds in I.H.Q., March, 1931.

to have a short vowel. This objection also might be answered by the fact that just as Tamil short vowels appear in derivatives the basal parts of which, when they stand alone, may show long vowels (as in *nēr*, *nettri*; *vēṇu*, *vekkai* etc.), the vowel in the compound *vettrilai* also may have appeared as short. Cf. also Tuḷu *berka* (roots) which has a short radical vowel.

These are, however, only probabilities and in the absence especially of any extant compound in which the first component *vettr*- unequivocally means 'root', it would be hazardous to draw definitive conclusions about *vettr*- of *vettrilai* being related to the word *vēr* meaning 'root'.

If now we take up the other probable base $v_e^a l$, $b_e^a l$

and attempt to relate it to native Dravidian bases, only vague suggestions are possible. We shall find ourselves here on much shakier ground than with the reconstructed (Dr. bases with final *r* or *-r*).

Conclusion.

We shall now sum up what this discussion has disclosed:—

(a) While the second components of the native Dravidian forms for 'betel-leaf' are native, the probable bases on which the first components have been formed show a certain structural correspondence to the Austric words.

(b) Our attempts to establish the native character of these probable bases have not enabled us to form definite conclusions, though we have been led to envisage certain probabilities.

1. It would be interesting to consider if the other dialects offer us any help in this direction.

'Root' is denoted in Gōṇḍi by *sīr*. The first portion of *bīr-āki* is contained in *bīr-oli* (jungle bush). *bīr* with the meaning 'jungle' 'forest' is a common Santālī word and is probably native in that Indian Austric dialect. If Gōṇḍi *bīr* of *bīr-āki* is a borrowing from Santālī, it may have nothing to do with Dr. *vēr* at all.

To Kurukh *barar* (pendulous roots of banyan or 'Ficus bengalensis'), Kurukh *barā* (banyan) is probably allied. Kurukh *baroi*, *barai* denote climbing plants. Kurukh *bara* (banyan) resembles the first word in Santālī *baṛe dare* (banyan), and probably and may be I A. in origin. (cf. Kurukh *barā* 'much' 'many,' borrowed from I A.). Whether indeed the other Kurukh words have anything to do with Dr. *bēr* (root), the one cannot say.

(c) The question of the relationship of the Dravidian words for 'betel' and the Austric forms has therefore to remain open. Further researches into Dravido-Austric contacts can alone help us in arriving at satisfactory conclusions.

AMARAKHAṆḌANA OF ŚRĪ HARṢA

BY

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The Amarakhaṇḍana, the text of which accompanies this short paper, is attributed to Śrī Harṣa in the colophon. Who this Śrī Harṣa is, I have not been able to determine as yet. But it seems certain that he is not identical either with the author of the Ratnāvalī etc. or with the author of the Naiṣadha and other works. The present author quotes from recent writers and hence the conclusion stated above.

Two manuscript copies of this work are known so far. One belongs to the Adyar Library and the other to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. Both are in palm leaf and in the Telugu script. Both copies are full of scriptorial errors and the worst part of it is, that both agree in the mistakes. The differences in the reading I not have noted in the foot-notes for they are negligible. The text as printed below is full of mistakes and therefore only tentative. The main reason that induced me to publish such an incorrect text is the historico-literary importance of the work. The work purports to be an unfavourable review of the Amarakośa of Amarasimha. Whether the criticisms are sound or otherwise, I do not intend discussing in this paper. But I propose to draw attention to the numerous authors and works quoted therein and make only such comments on them as are absolutely necessary.

The following authors are referred to in the course of the work:—

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Ajaya | 7. Keśava |
| 2. Cakravarti | 8. Keśavabhaṭṭa |
| 3. Gadādhara | 9. Ko. Lākṣibhaṭṭācārya |
| 4. Govardhana | 10. Lokākṣibhaṭṭa |
| 5. Govindapāda | 11. Mahendrācārya |
| 6. Hemacandra | 12. Maheśvara Dikṣita |

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 13. Pārthasārathimiśra | 19. Sudarśanācāryabhaṭṭācārya |
| 14. Parvatavardhana | 20. Sudarśanamīśra |
| 15. Pūrvācāryāḥ | 21. Vajrakhaḍgabhaṭṭācārya |
| 16. Rabhasa | 22. Vardhana |
| 17. Saṅghabhaṭṭācārya | 23. Viśvaprakāśikākāra |
| 18. Sudarśanācārya | |

The following works are referred to:—

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Bālabhāgavata | 14. Śabdacandrikā |
| 2. Bāṣkalabhāṣya | 15. Śabdacintāmaṇi |
| 3. Candrikā | 16. Śabdamīmāṃsā |
| 4. Kośaratna | 17. Śabdānuśāsana |
| 5. Mañjarī | 18. Śabdaratna |
| 6. Mañjūṣā | 19. Śabdarūpamīmāṃsā |
| 7. Maṇi | 20. Śabdaśabdārthacintāmaṇi |
| 8. Mucukundabhāṣyavivarāṇa | 21. Śabdaśabdārthamañjarī |
| 9. Nānārthacandrikā | 22. Śabdaśabdārthamañjūṣā |
| 10. Nānārthasīkhāmaṇi | 23. Śāradātilakabhāṣyavivarā- |
| 11. Paryāyaratnamālā | 24. Vaijayantī. |
| 12. Paryāyārṇava | |
| 13. Śābarabhāṣyavyākhyā | |

Among the authors referred to above, some are already familiar to us, but many are new. The following are worthy of our attention, on account of the fact that they are otherwise unknown to us:—

Cakravartī.

From the reference to Cakravartī on page 21, we are led to think that he is a lexicographer. But the name of his lexicon is yet to be found out.

Gadādhara.

It is not known whether this Gadādhara is the same as the famous Naiyāyika. He is here referred to as the author of a commentary on the Śābarabhāṣya.

Govardhana.

This Govardhana is a lexicographer. His lexicon is called *Maṇi*. Govardhana is referred to in other places also as a lexicographer.

Govindapāda.

There are two references to Govindapāda and both the references point to the fact that he ought to have composed some

work on lexicography. The name of the work is however not given.

Keśava.

The only reference to Keśava is found on page 17. I have not been able to trace this quotation either to the Nānārthārṇavaśaṅkṣepa of Keśavasvāmin or the Kalpadrukośa of Keśava.

Ko. Lākṣibhaṭṭācārya.

This person is referred to as the author of a lexicon by name Candrikā. Even the name of the author is not quite clear, for there are one or two letters missing between Ko. and Lā. I am not at present aware of any manuscript of the Candrikā of this unknown author.

Lokākṣibhaṭṭa.

Lokākṣibhaṭṭa is again an unknown lexicographer. A quotation from the work of this author is found on page 26.

Mahendrācārya.

There are two references to Mahendrācārya in this work. The former of the two references informs us that Mahendrācārya is the author of a work called *Mucukundabhāṣyavivarāṇa*. The second reference may be to the same work or to a different one.

Maheśvara Dikṣita.

The reference to Maheśvara Dikṣita is in connection with the Bālabhāgavata—a Kāvya, of which he is made out to be the author.

Pārthasārathimiśra.

This Pārthasārathimiśra need not be confounded with the author of the Śāstradīpikā. He is here the author of a lexicon by name Śabdacintāmaṇi.

Parvatavardhana.

A work called Śabdānuśāsana is here ascribed to the authorship of Parvatavardhana. So far as our knowledge goes at present, we do not know of any person of this name as the author of a Śabdānuśāsana. It is possible that the scribe has made a mistake for Harṣavardhana.

Saṅghabhaṭṭācārya.

Saṅghabhaṭṭācārya was the teacher of this Śrī Harṣa, the author of the Amarakhaṇḍana. He is here referred to as the author of a work called Śāradātilakabhāṣyavivarṇa.

Sudarśanācārya.

We find this author as a lexicographer herein.

Sudarśanācāryabhaṭṭācārya.

This author has to his credit a work called Mañjarī—a lexicon.

Sudarśanamiśra.

He too seems to have been a lexicographer.

Vajrakhaḍgabhaṭṭācārya.

He wrote a lexicon called Śabdaratna.

Vardhamāna.

Vardhamāna was the author of the Śabdarūpamīmāṃsā.

The following, among the works noted, are worthy of attention:—

Bālabhāṣya. See Maheśvara Dikṣita.

Bāṣkala Bhāṣya.

Evidently this is some commentary on the Bhāṣkala Samhitā of the Ṛg-Veda. We do not know whose bhāṣya is referred to herein.

Candrikā. See Ko. Lākṣibhaṭṭācārya.

Kośaratna.

The name itself is suggestive of the contents. The author is unknown.

Mañjarī. See Sudarśanācāryabhaṭṭācārya.

Mañjūṣā.

We do not know whether this a contracted name of the Śabdaśabdārthamañjūṣā or a different work altogether.

Maṇi. See Govardhana.

Mucukundabhāṣyavivarṇa. See Mahendrācārya.

Nānārthacandrikā.

This is a lexicon of synonyms of unknown authorship.

Nānārthaśikhāmaṇi.

This is another lexicon of synonyms of unknown authorship.

Paryāyaratnamālā
and
Paryāyārṇava. }

The former of these two works belongs to Maheśvaramiśra and the latter to Nilakaṇṭhamiśra. Only manuscript copies of these works are available.

Śābarabhāṣyavyākhyā. See Gadādhara.

Śabdacandrikā. See Govindapāda.

Śabdacintāmaṇi.

On page 20, the author says that the work was composed by his father and on page 23 the name of the author of the Śabdacintāmaṇi appears as Pārthasārathimiśra. It would not be therefore too much to infer that Pārthasārathimiśra was the father of this Śrī Harṣa.

Śabdamīmāṃsā.

From the way in which the Śabdamīmāṃsā is referred to here, we are led to think that it is the work of Ajaya. We know that Ajaya has written the Nānārthasaṅgraha. Whether the present work is only another name of that work or whether it is different we cannot say.

There are two other references to the Śabdānuśāsana and one of them is certainly not Parvatavardhana's. About the other, we do not know at present.

Śabdaratna. See Vajrakhaḍgabhaṭṭācārya. There are 6 references to this work. Evidently it is a lexicon.

Śabdarūpamīmāṃsā. See Vardhanācārya.

Śabdaśabdārthacintāmaṇi.

This is a lexicon of unknown authorship. There are two references to this work here.

Śabdaśabdārthamañjarī.

This too is a lexicon of unknown authorship.

Śabdaśabdārthamañjūśā.

Hanuvīramiśraṇṇa is the author of this work. MS. copies of this work are available.

Śabdānuśāsana. See Parvatavardhana.

Śāradātīlakabhāṣyaivaraṇa. See Saṅghabhaṭṭācārya.

Thus we see that in this short pamphlet a number of authors and works are quoted. Many of the works are not available at present. This is the only reason that induced me to publish this much defective text of the Amarakhaṇḍana.

॥ अमरखण्डनम् ॥

अतिचित्रमिदं हि चिन्त्यतां
विबुधैरप्यबुधातिजल्पितम् ।
रसवन्ति भवन्ति [?] तद्यथा-
मरसिंहस्य कृतिप्रकाशनम् ॥
तदिहैव विविच्यतेऽखिलं
शतशस्त्रेवमिति प्रबोधयन् ।
रसिकाः सरसी [?] कान्तमालस-
द्भृदयं ते सदयं पिबन्तु भोः ॥

यथा—‘समाहृत्य’ इत्यादौ । अयमाशयः—विपुलसंकुलप्राचीनग्रन्थ-
शब्दवर्गं रूपभेदादिपूर्वकं बहुलनाम यावलिङ्गविशिष्टत्वेन ग्रन्थरचना क्रियत
इति । एतद्रीत्यात्र न प्रतिमितिदं [?] न सम्यक् ॥

यथा वा—

“हय उच्चैःश्रवाः मृतो मातलिर्नन्दनं वनम्”

इत्यत्र

“हय उच्चैःश्रवा नीला शुभ्राङ्गी शक्रवाहनः ।
मृतोऽस्य मातलिः तिप्रः देवसारथिरित्यपि ॥
वनं च नन्दनं देवकाननं नन्दनामकम् ।
देवोद्यानं ॥”

इत्यादि पर्यायरत्नमालारचितमस्ति नामवाहुल्यं हयादिना । किं च—

“मातलिर्माकविस्तिप्रः सारथिस्तु हयङ्गपः” इति रभसः । एवमेव तत्र
तत्र कोशेषु वर्तते । तद्रीकमेव [?] नामरचितमिति बहुलयावन्नामता नास्तीत्यस्य
निबन्धनमङ्गः । न च संक्षिप्तपदेन तदोषपरिहार इति वाच्यम् ; तदपेक्षया
विशेषपरिष्काराभावत् अश्रद्धेयत्वप्रसक्तेः । किं च इन्द्रादिपर्यायाणां प्रवचनात्
तद्वाध किता [?] स्यात् । न च प्राचुर्यत्वेन प्रतिपादनमिति वाच्यम् ;
तस्याविवक्षितत्वात्, स्वारस्याभावात् ।

“पृथुरोमा झषो मत्स्यो मीनो वैसारिणोऽण्डजः”

इत्यादिषु बहुषु प्रतिपादितस्य व्यर्थतापत्तेश्च । अत एव—

“देवलोको देवनिधिः स्वर्गः स्वभुवनं परम् ।

राजालयं सौख्यनिधिर्निर्गलशुभोदयः ॥

स्वर्लोकस्तूर्ध्वलोकः स्यादपलोदपलोदयः ।

मन्दरः सैरिकः शक्रभवनं खं दिवं नभः ॥”

इति केशवः ॥

“वराळी मेघनिलया सौख्याधारा सुखालया ।

दूर्वामरावती स्थूणा गुळूची त्वमरास्मृते ॥”

इति विश्वप्रकाशिकाकारः ॥

“शतकोटिर्भिर्दुर्वज्रं व्याधावः शतधारकम्”

इति वैजयन्त्याम् ॥

“वज्रोऽशनिर्गिरीकण्ठः पविर्दम्भोळिरक्षमम्”

इति रभसः ॥

“तारा भं रात्रिजं धिष्यं सन्नक्षत्रमुदुर्न ना”

इति वैजयन्त्याम् ॥

“बलभद्रो बलश्चैव तस्य संवर्तकं हलम् ।

सौनन्दमस्य मुसलं खड्गस्तु खचितः..... ॥”

इति वैजयन्त्याम् ॥

एवं तत्र तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । एतेन प्रतिसंस्कृतनिबन्धस्याजागळस्तनता व्यक्ता ।
किं च—

“उपेन्द्र इन्द्रावरजो माधवः श्रीपतिर्हरिः”

इत्यादिकं कचिदुक्तमेवेति पुनः स्मरीकरिष्यते । एवं चैतत्तात्पर्येणैव—

“.....दायस्तु दायो वनहुताशनः”

“पृषदश्चो गन्धवहो गन्धवाहानिलाशुगाः”

“.....तारा तारकाप्युद्ध वास्त्रियाम्”

“रोहितो व्योहितो रक्तः शोणः क्रोकनदच्छविः”

“निकाणो निकणः काणः कणः कणनमित्यपि”

“भ्रुकुम्भश्च भ्रुकुम्भश्च भ्रुकुम्भश्चेति नर्तकः”

“अनादरः परिभवः परीभावस्तिरस्क्रिया”

“कौतूहलं कौतुकं च कुतुकं च कुतूहलम्”

“निम्नं गर्भारं गम्भीरं”

“खगे विहङ्गविहङ्गविहङ्गमविहायसाः ।

शकुन्तपक्षिशकुनशकुन्तशकुनिद्विजाः ।

पतत्रिपत्रिपतगपतपत्ररथाण्डजाः ॥”

“द्राक्षा लाक्षा जतु क्लीबे.....”

“वाणिज्यं तु वणिज्यं स्यात्.....”

इत्याद्युक्ता । एवं चात्र यावद्विकारवक्तृत्वस्य विषयत्वमिति स्फुट्यते । तथापि
‘भाजनं पात्रम्’ इत्यादिषु, नोक्तत्वात् कचिद्विदेशप्रकाशनमितीदं कियदिति ।
प्रकृतमनुसरामः ।

किं च कोशस्तु द्विविधः, पर्यायनानार्थभेदात् । अत एव पर्यायरत्नमाला,
पर्यायार्णवः, नानार्थचन्द्रिका, नानार्थशिखामणिः, शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषा
इत्यादिरूपेण लोकव्यवहारः । एष तु द्विविधरूपः सलिङ्गनिर्लिङ्गवर्गव्यतिरेकानां
वर्गणां पर्यायत्वात् अस्मिन् । अत एव—

“एकार्थवाचिशब्दानां पर्यायो मेळनं मतः”

इति सुदर्शनाचार्यभट्टाचार्या आहुः मञ्जर्याम् । एवं च तन्निबन्धनेनैव
तत्कण्ठवन्धनं कुर्महे । किञ्चासङ्गतान्तरमत्रास्ति ।

“अमरा निर्जरा देवा जिष्णुरिन्द्रः शतक्रतुः”

इत्यादिना सामान्यविशेषाभावेन सर्वत्र प्रणीतमेव न्याय्यम् । नैर्ऋतिपर्यायार्थे
“असुरा दैत्यदेवेयाः” इति सामान्यराक्षसपर्यायगणनाप्रस्तावे तत्पर्यायभूतान्—

“राक्षसः कोणपः क्रव्यात्क्रव्यादोऽस्यप आशरः

रात्रिचरो रात्रिचरः.....”

इत्यादिशब्दान् विहाय विशेषगणनाया विशेषपुरस्कारेण नीतमिति तन्नियतिः
किमु वक्तव्येत्यत्रोपरम्यते ॥

“स्त्रियां बहुष्वप्सरसः स्वर्वेश्या उर्वशीमुखाः”

इति यदुक्तं तदयुक्तम् ।

“अप्सरा चाप्यप्सराश्च किञ्चाप्सरस इत्यपि”

इति मुचिकुन्दभाष्यविवरणे महेन्द्राचार्याः । अत एव भास्कलभाष्येऽपि
‘बहुत्वमप्सरादीनाम’ इतीदं सूचितम् इति शारदातिलकभाष्यविवरणेऽप्य-
स्मद्गुरुवः सङ्गभट्टाचार्या अप्याहुः । एतदधिकं तत्रैव द्रष्टव्यं सूक्ष्मशेमुषीभिः ।
तत्सर्वं नोक्तमिति तदज्ञता स्फुटीकृता । न च तत्सोऽर्थं कस्यैव[?]....गप्रदर्शनमेवं
कृतमिति वाच्यम् । तथा चेत् “जातिर्जातं च सामान्यम्” “स्थलं
स्थली” इति भणनमेव न स्यात् । तत्रापि तद्वैयर्थ्यावपि अनवस्थादोषः ।
किञ्च विरिञ्चनादिपर्यायाणामेकपर्यायविकारकरणेनैव चारितार्थ्यादन्येषामजागळ-
स्तनता इत्येतावन्तग्रन्थविरोध एव स्फूर्जत्येवेत्यलं शोधितशोधितेन ॥

“तमस्तु राहुः स्वर्भानुः सैक्षिकेयो विधुंतुदः”

इति यत्तदसत् । तम इति शब्दस्य लिङ्गनिश्चयाभावात् । न च “तमिस्त्रं
तिमिरं तमः” इति वाक्यादत्रापि नपुंसकतैवोपेया । अत एव—

“रजो गुणेऽपि स्त्रीवृष्ये राहोर्वान्ते गुणः तमः”

इत्यभिधानान्तरम् । अतस्तत्रापि क्लीबैवेत्युच्यते इति वाच्यम् । तर्हि “पूः स्त्री पुरीनगर्यौ वा” इत्यस्य व्यर्थत्वेन, पुरमित्युत्तरानुशासनात् । आस्तामेतत् । यदि रूपभेदेनोच्यते इत्युच्यमाने पुंस्त्वे तदा “रजो गुणेऽपि” इति कोशविरोधः । किञ्च तत्र मते पुंस्त्वानुशासनाभावात् अगत्या क्लीबैवेति सिद्धम् ।

किञ्च—

“स्त्रियां नौस्तरणिस्तारः” इत्युक्तेस्तरणिशब्दस्य स्त्रीत्वे क्तुसति ? सूर्यपर्यायतरणिशब्दस्यापि स्त्रीत्वमेव स्यात् । यद्वा वेना [?] त्रैव पुंस्त्वे वा स्यात् । अत्रोभयत्रापि लिङ्गकत्वेन येन केनापि रचितं नः श्रुतं च । अतस्त्वेमेतस्मिन् ग्रन्थे कल्पितं न युक्तम् । तथानुशासनाभावादशास्त्रीयत्वेन मायतैवेत्यास्तां प्रसक्तानुप्रसक्त्या । प्रकृतमनुसरामः । तमः इति पुलिङ्ग इति महेन्द्राचार्याः । उक्तं च शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायाम्—

“तमः पुंसि गुणे राहौ धूलिध्वान्तार्तवारिषु ।
तमा तमी तमाश्चापि ध्वान्तादिषु समीहिता ॥”

इति । अत एव तम इत्यादिकं पुंस्येव सम्यगिति मन्यतेऽस्मिन्नर्थे सुदर्शनमिश्रैः
इति शाबरभाष्यव्याख्याने गदाधरोऽप्याहति तत्सिद्धम् ।

यत्तु—

“पीडा बाधा व्यथा दुःखमामनस्यं प्रसूतिजम्”
इति तन्न ।

“पीडा पीडश्च सम्मतः” इति पूर्वाचार्याः ।
“चूडा गूडा नडा पीडा स्त्रियां पुंसि च रूढितः”

इति वज्रखड्गभट्टाचार्योऽप्याह शब्दरत्ने । अत एवास्मत्तातचरणैः शब्द-
चिन्तामणौ “पुंसि पीडादिनाङ्कः पीडः” इति कथितम् । तस्मात्तथैव
तदिति मन्तव्यम् ।

“महाक्षोणी भूमिः”

इति यत्, तन्न । अत्र इकारान्तईकारान्तयोः सत्त्वात् । यदाहुः—....
को लाक्षिभट्टाचार्याश्च चन्द्रिकायाम्—

“कही मही सही क्षोणी मतिभूमिमहीमुखाः ।

ईकारान्ता इकारान्ताश्चेति सर्वज्ञशासनम् ॥”

इति । अत एव प्राञ्चः शब्दानुशासनेऽप्याहुः—

“ईकारान्ता इकारान्ता इकारान्तास्तथैव हि”

इति । एवं तत्र योज्यम् । अत एवान्येऽप्याचार्या आहुः—

“पुरः पुरा पुरं पुरी महिमही”

इत्यादिना ।

“हर्म्यादिर्धनिनां वासः”

इति यत्तदयोग्यम्, लिङ्गनिश्चयाभावात् । यदि पूर्वोत्तरपर्यालोचनया पुलिङ्ग

इति प्रवदति तर्हि तदप्यायासकरमेव ।

“हर्मि हर्मिश्च हर्म्यश्च हर्म्यं हर्म्यापि राङ्गृहे”

इति शब्दरत्नपाठात् । अत एवाधुनिका अप्येवमाहुः । योज्यम् [?]

“निर्झरो झरः”

इत्यलिङ्गविशेषनिरूपणाभावाद्वाधकमेव ।

“झारि झरा झरी झारिः झारा झाराश्च निर्झरः”

इति शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषोक्तेः ।

“स्त्रियः सुमनसः पुष्पम्”

इत्यत्र न सुमनस इति बहुवचनं युक्तम् ।

“सुमनः सुमनाः स्त्रियाम्”

इति चक्रवर्त्युक्तेः । किञ्च—

“सुमनः सुमनाश्चैव स्यात्कमात्पुंसि च स्त्रियाम्”

इति केशवभट्टाचार्याः । अत एव शब्दरूपमीमांसायां च वर्धनाचार्योऽप्याह—

“सुमनं सुमनः सुमनः बहुषु” इति ।

“पुष्पोऽस्त्री कुसुमम्”

इति वैजयन्त्याम् । न पुष्प.....तिनम् । किञ्च सुदर्शनाचार्योऽप्याह—

“पुष्पोऽन्त्री कुसुमे नीले वृत्ततालादिकेषु च” इति ॥

“नडस्तु धमनः पोटगळोथा कोशमल्लियाम्”

इत्यसत् ।

“नलोऽम्बुजे नले न स्त्री धमनामृतुणेऽन्तिमः”

इति हेमचन्द्रः ॥

“स्यार्द्धारणं वीरतरं.....”

तदसत् ।

“वीराङ्गो वीरवृक्षः स्यात् वीरणश्चापि वीरकः”

इति पर्यायरत्नमालायाम् ॥

“गिरिका बालमूर्षिका”

इति यदुक्तं तत्र सम्भक्तं । बालमूर्षीति तस्य पुंस्त्वेन प्रयोगात् । यथा

शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायाम्—

“गिरिका गैरिका चैव वसुमन्त्री महेश्वरी ।

स्त्रीपुंसयोश्च बालीयमूर्षिका मूर्षकश्च सः ॥” इति ।

उक्तं च शब्दरेखे -

“गिरिका मूर्षिका वत्से न क्लीवे गिरिका शिवा” इति ॥

“चटकः कलविङ्कः स्यात् तस्य स्त्री चटका तयोः ।

पुंमपत्ये चाटकरस्त्वपत्ये.....चटकैव हि ॥”

इति यत्तदसत्, एवमुक्तेः प्रयोजनाभावात्, एतत्प्रकरणेऽप्यनुक्तत्वादुक्तस्यापि निष्फलत्वात् । यद्येवमन्येनामूहितुमिति “गिरिका बालमूर्षिका” इत्याद्युक्तेः निष्फलतादिदोषबाहुल्यं स्यात् । तत्र बालमूर्षिकेऽप्यनुक्तत्वादित्यादिकं विचार-
रमणीयं विवेकिभिः ॥

“कान्तार्थिनी तु या याति संकेतं सामिसारिका”

इति न समीचीनम् ।

“कान्ताथ संकेतगता कान्तेनापि समागता ।

स्यात्सामिसारिका नैव न क्लीवे दौत्यजन्तुषु ॥”

इति शब्दरेखे । अत एव महेश्वरदीक्षितोऽपि बालभागवतेऽप्याह—

“कान्तं गता कान्तगता रहस्यात्सामिसारिका” इति ।

अपरे त्वालङ्कारिका एवमाहुः—

“पादाङ्गदं तुलाकोटिर्मञ्जरी नूपुरोऽस्त्रियाम्” ।

इत्याद्वयत्तदसत् [?] । तुलाकोटिशब्दस्य लिङ्गनिश्चयाभावात् । यदि

मञ्जरीपदसाहित्यात् पुंस्त्वमिति वदति तर्हि,

“तुलाकाटिः स्त्रियां प्रोक्ता मञ्जरीरेऽप्युङ्कुके त्रिषु”

इति कोशरत्नकृतनिर्णयस्य व्यर्थता स्यात् ।

“स्त्रियां तुलाकोटिरासीत् मञ्जरीरावर्तयोः पुमान्”

इति गोविन्दपादाद्युक्तिवैषम्यं प्रसज्येतेत्यलं खण्डनेन ॥

“तमालपत्रं तिलकं चित्रकं च विशेषकम् ।

द्वितीयं च तुरीयं च स स्त्रियामथ कुङ्कुमम् ॥”

इति यत्तदसत् ।

“फालाङ्गं चित्रकं दिव्यं तिलकं मुखमण्डनम् ।

तमालपत्रं प्रद्युम्नसहायं चापि नः स्त्रियाम् ॥”

इति शब्दशब्दार्थचिन्तामणौ प्रतिपादनात् ।

“स्मरः प्रियस्मरोयोगचित्रकान्तिमनोहराः ।

विशेषकमुखाः शब्दसिलके क्लीवतापि च ॥”

इति हेमचन्द्रोक्तेः । अत एव पार्थसारथिमिश्रोऽपि शब्दचिन्तामणौ
आह—

“किञ्चापि चित्रकाद्याश्च तिलके पुंनपुंसकाः” इति ।

“तत्कालस्तु तथात्वं स्यादायतिः काल उत्तरः”

इत्यत्र आयतिशब्दस्य लिङ्गनिश्चयाभावात् अनुचितमेतत्प्रकरणादिना ; तदसिद्धेश्च ;
यदि “स्यात्प्रभावोऽपि चायतिः” इति नानार्थेषूक्तत्वात् तत्राप्रकरणात् स्त्रीत्वस्य
क्लृप्तत्वेऽपि स्त्रीत्वमुन्नेयमिति, तर्हि प्रायश इति निबन्धनस्य निष्फलत्वं स्यात् ।
एतदुपलक्षकमित्युच्यमाने सर्वेषां पर्यायाणां लिङ्गादीनां च उपलक्षका इति

स्याताम् । एवं च “स्वरव्ययम्” इत्युक्त्यैव सर्वेषामुपलक्षकविधया सिद्धिवशाद्ग्रन्थमात्रोच्छेदः स्यादित्यलं धावनेन । एवं च तन्निबन्धनमेव तत्कण्ठबन्धनं जातमिति सूचिनम् ॥

“निगळस्तु गळोद्देशे”

इति न सम्यक् ।

“निगाळश्च निगाळा च निगाळं च निगाळकम् ।

निगाळी च गळोद्देशे गळीये वाच्यवच्च तत् ॥” इति

शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायाम् । तत् उक्तशब्दजातमित्यर्थः ॥

“फलकोऽस्त्री फलं चर्म संप्राप्तो मुखिरस्य यः”

इति यत्तदसत् ।

“फलकस्त्रिषु विष्णवादीं फलकश्चर्मणि स्मृतः”

इति मञ्जूषायाम् ।

“शिलाभेदे चर्मणि च फलको सल्लेदेषु” [?] इति

गोवर्धनोऽप्याह मणौ ।

“दारुपात्रविशेषे च फालेऽश्मनि च चर्मणि ।

फलकः पुंसि वरदे फलकस्त्रिषु संमतः ॥” इति

शब्दरत्ने ॥

“प्रस्थानं गमनं गमः”

इति यत्तदसत् ।

“गमनं संगतं यानं प्रस्थानं च प्रचालनम् ।

प्रभालिकादिशब्दाश्च पुंसि चेति विदुर्बुधाः ॥” इति

शब्दचिन्तामणौ ।

“गमनस्तु कळानाथे महेश्वरवसन्तयोः ।

प्रस्थाने बाहुळेये च पुंसि त्रिषु विकारिषु ॥” इति

पर्वतवर्धनोऽप्याह शब्दानुशासने ॥

“पांसुर्नो न द्वयो रजः”

इति न समीचीनम् ।

“शिरोवाचि शिरःशब्दो रजोवाचि रजस्तथा ।

शिरश्च रज इत्येव एकारान्ते च पुंसि च ॥” इति

शब्दशब्दार्थचिन्तामणौ ।

“रजस्तु पुंस्यकारान्तः पांसौ शंभौ ऋतावपि” इत्यादयः [?] ॥

“केतनं ध्वजमस्त्रियाम्” इत्याह यत्तदयोग्यम् ।

“केतनं पुंसि लशुने ध्वजे चन्द्रे च न स्त्रियाम्” इति

शब्दानुशासनात् ॥

“स्त्रियां ऋषिः पाशुपाल्यं वाणिज्यं चेति वृत्तयः”

इति यत्तन्न विचारक्षमम् ।

“वाणिज्यं चापि वाणिज्या वाणीज्या इति संमता” इति

शब्दचन्द्रिकायाम् ।

“वृत्तौ प्रोक्ता च वाणीज्यं वाणिज्यापि च वाणिजम्” इति

गोविन्दपादाः ॥

“ब्रीहिभेदस्त्वणुः पुमान्”

इति यत्तन्न मनोहरम् ।

“तृणोऽस्त्रि [?]....शुपुठके ब्रीहिदुदादिकेऽपि [?].....च ॥” इति

शब्दरत्ने ।

“कणः कणं च लेशे स्यात् तृणोऽपि तृणमस्त्रियाम्” इति

शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायाम् ।

“कपिशं सस्यमञ्जरी” इत्यसत् ।

“कणिशः कण्टकः छन्नः पन्नलः सस्यमञ्जरी” इति

शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जर्याम् ।

“कणिशं कणिशश्चैव कर्णाशी कर्णाशपि च” इति
शब्दचन्द्रिकायां च ॥

“अयोऽग्रं मुसलोऽस्त्री स्यात्”
इत्यसंगतम् ।

“अयोऽग्रः कुन्तलादौ च मुसलादौ शरादिके” इति
शब्दरत्ने ।

“अयोऽग्रोऽस्त्री शरादौ च मुसलादौ च संमतः” इति
लोकाक्षिभट्टश्च ॥

“रुक्म कार्तस्वरं जाम्बूनदमप्रापदोऽस्त्रियाम्”
इत्यसत् । जाम्बूनदशब्दस्यापि पुंलिङ्गस्य सत्त्वात् । यदाहाजयः—

“लोहाजोप्रापदो हेम जाम्बूनदमयानुकाः ।
क्रीवेऽप्येते च शब्दाः स्युरिति शास्त्रविदो विदुः ॥” इति
शब्दमीमांसायाम् । अत एव शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायां च—

“हेम जाम्बूनदपदे पुंसि चाहुर्विशेषकाः” इति ।
एवमश्मसारमधुछपकादीनां यथायोगं योजनीयं सूक्ष्मधीभिरित्युपरम्यते ।
एवममरनिबन्धनस्याशास्त्रीयत्वमिति सिद्धान्तितम् ॥

इत्थं विपक्षविबुधमस्तकन्यस्तसत्पदा ।

श्रीहर्षेण कृतं सन्तः पठन्त्वमरखण्डनम् ॥

॥ इत्यमरखण्डनम् श्रीहर्षविरचितं समाप्तम् ॥

ŚĀNTA—THE NINTH RASA.*

BY

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About the *rasa* called *śānta*, much controversy appears to have arisen and continued long among the old Ālaṅkārikas. The oldest extant work in which we find for the first time this *rasa* expressly mentioned is Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyaśālaṅkārasaṅgraha* (p. 49). But there, neither Udbhaṭa nor his commentator, Pratihārendurāja, introduces any opposite views regarding it, and it is merely mentioned along with others, as if there has been no conflict of opinion about it. One reason why some refuse to accept *śānta* is given by Abhinavagupta, by way of introduction to a passage in the *Dhvanyāloka*, where Ānandavardhana endeavours to establish this *rasa*. This is the introductory line (p. 176) :—

ननु नास्त्येव शान्तो रसः । तस्य तु स्थाय्येव नोपदिष्टो मुनिने-
त्याशङ्क्याह—शान्तश्चेति ।

But the following extract from *Dhanika* (Jivananda's Ed. 1878—p. 165) contains some other reasons also :—

इह शान्तरसं प्रति वादिनामनेकविधा विप्रतिपत्तयः । तत्र केचि-
दाहुः—नास्त्येव शान्तो रसः । तस्याचार्येण विभावाद्यप्रतिपादनाल्लक्षणाकर-
णात् । अन्ये तु वस्तुतस्तस्याभावं वर्णयन्ति । अनादिकालप्रवाहायातराग-
द्वेषयोरुच्छेत्तुमशक्यत्वात् । अन्ये तु वीरवीभत्सादावन्तर्भावं वर्णयन्ति । एवं
वदन्तः शममपि नेच्छन्ति ।

Most probably to the first अन्ये, and केचित्, mentioned by *Dhanika* in the above passage, might be ascribed the authorship of the two *śloka*s respectively, which, *Dharmasūri*, the author of the *Sāhityaratnākara*, quotes in the *pūrvapakṣa* concerning the *śānta rasa*, with a few introductory words :—

अन्ये तु ‘न शान्तं मेनिरे रसम्’ इति प्रमाणयन्तोऽष्टावेव रसा-
नभिप्रेत्याहुः—

* Appendix to “Definition of Poetry or Kāvya”, thesis approved by the University of Madras for the Degree of Master of Oriental Learning.

रागद्वेषविलाससंभृतरसं विश्वं जगच्चेष्टते
तावेतौ सुतरामनादिसुमहाकालप्रवाहोल्बणौ ।
नैकोऽपि क्षमते पुमांस्तदनयोरामूलमुन्मूलने
तेनात्यन्तपरीक्षणे तु भुवने का नाम शान्तेः कथा ॥

अपि च,

यदि नवमतया शमो मतः स्यात्
किमिति मुनिः सं च नाटलक्षदेनम् ।
अपि परिगणयन् रसेषु भावान्
रतिमुखानललङ्घदस्य किं वा ॥

Dhanañjaya seems to accept *śama* as distinct from *śānta* *rasa*, which, he thinks, has no place in a drama :—

शममपि केचित्प्राहुः पुष्टिर्नाट्येषु नैतस्य ।

Explaining the above, Dhanika writes :—

यथा तथास्तु । सर्वथा नाटकादावभिनयात्मनि स्थायित्वमस्माभिः शमस्य
निषिध्यते । तस्य समस्तव्यापारप्रविलयरूपस्याभिनयायोगात् ।

What chiefly led Dhanika and Dhanañjaya to such a conclusion is evidently the silence of Bharata with respect to its *sthāyībhāva*—which Abhinavagupta refers to in the line quoted above. But how are we to account for Udbhaṭa's statement (P. 49.)—

“बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः” ?

From the Locana, we understand that according to some, Bharata himself accepts the *śānta* *rasa*. Abhinavagupta says there :— अन्ये तु

“स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पद्यते रसः ।

पुनर्निमित्तापाये तु शान्त एव प्रलीयेत ॥”¹

इति भरतवाक्यं दृष्टवन्तः सर्वरससामान्यस्वभावं शान्तमाचक्षाणाः ।

This is his own view also. Because he writes further on—

प्रतीयत एवेति । मुनिनाप्यङ्गीकृत एव “क्वचिच्छमः” इत्यादि वदता ।

Following Udbhaṭa, some held that the chief *rasa* in the *Nāgānanda* is *śānta*. Dhanika refutes this, in defence of his own and Dhanañjaya's theory:

1. My endeavour to trace out these words of Bharata in the *Nāṭya Śāstra* has proved fruitless. Yet I am far from affirming that they could not be found there.

यत्तु कैश्चिन्नागानन्दादौ शमस्य स्थायित्वमुपवर्णितम्, तत्तु मलयवत्य-
नुरोगेण आप्रवन्धप्रवृत्तेन विद्याधरचक्रवर्तित्वप्राप्त्या(च) विरुद्धम् । न ह्येकानु-
कार्यविभावात्मनो विषयानुरागापरागावुपलब्धौ ।

Having in view what he is thus going to say in the fourth Pariccheda, Dhanika concludes in the second Pariccheda (pp. 65—6) that the hero of the *Nāgānanda*, Jimūtavāhana, is *dhīrodatta*, not *dhīraśānta*. But Hemacandra, who follows Abhinavagupta in almost everything, accepts heartily *śānta*, and thus attacks Dhanika in his *Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi* :—

एवं यत् कैश्चिर्जीमूतवाहनस्य धीरोदात्तत्वं प्रतिष्ठि(ष्टापि)तं तत्
प्रत्युक्तमेव ।

Mammaḷa, who regards *nirveda* as the *sthāyībhāva* of *śānta*, is also attacked here by Hemacandra. The former writes in the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* : (4th Ullāsa.)

निर्वेदस्यामङ्गलप्रायस्य प्रथममुपादेयत्वेऽप्युपादानं व्यभिचारित्वेऽपि
स्थायित्वाभिधानार्थम् । तेन निर्वेदस्यायिभावः शान्तोऽस्ति नवमो रसः ।

This view appears in a metrical garb in Dharmasūri's *Sāhityaratnākara* :

न स्थायिव्यभिचारिते यदि पुनश्चित्ते मुनेः सम्मते

निर्वेदस्य निरूप्य तान् रतिमुखानष्टावपि स्थायिनः ।

तेषूद्देश्यतया स्थितेषु बहुशो भावेषु सञ्चारिणां

नित्यामङ्गलमुद्दिशेत् कथमसौ निर्वेदमेवादितः ॥

Rejecting the above, Hemacandra says (p. 81):

एतेन निर्वेदस्यामङ्गलप्रायत्वेऽपि व्याभिचारिषु यन्मुनिना प्रथममुपादानं
कृतं तत् स्थायिताभिधानार्थमिति यदुक्तं तत् प्रतिक्षिप्तम् । तथा हि—कोऽयं
निर्वेदो नाम ? तस्मात् शम एव स्थायी । न च
शमशान्तयोः पर्यायत्वमाशङ्कनीयम् । हासहास्ययोरिव सिद्धसाध्यतया लौकिका-
लौकिकतया साधारणासाधारणतया च वैलक्षण्यात् ।

We meet with an interesting passage in the *Sāhityaratnākara*, from which we understand that the quarrel about the *sthāyībhāva* was in no way less, perhaps much greater, than that about the *rasa* itself:

किञ्च ‘जुगुप्साविस्मयशमाः स्थायिभावाः’ इति वचनानुरोधात् श्रुत
एवास्य स्थायिभावः । केचिदुत्साहं स्थायिनमाहुः । कोहलस्तु उत्साहो वा निर्वेदो
वा शमो वास्य स्थायीत्युवाच । केचिज्जुगुप्सास्थायिनमेनमाहुः ।

Surely it is quite impossible to trace out at present wherefrom Dharmasūri came to know of this view of Kohala. About Kohala, all that can be gathered from a minute and patient scrutiny of all the existing *Alaṅkāra* works, is set forth by S. K. De, in his "Sanskrit Poetics" (pp. 24-6). I should add here that one Mārkaṇḍeya-Kavindra is said to have written in his *Prākṛta-Sarvasva* as follows:

शाकल्य-भरत-कोहल-वररुचि-भामह-वसन्तराजाद्यैः प्रोक्तान् ग्रन्थान्....
....मार्कण्डेयकवीन्द्रः प्राकृतसर्वस्वमारभते ।

From this we understand that Kohala was the author of a *Prākṛta* work now lost to us; but since the chronological order seems to have been kept in view by Mārkaṇḍeya in mentioning these authors it may be well supposed that according to him Kohala was anterior to Vararuci the author of *Prākṛta-Prakāśa*.

Leaving the question of *stheyibhāva* of the *śāntarasa*, Dharmasūri goes on to specify—by way of answering a question—the kind of poetry in which *śānta* can have a place;

ननु सर्वव्यापारोपरमरूपस्य तस्याभिनयप्रधानेषु नाट्यप्रबन्धेषु कथमुप-
योग इति चेन्मैवम् । न हि वयं नाट्यप्रबन्धेष्वपि शान्तरसप्रचारमाद्रियामहे ।
किन्तु वर्णनात्मककाव्यभेदेष्वेव । अत एव 'अष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः' इति
काव्यप्रकाशिकाकारः ।

Such an answer perhaps was suggested to him by Ānandavardhana, who, in a somewhat lengthy disquisition in the fourth Uddyota of his *Dhvanyāloka*, proves that *śānta* is the principal *rasa* in the *Mahābhārata*. But Dhanika seems to be a bitter enemy of *śānta*, for, even in the *Mahābhārata* he would not allow it. Introducing and commenting upon a line of Daśarūpa he writes (p. 176);

ननु शान्तरसस्यानभिधेयत्वात् (This is palpably a mistake: it should be
आनभिधेयत्वात्) नाट्येऽपि मूढमातीतादिवस्तूनां सर्वेषामपि शब्दप्रतिपाद्यतया
विद्यमानत्वात् काव्यविषयत्वं न निवार्यते । अतः (?) तदुच्यते—
शमप्रकर्षो (?) निर्वाच्यो मुदितादेस्तदात्मना¹ ॥

शान्तो हि यदि तावत्

1. This line is very badly misunderstood and mistranslated by Haas.

न यत्र दुःखं न सुखं न चिन्ता
न द्वेषरागौ न च काचिदिच्छा ।
रसस्तु शान्तः कथितो मुनीन्द्रैः
सर्वेषु भावेषु शमप्रधानः ॥

इत्येवंलक्षणः, तदा तस्य मोक्षावस्थायामेवात्मस्वरूपापत्तिलक्षणायां प्रादु-
र्भावात् (?) तस्य च स्वरूपेणानिर्वाच्यता । तथा हि—श्रुतिरपि 'स एष नेति
नेति' इत्यन्यापोहरूपेणाह । न च तथाभूतस्य शान्तरसस्य सहृदयाः
स्वादयितारः सन्ति । अथ तदुपायभूतो मुदितामैत्रीकरुणोपेक्षालक्षणः तस्य च
विकासविस्तरक्षोभविक्षेपरूपतैवेति तदुक्त्यैव शान्तरसास्वादो निरूपितः ॥

Thus Dhanika is in direct conflict with Ānandavardhana though he does not expressly refute his theory. Dharmasūri too is wrong in supposing that Ānandavardhana is not in favour of *śānta* being given a place in dramatic works. For, the latter when arguing in favour of the ninth *rasa*, tells us that the three *vīras* of Bharata, *dayā*, *dāna*, and *dharma*, imply *śānta*,—a fact—which leads us to conclude that those dramatic pieces whose heroes belong to any one of the three above-mentioned classes, are necessarily expressive of *śāntarasa*. That such was the idea of Ānandavardhana is strengthened by the following lines of his commentator Abhinavagupta, who gives the highest place to *śānta* among the *rasas*;

आधिकारिकत्वेन तु शान्तो रसो (न!) निवद्वय इति चन्द्रिकाकारः,
तच्चेहास्माभिर्न पर्यालोचितम् । प्रसङ्गान्तरात् । मोक्षफलत्वेन चायं परम-
पुरुषार्थनिष्ठितत्वात् सर्वरसेभ्यः प्रधानतमः ।

It is generally known that sometimes the poets themselves propound, expressly or by implication, theories relating to the art of poetry. One of such poets is Kṛṣṇamiśra, the well-known author of the *Prabodha-Candrodaya*, whose principal *rasa* is *śānta* as Nāgeśa rightly points out in his commentary on *Rasa-gaṅgādharā*¹ (p. 30). It is in Veṅkaṭanātha "Master of all arts and sciences," that we see the most eminent poet who refutes the views of Dhanika and Dhanañjaya with regard to the *śānta-rasa*. The following, taken from the prologue to his drama,

1. Ed. 1888.

the Saṅkalpasūryodaya is a portion of the dialogue between Sūtradhāra and Naṭī :—

नटी—युक्तमेवैवद्याहृतमर्थस्य । तथापि शान्तो नाम रसो नास्तीति गन्धर्वा-
गमदेशिकैः समर्थ्यते । तस्मादत्र कथं तादृशस्य रसस्य निवेशः ?

सूत्रधारः— (सावज्ञावहित्यम्) अर्थे ! न खलु सम्भावयामि तानहं भरतमत-
पारदश्चनः । (विमृश्य)

अथवा तादृशान् सम्यान् मत्वा जगति दृष्टमान् ।

अङ्गे शान्तिरसोऽस्मात्प्रसक्तमिममिति ॥

अपि च—

अमन्यपरिपाटिकामधिकरोति शृङ्गारता

परस्परतिरस्कृतिं परिचिन्तति वीरयितम् ।

विरुद्धगतिरद्भुतस्तदल्पसुरिः परैः

शमन्तु परिशिष्यते अभिनचित्वेदो रसः ॥

नटी—नवनु नाम सतकपनन्दनादिमुनिजनगृहीतः सोऽपि तादृशो रसः ।
तथापि कथं निधन्दांनिषिद्धस्तरणनिष्पादनीययोगप्रधान एव सर्वजन-
प्रक्षणीयेन नाटकवृत्तान्तेन संपाद्यते ।

सूत्रधारः—अर्थे ! भवे वादीः । न हि वयमवधूतनिखिलधर्माणामलेपकानां
मतमभिनेष्यामः येनैवमाशङ्कसे । सन्ति खलु भगवता गीताचार्येण
सहस्रशः प्रतिपादिताः सार्विकेन व्यागेन परिकर्मिता निवृत्तिधर्मपद्धति-
नियता विविधा व्यापाराः यः भिनयेन रङ्गोपजीविनामाजीवावकाशः ।
अपि चेदं निशमयतु निशामयतु वा नाट्यवैभवं भवती । श्रूयते हि—
न तच्छास्त्रं न सा विद्या न तच्छिल्पं न ताः कलाः ।
नासौ योगो न तज्ज्ञानं नाटके यन्न दृश्यते ॥

“Naṭī (with joy)—What my lord sayeth is right, but how to account for the embodiment of the emotion of peace in this drama, when the masters of the Histrionic art maintain that there is no such thing as *śānta*.

Sūtradhāra (contemptuously)—Lady ! Them, then, I do not consider as connoisseurs of the histrionic art.

They hold the opinion that the emotion of peace could not be enacted, perhaps because of the difficulty to find in this world an audience to appreciate that emotion.

Further :—

The erotic emotion pampereth the ways of the wicked; the emotion of valour breedeth mutual contempt, the emotion of wonder bordereth on the grotesque; the other emotions are paltry enough. But peace alone then by elimination is the emotion that allayeth the agony of the mind.

Naṭī—This superior emotion (peace) is of the experience of great sages, such as Sanaka, Sanandana and others. Still, how could this emotion, the essence of which is *yoga* which is attainable only by the control of the sense-group, be represented in a drama, fit alone to be witnessed by Philistines !

Sūtradhāra—Lady! say not so. For:—for thee to raise this doubt, we are not going to depict the creed of Alepakas, who give up the performance of all duties. There are *varṇāśrama* duties expounded times without number, by the divine Lord Kṛṣṇa,—duties ennobled by the doctrine of *Sāttvikatyāga* and which could not be abandoned by the adherents of *Nivṛttidharma*. It is the discharge of these duties that giveth the lovers of Ranga their lives' goal. Further hear and see more, about the greatness of true histrionic art. For, it is said :—

That which could not be depicted in a drama is neither *śāstra* nor *vidyā*, *śilpa*, nor *kalā*, *yoga* nor *jñāna*.¹

1. These passages are extracted from the translation of the Saṅkalpasūryodaya by K. Narayanacharya, B.A., and D. Raghunathaswami Iyengar.

THE CHINESE SUVARṆA-SAPTATI AND
THE MĀṬHARA-VṚTTI.

BY

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It is well-known that Paramārtha, a Buddhist monk who went and lived in China in the 5th Century A. D., took with him a number of works from India, which he translated into Chinese. One of these was the *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*, which in the Chinese is known by the equivalent of the *Suvarṇa-Saptati*. The translation includes a commentary as well. Both of these were first made available to the non-Chinese-knowing world by M. Takakusu in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française de l'Extrême Orient*, in 1904. M. Takakusu noticed several points of resemblance between Gauḍapāda's bhāṣya and the commentary that had been translated by Paramārtha. There is not much room to think that the latter was written by Paramārtha, since, in more than one place¹, he adds a note of his own, either explaining the commentary or dissenting therefrom. It was, therefore, thought that Gauḍapāda's bhāṣya was possibly translated by Paramārtha, or else some commentary, which was the original for Gauḍapāda as well. When later a manuscript of the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* was discovered, it was found that this had far greater affinities with what Paramārtha had translated into Chinese; while at the same time from its being in some ways clearer and fuller than Gauḍapāda's bhāṣya, it seemed to be the original of the latter too. It seemed, therefore, exceedingly likely that the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* was the original for Paramārtha. This conclusion was stated by Dr. Belvalkar² quite a long time ago and presumably he is of the same opinion still. He is not unaware of some differences between the two, but he considers these to be of little moment, like those incidental to differences of recension, as between the Chinese and the Japanese. Anything like an examination in some detail of the two commen-

taries seems, however, to reveal several differences in fundamentals, differences that can hardly square with the hypothesis of the one having been the original of the other. Such an examination has been under-taken elsewhere by the present writer; he seeks here only to re-state some of the points of difference under three heads : I. Differences in doctrine between Māṭhara and Paramārtha; II. Differences in exposition, where Paramārtha agrees more with Gauḍapāda than with Māṭhara; III. Differences in exposition, where Paramārtha is fuller and more intelligible than either Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda.

I

(a) The first of these relates to the order of evolution. "The five subtle elements", says Paramārtha, "proceed from *ahaṅkāra*; they are then products; but they produce the five *mahābhūtas* and the *indriyas*; they are then productive; that is to say, the subtle element of sound produces ethereal space and the organ of hearing, the subtle element of odour produces the earth and the organ of smell and so on." The doctrine of the origin of the *indriyas* from the *tanmātras* is foreign to the Sāṅkhya of the *Kārikās*, as expounded by Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda or by any known Saṃskṛt commentator. The account given here (in the commentary on verse 3), occurs elsewhere too, in the commentaries on verses 8, 10, 26 and 56, while it is implied by the commentary on verse 34. A passage from the commentary on verse 26 may be quoted to remove any possible doubt as to Paramārtha's meaning. "The organ of hearing proceeds from the subtle element of sound and is related in nature to the gross element, ether; it perceives, then, sounds alone. The organ of touch proceeds from the subtle element of touch and is related in nature to the gross element air; it perceives, then, contact alone." It must be noted that verses 22 and 25 of the *Kārikās*³ seem to contain a distinctly different teaching about the order of evolution. In commenting on these, Paramārtha seems to lay no stress on the order mentioned, and cannot be taken to have contradicted the order explicitly laid down in commenting on both earlier and later verses. Presumably these verses were treated as

3. *prakṛter mahāms tato 'haṅkāras tasmād gaṇas ca śoḍaśakah |*
tasmād api śoḍaśakūt pañcabhyah pañca bhūtāni | |
sūttvika ekādaśakah pravarttate vaikṛtād ahaṅkūrāt |
bhūtādes tanmātras sa tūmasas taijasūd ubhayaṃ | |

1. See, for instance, the *sous-commentaires* on verses 8 and 51.
2. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 171-184.

not teaching a definite sequence or as not intending the sequence mentioned.

Paramārtha, that is to say, the commentator whose work he translated, does not seem to have stood alone in thus understanding the sequence of the *tatvas*. His account has great affinities with that given in the *Mañimēkalai* and some parts of the *Mahābhārata*.⁴ Here, the organs of sense are said to evolve from the *mahābhūtas*; "from ether (proceed) the evolutes called the ear and sound, from air the evolutes called skin and touch," and so on. If the difference of this doctrine from what is called classical Sāṅkhya, and its affinities with what is known as Epic Sāṅkhya can serve as indications of an early date, it is likely that Paramārtha too was translating the work of some very early commentator, one who came long before Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda.

(b) The next major point of difference relates to verse 67 which is ordinarily understood to teach a state of release, while still embodied. "Virtue and the rest having ceased to function as causes, because of the attainment of perfect wisdom, (the spirit) remains (awhile) invested with the body, because of the force of past impressions, like the whirl of the (potter's) wheel (which persists for a while by virtue of the momentum imparted by a prior impulse)". This is not, however, the way in which Paramārtha understands it. Because of full and perfect knowledge, it is said, virtue etc., have no longer any influence; transmigration is (therefore) arrested, as the body of the potter's wheel, whose movement one interrupts. The idea of *jīvanmukti* finds no place here. The verse is introduced with the question "if knowledge gives deliverance, why are you and I not yet released?" As it stands, Paramārtha's commentary seems to give no answer except that release comes with death alone. There is no room to think that M. Takakusu's translation is at fault here, as it is elsewhere, in rendering what Gauḍapāda understands by *yama, niyama* etc.; for, it is difficult to believe that the translator misunderstood a whole passage, especially when he was aware of Gauḍapāda's interpretation of that verse as teaching a doctrine of *jīvanmukti*. There is no reason to think either that the doctrine was an integral part of the Sāṅkhya from the earliest times, especially in view of the many varying conceptions and

4. See "The Mañimēkalai Account of the Sāṅkhya," *Journal of Indian History*, VIII, pp. 322-327.

explanations of it in the history of its sister system, the Advaita Vedānta. The illustration of the potter's wheel, however, seems hardly to be apposite to the sense conveyed in Paramārtha's commentary. The whole question of release while yet embodied is worth further investigation. In the meantime, we have here a divergence of Paramārtha, on a cardinal point of doctrine, from Māṭhara.

(c) Some minor points of difference may also be noticed : (1) Under verse 13, the co-operation of the three *guṇas*⁵ is explained by Paramārtha on the ground that since they *pertain to one identical soul*, and are not independent, they are capable of acting together. There is nothing corresponding to the words italicised, in the Māṭhara-Vṛtti, or indeed in the commentaries of Gauḍapāda or Vācaspati.

(2) In explaining the function of the senses as *ālocana-mātram* Paramārtha seems undecided as to the interpretation of it as *bare* awareness or *unique* awareness. "The eyes", he says, "only see forms and that is the function of the eyes. It is only a perception incapable of discernment or handling. The other organs too act only on their respective objects."⁶ Māṭhara definitely understands *unique* awareness, the sense implied in the third of the sentences quoted from Paramārtha.

(3) The dispositions that are *sāṁsiddhika* are explained by Paramārtha as those acquired by good deeds performed in a prior existence.⁷ Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda take it to mean *cognate* (*sahotpanna*), and instance dispositions cognate with the divine sage, Kapila, in the first creation. These could not have been produced by earlier acquired merit; indeed, such dispositions are classified as *prākṛtika* by Gauḍapāda.

(4) Both Paramārtha and Māṭhara give lists of teachers that intervene between Pañcaśikha and Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa, but the lists are not identical, nor can they be identified, as suggested by Dr. Belvalkar. Paramārtha names Hokia, Uluka, and Po-poli, while Māṭhara mentions Bhārgava, Ulūka, Vālmiki, Hārīta, Devala, and others, (Devala-prabhṛtīn). Even if we identify Bhārgava with Hokia, and Po-poli with Devala, there are at least

5. *sattvam laṅghu prakāśakam iṣṭam upaśāmbhakam calam ca rajah | guru varāṇakam eva tamah pradiṣavac cārthato vṛttiḥ.*]

6. Verse 28.

7. Verse 43.

urged is not implausible. But one at least of the difficulties it has to meet is Tilak's conjectural verse based on the commentary on verse 61, as set forth by Māṭhara, Gauḍapāda, and Paramārtha. The exposition of Paramārtha, however, has here an advantage which is worth noticing.

(b) The verse starts with the *sukumārataratra* of *Prakṛti* which is explained by Paramārtha as subtlety (delicatesse). The commentaries of Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda pass on abruptly from this to a discussion of Īśvara, time, svabhāva etc., as causes of the world. It is this abrupt change of topic that strongly suggests a missing verse of the kind conjectured by Tilak. The transition, however, is more easy in Paramārtha's account. This is how it goes. "Thus, in the world, a man sees a woman endowed with excellent qualities; then he sees another woman, who is the most excellent of all; he thinks 'she is the most excellent and she is unrivalled'. In the same way, Nature is the most delicate (subtle) of the twenty-four principles. How do you know that? Because she does not bear one's gaze (is invisible). One may object: this view is not correct, because the isolation of the soul does not come about from seeing Nature. For, the preceptor who considers Īśvara to be the cause of the world says, 'the soul ignorant and separated from Nature contents itself with joys and sorrows; Īśvara alone can send it to heaven or hell'. Because of this, Nature (?)¹³ cannot be liberated even when the soul has seen Nature. The subtleness of Nature cannot be proved." Then commences the discussion of Īśvara etc. It is too much to say that there is nothing unnatural or out-of-the-way in the discussion of these topics. But, as Paramārtha introduces them, they seem far less unnatural. In any case it allows us to suspect a *tour-de-force* on the part of some early commentator instead of fathering a verse upon Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa. The relative merits of the two hypotheses—supplying a lost *kārikā* or cutting out some possibly spurious ones—will have to be examined later in some detail. But there is no doubt of the fact that Paramārtha's version of the commentary on verse 61 makes much better sense than the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*, which is claimed to be the original thereof.

13. This looks absurd, as it stands, for it is not Nature that is liberated. Is it a slip on the part of M. Takakusu?

*MADHYAMĀRTHASAṄGRAHA OF BHĀVAVIVEKA.

(Restored from the Tibetan Version with an English Translation.)

BY

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The Madhyamārthasaṅgraha which is ascribed to Ācārya Bhavya Viveka (legs-lan-hbyed) or popularly known as Bhāva Viveka by Tibetan translators is a short treatise consisting only of 11 *anuṣṭup* verses on the nature of the Double Truth as accepted in the Mādhyamika system of Buddhist philosophy. I have not been able to get any evidence other than the colophon of the work itself to attribute this work to Bhāva Viveka and until the contrary is proved we may regard him as the author. In his work, the author has presented in a nut-shell the nature of the two realities *viz.*, the *empirical* and the *absolute* (*saṃvṛti* and *paramārtha satyas*) with their classifications. The Satya Siddhi School founded by Harivarman, which constitutes the stage of a transition between Hinayānism and Mahāyānism¹ was the first to introduce into Buddhist philosophy the doctrine of the Double Truths.² Nāgārjuna, the first to systematise the Mādhyamika School, insists that these twofold truths are very important and without knowing them one cannot realise the deep real import of Buddha's teachings:—

येऽनयोर्न विजानन्ति विभागं सत्ययोर्द्वयोः ।

ते तत्त्वं न विजानन्ति गम्भीरं बुद्धशासने ॥

(Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika Kārikā XXIV. 9).

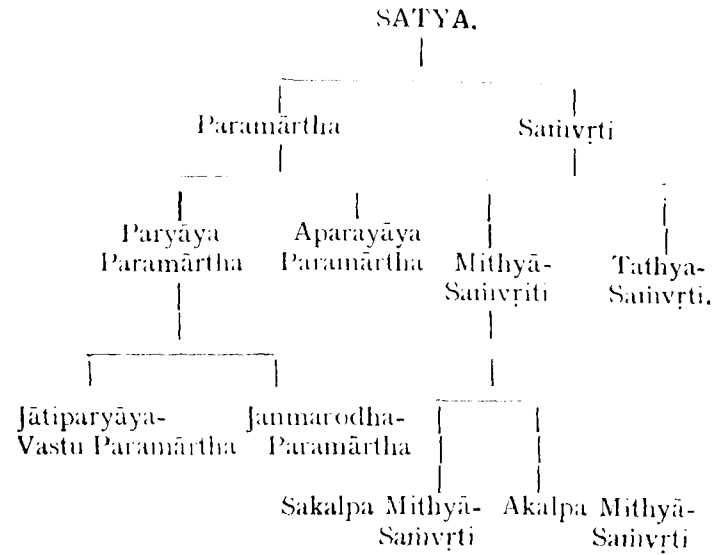
In the present treatise Bhāva Viveka has done the classification (*vibhāga*) hinted in the above Kārikā. The same has been done

* Submitted to the sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna—1930.

1. Yamakami Sogen : System of Buddhist Thought p. 173 (1912).

2. P. L. Vaidya : Aryadeva et son Catuh Sataka. Introduction page 19 (Paris, 1923).

by Candrakīrti in his *Madhyamakāvatāra* which will be taken into account later on for comparison. This table below will explain the classification of Truth made in the *Madhyamārtthasaṅgraha*:—



Now Bhāva Viveka asserts that the category of *aparyāya paramārtha* in the above Table represents the absolute reality, which cannot be specified (*aparyāya*) and explaining it, says in verse No. 6 that it is above every possible determination (*sarva-prapañcavarjita*) and it is neither existent nor non-existent, nor both at once, nor neither. This kind of explanation of the absolute reminds us of the well-known credo of the Mādhyamikas:—

न सन्नासन्न सदसन्न चाप्यनुभयात्मकम् ।

चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं तत्त्वं माध्यमिका विदुः ॥

a verse attributed to Ācārya Sarahapāda by the compiler of the *Subhāṣitasāṅgraha*.

Paryāya paramārtha (the absolute that can be specified) our author subdivides into *jāti paryāya vastu paramārtha* (the absolute that can be specified as a kind of *Jāti*. *Kārya*¹ production and the *janmarodha paramārtha* (the absolute which is the complete extinction of all manifestations). As no light is thrown

1. Compare the *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra* (Kyota, 1928) p. 186, Verse 72.

कार्यकारणदुर्दृष्ट्या सर्वं तीर्थ्या विमोहिताः ।

अतस्तेषां न मोक्षोऽस्ति सदसत्पञ्चवादिनाम् ॥

by the author on the former, he seems to have included in it the views of the Tīrthikas such as Sāṅkhyas etc.

Bhavya explains *janmarodha paramārtha* by saying that (the Hīnayānists maintain that) the visible world is produced out of four conditions (*pratyayas*) and has the four limits¹ (*koṭi*) viz., (1) Birth and Death (2) Immortality and Annihilation, (3) Existence and Non-existence, (4) Phenomenon and Voidness, and that the extinction of its manifestation is the absolute truth. Nāgārjuna tells us that these four conditions are the following:—*hetu*, *ālambana*, *anantara*, and *adhipati*.² This classification into four varieties of conditions, we are told³, belongs to Sarvāsti-Vāda School of Hīnayāna Buddhism and its followers are characterised as co-religionists⁴ (*svayūthyas*) by Bhāva Viveka and Candrakīrti. The central conception of the absolute in the schools of early Buddhism e.g., the Sarvāsti-Vāda School, is that "When all manifestations are stopped all forces extinct, remains the lifeless residue. It is impersonal, eternal death, and it is a separate element, a reality, the reality of the elements in their lifeless condition."⁵ But the Sautrāntikas, on the contrary, denying the lifeless substance of Nirvāṇa maintain that "It is the absolute end of manifestations, the end of passion and life (*kleśajanmanoh kṣaya*) without any positive counterpart". It is, therefore, possible that Bhavya brings under the category of *janmarodha paramārtha* the views of the Sarvāsti-Vādins and those of Sautrāntikas.

Samvṛti satya (empirical truth) the author defines as the world as it appears to our eyes. This is again divided into empirical truth which is real (*tathya samvṛti* = T. S.) and empirical truth which is unreal (*mithyā samvṛti* = M. S.). T. S. is confined to those worldly objects which are capable of producing useful results. M. S. refers to those apparent objects which are incapable of being useful. This is again divided into *sakalpa* M. S. and *akalpa* M. S. *Sakalpa* according to the author

1. Śaracchandra Das, Tibetan Dictionary, p. 968.

2. Mādhyamika Kārikā. I. 2. (B. B. IV).

3. Th. Stcherbatsky : Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 194, n. 6. (Leningrad, 1927).

4. Prajñāpradīpa, p. 24. (B. I.) and Prasannapadā, p. 76 n. (B. B. IV).

5. Th. Stcherbatsky, op. cit. p. 27.

6. *Ibid.* p. 29.

is the misapprehension of a snake in the rope (lying in the dark) while *akalpa* signifies the perception of double moon (in the sky by a man suffering from an eye disease). It must be admitted that the criterion on which such a distinction has been drawn by the author is difficult to explain satisfactorily. This much can, however, be said that in the former case the mistaken notion of a snake in a rope is considered to be *sakalpa* M. S., because it imposes the attributes of a snake which are absent there on the existing rope on account of some similarity between the snake and the rope; while in the latter case, the perception of double moon in the sky is called *Akalpa* M. S. because no imposition of anything that is absent is made on the existing moon, as in the former case, but simply a second moon is imagined.

In fine, Bhavya winds up his classification saying that all the truths can be condensed into two broad heads referred to above.

It is interesting to compare this classification with that of *Candrakīrti* in *Madhyamakāvatāra*¹. According to him the absolute truth is only of one kind² and cognisable only by those who have right knowledge (*samyagdṛṣṭa*). The empirical truth is what ordinary people (*prthagjana*) think of. Since there is a distinction between the ordinary men of perfect sense-organs (*susthendriya*) and those of defective sense-organs (*duṣhendriya*), he makes a similar distinction in the sphere of their knowledge. The sphere of knowledge relating to the hymen with perfect sense organs, *Candrakīrti* calls empirical truth of the world (*loka saṃvṛti*) or sound empirical truth (*samyak saṃvṛti*), because it is true so far as the worldly affairs are concerned. But of the ordinary people with defective sense-organs, the cognitive activities, such as perception of hair in the sky and of the water in the mirage etc., are untrue even with regard to worldly affairs and so they go by the name of unworlly or unreal empirical truth (*aloka* or *mithyāsaṃvṛti*). It is worthy of note that among the conditions (*pratyaya*) of defects of sense-organs (*indriyopaghāta*) he includes the thesis (*siddhānta*) established by the unwise (*asat*) and fallacious inferences

1. Chapter VI. 23 and the following (B. B. IX) and the restored Sanskrit text of the 6th Chapter (in course of publication in the Madras Oriental Series No. 4, as a supplement to the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. III, Part 4).

2. *Madhyamakāvatāra*, p. 119, L. 16.

(*anumānābhāsa*) and so on. Then speaking of examples of *aloka-saṃvṛti* in verse No. 26, he says that whatever is constructed by Tīrthikas being influenced by slumber of ignorance (*ajñāna middha*) according to their caprice and whatever is imagined in the mirage (by fools) are not at all true even from the worldly standpoint of view and therefore are illusory. We learn from his *Bhāṣya* thereon that the Tīrthikas referred to are Sāṅkhyas and others. It is not, however, easily ascertainable as to who are alluded to by *Candrakīrti* while using the term *anumānābhāsa* along with the conditions of defects relating to the mind. Probably he alludes there to the *svatantrānumāna* School of Mādhyamikas expounded by Bhāva Viveka whom he violently attacks in his *Prasannapadā* very often on the score that all the *anumānas* set forth by Bhavya to establish the absolute prove fallacious.

It is evident, anyhow, that *Candrakīrti* classifies *saṃvṛti* *satya* into two :—*tathya-saṃvṛti* and *mithyā-saṃvṛti* and brings under the latter category the views of the unwise (*asat* = Tīrthikas) which Bhavya includes probably in the category of *jātiparyāyavastu paramārtha* and that the *mithyā-saṃvṛti* is not brought into two classes again as is done by Bhavya in the present treatise. Now the question naturally arises as to the category in which the co-religionists, viz., Hinayānists and Vijñānavādins¹ have been placed in this classification. *Candrakīrti* boldly asserts that all the Vādas of *ālaya-vijñāna*, *pudgala*, 5 *skandhas*, and 18 *dhātus* are intentionally introduced by Buddha only as a means of realising the undefinable absolute (*anākṣara-tattva*) by the ordinary folk. It is to be finally pointed out from the above comparison that *Candrakīrti* betrays his fervent Buddhist faith by a categorical denial of even worldly reality to the Tīrthika views, whereas Bhavya is liberal in bringing them under the *absolute*.

For the Tibetan, I have made use of the Narthang Edition in the Śāntiniketan and Adyar Libraries. A copy of this was kindly sent to me by the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal duly corrected after comparison with a more legible Narthang Edition accessible to him. The original Sanskrit text of the *Madhyamārtthasaṅgraha* has unfortunately been lost to us as is the case with many similar ancient Sanskrit works on Buddhist philosophy, and my humble effort has been to restore

1. *Ibid.* VI. 43.

from the Tibetan translation, the original in Sanskrit, as set forth below.

RESTORED SANSKRIT TEXT.

॥ मध्यमार्थसंग्रहः ॥

॥ नमो भगवते श्रीसमन्तभद्राय ॥

ये हि जिना विदितानुत्पादत्वेऽपि ¹व्यवहारमुखपूर्णकरुणया ²संसृति-
सहस्रे सुखेन लोकरक्षणायेह प्रतिपन्ना अपि निर्मलमतयस्तानहं सदा
प्रणमामि ॥

यथार्थं सत्यद्वितयं प्रतिबोधयितुं पुनः ।

प्रारभ्यते मया ह्यियं बुद्धानां धर्मदेशना ॥ १ ॥

परमार्थः संवृतिश्च सत्यद्वयं समासतः ।

परमार्थो निष्प्रपञ्चः कर्तव्यो द्विविधः स च ॥ २ ॥

पर्यायपरमार्थश्चापर्यायपरमार्थकः ।

स च स्यात्प्रथमो द्वेधा ³जातिपर्यायवस्तु च ॥ ३ ॥

परमार्थो जन्मरोधः, परार्थो रुद्धजन्मकः ।

भू(=जनि) ⁴रोधादिचतुष्कोटिर्दृश्यभावोऽखिलोऽपि च ॥ ४ ॥

चतुष्प्रत्ययजातयः सः, ⁵सर्वप्रपञ्चवर्जितः ।

स तु पर्यायरहितो विज्ञेयः परमार्थतः ॥ ५ ॥

सत्कोटिश्चाप्यसत्कोटिर्द्वयसर्वविवर्जितः ।

एतादृक् परमार्थो हि, यथाभासं तु संवृतिः ॥ ६ ॥

द्विविधा सापि विज्ञेया मिथ्याभूता च संवृतिः ।

तथ्या हि संवृतिश्चेति वस्त्वर्थकरणक्षमम् ॥ ७ ॥

तथ्यसंवृतिरूपं हि, दृश्यमर्थक्रियाऽक्षमम् ।

मिथ्याभूता संवृतिः स्याद्विज्ञेया द्विविधा च सा ॥ ८ ॥

1. Tib. ño — सुख ?

2. Tib. lkhor-ba-ma-ston-ba संसृतिमहस्र ? It is difficult to explain the particle 'ma' here. I take it to be a final particle denoting feminine gender (See Sard Chandra Das Dictionary under 'ma'). So I have translated the word 'lkhor-ba-ma' as संसृति.

3. See p. 42, and note 1.

4. Compare Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra (Kyoto, 1923) p. 102, Verse 20: कारणैः प्रत्ययैश्चापि येषां लोकः प्रवर्तते । चतुष्कोटिकया युक्ता न ते मज्जयकोविदाः ॥ *Vide* also, p. 43.

5. cf. p. 42.

स कल्पाकल्पयुग्मेन सकल्पाऽहिग्रहो गुणे¹ ।

शशिद्वयग्रहोऽकल्पा.....² ॥ ९ ॥

तेन सत्यं द्विधा सर्वं सामस्येन तु दृश्यते ।

उपादाय तदर्थं हि सर्वा प्राप्नोति सम्पदम् ॥ १० ॥

एवं नाम मया प्रोक्तो मध्यमस्यार्थसंग्रहः ।

कल्याणो यः स सत्त्वस्य साधयत्वाशु चिन्तितम् ॥ ११ ॥

इत्याचार्यमव्यविवेककृतो मध्यमार्थसंग्रहः समाप्तः ॥

लोत्सवशीलराजेन परिवर्त्य शोधयित्वा निर्णीतः ॥

TIBETAN VERSION.

RGYA. GAR. SKAD. DU | MADHYA. MĀ. R'THA.
SAM. GRA. HA | BOD. SKAD. DU | DBU. MAḤI
DON. BSDUS. PA ||

- bcom. ldan. ḥdas. dpal. kun. tu. bzañ. po. la. phyag. ḥtshal. lo ||
gañ. dag. skye. med. rtogs. pa. ñid. yin. yañ. tha. sñad. ño. gañ.
sñiñ. rjes. ḥkhor. ba. ma. ston. bar | rgyal. ba. rnams. ni. ḥjig.
rten. bde. bar. bskyab. paḥi. phyir | ḥdi. ru. shugs. kyañ. dri. med.
blo. dañ. ldan. de. dag. rnams. la. rtag. tu. bdag. phyag. ḥtshal. lo ||
1. bden. pa. gñis. ni. ji.lta. buḥi | don. ni. rtogs. par. bya. baḥi.
phyir |
bdag. gis. ḥdi. ni. rab. brtsams. te | sañs. rgyas. rnams. kyis.
chos bstan. pa ||
2. bden. pa. gñis. su. ḥdus. pa. ste | don. dam. dañ. ni. kun. rdsob.
po |
dam. paḥi don. ni. spros bral. te | de. yañ. rnam. pa. gñis. su.
bya ||
3. rnam. grañs. kyi. ni. don. dam. dañ | rnam. grañs. ma. yin. don.
dam. mo |
dañ. po. de. yañ. gñis. yin. te | rigs. rnam. grañs. don. dañ ||
4. skye. ba. bkag. paḥi. don. dam. mo | mu. bshi. skye. ḥgog. la. sogs.
paḥi |

1. For the explanation and difference of these two *samvṛtis*. See p. 44.

2. Here the gap is conjectural.

- gtan. tshigs. bshi. yi. rigs. pa. de| snañ. bañi. dños. po. thams.
cad. kyañ||
5. skye. ba. bkag. pañi. don. dam. mo| spros. pa. thams. cad. kyis.
stoñ. pa|
- de. ni. rnam. grañs. ma. yin. pañi| dam. pañi. don. du. śes.
par. bya||
6. yod. pañi. mthah. dam. med. pañi. mthah| gñis. po. thams. cad.
spañs. pa. ste|
- de. lta. bu. na. don. dam. mo| kun. rdsob. ji. ltar. snañ. ba. yin||
7. de. yañ. gñis. su. śes. bya. ste| log. pa. yin. ni. kun. rdsob. dañ|
yañ. dag. pa. yi. kun. rdsob. po| don. byed. nus. pañi. dños. po.
ni||
8. yañ. dag. kun. rdsob. shes. bya. ste| snañ. yañ. don. byed. ma.
nus. pa|
- log. pa. yin. ni. kun. rdsob. po| de. yañ. gñis. su. śes. bya. ste||
9. rtog. bcas. dañ. ni. rtog. med. gñis| rtog. bcas. thag. pa. la.
sbrul. hdsin|
- rtog. med. cla. ba. gñis. hdsin. pañi|
10. des. na. thams. cad. bden. gñis. su| hds pa. ñid. bstan. par bya|
de. don. ñams. su. blañs. nas. ni| phun. sum. tshogs. pa. thams.
cad. thob||
11. dbu. m. i. yi. ni. don. bsdus. pa| de. ltar. bdag. gis. bsad. po. yi|
dge. ba. gañ. des. sems. can. gyi| bsam. pa. myur. du. hgrub.
gyur. cig||
- dbu. mañi. don. bsdus. pa. slob. dpon. legs. ldan.
hbyed. kyis. mdsad. pa. rdsogs. so||
- lo. tsha. ba. tshul. khrims. rgyal. pas.
bsgyur. ciñ. shus. te. gnas.
la. phab. pañe||

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

I offer my eternal salutations to those Buddhas (Jinas) who, although they have realised the truth of *anutpatli* (of *dharms*), appeared in thousands of the empirical existences in this world through commiseration towards worldly affairs and who, even then, retained the pure wisdom.

I commence the teaching of the *dharms* expounded by Buddhas to make known to the world the Double Truths in their real connotation.

Truths, in brief, are twofold *viz.*, empirical and absolute (*sañvṛti* and *paramārtha*). The absolute is above expression.

It is divided as the Absolute that can be specified (*pariyāya*) and the Absolute which cannot be so specified (*a-pariyāya*). The former is again divided into *jāti pariyāya vastu paramārtha* (The absolute that can be specified as a kind of *jāti* = Production) and *janmarodha paramārtha* (The absolute which is the complete extinction of all manifestations). The visible world is produced out of four conditions (*pratya*) and has four limits (*koṭi*) *viz.*, birth, death etc. and the complete extinction of it is called *janmarodha*. The real absolute (in the author's opinion) is above every possible determination and it is neither existent nor non-existent, (nor both at once, nor neither).

Samvṛti (empirical Truth) is what appears to our eyes. It is divided into real (*tathya*) and unreal (*mithyā*). The former is (confined to) those worldly objects which are capable of producing useful results and the latter refers to those apparent objects which are incapable of being useful. *Mithyā samvṛti* is again divided into *sakalpā* and *akalpā*. The former is (when) a misapprehension (arises) of a snake in a rope (lying in the dark), and the perception of a double moon (in the sky by a person suffering from eye-disease) constitutes the latter.

Thus, all the truth, in brief, is, therefore, taught as divided into two classes as said above. Having understood this teaching, one obtains all prosperity. May the summary of the essential principles of Mādhyamika system made by me procure to all beings what they desire.

DATE OF MURAṆCIYŪR MUṬINĀKARĀYAR.

BY

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Muraṇciyūr Muṭinākarāyar is the author of the second stanza in *Puṇanāṇūṟu*, one of the eight ancient anthologies in Tamil Literature. He blesses the Cēra king *Peruṇcōṟṟutiyañ-cēralāṭaṇ* with long life along with his able and sincere counselors unthwarted like the Himalayas and the Mt. Pōtiyil where the deer warm themselves with their young ones at the fire-triad on which *Agnihotra* is performed by Brāhmins both morning and evening. Before wishing him long life he refers to him as forgiving in nature as the earth, wide in his counsel as the sky, strong as the wind, fierce as the fire and sweet in his grace as the water, and to the vastness and fertility of his kingdom.

It is worth noting that, in this stanza, mention is made of the four Vedas¹, the fire-triad², and the debt³ (to gods) in the shape of *Agnihotra*.

This *Muṭinākarāyar* is mentioned to have been one of the poets of the First Sangam by *Nakkiraṇār* in his commentary under the first sūtra of *Iṟaiyaṇār-Akaṇṇorū*.

But the expression 'nī.....nīliyar' found in this second stanza of *Puṇanāṇūṟu* stands against that conclusion. For the word *nīliyar* which means 'may live long' is in the potential mood (*viyaṅkōḷ*) and has here for its subject 'nī' (the second personal pronoun singular). Tolkāppiyaṇār, the author of Tolkāppiyam, (the earliest extant grammar of the Tamil language) who is mentioned by the same *Nakkiraṇār* to have lived in the Middle Sangam period definitely states that a verb in the potential

mood cannot have for its subject either the first personal pronouns or the second personal pronouns¹; while the author of *Nappūḷ* who lived much later states that such a verb can have for its subject all kinds of nouns and pronouns². This clearly shows that the use of *viyaṅkōḷ* verb with the first and the second personal pronoun for its subject was a later development. If so, *Muṭinākarāyar* should have lived later than Tolkāppiyaṇār. If it is a fact that the latter lived during the Middle Sangam, the former could not have lived during the First Sangam.

(1) *Nāal vētanēri*.(2) *Muṭi*.(3) *Kaṭam*; cf. jāyamāno vāi brāhmaṇas tribhūḥ ṛṇavā jāyate, brahmacāryeṇa ṛṣibhyo yajñena devebhyah prajāyā pūṣbhyah (Taittirīya Samhitā, 6).1. *Avaṟṟuḷ*,*Mumilai tanmai y-āṇi r-iṭattōṭu*.*Mannā tākum viyaṅkōḷi kīṭavi*. (Tol. Collatikāram, 226).2. *Kayavōṭu ravvor ṛiṟṟa viyaṅkōḷi**Iyalu miṭam-pā l-eṅku m-enpa*. (Nappūḷ, 338).

GRAMMATICAL METAMORPHOSIS OF THE TAMIL
NOUNS KAṬAI, VAYIN AND KĀLAI.

BY

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The words *kaṭai*, *vayin*, and *kālai* were originally nouns, the first two denoting place and the last denoting time. Eventually they have become the seventh case-suffixes if they follow nouns and verbal participial suffixes if they follow relative participles. The process through which such a metamorphosis has come may be learnt from an examination of the following expressions:—

A.

- (1) மூங்கல்காடையே (Tol. Eḷut. 1 and 62).¹
Mūṅṭalaṅ-kaṭaiyē (Tol. Eḷut. 1 and 62).
- (2) ராவல்காடையே (Tol. Eḷut. 30).
Ra-ḷa-valaṅ-kaṭaiyē (*ibid.* 30).
- (3) ராவல்காடையே (Tol. Eḷut. 72).
Ra-v-valaṅ-kaṭaiyē (*ibid.* 72).
- (4) இயையாக்காடையே (Tol. Eḷut. 230).
Iyāiyā-k-kaṭai (Kuṭaḷ, 230).

B.

- (1) மொழிவாயினே (Tol. Eḷut. 57, 113, 117).
Moḷi-vayin-āṇa (Tol. Eḷut. 57, 113, 117).
- (2) ஆவாயினே (Tol. Eḷut. 148, 200, 240, 284, 292, 296, 313, 320, 438).
Ā-vayin-āṇa (*ibid.* 148, 200, 240, 284, 292, 296, 313, 320, 438).
- (3) பொருளவாயினே (Tol. Eḷut. 481; Tol. Col. 95, 100).
Poruḷ-vayin-āṇa (*ibid.* 481; Tol. Col. 95, 100).
- (4) வயின்ரொறும் (Perum. 133).
Vayin-roṟum (Perum. 133).
- (5) வயின் வயிற் பெருகுவீர (Ciru. 163).
Vayin-vayir perukuvir (Ciru. 163).

1. Tol. = Tolkāppiyam; Eḷut. = Eḷuttatikāram.
2. Col. = Collatikāram.
3. Perum. = Perum-pāṇ-āṇu-p-paṭai.
4. Ciru. = Ciru-pāṇ-āṇu-p-paṭai.

- (6) உயர்திணைத்தொகைவாயின் (Tol. Col. 94).
Uyartinaṭ-t-tokai-vayin (Tol. Col. 94).
- (7) பொருளவாயின் (Tol. Col. 105).
Poruḷ-vayin (*ibid.* 105).

C.

- (1) அக்காலையானே (Tol. Eḷut. 40).
A-k-kālai-y-āṇa (Tol. Eḷut. 40).
- (2) வாய்க்காலையானே (Tol. Eḷut. 399, 430).
Varūṇ-kālai-y-āṇa (*ibid.* 399, 430).
- (3) புறங்காலையானே (Tol. Eḷut. 432).
Puṇarūṇ-kālai-y-āṇa (*ibid.* 432).
- (4) பண்பிக்காலையானே (Tol. Eḷut. 437).
Paṇṇiḷ-kaṭai-y-um (Perunar 237)¹.
- (5) வரங்கலை (Tol. Eḷut. 305, 317, 451, 455).
Varu-kālai (*ibid.* 305, 317, 451, 455).
- (6) தெரியங்கலை (Tol. Eḷut. 43, 42).
Teriyūṇ-kālai (*ibid.* 43, 42).
- (7) வாய்க்கலை (Tol. Eḷut. 311, 464, 471).
Varūṇ-kālai (*ibid.* 311, 464, 471).
- (8) தோண்டங்கலை (Tol. Eḷut. 446).
Tōṇṇuṇ-kālai (*ibid.* 446).
- (9) செருக்கொடு என்ற கலை (Porunar. 89).
Cerukkoḷuṇ-ṇiṇṇa kālai (Porunar. 89).

In the first three examples of A, *kaṭai* means 'place' and is a noun, since it cannot be the seventh case-suffix after 'al' the negative particle.² The expressions *mūṅṭalaṅkaṭaiyē*, *raḷavalaṅkaṭaiyē* and *raḷavalaṅkaṭaiyē* respectively mean 'in places other than the three', 'in places other than r and ḷ', and 'in places other than a.' One may doubt how the word *kaṭai* is construed as a noun in the seventh case in the absence of the seventh case-suffix. The answer is that the seventh and the second case-suffixes may be dropped in nouns even though such nouns come after the verbs which they qualify³. Hence in all the above cases the seventh case-suffix *kaṇ* is understood. The same is the case with 'iyāiyā-k-kaṭai' in A (4). *Iyāiyā-k-kaṭai* stands for *iyāiyā-k-kaṭai-k-kaṇ* where *kaṭai* is a noun denoting place and

1. Porunar. = Porunar-āṇu-p-paṭai.
2. 'am' in *al-aṇ-kaṭaiyē* is only a *cāriyai*.
3. *Ṭiyūṇ kaṇṇu m-allā-p poruḷ-vayin*
Mey-y-urupu tokūa v-iṇṇi y-āṇa. (Tol. Col. 105).

has its seventh case-suffix dropped. But later on it seems that this rule was not paid due attention and the word 'kaṭai' itself was construed as the seventh case-suffix if it followed a noun and a suffix of the verbal participle if it followed a relative participle².

The same is the case with the word 'vayin'. In examples 1 to 3 under B it is clear that it is a noun since it is followed by the case-suffix *āṇ*. It must be noted here that *āṇ*, though an instrumental suffix, is used in the locative sense. In the examples 4 and 5 *vayin* is evidently a noun since the expression *vayin-ṛorun* and *vayin-vayin* means in every place. In the examples 'nyartṭai-t-tokai-vayin' and 'poru-vayin', it is evident that *kaṇ*, the locative suffix has been dropped; but now the word *vayin* is taken to be the locative suffix since it follows the noun *tokai*.

The noun 'kālai' has the same history. In examples 1 to 3 under C, *kālai* is evidently a noun denoting time since it is followed by the case-suffix *āṇ*. The same is the case in example 4 since it forms the second member of the compound *paṇṇil-kālai* which means 'the occasion when good character was absent.' But in examples 5 to 9 under C the locative suffix *kaṇ* is evidently understood after *kālai*. In that case the words *teriyum*, *varum*, *tōṇrum* and *nūṇra* are all relative participles qualifying the word *kālai* which stands for *kālai-k-kaṇ*. But now *teriyumkālai* etc. are taken only as verbal participles meaning *teriyumṇolūtū* etc. It seems that such a method of interpreting a relative participle followed by a noun in the seventh case with the case-suffix being understood, as a verbal participle was in existence even at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār¹.

Hence the words *kaṭai*, *vayin* and *kālai* and similar words denoting place and time are now construed as the locative suffixes if they follow nouns and as the verbal participial suffixes if they follow relative participles, both the relative participle and such a noun together becoming a verbal participle, while originally they should have been nouns.

1. *Kaṇ kāl kaṭai itai talai vāy ticai vayin* (Naṇṇūl, 302).

2. *Pin-mun kāl-ka-ṭai vaṭi-y-ṭat t-ennum*

Anna maraṇṇiṭ kālai kāṇṇiya

Enna kṭarīyu m-ararṇiyal pinacē. (Tol. Col. 229).

ANCIENT BHR̥GUS.

BY

A. PADMANABHAYYA, PLEADER, TIRUPATI.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY:—

No word of apology is necessary to justify the claim of an account of the ancient Bhr̥gus or Bhārgava sages—seers and singers *par excellence* upon the valuable time of the readers of this thesis.

The claim of this ancient mythical and mystic race upon the attention of the learned public arises primarily from the fact of their intricate and interesting connection with the early history and culture of all ancient civilized races—both Semitic and Āryan—a division which is purely conventional from the point of view of early culture. From a close study of the 10th Chapter of the book of Genesis of the Bible, the reader must find that the distinction is more apparent than real. Sumerian, the Phœnician and the Hittite are often a stumbling block.

The famous account of the excavations in the Sindh valley, of Sir John Marshall followed by an account of the ancient Asuras of our Literature by Mr. Banerjee Sastri, impels me to urge on the attention of scholars not only the claims of the Ancient Asuras, but also of their priests and seers, the ancient Bhr̥gus—whose accounts abound in our Vedas, Epics and Purāṇic literature.

The Bhr̥gus supply the connecting link between the Semitic and the Āryan element. Their account unravels many points of comparative mythology, religion and philology. In fact—the "Bhr̥gu" will supply the key to understand many of the underlying strata of the early civilisation of the world, unearthed by the labours of Western Scholars in ancient Aegean area, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia. We shall also be in a position to understand many of the missing links in the chain of connec-

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tion between the old pre-Āryan or proto-Āryan religion and the various religious beliefs of North and South India and their intimate connection with the culture and religion of ancient Iran.

Ragozin, in his Vedic India, shows the intimate relationship between the Dekhan and the Chaldean country and urges the theory of the conquest of Northern India by the Dravidians, or the Turanian race, and their eventual entry into the Dekhan along with the Kolarians. But that scholar did not consider who these Dravidians are, and how they were related to the Āryans or the Iranians and does not assign to them any definite place among the Āryan or Semetic races.

Some historians indefinitely class these early Dravidians along with the *Dasyus* and aboriginal races—all with a view to give the later Āryan a greater prominence. The Dravidian races represent the pre-Āryan Iranian people and they are closely related to the ancient Asuras—a forgotten name. Remnants of its greatness being preserved, internal evidence in our sacred literature reveals to us their existence, and their once world-wide importance. These Dravidians are the first civilized race to enter our country by the sea along with the Asura Yadus and Ikṣvākus and the evidence of our literature identifies them with the ancient Bhr̥gus—thus making possible, from the point of view of South Indian history, the equation Dravidia = Asura = Bhr̥gu. We shall try to amplify this equation by reference to the history of countries outside India in the sequel. The amplified equation will be Asura-Bhr̥gu-Dravidia-Pelasgian-Phygian-Hittite Phoenician-Greek-Etruscan-Latin-Frank.

CHAPTER II

SOUTH INDIA.

The Bhr̥gus in India, may now be said to present all the South Indian races placed under the common designation of *Agnikulas*. They are the Śātavāhanas, the Vākāṭakas, Kohls, the Ikṣvākus, the Nāgas, Kadambas, Pallavas, the Colas, Pāṇdyas, Keralas and the Caḷūkyas who rose to prominence at some stage or other of South Indian History till the 12th Century A. D.

Fire is the God of the Bhr̥gus, and Brahmā is their ancestor. This ancestry is not only apparent from the account of the Bhr̥gus in the Epics but also from the inscriptions giving the genealogy of these races—particularly from the suffix *Varman*

appended to the names of the Kings of these races—which means nothing more than-Brahmā or fire.

The west coast of South India—is according to traditional account, the land carved out of the sea by Paraśurāma the noblest scion of the race. The Bhr̥gus entered South India by the west coast. The traditional era Kollam in the Malabar country, accounts of many an ancient shrine in South India and traditional folklore, all point to the wanderings of this race throughout the length and breadth of South India from the banks of Narmadā to Kanyā Kumārī.

The Chief sources of our knowledge of the Bhr̥gus are (1) Ṛg Veda (2) Atharva Veda (3) Purāṇas—particularly the Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Matsya and Kūrma (4) the Rāmāyaṇa (5) and the Mahā-Bhārata. The Bhr̥gus are the collectors of a major portion of the Ṛg Veda; the Atharva is purely their own lore. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the two epics, from the evidence in these works themselves, owe their compilation to this mystic race. External evidence is to be sought for in the histories of the Hittites, Medo-Persians, Etruscans and Latins, Greeks and pre-Greek races, and the races of the Aegean area, Asia Minor, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

III.

What is the cradle of this race? What is their connection with the Dravidian race?

The Ṛg Veda is the earliest relic of ancient Āryan literature. There are statements in that Veda which declare the existence of earlier traditions. According to the opinion of competent scholars, many portions of the Atharva Veda are even earlier than the Ṛg Veda. These statements lead us to the belief of the existence of a time, when the Āryan and the proto-Āryan were one—whatever that term may mean for the present.

The Purāṇas are the collections of the layman's learning or folklore and they must be Sanskritised versions of pre-Sanskrit accounts as borne out by the statement in the Matsya-Purāṇa—that the first branch of knowledge which emanated from Brahmā is the Purāṇa and this Purāṇa is the Ādi Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa of which the Viṣṇu or Parāśarasamhitā is a redaction. The two epics, from their internal evidence, at their inception owe their origin to the inspiration given to their authors by Brahmā and their reputed authors are Bhārgavas. It is from the Purāṇas and

the epics therefore that we must expect to get a full account of their compilers.

Before dealing, therefore, with the Vedic and other evidence we shall deal with the Purāṇic evidence and try to trace the cradle of the race.

The Purāṇas deal with the geography of what are called the seven Dvīpas. To understand the history of the Bhṛguś, we must locate some of these Dvīpas and among these Dvīpas, Plakṣa Kuśa Dvīpas—Śālmali and Krauñca show evident traces of their activities. The Kuśa Dvīpa and a portion of Plakṣa is their original cradle.

According to the Kūrma Purāṇa the Brahman, or, the first caste of the Kuśa Dvīpa are worshippers of Brahmā and are called Dravidians. Let us, therefore, try to locate the Kuśa Dvīpa first.

According to Ragozin¹ the Dravidians are Nāgas, worshippers of the sacred serpent, the symbol of the earth. According to Professor Monier Williams² the Dravidians or Dravidian races came from Central Asia, and their language shows they were Turanians. They are the Vrātya or out-caste Kṣātriyas. We have thus to find out what is this Nāga country and who are these Vrātyas. Vrātya, like Asura, assumed a degraded meaning only in later literature.

IV

KUŚA-DVĪPA.

In spite of the elusive nature of the ethnological details given for this Dvīpa in the various Purāṇas, there are sufficient materials whereon we could depend, and identify the same with portions of modern Persia. There is a remnant of the name of this Dvīpa preserved in the modern province of Kuzistan, on the Persian gulf. That it formed part of Modern Persia and extended therefrom as far as the Western limits of Baluchistan admits of no doubt.

Kuzistan is the ancient land of Elam—a country which played a very prominent part in the early annals of Babylon Chaldea. It is in this country that Herodotus places the original cradle of the Phœnician race, and the Phœnicians are the

1. Vedic India, page, 308.

2. Indian Wisdom—page 312 note.

ancient Ikṣvākus whose connection with the Vāsiṣṭhas a branch of the Bhṛguś is apparent from the Purāṇas and the Epics. The Bhṛguś and Vāsiṣṭhas are descendants of Varuṇa and it is in Elam we have to locate Varuṇa, the Asura *par excellence*, the first God to whom worship was being paid by the proto-Āryans. More will be said about this later on. Suffice it to say for the present that Sushan, capital of Elam, is the city of Varuṇa according to the Matsya Purāṇa.

“सुषा नाम पुरी रम्या वरुणस्यापि धीमतः ।”

There is also an Elamite God referred to in one of the sculptural representations by Mr. C. W. Johns in his book on Babylon. A God catching his enemies in a net and beating them with a club reminds us of Varuṇa and his noose.

According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa the island is so called from a clump of Kuśa grass situated in the island. The people are worshippers of Brahmā which is the same as fire or Īśāna as indicated by the other Purāṇas. The residents of Plakṣa and Puṣkara are also worshippers of Brahmā, and it appears to me that the scheme of the seven Dvīpas mentioned in the Purāṇas represents the ancient Scheme of Zoroaster and Ahurmazda—*viz.*, the seven divisions of light peopled by those who follow the teaching of Ormuzd. The names of Kings and their sons are mostly names of the Fire God, Brahmā; the fire God, or, the Atharvan of the Bhṛguś, is the Atar of the Zoroastrians Cyavana Bhārgava is the special protegee of the Aśvins. His descendants—the Raivatas founded Kuśasthali (later Dvārakā) on the west coast of India. Very early Zoroaster is referred to by Berosus as one of the earliest Kings of Babylon and Ahurmazda of Zoroaster is probably the Mada Asura raised by Cyavana to fight Indra in the struggle to give the Aśvins a share in the Soma drink.

Triśaṅku is one of the earliest Ikṣvāku Kings according to the Purāṇas. Purāṇic accounts mention a Manu Priyavrata, or, Satyavrata, a Draviḍeśvara, as a hero of the flood. Triśaṅku is also known as Satyavrata and he is Tissanki mentioned in the accounts of the Hittites, as Tissenki or King of Paraśu or Persia in one of the earliest list of Hittite Kings¹. The God of the flood according to the account in the Mahābhārata Vanaparva is Brahmā—the God of the Bhṛguś. From a comparison of the

1. J. R. A. S. 1928 April A. H. Sayce.

flood account as given in the Indian, Persian and Babylonian accounts, one is certainly led to infer that the three accounts refer to the adventures of one and the same hero a Dravidian or Asura emperor, a protégé of Brahmā or Varuṇa the God of the Asuras. Sayce places the cradle of the Hittites in a land which he calls Kussara.

According to the Persian account, the great flood took place during the times of the mythical Jamgid (Djemshed). According to the Babylonian account, the hero of the flood is Šit Napistam in whom we may trace Yama or Yima or Engid the first mortal to be immortalised—Vaivasvata Manu. The Bhṛgu Jamadagni is a descendant of this hero. In fact the genealogy of the Bhṛgu as given in the Mahā-Bhārata includes Manu and Jamadagni in the list.¹ Paraśurāma, the last hero of the list is closely connected with Syamantapañcaka—the later Kurukṣetra. The ruby Syamanta connected with Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Satrajit is known in the Persian accounts as the Ruby of Shamshid and it may be Jamgid.

The Kuśikas and Bhṛgu are closely allied races and they are related to the Ikṣvākus in more than one respect. The designation of this island is said to be due to a clump of Kuśa grass found in the island. Kuśa is holy grass. Scholars impute the name of the island to the tribe of Susians and Cuthites. The Purāṇic writer had in his mind, the clump of sacred grass used in sacrifices to the fire God Brahmā. This grass is called in Persian history Baresma. The ancient land of Elam, is the home of the Phoenicians the sons of Cush and also of the Ikṣvākus, particularly of the line in which Rajarṣi Janaka was born. A clump of Kuśa grass is the symbol of a brother of this Janaka known as Kuśadhvaṇi. Rama's eldest son is called Kuśa from his maternal line. He was brought up by Vālmiki who is Kuśin. The Elamite Eri Aku is Āryaka, the ancestor of Kuntī, mother of Pāṇḍavas and her Nāga ancestry is apparent from the account of Bhīma and Pātāla in the Mahā-Bhārata.² The patron of Kuntī is Durvāsas, who is called *Kusaarani*. All the Kuru names in the Mahā-Bhārata are mostly names of Nāgas and Nāga Kings and the account of the Bhārata is merely a traditional internecine struggle of Nāga and allied races in the

1. See Ch. 66 Adi Parva, Ch. 15 Vanaparva.
2. Adi. Ch. 128.

ancient land of Elam and Pātāla the kingdom of Vāsuki, and Śeṣa, the Nāga *par excellence*.

Another important race of this island are the Kuśikas—descendants of Gādhi and Viśvāmitra. The Kuśikas are admittedly related to the Bhṛgu through Satyavatī, the daughter of Gādhi married to Bhārgava Ṛcika.

We shall next proceed to an account of the Plakṣa and after fixing the cradle proceed to the dispersion of this race towards the east and west and incidentally consider an account of Śālmali, and Krauñca Dvīpas and the colonies of the Kuśa Dvīpa.

V

PLAKṢA-DVĪPA.

According to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, this Dvīpa is named after a Plakṣa or holy Fig tree sacred to Brahmā—evidently a totem tree of the races residing therein. Medhātithi is the King of the country. Medhātithi is the son of Āṅgīrasa-Kaṇva. The details given in the Purāṇa give us sufficient data to identify the island of Plakṣa with the western portion of modern Persia, to the north of Kusistan as far as the middle of Trans-Caucasian country.

According to some other Purāṇas followed by Professor Dawson in his dictionary of Hindu mythology, the name for this land is Gomedha. It is also known as Śveta-Dvīpa according to the geographical account given in the Bhīṣma-Parva of the Mahā-Bhārata.

From Plakṣa proceeded the Bhṛgu Phrygian and the Pelasgian. Pre-Greek Pelasgian is traceable to Plakṣa and not *vice versa*.

Now about the identity. The seven districts of the island as given in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa are—

1. Śāntabhavya.
2. Sukhodaya.
3. Ānanda.
4. Śiva.
5. Kṣemaka.
6. Śīśira.
7. Dhruva.

Among these districts—Kṣemaka appears to be clearly ascertainable. Śema or Kṣemaka lies in Trans-Caucasia, where one Śemaka is the capital of the Khanat of Shirwan, and was known

to Ptolemy as Kamachia. Siva is probably referable to a district of which Sivas (Sebastum) was probably the centre, situated on the river Kizil Irmak (ancient Halys). Dhruva is Troas. According to Lempriere's classical dictionary "Troas when taken for the whole Kingdom of Priam, may be said to contain Mysia and Phrygia Minor". The connection of Troas with Plakṣa-Dvīpa and the Bhṛguś will be traced hereafter through Phrygia and the Phrygians. Śiśira is traceable to the city of Kaisiriyeh capital of Capadocia, within 20 miles of which passes the river Halys, or Kizil Irmak. Among the rivers mentioned Amṛta is the river Seld Rud falling into the Caspian sea. It is also called Amenda. The division Amenda is called after the ancient city of Antī and appears also to be referable to the Goddess Amendph worshipped there. Amendph is a name of Ishtar. The river Śikhī is the upper portion of the river Tigris. Sukhodaya is the country of the tribe Sukhī mentioned in Assyrian history. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions Śāntabhavya as situated in two parts. Nalvada shown therein is the country of Nahrain and Somaka is in the division shown in modern maps to the west of the Caspian Sea.

Now to come to the names Gomedha and Kumuda and Śweta as applied in whole or in part to this Dvīpa. The country of Gomedha is mentioned in the history of the ancient Assyrians. We read in the pages of the Historian's History of the World Mesopotamia page 375 "His son Shalmanesar about 1300 B. C. was one of the mightiest Assyrian Kings. He ruled over Mesopotamia westward to the Belikh at least if not to the Euphrates and assured to Assyria, the possession of northern tract between the Euphrates and the Tigris which was afterwards the province of "Gumathene" and "Sophene". One of the heroes of the famous Argonautic expedition is Cometes from whom probably the name Gometes or Cometes is derived. This tract in this part of the ancient Median country conquered by the Assyrian Monarch from Media. Gomedha is Surabhi and the Kalpa tree and that is why probably the Fig tree is called the Fig of the Cow or Gomedha.

My idea is that Media is called after this Medi or Plakṣa—the Fig Tree. Medi is a Dravidian Telugu word which means a Fig Tree and even to-day there is a variety of the Fig Tree in

1. See old map in ruins.

South India, called Brahma Medi or the Fig Tree of Brahmā. The statement in the Skānda Purāṇa that the (Fig) tree called Gomedha gave the name to the island is perfectly reasonable and after all it is merely a linguistic confusion. There is another Dravidian word for Fig (Atti) to which we have to make reference in the sequel. The Matsya Purāṇa mentions a division of the island called Kumuda. A scholar in the Journal of the Mythic Society finds fault with the Purāṇic writers and says there is confusion between Kumuda and Gomedha. He identifies Kumuda and Gomedha with the Commodorum of the Greeks basing his arguments chiefly on the precious stone Gomedha procured there. Kumuda is according to Matsya-Purāṇa a district of Gomedha, and the Purāṇic writer makes no confusion at all. Kumuda is a lily and northern Sushan, or the lily country, is in the south of Caspian and is a portion of Plakṣa or the Median country. Suṣan in Hebrew means lily. Hebrew, Aramiac, and Dravidian, are all allied languages and Kumuda is Sanskrit of the same. Susiana or Sushan is Kumuda. There are two Suṣans in Medo-Persia and one is only a colony from the other and both are countries of ancient Ikṣvākus who are allied to the Bhṛguś. The same writer in the mythic Journal of the Mythic Society, 1926, derives the word "Plakṣa" from Palasgian and identified the Dvīpa with the country in ancient Greece covered by Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly. The learned Scholar does not consider whence the Palasgians entered these countries. The real case is that the Palasgians entered Greece from Plakṣa-Dvīpa and the word Palasgian comes from Plakṣa or the Fig Tree. The descendants of the Palasgians, a race of Fire Worshipers, are brothers in blood to the Bhṛguś and Median Fire Worshipers had also a Fig totem. A Fig tree overshadowed the cave of the ancient founders of Rome in the Wolf's Cave and the great consternation felt when the Tree of Ramulus was destroyed is referred to by a writer of the art on Tree Worship in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition. Nathaniel under the Palasthenian Fig Tree is equally another case in point.

The Fig tree is certainly the totem of the Bhṛguś. The varieties of the *Ficus Religiosa* and *Ficus Indica* are both sacred trees for the Bhṛguś. They are popularly known as Aśvattha and Vāṭa and the names given to them by the lexicographer indicates to us the importance which this tree was wielding over the religious beliefs of the people. We read in the Mahā-Bhārata

Vanaparva, Chapter 115, the importance of these trees. Bhṛgu the father-in-law of Satyawati directs the mother of Jamadagni to embrace the Udumbara fig tree to beget a religiously inclined son and asks the wife of Gādhi to embrace the Pippal or Aśvattha to beget a heroic son. In our sacred literature the Aśvattha is the tree of the Kṣatriyas and it is only later on it became particularly the Bodhi or the tree of the wisdom of the Buddhist; hence it is later on called also Vipra or the tree of the sage, though it is known as Kṣatriya tree. It is also called Satya namely the tree of the Sati or Kṣatriyas, or Asura Hittites whom the Egyptian records call Sati. It is also called Yakṣāvāsa the abode of the Yakṣas, the followers of Kubera. Yakṣas are Hyksos and their God is Kubera Nara-vāhana. Kubera is Hittite God and it is that God we find represented in the sculptures of Boghazkui Hatti standing on the shoulders of the priests.¹

The Aśvattha thus represents the virile power of the Universal God and also His Omniscient Wisdom. That is why it is called Pippal. Pippal is traceable to Vipra, a Vedic word meaning "Inspiring". Vipras are a specially inspired people and the Mahā-Bhārata Vana-Parva particularly places the origin of the Vipras on the banks of Devikā, a river in the ancient land of Elam now called Tib.

अयं गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र देविकां लोकविश्रुताम् ।

प्रसूतिर्यत्र विप्राणाम्.....॥

Ancient Elam is thus the land of the Vipras and also of Varuṇa whose capital is Sushan, and who according to the conceptions of all religions,—Bhṛgu-Dravidian-pre-Āryan Medo-Persian, Assyrian, is the highest god. According to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Pulastya is the finest king of Virunagara on the river Devikā.

Another name for Plakṣa Dvīpa is Śveta or white. This designation is very important as this Purāṇic and Epic name finds ample corroboration in the history of Mesopotamia and the Hittites.

The designation of Śveta given in Ch. 12 of Bhīṣma-Parva of Mahā-Bhārata certainly refers to the ancient Kingdom of

Ellipi, with its ancient capital of Ecbatana on the ruins of which arose the later Medo-Persian empire. The Historians' History of the World¹ says "North east of Assyria, and extending to the southern shores of the Caspian was the ancient Kingdom of Ellipi, with its capital Ecbatana, the Achmetha of the Bible. Of its fortunes we get a glimpse now and then in the course of Assyrian history." Now the word Ellipi in Dravidian means white and Śveta-Dvīpa means, the land of white people. We have a reference to a white people in this country and also in the surrounding country of Cappadocia, whose inhabitants are called by the Greeks, the Leuco-Syri or the white Syrians, and these are admittedly, the ancient Hittites. The Goddess Lakṣmī is worshipped by the Phrygio-Cappadocians under the designation of Ma. She is the same "Bhārgavī"—"Ma" who is believed to have risen out of the sea, like "Apphrodite" and that sea must be the sea of Shirwan or Caspian Sea, later on Sanskritised into Kṣīra-Sāgara or the sea of milk.

It is from this country of Ellipi, probably Lebanon in Palestine is named. Lebanon is the country of Phœnicians, allied to the Hittites, and the Philistines. Lebanon is otherwise known also as Albion or white country, a name later on adopted by the colonists from Ellipi. Rome is alban and Britain is the island of Albion and we find Albania in the Crimean Peninsula.

In the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa we read of Rāvaṇa's defeat at the hands of the women of Śveta-Dvīpa. This land is the country of the Amazons of the Greek writers. This island is, according to the Epic, on the shores of Kṣīrodadhi or the sea of milk. The writer of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa knew the ancient land of Elam and it is that which he calls Plakṣa. Plakṣa and Kuśa Dvīpas are interrelated and that is why we find one Sushan in the north and another in the south. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa says that the people in the island of Plakṣa offer sacrifices to Ātman. Now the ancient Elamites², offered worship to Lagamal and Ātman, the secret title of Susinak or Ishunak. Who this God Ātman is and how he is connected with Egypt, another land of Cush, we shall consider under a separate chapter later on. Another word which we have got to consider in connection with the tree totem of the Bhṛgu is Atti (अति). *Atys*, *Attis* or *Atles* in the Lydian, and

1. History of Persia, page 585.

2. See E. B. 9th Edition, Art on Elam.

1. See picture at page 112. Hittites. Story of a forgotten empire A. H. Sayce.

Phrygian mythology is a youth beloved for his beauty by the Goddess Rhea, called there Agdistis. The story as told at Pessinus, the centre of the worship of the goddess, was that by Zeus she gave birth to a being born male and female and that the Gods displeased transformed this being into a tree from the fruit of which the daughter of the River God Sangarius bore a boy who grew up amongst herdsmen, marvellous for his beauty so as to win the love of Agdistis.¹ This account of the transformation of the son of Rhea into a tree is an indication of the worship of this tree totem in ancient Phrygia. This tree represents the male principle of life—as Phallus and is identical with Baal Peor, or Brahmā the Creator.

The holy fig tree is referred to in the R̥g Veda (1—135-8). The vessels to hold the Soma juice are prepared from it to add virility or power. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar in his *Age of the Mantras* at page 127 says “it is the symbol of the Śiśna or Fire-drill and corroboration for this is to be found in Mr. Griffith’s *Atharvāna Veda*, Book V, Hymn 11, page 250. The beautiful Attys is Agni the young (Tanūnapāt) and Agni according to the literature and traditions of all countries is the producer of life. Fire represents not only individual life or soul but also cosmic or universal soul. The writer of the article on “Fire” in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 9th Edition has given a succinct and beautiful resume of all the aspects of the worship of this God and I cannot put the matter better than quoting the learned writers’ words. “For a long time through out all the world, the ancient naturalists who meditated on the greatest wonder of physiology supposed that the generation of fire by the friction of two woods, one of harder and the other of softer substance was the exact counter part of human generation. The heat thus involved was held to be of most subtle nature, a flash of the astral light, an intelligent substance. Primary fire impregnated primary water and the soul was born. Life was compared to a torch and no comparison is more true. Modern chemistry having proved that animal life was a constant burning of oxygen, the ancient myth was not far from truth when it said that Prometheus animated the figure of clay by putting into it a spark of fire. Man was thought to be an alloy of fire, earth, water in slightly different proportions. Fire, a constituent part

1. See account of Attys in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 9th Edition.

of divine creation, became a soul when it was immersed in organic matter; it became the body when it was put into organic clay.”

Attys thus represents the principle of generation and is equally the symbol of life and fire. The Atharvan Bhr̥gus are children of fire—the word Atharvan itself can be resolved into Athar-bene child of Athar or fire. In Semitic-Dravidian Ben or Pen means child. Attys thus represents the God Brahmā, the first and foremost ancestor of the Bhr̥gus according to the genealogy given in Chapter 66 of Ādi-Parva of Mahā-Bhārata. The word Attys added as a suffix to personal names in the ancient Lydian country and Phrygia, in the Purāṇic names—means the same thing as *Varmā* added to the names of kings in South India.

Thus far as regards the totem sacred tree of the Bhr̥gus.

The word Atty and Medi-Dravidian in origin must give us the clue to understand the existence of Phallic worship and the worship of the *Yoni* in places outside the country of its origin, viz., Plakṣa-Dvīpa and Kuṣa-Dvīpa.

(To be continued.)

NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE RUKMINIKALYANA MAHAKAVYA OF SRI RAJACUDAMANI
DĪKṢITA, Edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library,
Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

This work, the publication of which has been begun by the Pandits of the Adyar Library, and of which two Sargas have now been printed with the commentary called Maṅṭikamāṭka of Śrī Bālayajñavedeśvara, is well worth perusal by all students of Sanskrit literature. It belongs to that fruitful period of "creative art" in Sanskrit literature, namely, the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries after Christ close upon the dissolution of the great Vijayanagar Empire. This period witnessed a very healthy revival of Sanskrit learning under the patronage of the Viceroys of the Vijayanagar Empire, who, after the break-up of that Empire, set themselves up as independent rulers at Vellore, Penukonda, Gingee, Tanjore, Madurai and other places. The renaissance was an all-round one, and comprised all the fine arts, religion and philosophy. Many were the famous personalities, who were the court poets of the chieftains, the most famous among them being Appayya Dikṣita, under the patronage of Chinnabomma at Vellore. The author of this work, Rajacudamani Dikṣita, known also as Yajñanarayana Dikṣita, lived at the court of king Raghunatha Naick of Tanjore. In the valuable introduction to this work written by Mr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., now Senior Lecturer, Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras, interesting information is given as regards many other works of this author, his patron, Raghunātha Naick, his ancestry and his family connection with the other famous Dikṣitas of that period. The date of another of his works known as Tantraśikhāmaṇi, a treatise on Mīmāṃsā, is said to be 1636 A.D. according to a verse in that work. The work is styled a Mahākāvya, and one should naturally expect that it will fulfil all the characteristics of a Mahākāvya, as described by Ālaṅkārikas. It follows the model of Śrī Harṣa's Naiṣadhīya, in manner of treatment and in style. One must admit that the poetry is highly artificial and difficult. However, the author shows himself as a master of the

Sanskrit language and a profound scholar in the Śāstras and in the technique of Sanskrit poetry. Though the first Sarga has 105 Ślokas and the second 73, the story is not carried far. Many works of this period remain unpublished, and the endeavour of the Pandits of the Adyar Library is praiseworthy, especially as they provide easy access for the students of Sanskrit literature to the valuable works of one of the many illustrious poets and philosophers of this period, who, while occupying distinction in temporal affairs, maintained their ideals of Brahminhood, and attained great distinction in philosophy and literature. The printing and get-up leaves nothing to be desired. I would suggest to the Editors that it will be very helpful if they would append short notes in English towards the end of the work.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSSALMAN INDIA (IN NINE VOLUMES) VOL. I
PRE-HISTORIC INDIA BY PROF. V. RANGACHARYA M.A.,
Professor of Indian History Presidency College, Madras,
Huxley Press, Madras. vii+247 pages. Price Rs. 5 or sh.
7-6d.

The Volume under review is the first of a series of nine volumes which the author has planned, apparently on a very elaborate and ambitious scale. This volume forms a good introduction to the whole series, comprising as it does, a good deal of information regarding the geographical evolution of India, the appearance of the first man, the paleolithic age, the transition to the neolithic age, the neolithic age itself, the advent and use of metals, the civilization of the Indus valley; and finally the story of the entry of the Aryans.

In the first chapter the author refers to theories that are advanced by the geologist in accounting for the origin of the Earth's crust, with special reference to the Indian continent. The author here endorses the view of the geologist that South India is older than Northern India. In the second, we find references to theories regarding the first evolution of man. The author refers to the theories that regard Syria, Western Asia, Central Asia, Burma, Arctic Regions, Africa and India, as places where man first evolved. The author, agreeing with Sir Harry

Johnston, as may be naturally expected, says, that South India should be regarded as the place where man first originated. Sir Harry Johnston, in his "The Opening up of Africa" discusses the various theories regarding the birth-place of man and comes to the conclusion that the place of origin should be sought for either in Burma or South India. There seems to be a good deal of truth in this theory and probably we come upon certain definite proofs which will finally establish this thesis. In the next chapter, the author makes a rapid survey of the paleolithic remains in places like Madura, Trichinopoly, Salem, Mysore, Bellary, Cudappah, North-Arcot, Chingleput, Bhadrachalam, Cundlekhand, Dharwar, and few from Bengal. What little of the culture of the paleolith human being could be deduced from these remains, has been done by Bruce Foste and others and the author reproduces them all in the further portions of the chapter. It is also said that the germs of religious thoughts could be traced to those paleoliths. In the next chapter the origin of the so-called Dravidian is discussed. The theories of the Mongolian origin, of the Scythian, Turanian or Central Asian Origin, of the Semetic origin, of the Mesopotamian origin, of the Egyptian origin, and that of the Mediterranean origin are discussed. The last of these theories finds favour with the author in the next chapter. In chapter VI the author takes us through Neolithic sites in ancient India—sites like those found in Anantapur, Bellary, Karnool, Cudappah, Hyderabad, South Bombay, Gujerat, Kathiawar and Ceylon, and the author is of opinion that neolithic culture, wherever it is, is practically identical. The culture of the neolith takes up the major portion of the chapter. The origin and development of Dravidian Languages is also discussed in this chapter. The author refers to the conflicting views of Bishop Caldwell and Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar, but does not commit himself to any opinion on the question. In the chapter on the "Advent of Metals" the author refers to the so-called bronze, copper and iron ages and show how the bronze age was absent from India. The Indians discovered gold at a comparatively early age and were using it in various ways. In dealing with the Indus valley civilization and the discoveries in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, the author is careful enough not to express any view, *i.e.*, whether it is Aryan or Dravidian. The last chapter brings down the history of pre-historic India to the beginning of the Aryan immigration into India. After referring

to the theories of the probable home of the Aryans, the author concludes that they could not have been autochthonous but should have come into India from their original habitat, which should be sought for somewhere between Bactria—Kashmir. The author closes with a statement of the views of European scholars like Max Muller, Keith, Macdonnel, and Winternitz, regarding the date of Vedic civilization.

On the whole, the volume under review is a useful book of reference, bringing together for the reader information contained in various places. It is hoped that the further volumes of the series will be equally, if not more, interesting as the one under review. The adoption of proper diacritical marks would enhance the value of the work to a large extent.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

सचिवद्विजपौरयोषितां

वदनैः सन्ततवाष्पवर्षिभिः ।

नलिनीव विराजते पुरी

प्रचुरासारजलार्द्रपङ्कजा ॥

अध्यक्षः—आर्यस्य चिताप्रवेशश्रवणेन द्विगुणीकृतः प्रकृतिजनानां सन्तापः ।

हंस—^१णिगदो भवणादो ।

यौग—भो हरिवर्मन् ! यावद्गुमण्वानागच्छति तावदस्यां नगर्यां अप्रमादेन
भवितव्यम् ।

अध्य—अथ किम् ।

हंस—(एकतो विलोक्य) ^२अहो ! नगरं विअ जमुणादीरं संवृत्तं ।

यौग—साधु बहुजनप्रत्यक्षं नाम विचारणीयं भवति ।

हंस—^३इदो चिदा ।

यौग—(विलोक्य) एषा हि—

विकसत्प्रचुरोल्लसत्फुलिङ्गा

पवनालोलशिखासहस्रकीर्णा ।

मदुपागमनं नृपाय वक्तुं

त्रिदिवं प्रेषतीव धूम एति ॥

(परिक्रम्य) हंसक ! गच्छ त्वमिदानीम् । यौगन्धरायणो गतः
स्वामिसमीपमिति रुमण्वन्तं ब्रूहि ।

१. निर्गतो भवनतः ।

२. अहो ! नगरमिव यमुनातीरं संवृत्तम् ।

३. इतश्चिता ।

४०

वीणावासवदत्तम्

हंस — अय्य ! तह (पादयोर्निपत्य माश्रुमुख्यो निष्क्रान्तः) ।

यौग — पुष्पं पुष्पम् ।

(प्रविश्य चाङ्गारकादस्तः)

चेटः — अय्य ! तदे पुष्पम् ।

यौग — (प्रगृह्य तामर्चयति)

चेटः — सुणिस्समहं भट्टिणो मरणं ; पेक्खिदं ण पोराम् । (रुदन्निष्क्रान्तः)

यौग — (आत्मगतम्) बद्धमिदानीं विद्यया जनानां चक्षुः । (प्रकाशम्) भोः ।

सर्वान् पौरान् विज्ञापयामि । यत्किञ्चिन्मे स्वच्छिन्ने तन्मर्पणीयं भवद्भिः !

(चितां प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य) एष मोक्षितां प्रविशामि । (उद्धुङ्क्ष्य पारिक्रामति)

(नैपथ्ये हाहाकारः क्रियते)

यौग — दिष्टया जनाः सर्वे वञ्चिताः । तथा हि —

केचिद्धूमितले यतन्ति विचरन्त्येके सहाहारवाः

केचिन्मुक्तशिखा रुदन्ति विलपन्त्युद्राहवः केचन ।

केचिद्वावणि पातयन्ति च शिरः सर्पन्ति केचिच्छिन्ना

केचिद् भ्रान्ति कौरुरो मुहुरयं सिद्धप्रयोगो मम ॥

अतः गत्वहम् —

उन्मत्तवेपः सुखमुज्जयिन्यां

भ्रान्त्वा यथाहं प्रतिपद्य कार्यम् ।

इहागमिष्यामि सहैव भर्त्रा

विकासयन् पौरजनाननानि ॥

१. आर्य ! तथा ।

२. श्रोष्याम्यहं भर्तुर्मरणम् ; प्रेक्षितुं न पारयामि ।

संप्रति हि —

उपागतं वमदिव दिङ्मुखैस्तमो

निशामुखं परभृतकर्णमेचकम् ।

परिक्षरत्तिमिरपरीतमम्बरं

शनैः शनैरवतरतीव मेदिनीम् ॥

(निष्क्रान्तः)

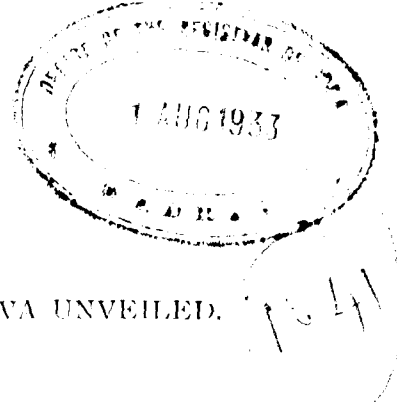
॥ इति तृतीयोऽङ्कः ॥

॥ चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ॥

(ततः प्रविशति डिण्डकवेपो हंसकः)

हंस — सप्तमुदले मलरुक्मसमुल्लासुणसिद्धिनाभं धवधम्माधदेहाणं एकेण विणा
सएल्लोअं । (विचिन्त्य) अज्ज खु मए पअल्लाउज्जणो परिम्मिदा । मुहुत्तअं
इमं सीसुदेपउले विस्समिस्सम । (परिक्रम्य) इदं मे

*. एतावानेव भागः आदर्शे उपलभ्यते ।



HUMOUR IN THE KUMĀRASAMBHAVA UNVEILED.

BY

S. SUNDARACHAR, B.A., B.L.,

Advocate, Shiyali.

वररुचिरीश्वरदत्तः श्यामिलकः शूद्रकश्च चत्वारः ।

एते भागान् वमणुः का शक्तिः कालिदासस्य ॥ (चतुर्भाषी)

An ancient critic seems to have been struck very much by the deficiency of humour in Kālidāsa; humour, such as he found in the Bhāṇas of Vararuci, Īśvaradatta, Śyāmilaka or Śūdraka. This critic seems to have been very much impressed by the subtle and delicate observation of life, the refined and ironical touch and gentle gaiety that pervade the Bhāṇas of the said four authors. Kālidāsa, so far as we know, has written no Bhāṇas or Prahāsanas, but at the same time, there is nowhere in his Nāṭakas that sombre seriousness which we find in Bhavabhūti. Kālidāsa's works are irradiated with a divine light. His genius has transmuted everything into fairy hues. But still we ask where humour comes in. His Vidūṣakas are more conventional than original creations of his genius. Let us therefore inquire whether Kālidāsa was really destitute of Hāsyā-Rasa.

Though Hāsyā-Rasa appears to be a familiar enough thing, most of us if asked about its exact psychology are likely to feel like the Vidūṣaka in the Bhagavadajjūkiya who said "I am said to represent humour but I do not know what humour is." One of the latest books on English humour adopts this as the best definition viz., humour is "thinking in fun while feeling in earnest." This means that the true humourist must be able to live in such a deep intimacy with real feeling and emotions that he finds it difficult and distasteful to reveal them and if he should think of them at all he is quite likely to do a great deal of thinking in fun. The Hāsyā-Rasa of Indian poetics is a much wider conception than the humour of the western critics, with its many varieties of wit, irony, sarcasm, satire, parody, etc. We will first turn to the Nāṭya-Śāstra of Bharata.

Bharata, treating Śṛṅgāra as the strongest and most fundamental of human emotions, relates Hāsyā to it by pointing out that Hāsyā makes light of this emotion and thus derives its character of 'Hāsyā'. Thus Hāsyā seems to stand at the opposite pole of Śṛṅgāra. This conception, no doubt, is faithfully embodied in the Bhāṣas of Vararuci, etc. Especially the Bhāṣa, Pāda-tāḍitaka, of Śyāmīlaka, really reaches a lofty height of delicate humour in this direction.

Abhinavaguptācārya, in commenting on the passage of Bharata, points out that 'incongruity' is the soul of humour. And as incongruity is not any peculiar feature of Śṛṅgāra alone, it is permissible to relate Hāsyā to the other Rasas as well. When Mārīca, in fear of Rāma, turns hermit, dwells in an Āśrama and explains Rāmasvarūpa to Rāvaṇa, we have the parody of Śānti itself. As Abhinavagupta goes on to observe, Hāsyā-Rasa unwinds, so to speak, the intensity and concentration that characterise the other Rasas and makes them *Ābhāsa* i.e., dilutes them. But this *Ābhāsa* is *Lalitābhāsa*, as the Bhāva-prakāśa puts it. Thus the enjoyment in humour springs from this *Lalitābhāsa*, that is to say, this delightful unwinding relaxation.

The Bhāvaprakāśa also gives us the idea, *viz.*, "You laughed because you loved." Thus sympathy and not antipathy was the secret of humour, though the English critics are not agreed as to the attitude of the humourist to his comic characters being one of complete amity. There is no doubt that the Indian conception displays a profounder psychological insight than the English one in every way.

It must at once be conceded that the passages in Kālidāsa's works which we can recall as provoking laughter even in a moderate degree are few and far between and can almost be counted on the fingers.

There is only one scene in his works, and that in the greatest of them all, *viz.*, the Kumārasambhava. Here, in the eighth canto, we can not but laugh and the poet, we feel, must have laughed, if at least, for once. But this one laughing seems to compensate for the lack of laughter in other places in his works. Applying the test of Abhinavagupta, we have to find out how the incongruity arises and for this purpose we have to examine the whole poem.

HUMOUR IN THE KUMĀRASAMBHAVA UNVEILED 3

In the first canto the poet paints the sublime in the Himālayas and introduces us to the heroism of Satī, who, unable to brook the insult offered by her father, Dakṣa, burns herself in the fire generated by her own Yogic powers. She is reborn as the daughter of Himavān and is the very perfection of maidenly beauty, grace and charm. Nārada who is conceived as a kind of deity of humour does good to the world through what appears as mischief. Mischief is a form of humour. If we want to understand the humour of the Kumārasambhava, we have to look at it through the eyes of Nārada, who, after meeting Umā at the very outset and inspiring her with the divine desire of marrying Śiva, vanishes altogether from our view, but he is there hiding behind the curtain and we can hear his laughter at every stage. Nārada probed into the future and knew what was to happen in the end. He watched behind the curtain chuckling within himself as he went on looking at scene after scene. That Śiva should have quietly accepted Pārvatī to serve him and never foreseen the danger to himself is the point of the humour in the first canto. Śiva believed thoroughly in himself and his mastery over the passions. He fancied he was invulnerable to woman's beauty though it came embodied in the transcendental perfection of Pārvatī. But behind the curtain, Nārada chuckles. We may almost overhear him exclaiming. "Old man! persist in your delusions. Soon wilt thou become a slave to her whom thou thinkest but Prakṛti's doll."

In the second canto the gods go to Brahmā and his answer to their supplication, especially his use of the expression '*Umā-rūpa*,' is very significant. For Umā is as yet not a name of Pārvatī, but she will be getting that name only when her mother will dissuade her from *tapas*, for which she will later on be retiring, to win the heart of Śiva. His answer really means that Pārvatī by her *tapas* will attract Śiva, as magnet the iron, and that the gods may look ahead in that direction. But the gods understood not the words of Brahmā and set themselves to unite the two as if their striving would be of any avail in the matter. Again Nārada must have chuckled to think that the gods should meddle in what was no business of theirs without knowing the consequences.

In the third canto, which is the sublimest part of the whole poem, we have Manmatha and Mādhava striving to awaken Śiva to a sense of Pārvatī's beauty. The poet's genius is at its highest

point and we are introduced into the innermost sanctuary of peace, the soul's citadel, where Śiva has entrenched himself, and the attempt of Manmatha is most ludicrous and preposterous. Manmatha was burnt to ashes and Śiva is victorious for the moment. But behind the curtain can be heard Nārada exclaiming 'Manmatha is dead; long live Manmatha'. The third eye of Śiva which reduced him to ashes will soon open again but not in fire. The seriousness of the Yogin and the conquest of passion are suggested by the poet in passages of the loftiest grandeur and from the point of view of humour the emotion which was afterwards to be unwound is at the highest point.

The whole of the fourth canto is filled with the lamentations of Rati bewailing the loss of Manmatha. But when her wailing is about to be translated into a dire deed, a voice comes to her, saying that when Umā marries Śiva her husband would come back to life. Whose is this voice if not Nārada's?

Though this message is apparently one of consolation still it is full of humour and suggestive of the coming events. The tension of the situation grows from canto to canto and humour is still veiled and is apparent only to the detached soul of Nārada.

Umā dons the robes of the hermit and retires into the forest to perform *tapas*. Śiva at last is conquered by her austerity, where her charms have failed to prevail, and He goes out of his own accord to meet her. The humour has almost delivered itself out and Śiva himself in disguise as Brahmācārin describes Śiva as a worthless fool. He at last throws off his disguise and declares himself to be the slave of Umā. We can hear Nārada behind the scenes exclaiming "you were out to secure Umā and only wanted some pretext or other." Śiva would hardly wait for Umā to get her father's permission and it is Umā herself that forbids him and Śiva has to submit, no doubt, with woe-be-gone face.

We have already come to the sixth canto now. In this canto, the Ṛṣis are sent to Himavān to formally solicit the hand of the bride. The date for the marriage is fixed and Śiva is so eager that he finds it very difficult to wait even for the few days that preceded the marriage-date. It is now the poet's turn to laugh and he laughs in the following stanza :

पशुपतिरपि तान्यहानि कृच्छ्रा-
दगमयदद्रिसुतासमागमेत्कः ।

कमपरमवशं न विप्रकुर्यु-

विभुमपि यदमी स्पृशन्ति भावाः ॥

The seventh canto is almost pure humour. It bubbles with fun and frolic. Kālidāsa has loved to depict Śiva in his character of the son-in-law. We have no doubt that the soul of Kālidāsa loved to linger upon the son-in-law aspect of Śiva. To him the mirth and humour of the situation were as much worth describing as the sublimity of the Yogin which is presented to us in the third canto. Śiva bedecks himself duly as befits the bride-groom; his snakes and serpents, he transforms into fragrant garlands and bracelets; the Vibhūti becomes sandal paste; the eye in the forehead becomes the *tilaka*; in fact, everything that, before, was revolting and horrible is metamorphosed into things of beauty. (This is exactly the alchemy that Kālidāsa wants to depict in this epic *viz.* the transmutation of earth into heaven). He must have looked proud and we can almost overhear the taunts levelled at him and we can almost see him smiling foolishly and becoming the son-in-law butt. He goes through every rite of marriage. He prostrates before elders and Brahmā is at his wit's end as to what blessing to bestow. He must have been puzzled and tickled at the Yogin that was, having transformed himself into a tiptop son-in-law. Such is the humour of the gods. Manmatha is now introduced to meet Śiva face to face and he must have blushed to see the dreaded god in his new role supplicating him for some of those very shafts that formerly provoked the third eye.

The humour becomes much more exuberant in the eighth canto, in fact too exuberant for the critics. The honeymoon of Śiva, Kālidāsa could not pass over. He describes with loving detail and does not omit its many humorous situations. Śiva becomes the ideal bridegroom, for he satisfied the heart of his mother-in-law, Menakā. We all know that when a Hindu son-in-law is approved by his mother-in-law, the son-in-law is regarded as having grown perfect in folly. Śiva by satisfying Menakā's heart is thus presented to us as perfect in folly. When Śiva leaves Pārvaṭī to perform Sandhyā, Pārvaṭī manifests her jealousy and taunts him for preferring Sandhyā to herself. The humour of all this would be very apparent if the whole thing were acted before us.

Considering the poem as a whole, the humour is at first extremely subtle and delicate. It begins in very low tones and is

almost inaudible. At this stage, the sublimity and spiritual grandeur almost entirely throw the humour into the background. It is apparent only to the detached soul of Nārada. Little by little, this sublimity and seriousness are transformed; the humour grows louder and louder and in the seventh and the eighth canto becomes almost obstreperous. From the heights of the Himālayas where eternal silence reigns, we are led step by step into the very nuptial chamber of God. This transition by its polar paradoxes and situations is bound to be attended with peals of laughter. Kālidāsa has achieved almost a miracle in wedding humour with sanctity. We are made to laugh at the sacred even while it remains as sacred as ever before. Kālidāsa walks undoubtedly at the edge of the precipice in this respect. Humour and seriousness are generally considered as poles apart, and in trying to depict God as a kind of supreme and glorified fool towards the end of the poem, Kālidāsa taxes his own genius to the utmost. It is his glory that he has preserved the divine character of Śiva and Pārvatī even while making us laugh.

Laughter at the stage at which it is evoked in the Kumārasambhava is itself a form of beatitude and becomes sacred.

The Bhāgavata narrates the stories of several people who attained to God through various kinds of emotions such as, *krodha*, *bhaya* etc. But it does not tell us of anybody who laughed himself into the presence of God. Kālidāsa in the Kumārasambhava makes us ascend a peak of vision where laughter itself may become the gateway to the Supreme. Come to the top of Kailāsa, the poet seems to say and laugh to your heart's content. The gods are fools and so are we and let us together laugh and dance in folly's dance. It is from this point of view that we can answer the criticism of some critics who regard the eighth canto as a blot on the poem. All critics agree that the eighth canto is the work of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa was anything but a prude. His soul loved everything in the world and at the same time he was far removed from the seriousness or moroseness of the dry ascetic. His object seems to have been to tear the mask of prudishness from off the faces of men. He has depicted the loftiest beauty in the maiden 'Umā.' He has depicted the soul of the Yogin in Śiva. He has depicted the conquest of that soul over mere physical beauty. He has given to us the great message of renunciation as the secret of undying love. After doing all this, he seems to throw open the nuptial

chamber of Śiva and let us peep in. The critics exclaim with horror 'oh this is awful.' But Kālidāsa would say, "What you see in the nuptial chamber is as much a part of God as what you saw in the forest. I have redeemed the dross from it and if you have understood me, you can look into the nuptial chamber and regard it with as much veneration as everything else that I have depicted."

The seventh canto of the Kumārasambhava parallels in some respects the seventh canto of the Raghuvamśa where the wedding of Aja with Indumatī is described. But at the same time the contrast is very striking. In the Raghuvamśa the wedding follows the glorious Svayamvara of Indumatī. In the Kumārasambhava, in place of the Svayamvara, we have the austerities of Umā. Similarly the eighth canto of the Kumārasambhava, describing the amours of Śiva, parallels the nineteenth canto of the Raghuvamśa describing the voluptuousness of Agnivarna. The Śṛṅgāra described in the Raghuvamśa is of earth, earthly; but the one in the Kumārasambhava is purified and sublimated. Kālidāsa in his Kumārasambhava pushed back earth into secret heaven and spilled all secret heaven upon earth.

ARJUNA'S PENANCE OR BHAGĪRATHA'S?

BY

VICTOR GOLOUBEV

Translated by

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The following translation of the annexure to the report of a general meeting of the Société Asiatique, held on the 18th June, 1914, published in the *Journal Asiatique* 1914, (Vol. IV, pp. 209-12), will enable scholars who have no access to the French original to see the exact steps in the new interpretation of a celebrated work of art. This interpretation was first proposed by Prof. Goloubew and is now being generally accepted, though some scholars still prefer the older interpretation.

*“Arjuna's cliff at Māvalipuram and the descent of the
Ganges on earth, according to the Rāmāyaṇa and
the Mahābhārata.”*

Among the many problems that the temples and the sculptured rocks of Māvalipuram set to us, figures that of deciding the subject which is found related in detail on the cliff said to be that of Arjuna. The high-relief which it shows is among the most important in India alike for richness of the composition and for perfection of technique.

The length of the rock is about 27 metres on a height of 9. A deep fissure separates it in two parts. The southern side ends in a temple of the purest Pallava Style.

The high-relief in question comprises nearly a hundred and fifty persons or animals, adapted in a marvellous fashion to the rock which serves as the landscape. Prominently visible, close to a god, who is easily recognised to be Śiva, is sculptured a penitent in the distinct attitude of mortification. He supports himself on one leg, the hands joined above his head; he has a long beard, and long hair; the brahmanical thread descends cross-wise from his left shoulder. For many years, we believed we saw, in this ascetic, the Pāṇḍava Arjuna at the moment when



Mahābalipuram—Bhagīratha's penance.

he imposed on himself his long trial in order to obtain the invincible arms of Indra. Nevertheless, this interpretation was never considered to be definitive. It did not explain the general sense of the composition of which the centre is found indubitably marked by the medial fissure of the rock. The Nāgas sculptured in the depth of this fissure led Fergusson to believe that it was a case of serpent-worship. In agreement with our colleague M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, and after having studied the problem minutely, I believe I can submit to you, gentlemen, a new solution, equally founded on a text of the Mahābhārata. The subject should be, according to our opinion, the "Descent of the Gaṅgā on the earth."

The point of departure of our interpretation was the incontestable fact that the fissure of the rock simulates a river. At the time of the monsoon, and before the opening was closed by the attentions of the Archaeological survey, the rain water fell in a cascade bathing the bodies of the Nāgas and the end of the trunk which is extended by the magnificent elephant sculptured to the right. All the persons and all the animals are seen to turn towards this river. It is thus evident that here is a capital fact, of cosmic importance. Now a similar fact is related to us in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Rāmāyaṇa ; the king Bhagīratha, after a penance of a thousand years, secured from Śiva¹ the descent on earth of the celestial Gaṅgā. This is the precise moment that we find represented to us here.

It is easy to follow detail by detail, the narrative of the great epic poems, to recognise the two heavenly proofs of the grandiose event, the prodigious fall of the Gaṅgā in the lower world, the Nāgas indicating the route of the impetuous flow, the anchorites surrendering themselves to joy, and the great saints who mutter prayers in a low voice. As to the storm of the poem, the artist of Māvalipuram has left it to the care of Nature itself which, during the North-East monsoon, surrounds the rock with its clouds and its lightnings.

It is interesting to note that, in a temple (cave) near the high-relief, the Pallava sculptors have represented on the inner

1. More literally: 'obtained from Śiva that he made to descend on the earth the celestial Gaṅgā'.

wall the divine shepherd Kṛṣṇa supporting in the air the formidable burden of mount Govardhana and thus sheltering against the celestial cataracts the shepherds and the flocks of Nanda. It is not certainly by chance that, side by side, we find the two supreme divinities of Hinduism, in an action of which the aim is to protect humanity from the inclemencies of the tempest and from the dangers of drought.

A PROBLEM OF DRAVIDIC PHONOLOGY—
TAMIL MEDIAL -Y-, -Ś- AND KANNADA -S-.

BY

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In his *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages* (2nd ed., pages 153, 158, 215) Caldwell poses an interesting but complicated problem of Dravidic phonology: "On comparing Canarese with Tamil, we often find *s* where we should have expected *y*—e.g., *hesar*, *pesar* Can. 'a name' instead of *peyar*, Tam. It seems unsafe, however, to assume that in these cases *y* was the original and *s* the corruption. It may as well be that *s*- was the original and *y* the corruption. The Tamil *peyar* may therefore be a softened form of the Canarese *pesar*, and what renders this more likely is that the Tamil *peyar* itself is still further softened into *pēr*. In high Tamil, as in Malayālam, the softened form is often preferred by the poets as more elegant. It may possibly therefore be more ancient—e.g., *paīm*, green, is in both languages more poetical than *paśum*. All that is certain with regard to such cases is, that *y* and *ś* often change places. The existence, however, of a dialectic change from *ś* to *y*, as apparent especially in the southern districts, is clearly proved by the change Sanskrit derivatives have undergone" (p. 153). "*y* changes into *ś*. It has been shown that *ch*, *ś* and *j* are softened into *y* in Tamil. Notwithstanding this, and in direct opposition to it, we find in colloquial Tamil, especially in that of the southern districts, a tendency also to harden *y* into *ś*. Where *ś* ought to be, it is pronounced as *y*, and where *y* ought to be, it is pronounced as *ś*—e.g., *paśi*, hunger, is mispronounced by the vulgar *payi*; whilst *vayaṛu*, the belly, is transformed into *vaśaṛu*. This change of *y* to *ś* is not confined to the south, though it is more frequently met with there. Even in Madras, *payangal*, boys, is pronounced *paśangal*, and *ayal*, near, is not only pronounced but written *aśal*. The change of *y* into *ś* and again conversely of *ś* into *y*, might seem to be owing to some peculiar perversity, but doubtless there is a cause for the

Tam. literary.	Tam. colloquial.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Kûi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhûi.
śey (field).		cey.	cē-nu.	k a y, k e y (field); k e s a r u (wet field).	key(standing crop); k e s a r u (mud in a wet field).			? x a j j (earth, mud).		
pay- (green, tender). payaru(green gram);	paś- payaru.	pay-, paś- payaru.	pa s u r u (green); p a i r u (corn).	pasi (greenness); payar(green corn); pasar(green gram); pasule (child).	p a j i (green); p a i r u (green corn); p a i y a (child); pasi(boy)					bei (green grass fit for grazing).
payal(boy).	paśal.						paiya (calf).			
pāy-(to spread).		pāy.	pāy.	pāy (to spread) pase (mat).	pāy, pajæ (mat).	pās-pa (to cause to spread).				

Tam. literary.	Tam. colloquial.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Kûi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhûi.
{ vē- (to be hot). veyyil(sunshine). uy- (to take away).		vey-	vē- cf. uyyalu (swing).	bey- (to be hot); bisil (sunshine)	bēy-(to be boiled). oyi- (to take away); ujjalu (swing). usuru.	vē-ra. ō-(to take away.)	vē- oi- (to take away)	bi'i- ui-		bis- (to be cooked); bās-(to be hot).
uyir (life.)	uśir.	uyir.	usuru.	usuru.		kā-nda. vāy.	kās. vāy.	ujj- (to live). xāy (to be hot) bāi.		cf. uśi (heart). cf. xāxar (fire). bā (mouth).
kāy- (to be hot). vāy (mouth)		kāy- vāy.	kāy- vāy.	kāy (to be hot), bāy, but cf. bāsul scar caused by a blow).	kāy. bāy.				qāy.	
kāy (fruit).		kāya.	kāya, but k a s u r (tender fruit).		kāyi.	kā-u.	kaiā (fruit).	xaṇja.	q a ṇ j (fruit).	

Tam. literature.	Tam. colloquial.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
vayiru, vayarū (belly).	vaṣaru.	vayaru.		basir basar (belly) basur pesar (name) hesar	bañji.	bandi.		piñj (to be called.)		? pin.
peyar (name)		peyar.	pēru.							
māy- (to be changed).		māy-	māy (to be destroyed).	māy, but masuḍ (to disappear)	māy (to be removed).					
koy (to reap)		koy-	koy- (to cut).	koy-	koy-	kō-va.	koy-	koy-	qoy-	
tēy- (to be rubbed).	tē ś a l (rubbing)	tēy-	tē.	tēy.	tēy.	tēja (to be wiped).				
śey- (to do).		cey-	cēy.	key, gey.	key, gey-	ki-, gi-	k a y (hand); ki to do).			
mey, may (body); me-, mi- (above).		mey-	cf. meyyu (to graze)	may, mey.	mey.			me-d (body).		me, mi (above).

cf. also the following :—

Telugu stems *cēs-*, *cēst-* beside the base *cēy-* (to do).

" *tīs-*, *tīst-* " *tīy-*

Tōḍa *āṣṇum* (though it to be so) beside Tam. *āyinum*; beside

" *āyinor* (if it be so) " " *ānāl*.

[Tōḍa *o* (I.P.A. *o*) corresponds to *a-* of other dialects, and Tōḍa *-r* stands for *-l*.]

Iruḷa *mespikka* (to feed), beside Tamil *meyppi-*.

Significant points in the above instances.

(a) First we have to note that *-y-* occurs with greater or lesser frequency in most dialects, including Brāhūi of the north—cf. *bey* (green grass fit for grazing). Even in Kūi *kō-va* (to cut), *nō-va* (to be pained), *vē-va* (to be boiled), one can reasonably postulate an older *-y-* which has now disappeared in connection with the formative particle *-va* used characteristically in Kūi in connection with verbs like these.

(b) *-ś-* of the Tamil colloquial, *-s-* of Kannaḍa and Telugu and *-j-* of Tulu are found mostly in connection with derivatives formed with characteristic Dravidian affixes :

Kannaḍa	<i>paṣaru</i> (green gram)—	formative <i>-ar</i>
	<i>paṣuḷe</i> (child) —	" <i>-uḷ</i>
	<i>paṣi</i> (hunger) —	" <i>-i</i>
	<i>paṣe</i> (mat) —	" <i>-e</i> (= Tam. <i>ai</i>)
	<i>bisil</i> (sunshine) —	" <i>-il</i>
	<i>basir</i> (belly) —	" <i>-ir</i>
	<i>paṣar</i> (name) —	" <i>-ar</i>
	<i>kaṣa</i> (astringent) —	adj. " <i>a</i>
Telugu	<i>paṣaru</i> (green corn) —	" formative <i>-ar</i>
	<i>kaṣuru</i> (unripe fruit)—	" "
Tulu	<i>paṣa</i> (mat) —	" <i>-a</i> (=
		Kann. <i>-e</i> and Tam. <i>-ai</i>)
	<i>paṣi</i> (green) —	" <i>-i</i>
	<i>kaṣa</i> (brackish) —	adj. " <i>-a</i>

It will be observed (i) that in connection with most of these instances with *-s-* or *-j-*, these speeches possess cognate forms with *-y-* in only a few of the derivatives, but in *all* those instances which we might call the 'primaries'; and, further, (ii) that

no -s- or -j occurs in the 'primaries', but only -y wherever it is found to occur.¹

The following are other illustrations in modern Tamil with -ś- instead of literary -y- in derivatives :

LITERARY	—	COLLOQUIAL
<i>muyal</i> (hare)	—	<i>muśal</i>
<i>iyai</i> (to agree)	—	<i>iśai</i>
<i>ṇuyal</i> (storm)	—	<i>ṇuśal</i>
<i>kayaṅg</i> - (to be squeezed);		<i>kaśaṅg</i> ;
<i>ayaṇu</i> (mud)	—	<i>aśaru</i>

(c) So far as the central and northern speeches are concerned, the following points may be singled out —

(i) -y occurs in the 'primaries' freely in many dialects : cf. *kāy*- (to be hot) of the south with Kurukh *vāy*-, Malto *qāy*-; *koy*- (to cut, reap) with Gōṇḍi *koy*- and Kurukh *voy*-; *vāy*, *bāy* (mouth) with Gaṇḍi *vāy*, Kurukh *bāy*; *kāy* (fruit) with Gōṇḍi *kāiā*; cf. further Gōṇḍi *nāy* (dog), *poi*- (to flower), *miy*- (to emerge from), etc.

(ii) Gōṇḍi *kās*- (to be hot) Kūi *kaju* (hand) and Brāhūi *bis*- (to be cooked) remain to be explained with reference to -y- of their respective cognates in the south.

-j- of Kūi *kaju* (hand) and *lēja* (to be wiped,) corresponds to -y- of so many dialects that we cannot help postulating here a change of -y- to -j-; cf. Kūi *āja* (woman) with southern *āy* (woman) and cf. Tuḷu *paja* (mat) with *pāy*- (to spread). -s- of Gōṇḍi *kās*- and Brāhūi *bis*- also may, in view of the fact that the cognates of most other dialects show only -y-, also be considered to be modifications of -y-.

To suppose that -s- here represents the original condition of Dravidian is to ignore (i) the value of the presumption arising from the actual existence of -y- in cognates in most dialects of Dravidian, (ii) the significance of the process underlying the production of -s- or -j- in derivatives of Kannāḍa, Telugu and Tuḷu, and (iii) the significance of the absence of -s- in numerous other forms at least in the central and northern speeches, where we ought (according to this supposition) to expect -s-.

1. So far as Tamil is concerned, the forms with medial -ś- (corresponding to -y-) are mostly found only in the colloquial or in comparatively modern literary texts. Among all our instances, the only exceptions to this rule are *puśu*- (to be green, to lose lustre) and *aśai*- (to move, stir) which are found in the oldest literary works.

The probabilities, therefore, all point to the fact that -s- of Gōṇḍi *kās*- (to be hot) and Brāhūi *bis*- (to be cooked) is secondarily derived from -y-.

The question of the adaptation of I.A. -s-, -j- as -y- in Tamil.

(a) One of the arguments indicated by Caldwell in the citation given above and used by others to show that -y- may be secondary to -ś- or -s- is that old Tamil adapted I.A. -ś-, -j- as -y- in a few instances like the following :—

IA <i>ākāśa</i>	—	Old Tam. <i>ākāyam</i>
„ <i>deśa</i>	—	„ <i>tēyam</i>
„ <i>śmaśāna</i>	—	„ <i>mayānam</i>
„ <i>rājā</i>	—	„ <i>araśan, arayan</i>

We have to bear in mind that this change has not affected all such adaptations, nor is it in these forms absolute, as we have alternants in old Tamil with -ś- instead of -y-.

Further, the validity of this argument to prove the secondary character of all instances of native -y- in Dravidian is extremely doubtful in view of our review of the occurrence of -y- in most Dravidian dialects outside Tamil. And in Tamil itself, I.A. -ś- may have been adapted as -y- on account of the predominance and strength of -y- in literary Tamil as distinguished from the colloquial -ś-.

(b) In certain dialects of Indo-European, and Indo-Āryan, an original -s- has been known to have changed to the aspirate -h-, then to zero, and then -y-. This has led some scholars to postulate this kind of change in Dravidian also. The error, involved in this presumption, of attributing to one language-family a change which is quite common in another, will evidence itself when we consider the probabilities with reference to the actual conditions in Dravidian taken as a whole. The postulate of an original -s- like this cannot *satisfactorily* be made in the case of any one of the instances in our list; on the other hand, it is possible for us to account for the sibilants wherever they occur in the above list as having been modifications of -y-.¹

1. (a) The question may arise here whether the origin of this -y- could be traced further *back*. The data at our disposal do not warrant anything conclusive; but one may query if in those primary bases where -y- is preceded by front vowels it may not have originally cropped up as an off-glide.

(b) Further, correspondences like the following might raise the question of an original -g- :

Phonetic aspects of the change -y- > -ś- > -s-.

(i) Tamil -y- in actual utterance is a semi-voiced palato-alveolar fricative which easily changes into the sibilant ś by the introduction of a greater current of breath. In Tamil, ś appears generally speaking, completely unvoiced owing to the association of the stronger breath-current in the production of the sibilant. The actual process of change can be noted distinctly when Tamil speakers of the older generation use, side by side in pairs, words like lit. *muyal* (hare) and coll. *muśal*, preferring always the latter in emphatic enunciation.

The voiced variety of ś [i. e. z] is not met with in Dravidian; in certain dialects like Tulu this voiced z changes into the voiced affricate j.

(ii) The dental sibilant -s- in medial positions is exclusive in Kannaḍa; the palatal -ś- is nowhere seen. Palatal -ś- of Sanskrit words is in the old dialect always adapted as -s-: cf.

IA.	—	Kann. adaptation
<i>daśa</i>	—	<i>daśa</i>
<i>aśoka</i>	—	<i>aśoka</i>
<i>āśā</i>	—	<i>āśa</i>
<i>pāśa</i>	—	<i>pāśa</i>

So far as native words are concerned, -s- (corresponding to -y- of 'primaries' in Kannaḍa itself and in other dialects) is found only in *derivatives*. This is also true of Tamil colloquial -ś-. What is the significance of this difference? I feel inclined to take the view that, since -y- when preceded and followed by vowels in derivatives has a tendency to lose its consonantal value (cf. Tam. colloquial *pēr* 'name' with *peyar* 'name', *viyar-* 'to perspire' with *vēr*), the attempt to stress its individuality in the medial syllable leads to the incorporation of a stronger breath-current and therefore to the change of the fricative -y- to -ś- in Tamil colloquial and to -s- in Kannaḍa (through an intermediate *-ś- stage).

South Dr. ā-g- (to become)	—	Gōṇḍi āi-
Kannaḍa <i>bāgil</i> (door)	— Tam. <i>vāyil</i> —	<i>vāśal</i>
Tulu <i>muger</i> (hare)	— Tam. <i>muyal</i> — coll. Tam. <i>muśal</i>	
Tulu <i>begaru</i> (sweat)	— Kann. <i>bevaru</i> — Tam. <i>viyar</i> — Mal. <i>viśar</i>	
Tam. <i>mogaru</i> (curds), <i>mōru</i> (butter-milk)	Kann. <i>mosaru</i> .	

Here too, nothing conclusive can be said, as -g-, instead of being original, may be inorganic, as in Tel. *aruguru*. etc.

Conclusion.

Summing up, we find that

(i) the occurrence of -y- in 'primaries' in almost all dialects of Dravidian evidences its antiquity;

(ii) Tamil -ś- corresponding to -y- is found generally only in the colloquial or in modern texts and *not* commonly in the oldest literary dialect;

(iii) -ś- of modern Tamil and -s- of Kannaḍa and Telugu and -j- of Tulu (all of them corresponding to -y-) are found in *derivatives only*;

(iv) the process of change of -y- to -ś- in Tamil colloquial could be noted even today in the parlance of speakers of the older generation when they use forms with -ś- in emphatic enunciation; and possibly the development of -s- (through *-ś-) in Kannaḍa and Telugu was therefore, ultimately due to the incorporation of a strong breath-current to mark off the individuality of the medial syllable of derivatives.

One is therefore led to suggest that in these instances -y- may be original and -ś-, -j- and -s- secondary.

THE STORY OF NĀBHĀNEDIṢṬHA AND ITS JURISPRUDENTIAL BEARINGS.

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The story of Nābhānediṣṭha is as old as the days of the
Yajurveda (Taittirīya Saṁhitā) and is thus told :—

मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत्, स नाभानेदिष्ठं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं
निरभजत्, स आगच्छत्, सोऽब्रवीत्, कथा मा निरभागिति । न त्वा निरभाक्ष-
मित्यब्रवीत् । अङ्गिरस इमे सत्रमासते, ते सुवर्गं लोकं न प्रजानन्ति, तेभ्य
इदं ब्राह्मणं ब्रूहि, ते सुवर्गं लोकं यन्तो य एषां पशवस्ताऽस्ते दास्य-
न्तीति । तदेभ्योऽब्रवीत्, ते सुवर्गं लोकं यन्तो य एषां पशव आसन्, तानस्मा
अददुः । तं पशुभिश्चरन्तं यज्ञवास्तौ रुद्र आगच्छत्, सोऽब्रवीत् । मम वा
इमे पशव इत्यदुर्वै मद्यमिमामित्यब्रवीत्, न वै तस्य ईशत इत्यब्रवीत् यद्यज्ञ-
वास्तौ हीयते, मम वै तदिति । तस्माद्यज्ञवास्तु नाभ्यवेत्यः सोऽब्रवीत् यज्ञे
माऽऽभजाथ ते पशून्, नाभिमःस्य इति । तस्मा एनं मन्थिनः सः स्रावमजुहोत्,
ततो वै तस्य रुद्रः पशून्नाभ्यमन्यत इति ।

(तैत्तिरीयसंहिता, ३-१-९.)

Rendered into English, it would mean, “Manu partitioned his
estate amongst his sons. He left out of account, Nābhānediṣṭha
who was dwelling as a student (with his preceptor). He returned
home and asked “why did you disinherit me?” Manu replied
saying “I have not left you out of the heritage. These Aṅgirasas
here are performing a sacrifice. They do not well know the
means of attaining to Suvarga. Repeat unto them, this Brāhmaṇa.
And as they depart heavenwards, they will bestow on you all their
cattle.” So he said. And they also bestowed on him, all the
cattle that belonged to them, as they started for Suvarga. And
as he was marching along with the cattle, Rudra came up to him
and met him on the sacrificial grounds. And he said unto him

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“They bestowed these on me saying they were mine. These
cattle are therefore mine!” “You are not their owner” said the
other. “Whatever is left over on the sacrificial ground, that is by
right mine. Therefore should one not trespass on the sacrificial
ground.” Then did Nābhānediṣṭha reply “Allow me my lord !
the fruits of the sacrifice, if by any means you do not desire these
cattle.” And to that end, he took the ghee offering from the
churning vessel and performed a full “Samśrava” offering,
wherefrom, pleased, Lord Rudra ceased to care for the cattle.”

(Taitt. Saṁhitā. 3.1.9.)

This same tale occurs again in a more embellished form but
with a tame moral in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Ṛg-Veda.
It runs as follows :—

नाभानेदिष्ठं वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भ्रातरो निरभजन् । सोऽ-
ब्रवीदेत्य किं मह्यमभाक्तेत्येतमेव निष्ठावमववादितारमित्यब्रुवंस्तस्माद्वाप्येतर्हि
पितरं पुत्रं निष्ठावोऽववादितेत्येवाचक्षते । स पितरमेत्याब्रवीत्त्वां ह वाव मह्यं
ताताभाक्षुरिति । तं पिताऽब्रवीन्मा पुत्रकं तदादृष्ट्वा अङ्गिरसो वा इमे स्वर्गाय
लोकाय सत्रमासते, ते षष्ठं षष्ठमेवाहरागल्यं मुह्यन्ति, तानेते सूक्ते षष्ठेऽ-
हनि शंसय, तेषां यत्सहस्रं सत्रपरिवेषणं तत्ते स्वर्ग्यन्तो दास्यन्तीति ।
तथेति । तानुपैत्यतिगृष्णीत मानवं सुमेधस इति । तमब्रुवन् किङ्कामो वद-
सीति । इदमेव वः षष्ठमहः प्रज्ञापयानि इत्यब्रवीत् । अथ यद्व एतत्सहस्रं सत्रपरि-
वेषणं तन्मे स्वर्ग्यन्तो दत्तेति । तथेति । तानेते सूक्ते षष्ठेऽहन्यशंसयत् । ततो
वै ते प्र यज्ञमाजानन् प्र स्वर्गं लोकम् ।...तं स्वर्ग्यन्तोऽब्रुवन्नेतत्ते ब्राह्मण
सहस्रमिति । तदेनं समाकुर्वाणं पुरुषः कृष्णशवास्युत्तरत उपोत्थोयाब्रवीन्मम
वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमिति । सोऽब्रवीन्मह्यं वा इदमदुरिति । तमब्रवीत्तद्वै
नौ तवैव पितरि प्रश्न इति । स पितरमैतत् पिताब्रवीन्ननु ते पुत्रकाद् ३
दित्यदुरेव म इत्यब्रवीत्, तत्तु मे पुरुषः कृष्णशवास्युत्तरत उपोदतिष्ठन्मम
वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमित्यादितेति । तं पिताब्रवीत्तस्यैव पुत्रकं तत्तत्तु
स तुभ्यं दास्यतीति । स पुनरेत्याब्रवीत्तव ह वाव किल भगव इदमिति
मे पिताऽऽहेति । सोऽब्रवीत्तदहं तुभ्यमेव ददामि य एव सत्यमवादीरिति ।

(ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम्, २२—९.)

In English, the story would run as follows :—

“The brothers left out without a share, Nābhānediṣṭha, the
son of Manu who was dwelling as a student with his preceptor.

He came unto them and asked 'Why have you excluded me from the partition?' They said 'Ask him. He knows the law and can determine the division.' Therefore is it that even now, children call their father 'the knower of the law and the determiner of the division.' He repaired to his father and said 'my sire! They have allotted you to my share.' His father addressed him thus 'my son! Heed them not! These Aṅgirasas here perform a sacrifice for reaching the heavenly world. As often as they reach the sixth day, they go wrong. Repeat unto them these two hymns on the sixth day. And the thousand things they have got ready for the sacrifice, they will offer unto you, when they depart heavenwards.' And Nābhānediṣṭha agreed to it saying 'So be it!'

He then approached them and said "Receive me, the son of Manu, O wise ones!" They asked him "What do you desire, that you address us thus!" "Even this—I will instruct you in the matter of the sixth day's ritual," said he. And he also stipulated "These thousand things that you have got down here together for the sacrifice, these you shall bestow on me, when you proceed to heaven." They agreed and to them he repeated on the sixth day, the two hymns. From that they understood the sacrifice and saw the heavens.

As they were departing for the heavenly world, they said to him "These thousand things are yours. O Brahmin!" And as he was gathering them up, a certain person clad in dark garments rose up in front of him and accosted him thus "These are mine! The sacrificial leavings belong to me." He replied "They surely bestowed it on me." "Then indeed" said the other "let this our question be determined by your father". He then went to his father. Manu asked him "Surely, my child! they gave you (wealth)". "They indeed rewarded me" said he "But then, a certain person, clad in dirty garments rose up towards the north in front of me, and took back everything saying 'All this is mine! All the sacrificial leavings are mine.'" The parent told him "My child! It is even his. But he will present them to you." He went back and said "My lord! My sire declares that all this indeed belongs to you." He then announced "Then will I bestow it all on thee, who hast thus spoken the truth."

(Aitareya. Brāhm. XXII.9.)

Idle though the tale might seem, it yet contains with its narration a world of information regarding the law of Hindu

inheritance, showing how some of the leading doctrines in Hindu Law, which are honoured even in these days, had their germs laid down firmly during the Vedic period.

The account tells us how Manu divided up his estate amongst his sons. This without more, gives birth to three distinct principles in the Hindu Law of Inheritance and partition *viz.* (i) that a father can effect a division of the estate in his own lifetime (ii) that the sons became entitled by their mere birth to a definite share of the estate (iii) and that inasmuch as the division is mentioned without further qualifying expressions, the division was equal. The last of these is emphatically maintained by Bodhāyana, who has it मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजदिति श्रुतिः । समशः सर्वेषामविशेषात् ॥ बोधा. धर्म. २, २, १-२. It might remotely be taken to mean and intend also the postponement of the daughters' rights to succession in favour of the immediate rights of the male heirs. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa's wording of the incident is slightly different. It tells us that the brothers effected a partition and it would seem from that account, that it was the brothers that demanded the partition during their father's lifetime, a right recognized even by present day practice. The right to partition by sons even during the lifetime of their parents, as old as the R̥g-Veda, has been admitted by successive generations of law givers till it has come down to this day. Cf. वित्वा नरं पुरुत्रा सपर्यन् पिबुर्न विब्रेर्विवेदो भरन्त । ऋग्वेद ९. ६०. ५. (also Bodh. Dha. 2.2.8 ; and Gaut. 29.2.)

The next sentence informs us that in the partition, Nābhānediṣṭha, who was then in his preceptor's house pursuing his studies, was left out. The Taittirīya text tells us that Manu purposely excluded him from such division. Strict judge and affectionate father as he was, Manu must have felt that his son Nābhānediṣṭha was receiving an education that was to fit him up for life and that therefore his schooling might be set off against his share and his portion divided amongst his less fortunate and accomplished brothers. Though under the strict letter of the law, a son was entitled to the usufruct of all the joint family property, without being called upon to refund the benefits received in the past at the time of partition, yet it might be, as it obtains in present day practice where a member possessed of sufficient private property, is, if generous enough, at liberty to renounce his share and so benefit the other members, that Manu hoped he would be

able to persuade Nābhānediṣṭha, in view of his being better equipped for life, to release his coparcenary interest in favour of his brothers. The later Brāhmaṇa account however, being desirous of saving Manu from such an unjust partitioning, tells us that the brothers themselves omitted him from the division, leaving them to answer the charge of either gross deceit or mild inadvertence.

But such unfair partition is however liable to be attacked and reopened at the instance of the prejudiced party and Nābhānediṣṭha is not slow to realise his legal position. He at once challenges the partition. He accuses the authors of the division of *mala fides* and prefers his suit. Reopening the partition is a remedy expressly laid down for him, even by present day Hindu Law. *Balkishen v. Ramnarain*, (30.I.A. 139.) is authority for the proposition that a partition to which a member was not a party or which was made during the minority of a member and was unfair and prejudicial to such minor's or member's interests, might be reopened at the instance of such member, in so far as he is concerned. So, he betakes himself to his father and asks him as to why he had been excluded from his share in the partition. Manu, in fact, realizes the justice of his claims. Therefore is it that he seeks to appease him by promise or prospect of other rewards.

The account reveals Manu as directing his son to appropriate to himself the thousands of cattle the Aṅgirasas bestow on him, as a reward for his services in teaching them the verses that should gain for them the heavenly worlds. These presents, Manu knew, were the "gains of learning" which the acquirer thereof was at liberty to treat as self-acquired property. Even now, in a series of decisions culminating in the famous I.C.S. case (*Gokal Chand v. The firm of Hukum Chand*, 40 M.L.J. 327) the British Courts of law have consistently laid down that whatever constituted the "gains of science" was impartible. In the above case indeed, Lord Summer delivering the judgment of the Privy Council expressly observed "Impartibility rested in every case on the slightness or the peculiar character of the education, by which the science was acquired" an observation which eminently fits in with Nābhānediṣṭha's case. Manu imparted to him two hymns, which he was to repeat to the Aṅgirasas and gain the reward of a thousand heads of cattle. Such instruction or education can by no stretch of imagination be held to have been achieved at the expense of the family, or to have cost

anything to the heritage and any gain resulting from such equipment Manu held to be impartible and so advised him to retain it himself. This view of Manu's is better explained in the pronouncement of their Lordships of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Mehtaram v. Rewachand*, (34 M.L.J. 327) where they observe "Their Lordships cannot find in the texts of the *Mitākṣara*, any authority — — (for the position) — that the gains made personally and without the aid of the joint funds by a member of a joint family, who received an ordinary education suitable to his position, as a member of the family to which he belonged, should in law be regarded as partible and not as his self-acquired property."

In view of Manu helping him to a competence, Nābhānediṣṭha acquiesced in the partition arrangement effected by his father, and relinquished his share, which enured to the benefit of the brothers. Nābhānediṣṭha then proceeded to the sacrificial hall of the Aṅgirasas and was rewarded with a thousand heads of cattle, which he sought to gather to himself. But, then from the sacrificial ground out stepped Lord Rudra and claimed the cattle as his own. The law of the sacrifice was that Lord Rudra was the master and protector of the sacrificial ground and that the articles and belongings brought in there, passed into his keeping. Lord Rudra became thus, analogous to an usufructuary mortgagee let into the possession of an estate, which he was entitled to retain as against all claimants thereto, till his own dues shall have been paid. Lord Rudra's dues were, as we shall learn hereafter, the merits of a full sacrifice, which accrued to him as soon as the *Saṃsraṇahoma* was performed and as the Aṅgirasas had in their hasty departure to Suvarga not performed this, Lord Rudra refuses to part with the belongings. At the time of their ascent to heaven, the Aṅgirasas themselves had no right of possession to the cattle and Nābhānediṣṭha who derived his title only from the Aṅgirasas, could not have a title to them superior to what his donors had.

Nābhānediṣṭha then runs back, advised thereto by Rudra, to his father and consults him with regard to the relative rights of Rudra and himself. He also acquiesces in the position taken up by Rudra and declares the possession to be in Rudra's favour. Still Nābhānediṣṭha was not without his legal remedies. He could still return to his father, report failure of consideration and seek to repudiate his release. Manu seems to have felt the

ridiculous position into which he had placed himself by his hasty and unequal partition, for he still seeks to appease his son and make him agree to the arrangement by a further promise. He promises that Rudra would still return the cattle to him, if he satisfied Rudra's claims.

But why should Rudra return the cattle? And what are his claims? Here comes another delicate and interesting point in the Hindu Law of gifts. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa version gives a lame explanation saying, that Lord Rudra was pleased with his truthfulness and so presented him the thousand heads of cattle as a reward. But the text of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā gives the true reason. The Āṅgīrasas had not performed the "*Saṃsravahoma*" or the final offering which really concludes every sacrificial rite and so their sacrifice was not complete and till that was completed Lord Rudra was the proprietor of the sacrificial altar and the belongings therein. The "*Saṃsravahoma*" is that last offering, wherein the sacrificer pours away all the remaining ghee in a single offering and thus empties the churning vessel called the "*manthamī*." When this is done, the rite is complete and Lord Rudra is relieved from his supervision and guard over the fire altar. Then does he depart from the grounds, taking with him the fruits of a completed and full sacrifice. This final, "*Saṃsravahoma*" Nābhānediṣṭha performs, discharging in full the claims of Lord Rudra. Lord Rudra being thus satisfied, withdraws his claims and Nābhānediṣṭha is allowed to take possession of the cattle bestowed on him.

To understand this explanation aright, one must realize that in the Vedic texts, all questions of law and religion, are sought to be answered in terms of the sacrifice and sacrificial usage. "*The Saṃsravahoma*" amounts to a final discharge to any claims that might be preferred against an estate. Nābhānediṣṭha taking up all the effects of the Āṅgīrasas stood in the position of an *universal donee* and he was as such liable to meet the donor's obligations in full to the extent of the property (*Jamna v. Machul*, 2 All. 315). The claims of Rudra could be discharged only by the performance of *Saṃsrava* oblation and this Nābhānediṣṭha had to perform, before he could take up possession of the property gifted away to him.

Thus the story of Nābhānediṣṭha, is important to a student of Hindu jurisprudence, inasmuch as it lays down (i) that the

estate of a Hindu joint family was liable to be partitioned amongst the coparceners at the instance of any member thereof, even during the lifetime of the parents, (ii) that the sons became entitled to a share of such property by the mere fact of their being born in that family (iii) that every member was entitled to an equal share (iv) that the said partition was liable to be reopened on the ground of fraud or unfairness at the instance of any member in whose absence, the partition arrangements had been concluded (v) that a member who was otherwise provided for and well off, was entitled to renounce or release his share of the estate (vi) that such release enured to the benefit of the coparceners in the absence of the renouncer's nominees (vii) that the "gains of learning" amounted to a self-acquisition, which was impartible (viii) that a donee cannot have a title superior to his donor's and that (xi) a universal donee is liable to meet all the obligations of the donor to the full extent of the estate conveyed by the gift.

Truly has it been said

“उपदिष्टो धर्मः प्रतिवेदम् ॥”

(Bodhāyana Dharma. 1.1.1.)

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

BY

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1.4. CONSONANTS.

1.41. Classification : 1.411. Ancient Period :—Tolkāppiyāṇār says that there are eighteen consonants from *k* to *ṇ* which may be classified as follows:—¹

		Voiceless	Voiced	
Plosives :	Guttural	<i>k</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	Nasal also.
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	
	Cerebral	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Alveolar	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Dental	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	
Semi-vowels	Palatal	<i>y</i>		
	Cerebral	<i>r & ḷ</i>		
	Dental	<i>l</i>		
Fricatives ²	Labio-dental	<i>v</i>		
	Cerebral	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	

Tolkāppiyāṇār classifies consonants as *vallinam*, *mellinam* and *iṭaiyinam*. This must have been done with reference to the *muyarci* (*prayatna*) or effect. *K*, *c*, *ṭ*, *ṭ*, *p* and *ṣ* are mentioned as *vallinam*³, *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ* as *mellinam*⁴ and *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ*,

1. The parallelism between
ṇakara-v-iṣuvāy-p *ṇatinēṇṇeluttumcyeyēṇa* *molipa*. (Tol. E. 9.)
and

ḥakūrāntūni kādīni vyañjanāni vidur budhāḥ. (B. N. p. 170, 8.)
is worth noting; but we cannot say definitely whether the extant text of Nāṭyaśāstra is anterior or posterior to Tolkāppiyam.

2. In Tamil grammar *ṣ* and *ḷ* are not separately classified as fricatives, but from their pronunciation, I have mentioned them as such for the sake of clearness.

3. *Vallēlut t-eṇṇa ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-ṛa*. (Tol. E. 19.)

4. *Mellēlut t-eṇṇa ṇa-ñ-a-ṇa na-ma-ṇa*. (ibid. 20.)

and *ḷ* as *iṭaiyinam*¹. He does not mention the distinction between the semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* and the fricative *ḷ*, nor takes *ṣ* as a fricative. The word *iṭaiyinam* appears to me to be the translation of the Sanskrit *antahstha*.

He also states the place of articulation for the different consonants :—*k* and *ṅ* are produced by the contact of the root of the tongue with the root of the hard palate², *c* and *ñ* by that of the middle part of the tongue with the middle part of the hard palate,³ *ṭ* and *ṇ* by that of the tip of the tongue with the front of the hard palate⁴ &⁵, *ṭ* and *n* by the extended tip of the tongue completely touching the upper gums⁶, *ṣ* and *ṇ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate⁷, *r* and *ḷ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently press against the hard palate⁸, *ḷ* and *ḷ* by the extended tip of the tongue respectively touching the upper gums and pressing against them⁹, *p* and *m* by joining the lips¹⁰, *v* by bringing the upper teeth against the lower lip¹¹, *y* by allowing the air which passes through the neck to pass very close to the hard palate¹². And the *mellinam* letters have, in

1. *ṭai-y-elut t-eṇṇa ya-ra-la va-la-la*. (ibid. 21.)

2. *Kakūra ṇakūra mutanṇū v-aṇṇam*. (ibid. 89.)

3. *Cakūra ṇakūra v-iṭainū v-aṇṇam*. (ibid. 90.)

4. *Takūra ṇakūra nuṇi-nū v-aṇṇam*. (ibid. 91.)

5. Here it is to be noted that *ṭ* and *ṇ* as defined here are not *now* pronounced in the same way, but are pronounced as cerebrals; but the old pronunciation is generally preserved in Malayāḷam.

6. *Aṇṇa naṇṇiya paṇ-mutan maruṇkiṇ*
Nū-nuṇi parantu me-y-uṛa v-oṛṛa-t
Tām iṇitū piṛakkun takūra nakūram. (Tol. E. 93.)

7. *Aṇari nuṇi-nū v-aṇṇa m-oṛṛa*
Raṣṣkū ṇaṣṣkū ṇ-āyiraṇṭum piṛakkum. (ibid. 94.)

8. *Nuṇi-nū v-aṇari y-aṇṇam varuṭa*
Rakūra ḷakūra m-āyiraṇṭum piṛakkum. (ibid. 95.)

9. *Nū-viḷimpū vīṇki y-aṇṇa mutal-uṛa*
Avayi ṇ-aṇṇa m-oṛṛavum varuṭavum
Lakūra ḷakūram-a y-iraṇṭum piṛakkum. (ibid. 96.)

10. *Itaḷ-iyaintu piṛakkum pakūra makūram*. (ibid. 97.)

11. *Pal-l-ita ḷ-iyaiya vakūram piṛakkum*. (ibid. 98.)

12. *Aṇṇaṇ cērnta miṭarṛeḷu ṛaḷi-y-icai*
Kaṇṇur ṛaṭaiya yakūram piṛakkum. (ibid. 99.)

addition to their places of articulation noted above, the nose also¹.

The difference between *ṇ* and *ṇ̃* is that the former is produced at the front of the palate with the tip of the tongue facing backwards and that the latter is produced behind it with the tip of the tongue facing forwards.

Here it is worth noting that the place of articulation for the gutturals, palatals, dentals, labials and *v* as mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār closely agree with those mentioned in Taittirīya Prātiśākhya and to a large extent with those in other Prātiśākhyas. Cf.

Kakāra ṇakāra mutanū v-aṇṇam (Tol. E. 86) with
Hanumūlē jihvāmūlēna kavargē sparśayati (Tai. P. ii, 35);

Cakāra ṇakāra miṭai-nū v-aṇṇam (Tol. E. 20) with
Tālāu jihvāmadhyēna cavargē (Tai. P. ii, 36);
Tāluthānā madhyēna (S. Y. V. P. i, 79) and
Tālavānām madhya-jihvam (A. V. P. i, 21);
Aṇṇam naṇṇiya ... nū-nuṇi parantu ... takāra nakāram
(Tol. E. 93) with

Jihvāgrēṇa tavargē dantamūlēṣu (Tai. P. ii, 38) and
*Dantānām jihvāgram prastīrṇam*² (A. V. P. i, 24);
Ital-iyaintu piṇakkum pakāra makāram (Tol. E. 97) with
Oṣṭhābhyām pavargē (Tai. P. ii, 39.);
Pal-l-italiyaiya vakaram piṇakkum (Tol. E. 97) with
Oṣṭhāntābhyām dantair vakārē (Tai. P. ii. 43.).

1. 412. *Medieval period* :—In the medieval period the same is said about the classification and production of consonants with this difference :—Naṇṇūlār states that *p* and *m* are produced by the upper lip pressing upon the lower lip³ and *y* is produced by allowing the root of the tongue to press upon the root of the hard palate⁴. Practically, there is no difference between Naṇṇūl and Tolkāppiyam as regards the first point and there is slight difference as regards the second point.

1. *Mellelut t-ūrum piṇappi ṇ-ākkāñ*

Colliya paḷli nilaiyina v-ūyinu

Mūkkiṇ vaḷi-yicai yāppura-t tōṇṇum. (ibid. 100.)

2. The word *prastīrṇam* in A. V. P. and the word *parantu* in Tolkāppiyam convey exactly the same meaning.

3. *Miki l-italurap pa-m-ma-p piṇakkum.* (Na. 81.)

4. *Aṭṭinū vaṭiyana muṭayāt tōṇṇum.* (ibid. 82.)

1.413. *Modern period* : 14131. The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Naṇṇūlār as regards the place of production of *p* and *m* and agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār as regards that of *y*.¹

1.4132. ²		Voiceless.	Voiced.	
			Non-nasal.	Nasal.
Plosives.	Guttural	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ṇ̃</i>
	Cerebral	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ṇ³, ṇ⁴</i>
	Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>
Semi-vowels.	Palatal		<i>y</i>	
	Cerebral		<i>r, l</i>	
	Dental		<i>ḷ</i>	
Fricatives.	Labio-dental		<i>v</i>	
	Palatal	<i>ś</i>		
	Dental	<i>s</i>		
	Cerebral	<i>ṣ & ṣ̣</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	
Aspirate.		<i>h</i>		

All the sounds noted here are not found in certain dialects. For instance, in the dialect spoken in Tinnevely it is said by the residents there that the sounds *ś* and *j* are not generally found; in the dialect spoken in Madras the aspirate *h* is not generally found; in the dialect spoken at Jaffna it is said that most of the sounds *g, j, ḍ, d, b, ś* and *h* are not found. Though new sounds have crept into the language, new symbols for them have not been introduced except for *j, ś* (in very few cases in Vaiṣṇavaite works) *ṣ, s* and *h*. But Dr. Caldwell thinks that all these sounds have been in existence in the Tamil Language from the earliest time since he says that 'the Tamilian rule which requires the same

1. *Miki l-italur-a-p pakāra makāra m-iraṇṭu m-aṇṇāñ*
cērnta miṭarrelu vaṭiyicai kaṇṇurraṭiya yakāramum. (I. V. 12.)

2. This refers to the consonant sounds found in certain dialects, if I may so call them spoken in the districts of Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, etc.

3. 'ṇ' is now pronounced by rounding the tip of the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate. Hence at present *ṭ* and *ṇ* are cerebrals and not alveolars.

4. 'ṇ̃' is classed as cerebral though, when pronouncing it, the tip of the tongue is raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate which is in front of the roof.

consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another ... is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning'. Whether his view is correct or wrong will be discussed in 1.44. *infra*.

1.42. A point to be noted about Valliṇam, Mellinam and Itaiyinaṁ :—Iḷampūraṇar states in his commentary under the sūtra—

Mellelutt t-ārum pīraṇṇi n-ākkam

Colliya paḷḷi nīlaiyina v-āyinaṁ

Mūkkin vaḷi-y-icai yāḇṇa-t tōṇṇum (Tol. E. 100)

noted above that the six *mel-l-cluttu* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the nose, though they are produced in the places noted above; since the word 'yāḇṇa' is used, it is to be noted that *itai-y-cluttu* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the neck or gullet and *val-l-cluttu* by the air passing through the head¹. Here it deserves to be noted that Tolkāppiaṇār has mentioned in the sūtra that nose also is the place of production in addition to that mentioned for the respective nasal possibly having before his mind the sūtras 'nāsikyāḥ nāsikāsthānāḥ' (Tai. P. ii, 49.) and *vargavaccāṣu* (Tai. P. ii, 51). How Iḷampūraṇar and the later grammarians have made a mistake has been fully dealt with in 1.1. *supra*.

1.43. Another point to be noted about Itai-y-inaṁ :—In Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam² and Tolkāppiya-mutaṛcūttira-virutti³ it is said that *itaiyinaṁ* is midway between *valliṇam* or the voiceless consonants and the *mellinam* or the nasals in their nature. It is not clear how it is so. *Itai-y-cluttu* is simply the translation of the Sanskrit *antaḥstha* which means midway between vowel and *sparsa* or explosives, since, in pronouncing vowels most of which have *vivṛta-prayatna*, air completely escapes and in pronouncing explosives which have *spṛṣṭa-prayatna*, there is complete contact

1. *Itai-y-cluttirkū mīṭarṇu-vaḷiyum, val-l-cluttirkū talai-vaḷiyum koḷka.* (Tol. E. 100, Iḷam.)
2. *Melleluttaiyum valleluttaiyum nōkka-t tām itai-nikaravāy olittalāṇum.* (I. V. 7, Comm.)
3. *Valleluttukkaṇ munṇum av-v-avarṇir-k-inamotta melleluttukkaḷ av-v-avarṇi-ṇiṇṇumūki valikkappattāṇa.*
Av-v-iraṇṭu nōkki-y-allatū itai-nikaravāy-olittal ariya-p-paṭūmaiṇṇi atu-parṇi itaiveluttukkaḷ av-v-iru-kūṛṇir-kum-ṇiṇṇi vaikkappattāṇa. (T. M. V. p. 23.)

between the tongue and the other organs of speech so that air is completely arrested in its passage, and in pronouncing *y, r, l, v*, which have *iṣat-spṛṣṭa-prayatna*, there is only slight contact between the tongue and the vocal organs so that most of the air freely passes and in pronouncing *ś, ṣ, s*, which have *iṣad-vivṛta-prayatna*, air is allowed to escape with friction. The difference between semi-vowels and fricatives lies only in the fact that there is less prevention in the former and greater prevention in the latter; but both agree in the point, that in pronouncing them air does not completely escape as in the case of vowels, nor is it completely arrested in its passage as in the case of explosives. Hence the author of Tolkāppiyam has, in my opinion, included *y, r, l, v, ȷ* and *ḷ* under one category and called them *itaiyeluttu*. But it is surprising that the authors of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam and Tolkāppiya-mutaṛcūttira-virutti who seem to have had considerable knowledge of Sanskrit have gone wrong in this point.

But Dr. Caldwell has rightly translated *itaiyeluttu* as semi-vowels.

1.44. *The Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants* :—This theory is explained by Dr. Caldwell in p. 138 as follows :—There are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all the Dravidian dialects but it is most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayāḷam. The law as apparent in the Tamil-Malayāḷam system of sounds is as follows :—*k, t, l, p*, the first unaspirated consonants of the first, third, fourth and fifth vargas are always pronounced as tenues or surds (*i. e.*, as *k, t, l, p*) at the beginning of words, and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (*i. e.*, as *g, ḍ, d, b*) when single in the middle of words. A sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle, except when doubled; and so imperative is this law and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from sonants to surds, or *vice-versa* according to their position—*e. g.* *danta* (Skt. a tooth) becomes in Tamil, *tandam*; *bhāgya* (Skt. happiness) becomes in Tamil, *pākkiam*. This rule applies also to the case of compounds. The first consonant of the second word, though it was a surd when it stood independent, is regarded as a sonant when it becomes a medial letter in a compound word. This difference is marked in Telugu by a

difference in character which is employed:—e.g. *annadamulu* (for *annatammulu*) elder and younger brother; *kottabaḍu* (for *kottapaḍu*), to be beaten; but in Tamil and generally in Malayāḷam, the difference appears in the pronunciation alone. This rule applies to all compounds in Telugu; but in Tamil, when the words stand in a case-relation to one another, or when the first is governed by the second, the initial surd of the second word is not softened, but doubled and hardened, in token of its activity:—e.g. instead of *kottabaḍu*, to be beaten, it prefers to say *kottā(p)-ḍu*. In *dvandva* compounds Tamil agrees with Telugu.

‘A similar rule applies to the pronunciation of *ch* or *ḥ* (the Tamil *ś*) the first consonant of the second *varga*. When single, it is pronounced as a soft, weak, sibilant, with a sound midway between *ś*, *sh* and *ch*. This pronunciation is unchanged in the middle of words and in all cases in which the letter is single; but when it is doubled, it is pronounced exactly like *chch* or *ḥḥ*. The principle involved in this instance is the same as in the cases previously mentioned, but the operation of the rule is in some degree different. The difference consists in the pronunciation of this consonant in the beginning of a word, as well as in the middle as a sonant, i.e. as *ś*. By theory it should be pronounced as *ch* at the beginning of a word—and it is worthy of notice that it always receives this pronunciation at the beginning of a word in vulgar, colloquial Tamil; and in Malayāḷam and Telugu it is written as well as pronounced *ch*. A somewhat similar rule prevails with respect to rough *r* of the Tamil which is pronounced as *r̥* when single and like *lrr* when doubled.

‘The Tamilian rule which requires the same consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another, as *ṭ*, *l*, *p* in one position and as *ḍ*, *d*, *b* in another is not a mere dialectic peculiarity, the gradual result of circumstances, or a modern refinement invented by grammarians, but is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning¹.

‘The Tamil characters were borrowed, I conceive, from the earlier Sanskrit, and the language of the Tamilians was committed

1. The Rev. Dr. Pope and M. J. Vinson state the same theory with a slight modification, the former in page 7 of his *Tamil Hand Book* and the latter in page 654 of *Journal Asiatique Dixieme serie Tome 18* 1911.

to writing on or soon after the arrival of the first colony of Brahmans, probably several centuries before the Christian Era. Yet even at that early period the Tamil alphabet was arranged in such a manner as to embody the peculiar Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants. The Tamil alphabet systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds. This circumstance clearly proves that *ab initio* the Dravidian phonetic system, as represented in Tamil, its most ancient exponent, differed essentially from that of Sanskrit’.

Here we have to examine (1) whether this law holds good for *Tamil language* from the earliest times or in Dr. Caldwell’s words whether it is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning; (2) whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in *Tamil*; (3) whether there was an *imperative law* that a sonant cannot commence a word, and that a surd is inadmissible in the middle of a word except when doubled; and (4) whether the *Tamil alphabet* systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds.

1. *Whether it is essentially inherent in the language* :—*Toikāppiyāṇār*, the author of the earliest extant grammar of the Tamil language, says in the first *sūtra*

Elutteṇa-p paṭuṇa
Akara-mutal
Nakara v-iṇuvāy muṇṇaḥ t-eṇṇa

Cāṇtu-varaṇ maraṇṇ mūṇṇ-alaṇ kaṭaiyē (Tol. E. 1.)
that there are thirty primary *eluttū* from *a* to *ṇ* and three secondary *eluttū*, and in the second *sūtra*,

Availām
Kurṇiya l-ikaram kurṇiya l-ukaram
Āylam-eṇṇa
Muṇṇār puḷḷiyu m-eluttō v-anna. (Tol. E. 2.)

that the three secondary *eluttū* are *kurṇiyal-ikaram*, *kurṇiyal-ukaram* and *āylam* which are denoted in script with dots. Does the word *eluttū* here denote sound or symbol? It evidently means sound for the following reasons:—(a) In the third *sūtra*

Avarru!

A i u

Ēo ennu m-aṇṇā l-aṇṇum

Ōr-aḷa ṭ-icaikkuṇ kurreḷut t-eṇṇa. (Tol. E. 3.)

he says 'of them *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* sound one mātrā and are called *kurreḷuttū*; in the fourth sūtra,

Ā ī ū

Ē ai

Ōau ennu m-aṇṇā l-ēḷum

Īr-aḷa ṭ-icaikku neṭṭeḷut t-eṇṇa. (Tol. E. 4.)

the next seven *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* sound two mātrās and are called *neṭṭeḷuttū*; in the eighth,

Aukāra v-iṇṇāy-ṭ

Paṇṇi r-eḷuttu m-uyir-eṇṇa molīṇa. (Tol. E. 8.)

the twelve from *a* to *au* are called *uyir*; in the ninth,

Nakāra v-iṇṇāy-ṭ

Paṇṇen ṇ-eḷuttu mey-y-eṇṇa molīṇa. (Tol. E. 9.)

the last eighteen *eḷuttū* with *ṇ* at the end are called *mey*; in the tenth,

Mey-v-ō ṭ-iyaiyinu m-uyir-īya ririyā. (Tol. E. 10.)

the nature of the vowel is not changed even when pronounced after a consonant; in the eleventh,

Mey-y-i ṇ-aḷavē y-arai-y-eṇṇa molīṇa. (Tol. E. 11.)

the quantity of a consonant is half a mātrā; in the nineteenth,

Valleḷut t-eṇṇa ka-ca-ṭa ta-ṭa-ṇa. (Tol. E. 19.)

k, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *ṭ*, *r* are *valleḷuttū* or voiceless consonant; in the twentieth,

Melleḷut t-eṇṇa ṇa-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa. (Tol. E. 20.)

ṇ, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ* are *melleḷuttū* or nasals; and in the twentyfirst,

Ṭai-y-eḷut t-eṇṇa ya-ra-la- va-ḷa-ḷa. (Tol. E. 21.)

y, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ*, *ḷ* are *ṭaiyeḷuttū* or semi-vowels. In all these sūtras, *eḷuttū* cannot but mean sound; for symbols cannot have quantity nor can they be classified as *val-l-iṇam*, *mel-l-iṇam* and *ṭai-y-iṇam*. Besides, in the whole *Nūṇmarapū*, the first section in *Eḷuttatikāram* of Tolkāppiyam, he makes mention of words like *uruvu* (form) and *iyarkai* (nature) wherever he wants to denote symbols e.g. in the fifteenth sūtra,

Mey-y-i ṇ-iyarkai ṭulli-y-otū nilaiyal. (Tol. E. 15.)

he says that the *iyarkai* or nature of the consonant is to be indicated by dots; in the sixteenth sūtra,

Ekara okara-t l-iyarkai-y-u m-arre. (Tol. E. 16.)

he says that the *iyarkai* or nature of *e* and *o* is the same; he says in the 14th sūtra

Uṭṭeru ṭulli y-uruvā kum-m-ē. (Tol. E. 14.)

that a dot within is its *uruvu* or form (of shortened *m*); the same is the case for vowel-consonants in the sūtra

Ṭulli y-illā v-ellā meyyum

Uru-v-uru v-āki y-akaramo ṭ-uyirttalum

Ēṇai y-uyirō t-uruvu-tirin t-uyirttalum

Ā-y-ī r-iyala v-uyirtta l-ārē (Tol. E. 17.)

If then *eḷuttū* denotes sound, could Tolkāppiyāṇār who is so careful as to note the difference in the quantity and the nature between *i* and *ī* (shortened *i*), *u* and *ū* and who shows from his work especially the sections dealing with the classification and production of speech sounds intimate knowledge of Sanskrit Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini's grammar where it is clearly stated that the voiced consonants are produced when the *kaṇṭha* is closed (i.e.) when the vocal chords are very close to each other and voiceless when *kaṇṭha* is open (i.e.) when the vocal chords are far away from each other (cf. Tai. P. ii, 4 & 5), have failed to denote the difference between the voiceless consonants *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *ṭ* and voiced consonants *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d* and *b* and mentioned them as *valliṇam*? If the voiced sounds *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d*, and *b* were in existence then, could he have stated that the number of primary sounds was only thirty? Hence it is clear that at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār the voiced consonant sounds did not exist in the Tamil Language. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement "this peculiarity is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning" cannot stand.

The author of Vīracōliyam and its commentator say that in *tadbhava* words the consonant *k* is substituted for the four Sanskrit consonants *k*, *kh*, *g* and *gh*.¹ This would not have been the case if *g* had already existed. All other grammarians including the Rev. Beschi say that there are only thirty or thirty-one primary sounds.

1. *Muntiya-varkkakkaḷ-aintiṇu-muṇ-ṇ-onriṇ mūṇṇ-aṭaṅkum.*

(V. Tat. 6.)

Ka-ca-ṭa-ta-ṭa-v-eṇṇavarro vovṇaraiyē kiṭappiṇum, urappiṇum? eḷuttum, kaṇaittum, mukkiṇum aintuvitamāka-c-collappatu kiṇṇa aintu varkkakkaḷiṇum muṇṇaṭaiya-k-kiṭappiṇār collap-ṭaṭukinṇa vovṇiṇkannē y-aṭaṇ piṇṇē niṇṇa mūṇṇeḷuttum aṭaṅkum. (V. Tat. 6, Comm.)

But what Dr. Caldwell says is found in the *spoken* Tamil of the modern days. What might be the reason for this? Is it due to the general phonological principle that voiceless consonants are made voiced when they are found between vowels or preceded by nasals; or is it due to the fact that the Sanskrit words like *naga* and *vandana* were written in Tamil script as *nakam* (நகம்) and *vantanam* (வந்தனம்) but pronounced as *nagam* and *vandanam* as in Sanskrit and then the same letters ஂ and ஃ began to be pronounced under such conditions even in pure Tamil words as *g* and *d*, e. g. (அகம்) *agam* and (தந்தை) *tandai*? It does not seem to be reasonable to accept the former alternative, because even now in Jaffna, such voiceless consonants are pronounced as voiceless and not voiced. Hence it becomes necessary to accept the second alternative.

2. *Whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil:*—Since I have shown that voiced consonants were absent from Tamil language in the earliest times, it is evident that they were not developed in Tamil. (Even in Malayalam there is difference in pronunciation between *añka* and *aṅga* though 'k' in *añka* is slightly voiced.

3. *Whether there was an imperative law that a sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle except when doubled:*—Since I have proved that the voiced consonants were absent from the early Tamil language, and since no grammarian from Tolkāppiyāṇār to Civañāṇa-muṇivar has stated this, it need not be discussed. But so far as the spoken Tamil of the modern days is concerned it holds good.

In this context it deserves to be mentioned that Dr. Caldwell and some modern scholars of Tamil seem to think that it is absolutely necessary to have the voiced consonants after the nasal of the same class¹ and the voiced consonant or spirant between vowels and it is difficult to pronounce them otherwise, i.e., *tañkai*, *pañcam*, *pañtam* and *vantāṇ* should be pronounced as *taṅgai*, *pañjam*, *paṇḍam* and *vandāṇ* and *akam*, *icai*, *aṭai*, *alu*, *taṭu* as *aham* or *agam*, *iṣai*, *aḍai*, *adu* and *labu*. This view appears to be unsustainable. For, as Vendryes points out in his *Language*², "Difficulty and ease of pronunciation are purely relative conception, doubtless

1. D. C. G. p. 142.

2. Cf. p. 60—*Language* by Vendryes translated by Paul Radin, Ph. D.

quite definite to the speaker, but variable for each language. We cannot appreciate them without a thorough knowledge of the structure of the language. In fact the articulatory habits are at the root of the difficulty, so that a sound group which one people find difficult to pronounce may be quite easy for a neighbouring people."

The following table will show that there are examples in Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tulu where voiceless consonants are found after nasals and between vowels:—

Telugu.	Kanarese.	Malayalam.	Tulu.	Tamil.
(a) <i>iñku</i> <i>koñki</i> <i>vañki</i> <i>kāñke</i> <i>añce</i> <i>kañṭa</i> (seeing) <i>enla</i> (how much) <i>imṇu</i>	<i>vañki</i> <i>kāke</i> <i>añce</i> <i>uñṭu</i> (there is) <i>eñṭu</i> (eight) <i>enla</i> (of what sort) <i>kanṭu</i> (to go down) <i>imṇu</i>	<i>añcal</i> <i>kāṁṇu</i>	<i>añcal</i> <i>añci</i> (thither)	<i>iñcu</i> (to dry up) <i>kokki</i> (hook) <i>vañki</i> (armlet) <i>kāñkai</i> (heat) <i>añcal</i> <i>añkē</i> (there) <i>kañṭa</i> (having seen) <i>uñṭu</i> <i>eñṭu</i> <i>enla</i> (what) <i>kanṭu</i> (to be spoiled) <i>imṇu</i> (sweat-ness) <i>kāṁṇu</i> (stalk)
(b) <i>āṭa</i> <i>kāṇu</i> <i>aṭuka</i> (loft in a house)	<i>āṭike</i> <i>kāṇu</i> <i>iṭukku</i> (narrowness)	<i>āṭuka</i>	<i>kāṇu</i> <i>ikara</i> (here)	<i>āṭṭam</i> (play) <i>kāṇṇu</i> (protection) <i>aṭukku</i> <i>iṭukku</i> <i>iñkē</i>

The initial *c* in *caṭṭi* is pronounced not as *ś* in Tulu, but as *c* itself.

This clearly shows that there need be no hard and fast rule that the consonants that follow nasals or that are between vowels should become voiced in the Dravidian languages. But, at the same time, examples like *kuṅgu* (to sink) by the side of *kuṅku* (to sink) and *idu* (this) in Telugu, *āḍu* (to play) and *ḥaga* (enmity) in Kanarese, *iḍu* (pledge) and *uṇḍe* (globe) in Tulu are found. This shows that there was a tendency in those languages to pronounce the voiceless consonants that followed nasals or that were between two vowels, as voiced. Since old Malayalam is almost Tamil, I have not given many examples from Malayalam here. This change may have been due to the natural tendency of the people if we are able to find out such examples at a time when those languages were not influenced by Sanskrit. But, as far as we know at present, the earliest work in Telugu found out till now is said to be the *Bhāratam* by Nannaya which roughly belongs to the early part of the 11th century and the earliest inscription happens to be that of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana of the 6th century. The earliest work in Kanarese that has been found out till now is the *Kavirājamārga* written about the 9th century, and the earliest reliable inscription, it is believed, does not go earlier than 6th century A. D.

During the 7th century we have *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyirappirapantam* which clearly show the great influence of Sanskrit on Tamil. Hence it is more probable for the change to have crept into Tamil through analogy with the sounds of the borrowed words in Tamil written in Tamil characters.

4. *Whether one character was sufficient to express both classes of sounds:*—Dr. Caldwell assumes that the Tamil alphabet was introduced after the advent of the Sanskritists, who found one character sufficient to express both classes of sounds. If that be so, why should they have invented new symbols to express voiced consonants *g, j, ḍ, d* and *b* in Grantha script which they should have invented after the Tamils began to learn Sanskrit and in which almost all the symbols of the Tamil language, which, according to Gopinatha Rao, were adapted from Brāhmi script, were incorporated? Hence at the time when the Tamil script was newly invented, it did not have the voiced consonant sounds.

Therefore Dr. Caldwell's theory of Convertibility of Surds and Sonants can hold good only with reference to the spoken Tamil of the present day.

1.45. *C and J according to Dr. Caldwell:*—Dr. Caldwell says that the pronunciation of *c* is not *ś* but *c* in the lowest colloquial dialect and it is probably the ancient pronunciation of this letter which is retained by the lower classes. Even the higher classes in Tinnevely pronounce it even now as *c* and reference to the sūtras on *Nūṇmarapū* of *Tolkāppiyam* mentioned above can clearly explain that his conjecture that it was the ancient pronunciation is really true.

As regards '*j*' Dr. Caldwell says that "it is not used in correct Tamil; the same sound is sometimes admitted in the use of those Sanskrit derivatives in which the letter '*j*' is found in Sanskrit". But in the spoken dialects of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, etc., it is freely used in pure Tamil words. Thus *mañcaḷ* is pronounced as *mañjaḷ*, *kañci* as *kañji*, etc.

1.46. *A point about the cerebral consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit:*—Dr. Caldwell says that 'Sanskrit has borrowed them from Dravidian languages for the following reasons:—(1) The lingual consonants are essential component elements of a large number of primitive Dravidian roots. (2) None of the lingual consonants has ever been discovered in any of the primitive languages which are related to Sanskrit. (3) Those consonants which Tamil has borrowed from Sanskrit within the period of existence of Dravidian literature have been greatly modified to accord with the Tamilian laws of sound and delicacy of ear. (4) Though Telugu has been more exposed to Sanskrit influence than Tamil, yet larger use is made of those sounds in Tamil than in Telugu'. (C. D. G. 148.)

Dr. Caldwell may be said to be right as regards his first two reasons. The third reason adduced by him seems to me not quite satisfactory; for Tamil evidently has to substitute some sounds for those of Sanskrit which are not found in it as *ṭh, ḍ, ḍh*. The fourth is not after all a very strong reason. Besides, there are four other points that stand in the way of accepting his theory:—(1) The cerebral sounds in Sanskrit are produced by rounding the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate, while in Tamil they were produced by the tip of the tongue touching the front of the palate without its being rounded at the time of *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, though they are now pronounced exactly in the same

way as in Sanskrit. If they had been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil, I do not know why the position of their articulation was changed. (2) Besides, they are found in R̥gvēda, the earliest religious work in Sanskrit which is supposed to have been composed in the Indus Valley soon after the Aryans migrated there. (3) It has been enunciated by Fortunatov that r+dental remains unchanged, but in combination of l and a following dental, the l disappeared, and the dental was lingualised. Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck and other philologists except Brugman agree with his theory¹ and hence think that the cerebrals are a natural development. (4) Otto Jespersen too agrees with the same theory from another standpoint as is seen from his following statement: "According to a theory which is very widely accepted, the Dravidian languages exerted a different influence on the Aryan languages when the Aryans first set foot on Indian soil, in making them adopt the cacuminal (or inverted) sounds *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* with *ḍh, ṭh* which were not found in primitive Aryan. But even this theory does not seem to be quite proof against objections. It is easy to admit that natives accustomed to one place of articulation of their *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* will unconsciously produce the *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* of a new language they are learning in the same place; but then they will do it everywhere. Here, however, both Dravidian and Sanskrit possess pure dental *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, besides cacuminal *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ*, in which it touches the gum or the front part of the hard palate. In Sanskrit we find that the cacuminal articulation occurs only under very definite conditions, chiefly under the influence of 'r'. Now, a trilled tongue-point 'r' in most languages, for purely physiological reasons which are easily accounted for, tends to be pronounced further back than ordinary dentals; and it is therefore quite natural that it should spontaneously exercise an influence on neighbouring dentals by drawing them back to its own point of articulation. This may have happened in India quite independently of the occurrence of the same sounds in other vernaculars² just as we find the same influence very pronouncedly in

1. Sanskrit Phonetics (English Edition by Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck, section 44, p. 53).

2. It is worthy to be noted that it has already been mentioned that the Tamil *ḍ* and *ṇ* were not originally cacuminal but alveolar.

Swedish and in East Norwegian where *d, t, n, s* are cacuminal (supra-dental) in such words as *bord, kort, barn*, etc. According to Grandgent (Naure Sprachen, 2, 447) *d* in his own American English is pronounced further back than elsewhere before and after 'r' as in *dry*, hard; but in none of these cases need we conjure up an extinct native population to account for a perfectly natural development.¹

From what has been mentioned above it may not be possible for us to accept the statement of M. J. Vinson that the cerebrals in the Aryan Languages of the north have been developed relatively at a recent date².

1.47. *Secondary consonant*: 1.471. *Ancient period*: According to Tolkāppiyaṇār there is no secondary consonant.

1.472. *Medieval period*: The author of Vīracōliyam does not mention any secondary consonant. The author of Nēminātam says that there are 16 secondary consonants consisting of 6 shortened voiceless consonants, 6 shortened nasals and shortened *y*, shortened *l*, shortened *v* and shortened *ḷ*. The author of Naṇṇūl says that there are 42 *orṛaḷapeṭai*³ and three shortened *m*⁴, each of the former having one mātrā and each of the latter having $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mātrā⁵. Wherever two similar consonants come together for the sake of metre as the two 'l's in 'koll. lēṇṇiṇ maruṇṇuṇṇu pōṇṇaṇa' (they are like the horns of war-bulls) (P.N. 4, 4), he takes them as one secondary sound having one full mātrā. As regards the shortened *m*, as in *pōṇṇi* he divides it into three according to the consonant which precedes or follows it, which is not quite necessary. cf. 1.222 *supra*.

1.473. *Modern period*: The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam says that there are 11 *orṛaḷapeṭai* and one *makara-k-kurukkam* and

1. Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin by Otto Jespersen, p. 196-7.

2. R cerebral En Dravidien, pp. 111 to 123. Journal Asiatique, Onzieme Serie Tome XIII, 1919.

3. Na-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa va-ya-la-la v-āytam
Aḷapāṇ kuṇṇil-iṇai kuṇṇiṭ-ki l-iṭai-kaṭai
Mikalē y-avarriṇ kuṇṇi-y-ām vēṇē. (Na. 92.)

4. Na-ṇa muṇṇ-ṇ-um vaḷkūṇ micai-yu-ma-k-kurukkam. (ibid. 96.)

5. Mūṇṇu-uyiraḷapū iraṇṇām neṭil onṇē
Kuṇṇiḷḷi ai-au-k kurukkam orṛaḷapū
Arai orṇṇ-i u-k kurukkam āytam
Kāl kuṇṇaḷ maḷkūṇ āytam mātṭirai. (ibid. 99.)

agrees with Nannūlār as regards their quantity. Civañānamuṇi-var agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār.

Though Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions shortened *m* and says it has ½ of a mātrā¹, he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant since it does not satisfy his definition of *cārpeḷuttu*. Cf. 1.22. *supra*. *Oṟṟalaṭṭai* is only two similar consonants placed side by side for the sake of metre. Hence he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant. The opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to be sound.

1.48. *Initial, final and medial consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit words—Their similarities and dissimilarities*:—Tolkāppiyāṇār says that, in Tamil, a conjunct consonant cannot stand at the beginning of a word², *k*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m* can stand initially being followed by any vowel³, *c* except when followed by *a*, *ai* and *au*⁴, *v* except when followed by *u*, *ū*, *o* and *ō*⁵, *ñ* when followed by *ā*, *e* and *o*⁶ and *y* when followed only by *ā*⁷. Similarly, the only consonants that can stand as the final member are *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ* and *ḷ*⁸.

As regards the initial consonants, the author of Viracōḷiyam slightly differs from Tolkāppiyāṇār. He allows *ñ* when followed by 'a' also, allows *c* when followed by all vowels and allows *y* when followed by *a*, *ā*, *u*, *ū*, *o* and *au*⁹. The author of Nannūl agrees with the author of Viracōḷiyam and adds *ñ* also to

1. *Arai-yalāpū kurukanṇ makara m-uṭaittē*
Icay-itaṇ arukun teriyūn kūlai. (Tol. E. 13.)
2. *Uyir-mey y-allaṇa moli-muta l-ākā*. (ibid. 60.)
3. *Ka-ta-na pa-ma-v-eṇṇu m-ā-v-ai-t-eḷuttum*
Ellā v-uyiroṭṭū cellumūr mutalē. (ibid. 61.)
4. *Cakara-k kiḷaiyū m-avarṇē r-arṇē*
Aai au-v-eṇṇu mūṇṇalai kaṭṭiyē. (ibid. 62.)
5. *Uū eḍ v-eṇṇu nūṇkuyir*
Va eṇ n-eḷuttotū varuta l-illai. (ibid. 63.)
6. *Āc*
O-eṇṇu mū-v-uyir ṇakūrat t-uriya. (ibid. 64.)
7. *Ā-v-ḍ t-allatū yakara mutalāṭū*. (ibid. 65.)
8. *Na-ṇa-na-ma-ṇa-ya-ra-la-va-lā-lā v-eṇṇum*
A-p-pati n-onṇē pulli y-iṇuti. (ibid. 78.)
9. *Āvi-y-aṇaittūn ka-ca-ta-na-pa-ma-v variyum-va-v-v-il*
Ēviya-v-eṇṇum-ya-v v-āṇ-ṇa-n-nūṇkumel lā-v-ulakum
..... (V. C. 7.)

the list¹ and one of its commentators gives *añṇanam* as an example of the same; but *ñanam* does not seem to occur as a separate word in literature.

As regards the final consonants, the author of Viracōḷiyam differs from Tolkāppiyāṇār in omitting *ñ*, *n* and *v* from the list². This is perhaps due to the fact that such words as *uriñ*, *porun* and *tev* became obsolete in his days. But Nannūlār agrees here with Tolkāppiyāṇār³. In modern times, words beginning with *ṭ*, *y*, *r* and *l* also are found; but all of them are words borrowed from other languages. E.g., *ṭaṅkā*, *ṭamāram*, *yanti-ram*, *yaman*, *rāman*, *laṅkai*, etc.

Besides it is said that all consonants except *r* and *ḷ* can be followed by the same consonants⁴. Some of them may also be followed by other consonants. For instance *ṭ* can be followed by *k*, *c* and *p*; *r* by *k*, *c* and *p*; *l* by *k*, *c*, *p*, *y* and *v*; *ḷ* by *k*, *c*, *p*, *y* and *v*; *ñ* by *k*; *ṇ* by *c* and *y*; *n* by *ṭ*, *k*, *c*, *ñ*, *p*, *m*, *y* and *v*; *m* by *t* and *y*; *p* by *p*, *y* and *v*; *v* by *r*, *k*, *c*, *ñ*, *p*, *m*, *y* and *v*; *v* by *y*; *y*, *r*, and *ḷ* by *k*, *c*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *v*, *ñ*, *y* and *ṇ*⁵.

1. *Paṇṇi r-uyirum ka-ca-ta-na pa-ma-va-ya*
Na-na-v-i r-aintuyir me-y-yu moli-mutal. (Na. 102.)
2. *Īrū-makara ṇakarakaṭṭamu m-iṭai-y-iṇattil*
Ērum-vakara m-olint-aintum-irain t-eḷil-uyirum
Kūrun-tamiḷiṇu-k k-iṇṇeḷuttam-eṇṇar kḍl-vaḷai-yē. (V. C. 8.)
3. *Āvi ṇa-ṇa-na-ma-ṇa ya-ra-la-va lā-lā-mey*
Cāyu m-ukara nūḷāru m-iṇē. (Na. 107.)
4. *Mey-n-nilai cutṭi n-eḷḷā v-eḷuttum*
Tam-mur rām-varūm ra-lā-valaṇ kaṭaiyē. (Tol. E. 30.)
5. *Ta-ṇa-la-lā v-eṇṇum pulli muṇṇar-k*
Ka-ca-pa v-eṇṇu mū-v-eḷut t-uriya. (ibid. 23.)
Avarṇuḷ
La-lāṣkāṇ muṇṇar ya-va-v-un tḍṇrum. (ibid. 24.)
Na-ṇa-ṇa-na ma-ṇa-v-eṇṇum pulli muṇṇar-t
Tatta m-icaikaḷ-ottanā nilaiyē. (ibid. 25.)
Avṇuḷ
Na-ṇaṣkāṇ muṇṇar-k
Ka-ca-ṇa-pa ma ya-v-a-v v-ḷḷu m-uriya. (ibid. 26.)
Na-na-ma-va v-eṇṇum pulli muṇṇar
Yaṣkā piṇṇaṇ me-y-per r-aṇṇē. (ibid. 27.)
Maṣkāṇ pulli-muṇ va-v-v-un tḍṇrum. (ibid. 28.)
Ya-ra-lā v-eṇṇum pulli muṇṇar
Mutalā k-eḷuttu ṇakaramoṭū tḍṇrum. (ibid. 9.)

Here it may be noted that Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya similarly gives a list showing the sounds in Sanskrit that can respectively stand as the initial and final members of single words and also those consonants which can follow other consonants:—The second and fourth of each varga, semi-vowels, fricatives except *visarga* and aspirate and the second varga do not stand as the final members of words¹. The Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya allows *l* also as the final². When we compare this with the final sounds at the end of words in Tamil, we see that, of the sounds common to both the tongues Tamil allows *ñ, y, r, l, v* and *ḷ* as finals, while Sanskrit does not and that Sanskrit allows *k, ṇ, ṭ, ṭ* and *p* which Tamil does not.

Similarly the Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya says that *jihvāmūliya, upadhmānīya, visarga, anusvāra jh, ṇ, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ* cannot stand as initial members of words³. But Tamil allows *ñ* as in the words *ñālam, ñaṇṭū* as the initial member.

Again the same Prātiśākhya says that, in the middle of words, the second, third and fourth sounds of the five vargas are not followed by the same sounds⁴. But this may appear to be wrong since such words *aa lajjā, majjā* are found in classical Sanskrit. But it seems they are not found in Ṛgveda. *l* is not followed by *r*⁵; *v* is not followed by the first four sounds of each of the five vargas, but is preceded by them⁷; the fricatives are not followed by the second or fourth sound of each varga⁸; *r* is not followed by *r*⁹; *h* does not follow an explosive¹⁰; *y* is not followed by *l* or explosives, but is preceded by them¹¹.

Here the points to be noted are the following:—Tamil allows all explosives except *ḷ* and *ṇ* after *y* while Sanskrit does not. On the other hand, Tamil does not allow *y* after the stops,

1. *Ūṣmāntakṣtharsḍṣma-cakāravargā nāntam yāntanyatra visarjanīyāt.* (R. V. P. 12. 1.)
2. A. V. P. 1. 5.
3. Classical Sanskrit allows *jh* as an initial member. cf. *jhaṭiti*.
4. *Rkūra-ḷkārāu paramardhamūṣmaṇām nūdiṁ takārād-avarṇa ca sapta.* (R. V. P. 12, 2.)
5. *Nānyōnyēna madhyamāḥ sparsāvargāḥ samyujyantē.* (ibid. 12, 3.)
6. *Na lakārēṇa rēphaḥ.* (ibid. 12, 4.)
7. *Sparsair-vakārā na parair-anuttamāḥ.* (ibid. 12, 5.)
8. *Tathā tēsām ghḍṣiṇaḥ sarvathḍṣmabhiḥ.* (ibid. 12, 6.)
9. *Na rēpho rēphēṇa.* (ibid. 12, 8.)
10. *Na sparsāir-ūṣmā prathamāḥ parassan.* (ibid. 12, 10.)
11. *Lakāra-sparsāir na yakāra uttaraiḥ.* (ibid. 12, 14)

while Sanskrit allows it. But both Sanskrit and Tamil agree in not allowing *r* to be followed by *r*, *l* to be followed by *r* and *p* to be followed by *k, c, ṭ, ṭ* and *p*.

It seems to me that Tolkāppiaṇār has followed the Prātiśākhyas here also as in the case of mentioning initial and final vowels.

1.5. *Secondary sounds which are classed by Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants:—1.51. Ancient period:* Tolkāppiaṇār mentions *āylam* as a secondary sound but does not say whether it is a vowel or a consonant.

1.52. *Medieval period:*—The author of Viracōliyam mentions none in this category. The author of Nēminātam mentions 217 secondary sounds under this category consisting of 216 vowel-consonants and one 'shortened *āylam*'. The author of Naṇṇūl adds the unshortened *āylam* to the above list, and he divides it into eight. I think it would have been much better if he had divided it into six according as it is succeeded by one of *k, c, ṭ, ṭ, p* and *r* without adding two more as *ḷ* in *aḷṭu* and *aḷkaṭiya* where it evidently precedes one of the above six consonants.

1.53. *Modern period:*—The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Naṇṇūlār except in discarding the shortened *āylam*, on the authority of Tolkāppiaṇār who has not stated that the *āylam*, which is substituted for *l* and *ḷ* in the sandhi *al + tinaḥ = aḷrinaḥ* and *mul + tittu = muḷtittu*, is shortened.

1.54. It has already been mentioned in 1.222 *supra* that it is a mistake to have included vowel-consonants among secondary sounds and that they are not at all unitary sounds. As regards the shortened *āylam*, I fully agree with the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam. Hence of the secondary sounds which are classed by the Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants that which is to be dealt with here is only *āylam*.

1.55. '*Āylam*':—1. 551. In the ancient period it appears that this was not included in the alphabet between vowels and consonants, since Tolkāppiaṇār says in the first sūtra '*Akara mutal vakaraviruvāy (eḷuttu) muḷpalenṇa*' (which means thirty letters from *a* to *u*) and mentions *āylam* in the second sūtra. But in the medieval period, it was included between them as it is now, since the author of Viracōliyam says so¹.

1. *Arinta-v-eḷuttam-muṇ paṇṇirantāvika lāṇa-kam-muṇ Piṇanta-patiṇettū meṇ-natū-v-āylam.....* (V. C. 1.)

Dr. Caldwell has written it along with the vowels and mentions in page 353 that it is 'a sort of guttural'; but whether it is a vowel or a consonant or neither must be carefully considered.

1.552. *Ancient period*:—Tolkāppiyaṇār says that āyṭam is one of the secondary sounds and appears in the middle of words after a short vowel and before a voiceless consonant followed by a vowel¹, and also its place of production is determined by that of the consonant in whose company it is². It is classed by him neither as a vowel nor as a consonant. This is perhaps due to Pāṇini not having classed *jihvāmūliya* or *upadhmānīya* as a vowel or a consonant.

1.553. *Medieval and Modern periods*:—Nēminātam says that it is one of the 31 primary sounds³; but this is wrong. In Nannūḷ, the grammar of the medieval period and in Ilakkāṇa-ṇṇaḷ of the modern period⁴ it is said to be an open sound and its place of production is the head⁵. This is quite contrary to what is said in Tolkāppiyam. How can it be an open sound? Its pronunciation is just like that of the spirant⁶ *jihvāmūliya* in *kaḥ karōti* when it is followed by *k*, and the spirant *upadhmānīya* in *kaḥ phalaṭi* when it is followed by *p*. In Tamil it can come even before *c*, *t*, *l* and *r* which is not the case in Sanskrit. It must be pronounced by allowing the air to reach that part of the vocal organs where the following consonant is produced and suddenly arresting it so that a part of the air may escape with friction as in the case of fricatives. Hence Tolkāppiyaṇār says that its place of articulation is that of the letter in whose company it is. This must evidently be the consonant that follows it. This statement is almost similar to what is said in the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya as regards ś, ṣ, s, h, *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya*⁷.

1. *Kuṇṇiyatāṇ muṇṇa r-āyṭa-p pulli*
Uyirōṭṭu puṇarnta-val lāṇṇu micaittē (Tol. E. 38.)
2. *Cārntu-vari ṇ-allatū tamakkiyal pila-v-eṇai*
Tērntu-veḷi p paṭutta v-eṇai mūṇṇun
Tattaṇ cārpiṇ piṇapporū civaṇi
Oṭta kāṭciyir ṇam-m-iyal p-iyalum. (ibid. 101.)
3. *Āvi y-akara-muta l-āṇṇiraṇṇū m-āyṭam-iṭai*
Mēvum..... (N. N. E. 1.)
4. *Āyṭaneṇ cōcaiṇi ṇ-aṇkūṇ tiyalum.* (I. V. 13.)
5. *Āyṭak kiṭan-talai y-aṇkū muyaṇci.* (Na. 87.)
6. cf. *Uttarē aṣṭū ūṣmāṇaḥ.* (R. V. P. i, 12.)
7. *Parē ṣaḍ ūṣmāṇaḥ.* (Tai. P. i, 9.) and *Sparsāsthānēṣu ūṣmāṇa*

Thus in pronouncing & in *c&kū*, *ka&cū*, *mu&ṭitū*, *a&ṭū*, *a&pōtam*, *ka&ṇitū*, the air must respectively be allowed to reach the soft palate, middle of the hard palate, the front portion of the hard palate, the teeth, the lips and the top of the hard palate. This is also borne out by the fact that it is replaced by a consonant similar to its succeeding consonant; *mu&ṭitū* is changed to *muṭ-ṭitū*¹, *ka&ṇitū* to *kaṇṇitū*², *oru&ṣṭū + onrū* to *oruṣṭonrū*³, and so on. Besides, one can see from euphony in the expression *kūrṇa-k-ko&ṇēr* (Pattu. 236, 633) & cannot be guttural, but only a spirant produced where *r* is produced. It is therefore a kind of arrested voiceless spirant resembling in its sound the first part of the affricatæ reversed and hence it was not in the ancient and medieval periods a guttural as Dr. Caldwell thinks, nor is it an open sound produced at the head as many of the grammarians of the medieval and modern periods think⁴.

But it is now pronounced in all cases in the same way as if it were before 'k'. It is evident however that it does not conform to etymology; for it is not generally possible to have a guttural spirant or fricative before a palatal, cerebral, dental or labial consonant. The forms *mu&ṭitū* and *ka&ṇitū* are respectively formed by the combination of two words *muṭ + ṭitū* and *kaḥ + ṇitū*; in the former case the initial *t* of *ṭitū* is cerebralised by the influence of the preceding cerebral *ṭ*, and *ṭ* is correspondingly changed to & by being assimilated to *ṭ*. Can the sound assimilated to a cerebral be a guttural? Similarly in the latter case the initial *ṇ* of *ṇitū* is changed to cerebral *r* by the influence of the preceding *ṇ* and consequently *ṇ* is changed to & by being assimilated to *r*; nowhere is a guttural seen in Tamil words before 'r'.

I cannot definitely find out how and when this unetymological pronunciation of & came into existence. But I may say that it may have come after the 8th or 9th century A. D., since the

ānupūrvyēṇa. (Tai. P. 2 44.) and *jihvāmūliyaḥ kavargasthānē*
.....*upadhmānīyaḥ pavargasthānē.* (Tai. P. 2, 44, Comm.)

1. *Āyṭa nilaiyalum varai-nilai y-iṇṇē*
Takaram varūṇ kālai y-āṇa. (Tol. E. 400.)
2. *Takaram varu-vaḷi y-āyṭa nilaiyalum*
Pukariṇ ṇ-eṇmaṇṇū pulamai yōṇē. (ibid. 370.)
3. *Oru&ṣṭū tāṭi-muṇ ṇ-onṇu-muta l-onṇū*
Eṇṇu m avai-y-ūr piṇavu m-eytiṇ
Āyṭa m-aḷiya-v-āṇ ṭākun ta-v-v-ē. (Na. 196.)
4. *Āyṭa-k k-iṭan-talai y-aṇkū muyaṇci*
..... (Na. 87.)

word *iydeludi*¹ for *iṣḍeludi* is found in line 152 of the Vēlvikuḍi Grant published in Epigraphica India, Vol. XVII Part VII which shows that *ṣ* before *d* was pronounced like *y* at that time. If the dental spirant is carelessly pronounced, it may almost resemble 'y'. But since in most of the simple words where it occurs it is followed by the guttural, possibly the guttural sound was generalised throughout². Owing to this modern pronunciation of *ṣ*, one symbol 'k' is being used by the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University³.

Another point deserves to be noted as regards the origin of *āyṭam*. It is not found in Telugu and Canarese, nor in pure Malayalam words. Even in Tamil it is not an indispensable letter since it can be replaced by its succeeding letter. Besides, its sound before *k* and *p* respectively agrees with that of visarga before a guttural and a labial (i.e.) *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya*. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar writes in his article on 'Tolkāppiyā-nārum Puḷḷiyeluttum' in page 153 Vol. XXV of Centamil published by the Tamil Sangam at Madura that in ancient times *āyṭam* was represented by *visarga*. Hence it seems to me that the visarga which is used before a guttural and a labial as *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya* was borrowed from Sanskrit and extended in its use before all the voiceless consonants in Tamil

1. The word in the grant in Tamil script should be இய்டெலுடி. I think it would have been pronounced then as *iyteluti* though it is transliterated in the Epigraphica Indica as *iydeludi*.

2. <i>aṣkam</i>	<i>aṣkaram</i>	<i>akal</i>	<i>aṣkū</i>
<i>aṣkēṇam</i>	<i>aṣkūṇ</i>	<i>aṣtū</i>	<i>aṣpṭam</i>
<i>iṣtū</i>	<i>eṣkam</i>	<i>eṣkū</i>	<i>kaṣcū</i>
<i>kaṣrū</i>	Compound words like <i>muṣṭitū</i> , <i>kaṣritū</i> , etc.		

3. Its definition in the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras that it is 'the 13th letter of the Tamil alphabet occurring only after a short initial letter and before a hard consonant as *aṣkam*, and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant' is defective in two ways:— 'after a short initial letter' must be changed as 'after a short vowel'; 'and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant' must be changed as 'and is a fricative; but mentioned by the Tamil Grammarians neither as a vowel nor as a consonant'. Hence Dr. Beschi's statement '*āyṭam-eṇṇatu iṇṇukūṇi-p-peyar mutaleluttu muḥḥatiṇ onṇallatu-vēṇūy nīṇṇalūṇum uyirpṭa-t taṇṇittoli-yātumāy meyṇṇōla uyir-ēṇṇepṇātumāy mutal-eluttāntanmai eytāmai-yā-ṇum iru-maṇṇikūṇ varum-eluttai cārntolittalūṇum cārṇeluttin onṇā-yiṇa*' deserves to be noted. (To. V. 13, Comm.)

though Dr. Caldwell says that it is a peculiar Tamil letter. (C. D. G. p. 353.)

I am glad to find recently that M. J. Vinson has written in 1916¹ that the extraordinary form of *āyṭam* is related to the visarga of which it is, without doubt, only an adaptation, though he seems to be confronted with the difficulty from the statement of Tamil grammarians on the authority of Nannūl that its origin is in the head and is pronounced with the mouth fully open. This clearly shows that the Tamil Pandits with whom he came in contact with had ignored Tolkāppiyam. If they had thought of that work, they would certainly have told the learned professor that its origin depends upon the sounds in whose company it appears (Tol. E. 101) and then he might easily have inferred that, since it follows a vowel and is followed by a voiceless explosive consonant, it could not be a completely open sound. Besides if he had noted that *āyṭam* was represented by *visarga* in earlier days², it would have strengthened his inference to a considerable extent.

He derives the word *āyṭam* from the Sanskrit word *āyudha* and also states that he did not know any example of *āyṭam* outside the grammars; the former point is disproved by the opinion of the late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar noted below. As for the latter, many examples are found in Sangam works. cf. *paṣṇūḷi maṇaliṇṇum* (P. N. 9, 11.): *iṣṭiyām iranta paṇicil aṣṭirūḷin* (P. N. 145, 8): *eṣkūṇ vīḷupṇu* (P. N. 233, 7.): *yāṇkaṣṭuṇṇa* (P. N. 319, 4.)

Similarly, the Rev. Dr. Pope is of opinion that 'it may be an imitation of Sanskrit visarga and it is used in poetry only.' (cf. P. H. T. L. p. 13.) But now it is used in prose also. For instance, the word *aṣtū* and *iṣṭū* are used if they are followed by words commencing with a vowel, as *aṣtū inṇē illai*, etc.

The late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar said in one of his lectures delivered in 1925 under the auspices of the Teachers' Guild, Madras, that there is coincidence between the term *cārṇeluttū* applied to *āyṭam* in Tamil Grammar and the term *parāśritān* applied to *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya* in Pāṇiniya-śikṣā, and hence the word *āyṭam* is the tamilised form of *āśrita*.

1. 'Sur un caractere Singulier Dans L'alphabet Tamoul in Journal Asiatique Onzieme Serie Tome VII, 1916, p. 343.

2. Tolkāppiyānārum Puḷḷiyeluttum by Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, p. 153, Centamil, Vol. XXV.

THE CONCEPT OF LAKṢAṆA IN BHARATA*

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SYNOPSIS.

I. General. II. The text of Bharata on the subject : 2 recensions — III. The literature on the subject—IV. Its three names : Lakṣaṇa, Bhūṣaṇa and Nāṭyālaṅkāra—V. The Daśapakṣī, '10 views', on the subject in the Abhinava Bhāratī—VI. Probable authors of the views in the Daśapakṣī—VII. Criticism of the Daśapakṣī—VIII. Abhinavagupta's own view—IX. Other writers on the subject : i. Daṇḍin, Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Jayadeva, Śiṅgabhūpāla and Viśva-nātha. ii. Commentators, Rāghavabhaṭṭa Jagaddhara Alaka and Rucipati—X. Bharata's own view ; the text of Bharata independently studied—conclusion—XI. Supplement : table of the Lakṣaṇas in the various lists according to the different writers.

I

Sāhitya along with grammar and prosody finds treatment at the hands of Bharata under Vācikābhinaya, the Kāvya which is the text of the drama. The Kāvya, Bharata says, should have 36 Lakṣaṇas.

काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशलक्षणांविताः । XVI. 169. In chapter 17, he gives a list of 36 Lakṣaṇas and defines each. In the end he calls them 'काव्यविभूषण', adornments to Kāvya. He does not illustrate these as he illustrates the metres and Alaṅkāras. He does not specify their place in Kāvya and does not define their difference from Alaṅkāra. This concept of Lakṣaṇa is not Elaborated very much in later literature on Poetics or Dramaturgy.

* Some account of lakṣaṇa is available in Vol. II of Dr. S. K. De's Sanskrit poetics, first under Bharata and then under Jayadeva. This paper tries to be complete and contains new contribution on the subject from the Abhinava Bhāratī, the corrupt text of which in the Madras ms., I studied and reconstructed, as far as possible, with the help of my Professor, M. M. U. S. Kuppuswami Śāstrigal.

Many of these look like Alaṅkāras while some actually go by names which are Alaṅkāras in later literature. There is no clear grasp of the exact nature of Lakṣaṇa in the few writers on Dramaturgy who treat of it. Bharata certainly means them to be features of Kāvya in general and not of drama only. It would seem, by Bharata's mentioning them first and by giving 36 of them, Bharata considers Lakṣaṇa of greater importance than Alaṅkāra. It had its day when it loomed large in the field, eclipsing Alaṅkāra, which was poor in numbers. But gradually Lakṣaṇa died in the Alaṅkāra Śāstra. Writers on drama took it up, some enthusiastically defining and illustrating them, some doing so out of loyalty to Bharata and some dismissing them as having been included in Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas. This lost Paddhati of Lakṣaṇa has a history of its own which is the subject of this paper.

II

In chapter 17, Bharata gives a list of 36 Lakṣaṇas, defines each and in the end indicates their character and place in the Kāvya in one verse. This portion of the Nāṭya Śāstra has two recensions, even as the portions on metres and Guṇas. The text on Guṇas followed by Abhinava is not the one followed by Maṅgala, whose fragments on the concept of Guṇa are available in Māṇikyaacandra and Hemacandra. But as regards metres and Lakṣaṇa's Abhinava is acquainted with both the recensions. He notes both the recensions as regards the definitions of the Lakṣaṇas and says he follows mainly the recension handed down to him through his teacher. 'उद्देशक्रमस्तु अस्मदुपाध्यायपरम्परागतः ।' p. 384. He also says he will indicate the other recension also then and there. Accordingly while treating of the Lakṣaṇas, one by one, he notices their definitions in the other recension and also tries, with difficulty, to show how both mean the same thing. The Kāvya-mālā edition of the Nāṭya Śāstra has the recension followed by Abhinava. It is in Upajāti metre. The other recension is in Anuṣṭubh verses and is found in the Kāśī edition which also gives in the footnote the Upajāti recension. The Rasārṇavasudhākara and Sāhityadarpaṇa follow the Anuṣṭubh recension while Bhoja, with whom elaboration is the principle, must have been acquainted with both recensions,

2. References to the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata are to the Kāśī edition of that work. References to the Abhinava Bhāratī are to Vol. II of that work in the ms. of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

since he makes up a list of 64 Lakṣaṇas from both recensions. The Daśarūpa follows the Upajāti recension. The two recensions differ in their enumeration as well as in the definition of each Lakṣaṇa. Only 17 Lakṣaṇas are common to both. The table at the end of this paper shows the Lakṣaṇas according to the two lists, how Abhinava includes those of the Anuṣṭubh list in one or the other of the Upajāti list, etc.

III

Coming to the literature on the subject of Lakṣaṇa—Besides Abhinava's Commentary on this portion of the Nāṭya Śāstra, which deals elaborately with Lakṣaṇa, earlier Commentaries of Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka must have dealt with the concept of Lakṣaṇa. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Hṛdayadarpaṇa also probably dealt with it. We have sure evidence of Bhaṭṭa Tauta having treated of Lakṣaṇas. In an extract given from his Kāvya-kautuka in the Abhinava Bhāratī on p. 541, Vol. II we find Lakṣaṇa included in his enumeration of the 'Kāvya-paddhatis', along with Guṇa, Rīti, Alaṅkāra, etc. Further Abhinava ascribes to Tauta certain definite views on Lakṣaṇa during the course of his attempt to explain the difference between Alaṅkāra and Lakṣaṇa. We noted above how the Upajāti recension was handed down to Abhinava from his teacher, i. e., from his teacher's Kāvya-kautuka, upon which Abhinava had commented. Before Abhinavagupta, views on Lakṣaṇa were very confused, as is seen from Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Lakṣaṇas which opens with 10 Pūrvapakṣas on the real nature of the concept of Lakṣaṇa. Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa enumerates, defines and illustrates, not 36 of them, but 64. Śāradātanaya follows Bhoja. The Daśarūpa and Avaloka mention the 36 Lakṣaṇas and briefly indicate their inclusion in Alaṅkāras and Bhāvas. Śiṅgabhūpāla calls them 'Bhūṣaṇa', gives 36 of them, defines and illustrates them. The Sāhitya-darpaṇa also gives them with definitions and illustrations. Nāṭyakacandrikā, an unpublished work on Drama criticises the Sāhityadarpaṇa and follows the Rasārnava-sudhākara as regards the 36 Lakṣaṇas. From Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the Śākuntala we learn that Mātṛgupta also dealt with Lakṣaṇas separately in his work on Nāṭya. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa indicates some of the 36 Lakṣaṇas in the several situations of the Śākuntala. Jagaddhara is another commentator who, in his Tīkā on the Mālatī-mādhava points out a few of the Lakṣaṇas. Rucipati, in his commentary on the Anargharāghava, points out two Lakṣaṇas.

Rājānaka Alaka, in his commentary on Ratnākara's Haravijaya has occasion to speak of Lakṣaṇa. Alaka follows the Upajāti recension. The only work on poetics proper which treats of Lakṣaṇas is Jayadeva's Candrāloka. It defines only a few of them with illustrations.

IV

Lakṣaṇa has changed its name in its history. Śiṅga Bhūpāla and his followers call it Bhūṣaṇa. This name is derived from Bharata himself describing the Lakṣaṇa as 'कायविभूषण' and 'भूषणसंमित'. Though Bhoja calls it only as Lakṣaṇa, Śāradātanaya calls it as Bhūṣaṇa at the beginning and ends by calling it as Alaṅkāra. Jagaddhara calls it as Nāṭyālaṅkāra.

V

Bharata's own view of Lakṣaṇa as far as it can be made out from his text alone, must be taken up only lastly. Before that we shall see what views of Lakṣaṇa are contained in the Abhinava Bhāratī. Abhinavagupta gives a number of confused views held by others and at the end of these he numbers them as ten. But actually, on first reading, we get only eight views. The text here is very corrupt and lost also here and there. These following ten views can be made out of this portion of the Abhinava Bhāratī. pp. 379-381. Vol. II. Mad. Mss.

i. Lakṣaṇa is different from Guṇa which is inherent in Rasa, the soul of poetry. As belonging to the body of poetry, Lakṣaṇa is on a par with Alaṅkāra with this difference: It is not separate from the body (i. e.) it is not पृथक्सिद्ध. Alaṅkāra is separate from the body. Lakṣaṇa is the body itself and as such is further adorned with Alaṅkāras. Just as we take the metaphor of necklace or anklet when we talk of Alaṅkāra, so also we have to take the metaphor of the Lakṣaṇa of the body, such as the Sāmudrikalakṣaṇas, when we speak of the Kāvya-lakṣaṇa. This Lakṣaṇa is two-fold—natural, Siddharūpa, such as the quality of having broad eyes and artificial, Sādhyarūpa, such as the occasional grace while adopting a beautiful gait.

“तल्लक्षणं येन शरीरस्य सौन्दर्यं जायते । तच्च सिद्धरूपं साध्यरूपं वा, यथा श्यामेति मदमन्यरगामिनीति च । एतदेव लक्षणम् ; तच्चालंक्रियतेऽलंकारैर्युक्तं काव्यम् । तदेल्लक्षणं द्विधेति, यथा श्यामा विशालाक्षी, मत्तमातङ्गरागामिनीति च ।”

ii. Some others think that situations or parts of the plot of the drama or the minor Sandhyaṅgakas are called Lakṣaṇa. Just as the Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇas like Pāśa and Dhvaja indicate the greatness and the beauty of a Mahāpuruṣa, so also these Lakṣaṇas which are so many points in the development of the plot beautify the story.

“अन्ये मन्यन्ते—इतिवृत्तखण्डलकान्येव सन्ध्यङ्गकानि लक्षणातीति च व्यपदिश्यन्ते । काव्यगतख्यातिप्राशस्त्योपयोगितया महापुरुषगतपाशध्वजपादरेखादिवल्लक्षणशब्द-वाच्यता । तदुक्तं तत्रैव—

‘लक्षणां न्येव बीजार्थक्रमनिर्वाहय कानिचित् ।

प्रतिसन्धितदङ्गानि फलसिद्धयुपपत्तितः ॥’ इति

iii. Some differentiate Guṇas, Alaṅkāras and Lakṣaṇas not by the आश्रयाश्रयिभाव adopted by those who hold the first view, but by defining three different activities on the part of the poet's faculty in introducing the Guṇas, Alaṅkāras and Lakṣaṇas in a Kāvya. The poet's imagination has three activities, Vyāpāras, and three corresponding vibrations, Parispandas. In the very first vibration the poet's genius conceives the Rasa and its Guṇa, say Śṛṅgāra and its guṇa, Mādhurya. The second vibration which is also called Varṇanā, effects the introduction of Alaṅkāra. The third activity chooses the words and ideas. The effect of this third activity is the actual body of poetry, the Kāvyaśarīra, suggesting the presence of the ten Guṇas, Śleṣa, etc. That beauty of the Kāvyaśarīra which is the effect of this third activity and which is not covered by the beauty effected by an Alaṅkāra is what is called Lakṣaṇa.

“एते (के)षां तु दर्शनम्—कवेः यः प्रतिभात्मा प्रथमपरिस्पन्द[त]: तद्व्यापारबलोपनतेषु(ताः) गुणाः । प्रतिभावत एव हि रसाभिव्यञ्जनसामर्थ्य-माधुर्यादिः उपनिबन्धन (माधुर्याद्युपनिबन्धन)सामर्थ्यं, न सामान्यकवेः । अनेन शब्देन इदं वस्तु वर्णयामीत्येवंभूतवर्णनापरपर्यायद्वितीयव्यापारसंपाद्यस्त्वलं-कारः । शब्दः(दान्) अमीभिः शब्दैरर्थानमीभिरर्थैः संघटयामीत्येवमात्मकस्तु यस्तृतीयः कवेः परिस्पन्दः तदधीनात्मलाभादिः शब्दार्थात्मिककाव्यशरीरसंश्रितानि वक्ष्यमाणश्लेषादिगुणदशकसमभिव्यञ्जनव्यापाराणि शब्दार्थोपसंस्कारकल्पानि क्रिया-रूपाणीति ।

अत्र पक्षे कविव्यापारभेदात् गुणालंकारलक्षणविभागः ।” p. 380.

This view seems to be like the first by making Lakṣaṇa the Kāvyaśarīra. This view further seems to formulate two sets of Guṇas, one, the three Guṇas, माधुर्यं, ओजस् and प्रसाद, which are said to in here in Rasa as Rasadharmas and the other, the ten Guṇas of the words, श्लेष etc. The suggesting of these and the general beautifying of Śabda and Artha, forming the body of Kāvya is said to be Lakṣaṇa by those who hold this view.

iv. The fourth view, instead of restricting the Lakṣaṇas to Vākyas or points in the plot, lifts them to the position of प्रबन्धधर्मः—Characteristics of different kinds of poems. As for instance, some poems are characterised by the speciality of having profuse adornment of Guṇas and Alaṅkāras. Such poems are called by the first Lakṣaṇa called Bhūṣaṇa, which Bharata defines as the ample use of Guṇas and alaṅkāras.

अलंकारैर्गुणैश्चैव बहुभिः समलंकृतम् ।

भूषणैरिव चित्रार्थैस्तद्वृषणमिति स्मृतम् ॥ XVII. 6.

The example given here for such poem, (i.e.) a Bhūṣaṇa prabandha, is Meghadūta !

“तथा हि—किञ्चित् प्रबन्धजातं गुणालंकारनिकरप्रधानम्, यथा मेघदूताख्यम्, तद्विभूषणम् । एवमन्यदपीति प्रबन्धधर्मा लक्षणानि ।” p. 381.

v. We are unable to have much light as regards the fifth view of which we have only a little fragment. It says—

“केचित्तु ब्रुवते—कवेरभिप्रायविशेषो लक्षणम्, इति । p. 381

vi. Certain others are said to view Lakṣaṇa as the proper use of Guṇas and Alaṅkāras, (i.e.) in accordance with the principle of Rasa-aucitya.

“इतरे पुनर्मन्यन्ते—यथास्थाननिवेशनं यत् गुणालंकारं(राणां) यदूनं (?) तल्लक्षणम् ।” p. 381.

vii. The seventh view has affinities with the first and third views. It takes its stand on the fact that Lakṣaṇa, like Alaṅkāra belongs to the body of Kāvya and secondly, like Alaṅkāra, it is a beautifying factor. The beautiful Kāvyaśarīra itself is held as Lakṣaṇa. Such beauty as is inherent in Kāvyaśarīra like the Amaru-śataka, even in the absence of Alaṅkāras or what may be called as natural beauty, is the proper scope for the concept of Lakṣaṇa.

“परे त्वाभाषन्ते—अलंकारादिनिरपेक्षेणैव(क्षयैव) निसर्गसुन्दरो योऽभिनयविशेषः काव्येषु, अमरकल्लोकेष्वपि, तत्सौन्दर्यहेतुर्यो धर्मः स लक्ष्यः (लक्षणं) स एव चार्थः काव्यविशेषरूपो लक्षणम् ।” p. 381.

viii. The eighth view has been made out with great difficulty for the text here is completely lost except for a small fragment. This view differentiates Lakṣaṇa on this score: Bharata has given only three Alaṅkāras, Upamā, Dipaka and Rūpaka. These three become infinite with manifold species. The means of their multiplication is the interaction of these three Alaṅkāras with the 36 Lakṣaṇas. The text available is this—

‘उपमादीपकरूपकाणामानन्त्यात् भेदमाहुः ।’

This view is more elaborately found in a further context and from there we may reconstruct this text as—

‘उपमादीपकरूपकाणाम् आनन्त्यप्रयोजकत्वात् भेदमाहुः ।’

In discussing the difference between Alaṅkāra and Lakṣaṇa, in the Alaṅkāra section, Abhinava gives the same view more elaborately and as his own teacher's (i.e.) Bhaṭṭa Tauta's. Upamā becomes प्रशंसोपमा by adding to it the Lakṣaṇa called गुणानुवाद; it becomes अतिशयोक्ति if the Lakṣaṇa called अतिशय is added to it and so on. This view of Tanta is very clever and though it does not correctly define Lakṣaṇa and its nature, yet indicates how it is an easy transition from Lakṣaṇa to alaṅkāra.

“उपाध्यायमतन्तु—लक्षणबलात् अलंकाराणां वैचित्र्यमागच्छति । तथापि (हि) गुणानुवादननाम्ना लक्षणेन योगात् प्रशंसोपमा । अतिशयनाम्नो-
ऽतिशयोक्तिः । मनोरथारूपेण अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा । मिथ्याव्यवसायेन अपह्नुतिः ।
[अ] सिद्धया तुल्ययोगितेत्येवमन्यदुत्प्रेक्ष्यम् ।” p. 404.

ix. The ninth view is obscure since only a fragment of the text as regards it is available.

‘शब्देन अर्थेन चित्रत्वं लक्षणमित्यन्ये ।’

Abhinava laterly uses this view also and explains it as the beautification of Śabda by Śabda, of Śabda by Artha, of Artha by Śabda and of Artha by Artha. In effect this view also comes to be the same as the third view, Lakṣaṇa being held to be such beauty of the body of poetry as is present even in the absence of any Alaṅkāra.

x. The tenth and the last view, as Abhinava himself points out, does not differ from the second view very much. Just as in the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* the different subject heads are distinguished by the Lakṣaṇas, प्रसङ्ग, बाध, अतिदेश etc., so also in Kāvya, particular points in the story go by the name Bhūṣaṇa, Akṣara-saṅghāta and other Lakṣaṇas. This view thus, except for the illustration from the *Mīmāṃsā* is not different from the second Pakṣa which holds Lakṣaṇas to be ‘इतिवृत्तखण्डलक’s or ‘सन्ध्यङ्गक’s.

VI

Now as regards the authors of these ten views—We have no evidence to definitely affirm where these views are to be found or who held them. Abhinava does not give the name of the theorists here, as he gives in his discussion on Rasa-realisation. It is not likely that these ten are purely imaginary Pakṣas. In the course of the exposition of the second and the third view, Abhinava quotes Anuṣṭubh verses with the words तदुक्तं तत्रैव. The third view takes its stand on Vyāpārabheda. From what the Anuṣṭubhs look and the association of Vyāpāra with Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka we may conjecture that some of these views are expounded in Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*. We also know of the *Mīmāṃsā* predictions of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. So it is likely that the tenth view also is contained in his work. For the illustration from the *Mīmāṃsā* smacks of his genius. We can also make out the author of the eighth view definitely as Abhinavagupta's own teacher, Bhaṭṭa Tauta, whose work, the *Kāvya-kautuka* must have dealt with the काव्यपद्धति called लक्षण at some length.

VII

Taking this Daśapakṣi—the 10 views given above, the ideas more commonly associated with Lakṣaṇa are these—

1. Lakṣaṇa belongs to the body of Kāvya.
2. It is a beautifying element.
3. As such, its difference from Alaṅkāra consists in this that it is more comprehensive, is not a separate entity like the ornament, Alaṅkāra, but is Aprthaksiddha, (i.e.) is the Kāvyaśarīra itself. By itself, it gives grace to the Kāvya while Alaṅkāra is added to it for extra-beauty.

This is one group of ideas, taking their inspiration from the metaphor of Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa. Another line of thought is not to bring Lakṣaṇa at all in relation to Kāvya in general nor to take

it, like Alaṅkāra, as a beautifying factor, but to associate it only with drama and the several situations in the development of its plot. Abhinava and his teacher took Lakṣaṇa in accordance with the first group of ideas, considering Lakṣaṇa to be 'Kāvya-śobhā-kara-dharma', a beautifying element pertaining to the body of Kāvya in general. The other line of thought represented by Pakṣas Nos. 2 and 10, considering Lakṣaṇa to be like Sandhyaṅgas which Abhinava does not accept is the view that has however lived. The works on dramaturgy alone (a few of them) treat of it and these take Lakṣaṇas to be features of drama like the Sandhyaṅgas. The curious and purely speculative views, the connection of which to Bharata's own view we do not see at all, are views No. 4, which takes them to be characteristics which classify the Kāvya into 36 kinds and No. 5 which takes Lakṣaṇa to be the poet's अभिप्रायविशेष. The main view which considers Lakṣaṇa, like Alaṅkāra as a beautifying element pervading the whole of the body of the Kāvya died with Abhinavagupta. The concept of Alaṅkāra, with which, even at its birth Lakṣaṇa has an overlapping of functions, swallows it up. Even Rāghavabhaṭṭa who takes Lakṣaṇa to be separate from Sandhyaṅgas, swearing by Abhinavagupta's great pains to explain them at length as different from Sandhyaṅgas, etc., takes them only as Nāṭakadharmas and not as Kāvyaadharmas in general. Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Śiṅga-bhūpāla and Viśvanātha accept Abhinava's words for their difference from Sandhyaṅgas, but mention them only in Nāṭaka and never as being related comprehensively to poetic expression itself. The Candrāloka is the only Alaṅkāra work which treats of Lakṣaṇa as a feature like Alaṅkāra, of अव्यक्ताव्य. The second line of thought which connects Lakṣaṇas with Sandhyaṅgas was first unconscious of its suicidal suggestion. Daśarūpaka rejects them on the score that they have no individuality and can be included in Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas. Viśvanātha realises this and says that though the 36 Lakṣaṇas can be included in Sandhyaṅgas, etc., they must be shown to be separately existent in a drama for the reason that Bharata has treated of them separately. But many works on dramaturgy do not treat of the Lakṣaṇa at all. The reason is plain. The Daśarūpaka shows us how the Lakṣaṇapaddhati perished. The Lakṣaṇas lacked individuality and most of them showed themselves to be some Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas or some Sandhyaṅgas. But it may be observed that the authors on dramaturgy who have shown an extraordinary genius for classification and elaboration

of Aṅgas on a stupendous scale might have followed the logic of the inclusion of Lakṣaṇa in other concepts and saved us their lists of minor Sandhyaṅgas, most of which can be shown to be not different at all from some Alaṅkāra or Bhāva. The same criticism applies also to the lovers of Alaṅkāras who have made a list of more than a hundred of them. As for instance the Viśādana, the Ullāsa, Alaṅkāras in the Kuvalayānanda, are cases of Bhāvas.

VIII

Coming to Abhinavagupta's own view of Lakṣaṇa—the main thread of his must be caught in the bewildering text on this concept in various places in this chapter. He points out even at the outset that these views cannot stand to be logical when we consider the 36 Lakṣaṇas themselves one by one in the light of these views, for to a certain extent the views have been purely speculative, spinning round the word Lakṣaṇa having its counterpart in the Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa of the human body, without relating themselves to the nature of the individual Lakṣaṇas. So Abhinavagupta makes a convenient suggestion that the 10 views cannot be exclusively and separately followed.

‘एतेषु पक्षेषु अन्यतमग्रहे विशेषणानि न संगच्छन्ते स्पष्टेन पथा ।’

p. 381.

One comprehensive and definite view must be made out of the cloud of these ten Pakṣas. Abhinava adopts shades of each view and gives his own definite idea of Lakṣaṇa, which itself takes conclusive shape only as he proceeds further and further. Here and there Abhinava cannot help pushing new wine into old bottles in his difficult task. One line of thought he has definitely rejected and that is, the association of Lakṣaṇa with Nāṭaka only and taking it as something like Sandhyaṅgas. He refutes this view in this chapter and elsewhere also while dealing with the Vithyaṅgas. He says there—

“नन्वेषाम् (वीथ्यङ्गानाम्) उक्तिवैचित्र्यरूपत्वं चेत् लक्षण[म्]

अलंकारादिभ्यः को भेद इति ।

न चैतद्व्यतिरिक्तमेव सामान्यलक्षणमस्ति । तत्र केचिदुक्तलक्षणादि-
विशेषरूपत्वमेवैषां प्रतिपन्नाः । विवेचकास्तु तद्व्यतिरिक्तान्यवैतानीत्याहुः ।”

pp. 481-2.

In this same context Abhinava thus indicates the difference of Lakṣaṇa and Alaṅkāra on the one hand and the Aṅgas on the other:

‘लक्षणांकारादीनां नोक्तिनियतं रूपमिति विशेषः ।’

Having thus rejected the view that Lakṣaṇas are identical with Sandhyāṅgakas, he combines the various ideas of the other line of thought and says that Lakṣaṇa is Kāvyaśarīra itself. It is said to be the Abhidhāvyāpāra itself as a whole. Commenting on the verse—

षट्त्रिंशदेतानि हि लक्षणानि प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसंमितानि ।

काव्येषु भावार्थगतानि तज्ज्ञैः सम्यक्प्रयोज्यानि यथारसं तु ॥

in the text, Abhinavagupta says that the poetic expression itself as a whole, written in accordance with the Rasa, is called Lakṣaṇa. Lakṣaṇa is nothing but the Abhidhāvyāpāra of the poet's language intended to evoke Rasa.

“यथारसं ये भावाः विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिणस्तेषां योऽर्थः स्थायी-
भावरसीकरणात्मकं प्रयोजनान्तरं गतानि प्राप्तानि । यदभिधाव्यापारोपसंक्रान्ता
उद्यानादयोऽर्थाः तत्र सविशेष(वि)भावादिभावं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तानि लक्षणानीति
सामान्यलक्षणम् । अत एव काव्ये सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानीति विषयस्तेषामुक्तः ।

p. 383.

This Lakṣaṇa or the beautiful language or the poet's Abhidhā itself is what distinguishes Kāvya from other utterances. And here, as is usual with him wherever he agrees, Abhinava quotes Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who emphasises Abhidhā, or the poet's Vyāpāra in choosing the beautiful mode of expression as the characteristic of Kāvya, which is different from Śāstra or Purāṇa. In Śāstra, Śabda predominates. It is enough in Purāṇa if the story, the Artha, is somehow said. But in Kāvya one looks to the delectable way in which things are put. Thus in Kāvya, the vyāpāra is important while word and idea are subordinate.

‘भट्टनायके(ना)पि (अ)त एवअभिधाव्यापारप्रधानं काव्यमित्युक्तम् ।

शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थतत्त्वे तु युक्तेन वदन्तः स्थानमेतयोः ॥

(अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः)

द्वयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यगीर्भवेत् ।

p. 383.

Abhinava quotes Bhāmaha also here to show that Kāvya-śarīra is distinguished from other utterances by the peculiarity of its expression, by its वक्रोक्ति. Laterly also he says—

‘बन्धो, गुम्फः, फणितिः, वक्रोक्तिः, कविन्यापार इति हि पर्यायात्
लक्षणं त्वलंकारशून्यमपि न निरर्थकम् ।’

p. 405.

‘तत्र चित्तवृत्त्यात्मकं रसं लक्षयन् तद्रसोचितविभावादि[त्व]संपादकः
त्रिविधोऽभिधाव्यापारो लक्षणशब्देनोच्यते इत्येषां सामान्यलक्षणम् । * *
एवं किंचिदभिधीयमानं केनचिद्रूपेण रसोचितेन विभावादिरूपेण तमेव पदार्थक्रमं
लक्षयन् लक्षणम् ।”

p. 382.

Immediately after quoting the above given verses from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka he says—

“भामहेनापि—‘सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते’ इत्यादि ।
तेन परमार्थे व्यापार एव लक्षणम् ।”

In another place he says—

‘सर्वो विभावाद्युचितो निर्वर्ण्यमाणः काव्यलक्षणत्वेन सूचितः ।’

p. 399.

If Lakṣaṇa should be thus taken as equal to poetic expression, the natural consequence is that Lakṣaṇas are not 36 only but as many as the poetic expressions. This Abhinava grants and says that Bharata only indicated a few, 36 of such possible Lakṣaṇas. He adds that it is because of this that, according to another view, Bharata gives another set of Lakṣaṇas with definitions. Abhinava here refers to the Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti recensions, takes both of them as given by Bharata, but says, that he follows the list handed down from his own teacher.¹

“तथा च मतान्तरेण भरतमुनिरेव अन्यथाप्युद्देशलक्षणेन च नामान्तरैरपि
लक्षणान्तरैरपि च व्यवहारं करोति । तत एव पुस्तकेषु भेदो दृश्यते । तं च
दर्शयिष्यामः । परितोद्देशक्रमस्तु (?) अस्मदुपाध्यायपरम्परागतः ।” p. 384.

It also follows, if Lakṣaṇa is Kāvyaśarīra it has further adornment with Alaṅkāras. So says Abhinava—

1. But this is an after-thought which Abhinava got up as evidence for his view of infinity of Lakṣaṇas. It is also a passing thought, for instead of, consistently with this, explaining the two sets with different illustrations, he tries with great difficulty to show the identity of many of the Lakṣaṇas of the Anuṣṭubh list with those of the other, which he mainly follows.

‘एवं कविव्यापारबलात् यदर्थजातं लौकिकात् स्वभावात् विद्यमानं तदेव लक्षणमित्युक्तं । तत्र(स्य)शरीरकल्पस्य अलंकारा अधुना वक्तव्याः ।’

p. 404.

‘काव्ये तावल्लक्षणं शरीरम्, तस्य उपमादयः त्रयोऽर्थभागाः ।’ p. 404.
Lakṣaṇa is Kāvya itself while Alaṅkāra is extraneous ornament, Prthaksiddha, Vastvantara.

“एवमर्थस्यापि यद्रसामिव्यक्तिहेतुत्वं सोऽर्थगुणः । यस्तु वस्त्वन्तरं वदनस्येव चन्द्रः, सोऽलंकारः । यस्तु त्रिविधोऽप्यभिधाव्यापारः स लक्षणानां विषयः ॥” p. 382.

Thus Abhinavagupta adopts the first view, the third view and the seventh view, in generally stating his conception of Lakṣaṇa. In interpreting particular Lakṣaṇas and their definitions given by Bharata, Abhinava adopts the other views related to these views. Thus in explaining the first Lakṣaṇa called Bhūṣaṇa or Vibhūṣaṇa he adopts the sixth view. Bharata defines Bhūṣaṇa thus—

अलंकारैर्गुणैश्चैव बहुभिः समलंकृतम् ।

भूषणैरिव विन्यस्तैस्तद्रूपणमिति स्मृतम् ॥

Abhinava says here that Bhūṣaṇa is the proper use of Alaṅkāras and Guṇas in accordance with the Rasa, with an eye to रसौचित्य. In pointing out what this Rasa-aucitya is and how Alaṅkāras should be introduced in accordance with it, he quotes Ānandavardhana's Kārikās in the second Uddyota, on Alaṅkāra-Samīkṣā— विवक्षा तत्परत्वेन नाङ्गित्वेन कदाचन etc. and refers to his own Locana thereon.

Then Abhinava adopts the seventh view often in dealing with the definitions of particular Lakṣaṇas and in suitably illustrating them. The verses he cites for a Lakṣaṇa happen to exhibit an Alaṅkāra also. Abhinava notes that fact and says that the beauty of the verse is due, not to the Alaṅkāra but only to the Lakṣaṇa. He shows how there is no ‘गतार्थता’ by Alaṅkāras. Commenting on his illustration for the second Lakṣaṇa called अक्षरसङ्घात, he says—

‘अत्र अर्थस्य अलंकारघटनाप्रयासमन्द(न्त)रेणैव सुन्दरत्वं लक्षण-
कृतमेव ।’ p. 386

The natural grace of a verse even in the absence of Alaṅkāra as in the verses of Amaruka is due to Lakṣaṇa. This is the view he often adopts. He illustrates the third Lakṣaṇa called शोभा by the verse of Śākuntala— ‘भेदश्छेदकशोदरं लघु भवत्युत्थानयोग्यं वपुः’ etc. and makes the comment that there is no Alaṅkāra in the verse but yet there is beauty in it and that is due to the Lakṣaṇa called Śobhā.

‘न चात्र अलंकारः कश्चिदिति कविव्यापारेण (व्यापारः) यः शब्दार्थ-
व्यापारादेव अर्थघटनात्मा, तत्कृतं ह्यं लक्षणार्थमेव (?) । अशोभनोऽप्यमुना
नयेन शोभत इति शोभेयमुक्ता ।’

p. 387.

He adopts the 8th view, which is his own teacher's, in his exposition of the Lakṣaṇa called गुणानुवाद and in other places. Explaining the Lakṣaṇa called गुणकीर्तन he says—

गुणकीर्तनं नाम लक्षणं उपमाश्लेषानुप्राहित्वे(न) स्थिति(तम्) ।
लक्षणानि हि अलंकाराद(न)पि चित्रयन्ति । तदेव अग(ग्र) एव वक्ष्यामः ।’

p. 388.

Here he adopts the 8th view only slightly. He says that the Lakṣaṇa called Guṇakīrtana helps Upamā and Śleṣa and that Lakṣaṇas beautify even Alaṅkāras. He clearly adopts this 8th view that the further elaboration of manifold Alaṅkāras is the result of their interaction with the Lakṣaṇas, in a further passage under the Lakṣaṇa, Guṇānuvāda.

अथ गुणानुवादः । * * * * यथा
‘पालिता द्यौरिवेन्द्रेण त्वया राजन् वसुन्धरा ।’

ननु उपमेयमलंकारः ? किं...तत (किं ततः ?) उक्तं ह्यलंकाराणां
वैचित्र्यं लक्षणकृतमेव । एत एव शिक्षितैरपि दण्डिप्रभृतिभिः ये निरूपिताः
उपामेदाः, तत्र यो भेदकोऽशः आचिख्यासासंश्र(श)यनिर्णयादिरर्थः स
तादृक् पृथगलंकारतया गणितः । गणनेऽपि वा संसृष्टिसंकरापत्तिः । अर्थमालं
तदिति चेत् तर्हि तदेव लक्षणं । यथा हि राजतामविभज्य विचार्यमाणः इत्यमव-
तिष्ठते—मुकुटाद्यलंकारः शौर्यादिगुणव्यूढोरस्कत्वादिलक्षणसमुदायः । राजा
अलंकार्यश्च गुणवांश्च लक्षणीयश्च । तथा काव्यमपि । तेन गुणालंकारातिरिक्ताः
सर्वे लक्षणमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

pp. 390—1.

Whatever beauty in a Kāvya is not due to either Guṇa or Alaṅkāra is due to Lakṣaṇa. If so, will it not be that all Kāvya is Lakṣaṇa? yes, says Abhinavagupta.

‘नन्वेवं सर्वत्र लक्षणयोगः ? क आक्षेपार्थः ? प्रियमेव ह्यस्माकमदः ।’
p. 381.

Thus in this passage Abhinava combines his teacher's view, (i.e.) the eighth with the seventh, reconciles both by making them as parts of a bigger and more comprehensive view of his. Abhinava opines that Lakṣaṇa is sometimes natural grace and sometimes it adds beauty to Alaṅkāra also. Thus he considers it to be more important than Alaṅkāra.

‘अत एव पूर्वं ‘काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणान्विताः’ इति लक्षणान्येव हि प्रधानम्, तत्प्रसंगेन ग्रहा(गुणा)लंकार(रा) इति । तात्पर्यविशेष-लक्षण(लक्षणतात्पर्यविशेष)व्याख्याने चैतत् स्फुटयिष्यामः ।’

p. 382-3.

Thus Lakṣaṇas are important because they are elaborately enumerated at first, they are the very Kāvyaśarīra,¹ they are elements of natural beauty even in the absence of Alaṅkāras, they are the factors that multiply the three Alaṅkāras into many, and they beautify sometimes even Alaṅkāras. Of these 36, the first however is lifted from the plane of Lakṣaṇa and is made a principle of औचित्य by Abhinava. If Lakṣaṇa should be so elastic or so comprehensive, we would have not 36 of them only, but an infinite number of them. Quite so replies Abhinavagupta. The Lakṣaṇas are अलंकार-अनुग्राहक and in their combinations with each Alaṅkāra, they produce many varieties. In combining

1. It is this idea of Lakṣaṇa as the Kāvyaśarīra itself that Abhinava holds at the end of his commentary on the previous chapter, while commenting on the text, ‘काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणान्विताः’, which introduces the topic of Lakṣaṇa in the next chapter. Abhinava here works out a metaphor with a beautiful house, the metre being the ground, Lakṣaṇa, the building of the house itself, Alaṅkāras and Guṇas, the paintings etc.

‘यथा प्रासादकोट्यादिके(?) कर्तव्ये प्रथमं भूमिः, तद्वत् काव्ये निर्मातव्ये भूमिकल्पः छन्दोविधिः, क्षेत्रपरिग्रहवृत्तसमाश्रयमित्यादिविरचनस्थानीयं लक्षणयोजनम्, चित्रकर्मप्रतिममलंकारगुणनिवेशनम्, * * * *
एवं भूतवाचिकाभिनयस्वरूपं चतुर्दशादिभिः षड्भिरध्यायैरुच्यते ।’ p. 377.

among themselves also they breed numberless varieties. Thus infinite are the varieties of beautiful expressions in Kāvya.

‘लक्षणं हि शरीरमित्युक्तम् । * * * *

ततो नो(उ)पमानशरीरस्य उमेयशरीरस्य वा वैचित्र्य(यं) लक्षणानामेव व्यापारं(रः) इत्येवमुपमारूपकदीपकानां त्रयाणामलंकारत्वेन वक्ष्यमाणानां प्रत्येकं षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणयोगात् लक्षणानामपि च एकद्वित्र्याद्यवन्तरविभागभेदात्
केन गणयितुं शक्यम्, इदानीं शतसहस्राणि वैचित्र्याणां सहृदयैरुत्प्रेक्ष्यन्ताम् ।’
p. 401.

In this passage Abhinava gives a new and clever idea. An Upamā is an Alaṅkāra. It is expressed and has its Śarīra. That Śarīra itself has to be beautiful. The beauty of the very expression of Simili or other Alaṅkāras is Lakṣaṇa.

IX—A.

Daṇḍin as he was going, cast a remark on Lakṣaṇa. For him the whole Kāvyaaprapaṇca is Alaṅkāra-Brahman. Naturally he considered Lakṣaṇa to be Alaṅkāra. When he considered even the Sandhyaṅgas and the Aṅgas of the four Vṛttis, Kaiśikī etc. as Alaṅkāras, there is no wonder that he considered so this concept, Lakṣaṇa which has so much in common with Alaṅkāra. He says—

यच्च सन्ध्यङ्गवृत्त्यङ्गलक्षणाद्यागमान्तरे ।

व्यावर्णितमिदं चेष्टं अलंकारतयैव नः ॥ II. 366.

The Lakṣaṇa referred to in this verse is Bharata's Lakṣaṇa. Taruṇa Vācaspati says—लक्षणम्, विभूषणम् अक्षरसंहतिश्च । आगमान्तरे भरते । Alaṅkāra in Daṇḍin is a wide berth which can conveniently accomodate these and many more.

The Daśarūpaka mentions the Lakṣaṇas at the end and does not treat of them since it includes them in Alaṅkāras and Bhāvas. This attitude is very logical, since many of the Lakṣaṇas are either Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas. The text says—

षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणादीनि सामादीन्येकविंशतिः ।

लक्ष्यसन्ध्यन्तराख्यानि सालंकारेषु तेषु च ॥

हर्षोत्साहेषु अन्तर्भावान्न कीर्तिता इति पूर्वश्लोकादध्याहारः ।

The Avaloka adds—

‘विभूषणं चाक्षरसंहतिश्च शोभाभिमानौ गुणकीर्तनं च ।’ इत्येवमादीनि षट्त्रिंशत् काव्यलक्षणानि ‘साम भेदः प्रदानं च’ इत्येवमादीनि सन्ध्यन्तराण्येकविंशतिः उपमादिषु अलंकारेषु हर्षोत्साहादिषु च अन्तर्भावात् न पृथगुक्तानि ।’

Bhoja, in his Śrīṅgāraprakāśa (Vol. II, Chapter 12, p. 450 Mad. Ms.) while dealing with the technique of the drama gives first that the drama shall have 64 Lakṣaṇas.

लक्षणैश्च चतुष्पष्ट्या युक्तं कुर्वीत नाटकम् ।

He comes to the topic, Lakṣaṇa, on p. 524, first enumerates 64 of them, then defines and illustrates each. Bhoja is given to elaboration and he takes up some of the Anuṣṭubh list of 36, some of the Upajāti list of 36, adds a few which are his own and thus makes a good number of 64. Certain numbers have a destiny and in Bhoja's bulky writings, in his classifications, such numbers appear often. This chapter is called ‘प्रबन्धाङ्गचतुष्पष्टिचतुष्टयी’ dealing with 4 sets of 64 Aṅgas of the Prabandhas. Thus it is out of an artistic sense of uniformity that Bhoja made Lakṣaṇas also as 64. For Bhoja's list, see table at the end.

Bhoja is acquainted with both the lists of Bharata. His definitions are mostly reproductions from Bharata with slight variations. From the name of the chapter we are to take that Bhoja considers Lakṣaṇa as a प्रबन्धाङ्ग like सन्ध्यङ्ग, with which it is clubbed together and described. He generally says that they are for beautifying the work. At the end of his treatment of the Lakṣaṇas he says of them—

एतानि काव्यस्य विभूषणानि प्रायश्चतुष्पष्टिरुदाहृतानि ।

प्रबन्धशोभाकरणाय तज्ज्ञैः सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानि यथारसानि ॥

Bhoja takes Lakṣaṇas as features of dramas only. He tries to give us some distinction between the Lakṣaṇas and the Sandhyaṅgas. After illustrating the first Lakṣaṇa called Bhūṣaṇa, which is speech full of Alaṅkāras and Guṇas, he says—

“अत्र श्लेषोपमाप्रत्यक्षादिभिरलंकारैः श्लेषप्रसादसौकुमार्यादिभिश्च गुणैरुपेतता द्रष्टव्या । एवं वक्ष्यमाणेष्वपि गुणालंकारा यथासंभवमूहनीयाः ।..... कारैश्च नियमो नारभ्यन्ते ? । सन्ध्यङ्गेषु तु गुणालंकारयोगो नो(ना)पेक्ष्यत इति ।”

The text is incomplete and corrupt. Bhoja means to say that just as the first Lakṣaṇa involves Guṇas and Alaṅkāras, so also the

others and it is this that differentiates Lakṣaṇas from Sandhyaṅgas which do not involve Guṇa or Alaṅkāra. This explanation is clever and shows us how many Lakṣaṇas look like Alaṅkāra but is against Bharata, who gave Bhūṣaṇa alone as ‘profuse with Guṇas and Alaṅkāras’ and never meant the extension of its nature to the other Lakṣaṇas also.

Śāradātanaya, in his Bhāvaṇaparakāśa, deals with Lakṣaṇas in Chapter 8. In the Nāṭya Śāstra we see the Lakṣaṇa described as Bhūṣaṇa. ‘प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसंमितानि’ ‘एतानि वा काव्यविभूषणानि ।’ So some writers have called the Lakṣaṇas as Bhūṣaṇa also. There is propriety in this name from the point of view of function, since all the writers say that Lakṣaṇas adorn the Kāvya. Śāradātanaya calls them Bhūṣaṇas and gives them as one of the items in the technique of Nāṭaka. He says—‘षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणाणि च’ : ‘36 Lakṣaṇas also’. But while enumerating and defining he gives 54. At the end again he mentions their total number as 64 and calls the Lakṣaṇa here as नाट्यालंकार. ‘चतुष्पष्टिरलंकाराः कथिता नाटकाश्रयाः’ p. 224. Gaek. ed. Thus, as in other places, Śāradātanaya makes a huge mess. Śāradātanaya's list contains Lakṣaṇas from both the lists. A few of them are new. 26 are from the Upajāti list and 14 are from the Anuṣṭubh list. The remaining 14 in the total of 54, are new. They are—

नयः, स्पृहा, अभिज्ञानम्, उद्देशः, नीतिः, अर्थविशेषणम्, निवेदनम्, परिवादः, उद्यमः, परिहारः, आश्रयः, उक्तिः, देशः and ग्रहर्षः ।

Two of these, स्पृहा and परिवादन are found in Bhoja's list. Śāradātanaya's definitions of the Lakṣaṇas are most of them brief adaptations of Bharata's definitions.

Jayadeva's Candrāloka is the only work on poetics which treats of Lakṣaṇas along with such topics as Guṇa and Alaṅkāra. It is curious how Lakṣaṇa found its way into this work of later times, not dealing with dramaturgy. Jayadeva is aware of the topic of Lakṣaṇa but is not sure of its nature or place in Kāvya. Even among the Lakṣaṇas, he gives with definitions and illustrations, only a few. Mayūkha 3 of the Candrāloka gives the following Lakṣaṇas:—

अक्षरसंहतिः, शोभा, अभिमानः, हेतुः, प्रतिषेधः, निरुक्तम्, मिथ्याध्यवसायः, सिद्धिः, युक्तिः and कार्यम्—all of the Upajāti list. It is remarkable how Jayadeva missed the very first Lakṣaṇa called Bhū-

ṣaṇa and the No. 36 also and gives only 10. Jayadeva's definitions of these are concise and more definite than those in Bharata and when we read these together with their illustrations, we cannot miss the fact that it is not very far from Lakṣaṇa to Alaṅkāra. In the last verse he briefly indicates the nature of Lakṣaṇa and says that Lakṣaṇas like the above given ten, are many.

इत्यादिलक्षणं भूरि काव्यस्याहुर्महर्षयः ।

स्वर्णभ्राजिष्णुभास्तुत्वप्रभृतीव महीभुजः ॥

Just as kings well-versed in the art of रत्नपरीक्षा speak of भ्राजिष्णुत्व, भास्तुत्व and other Lakṣaṇas for gold, so also sages speak of many such Lakṣaṇas for Kāvya.

Again, if we go through the 5th Mayūkha and its list of Alaṅkāras, numbering hundred, we find there, besides दृष्टान्त, निदर्शना, संशय and other names, associated in Bharata with Lakṣaṇas, which must have very early passed into the fold of Alaṅkāra, some of the above given 10 themselves are counted as Alaṅkāras. Thus we have मिथ्याध्यवसितिः, युक्तिः, निरुक्तिः, प्रतिषेधः and हेतुः. Among these, the illustration for मिथ्याध्यवसिति alaṅkāra in the Kuvalayānanda is an adaptation of that given for the Lakṣaṇa of the same name. The same illustration—'ईदृशैश्चरितैर्जने सत्यं दोषाकरो भवान्' is given for both निरुक्तिलक्षण and निरुक्त्यलंकार.

Śiṅga Bhūpāla also calls the Lakṣaṇa as Bhūṣaṇa. (Chap. 3, pp. 247—264. Triv. ed.) He considers them to be beautifying elements of the plot of the drama.

शरीरं वस्त्वलंकुर्यात् षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणैः स्फुटम् ।

He completely follows the Anuṣṭubh list with this minor difference that he calls लेश as लेख and gives the synonym मधुरभाषण for Bharata's प्रियं वचनम्. Śiṅga Bhūpāla takes Bharata's own definitions and compresses them in half verses. In some cases, as for instance in the definition of प्राप्ति, he is more definite than Bharata, by restricting a comprehensive idea to a particular case. His definitions of निदर्शनम्, विशेषणम्, पदोच्चयः, तुल्यतर्कः, तद्विपर्ययः, अतिशयः, गुणकीर्तनम् and माला are reproductions of Bharata's verses.

Viśvanātha, in Chapter six of his Śāhitya darpaṇa, treats of Lakṣaṇa. He gives the 36 of the Anuṣṭubh list with this difference that he gives Saṅkṣepa newly in the place of Kṣobha. Some of his definitions of these are succinct adaptations of Bharata's, while

some are reproductions of those of Bharata. He points out their existence in dramas with illustrations. He realises the logic of the attitude of the Daśarūpaka but is more loyal to Bharata, for the sake of whose words he takes that there should be 36 Lakṣaṇas in dramas. He says in the end—

“एषु केषांचित् गुणालंकारभावसन्ध्यङ्गविशेषान्तर्भावोऽपि नाटके प्रयत्नतः कार्यत्वात् विशेषोक्तिः” ।

Besides these 36 Lakṣaṇas, Viśvanātha has another set of similar items which he calls Nāṭyālaṅkāra. They are 33 in number. When we go through this list we find that most of them are the Lakṣaṇas themselves of the Upajāti list. Thus we find here आशीः, आक्रन्दः, कपटः, क्षमा, पश्चात्तापः, उपपत्तिः, प्रोत्साहनं, अभिमानः, अनुवर्तनं, याच्ना, आख्यानं and युक्ति, 12 from the Upajāti list of Lakṣaṇas. While dealing with Lakṣaṇas in that same name he used the Anuṣṭubh list with a small difference. He left out श्लोम and had in its place संक्षेप. The Kṣobha left out there has entered this list of 33 Nāṭyālaṅkāras. The remaining 20 of this list are not available anywhere in the Nāṭya Śāstra. Among those Lakṣaṇas of the Upajāti list which are not common to the Anuṣṭubh list also, there are yet गुणानुवादः, मिथ्याध्यवसायः, प्रतिषेधः, निर्भासनं, कार्यं, अनुनीतिः and परिदेवनं, seven, which are not taken at all. The first writer who is now known to have first introduced new Lakṣaṇas is Bhoja. In his list of 64 which contains all the 36 of the Anuṣṭubh list and a few of the Upajāti list, he introduced 12 new Lakṣaṇas, स्पृहा, परिवादः, मृषोद्यमः, छलोक्तिः, काकुः, उन्मादः, परिहासः, विकृत्यनं, यदृच्छायोगः, वैषम्यं, प्रतिज्ञानं and प्रवृत्तिः. Of these 12, स्पृहा and परिवादः are the only two found in Śāradātanaya's list of 54. It is quite likely the text is not complete and Śāradātanaya who numbers Lakṣaṇas in the end as 64, took more of the above 12 of Bhoja. Viśvanātha follows Śāradātanaya and takes the following of Śāradātanaya's new Lakṣaṇas, उद्यमः, आश्रयः, स्पृहा, परिवादः, नीतिः, अर्थविशेषणं, परिहारः, निवेदनं and प्रहर्षः, numbering 9. The remaining eleven in the 20 are new additions made by Viśvanātha. They are गर्वः, उत्प्रासनं, आशंसा, अध्यवसायः, विसर्पः, उल्लेखः, उत्तेजनं, साहाय्यं, उत्कीर्तनं, प्रवर्तनं and उपदेशनम्. It is likely that some of these are really Śāradātanaya's, ten of whose 64 are now missing in the text.¹ Of these अध्यवसाय is said to be प्रतिज्ञानं by Viśvanātha.

1. Gaek. ed. pp. 223—226.

If so, it is not different from Bhoja's प्रतिज्ञानम्. उत्प्रासन which is explained as उपहास is the same as Bhoja's परिहास. उत्कीर्तन is unnecessary reduplication for it is described just as the other Nāṭyālaṅkāra called आख्यान, which is a Lakṣaṇa in Bharata's Upajāti list. There does not seem to be any distinction between उत्तेजनं and प्रोत्साहनम्. प्रवर्तन is nothing but Bhoja's प्रवृत्तिः. उपदेशन need not be a separate Nāṭyālaṅkāra, since he has already given a Lakṣaṇa called उपदिष्टम्.

Why is it that Viśvanātha made two separate topics as Lakṣaṇas and Nāṭyālaṅkāras and how? The material for him are the 2 sets of Lakṣaṇas in Bharata and those in Bhoja and Śāradātanaya. Viśvanātha took the Anuṣṭubh list to represent Lakṣaṇas and made out a 33 out of the Lakṣaṇas of the Upajāti list and of Śāradātanaya's list and called the latter Nāṭyālaṅkāra. Viśvanātha perhaps wanted to stick to the number '36' given in Bharata Śāradātanaya says at the end of his treatment of Lakṣaṇas—

चतुष्षष्टिरलंकाराः कथिता नाटकाश्रयाः ।

This use of the words 'Alaṅkāras of Nāṭaka' gave a convenient title under which, with a claim to be more neat and to have introduced a new item, Viśvanātha could put all the other Lakṣaṇas. As far as we can see now, Nāṭyālaṅkāra is first seen in Viśvanātha.¹ Jagaddhara who takes this name applies it to Lakṣaṇas themselves which will agree with what Śāradātanaya has actually said. Further Viśvanātha seems to have thought that he could easily interpret the word Alaṅkāra in the following verses of Bharata which he quotes here, as Nāṭyālaṅkāra, whereas, it refers only to figures of speech.

षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणोपेतमलंकारोपशोभितम् ।

* * * * *

मृदुशब्दाभिधानं च कविः कुर्यात् नाटकम् ॥

1. Mātrgupta seems to be the first to speak of the Nāṭyālaṅkāra. We see it mentioned in his definition of Nāṭaka, as also the Vibhūṣaṇa (i.e.) Lakṣaṇa, as quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Śākuntala.

प्रकृत्यवस्थासन्ध्यङ्गसन्ध्यन्तरविभूषणैः ।

नाट्यालंकरणैर्नानाभाषायुक्तात्रसञ्चर्यैः ।

नाटकं नाम तज्ज्ञेयं रूपकं नाट्यवेदिभिः ॥

Kale's. ed. pp. 5 and 6.

Viśvanātha realises also that Nāṭyālaṅkāra is not much different from Lakṣaṇa and that both again, to speak boldly are unnecessary, since they turn out to be either Bhāvas, Alaṅkāras or Sandhyaṅgas.

“एषां च लक्षणं (ण) नाट्यालंकाराणां सामान्यत एकरूपत्वेऽपि भेदेन व्यपदेशः गङ्गुलिकाप्रवाहेण । एषु च केषांचित् गुणालंकारभावसन्ध्यङ्ग-विशेषान्तर्भावोऽपि नाटके प्रयत्नतः कर्तव्यत्वात् विशेषोक्तिः ।”

Talking of the function of Nāṭyālaṅkāra he says—‘नाट्यभूषणहेतवः’, which vague description is further argument for what we have said just above.

IX-B

Taking Lakṣaṇa as a feature of drama only is a view narrower than the one attached to that word. Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Śiṅgabhūpāla and Viśvanātha have narrowed it further by mentioning them only in Nāṭaka, the first and best form of drama. Coming to commentators on dramas, Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Śākuntala criticises Dhanika for the inclusion of the 36 Lakṣaṇas in Alaṅkāras and Bhāvas. He quotes the authority of the Abhinava Bhārati for proving the difference of Lakṣaṇa from these and promises to indicate the Lakṣaṇas in the Śākuntala in the course of his commentary. The list of 36 Lakṣaṇas is quoted by him from Mātrgupta. This long passage and discussion on Lakṣaṇa is found only in the Nirṇaya Sāgar edition of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary and of the Śākuntala. The edition of Mr. Kale, without any discussion at all, points out the first Lakṣaṇa called ‘Bhūṣaṇa’ as being present in the portion upto the verse of Act I ‘यदालाके सूक्ष्मं’ etc. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa is not so enthusiastic over Lakṣaṇa as he goes further, for he points out only 9 of them in Act I, none in Act II, only 2 in Act III, none in Acts IV and V, only one in Act VI and only two in the last Act. These are the Lakṣaṇas he points out—भूषणं, अभिप्रायः, प्रसिद्धिः, निरुक्तं, पदोच्चयः, उदाहरणं, अनुक्तसिद्धिः, निदर्शनं, दृष्टं, माला, मनोरथः, हेतुः अक्षरसङ्घातः and अनुनयः, numbering fourteen. The definitions he gives for some of these are from Śiṅgabhūpāla. These Lakṣaṇas he points out just in those places which Śiṅgabhūpāla himself has given as illustrations.

Jagaddhara in his ṭīkā on the Mālatīmādhava indicates 4 Lakṣaṇas in Act III and 2 in Act IV. He gives their definitions

which resemble, but are not exactly those in Bharata. These 6 are पृच्छा, पश्चात्तापः, आख्यानं, निदर्शनं, माला and प्रसिद्धिः. These are from both the Anuṣṭubh and the Upajāti lists. He calls them as Nāṭyālaṅkāra.

Rucipati, in his commentary on the Anargharāghava, points out 2 Lakṣaṇas in Act IV, calling them by the name Nāṭyālaṅkāra. These 2 are अभिमान and छलोक्ति (p. 157 and p. 182, Nir. ed.). He also quotes definitions for these two under the name, Bharata. The definitions are not from Bharata. The second, छलोक्ति is no Lakṣaṇa in Bharata. Bhoja is the first to give it. Thus Rucipati follows some unknown writer who followed Bhoja but substituted the name Nāṭyālaṅkāra for Lakṣaṇa.

Rājānaka Ratnākara, in his insatiable love for Śleṣa, introduces the Nāṭyaśāstra very often in his Haravijaya. In the penultimate verse (57) of Canto. XXI. he describes a Nāṭaka, through श्लेषोपमा where he mentions Lakṣaṇa.

इति रसपोषयुक्तिमदनुज्झितवृत्तिगुणव्यपाश्रयं
प्रथितशुभाङ्गलक्षणं अपूर्वकृतिप्रवणात्मतां दधत् ।
कविरिव नाटकम् ॥” K. M. ed. p 286.

Rājānaka Alaka says in his commentary here—

“अंगानि सन्धीनामवयवाः, ‘उपक्षेपः परिकरः * * * पारिभाषना’
इत्यादयः[1] चतुष्पष्टिः(ः) लक्ष्याणि(1) (लक्षणानि) ‘विभूषणं चाक्षरसंहतिश्च
* * * गुणाभिमानोऽतिशयः सहेतुः’ इत्यादीनि पट्त्रिंशत् काव्य-
व्यवस्थास्थापकानि ।”

Ratnākara refers to Lakṣaṇas as a feature of the Nāṭaka. Alaka follows the Upajāti list. We cannot get much out of his vague explanation of the nature of Lakṣaṇas as काव्यव्यवस्थास्थापक ; but we see that he followed Bharata and held them as features of Kāvya and not of Nāṭaka only.

X

Now, coming to Bharata's own idea of Lakṣaṇa,—he says after treating of the metres—

‘काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणान्विताः ।’

In the end he says ‘एतानि वा काव्यविभूषणानि’ and ‘काव्ये प्रयोज्यानि’. Again he says:

‘एभिरर्थक्रियापेक्षैः कार्यं काव्यं तु लक्षणैः ।’

From these we are sure that Bharata meant Lakṣaṇa as Abhinava and Tauta took it, to be a feature of Kāvya in general and not of drama only as all the above mentioned writers on dramaturgy took it. Bharata meant it to be on a par with Alaṅkāra and Guṇa as a feature of Kāvya in general and not as peculiar to dramas alone. The second idea that we cannot miss in Bharata is that Lakṣaṇas, though different from Alaṅkāras, are themselves also another species of beautifying factors. In this capacity they are called ‘Vibhūṣaṇa’.

‘एतानि वा काव्यविभूषणानि ।’ ‘प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसंमितानि ।’

Bharata does not illustrate the 36 Lakṣaṇas, as he does the Alaṅkāras. Nor does he make any attempt to differentiate them from Alaṅkāras. He gives only three Arthālaṅkāras, Upamā, Rūpaka and Dīpaka. He indicates 5 sub-classes of Upamā. Bhaṭṭa Tauta has taken that the manifoldness of Alaṅkāra is achieved by combining Alaṅkāras with the Lakṣaṇas. As for instance, he says that the Upamā called प्रशंसोपमा is got by combining the Alaṅkāra Upamā with the Lakṣaṇa called गुणानुवादः; that अतिशयोक्त्यलंकार is got by combining उपमा and the Lakṣaṇa called अतिशय. Such ingenuity is all Tauta's own. Bharata does not indicate this. He simply says that he has pointed out five kinds of Upamā and that the intelligent must take other varieties from काव्य and लोक.

उपमाया बुधैरेते भेदा ज्ञेया समासतः ।

शेषा ये लक्षणैर्नोक्ताः ते ग्राह्याः काव्यलोकतः ॥

Nor in his definition of प्रशंसोपमा does Bharata indicate anything like what Tauta has said. Bharata really does not propose to himself the task of distinguishing the concept of Lakṣaṇa from Alaṅkāra. From what we see in this chapter, (i.e.) the 17th, in his time, the concept of Lakṣaṇa had much development, while that of Alaṅkāra was in its infancy. The fecundity of the latter that has produced a breed of more than a hundred Alaṅkāras is not seen in Bharata. But many of these later Alaṅkāras have their counterpart in Lakṣaṇas. The Lakṣaṇas had developed separately as adorning features, independently of Alaṅkāras, and in themselves they constitute a double personality. When we critically examine the 36 Lakṣaṇas, they fall into two classes. One class of them looks like Alaṅkāra, being mere turns of expression.

As a matter of fact we have actually Lakṣaṇas with the names of some of the later Alaṅkāras themselves. As for example, संशयः (सन्देहः), दृष्टान्तः, निदर्शनं, निरुक्तं, अतिशयः, विशेषणं, अर्थापत्तिः and लेशः. There is also हेतुः. It is another matter that the definitions of these are not exactly the same as in later Alaṅkāra works. Besides, the 2 Lakṣaṇas उदाहरणं and सारूप्यं involve उपमालंकार. The former looks like अर्थान्तरन्यासालंकार. The definition of तुल्यतर्क contains the mention of रूपक and उपमा as part of that Lakṣaṇa. In their definitions, विचार and तद्विपर्यय involve Sandeha and Ullekha. The definition of प्राप्ति makes it the काव्यलिङ्गालङ्कार.

दृष्ट्वावयवान् कांश्चिद्भावो यत्रानुमीयते ।

प्राप्तिं तामपि जानीयाल्लक्षणं नाटकाश्रयम् ॥

The Lakṣaṇa called अभिप्राय contains सादृश्यपरिकल्पनम्.

The Lakṣaṇa called लेश is quite different from the Alaṅkāra of that name. Leśāṅkāra is thus defined by Bhoja—

दोषस्य यो गुणीभावो दोषीभावो गुणस्य यः ।

स लेशः स्यात्ततो नान्या व्याजस्तुतिरपीष्यते ॥

The Lakṣaṇa called गुणातिपात corresponds to this. It is thus defined :

गुणाभिधानैर्विविधैर्विपरीतार्थयोजितैः ।

गुणातिपातो मधुरो निष्ठुरार्थो भवेदथ ॥

The Lakṣaṇa called लेश is said to be a clever speech suggesting through the mention of a similar thing—‘सदृशार्थविनिष्पन्नः’. The Lakṣaṇa, पदोच्चय involves the Alaṅkāra समुच्चय. The Lakṣaṇa called दृष्ट becomes दिष्ट in Bhoja, Sāradātanaya and Viśvanātha. As Bharata has described it, it is only स्वभावोक्त्यलङ्कार. The Lakṣaṇa called माला is an element which has been associated with many माला varieties of Alaṅkāras like मालारूपक etc. We can see the value of Bhaṭṭa Tauta's suggestion in such cases. The Lakṣaṇa called मनोरथ has in its definition the word ‘अन्यापदेश’ and is actually only अन्यापदेश of later literature i.e., अम्योक्ति.

हृदयार्थस्य वाक्यस्य गूढार्थस्य विभावकम् ।

अन्यापदेशैः कथनं मनोरथ इति स्मृतः ॥

(The Lakṣaṇa called श्लोभ is दोष in the definition.) प्रसिद्धि looks like उदात्तालङ्कार and प्रियं वचनं is nothing but प्रेयोऽलङ्कार or चाटु. Thus one class of the Lakṣaṇas are clearly Alaṅkāras or at least approximations to them or light shades of Alaṅkāras to be mixed with many a major Alaṅkāra. Abhinava realises this when he calls Lakṣaṇas as उक्तिवैचित्र्यरूप and अलङ्कारानुग्राहक. This class of Lakṣaṇas is really a supplementary list to the 3 Alaṅkāras of Bharata. The seeds of many of the later Alaṅkāras are available among these Lakṣaṇas. Leaving aside the stage represented by the Candrāloka in which Lakṣaṇas like मिथ्याध्यवसाय, युक्ति and प्रतिषेध have become Alaṅkāras, we can take that very early, some of the Lakṣaṇas passed into the fold of Alaṅkāra. Bhaṭṭa Tauta's view may suggest this historical fact. We have other clear evidences on this point. आशीः a Lakṣaṇa of the Upajāti list is an Alaṅkāra in Bhaṭṭi and we can see it in its transition from Lakṣaṇa to Alaṅkāra. Bhāmaha mentions indifferently that it is an Alaṅkāra according to some (III. 55). Similarly, हेतुः a Lakṣaṇa in both the lists of Bharata, can be seen in its stage of transition into Alaṅkāra in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Bhāmaha refuses to accept it as Alaṅkāra since it is devoid of Vakrokti (II. 86). Some pre-Bhāmaha writer must have made it an Alaṅkāra. Bhāmaha points out that only definite and remarkable turns of expression must be named Alaṅkāra. But soon, since it was the palmy days of Alaṅkāras when many things entered its fold, we find Daṇḍin asserting that हेतु is a great Alaṅkāra, ‘उत्तमभूषण’. आशीः is an Alaṅkāra, firmly established, in Daṇḍin. But poor Hetu had a chequered career¹. The name Nāṭyāṅkāra seems to have helped some of the Lakṣaṇas to become Alaṅkāras. The evolution of Alaṅkāras from 3 in Bharata to what we have in Bhāmaha is an interesting study but the gap is all darkness. We feel that in that stage of the history of Alaṅkāra, the concept of Lakṣaṇa and the merging of most of it in Alaṅkāra is a big chapter.

But we must be clear as regards this point : in the first class of Lakṣaṇas which are mere turns of expressions there are various

1. Vide Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa and Mammaṭa.

grades. Certain are Alaṅkāras plainly; certain have an element of Alaṅkāra in them while certain are more than Alaṅkāra. The last mentioned cases are few but they indicate that Lakṣaṇa in Bharata is more comprehensive than Alaṅkāra. As for instance, the first Lakṣaṇa called 'Bhūṣaṇa' applies to a case which is specially decorated with profuse Alaṅkāras and Guṇas. It seems Bhūṣaṇa is a name for a चित्रकाव्य. Many others contain औपम्य only as a small element.

The other set of Lakṣaṇas show a different character. They are not 'उक्तिवैचित्र्यरूप'. उपदिष्टं, भ्रंशः, अनुनयः, दाक्षिण्यं, गर्हणं, पृच्छा, क्षोभः etc., belong to this class. The Upajāti list contains mostly Lakṣaṇas of this class, viz.) प्रोत्साहनं, आक्रन्दनं, आख्यानं, प्रतिषेधः, क्षमा, पश्चात्तपनं, अनुवृत्तिः, अनुनीतिः, परिदेवनं etc. Most of these are Bhāvas or actions resulting from certain Bhāvas. There is thus logic in the view which takes the Lakṣaṇas as minor Sandhyāṅgaks. But this view cannot hold good to the other class of Alaṅkāra-like Lakṣaṇas. But, as a matter of fact, many of later Alaṅkāras also are only Bhāvas and need not have been introduced at all. So also, there are many Sandhyāṅgas and Vṛtṭyaṅgas which are either Bhāvas or only Alaṅkāras.

Bharata himself seems to be conscious of this double personality of his Lakṣaṇas when he says at the end of the section on Alaṅkāras—

एभिरर्थक्रियापेक्षैः कार्यं काव्यं तु लक्षणैः।

Some Lakṣaṇas are अर्थपेक्ष. These are turns of expression those of the first class, related closely to Alaṅkāra. Others are क्रियापेक्ष. These are related to Bhāvas and form the second class. Thus the two main lines of thought in the दशपक्षी given in the Abhinava Bhārati hold good as regards these two aspects of Lakṣaṇas respectively. There will be much 'Kleśa' to make all Lakṣaṇas look like turns of expression or factors of natural grace. So also to make all Lakṣaṇas look like सन्ध्यङ्गक or इतिवृत्तखण्डलक. Extremists with the aid of grammar, can however achieve their point. The Daśarūpaka realised these points and most logically included part of them in Alaṅkāras and part in Bhāvas.

Table of several lists of Lakṣanas.

Anuṣṭubh list of Bharata.	Those of the Anuṣṭubh list found in the Upajāti list of Bharata.	New Lakṣanas of the Upajāti list, indicating within brackets how Abhinava includes in these, those of Anuṣṭubh list which are left out. Bh.= contained in Bhoja's list. Śā.= contained in Śāradātana-ya's list.
1. भूषणं ...	1. विभूषणं	4. अभिमानः (Bh.) (Śā)
2. अक्षरसङ्घातः ...	2. अक्षरसंहितं	(सारूप्यं or सादृश्यं)
3. शोभा ...	3. शोभा	6. प्रोत्साहनं 'प्रियं वचनं' though enumerated, it is not defined. In its place, we have विशेषणं of the Anuṣṭubh list defined (Bh.) (Śā.)
4. उदाहरणं ...	7. उदाहरणं	9. गुणानुवादः (Bh.) (Śā.)
5. हेतुः ...	11. हेतुः	13. मिथ्याध्यवसायः (विचारः and विपर्ययः)
6. संशयः ...	24. संशयः	16. आक्रन्दः (Bh.) (Śā.) (तुल्यतर्कः)
7. दृष्टान्तः ...	22. दृष्टान्तः	18. आख्यानं (Bh.) (गुणाख्यान-Śā.) (प्रसिद्धिः)
8. प्राप्तिः ...	29. प्राप्तिः	19. याच्या (Bh.) (Śā.) (दाक्षिण्यं)
9. अभिप्रायः (आशयः—Bhoja) ...		20. प्रतिषेधः (Bh.) (लेशः)
10. निदर्शनं ...	8. निरुक्तं	23. निर्भत्सनं, हासनं A.G. (Bh.) (माला)
11. निरुक्तं ...	14. सिद्धिः	25. आशीः (Bh.) (Śā.) (निदर्शनं) deal with this.
12. सिद्धिः ...		27. कपटं A.G. does not (Bh.) (Śā.)
13. विशेषणं ...		28. क्षमा (Bh.) (Śā.) (विशेषणं)
14. गुणातिपातः ...	10. अतिशयः	30. पश्चात्तपनं (Bh.) (Śā.)
15. अतिशयः ...		31. अर्थानुवृत्तिः, अनुवृत्तिः A.G. (अनुनयः) (Bh.) (Śā.)
16. तुल्यतर्कः ...	15. पदोच्चयः	32. उपपत्तिः (Bh.) (Śā.) (उपदिष्टं)
17. पदोच्चयः ...		33. युक्तिः (Bh.) (Śā.) (अभिप्रायः)
18. दृष्टं (दिष्टं—Bhoja) ...		34. कार्यं (also called) गर्हणं A.G. (Bh.) (Śā.)
19. उपदिष्टं ...		
20. विचारः ...		
21. तद्विपर्ययः ...		
22. भ्रंशः (संभ्रमः Śā.)		
23. अनुनयः ...		
24. माला ...		
25. दाक्षिण्यं ...		
26. गर्हणं ...		
27. अर्थोपपत्तिः ...		
28. प्रसिद्धिः ...		
29. पृच्छा ...	21. पृच्छा	
30. सारूप्यं ...	12. सारूप्यं	
31. मनोरथः ...	17. मनोरथः	
32. लेशः (लेखः—Śā.)		

- | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 33. क्षोभः or दोषः | | (अर्थापत्तिः) |
| 34. गुणकीर्तनं ... | 5. गुणकीर्तनं | 35. अनुनीतिः |
| 35. अनुक्तसिद्धिः, | | (Once more here |
| or सिद्धिः ... | | प्रसिद्धिः) |
| 36. प्रियं वचनं | 21. प्रियं | 36. परिदेवनं |
| | Total common | (क्षोभः and अनुक्तसिद्धिः) |
| | with the Anuṣṭubh list—17 | In the 26th, प्रियं he includes |
| | | अशः and गह्वरं. |

New Lakṣaṇas of Bhoja. Śā. = contained in Śāradātanaya's list. Viś.
= Viśvanātha.

1. स्पृहा (Śā) (Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
2. परिवादनं (Śā.)
3. मृगोद्यमः (उद्यमः) (Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
4. छलोक्तिः
5. काकुः
6. उन्मादः
7. परिहासः (उत्प्रासनं Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
8. विकथनं
9. यदृच्छायोगः
10. वैषम्यं
11. प्रतिज्ञानं (प्रतिज्ञाध्यवसायः) (Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
12. प्रवृत्तिः (प्रवर्तनं Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)

New Lakṣaṇas of Śāradātanaya. Nā. Viś. = Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viśvanātha.

1. नयः (may be Anunaya of Bharata)
2. अभिज्ञानं
3. उद्देशः
4. नीतिः (Nā. A. Viś.)
5. अर्थविशेषणं (may be Bharata's विशेषणं) (Nā. A. Viś.)
6. निवेदनं (Nā. A. Viś.)
7. परिहारः
8. आश्रयः (Nā. A. Viś.)
9. उक्तिः
10. देशः
11. प्रहर्षः (Nā. A. Viś.)

New Nāṭyālaṅkāras of Viśvanātha, names which are not Lakṣaṇas in Bharata's Upajāti or Anuṣṭubh lists, or in those of Bhoja. and Śāradātanaya.

1. गर्वः
 2. आशंसा
 3. विसर्पः
 4. उल्लेखः
 5. उल्लेखः
 6. साहाय्यं
 7. उत्कीर्तनं
- Note. In Lakṣaṇas, Viśvanātha has a new one called संक्षेपः instead of क्षोभ of the Anuṣṭubh lists. This क्षोभ is made a Nāṭyālaṅkāra. Certain Lakṣaṇas of the Anuṣṭubh list themselves are made Nāṭyālaṅkāra with a slight change in name. ex. उपदिष्टलक्षणं and उपदेशननाट्यालंकारः ।

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CŌLA TIMES AS SEEN IN THE PERIYAPURĀṆAM.

BY

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In the history of Indian administrative institutions, the autonomous village assembly under the Cōlas in the country of the Tamils forms an illuminating chapter of no small interest. Numerous lithic records and copper-plate grants of their times allude to these bodies under a variety of names, as the *sabhā* (assembly), the *mahāsabhā* (great assembly), the *peruṅkuripperumakkaḷ* (assembly of the great distinguished), the *mūla-ṣaruḍaiyar* (chief assembly), the *ūrār* (villagers), the *nagarattār*¹ (citizens), the *āḷunganaṭtār* (governing assembly), etc., etc. A few of the inscriptions, like those of Uttaramallūr and Ukkal, Tennēri and Tirupārkaḍal, are, luckily, fuller in their details of the machinery of the village administration, the qualification of the members of the assembly and the scope of its jurisdiction.² The popular organisation of the village and the freedom enjoyed by it in the conduct of internal affairs are in keeping with "the custom of Indian rulers to leave affairs as far as possible in the hands of local authorities"³ and, therefore, in no way unique, though more perfectly developed in the South than elsewhere in India.

Of the many and varied functions of the local bodies, administration of justice in their respective limits was an important one. There is, indeed, no doubt that they exercised civil as well as magisterial powers. But it is not clear in what manner

1. The term '*nagarattār*' is usually rendered as a 'guild of merchants' as for *e.g.*, in Kacchippedu inscription in p. 268 of S. I. I. Vol. 3. pt. 3 though its plain meaning is 'townsmen' as distinguished from '*ūrār*' or villagers.

2. A. S. I. 1904-05, pp. 136-142; No. 6 of S. I. I. Vol. 3, pt. 1, 240 and 241 of 1922, and Nos. 99 and 156 of S. I. I. Vol. 3, pt. 3.

3. Hopkins in C. H. I. Vol. 1, p. 268.

this responsible duty was discharged, whether the whole assembly sat as the court of justice or a smaller committee of it, how the trial was conducted and so on. I am aware that Mr. Venkayya speaks of a "committee for the supervision of justice" in connexion with the two well-known Uttaramallur inscriptions. But this rendering of the phrase "*dharmma-kṛtyam-kaḍaikkāṇum-vāriyaṭ*" is a little strained as its obvious meaning seems to be the committee for the supervision of charities. So it is highly dubious whether it was a specialised judicial institution.

Sometimes one comes across the word '*dharmāsana*' in the Cōḷa records. It is indifferently translated as 'council of justice' or 'court of justice'. Self-imposed fines for the obstruction of charities or for violation of agreements were paid to the *dharmāsana*. To quote a passage from an inscription of Pārthivēndra-varman at Paḍi: "If this be violated we (the members of the assembly) agree to pay a penalty of one *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to be credited to the *dharmāsana*"². Was it a distinctively constituted body? What was its relation to the village assembly? There is no authority to prove that it was a court apart from the assembly. There is not a single case on record as having been tried by this court. But, on the other hand, we are able to gather from a number of epigraphs that the assembly adjudicated upon actions brought before it. In one instance the Brahmins and *nāṭṭār* assembled and decided that the accused in a case of accidental homicide should provide for a perpetual lamp in the local temple in expiation of his crime; in another it was the *periyānāṭṭār* who formed the judges; in a third it was the *bhaṭṭas*; and in a fourth it was the people of several districts. Therefore it is evident that usually the judicial authority was exercised by the whole assembly and the *dharmāsana* might have been the assembly in its judicial aspect. In this connexion it may be interesting to note that Aḍiyārkkunallār—in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram* uses the term '*dharmāsanaṭṭār*' to designate the interpreters of *Dharmaśāstras*.³ Further we have the authority of the ancient law-givers like Bṛhaspati and Nārada that *kula*, *śreṇi*, and *gaṇa* were invested with the power to decide law-suits.⁴

1. S. I. I. Vol. 3. pt. 3, Nos. 116 and 181.

2. *ibid.* 181.

3. *Śilappadikāram*, Aḍaikkalakāṭhai, commentary on 11, 54-75.

4. S. B. E. Vol. XXIII, pp. 6 and 281.

Not even one of these precious documents throws any helpful light on the actual working of the *sabhās* as courts of law. It is here that contemporary literature enables the historian to fill in the details of the picture. Śēkkiḷār¹ in his *Periyapurāṇam*, taking advantage of the episode of the quarrel between Lord Śiva and saint Sundara in the *Taṭuttāṭkoṇḍa-purāṇam*, proceeds to describe the trial scene in all its details, thus incidentally giving us a glimpse into the manner in which the village assembly had gone about its judicial business. As Śēkkiḷār was intimately associated with the Cōḷa administration in the capacity of a minister, his account is of great value.

Before giving here a translation of the relevant passages from the *Periyapurāṇam* it is necessary to sketch the events leading up to the trial of the case of Śiva *versus* Sundara. Sundara was born of Ādiśaiva Brahmin parents at Tirunāvalūr in Tirumunaippāḍināḍu and brought up by one Narasinga Munayadaraiyar, the lord of that country. In course of time Sundara attaining adolescence, it was arranged that he should marry the daughter of a Brahmin of Puttūr, a village near by. On the appointed day Sundara was taken to the bride's house and seated under the gaily decorated pavilion in the midst of the assembled guests. Just then, a Brahmin bent double with age and a furrowed face stood up and, to the confusion of all, peremptorily forbade the performance of the marriage, alleging that Sundara was his bond-slave. To prove his claim he also presented an old palm-leaf document of bondage purporting to have been executed by the grandfather of Sundara.² The suddenness with which this surprise was sprung upon Sundara upsetting him, he forcibly snatched the hapless document from the old man and tore it into pieces. The mysterious claimant raised a hue and cry; whereupon Sundara

1. The generally accepted view about the date of Śēkkiḷār is the middle of the 12th century A. D. Against this Mr. Desikar in his booklet called "Iru Śaivaśikāmaṇikaḷ" holds that he lived in the reign of Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṇ in the beginning of the 11th century. For our present purpose this difference of opinion does not much matter as we are concerned more with the Cōḷa period as a whole than with any individual reign.

2. In this act the God is violating an injunction of the *dharmasāstras*. Bṛhaspati lays down the rule that the plaintiff 'is not permitted to put under restraint a person engaged in study, nor one about to marry.' S. B. E. Vol. XXIII, p. 288.

suggested that they had better go before the assembly of Tiruveṇṇeyallūr, the old man's native place, and represented the matter. Here begins Śēkkiḷār's description.

The declaration: (Taṭuttāṭkoṇḍa-purāṇam.)

V. 51. Having gone before the big assembly radiant with the best of Vedic scholars, the Brahmin said: "This Ārūrar of Nāvalūr after having torn the palm-leaf which I showed him to prove that he is my slave has now proceeded to you. This is my plaint."

V. 52. The great elders of the assembly remarked, "What did you say, Sir? Never in this wide, wide world are the Brahmins enslaved."¹ The Absolute One replied, "Is not my suit plausible? In fact, the palm-leaf he has torn was executed by his father's father."

The answer of the defendant.

V. 53. The great men of the assembly (turned to Ārūra) and said, "Because he has shown you the deed, willingly given by your ancestor, is it a triumph to snatch it and slit it? This ancient man has made his plaint properly: what are you going to say?"

V. 54. "O, thou who art learned in all Śāstras, you all know me as an Ādiśaiva. But if this Brahmin would assert that I am his slave, I confess, it is an illusion beyond my comprehension. I cannot understand this. What am I going to say?" So said the brooding youth.

Deliberation regarding the onus probandi.

Verses 55 and 56. Nambi Ārūra having made his statement before the assembly, the Vedic Brahmins of unsullied character turned to the Great Ascetic of the Vedas, and said "You have to day claimed this man as your bondsman; you must prove it. Of the three kinds of evidence, *viz.*, usage, documents and eye-witnesses, bring at least one."² To which the Master of Māyā

1. This objection of the assembly is borne out by Viṣṇu (S. B. E. Vol. VII, p. 37). He says, 'He who commits members of the Brāhmaṇa caste to slavery shall pay the highest amercement.'

2. "ஆட்சியில் ஆவணத்தில், அன்றி மற்றையவாற் தங்கள் காட்சியின் மூன்றில் ஒன்று காட்டுவாய்." (Periya).

Bṛhaspati speaks of three kinds of evidence. 'It consists of witnesses, writings and inference.' S. B. E. XXIII, p. 297. Custom is defined by him as follows: 'Whatever is practised by a man proper or improper in accordance with local usage is termed *caritra* (custom)'. *ibid.* p. 7.

replied, "The palm-leaf he has torn before in anger is only a true copy; the original is still with me. I can show it." "Then do show it here" demanded the great men of the assembly.

V. 57. "I will show it if you can guarantee its safety" said the Brahmin. "We shall see that no harm comes to it" assured the well-to-do Brahmins. The Saviour took the document to them.

Examination of the document.

V. 58. Seeing the palm-leaf in the hand of Nīlakaṇṭha, the village accountant,¹ on the bidding of the assembly, received it with a respectful bow, uncoiled it and, observing its apparent antiquity, read it out to the clear-headed assembly (as follows).

V. 59. "This is the deed² of Ādiśaiva Ārūra, the Vedic Brahmin of Nāvalūr, willingly and knowingly executed (in favour of) the Great Pittaṇ of Veṇṇeyallūr (to show) that I and my descendants, from generation to generation, are bound to serve him This is my hand."

V. 60. Having listened to it and after the subscribing witnesses³ had scrutinized their signatures and agreed that they were unquestionably theirs, the unerring Brahmins told Nambi, "Sir, do look into this carefully and find if this is your grandfather's hand."

V. 61. The Brahmins thus directing Nambi, the Ail-giver who saves men unsolicited said, "Is he fit to examine this document? (Instead) if there be any other document in the hand of his

1. The office of accountant seems to be a fixture in every village and town assembly. Frequent references to him are found in the inscriptions. The following may be cited here:—

S. I. I. Vol. 1. No. 40. "இந்நகராத்து கரணத்தான்".

Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIV. p. 266. "இவ்வூர் மத்தியஸ்தன் கரணத்தான்".

S. I. I. Vol. 3. pt. 3. No. 130. "ஒரு நொந்தா விளக்கெரிய கரணிகரிடை வைத்த".

2. A deed of bondage is defined by Bṛhaspati as follows: "That document which a person, destitute of clothes and food, executes in a wilderness, stating, 'I will do your work' is termed a deed of bondage" *ibid.* p. 305.

3. "A subscribing witness" says Nārada, "is one by whom a document is attested." S. B. E. XXIII. p. 80.

father's father you will do well to compare the writing of this with that and give your finding."

V. 62. The assembled Brahmins, accordingly, called for another record in the hand of Nambi's grandfather, which was in safe-keeping, and compared it with the document (in question) and said, "The one resembles the other; no more can be done."

The decision.

V. 63. "O, Nambi Ārūra, you have lost your case: you are bound to serve this Ascetic, the Master of Four Vedas." So concluded the great men of distinguished character, "If this be your judgement" said Nambi, "is it possible for me to protest that I cannot abide by it?"

V. 64. The wealthy Brahmins turned to the Ascetic standing there and enquired, "Great Ascetic, in that document you are said to be a native of our proud village. If so please let us see your ancestral house and your estate."

V. 65. The meritorious Ascetic, who had won the strange case, said, "Follow me, if none of you can recognize me." So saying he marched into the sanctuary of the temple followed by Nambi and the great men of the village assembly, who were astonished to find the old man nowhere.

THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

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V

The Tamil *Kūḍal Purāṇam* begins with the usual Invocations, Benedictions, Apologies and Conspectuses and also Descriptions of the River, the Land and the City, but the only point in them all which is of interest to the historian is the mention of two outstanding figures of Vaiṣṇavism,—Rāmānuja the great philosopher, and the saint Śaṭha-kōpa who 'vanquished the Tamil Academy'.¹ The Chronicle embodies twelve Accounts² taken out of the Kṣētra Māhātmya Khāṇḍa of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, revealed once upon a time by Viṣṇu to Brahmā by whom it was revealed to Nārada who in turn revealed it to Vyāsa. It falls into four Sections, each dealing with the events of a yuga.

The first Section treats of the events of the Kṛta age,—how Vyāsa, questioned by ascetics about Madurai (Kūḍal), expatiated on its sanctity, how a temple of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna* type, built by Viśvakarmā and dedicated to Viṣṇu, stands at Madurai on the southern bank of the Kṛta-mālā (Vēgavatī), how Śiva, cursed by Dakṣa-Prajāpati, had grown love-mad, having become enamoured of Pārvatī, how to obtain her Śiva stationed Himself to the north-east of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna* and engaged in severe austerities to earn the good-will of Viṣṇu, and how, moved thereto by Brahmā and other gods, Viṣṇu contrived to bring about the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī, how to the north-east of Viṣṇu's temple lies the Pool of the Seven Seas, so called because by bathing in it Mārkaṇḍēya obtained the merit of having bathed in all the seven seas, and how Kāśyapa and others obtained boons from Viṣṇu by bathing in another pool in the vicinity.

1. *Kaṇḍavul Vaṇakkam*, 12-3.

2. Accounts 82-93.

The next Section tells of the Trēta age. The Viṣṇu of Kūḍal directed His devotee, the emperor Pṛthu, to worship Him at Kūḍal and at the Elephant Mount, and assured him of salvation, and brought relief to the sages of Naimiśāranya by killing an asura, Kālanēmi.

Events of the Dvāpara yuga are narrated in the next Section. Viṣṇu manifesting Himself as Yōga-Narasimha on the Elephant Mount, which lies to the north-east of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna*, killed Śiva who came against Him in the form of a Śarabha and, on being appeased by Prahlāda, withdrew into a cavern on the Mount.¹ Pulastya-ṛṣi having obtained the boon from Viṣṇu, this Yōga-Narasimha was born as son to the ṛṣi. King Ambariṣa coming to Madurai became devoted to the Viṣṇu of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna* and engaged himself in worship of Him for a hundred thousand years : Viṣṇu appearing before him at the close of the Dvāpara yuga and directing him to worship the Yōga-Narasimha of the Elephant Mount, the king obeyed the injunction dutifully and obtained salvation.

Then follow tales of the Kali yuga. They may be set out at greater length.

Candra had a son Budha who had a son Purūravas who assumed the role of emperor for the benefit of mankind. Ūrvaśī, a celestial nymph, having been guilty of a *faux pas* in Indra's assembly, was cursed by Indra to spend some time on the earth. The Viṣṇu of Kūḍal mitigated her distress by bringing Purūravas to her rescue. Purūravas and Ūrvaśī lived together in Madurai and obtained salvation by worshipping Viṣṇu.

Purūravas had a son Indradyumna, who had a son Malayadhvaja. This king, disciple of the sage Agastya, used to go daily to Mount Mēru, accompanied by his preceptor, and carve his royal seal thereon. He used also to journey daily to the mouth of the Ganges in a *vimāna* given him by Agastya and bathe at that holy spot. Being shown a pool at the foot of the Bull Mount as holy as the Ganges, he bathed ever afterwards in that pool and he spent the rest of his life worshipping the Viṣṇu of Kūḍal. Installing his son, Candrakētu, on the throne he retired from sovereignty, but some time later Candrakētu too retired, passing the sceptre on to Sōma-sundara, his son. Sōma-sundara performing austerities in the Bull Mount, Viṣṇu of Kūḍal

1. *Attigiri-paḍalam*, 17.

appeared and ascertained that he was eager to have a son. Śiva of the Hālāsya kṣētra arriving just then, with Pārvatī, to obtain boons, Viṣṇu commanded Śiva to grant king Sōma-sundara the boon he craved for. At Śiva's behest Pārvatī was born as Sōma-sundara's daughter, though with the peculiarity that she had a third breast. On Sōma-sundara's death the princess ascended the throne and started on a *digvijaya*. Vanquishing numerous kings she came to the north-east where she gave battle to a king of the name of Saumya-Pāṇḍya and worsted him. Her third breast vanishing at sight of this king she inferred that he was destined to be her husband and she married him. Out of gratitude, Śiva was installed on the Bull Mount, as a *kṣētra-pālaka*, to the left of Viṣṇu.

In the lineage of these kings came a king, Śrī-Vallabha, versed in all lores, attached to the learned and devoted to Viṣṇu. Going at dead of night in disguise on an inspection of the city of Madurai, and espying a Brāhmaṇa emerge from a temple, the king called on the Brāhmaṇa to render an account of himself. The Brāhmaṇa answering that he was Sōma-śarma of the Kauśika gōtra and that he was on a pilgrimage to sacred places, the king asked him to instruct him how to obtain the puruṣārthas: the pilgrim replied: 'What you want for the year, obtain it in eight months: what you want for the night, obtain it in the day-time: what you want for your old age, earn it in your youth: what you want for the life beyond, secure it in this.' When day dawned the king told his preceptor, Śelva Nambi, of what had happened overnight and desired him to teach him the puruṣārthas, and Śelva Nambi appealed in turn to the learned scholars who had accompanied him to the royal court. When each of them had expounded his view, a voice rose from on high and called on the king to hang aloft a purse weighty with gold and promised that it would go to him who was able to expound the truth to which the Vedas bore witness. Śelva Nambi fasted for three days beseeching enlightenment. Viṣṇu appearing to him in a dream and assuring him that He would have the puruṣārthas expounded by a devotee of His, the king put fourteen crores of gold into a purse and, invoking Viṣṇu to abide in it, offered worship to Him and also to Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and to the suras, the ṛṣis, the maruts, the vasus and the rudras, and prayed devoutly that success may attend the efforts to get the puruṣārthas expounded. To every quarter of the country he sent

emissaries to invite the learned to Madurai, solve the great question and win the purse. Scholars from far and near having assembled at Madurai, the king prostrated himself before them and beseeched them to study and determine the truth that is embodied in the Vedas. In the meanwhile, Viṣṇu of Kūḍal directed Garuḍa and Viṣvaksēna to go to Śrī-Villi-Puttūr and fetch a Brāhmaṇa of that place, Viṣṇu-citta, otherwise known as Periya-Ālvār, who was a great scholar, the chief of the Bhaṭṭas, and a staunch devotee who had dedicated himself to the service of making garlands for the Viṣṇu of Śrī-Villi-Puttūr and of tending a garden in which he raised the necessary flowers. They sought and obtained the permission of the Viṣṇu of that place and thereupon appeared to Viṣṇu-citta in a dream and acquainted him with their mission. Viṣṇu-citta going up to the temple the next morning and acquainting Viṣṇu with the dream, he was asked to proceed at once to Madurai with his disciples and dispel the doubts which vexed the king. Śelva Nambi too, who had journeyed in that direction with his attendants in search of one who would resolve the king's doubts, arrived at that moment and humbly entreated Viṣṇu-citta to proceed to Madurai. Escorted by Śelva Nambi, Viṣṇu-citta journeyed to Madurai where the king received him with all honours. Viṣṇu-citta with his disciples attended the huge concourse of learned scholars who had gathered at the king's behest and thereupon a prolonged discussion ensued in which the doctrines of Kaṇāda, Kapila, Patañjali and Buddha and the Naiyāyikas, Ārhatas, Cārvākas, Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, and Śramaṇas and other sectaries were stated with great learning by the votaries of the respective schools. Each of them writing down his doctrine, they placed all the writings on the purse, but the writings fell off like withered leaves falling from a sapless tree. Thereupon Viṣṇu-citta set forth the doctrines of Vaiṣṇavism and established the paratva of Viṣṇu, and he put it down in writing that none but Viṣṇu was entitled to paratva and placed the writing on the purse. Śāradā appeared in the assembly, took the purse down and presented it to Viṣṇu-citta, and the gods showered flowers on him. The king, was transported with joy as his doubts had been resolved. Viṣṇu-citta was placed on an elephant and taken round the city with great eclat. The followers of the other persuasions, green with jealousy, stopped the triumphal procession and challenged Viṣṇu-citta to demonstrate to them the truth of his doctrine. Viṣṇu-citta sent up a prayer to Saundara-rāja, the Viṣṇu of Kūḍal, who

responded promptly by manifesting himself in all his glory to all who had eyes to see. Beside himself with joy, the saint belauded Viṣṇu in moving hymns. The king heaped further treasures on the saint and worshipped him. Having won such great honours the saint took leave of the king and went back with his disciples to Śrī-Villi-Puttūr where he spent the rest of his life in devoted service to his Lord.

VI

The three principal Chronicles relating the legends which have grown round Madurai have been summarised at some length in these pages in the belief that the summaries would bring out the nature of these Chronicles much more clearly and vividly than even a critical estimate of them. The legends are excellent evidence of the firm hold which the love for the miraculous has over the human mind and it is obvious that the chronicles are throughout pervaded by the spirit of the miracle-monger. On a perusal of these works the conviction grows on us that in their aims and methods the manufacturers of miracles do not differ much whether they ply their trade in south India or in other parts of the world. Their appeal is to faith, and the appeal is successful in the extent to which faith is permitted to overshadow reason. To the reader who would rely more on reason than on faith the legends appear to make such large demands on his credulity that to concede them would be to abandon reason once and for all. The determination to discover a miracle in the common-place, the preference for the marvellous over the probable, or even the possible, the presumption that the impossible is well within the ambit of the probable, the pathetic anxiety to make the improbable look wholly probable, the liability to slide from the probable to the puerile in the endeavour to lift the improbable into the region of the probable, the resort to the expedient of the *deus ex machina*, even where the trick would be out of place, the abrogation of the ordinary laws of nature, the inability to realise when one is overstepping the limits of reason,—indeed, the suspension of the faculty of reason,—the utter lack of not only a sense of proportion but also of a sense of humour,—these are but a few of the failings common to the artificers of miracles and religious legends all the world over. The Chronicles of Madurai are true to type and can therefore be of little use to the historian. In the texture of the

fancy of the chroniclers of these sacred miracles there is little of history, whether in the warp or in the woof.

These Chronicles would have been dismissed summarily by the historian as unworthy of serious consideration but for the attempt which they make to link legendary lore with genuine history. Some of the most famous names in Tamil literature,—Nak-Kīrar, Kabilār, Paraṇar, Rudra-jaṇmaṇ, Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ, Iṟaiyaṇār, Jñāna-Sambandha, Māṇikya-Vācaka and Periya-Ālvār,—are prominently mentioned in them. An institution, the Tamil Academy, which is believed to have guided the growth of Tamil literature from its infancy, is made the theme of some of the miracles. A few of the great kings of the Tamil country,—Mūrti, Neḍu-Māraṇ, Varaguṇa and Sēramāṇ Perumāḷ,—are introduced into the tales narrated in these Chronicles. The chronology of these poets and potentates being still the theme of contention and the historicity of the Śaṅgam being itself the subject of some speculation, these chronicles have received attention wholly out of proportion to their intrinsic worth to the critical student of history. These have been so far subjected to no systematic scrutiny, and their testimony has been accepted or rejected on considerations by no means relevant to a critical appraisal of the evidence itself. It has been scarcely realised that the statements in the Chronicles cannot be relied on for purposes of history except in so far as the statements are shown to be founded on contemporary observation or well preserved testimony or carefully sifted tradition.

To set out the myths with some fulness is to lay bare the paucity of reliable tradition in these Chronicles: hence it is that in these pages the myths have been narrated at some length, and no comment on their character or credibility has been attempted. The tales are so mythical and so fanciful that what little of authentic tradition might have been available to the authors of these Chronicles has been overwhelmed by the mass of fiction and it is no longer possible to extricate the tradition from the fiction.

The methods of Perum-Paṇṇar-Puliyūr Nambi and the *motifs* which he utilises in his Chronicle have been already touched upon. The Chronicle of Param-jyōti is not different in essentials; the only feature of importance differentiating it from the other is that it presents the myths in an elaborate setting of chronology. The *Kūḍal Purāṇam* differs from both the

Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams: narrating as it does the myths that have clustered round the temple to Viṣṇu at Madurai, the chronicle is altogether different in substance. If the two *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams* seek to explain place-names and weave tales round such places as Nāṇ-Māḍak-Kūḍal and Ālavāy, the *Kūḍal Purāṇam* does not lag behind: it explains names like the 'Pool of the Seven Seas' and throws the glamour of romance round the hills and the pools in the vicinity of Madurai. It is interesting to note the attempt in all the three Chronicles to wind fanciful tales round the Bull and the Elephant Mounts, and also the anxiety to make use of Malayadhvaja and Taṭātaka.

To compare and contrast the three Chronicles would be to undertake a task of no profit. We need merely endeavour to winnow the all too few grains from the enormous mass of chaff which chokes the three Chronicles. Even the traditions so extricated would be of no avail unless they are shown to be well authenticated. The history of these Chronicles and of the legends which they have brought together must therefore be traced before we could endeavour to utilise the few grains of genuine tradition we may succeed in picking.

The date of Perum-Paṇṇar-Puliyūr Nambi's *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* is not easily fixed: the data are all too few. Considering that it narrates tales of Jñāna-Sambandha and Varaguṇa,—personages assigned generally to about 650 A. D. and 810 A. D.,¹—we shall not be far wrong if we concluded that Perum-Paṇṇar-Puliyūr Nambi's work cannot be earlier than about 850 A. D. It has been said that Perum-Paṇṇar-Puliyūr Nambi must be earlier than about 1227-8 A. D.,² but no facts of probative value have been cited in support. An inscription in a village near the native place of the poet tells of a Perum-Paṇṇar-Puliyūr Nambi who lived about 1304 A. D.,³ but no argument can be adduced in support of the suspicion that he is the poet of our quest unless it be the one of geographical proximity. Considering, however, the general course of Tamil literature, we may not be wrong if we decided that the work was not later than the Perum-Paṇṇar-

1. Assuming that the Varaguṇa of the Chronicle was the earlier of the two of that name: see K. V. Subrahmanya-Aiyar in *EI.* xx. 49, 51; cf. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *PK.* 76-8.

2. MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar in PPPN. *TVP.* Intr. 19.

3. *MER.* 133 of 1908, from Tirup-Puttūr (Tiruppattur Taluk). Pandit M. Raghava-Aiyangar is responsible for the suggestion.

Puliyūr Nambi of the inscription. But where shall we place the poet between 850 and 1304 A. D.?

In narrating the story of how Śēk-kiḷār came to write his great poem, the *Periya Purāṇam*,—the *Acta Sanctorum* of Tamil Śaivism,—a chronicler, Umāpati Śivācārya,¹ tells us that Śēk-kiḷār's patron, Anapāya-Cōla, was inordinately fond of Tirut-Takka Dēvar's *Jivaha-Sindāmaṇi*, a *kāvya* well known for the rather succulent account it gives of the amorous career of its hero, that Śēk-kiḷār sought to wean him from a study of the work, arguing that it was a false tale of the false Jainas and was not a tale of truth and that it would benefit him neither in this world nor in the next, that on being asked if there was any *Śiva carita* which would stand the reader in good stead in both the worlds Śēk-kiḷār narrated to him the tales of the great saints whose lives and sufferings are a source of inspiration, and that at the patron's behest Śēk-kiḷār chronicled the lives and those doings of the saints in his *Periya Purāṇam*.² It is fairly clear that Śēk-kiḷār wrote the *Periya Purāṇam* about 1133 A.D. The royal interrogatory propounded to Śēk-kiḷār whether there was any *kāvya* in Tamil which, unlike the false tale of the false Jainas, would profit him in both the worlds, seems clearly to imply that such works as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Skānda Purāṇa* were not then available in Tamil,—for there can be no doubt of their being works of the class to which the patron Cōla's question related. That such is the implication is obvious from the pointed comparison of Śēk-kiḷār's *Periya Purāṇam* with Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*.³ We have now a few stanzas in Tamil which seem to be fragments of a *Rāmāyaṇa* and a *Mahābhārata* earlier in date than the *Periya Purāṇam*, but even before Śēk-kiḷār's days those works seem to have practically perished, only stray stanzas surviving. Kamba's great Tamil rendering of the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to have come about half a century after the *Periya Purāṇam*.⁴ Kacciyappa Śivācārya's

1. He gives for himself a date, 1313 A.D. (*vide* his *Śaṅgarpa Nirūharaṇam*). Being less than two centuries removed from Śēk-kiḷār and being one of the four great *ācāryas* of Tamil Siddhānta Śaivism his testimony is as reliable as any we can now get.

2. *Śēk-kiḷār Purāṇam*, 19-35.

3. *Ib.* 91.

4. Vidvan R. Raghava-Aiyangar in *ŚT.* (1905 A-M) III. 181.

version of the *Skānda Purāṇa* is much later. It cannot be said that in Umāpati Śivācārya's story the salaciousness of the *Jivaha-Sindāmaṇi* is emphasised and that works like those of Kamba and Kacciyappa Śivācārya could not have been in the mind of Umāpati Śivācārya as they are not of a type which would appeal to a prince on the look out for salacity: according to Umāpati Śivācārya the patron accepted the *Periya Purāṇam* as a good substitute. These reasons apply with equal cogency to the date of the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* which must therefore be deemed to be later than the *Periya Purāṇam*. On the evidence now available it looks as if Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi must have written his *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* between about 1135 A.D. (the date of the *Periya Purāṇam*), and about 1304 A. D. (the date of the Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi of the inscription.)¹

We may now turn to a consideration of the date of Param-jyōti and his *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam*. Param-jyōti was once thought to belong to the reign of 'Hari-Vīra Pāṇḍya', in the Salivahan year 973 (A. D. 1051),² but we do not know of a Pāṇḍya of that time who bore a name in anywise similar to 'Hari-Vīra'.³ Of late it has been considered that Param-jyōti must be assigned to about 1650 A. D.,⁴ but on no cogent reasoning, and there seem to be no reliable data pointing directly to a probable date.

The order in which the Sports have been marshalled by Param-jyōti is radically different from the one found in Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi's work: indeed, as has been already pointed out, Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi had no chronological scheme in his mind at all, whereas Param-jyōti presented the Sports in a strictly chronological sequence. Nothing is more

1. This para has been summarised from my forthcoming book, *South Indian Saivism: Mediaeval Period*.

2. H. H. Wilson in *JRAS.* (1836) iii. 203, n. 1. He has been followed by Simon Casie Chitty in his *Tamil Plutarch* (1859, Jaffna), 64, and by many others. The only source of Wilson's information seems to have been an English translation of Param-jyōti's work prepared for Col. Mackenzie. None of the editors of the Chronicle has noticed in it any statement about the date of its composition.

3. Even if we assume that 'Ati-Vīra-Rāma' was intended, we are no better off, for he cannot be found anywhere near 1051 A. D.

4. Pandit N. Vēṅgaḍasāmi-Nāṭṭār, in his edn. of P.J. *TVP.* (1927), 12-3.

improbable than that the chronology of the Sports was already known when Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi wrote his Chronicle, for, however impatient he might have been of chronology he is not unlikely to have realised that a chronological sequence does serve to knit into a unity the *disjecta membra* of the various legends of the Lord's Sports and it is not likely that he was oblivious to the artistic disadvantage of telling the tales in the haphazard fashion of his Chronicle. It would be surprising if he had a chronological scheme before him and yet rejected it. That he did not set the legends down in chronological order proves that he must have written at a time when the sequence of the Sports had not been worked out.

The same conclusion is also arrived at on another line of reasoning. It has been already seen that in Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work a few hints are available to show the order in which he conceived the Sports to have been played. In an earlier section of this paper, these hints were gathered together and on a careful scrutiny of them an attempt was made to arrange thirty-five of the Sports in the order in which Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi might have presented them had he worried himself about their chronology. The sequence evolved from these hints is suggestive: thirty-five of the Sports fall into an order which approximates in some measure to the one adopted by Param-jyōti.¹

The main differences may be noted. The legends of the humbling of Mount Mēru² and the Exposition of the Vēdas³ do not follow closely on the legend of the defeat of Indra.⁴ The legends of the Lord raising an army for His devotee⁵ and of his serving water to thirsty soldiers⁶ do not follow the legend of the abasement of Mount Mēru.⁷ The legends of the Cōla being

1. TABLE of chronological sequence.

PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.	PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.
1	1	Liṅga discovered.	64	16	Vedas expounded.
2	2	Elephant worships.	22	57	Rudra-Janman
53	3	City bounds determined.	15-20	51-6	Sangam Cycle.
			37-8	62-4	Jñāna-sambandha
3-11	4-12	Sundara Cycle.	62		Cycle.
21	13	Ugra quells the sea.	27-30	58-61	Māṇikya-vācaka Cycle.
44	14	Indra defeated.	46	37	Chōla drowned.
52	—	kāri and Nāri.	48	40	Varaṇa obtains vision.
47	49	Ālavāy.			The Lord as archer.
61	15	Mēru humbled.	49	50	
2.	PPPN 61 : PJ 15.		3.	PPPN 64 : PJ 16.	
4.	PPPN 44 : PJ 14.		5.	PPPN 59 : PJ 30.	
5.	PPPN 43 : PJ 35.		7.	PPPN 61 : PJ 15.	

consigned to a watery grave,¹ Varaguṇa obtaining a vision of the Lord's world² and the Lord appearing as an archer³ do not precede the legends of the Śaṅgam cycle.⁴ The legend of Rudra-Janman⁵ precedes the other legends of the cycle.⁶ The Sports of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle⁷ come after those of the Jñāna-sambandha cycle.⁸

It is worth while, as the sequel will show, to examine what these differences may be due to. If another investigator sought to evolve a chronological sequence out of the hints let fall by Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi, might take a view of some of the hints different from the one we have adopted. We dissociated the myth about Mount Mēru⁹ from that of Indra's defeat¹⁰ for the reason that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi had assigned the former to the times of a descendant of Ugra; he might take it that the three gifts of the Lord to His son Ugra,¹¹—the discus, the javelin and the club,—were gifts to Ugra alone and not to Ugra and his descendants, and that all the three miracles worked with those weapons,—the defeat of Indra,¹² the quelling the sea¹³ and the striking down Mount Mēru,¹⁴—were the achievements of only one King, Ugra, and must therefore stand grouped together. We have had to assign to different periods the working of three Sports,—the victory over Indra,¹⁵ the raising of an army for the Pāṇḍya¹⁶ and the slaking of the thirst of soldiers fighting a battle,¹⁷—as we were not certain that the word *l'ira* in 'Vira-Pāṇḍya' is used as a proper name in them all. Another investigator, however, might take the view that in all those legends the word has been used as a proper name and might therefore be inclined to bring the legends together as the events of one reign. We placed three other Sports,—the drowning of a Cōla,¹⁸ the granting of a vision to Varaguṇa¹⁹ and the Lord appearing as

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|--------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------|
| 1. PPPN 46 : | PJ 37. | 2. PPPN 48 : | PJ 40. |
| 3. PPPN 49 : | PJ 50. | 4. PPPN 22 : | PJ 57. |
| 5. PPPN 15-20 : | PJ 51-6. | 6. PPPN 28-30 : | PJ 58-61. |
| 7. PPPN 37-8, 62 : | PJ 62-4. | 8. PPPN 37-8, 62 : | PJ 62-4. |
| 9. PPPN 61 : | PJ 15. | 10. PPPN 44 : | PJ 14. |
| 11. PPPN 11 : | PJ 12. | 12. PPPN 44 : | PJ 14. |
| 13. PPPN 25 : | PJ 12. | 14. PPPN 61 : | PJ 15. |
| 15. PPPN 44 : | PJ 14. | 16. LPPN 39 : | PJ 30. |
| 17. PPPN 43 : | PJ 35. | 18. PPPN 46 : | PJ 37. |
| 19. PPPN 48 : | PJ 40. | | |

an archer,¹—late in the scheme, on the ground of their being found assigned, directly or by implication, to the kali-yuga, but he might conclude that the references to the yuga are too vague and inconclusive,² that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's arrangement of the Sports in that part of his work is fairly chronological, by design or accident, and that the Sport of the drowning of the Cōla³ may quite appropriately follow close on the Sport of the Lord serving water to the soldiers of the Pāṇḍya when fighting against those of the Cōla.⁴ The tale in which Rudra-janman's birth is foreshadowed⁵ contains not only a similar prophecy about Pārvaṭi being born as a fisherman's daughter but also an account of her marrying Śiva; it is possible therefore to hold that the legend need not necessarily be placed before the tale in which Rudra-janman takes his seat on the board of the Śaṅgam.⁶ We placed the legends of the Jñāna-sambandha cycle⁷ earlier than those of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle⁸ on the ground that Māṇikya-vācaka's Pāṇḍya refers to Śirut-toṇḍar who is considered to be a contemporary of Jñāna-sambandha. But another person might take into consideration the fact that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi makes the Lord metamorphose jackals into horses for the sake of Māṇikya-vācaka,⁹ that a verse of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu,¹⁰—considered a contemporary of Jñāna-sambandha,—and numerous verses of Māṇikya-vācaka¹¹ seem to refer to the miracle, and might conclude that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi was guilty of an anachronism,—a belief for which ample support is to be found in his patent indifference to a time-scheme,—and that Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu, and with him Jñāna-sambandha, must be later than Māṇikya-vācaka.

If the chronological scheme which we had arrived at in an earlier section of this paper is amended so as to incorporate these

1. PPPN 49 : PJ 50.
2. See PPPN 46 (32). The word மைந்தன் in PPPN 49 (1, 23) need not necessarily and exclusively mean 'son' but may also include remoter descendants.
3. PPPN 46 : PJ 37.
4. PPPN 43 : PJ 35.
5. PPPN 22 : PJ 57.
6. PPPN 19 : PJ 55.
7. PPPN 37-8, 62 : PJ 62-4.
8. PPPN 27-30 : PJ 58-61.
9. PPPN 28 : PJ 59.
10. நரியைக் குதிரை செய்வானும்.....
11. See PPPN. TVP., notes by MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar.

variations to which another investigator might attach some value, the legends of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi fall into a sequence which corresponds very closely to the order adopted by Param-jyōti,—except for the legends of the Bhadra cycle and these in which no chronological clues are traceable. If it is assumed that Bhadra was a contemporary of Varaguṇa, then the sequence of the miracles will approximate even more closely to that of Param-jyōti. An author writing a few centuries ago might have had some evidence not available to us which connected Bhadra with Varaguṇa.¹

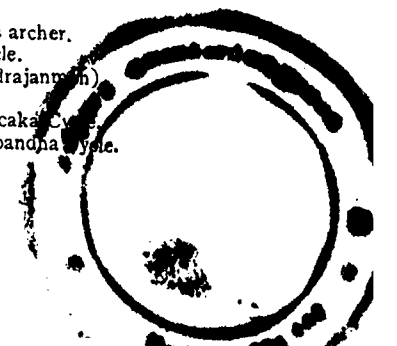
Some facts emerge clearly from this discussion. Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi did not set out the legends in any rational order: from a study of his work a chronological scheme can be evolved for more than half the legends: the scheme so worked out tallies, more or less, with the one found embodied in Param-jyōti's Chronicle: Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi is not likely to have stuck to his inartistic arrangement of the legends had he had before him an arrangement of them similar to the one in Param-jyōti's Chronicle.

The conclusions seem to be obvious: the chronological scheme was later than the unsystematic and haphazard Chronicle of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi, and the sequence itself seems to have been deduced from a study of his work. If we are right in arriving at these conclusions, it looks as if Param-jyōti took Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work as the basis of his own but recast it so as to bring out the chronological sequence of the Sports.

This conclusion is clinched by a slight but conclusive piece of evidence. One would scarcely expect to find it in the

1. AMENDED TABLE of chronological sequence.

PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.	PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.
1	1	Liṅga discovered.	46	37	Cōla drowned.
2	2	Elephant worships.	48	40	Varaguṇa obtains vision.
53	3	City bounds determined.	54-7	41-4	Bhadra Cycle.
3-11	4-12	Sundara Cycle.	47	49	Ālavāy.
21	13	Ugra quells the sea.	49	50	The Lord as archer.
44	14	Indra defeated.	15-20	51-6	Sangam Cycle.
52	—	Kāri and Nāri.	22	57	„ (Rudrajanman).
61	15	Mēru humbled.	27-30	58-61	Māṇikya-vācaka Cycle.
64	16	Vedas expounded.	37-8	62-4	Jñāna-sambandha Cycle.
39	30	The Lord as generalissimo.	62		
43	35	The Lord as water-carrier.			



list of Sports in which Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi has provided no chronological clues:¹ but, the list, contains a surprise to the student who scans it closely. We have seen that the legends with chronological clues fall into a sequence of their own, that the sequence is practically that of Param-jyōti's Chronicle, and that in Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi's work they are told in virtually the same order in which they are told in Param-jyōti's.² This phenomenon can be accounted for on only one of two conflicting hypotheses. The first hypothesis would be that Param-jyōti's Chronicle was the earlier, that Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi picked out some of the legends from Param-jyōti's work and threw them about pell mell, but inserted in each of them a chronological hint or two of a dubious kind, in place of the very explicit chronological statements found in Param-jyōti's work, with a purpose which is unintelligible, and that from the rest of the legends he removed all traces of the time-sense and yet retained all those legends in their original order. No suggestion can be more fantastic: it has only to be stated to be laughed out. The other hypothesis would be that out of the mass of legends in Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi's work, Param-jyōti selected those in which time-hints were found and rearranged those legends in the sequence of time and that to maintain the total number of Sports at sixty-four he took the non-chronological legends in blocks,—practically as they appear in Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi's work,—and inserted them wherever he felt that they could be introduced and that to ensure an unbroken sequence he fashioned chronological links where they were wanting. On this hypothesis he had no need to disturb the order in which the chronologically unpromising myths were narrated by Perum-

1. PPPN., 12-4, 23-6, 31-6, 40-2, 45, 50, 58-9, 60, 63.

2. TABLE showing the order in which the Sports containing no chronological clues in PPPN. *TV P.* are narrated by PPPN and PJ.

PPPN.	PJ.	PPPN.	PJ.	PPPN.	PJ.
12	18-9	26	22	42	33
13	20	31	23	45	36
14	21	32	24	50	38
		33	25		
23	32	34	26	58	45
24	34	35	27	59	46
		36	28-9	60	47
25	17	40	31	63	8
		41	39		

Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi, and he had merely to shove them in as and when gaps had to be filled. This explanation is as simple as it is probable, and no other explains the close similarity in the order in which these non-chronological Sports are marshalled in both the Chronicles.

The various considerations which we have thus passed in review lead us to the two conclusions that no chronological scheme had been evolved for the Sports by the days Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi and that Param-jyōti is later than Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi.

The next problem is to determine the interval of time between these two chroniclers.

The unchronological order of Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi has been accepted and adopted in a number of other works,¹—the Tamil version of the *Kadambavana Purāṇa* done by Vīmanāda-panḍidar, the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Bayahara Mālai* of Virabhadra Kambar, and the *Tiru-Uṣāttāṇa Nāṇ-maṇi Mālai* of Paḷaṇiyappaṇ-Śērvai. The date of Paḷaṇiyappaṇ-Śērvai seems to be about 1600 A. D.² The inference might be that the influence of the Chronicle of Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi is traceable down to about 1600 A. D., and that the chronological sequence of the Sports had not been worked out till then, were it not that the sequence is found in an earlier work, the *Maduraic-Śokkanāḍar Ulā* of Purāṇa Tirumalai-nāḍar,³ a poet of the first quarter of the sixteenth century A. D.⁴ Thus, the unchronological version

1. PPPN. *TV P.*², Intr. 6-8.

2. *Ib.* Intr. 8, n.

3. MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar's edn. (1931), Pref. 7.

4. This work names two buildings at Madurai which, if we accept the testimony of a chronicle, the *Madurai Tiruppani Mālai*, were erected in 1526 A. D. (*Ib.* Pref. 14): the poem would then be later than that year. The poet refers in it to king Vīra-Māraṇ of Madurai as his patron (*Ib.* Pref. 12-3). The inference would be justified that this Vīra-Māraṇ was king later than 1526 A. D. But we know of only two Vīra-Māraṇs of about this time,—the one who reigned from 1473 to 1506 A. D. (Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *PK.* 249) and the one who was on the throne in 1589 A. D. (*TrAS.* i. 115),—but neither of them can be taken to 1526 A. D. In another of the works of this author we are told that he started on it in 1507 A. D. (see MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar's edn., Intr. 13): it becomes therefore probable that the poet belonged to the reign of the earlier king and composed this poem

persisted till about 1600 A. D., and the chronological version can be traced back as early as about 1506 A. D.¹ Are we to infer that Param-jyōti must have been earlier than 1506 A. D.? We have no warrant for assuming that Tirumalai-nādar owed the time-scheme to Param-jyōti, and we have the statement of Param-jyōti himself that he was a mere translator who turned a Sanskrit chronicle into Tamil. So, whatever the date of Param-jyōti, we have to postulate a Chronicle with a chronological scheme before the year 1506 A. D. Probably the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* was that chronicle; no other work bears such close resemblance to Param-jyōti's work. As it must have preceded the *Ulā* of Tirumalai-nādar it could not have been later than 1500 A. D. From the fact that Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi's work had a Sanskrit original, which must have been earlier, it cannot be inferred that the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* must also have preceded Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi, for, had the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* been current in his days that poet is likely to have preferred to translate it as it was more artistic than the *Sāra-samuccaya* which narrated the stories in a very haphazard fashion. Having placed Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi between 1135 and 1304 A. D., we might assign the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* to about 1400 A. D. The *Sāra-samuccaya* must have been followed by its translation by Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi, and the two must have been followed by the *Hālāsya Māhātmya*, which in turn must have been translated some time later by Param-jyōti.

How old is the *Sāra-samuccaya*? The work itself is not available to us and we can judge of it only from its Tamil version. As we do not even know of a work earlier than the *Sāra-samuccaya* that narrates all or most of the sixty-four Sports it becomes necessary to determine its date if we are to discover the period when the legends were gathered together into a Chronicle.

earlier than the one on which he commenced work in 1508 A. D. Probably the buildings erected in 1526 A. D. had been already in existence and had already been known by those names when in 1529 they were rebuilt or repaired.

1. Even if the poet is assigned to the days of the later king, it will be seen that the composition of the poem lies still within the 16th century.

2. Or, 1589 A. D.

Before the compilation of the *Sāra-samuccaya*, which we assume to be the proto-type of the Chronicles relating to the Śiva temple at Madurai, the legends must have been distinct and independent, and must naturally have grown up at different times: so, a study of how and when each legend arose and grew will help us to decide how far these legends are reliable for historical purposes.

The Sports of these Chronicles have grown round the Lord of the famous temple at Madurai and purport to have been worked in Madurai itself or in its vicinity and in the reigns of various Pāṇḍya kings. Even the unchronological Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi makes it a point to mention in almost every legend that the Sport was enacted in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king. Indeed, one of the very earliest figures in the Chronicles is the Lord Himself, who, by His marriage with a Pāṇḍya princess, became king of Madurai, and from Him were descended all the later Pāṇḍya kings for whom He played His Sports. To trace the origins and the growth of these myths we shall have also to examine how old the temples to Śiva and Viṣṇu at Madurai are, when the earliest references to the miracles at Madurai occur and who the Pāṇḍyas are.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE PALLAVA GENEALOGY—AN ATTEMPT TO UNIFY THE PALLAVA PEDIGREES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS—BY REV. H. HERAS, S. J. Bombay—Indian Historical Research Institute—1931.

This work comprises three charts and about twenty pages of notes expounding the results of the learned author's researches into the some Pallava Inscriptions. The summary method of exposition adopted imparts a more dogmatic tone to the arguments and conclusions than is perhaps intended by him; but the gain in brevity more than counterbalances this slight short coming.

Father Heras lays down at the outset seven 'principles of criticism' which he has followed, and if these are accepted his reconstruction of Pallava genealogy would follow more or less naturally. But some of these principles (5, 6 and 7) are just personal opinions which may not all command general assent without argument. Father Heras may be right in assuming that the Pallavas must have had some other capital before Kumāra-viṣṇu captured Kāñcī (principle 3) but the suggestion that this older capital was Daśanapura (p. 13) does not take sufficient notice of the claims of Palakkāḍa, Tāmbrapa and Menmātura to the same honour. One should think that identity of names signified identity of persons indicated and Rev. Heras himself does this when he identifies Vijaya Buddhavarman and Buddhavarman (Note A), and Bappasvāmi with Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka (Note G), and Aśōkavarman of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates with the celebrated Mauryan Emperor (Note R); yet it is made a principle (No. 2) 'to pay attention to events rather than to names in order to identify kings of different inscriptions.' When the events chosen are of the order of marriages with nāga women, we get most surprising results like the identity Droṇa and Aśvatthāman with Cūtapallava and Virakūrca respectively. Great as is the value of mechanical aids to research like indexes, charts and alphabetical lists, they are not all. What is the value of the Rāyakōṭa plates to Pallava history? How far can we depend on the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates for events at the dawn of Pallava

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history? If we can use these, why ignore the Amarāvati pillar as Rev. Heras has done? And why is Aparājita not once mentioned in this book?

The point most fundamental to the scheme of Rev. Heras is his principle (No. 1) 'not to separate the kings of the Prākṛit records from the kings of the Sanskrit records, as has been done hitherto.' Dr. Venkataramanayya's statement that 'Sanskrit displaced Prākṛit within a short time of two generations' which is quoted in support of this 'principle' is quite different from Rev. Heras's view that 'such a short period...could not be but a period of transition, during which both languages Prākṛit and Sanskrit, were indiscriminately used.' Is there evidence of such a transitional period in the annals of any other dynasty? The attempt to make out a continuous line of twenty-four Pallava kings fails, moreover, to take account of the breaks which are clearly implied by the later Pallava charters themselves, and by the intervention of a Kaḷabhra period in the entire south sometime in the fifth or sixth century A. D.

Pallava genealogy is still therefore the same old puzzle it was; but we cannot sufficiently commend the orderly presentation of the sources that always characterises Rev. Heras's work.

4. Where are the Sūtras mentioned in the last verse ?
The Cāṇakya Sūtrāṇi appended to the second edition of the Mysore text might have had a commentary now lost.

5. The original text was in verse, not in prose.

REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

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1. *The problem of Value* : Dr. S. K. Maitra. Instalment II—'The psychological approach to the problem.'

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4. *Mūlāvidyānirāsa or Śrī Śaṅkaraḥṛdaya* : A reply to Prof. K. S. Iyar by Y. Subrahmanya Sarma.

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3. *Indra's Absolute Idealism* : Sītānāthdattva-Bhūṣaṇ : on the Śastraic exposition of the doctrine of incarnation in the story of Indra and Prataṛdana, contained in the Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad.

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5. *The nature of Pratyakṣa and Badātma-Niṣedha according to Vedānta* : R. D. Desai.

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ŚEN-TAMIL-ŚELVI.

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THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN GREATER INDIA.*

BY

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The mighty influence exerted by the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki on the literatures and morals of India is a matter of common knowledge. To the scholar the *Rāmāyaṇa* may sometimes be a riddle; to the people it has always been a priceless treasure. Even among scholars there have been few who, being Hindus, have not often let go their critical apparatus and surrendered themselves to the rapturous melody of the *Ādikāvya*. At such moments, we do not ask ourselves if the summary of the story in the first Sarga is different from what it is in the third, if Vālmīki could really have been the contemporary of Rāma, or if parts of the *Bālakāṇḍa* are contradicted later on in the epic. Even the incidents of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, narrated in somewhat feeble verse which often lacks the ring of the genuine Vālmīki, appears in some sense to be a necessary complement to the main story ; possibly because of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. A great deal may be said in favour of so abandoning ourselves utterly to the enjoyment of the story. That is the way of religion and morality ; it is also, very largely, the method of literary enjoyment. The average Indian, the man in the street, has always evinced interest only in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. To him each incident in it is a real fact that happened literally as it is described, and the conduct of each character in the story is a model or a warning for his own guidance in life. All the popular redactions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, most conspicuously the *Rāma-carita-mānasa* of the greatest poet of mediaeval Hindusthan, have directly endeavoured to harness this sentiment of the common man in the service of morality. It was a stroke of constructive imagination which suggested the idea, whatever our opinion of its merits, of enlisting children in national service under the name of *Vānara-senas*.

* A paper read before the Samskrta Academy on the Vālmīki day, 1931.

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But the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* outside the limits of India proper, in regions that are coming to be known more and more as Greater India, has not been less great. In making this statement I am thinking not simply of the *Rāmāyaṇa* sculptures in Prambanan in Java, and of the Javanese and Balinese versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the existence of which has now been known for well over a century, but of much fresh evidence from Indo-China and China proper that has been brought to light in recent years, and that is perhaps not so well known here as it deserves to be.

Before taking up the evidence from Indo-China, attention must be drawn to some striking conclusions arrived at by Dr. Stutterheim¹ from a study of Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* literature and sculptures. He has pointed out that the Indonesian versions of the Rāma legend are for the most part not based on the epic of Vālmiki, but on other Indian versions written and traditional, possibly more primitive. The most ancient Javanese representations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the bas-reliefs of Prambanan dating from the ninth century, are clearly Indian in character; but they illustrate, according to Stutterheim, a non-Vālmikian version of the story; whereas the later collection of Panataram (east Java) of about the fourteenth century is specifically Javanese in style, although it follows the text of Vālmiki much more closely.

Besides the Kawi (Javanese) version and the Balinese one based on it² to which the remarks of Dr. Stutterheim apply, and the well-known *Daśaratha Jātaka*³ which starts by making Rāma and Sītā brother and sister, ends by making them husband and wife, and makes no mention either of Rāvaṇa or of Laṅkā, some other accounts of the story have come to light which deserve a brief notice here. In 1903 Professor Sylvain Levi drew attention to a Chinese version of the story dating from about 472 A.D. which closely resembles the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, of which it is perhaps the northern version, in omitting all mention of Rāvaṇa's offence and the expedition to Laṅkā, confining the story to the exile of the two brothers and their subsequent return to the kingdom. This version⁴ furnishes fresh proof of the inanity of

1. B. E. F. E. O. Vol. XXVIII, p. 506 and J. R.A.S. 1926 p. 362.
2. B. E. F. E. O. V, p. 172; Eliot—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, III 186.
3. Fausboll—*The Jātaka*, IV, pp. 123—30 (No. 461).
4. B. E. F. E. O. III, 741.

the method which claims to detect successive stages in the growth of the legend. Next year, in 1904, Professor Huber discovered yet another version in a Chinese collection of some Jātaka stories intended to illustrate the six Pāramitās.¹ This is a very early account, having been translated into Chinese in the third century A.D. (222-80) by a monk of Sogdiana. In this Jātaka the names of the characters in the story are not given, but one can easily recognise the exile of Rāma and Sītā, Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā, the resistance opposed by the vulture Jaṭāyu to Rāvaṇa's progress, the strife between Vālin and Sugrīva, the bridge to Laṅkā thrown by the army of monkeys, and the ordeal by which Sītā demonstrated her purity after her release. There are also significant differences. Rāma is not exiled from his kingdom by his father at the instance of his step-mother, but he abandons it voluntarily, in fear of his spiteful uncle who is ruling the neighbouring country, and prepares to oust Rāma from his kingdom by force; at first Rāma prepares to fight, but quails before the prospect of the ensuing carnage and seeks refuge in flight. When he comes back at the end of his adventures, his wicked uncle is no more, and the way is clear for his ruling his kingdom once more in security. Correspondingly, Vālin is also not the brother, but the uncle of Sugrīva in this story. Again, as in this story Rāma is the Bodhisattva, he does not kill Vālin; seeing Rāma preparing from a distance to aid his friend Sugrīva, Vālin takes fright, turns his back and flees. There is also nothing here of the story of the Uttarakāṇḍa.

The position of the Uttarakāṇḍa may be briefly considered at this point. The *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, believed to have been composed about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.², ignores the Uttarakāṇḍa, which engages so prominently the attention of Kālidāsa and his successors. We shall see presently that the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* in the form in which we have it, with the Uttarakāṇḍa and all, was known in Champā³ in the seventh century A.D. On the other hand there seems to have persisted in India till comparatively recent times a sufficiently orthodox tradition that omitted the Uttarakāṇḍa from the reckoning. In a

1. B. E. F. E. O. IV, pp. 698, ff.
2. J. R. A. S. 1904 pp. 395—7.
3. Champā was one of the more powerful states of Indo-China comprising Cochin-China and the southern part of what we now call Annam-Chavannes. *Religieux Eminents*, p. 107, n. 2.



gloss on Nāthamuni's verse on the Tiruvāymoli—"Bhaktāmṛtam etc.," Piḷḷailōkam Jīyar, the annotator draws a parallel between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Tiruvāymoli and says: "Aṅgu-ṣaṭkāṇḍa-māyirukkum; iṅgu ṣaṭpadārttha-pratipāḍakamāy-ppattu-ppattā-yirukkum; adu Rāmāyaṇārṇavam; idu drāviḍa-vēdasāgaram." The Uttarakāṇḍa seems thus to stand more or less in the same relation to the rest of the Rāmāyaṇa as the Atharvaveda to the rest of the Veda, or as Mokṣa to the Trivarga in the scheme of Puruṣārthas.

To resume our account of the different versions of the Rāma legend outside India. Professor Huber discovered in 1905¹ the existence, in a modern collection of the historical legends of Annam, of yet another version in a short tale entitled "The king of Demons." In this Annamite legend, as Huber points out, Rāma and Sītā receive fanciful names; but Daśaratha and Rāvaṇa are exactly designated as 'Ten-chariots' and 'Ten-heads' respectively. Daśānana, struck by Sītā's beauty, invades Daśaratha's kingdom with an army and carries the princess off to his kingdom which lay to the South of Daśaratha's. Rāma, at the head of an army of monkeys, built a causeway across the sea, invaded the enemy's country and rescued his wife. The Annamite narrator,—the last redaction of the legend is not earlier than the 18th century,—localises the legend at Champā and says: "The nation of the Ho-ton-tinh (Daśaratha's kingdom in this version) was of a simian race and the Chams of the present day are their descendants." This renders it quite possible, according to Prof. Huber, that the story is a distant echo of what must at one time have been the national epic of the Chams, and now lost. In any case, it seems to have an origin outside the Daśaratha Jātakas of the Chinese Buddhist canon. Lastly, Professor F. W. Thomas recovered less than two years ago, a Rāmāyaṇa story in Tibetan from Chinese Turkestan.² He has shown that this "highly peculiar Rāmāyaṇa story" which combines a knowledge of some things from the Uttarakāṇḍa with many incidents of 'a distinctly popular tone' like Rāvaṇa carrying off Sītā along with the plot of ground, 'is in form and substance wholly Indian' and that it must be assigned to a period between 700 and 900 A.D. There is, however, no Indian version of the Rāmāyaṇa to which the Tibetan text

1. B. E. F. E. O. V, p. 168.

2. *Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman*, pp. 193 ff.

corresponds; and though it seems generally to follow the narrative in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, there are many wide and surprising differences in the incidents and the names of the characters in the story. This Tibetan version might be the translation of "an original in one of the indigenous monosyllabic languages of Chinese Turkestan" or might be derived from a popular form of the Rāma story which had currency in Nepal in the seventh and eighth centuries when Tibet had close relations with that country. "In any case," observes Professor Thomas, "we have in these documents testimony to the early currency of popular Rāma narratives following the general lines and scale of the *Mahābhārata* and departing freely from the classical version of Vālmiki. Some such narrative may have found a place in Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, which in this point may be reflected by the *Kathā-saritsāgara*; the extant portion of Budhasvāmin's *Ślokaśaṅgraha* does not seem to give it."

To this day, the legend of Rāma remains popular in Cambodia, Laos, Siam and other parts of Indo-China and constitutes one of the most important sources of indigenous art and literature in these Countries.¹ That this widespread appeal of the Rāma story in Indo-China dates back to very early times is borne out by the increasing evidence of the epigraphy, architecture and sculpture of these countries. An inscription from Camboja "of about 600 A.D. relates how Śrīsomaśarman, doubtless a Braman, presented to a temple the Rāmāyaṇa, the *Purāṇa* and the complete *Bhārata* and made arrangements for their recitation."² At Trā-kien in the kingdom of Champā, one of its early kings Prakāśadharma (c. 653-679 A.D.) dedicated an image and a temple to Vālmiki as is seen from the very interesting Sanskrit inscription recently discovered of which the following is the text.³

Yasya śokāt samutpannam ślokaṁ Brahmābhipūj (ati)
Viṣṇoḥ puṁsaḥ purāṇasya mānuṣasyātmarūpiṇaḥ
* * * * ṛtam kṛtyam kṛtam yenābhiṣecanam
Kaverādyasya maharṣer v-vālmikes śru u-ri ha
Pūjāsthānam punastasya kṛta * * y u-u-
Prakāśadharmanṛpatiḥ sarvāriganasūdanah
Vidyāśaktikṣamālākṣmīkīrttidhairyya (guṇānvitah)
* * ty eṣa jagatkāntaś-śārade ntarite (r)i(pau).

1. L. Finot. B. E. F. E. O. III, p. 92.

2. Eliot III, 120. B. E. F. E. O. XXVIII, p. 149.

3. *Ib.* p. 148.

It has been pointed out¹ that in the epigraphy of Champā we have several instances of the absence of any distinction between the name of the shrine in a temple and the temple itself, in other words, of the name of the god designating the temple itself. The word 'punah' in l. 5 of the inscription points therefore to the restoration of a Vālmīki temple that had been in existence for some time, and was in need of a renovation at the hands of Prakāśadharman also called Vikrāntavarman. This proof of the existence of an official cult of Vālmīki in the seventh century at Champā furnishes striking confirmation of Huber's surmise (noted above) that the *Rāmāyaṇa* might once have been a national epic of the Chams, and provides a rough measure of the extent to which the *Rāmāyaṇa* influenced the formation of the classical culture of Champā. It should also be observed that the phrase *Ślokaṃ Brahmābhīpūjati* (l. 1.) in the inscription shows that the account of Brahmā's visit to Vālmīki as it is narrated in the extant version of the Bālakāṇḍa was known in Champā in the seventh century, if not earlier. In another inscription dated in Ś. 579-(658 A.D.) the same king Prakāśadharman is described in the following words :²

Daśarathanṛpajo-yam Rāma ity āśayā yam
Śrayati vidhipurogā śrī-raho yuktirūpam.

Again, Prakāśadharman is said to have built a temple to Kubera Ekākṣapiṅgaḷa in an undated inscription² comprising the two following *śloka*s :

- (1) "Maheśśvarasakhasyedam kuberasya dhanākaram
Prakāśadharmanṛpatiḥ pūjāsthānam akalpayat
- (2) Ekākṣapiṅgaletyeṣa devyā darśanadūṣitaḥ
Samvardhayatv Īśadhanam pāyāc-cāhitatas-sadā".

These verses recall the story of Kubera losing his left eye by turning it on Pārvatī, when as a result of his performing the Raudra Vrata, Śiva and Pārvatī appeared before him. The incident is narrated in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Canto XIII vv. 21-31) and ends with two verses of which our inscription is no doubt reminiscent :

"Devyā dagdham prabhāveṇa yacca savyam tavekṣaṇam
Paiṅgalyam yad-avāptam hi devyā rūpanirikṣaṇāt

1. B. E. F. E. O. IV, p. 920.

2. *Ibid.* p. 928.

Ekākṣipiṅgalītyeva nāma sthāsyati śāśvatam
Evam tena sakhitvam ca prāpyānujñām ca Śaṅkarāt."

The recurrence in the inscriptions of Prakāśadharman of allusions to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the similarity in incident and even the words employed between the inscriptions and the opening and closing *sargas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* clearly show that the extant version of Vālmīki was fairly well known in Champā in the seventh century A. D. Relatively few bas-reliefs have been found amidst the antiquities of Champā and of these, in the absence of the clue furnished by the inscriptions of Prakāśadharman, G. Maspers, the historian of Champā remarked; "To the rhythm of instruments the dancers mimic the episodes of a poem or a heroic drama of which a reader scanned the verses to the measure of *claque*lles of bamboo. What these poems or dramas were we do not know."¹ It is highly probable that they may turn out to be representations of the Rāma story.

From Kāmbhoja, the more powerful neighbour of Champā, we get more copious evidence of the considerable influence exerted by the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the fine arts of the country. In the Musee Khmer at Phnom-Pen are preserved² ten groups of ancient paintings of episodes from the Khāmbojan version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They include such well-known episodes of the Bālakāṇḍa as Janaka finding Sītā, Rāma breaking the bow of Śiva, and his encounter with Paraśurāma on his way back to Ayodhyā after his marriage. It has also an Uttara-Rāmāyaṇa in which Rāma meets and fights his sons without recognising them. Again, at Bēn Mūlā are sculptured scenes³ in which one can clearly recognise important episodes of the Yuddhakāṇḍa such as the great fight put up by Rāvaṇa himself (sarga 54) after the death of his commander-in-chief Prahasta at the hands of Nīla, and the return to life, thanks to Indra, of the monkey forces killed in the fight (sarga 120). At Angkor-vat, in fine, are bas-reliefs⁴ which depict all the important scenes of the story such as the *svayamvara* of Sītā (*Rām.* I. 67), the lifting of Sītā by Virādha (III-2-ff.), the duel between Vālin and Sugrīva, the death of Vālin and the grief of his women (IV-12-ff.), a favourite theme of the Angkor-vat sculp-

1. *Le Royaume de Champa*, p. 40.

2. Parmentier in B. E. F. E. O. XII, No. 3, pp. 47-50.

3. Same, XIII, No. 2, pp. 25-6.

4. Same, XII, No. 6, pp. 2-4.

tors, the meeting between Hanumān and Sītā (V, 32 ff.), the alliance between Vibhīṣaṇa and Rāma (VI-18), the ordeal of Sītā (VI-116) and so on. There is also a very interesting genealogy of a family of learned Brāhmaṇas who served the kings of Kāmbhoja for several generations and were great Sanskrit scholars. One of them Kavīndrapaṇḍita who lived in the 10th century A. D. was not only master of the *Śāstras* of Grammar, polity and religion, but expounded the two great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.¹

In Siam, the Rāma story is apparently an integral part of popular culture even now, for a few years ago the Museum of the French school of Oriental Learning at Hanoi succeeded² in acquiring from Siam a collection of twenty-seven masks representing different heroes of the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa.

The wide sweep of the cultural influences emanating from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and shaping art and life outside India is thus being borne in upon us as each year advances and the work of archaeological exploration proceeds in different parts of Asia. In India itself the survivals of Rāmāyaṇa sculptures are not many, though not altogether unknown,³ and of Rāmāyaṇa paintings we seem to have nothing left to us except the consimulate manner in which Bhavabhūti introduces them in his *Uttararāmacarita* to deepen the pathos of the opening Act of his play. But the poem lives in the speech of men, and shapes their lives in many subtle ways: and while the prophecy of Brahmā is being fulfilled Vālmiki may be sure of his place :

“Yāvat sthāsyanti girayaḥ saritaśca mahītale
Tāvadrāmāyaṇakathā lokeṣu pracariṣyati
Yāvadrāmasya ca kathā tvaṭkṛtā pracariṣyati
Tāvadūrdhvamadhaśca tvam mallokeṣu nivatsyasi.”

1. B. E. F. E. O. XXVIII 60.

2. B. E. F. E. O. XXIII p. 536. Also A. K. Coomaraswami—*Indian and Indonesian Art* p. 180.

3. See Coomaraswami *op. cit.* Index s, v. Rāmāyaṇa The most considerable Indian sculptures are those in the Daśāvatāra temple (Gupta) at Deogarh, Halēbid (Hoysala) and the Hazāra Rāma temple (Vijayanagar).

THE DAKṢIṆĀMŪRTI HYMN AND THE MĀNASOLLĀSA

BY

RAI BAHADUR AMARNATH RAY, B.A.

The ‘Dakṣiṇāmūrti’ Hymn is an exquisite little hymn, the authorship of which is almost universally ascribed to the great Śaṅkara, and the ‘Mānasollāsa’ is a Vārtika on this hymn, ascribed to Śaṅkara’s great disciple, Sureśvara. Vidyāranya, Svayamprakāśayati, and others are said to have written commentaries on the hymn, while a commentary on the hymn as well as the Vārtika is attributed to Rāma-Tīrtha. In recent times Pandit A. Mahadeva Sastri has translated the hymn and the Vārtika, while Professor M. Srinivasa Rau of the Mysore University College of Medicine, has based his ‘*Outlines of Vedānta*’ on this hymn. Even so careful a scholar as Dr. S. K. Belvalkar has named it among the undoubtedly genuine works of Śaṅkara¹. I was under the spell of this hymn for a long time and worked rather hard on it, with a view to bring out an edition of the hymn and the Vārtika with the commentaries of Svayamprakāśa and Rāma-Tīrtha, a Bengali translation, and some notes of my own. Prolonged study has led me to the conclusion that the hymn must have been a work by some great Kashmir Śāiva philosopher like Utpaladeva or Abhinava Gupta, and the Vārtika that of a writer of the same (*i.e.*, the Pratyabhijñā) school too, though a few dozen verses have been interpolated into it in order to bring the hymn in conformity with Advaita Vedānta. I find it necessary to deal with the hymn at some length in view of the age and persistence of the tradition which has to be combated.

It is a hymn to the God, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, incarnated as the ‘Guru.’ The word ‘Dakṣiṇāmūrti’ literally means ‘one who faces the south.’ But the ‘Dakṣiṇāmūrti Upaniṣad’, evidently a late Upaniṣad of the Kashmir Śāiva School, says that the God Śiva is so called because he can be realised by means of ‘Dakṣiṇā or ‘Śemuṣī’, that is, ‘Buddhi’:—

1. See Basu Mallik Lectures, by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Pt. 1, P. 222.

“Śemuṣī dakṣiṇā proktā sā yasyābhikṣaṇe mukham|
Dakṣiṇābhīmukhaḥ proktaḥ Śivo'sau brahmavādibhiḥ||”

—Verse 19.

One of the cardinal doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism is that true knowledge can be attained only by serving Maheśvara as a slave, somehow or other, and that the easiest way to serve Maheśvara is by adoring one's 'Guru' as identical with him. Mādhava, in his account of the Pratyabhijñādarśana in the 'Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha', quotes the following verse from Utpaladeva's 'Īśvarapratyabhijñā':—

“Kathañcidāsādyā Maheśvarasya
Dāsym janasyāpyupakāramicchan|
Samastasampatsamavāptihetum
Tatpratyabhijñāmupapādayāmi||”

He then quotes the meaning of the word 'Kathañcit' from Abhinavagupta's Vṛtti on the work, known as the 'Vimarśinī'. The portion of the Vṛtti quoted is thus translated by Gough:—
“‘Somehow or other’, by a propitiation, effected by God, of the lotus feet of a spiritual director identical with God”. The doctrine has its roots in the well-known 'Śvetāśvatara' passage:—

“Yasya deve parā bhaktiryathā deve tathā gurau|
Tasyaite kathitā hyarhāḥ prakāśante mahātmanah||”

The idea has gradually filtered down to all sects, but I doubt if the God-guru equation can be traced in the early Advaita Vedānta literature, say, in the works of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara.

I take the hymn as one composed of the ten stanzas with which the 'Mānasollāsa' deals. The four or five additional stanzas, found in some editions of the hymn, are evidently later interpolations. Before proceeding to deal with the hymn, stanza by stanza, I shall request my readers to go through Mādhava's account of the 'Pratyabhijñādarśana' which is largely made up of extracts from the writings of Abhinavagupta.

Stanza I.

‘Viśvaṁ’:—A favourite word with Kashmir Śaivas, it means all created things, ‘Āsadāśiva-bhūmyantaṁ’, i.e., from Sadāśiva down to the grossest of the elements, earth. ‘Darpaṇa-dṛśyamānanagaritulyaṁ’:—A favourite imagery of Kashmir Śaiva philosophers. See the opening lines of Mādhava's account

Compare the following verses from Abhinavagupta's 'Paramārthasāra':—

“Darpaṇavimbe yadvan'nagaragrāmādicitramavibhāgi|
Bhāti vibhāgenaiva ca parasparaṁ darpaṇādapi ca||
Vimalatama-paramabhairava'bodhātadvadvibhāgaśūnyamapi|
Anyo'nyaṁ ca tato'pi ca vibhaktamābhāti jagadetat||”

—Verses 12-13:

Again,

“Mayyeva bhāti viśvaṁ darpaṇa iva nirmale ghaṭādīni|
Mattaḥ prasaratī sarvaṁ svapnavicitratvamiva suptāt||
Ahameva viśvarūpaḥ karacaraṇādisvabhāva iva dehaḥ|
Sarvasminnahameva sphurāmi bhāveṣu bhā-svarupam-iva||”
—verses 48-49.

See also Yogarāja's gloss on verses 12 and 13, quoted above. The analogy of the images in the mirror is found in the Pañcadaśī, verse 99, Chapter 13. But before the age of this work the 'Dakṣiṇāmūrti' hymn appears to have been accepted as a work of Śaṅkara.

‘Yathā nidrayā’—This refers to dream creations. See verse 48. from the 'Paramārthasāra' quoted above. “Yaḥ sāksātkurute prabodha-samaye” etc.:—A. Mahadeva Sastri vaguely translates 'prabodha-samaye' as 'when awake'. It means “at the time of immediate direct realisation on instruction by a proper 'guru'.” This doctrine is common to Kashmir Śaivism and a section of Śaṅkara's followers, though as to the nature of the ultimate reality the views of the two schools are wide apart. Compare the following verses from the 'Spandakārikā' by Kallata:—“Ataḥ satatamudyuktaḥ spandatattva-viviktaye| Jāgradeva nijaṁ bhāvaṁ aciramadhigacchati||”—verse, 215.

Rāmakaṇṭha explains 'jāgradeva' as 'prabuddha eva', and 'nijaṁ bhāvaṁ' as 'ātmīyaṁ pāramārthikīṁ sattām.'

“Prabuddhaḥ sarvadā tiṣṭhej-jñānenālocya gocaram|
Ekatrāropayet sarvaṁ tato'nyena na pīdyate||”

Compare also verse, 83, of the 'Paramārthasāra', and Yogarāja's commentary on the same, where he quotes the following verse from the 'Kularatna-mālikā':—“Yadā guruvaraḥ sarṇyak kathayet tadasaṁśayam| Muktastatraiva kālē'sau yantravat kevalaṁ vaset||” Compare also verse 51 of the 'Paramārthasāra'.

Stanza II.

This verse has given great trouble to the commentators who have tried to read the 'vivarta' doctrine into it, but without success. All that it means is that this universe exists in the beginning, in the Ultimate Reality, as an undifferentiated entity, like the seedling in the seed, and that Reality or Maheśvara, by sheer dint of His will displays it as picturesque in all its variety, in combination with Space and Time, brought about by Māyā. To the doctrine that God created by His Will, Śaṅkara would readily retort in the words of Gauḍapāda—*Āptakāmasya kā sprhā?* (See Gauḍapāda-kārikās, I. 8-9).

The analogy of creations at will by Yogins is a favourite one with Kashmir Śaiva philosophers, who hold that God creates by sheer dint of His will without reference to any materials,—that He is the efficient cause of the Universe which has no material cause. See Mādhava's account in the Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha, and compare the following Sūtra (2) of the 'Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam' by Kṣemarāja :—"Svecchayā svabhittau viśvamunmilayati".

He explains 'svecchayā' as 'na tu brahmādivat anyecchayā, tathaiva ca, na tu upādānādyapekṣayā.' Compare the following verses :—

"Cidātmaiva hi devo'ntaḥ sthitamicchāvaśādbahiḥ|
Yogīva nirupādānamarthajātāṃ prakāśayet||"
(Īśvarapratyabhijñā, I. 5. 7.)
"Nirupādāna-sambhāramabhittāveva tanvate|
Jagaccitraṃ namastasmai kalāślāghyāya śūline||"
—verse from Vasugupta, quoted by Mādhava.

'Deśakālakalanā'—A favourite expression with these Kashmir Śaivas. Compare 'Dikkāla-kalanāvikalam' (verse 65, Paramārthasāra), and the expression 'Daśādikkālādyairakalita-cidālokavapuṣḥ' (Maṅgalācaraṇam of the Spanda-Kārikā by Kallata).

Stanza III.

The last three lines are equally acceptable to Advaita Vedāntins and Kashmir Śaivas, but I do not see how Śaṅkara could have written the first line which may be translated as follows :—"Whose manifestation, though real in essence, appears almost as unreal (*i.e.*, owing to being subject to change and decay)". This does not clearly deny reality to appearances.

DAKṢIṆĀMŪRTI HYMN AND THE MĀNASOLLĀSA

Mark also the words 'sphuraṇam' and 'bhāsate', which Kashmiri philosophers repeat *ad nauseam* in order to stress their 'Ābhāsa doctrine'.

The second line, 'Sākṣāttattvamasīti-veda-vacasā' etc., and the expression, 'Svātmānamevādvayam', in the first stanza, are possibly responsible for the misappropriation of this hymn by Advaita Vedāntins, but to the Kashmir-Śaivas the 'aṅgraha' Upāsanā is the only Upāsanā; though according to them, the 'tat' is Maheśvara, all-knowing and all-powerful, whereas to Advaita Vedāntins, it is the attributeless Brahman.

Stanza IV.

Mark the word 'spandate' which means 'moves or flows out'. 'Spanda' is a characteristic term of Kashmir Śaiva philosophy. I cannot conceive Śaṅkara saying that the consciousness of the Ultimate Reality flows out through the sense organs, like the eye.

The Upaniṣad and Gītā passages referred to in the third line are often quoted by Advaitins, but they are among the few passages from outside authorities quoted by the Kashmir philosophers in support of their 'Ābhāsa' doctrine. I do not think it possible for Śaṅkara to have said, as is done in the third line, that all this universe shines after Him alone shining in the Consciousness 'I know' after having interpreted the sūtra 'jñāta eva' (Brahma Sūtras, II. 3. 18), in the way he has done.

Stanza V.

What is said in the first two lines would be acceptable to both the schools, but Śaṅkara could not possibly hold that Māyā was a Śakti of the Ultimate Reality. In para 18 of the prose 'Upadeśa-sāhasrī', wrongly attributed to Śaṅkara, Brahman is said to be endowed with 'Ananta-Śakti', and then, again, with 'acintya-Śakti'. This and the stanza under discussion have misled some of Śaṅkara's exponents to hold that, according to Śaṅkara, 'Māyā' is a 'Śakti' of Brahman. Śaṅkara begins his exposition of the Brahma-Sūtras by saying that Brahman is omniscient and omnipotent, but he makes his position clear beyond doubt in his exposition of the Sūtra "Tadananyatvam etc." (B. S. II. 1. 14) and elsewhere. According to Kashmir Śaivas 'Māyā' is a Śakti of Maheśvara. Compare the following verses from the 'Īśvara pratyabhijñā' with reference to the first and second lines of this stanza respectively :—



"Bhede tvekarase bhāte 'haṁtayānātmanikṣite|
 Śūnye buddhau śarīre vā māyā-śaktivijṛmbhite||
 (III. 1. 18).

Māyā-śaktyā vibhoḥ saiva bhinna-saṁvedya-gocarā|
 Kathitā jñāna-saṅkalpa-vyavasāyādīnāmabhiḥ||"
 (I. 5. 8).

(Śaiva = Sā eva, Sā being equivalent to Vimarśa-śakti).

In Kashmir philosophy the word 'vyāmoha' is used repeatedly to express the effect of the working of 'Māyā'. See Sūtra 12 of the Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam :—"Tadaparijñāne svaśaktivyāmohitatā saṁsāritvam." In this little book, the word 'vyāmoha' is used several times.

Stanza VI.

The first two lines have been translated by A. Mahadeva Sastri as follows :—"The Atman who, going to *suṣupti* on the withdrawal of sense-organs, becomes the One Existence, enshrouded by Māyā, like the sun or the moon in eclipse". I am afraid the learned Pandit is wrong, as will appear from the following verse of the Mānasollāsa :—

"Suṣupti-samaye'pyātmā satyajñānasukhātmakaḥ|
 Sukhamasvāpsamityevam pratyabhijñāyate yataḥ||"

(Verse 21 of the 6th Ullāsa, A. Mahadeva Sastri's Ed., p. 125.)

These two lines describe figuratively the soul's state of bondage and mean that the Ātman, who is, in the ultimate analysis, 'Sat' or mere existence, goes to deep sleep on the withdrawal of the sense-organs, being enveloped by māyā, like the sun or the moon in eclipse. Note the word 'pratyabhijñā' in the third line, which means 'is recognised'. This 'pratyabhijñā' or recognising one's self as identical with the Ultimate Reality after removal of the covering of 'māyā' is the aim of the Kashmir Śivādvaitin's *Sādhana* and the entire philosophy has come to be named after this doctrine. With this stanza compare the following verse of the 'Paramārthasāra', and Yogarāja's commentary thereon :—

"Jāgradviśvaṁ bhedāt svapnastejaḥprakāśamāhātmyāt|
 Prājñāḥ suptāvasthā jñānaganatvāttataḥ paraṁ turyam||"

Verse 35.

Both Svayamprakāśayati and Rāma-Tīrtha have made a mess of the first two lines.

Stanza VII.

There is nothing in this verse which cannot be made to fit in with Śaṅkara's System. But the words 'Sphurantam', and 'Mudrayā bhadrayā' should be marked. It has already been shown that the first word is used frequently in Kashmir Śaiva philosophy. For the expression 'Mudrayā bhadrayā' note the following *dhyāna* of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the Upaniṣad of that name :—

"Sphaṭikarajatavarṇaṁ mauktikīmakṣamālā-
 Mamṛtakalāśavidyāṁ jñānamudrāṁ karāgre."

It should also be noted that stanza VII once more stresses 'recognition', through the grace of the 'Guru'.

Stanza VIII.

There is nothing in this stanza which conflicts with either of the two schools of thought.

With the first three words of the first line, compare the following verse introducing Abhinava Gupta's Commentary on the 'Īśvarapratyabhijñā', Bk. II. āhnika 4 :—

"Bhāvānābhāsayan karttā nirmale svātmadarpaṇe|
 Kāryakāraṇabhāvaṁ ca yaccitraṁ taṁ stumaḥ śivam||"

Stanza IX.

I cannot conceive that Śaṅkara could have said that the five elements, the sun, the moon, and the Puruṣa were the eight Mūrtis of the ultimate Reality, who is the only Subject of the inquirer's pursuit. Note the word 'Vimṛśatām'. The word 'vimarśa' is a characteristic word of Kashmir Śaivism. The whole stanza is Śaiva in idea. Compare stanza 26 of the Mahimnaḥ-stava.

Stanza X.

This kills Śaṅkara Vedānta outright. No one could I believe, conceive that Śaṅkara would envisage a *sumnum bonum* like this. According to him, on Self-realisation, a man would shake off all *upādhis* and become one with the Brahman without attributes; only one who holds that the ultimate Reality is Īśvara could think of attaining Īśvaratva with its attendant Aṣṭa-siddhis.

With the idea underlying this stanza, compare 'Īśvarapratyabhijñā', verse IV. 1. 1., and verses 59, 60 and 82 of the Paramārtha Sāra, and also Yogarāja's Commentary on verse 59.

The Mānasollāsa.

It is not possible to deal in detail, in an essay like the present one, with this work of about 360 or 361 verses. It will suffice to observe that the entire work from the 'Maṅgalā-caraṇam' down to the last verse, with the exception of some rather unskilful interpolations, is the work of a Kashmir Śaiva writer. The hymn coming to be taken for Śaṅkara's work, the Vārtika had to be ascribed to Sureśvara almost as a matter of necessity. The presence of the following verse in the first *ullāsa* might also have strengthened this belief :—

“Anādimāyā supto yadā jīvaḥ prabudhyate |
Ajamanidramasvapnam advaitaṁ budhyate tadā ||”;

for it occurs in Gauḍapādā's Kārikās; but it occurs in one or two minor Upaniṣads as well and the idea is as much in keeping with Kashmir Śivādvaita as with Śaṅkara's philosophy.

The questions with which the Vārtika starts are not such as one willing to acquaint himself with Advaita Vedānta would ask. They are directed towards eliciting knowledge about an Ultimate Reality possessing Omniscience and Omnipotence. In the Second Ullāsa, the Vārtika-kāra enumerates the 36 categories of the Śaiva Āgamas and practically finishes the work with a reference to the same, in verse 45 of the ninth Ullāsa, the tenth Ullāsa dealing merely with 'phalaśruti' stanza of the hymn. Some of the words of the Kashmir Śaiva terminology might be found in Advaita Vedānta literature, but it would be futile to argue that Śaṅkara and Sureśvara, between them, could have been familiar with practically the entire terminology of that school which came into being after their time.

The following verses of the Mānasollāsa appear to me to be interpolations :

(a) Second Ullāsa, verses 53-56, which are inconsistent with what has gone before and also with the hymn ;

(b) Third Ullāsa, verses 16-7, which explain 'Tattvamasi' in the manner of an Advaitin ; also verses 27-30, which evidently substitute the five Taittirīya 'kośas' for the 'kañcukas' of Kashmir Śaivism ;

(c) Verses 9-16 of the eighth Ullāsa, which propound the 'mithyātva' of the world, a doctrine foreign to the hymn; and

(d) Verses 20-41 of the ninth Ullāsa which deal with the eight-fold Yoga of which we hear nothing in the hymn, for the

simple reason that Kashmir Śaivism does not contemplate a resort to Yogic practices for the attainment of *siddhis* which are automatically attained as a result of 'pratyabhijñāna' or recognition. Verse 46 of the ninth Ullāsa appears to have been tampered with for the same reason.¹ A few more cases of interpolation might have escaped my notice.

Repeated perusal of the hymn and the Vārtika work has led me to the belief that both are Kashmir Śaiva works wrongly attributed to Śaṅkara and Sureśvara respectively. From what I know of Abhinavagupta's writings I feel inclined to ascribe the authorship of the hymn to him, and of the Mānasollāsa to one of his disciples, such as Kṣemarāja, the author of the 'Pratyabhijñā-hṛdayam',—though these must necessarily be mere conjectures.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

In this Article, an honest endeavour is made to connect the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra* and the *Mānasollāsa* with the *Pratyabhijñā* literature of Kashmir. It is where the author of this article conjectures that these two works were perhaps produced by Abhinavagupta and his disciples, that research may easily be shown to have overreached itself and overstepped its limits. It must be remembered that *Śrī-Śaṅkara* was the greatest of the teachers who inherited the philosophical heritage of an old type of *Saivādvaita*, which was represented in the Upaniṣadic period by basic texts like the *Svetāśvataropaniṣad*, and in the post-Upaniṣadic period, by authoritative works like the *Sundara-pāñḍya-vārtika* and Śaṅkara's own Bhāṣyas and devotional hymns. The parallelisms between the Pratyabhijñā-literature and the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra*, which the author of this article points out, will show, if pursued further, that the Pratyabhijñā-philosophy itself is a bye-product of the blend of Śaṅkara's advaita and Upaniṣadic *Saivism*.

“साक्षात्तत्त्वमसीति वेदवचसा यो बोधयत्याश्रितान्”—This line refuses to yield to the Pratyabhijñā-obsession; and this is clearly fatal to the conclusions set forth in this article. S. K. Sastri.

1. The verses are numbered as in A. Mahadeva Sastri's Edition of the work.

HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL.

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2. SANDHI.

2.1. 'Avoidance of hiatus and assimilation are the leading principles on which the rules of sandhi are based'.¹

2.11. *Ancient Period:* 2.111. *Classification:* Tolkāppiyāṇār classifies the nature of sandhi into two kinds, one having change in sounds and the other having no change.² The former is of three kinds:—*meypīṇitātāl*³ or assimilation, *mikutal* or insertion and *kuṇṇal* or elision.⁴ & ⁵ And the latter is called *iyalpū*. As

1. M. V. G. 20.

2. *Avayruḷ*

Nirutta colli ṇ-īṇā keluttoṭū

Kuṇṇittu-varu kiḷavi mutaleḷut t-iyaiya-p

Peyaroṭū peyarai-p puṇarkkuṇ kālum

Peyaroṭū toḷilai-p puṇarkkuṇ kālun

Toḷiloṭū peyarai-p puṇarkkuṇ kālun

Toḷiloṭū toḷilai-p puṇarkkuṇ kālum

Mūṇṇē tiripīṇa nōṇṇē y-iyalpeṇa

Āṇkan nūṇkē mōḷipūṇa r-iyalpē. (Tol. E. 109).

3. Assimilation and substitution are both taken as assimilation.

4. *Avaitūm*

Meypīṇi tūtan mikutal kuṇṇalenṇū

Ivveṇa mōḷipa tiriya m-āṇē. (Tol. E. 110).

5. It seems possible that the classification of sandhi into four and their names are adapted mostly from those found in Prātiśākhya. *Meypīṇitātāl*, *mikutal*, *kuṇṇal* and *iyalpū* respectively are close translation of the words *vikāra* or *varṇavikāra*, *āgama*, *lōpa* and *prakṛti* which are found in the following quotations:—

Varṇasya vikāra lōpāu (Tai. P. i. 56.)

Vināśō lōpah (Tai. P. i. 27.)

Aḥkāra āgama vikāri lōpiṇām (Tai. p. i, 23.)

Tamiti vikārah (S. Y. V. P. i, 133.)

Tēnētyāgamah (S. Y. V. P. i, 137.)

Varṇasyādarśanam lōpah (S. Y. V. P. i, 141.)

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regards insertion, it is a peculiarity with Tamil, as Tolkāppiyāṇār says, that the *cāriyai* or the flexional increments are generally inserted between the base of the noun and the case suffix¹ on the one hand, and between the verbal base and the verbal termination on the other. He then classifies sandhi into *vēṇṇumai-p-puṇarcci* or case-relation sandhi and *alvali-p-puṇarcci* or non-case-relation sandhi according as the two words which undergo change in sandhi stand in case-relation to each other or not.²

2.112. *Treatment of the same by Tolkāppiyāṇār:* He treats in *urupiyal* the *cāriyai* or flexional increments that are inserted between the base of the noun and the case-suffix and in the latter half of *puṇariyal*, the special changes that take place in sandhi between the final member of the base and the initial member of the flexional increment; in *lokai-maraṇū*, he generally deals with the changes which the initial member of the 'following word'³ undergoes, and the final member of the 'standing word,' etc. In *uyir-mayaṇkiyal* and *puḷli-mayaṇkiyal* he respectively deals with the sandhi which takes place when the final members of the

Prakṛtyā padāntīyah (S. Y. V. P. iii, 90.)

Pragṛhyaśca prakṛtyā (A. V. P. iii, 33.)

Prakṛtyantāḥ pādānavyaparē (P. 6. 1, 115.)

Adarśanam lōpah (P. 1, 1, 60)

Lōpāgama varṇavikārajñōhi samyak śabdāñ jānāti (M. B. 1 1 15.)

As regards the term *kuṇṇal*, Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to have incorporated the meaning of *lōpa* as *vināśa* as mentioned in Taittirīya Prātiśākhya and not *adarśanam* as mentioned in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī or Śukla Yajurveda Prātiśākhya, and as regards *meypīṇitātāl*, he has translated the word *vikāra* or *varṇavikāra* found in Prātiśākhya and not *ādēśa* mentioned in Pāṇini's sūtras in '*ādēśa pratyayayōḥ*' (P. 8. 3. 59.).

1. *Nirutta colluṇ kuṇṇittu-varu kiḷaviyūm*

Aṭai-yōṭū lōṇṇum puṇar-nilai-k k-urīya. (Tol. E. 111).

It seems to me that this is due to making the syllable containing the oblique case suffix so heavy that it must be clearly pronounced.

2. *Vēṇṇumai kuṇṇitta puṇar-mōḷi nilaiyūm*

Vēṇṇumai y-alvali-p puṇar-mōḷi nilaiyūm

Eluttē cāriyai y-āyiru paṇṇiṇ

Oḷukkal valiya puṇaruṇ kālai. (Tol. E. 113.)

3. If sandhi takes place between two words, the former is called by Tamil Grammarians, *nilaimōḷi* and the latter, *varumōḷi*. I have, in this thesis, translated them literally as *standing word* and *following word* respectively.

standing words are vowels or consonants. Since *kurṛiyalukaram* is a peculiarity of Dravidian languages and the changes that take place in sandhi when the final member of the standing word is *u* are different from those that take place when it is *ū*, the latter are separately treated in the last section.

When two words, one ending in a vowel and the other beginning with a vowel come together, it is stated that no one is prevented from writing between them an *uṭam-ṭaṭu-mey* or an intervocalic consonant that suits them¹. This shows that it was not compulsory in his time to insert *y*, *v*, etc. between two vowels as it was at the time of the later grammarians. This is borne out by the absence of *uṭamṭaṭumey* in some places in some inscriptions.² & ³ Nor does Tolkāppiyāṇār state what such *uṭamṭaṭu-mey* is.

I will now deal in detail, with (1) the inserted flexional suffixes, (2) the changes in sandhi in such cases, (3) the changes which the initial consonant of the following word undergoes (4) the changes when the final member of the standing word is a vowel other than *kurṛiyalukaram* (5) the changes when the final member of the standing word is a consonant and (6) the changes when the final member of the standing word is 'ū'.

2.1121. The Inserted flexional suffixes⁴.

Final Member of the Base.	Flexional increment inserted.
General rule:	
<i>a, ā, u, ū, ē, au</i>	<i>iṇ</i> (e.g. <i>viḷa + ai = viḷa-v-iṇ-ai</i>)
Exceptions:	
<i>a</i> in <i>ṭalla</i>	<i>varṛu</i> also (e.g. <i>ṭallavarṛai</i>)
<i>ā</i> of interrogative <i>yā</i>	Do. (e.g. <i>yāvarṛai</i>)
<i>a</i> & <i>ā</i> (of names of trees)	<i>attlu</i> also (in the 7th case)
<i>u</i> in <i>atu, itu, utu</i>	<i>aṇ</i> also, when the final <i>u</i> is dropped. (e.g. <i>atu + ai = atu + aṇ + ai = ataṇai</i>)

1. *Ellā molikku m-uyir-varu valiyē*
Uṭam-ṭaṭu mey-y-i ṇ-uruvu-koḷal varaiyār. (Tol. E. 1+1.)
2. Note that in the compound *mā-irumṭerum buṇar kāviri*, there is no *uṭamṭaṭumey* between 'ā' of *mā* and 'i' of *irum*. (I. A. Vol. 22, p. 70-M. M. P.)
3. *Malar maṅgai-oḍu* (line 46); *ṭū viri-um* (line 93); *kāviri-iṇ* (line 93); *maṇi-imaikkum* (line 81) of Ep. I. Vol. XVII, Part VII, V. G.
4. The sūtras dealing with these are found in *urupiyal-Sūtras* 174-203.

General rule:	
<i>ai</i> of <i>avai, ivai, uvai</i>	<i>varṛu</i> also (e.g. <i>avaiyarṛai</i>)
<i>ai</i> of interrogative <i>yā</i>	Do. (e.g. <i>yāvarṛai</i>)
<i>i</i> of <i>nī</i>	<i>i</i> is shortened to <i>i</i> and <i>ṇ</i> is inserted (e.g. <i>nīṇṇai</i>)
<i>ō</i>	<i>oṇ</i> (e.g. <i>kō oṇai</i>) ¹
<i>ñ, n</i>	<i>iṇ</i> (e.g. <i>uriñ + ai = uriñṇai</i>)
<i>v</i> of <i>av, iv, uv</i>	<i>varṛu</i> (e.g. <i>avarṛai</i>) ²
<i>v</i> of <i>lev</i>	<i>iṇ</i> (e.g. <i>levviṇai</i>)
General rule:	
<i>m</i>	<i>attlu</i> and sometimes <i>iṇ</i> . (e.g. <i>ma-ram + ai = marattai</i> ; <i>urumiṇai</i> -no insertion; but <i>m</i> is doubled. (e.g. <i>num-m-ai</i>)
<i>m</i> of <i>num</i>	
<i>m</i> of <i>lām, nām</i> and <i>yām</i>	³ no insertion; but <i>ā</i> is shortened in the first two cases and <i>yā</i> is changed to <i>e</i> in the third case and <i>m</i> is doubled. (e.g. <i>lam-mai, nammai, emmai</i>)
<i>m</i> of <i>ellām</i>	<i>varṛu</i> when it refers to neuter nouns and <i>nam</i> when it refers to <i>uyartinaṇai</i> , before the case-suffix and <i>um</i> after the case-suffix. (e.g. <i>ellām + ai = ellā-varṛaiyum</i> or <i>ellānammai-yum</i>)
<i>m</i> of <i>ellārum</i> (3rd person) and of <i>ellirum</i> (2nd person)	<i>lam</i> and <i>num</i> respectively; but the final <i>um</i> is taken after case suffix. (e.g. <i>ellārum + ai = ellārtammai-yum</i> , <i>ellirum + ai = ellirnummai-yum</i>)
<i>ṇ</i> of <i>tāṇ</i> and <i>yāṇ</i>	no increment; but <i>ā</i> is shortened to <i>a</i> , <i>yā</i> is changed to <i>e</i> and <i>ṇ</i> is doubled. (e.g. <i>taṇṇai, eṇṇai</i>)
<i>ṇ</i> of <i>alaṇ</i> and <i>ṭalaṇ</i>	<i>attlu</i> or <i>iṇ</i>
<i>ḷ</i> of <i>ēḷ</i>	<i>aṇ</i> (e.g. <i>ēḷaṇai</i>) ⁴
General rule:	
<i>ū</i>	<i>iṇ</i> (e.g. <i>nākiṇai</i>)
Exceptions:	

1. This is a case where *hiatus* is allowed.
2. *av, iv, uv* are neuter demonstrative plurals.
3. This shows that the accent is possible on the case-suffix.
4. The original *ṇḷ* meaning seven is now pronounced by adding *n* at the end as *ṇḷu*, although *u* cannot follow *ḷ* according to Tol. E. 36.

ū following a long vowel generally no insertion; but the final consonant is doubled. (e.g. *yāṭū + ai = yāṭṭai*; sometimes *yāṭṭinai* also.)

ū at the end of words denoting *an* (e.g. *onṛanai*) number.

ū in *ompaṣṭū, irupaṣṭū*, etc. *ān*, and *aṣṭū* is dropped. (e.g. *orupāṇai*.)

ū of *yāṭū, aṣṭū, iṣṭū & uṣṭū*. *an*, but *ṣ* is dropped (e.g. *yāṭanai, aṭanai*.)

ū at the end of words denoting No insertion; but 'ū' with the directions before the seventh preceding consonant is dropped. (e.g. *vaṭakkū + kaṇ = vaṭakkan*.)

In the last sūtra he says that, if other increments are used in literature, we will have to take them also.

2.1122. *The changes which the flexional increments undergo in Sandhi:*¹

(a) *i* of *iṇ* is optionally dropped after *ā* (e.g. *ā + iṇ + ai = āṇai*; also *āvinai*.)

(b) *v* of *varṇu* is dropped after *avai, ivai, uvai*. (e.g. *avai + varṇu + ai = avai-y-arṇai*.)

(c) *n* of *iṇ* is changed to *r* before *ku*, the fourth case-suffix (e.g. *viḷa-v-iṇ-ku = viḷavirṇū*.)

(d) *n* of *āṇ* is changed to *r* when it is preceded by a word denoting star and is followed by a word beginning with a voiceless consonant. (e.g. *paraṇi + āṇ + koṇṭāṇ = paraṇi-y-ār-koṇṭāṇ*.)

(e) *a* of *attu* is dropped after *a* (e.g. *makam + attu + kai = maka + attu + kai = makattu-k-kai*)

(f) *i* of *ikku* is dropped after *i* and *ai* (e.g. *āṭikku-k-koṇṭāṇ; ciltiraikku-k-koṇṭāṇ*)

(g) *ku* of *akku* is dropped if it is followed by a voiceless consonant (e.g. *tamiḷ + akku + kūttū = tamiḷ-ak-kūttū*)

(h) *m* of *am* is assimilated to *n̄, ñ* and *n* when it is respectively followed by *k, c*, and *t*.

(i) *m* of *am* is dropped if it is followed by a nasal or a semi-vowel (e.g. *puḷiyaṇeri*)

(j) *iṇ* is dropped before the case suffix *iṇ*.

1. The sūtras under this heading are all found in *puṇariyal* of Tolkāppiyam (121, 123 to 127, 129 to 132 and 134),

(k) The consonant preceding *attu* and *varṇu* is dropped and that which follows is doubled if it is a voiceless consonant (e.g. *kalam + attu + kurai = kalattu-k-kurai*.)

2.1123. *The Changes which the initial consonant of the following word undergoes.*

¹(a) *t* and *n* which follow *l* and *ṇ* are respectively changed to *r* and *n̄*, (e.g. *kal + tītū = kaṣṛītū*; *pon + nanrū = ponnanrū*, etc.)

²(b) *t* and *n* which follow *ṇ* and *l* are respectively changed to *ṭ* and *ṇ̄* (e.g. *maṇ + tītū = maṇṭītū*; *maṇ + nanrū = maṇṇanrū*, etc.)

2.1124. *The Changes when the final member of the Standing word is a vowel other than 'ū',³*

Final member of the standing word.	Initial member of the following word.	Change in sandhi.
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'A'

Non-case relation sandhi:
a (of nouns)

k, c, t, p

k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e.g. *viḷa + kuritū = viḷa-k-kuritū*.)

a (of verbal participles, particles denoting comparison, *eṇa* and *āṇka* and demonstrative roots)

k, c, t, p

k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e.g. *a-k-koṇṭāṇ*)

a (demonstrative root)

ñ, n, m

ñ, n, m are respectively inserted (e.g. *a-ñ-ñāṇ*.)

Do.

y, v

v is inserted (e.g. *a + yāl = a-v-yāl*.)

Do.

any vowel

v is inserted (e.g. *a + ilai = a-v-ilai*)

Do.

Do.

a is also lengthened in verse (e.g. *a + irutiṇaiyum = ā-y-irutiṇaiyum*)

Case-relation sandhi:

a

k, c, t, p

k, c, t, p are respectively inserted.

1. *La-ṇa veṇa-varūm puḷli muṇṇar-t*

Tana v-eṇa-varir ṇa-ṇa-v-ā kum-m-ē. (Tol. E. 150).

2. *Na-ḷa-v-eṇ puḷli-muṇ ṭa-ṇa-v-eṇ-t iḍṇum* (ibid. 151).

3. The sūtras under this heading are found in *uyirmayaṇkiyal* of Tolkāppiyam (sūtras 204 to 296).

<i>a</i> (of names of trees)	do.	<i>ñ, ñ̃, n, m</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>vilā + kōṭū = vilāñkōṭū</i>)
<i>a</i> (of <i>maka</i> , the name of a tree.)	do.	The flexional increment <i>iñ</i> or <i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>m a k a + k a i = makaviñkai</i> or <i>makat-tukkai</i> .)
‘ <i>Ā</i> ’		
<i>Non-case-relation sandhi:</i>		
<i>ā</i> (of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted (e.g. <i>tārā + kaṭiti</i>)
<i>ā</i> (of verbal participles)	do.	Do. (e. g. <i>uññā-c-ceñ-rāñ</i>)
<i>ā</i> (of nouns when compounded with another noun in <i>ummaittokai</i> or dvanda compound)	do.	¹ <i>a</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>irā-a-p-pakal</i> .)
<i>Case-relation-sandhi:</i>		
<i>ā</i>	do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>tārā + kāl = tārā-k-kāl</i> etc.)
<i>ā</i> (in words whose vowel previous to the final <i>ā</i> is short or in words of one syllable.)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	² <i>a</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted (e.g. <i>palā-a-k-kōṭū</i>)
<i>Exceptions:</i>		
<i>ā</i> (of <i>nilā</i>)	do.	The flexional increment <i>attu</i> is inserted (e.g. <i>nilā + koṇṭāñ = nilā + attu + koṇṭāñ = nilāttukkoṇṭāñ</i> .)
<i>ā</i> (of <i>irā</i>)	do.	Only <i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>irā + koṇṭāñ = irākkkoṇṭāñ</i>)
<i>ā</i> (of the word <i>ā</i>)	<i>p̃i</i>	<i>p̃</i> is inserted and the final <i>ī</i> is shortened to <i>i</i> (e.g. <i>ā + p̃i = āp̃p̃i</i>)

1 & 2. These are cases where hiatus is allowed; but some Tamilians seem to think that the *a* after *ā* denotes that *ā* has 3 mātrās and as such is not a separate sound; but here in this sūtra the expression ‘*akaramikumē*’ is found. Here *mikum* shows that it is a separate sound according to Tolkāppiyāṇār. But now *a* and *ā* are pronounced only as *ā3*.

‘ <i>I</i> ’		
<i>Case-relation sandhi:</i>		
<i>i</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>kiḷi + kāl = kiḷi-k-kāl</i> .)
<i>i</i> (of <i>vaḷi</i> , <i>paṇi</i> (season))	do.	Flexional increments <i>attu</i> & <i>iñ</i> are inserted.
<i>i</i> (of <i>uli</i> (tree))	do.	<i>ñ, ñ̃, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>i</i> (of <i>puḷi</i> (tree))	do.	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted.
<i>i</i> (of <i>puḷi</i> (not denoting tree))	do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> or <i>ñ, ñ̃, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>i</i> (at the end of words denoting star)	do. of verbs.	Flexional increment <i>āñ</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>paraṇi + koṇṭāñ = paraṇi-āñ + koṇṭāñ = paraṇi-y-āñ-kōṇṭāñ</i> .)
<i>i</i> (at the end of words denoting month)	do.	Flexional increment <i>ikku</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>āṭi + koṇṭāñ = āṭi + ikku + koṇṭāñ = āṭikkukōṇṭāñ</i> .)
<i>Non-case-relation sandhi:</i>		
<i>i</i> (of <i>iñi</i> , <i>añi</i> , verbal participle, and demonstrative root)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>iñi + koṇṭāñ = iñi-k-kōṇṭāñ</i> .)
<i>i</i> (of <i>iñri</i> , verbal participle)	in verse	¹ changes to <i>u</i> . (e.g. <i>uḷ-piṇṇuḷpurkai</i> where <i>iñru</i> is found for <i>iñri</i> .)
<i>i</i> (of demonstrative)	<i>ñ, n, m</i>	<i>ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
Do	<i>y, v</i> , & any vowel.	<i>v</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>i = yāl = i-v-yāl</i> .)

‘*Ī*’

Ī (both in non-case-relation sandhi and in case-relation sandhi) agrees with the final *ā*.

Exceptions:

1. This change of *i* to *u* may be due to the influence of the initial *u* in *uḷḷu* or *u* in *purkai*, in which case this is an illustration of harmonic sequence of vowels.

$\bar{i}$ (of $m\bar{i}$, $p\bar{i}$)	k, c, t, p	No change, (e.g. $m\bar{i} + kur\bar{i}yai = m\bar{i}kur\bar{i}yai$, etc.)
$\bar{i}$ (of $m\bar{i}$)	Do.	No change, or k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e.g. $m\bar{i} + k\bar{o}l = m\bar{i}k\bar{o}l$ or $m\bar{i}kk\bar{o}l$, etc.)
$\bar{i}$ (of $m\bar{i}$ when it takes the flexional increment $i\bar{n}$)	Do.	$\bar{i}$ is shortened, $\bar{n}$ is inserted after it. (e.g. $m\bar{i} + kai = m\bar{i}nkai$.)

‘U’

In non-case-relation sandhi it mostly agrees with the final a with the following exceptions:—When atu , itu and utu are followed by verbs beginning with k, c, t, p , it has no change; but when followed by $ayr\bar{u}$ in verse, u of atu , etc., is changed to $\bar{a}$, e.g. $at\bar{a}an\bar{r}amma$.

Even in case-relation sandhi, it mostly agrees with the final a with the following exception:—When atu , itu and utu are followed by k, c, t, p , the flexional increment $i\bar{n}$ is inserted.

‘U’

Both in case-relation sandhi and non-case-relation sandhi $\bar{u}$ agrees with $\bar{a}$, i.e., if it is followed by k, c, t, p , one of them is inserted.

Exceptions:

(a) When its preceding vowel is short or when it is the final of a single-syllabled word, u is inserted in addition to one of k, c, t, p . (e.g. $u\bar{t}\bar{u} + kur\bar{a}i = u\bar{t}\bar{u}u-kur\bar{a}i$.)

(b) After $\bar{u}$ in the word $p\bar{u}$, the nasal also is optionally inserted. (e.g. $p\bar{u}-k-ko\bar{t}i$ and $p\bar{u}-\bar{n}-ko\bar{t}i$.)

(c) After $\bar{u}$ in $\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{u}u$ and $ma\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{u}u$, the flexional increment $i\bar{n}$ is optionally added. (e.g. $\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{u}u-v-i\bar{n}-kai$.)

Final member of the standing word	Initial member of the following word	Change in sandhi
	‘E’	
c (at the end of verbs of 2nd person)	k, c, t, p	k, c, t, p are respectively inserted.
e (at the end of nouns added for emphasis)	Do.	No change, (e.g. $\bar{e}ko\bar{n}-\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}$.)

‘E’

General rule:

$\bar{e}$ (both in case-relation and non-case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, p	k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e.g. $c\bar{e} + ka-\bar{t}\bar{i}l\bar{u} = c\bar{e}-k-ka\bar{t}\bar{i}l\bar{u}$, etc.)
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Exceptions:

$\bar{e}$ (at the end of nouns to denote negation, interrogation, number)	k, c, t, p	No change. (e.g. $y\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{e}-ko\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{n}$ in the sense $y\bar{a}\bar{n}ko\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{i}l\bar{e}\bar{n}$, etc.)
$\bar{e}$ (of the word $c\bar{e}$ denoting a tree)	Do.	Corresponding nasal is inserted (e.g. $c\bar{e}\bar{n}k\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{i}$.)
$\bar{e}$ (of the word $c\bar{e}$ denoting $perram$)	Do.	Flexional increment $i\bar{n}$ is inserted. (e.g. $c\bar{e}-v-i\bar{n}-k\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{i}$.)

‘AI’

Case-relation Sandhi:

ai (at the end of nouns)	k, c, t, p	k, c, t, p are respectively inserted (e.g. $y\bar{a}\bar{n}ai + k\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{i}u = y\bar{a}\bar{n}aiikk\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{i}$, etc.)
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Exceptions:

ai (at the end of words $pa\bar{n}ai$, $arai$, $\bar{a}virai$)	Do.	Flexional increment am is inserted. (e.g. $pa\bar{n}ai + k\bar{a}y = pa\bar{n}ai + am + k\bar{a}y = pa\bar{n}a\bar{n}k\bar{a}y$.)
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ai (at the end of $pa\bar{n}ai$ followed by the word $a\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{u}$)

ai changes to $\bar{a}a$. (e.g. $pa\bar{n}\bar{a}a\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{u}$.)

ai (at the end of the word $ma\bar{l}ai$)

$attu$ is inserted. (e.g. $ma\bar{l}ai-y-attu-k-ko\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}$.)

ai (at the end of words denoting month and star)

Flexional increment $ikku$ is inserted. (e.g. $citti-rai + ko\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{n} = cittirai-ku-k-ko\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}$.)

‘O’

Non-case-relation Sandhi:

$\bar{o}$ (at the end of nouns)	k, c, t, p	k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e.g. $\bar{o}-k-ka\bar{t}\bar{i}l\bar{u}$.)
$\bar{o}$ (at the end of nouns denoting negation, interrogation or doubt.)	Do.	No change.
$\bar{o}$ (in case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, p	o and one of k, c, t, p are inserted. (e.g. $\bar{o}-o-k-ka\bar{t}\bar{u}mai$.)
$\bar{o}$ (followed by the word il)		¹ No change. (e.g. $k\bar{o}-v-il$, $k\bar{o}-y-il$.)

1. $\bar{I}$ ampuraṇar gives $k\bar{o}yil$ for the example and Naccinārkkī-ṇiyar $k\bar{o}vil$; but it seems to me that $k\bar{o}il$ ought to have been the ex-

$\bar{o}$ (at the end of some words in literature.)	k, c, t, p	Flexional increment $\bar{o}n$ is inserted. (e. g. $k\bar{o}n-kai$.)
	‘AU’	
au (both in case-relation sandhi and non-case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, p	u and one of k, c, t, p are inserted. (e. g. $kau + kaṭitū = kauv-u-k-kaṭitū$.)

2.1125. *The Changes when the Final Member of the Standing word is a Consonant.*¹

Final Member of the standing word	Initial Member of the following word	Change in Sandhi
Nasal	k, c, t, p	² Corresponding nasal is substituted. (e. g. $maram + kuritū = maraṅkuritū$.)
η, n	$yā$ or $\tilde{n}ā$.	No change. (e. g. $maṇ + yāṭṭa = maṇyāṭṭa$, etc.)
Any consonant preceded by a long vowel		³ Generally dropped. (e. g. $kōḷ + nanrū = kō-nanrū$.)
Any consonant preceded by a short vowel		⁴ The final consonant is doubled. (e. g. $pon + akal = ponnakal$.)
$\tilde{n}, \eta, n, m, l, \underline{n}$ (of verbal nouns in both kinds of sandhi)	k, c, t, p	⁵ u and one of k, c, t, p are inserted. (e. g. $uriṇ + kaṭitū = uriṇ-u-k-kaṭitū$.)
$\tilde{n}, \eta, n, m, l, \underline{n}$ (of ver-	$\tilde{n}, n, m, v$	⁶ u is inserted. (e. g.

ample referred to by Tolkāppiyāṇār since he uses the word *iyarkai* in the sūtra and in his opinion (Tol. E. 141) the insertion of *uṭamṇaṭumey* is only optional.

1. The rules noted here are mostly found in Tolkāppiyam, Elut-tatikāram, Puḷḷimayaṅkiyal, except the first four which are found in Tokaimarapu, 144, 147, 161.

2. This is a clear case of assimilation.

3. This generally happens when the initial member of the following word is a consonant.

4. This generally happens when the initial member of the following word is a vowel.

5. & 6. These may be called cases of epenthesis according to Vendreyes (cf. Language, p. 61) though Brugman gives the same name to a slightly different phenomenon.

bal nouns in both kinds of sandhi)		$uriṇ-u-\tilde{n}āṇrati$.)
η (in case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, p	Changed to t (e.g. $maṇ + kuṭam = maṭkuṭam$.)
<i>Exceptions:</i>		
η (of the words $\tilde{a}\eta$ and $\phi\eta$)	Do.	No change. (e.g. $\tilde{a}\eta kai$.)
η (of $\tilde{a}\eta$ denoting tree)	k, c, t, p	Flexional increment am is inserted. (e.g. $\tilde{a}\eta + kōṭū = \tilde{a}\eta-aṅ-kōṭū$.)
η (of $c\eta$ denoting food in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	Optionally changes to t (e.g. $c\eta + kaṭitū = cṭ-kaṭitū$.)
‘M’		
m (in case-relation sandhi).	k, c, t, p	m is dropped and the succeeding consonant is doubled. (e. g. $maram + kōṭū = mara-k-kōṭū$.)
Do.	a or $\tilde{a}$	m is dropped and the preceding a is optionally lengthened or is followed by intervocalic v . (e.g. $maram + aṭi = marā-aṭi$ ¹ or $maravaṭi$.)
Do.	k, c, t, p	m is dropped and sometimes the corresponding nasal is inserted instead of k, c, t, p , (e.g. $kuḷam + karai = kuḷakkarai$ or $kuḷaṅ-karai$.)
m (in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	m is changed to the nasal corresponding to k, c, t, p . (e. g. $maram + kuritū = maraṅkuritū$.)
m (of $\tilde{a}yiram$)	word denoting number	m is dropped and $attu$ is inserted. (e.g. $\tilde{a}yiram + onrū = \tilde{a}yirattonrū$.)
m (of $\tilde{a}yiram$)	word denoting measure and	m is dropped and k, c, t, p are doubled. (e. g.

1. This is a case of hiatus; but now $\tilde{a}a$ is pronounced like $\phi l u t a$ in Sanskrit.

	weight beginning with <i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>āyiram</i> + <i>pānai</i> = <i>āyirā-pānai</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of <i>num</i>)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	¹ <i>m</i> is dropped and the nasal corresponding to <i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>num</i> + <i>kai</i> = <i>nuñ-kai</i> .)
<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>m</i> is shortened to $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā. (e.g. <i>nilam</i> + <i>valitū</i> = <i>nilamvalitū</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of words denoting star)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>attu</i> and <i>ān</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>makam</i> + <i>koṇṭān</i> = <i>makattārkoṇṭān</i> .)
	‘ <i>N</i> ’	
<i>n</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>poṇ-kuṭam</i> = <i>porṇkuṭam</i> .)
<i>n</i> (of words <i>maṇ</i> , <i>cin</i> , <i>ān</i> , <i>in</i> , <i>muṇ</i> , <i>pin</i> of verbal participle)	Do.	changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>pin-koṇṭān</i> = <i>pirkoṇṭān</i> .)
<i>n</i> (of <i>avvayin</i> , <i>ivvayin</i> , <i>uvvayin</i> , <i>cvvayin</i>)	Do.	Do.
<i>n</i> (of <i>mīn</i>)	Do.	Optionally changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>mīnkoṇṭān</i> or <i>mīrkoṇṭān</i> .)
<i>n</i> (of <i>tēn</i>)	Do.	(1) No change; (2) <i>n</i> is changed to <i>r</i> ; (3) <i>n</i> is dropped and the following consonant is doubled; or (4) nasal is inserted. (e.g. <i>tēnkuṭam</i> , <i>tērkuṭam</i> , <i>tēkkkuṭam</i> or <i>tēñkuṭam</i> .)
<i>n</i> (of words <i>min</i> , <i>pin</i> , <i>paṇ</i> and <i>kaṇ</i>)	Do.	<i>n</i> and <i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>minṇu-k-kaṭumai</i> .)
<i>n</i> (of the word <i>cāttan</i> the name of a person)	<i>lantai</i> (denoting relationship)	² <i>tan</i> of <i>cāttan</i> is dropped. (e.g. <i>cāttan</i> + <i>tantai</i> = <i>cāttantai</i> .)
<i>n</i> (of the words <i>ātan</i> and <i>pūtan</i>)	Do.	³ Do. (e.g. <i>ātan</i> + <i>tantai</i> = <i>āntai</i> .)

1. This may be otherwise stated that *m* is assimilated to *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*.
2 & 3. These are cases of *haplology*.

<i>n</i> (of <i>tān</i> , <i>pēn</i> , <i>kōn</i>)	<i>lantai</i> (denoting relationship)	¹ No change. <i>tān</i> + <i>tantai</i> = <i>tānrantai</i> .)
<i>n</i> (of <i>tān</i> , <i>yān</i> in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>tān</i> is changed to <i>tan</i> and <i>yān</i> to <i>en</i> . (e.g. <i>tān</i> + <i>ai</i> = <i>tanmai</i> , <i>yān</i> + <i>ai</i> = <i>enmai</i> .)
<i>n</i> (of <i>tān</i> , <i>yān</i> in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	No change.
<i>n</i> (of <i>muṇ</i>)	<i>il</i>	² <i>r</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>muṇril</i> .)
<i>n</i> (of <i>alan</i>)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>n</i> is dropped and the succeeding consonant is doubled. (e.g. <i>alan-kuṭam</i> = <i>alakkkuṭam</i> .)
	‘ <i>Y</i> ’	
<i>y</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> are respectively inserted, and in some cases <i>n</i> , <i>ñ</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>m</i> are also respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>nāy</i> + <i>kāl</i> = <i>nāykkāl</i> ; <i>vēy</i> + <i>kurai</i> = <i>vēykkurai</i> , <i>vēyñkurai</i> .)
<i>Exceptions:</i>		
<i>y</i> (of the word <i>tāy</i>)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	No change, (e.g. <i>tāykai</i>)
<i>y</i> (of the word <i>tāy</i> preceded by <i>maṇ</i>)	Do.	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>maṇ-rāykkālām</i> .)
<i>Non-case-relation Sandhi:</i>		
<i>y</i>	Do.	No change. (e.g. <i>nāy-kaṭitū</i>)
	‘ <i>R</i> ’	
<i>r</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>tēr</i> + <i>kāl</i> = <i>tērkkāl</i> .)
<i>r</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	No change.
<i>r</i> (of words <i>ār</i> , <i>vetir</i> , <i>cār</i> and <i>pīr</i>)	Do.	<i>n</i> , <i>ñ</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>m</i> are respectively inserted.

1. Though ‘*n*’ does not change here, ‘*r*’ of the following word changes to ‘*r*.’

2. Here the words *il* and *muṇ* are first of all interchanged. This may be taken as a case of *metathesis* of whole words.

<i>r</i> (of <i>cār</i>)	<i>k</i> of <i>kāl</i>	<i>k</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>cār-kāl</i>)
<i>r</i> (of <i>pār</i>)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>pār + kōṭṭu = pār-am-kōṭṭu</i> .)
	‘ <i>L</i> ’	
<i>l</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>kal + kurai = kar-kurai</i> .)
Do.	<i>ñ, ñ, n, m</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>u</i> . (e.g. <i>kal + muri = kaṇmuri</i> .)
<i>l</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Either no change or <i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>kal + kuritū = kalkuritū</i> or <i>kar-kuritū</i> .)
Do.	<i>t</i>	<i>l</i> is optionally changed to <i>ṣ</i> when <i>t</i> is changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>kal + tītū = kaṣṣitū</i> or <i>karṣitū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>nel, cel, kol</i> and <i>col</i> in non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> .
<i>l</i> (of <i>il</i> denoting negation)	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are optionally inserted with <i>ai</i> or <i>a</i> before it; or no change. (e.g. <i>il + korṟaṇ = illaikkorṟaṇ</i> ; <i>il-lākkōṟṟaṇ</i> , <i>illaikorṟaṇ</i> ; <i>en + il + kuṇam = eṇṇil-kuṇam</i>)
<i>l</i> (of <i>val</i>)	Do.	<i>u</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>val + kaṭitū = vallu-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>val</i> followed by <i>nāy</i> and <i>ṭalakai</i>)		<i>a</i> alone or <i>a</i> and <i>p</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>vallanāy</i> , <i>valla-p-ṭalakai</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>pūl</i>)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>pūl + kōṭṭu = pūlaṇkōṭṭu</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>veyil</i>)	Do.	<i>attū</i> is inserted.
	‘ <i>V</i> ’	
<i>v</i> (of <i>av, iv, uv</i>)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>varṟu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>av + kōṭṭu = av-varṟu-kōṭṭu</i> ; <i>av + kōṭṭu = avarṟukkōṭṭu</i> .)

<i>v</i> (of non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	<i>v</i> is changed to <i>ṣ</i> (e.g. <i>av + kaṭiya = aṣkaṭiya</i> .)
<i>v</i>	<i>ñ, n, m</i>	<i>ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>v</i>	semi-vowels or vowels.	No change.
<i>v</i> (of <i>tev</i>)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>u</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted (e.g. <i>tev + kaṭitū = tev-v-u-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
	‘ <i>L</i> ’	
<i>l</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>pūl + kāl = pūl-k-kāl</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of the word <i>tāl</i>)	<i>k</i> of the word <i>kōl</i>	<i>akkū</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>tālakkōl</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of the word <i>tamil</i>)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>akkū</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>tamil + kūttū = tamil-akkūtū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of the word <i>pāl</i>)	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> or <i>ñ, ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>pāl-k-kinārū</i> , <i>pāl-ñ-kinārū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>ēl</i>)	Do.	<i>aṇ</i> is inserted. (<i>ēl + kāyam = ēlaṇkāyam</i>)
<i>l</i> (of <i>ēl</i> when followed by words denoting measure and weight)		<i>ē</i> is shortened to <i>e</i> and <i>u</i> is inserted after <i>l</i> . (e.g. <i>ēlu-kalam</i>)
<i>l</i> (of <i>ēl</i> when followed by <i>āyiram</i>)		Only <i>ē</i> is shortened to <i>e</i> . (e.g. <i>ēl + āyiram = eḷāyiram</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>ēl</i> when followed by <i>nurāyiram</i>)		No change. (e.g. <i>ēlnurāyiram</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>ēl</i> when followed by <i>tāmarai, veḷḷam, āmpal</i> denoting number)		No change.
<i>l</i>	Vowels.	No change.
<i>l</i> (of <i>kāl</i>)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are optionally inserted. (e.g. <i>kūḷkuḷam</i> or <i>kūḷkkuḷam</i> .)

1. In Modern Tamil, *ēlāyiram* is used instead of *eḷāyiram*. But on the other hand, *eḷunūṟū* is used instead of *ēlnūṟū*.

‘I.’		
l̥ (in case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, p	l̥ is changed to l̥. (e. g. <i>mul̥ + kurai = mul̥-kurai</i> .)
Do.	ñ, n, m.	¹ l̥ is changed to ñ. (e.g. <i>mul̥ + maram = mun̥-maram</i> .)
l̥ (in non-case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, p	Either no change or l̥ is changed to l̥. (e. g. <i>mul̥-kaṭitū</i> or <i>mut̥-kaṭitū</i> .)
Do.	t	² l̥ is also changed to ʃ while t is changed to t̥ (e.g. <i>mul̥ + t̥itū = muʃ-t̥itū</i> ; also <i>mut̥t̥itū</i> .)
l̥ (of the word <i>irul</i>)	k, c, t, p	<i>attu</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>irulattukkoṇṭān</i> .)
l̥ (of <i>puḷ</i> and <i>vaḷ</i>)	Do.	u and one of k, c, t, p respectively are inserted. (e. g. <i>puḷḷukkakaṭitū</i> etc.)

2.1126. The changes when the final member of the standing word is *ū*.

Non-case-relation sandhi:³

ū	k, c, t, p	No change. (e. g. <i>nākkū-kaṭitū</i> .)
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Exceptions:

ū (at the end of words like ⁴ <i>kokkū</i> , <i>pākkū</i> , where there is doubling of consonant in the middle)	Do.	k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>kokkū + kaṭitū = kokkū-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
ū (at the end of words beginning with demonstrative roots <i>a</i> , <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> lengthened and the interrogative <i>yā</i>) ⁵	Do.	Do. (e. g. <i>āñkū + koṇṭān = āñkū-k-koṇṭān</i> .)

1. In modern days we find the word *mul̥maram* also.
2. This is a case of both progressive and regressive assimilation.
3. *Allatū kiḷappi n̥-ellā mol̥iyuñ*
Colliya paṇṇi n̥-iyarkai y-ūkum. (Tol. E. 426.)
4. *Valloṟṟū-t toṭar-moli val̥luttu mikumē*. (ibid. 427.)
5. *Cuttu-c-cinai n̥tiya men̥roṭar mol̥iyum*
Yā-viṇā mutaliya men̥roṭar mol̥iyum
Ā-y-ya r̥iriyā val̥lutt tiyarkai. (ibid. 428).

ū (at the end of words beginning with interrogative <i>yā</i>) ¹	k, c, t, p	Optionally no change. (e. g. <i>yāñkū-koṇṭān</i>)
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Case-relation sandhi:

ū (at the end of words with ² a single long vowel or with two or more vowels other than <i>ū</i> in the word)	Do.	k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>yāṭṭū + kāl = yāṭṭū-k-kāl</i> ; <i>varakū + ceṭi = varakūcceṭi</i> .)
ū (at the end of words with ³ a conjunct consonant or ʃ in the middle)	Do.	No change. (e.g. <i>teḷkū-kāl</i> or <i>eʃkū-kāl</i> .)
ū (at the end of words having a double voiceless consonant in the middle or a voiceless consonant preceded by a like nasal)	k, c, t, p	k, c, t, p are inserted respectively; in the second case, the voiced consonant in the middle is optionally made voiceless. (e.g. <i>kokkū-k-kāl</i> ; <i>kurañkū-k-kāl</i> ; <i>kurakkū-k-kāl</i> .)
ū ⁴	y	ū is changed to ī. (e. g. <i>nākkū + yāṭṭi = nākiyāṭṭi</i> .)
ū (at the end of words ⁶ denoting trees)	k, c, t, p	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>teñkū + kāy = teñkāñkāy</i>) ⁷ .

1. *Yā-viṇā mol̥iyē y-iyalpu m-ākum*. (ibid. 429).
2. *Īreluttū mol̥iyu m-uyir-t-toṭar mol̥iyum*
Vēṟṟumai y-āyi n̥-or̥ṟṟai y-īṇa-mikat
Tōṟṟam vēṇṭum val̥luttū mikuti. (ibid. 412).
3. *Ītai-y-or̥ṟu-t toṭaru m-āyta-t toṭarum*
Nāṭaiyā y-iyala v-eṇmaṇṭar pulavar. (ibid. 414).
4. *Vaṇroṭar mol̥iyu men̥roṭar mol̥iyum*
Vanta val̥lutt t-or̥ṟṟai mikumē
Melloṟṟu-t toṭar-moli melloṟ r̥-ellām
Valloṟ r̥-iṟuti kiḷai-y-or̥ r̥-ākum. (ibid. 415).
5. *Yakaram varu-val̥i y-ikarai kur̥ukum*
Ukara-k-kiḷavi tuvara-t tōṇṟūtū. (ibid. 411.)
6. *Mara-p-peyar-k kiḷavi-k k-ammē cūriyai*. (ibid. 416.)
7. In the example *tēkkāñkāy* three points are worth noting :—(1)

when *ū* of *teñkū* is joined with *a* of *am*, *ū* is dropped. Whenever *ū* is followed by a vowel, it is dropped. But this rule is not given in *kur̥riyalukara-p-puṇariyal*; In *puṇariyal* there is a sūtra ‘*kur̥riya l-ukaramu m-ar̥ṟeṇa mol̥ipa*’ (Tol. E. 106) where the commentator Īlampūraṇar says that it allows itself to be absorbed by the succeeding vowel as a

<i>ñ</i> (of <i>puṇkū</i> , etc.) ¹	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	² <i>am</i> is inserted; but the medial nasal is not changed to the corresponding voiceless consonant. (c. g. <i>puṇkū</i> + <i>kōṭū</i> = <i>puṇkaṅkōṭū</i> .)
<i>ñ</i> (of <i>aṣṭū</i> , <i>iṣṭū</i> , <i>uṣṭū</i> in non - case - relation sandhi.)	any vowel	No change.
Do. ⁴	any consonant.	<i>ṣ</i> is dropped

Tolkāppiyāṇār explains in about 50 sūtras the changes which *ñ* at the end of Tamil numbers from one to thousand undergoes when it is followed by words denoting number, measure and weight. Here two sūtras dealing with the formation of the words *tonṇūṇū* (ninety) and *tolḷāyiram* (nine hundred) are worth noting. They are—

Oṇpā ṇ-okaramicai-t takara moṇṇum
Muntai y-orṇē ṇakāra m-iraṭṭum
Paṣṭeṇ kiḷavi y-āyta-paka raṇ-keṭa
Nirṇal vēṇṭu mukārak kiḷavi
Oṇṇiya takaram rakara m-ākum. (Tol. E. 446.)

Oṇpāṇ mutāṇilai muntū-kiḷan tarṇē
Muntai y-orṇē lakāra m-iraṭṭum
Nuṇṇe kiḷavi nakāra mey-keṭa
Ūv-ā v-āku m-iyarṇkai-t t-eṇṇa
Āyiṭai varuta l-ikāra rakāram
Īṇumey keṭuttu makara m-orṇum. (ibid. 464.)

consonant does, but this commentary does not suit well since the consonant sound does not allow itself to be absorbed by the succeeding vowel. (2) *tēkkāṅkāy* is now used as *tēṅkāy*; this is an illustration of haplology. (3) the *ē* in *tēṅkāy* is the lengthened form of *e* in *teṅkū*; the lengthening here ought to have been done as compensation for the loss of the succeeding sounds; the same cannot be said of *ē* in *tēkkāṅkāy*.

1. *Melloṇṇu valiyā mara-p-peyaru m-uḷavē.* (Tol. E. 417.)
2. It is worthy of note that *ṇ* in *puṇkū* is not assimilated to *k* and consequently changed to *ñ*; but, in modern days, in spoken Tamil it is changed to *ñ* also.
3. *Muṇṇu-uyir varum-iṭa-t t-āyta-p puḷḷi*
Maṇṇal vēṇṭu m-alvaḷi y-ūṇa. (Tol. E. 424.)
4. *Ēṇai-muṇṇ varinṇē tūṇilai y-iṇṇē.* (ibid. 425.)

WRITERS QUOTED IN THE ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ*

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The Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta, the only available commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra opens our eyes to a vast vista of the Nāṭya literature that existed before Abhinavagupta, independent treatises on drama, dance and music, as also regular commentaries on the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata. Its importance to the student of the history of Nāṭya and Saṅgīta cannot be over-emphasised. Though we know of the antiquity of Nāṭya and Saṅgīta, it seems that their study had a renaissance in Kashmir in the time of Jayāpīḍa. Earlier works as of Mātṛgupta existed but it was a period of more vigorous study that began in the time of king Jayāpīḍa. Kalhaṇa says in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī (IV 422—484) that while wandering incognito with the name Kallaṭa, in the kingdom of Paunḍhravardhana ruled by prince Jayanta, Jayāpīḍa saw in a temple the presentation of Nāṭya by courtezans according to the science of Bharata which he knew well. Jayāpīḍa lived sometime with one of those courtezans, Kamalā by name and brought her with himself to Kashmir as a queen. Naturally Jayāpīḍa evinced great enthusiasm for Nāṭya and asked his court-poet, Udbhaṭa to write a commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata. Udbhaṭa's commentary is the first and it inaugurated an era of vigorous study of the Nāṭya Śāstra. This period produced innumerable works and it closed with the time of Abhinavagupta, after which the Śāstra began to flourish in Central and South India.

* Mention of many of the writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī is already made by Dr. Sankaran, in his book, 'Theories of Rasa and Dhvani', chap. VIII, pp. 92-96. A few names have also been noticed by Mr. R. Ramamurti. Vide J. O. R. previous numbers. This paper of mine brings to light more writers on Dramaturgy who have not been noticed previously and further collects the fragments of some of the writers quoted, explains the quotations wherever possible and discusses related issues also.

Abhinavagupta's life was a full and rich one. He was a great Śaivite Ācārya who had written numerous works on Śaivism. His family itself was full of scholars. After he became a Śaivācārya, 'शिवस्मृतिकृतार्थ' as he himself says, he took to Poetics and Dramaturgy. Rather it was drama that he studied at first. His first guru was Bhaṭṭa Tota or Tauta, whose work, the Kāvya-kautuka, as we shall see presently, generally spoke of poet and poetry, specially contributed a theory of Rasa-realisation and dealt with Dramaturgy at length. On this Abhinava commented, as he himself says in his commentary on the Dhvanyāloka, III p. 178. Abhinava was studying the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata under Tauta, the good Brahmin, 'सद्धिप्रतोत', as he describes his teacher in the introductory verses at the beginning of the Abhinavabhāratī. But meantime he had sought Bhaṭṭendurāja, a poet, and had studied the Dhvanyāloka under him, the result of which study is the commentary on the Dhvanyāloka by him, called the Locana, which by its excellence displaced the older commentary called Candrikā, written by one of Abhinava's own ancestors. (pp. 123 and 185 Locana.) It is after writing the Locana that Abhinava took up the stupendous task of writing a commentary on the Nāṭya Veda. The talents required to undertake that task must be of a many-sided nature, possessing mastery over Alaṅkāra Śāstra, the Daśarūpaka, Dance and Music. The problems of the Nāṭya Śāstra are many. Unless the bulk of early literature such as Kohala's work etc. is unearthed, these problems cannot be solved. Most of the ancient works were available to Abhinavagupta. Even then we can see that explanations in many places are imaginary or merely grammatical. This is true of many things in the text of the Bhāratīya Nāṭya Śāstra itself. But Abhinava's was the best commentary and it became a famous authority read widely. Śāradātanaya says that he wrote his Bhāva-prakāśa basing it on the work of Abhinavagupta, though as a matter of fact, this is only a courteous remark, Śāradātanaya being no follower of Abhinava. But in his time and afterwards the Abhinavabhāratī became the one standard work on Nāṭya. As far as needed in the Alaṅkāra Śāstra, Hemacandra freely reproduced its passages. Rāmacandra's Nāṭyadarpaṇa, in its Vṛtti, completely reproduces many a passage of the Abhinavabhāratī. So also Catura Kallinātha's commentary, Kalānidhi, on Śārngadeva's Saṅgītaratnākara. The Saṅgītaratnākara itself bases its last chapter, the Nartanādhyāya on the Abhinavabhāratī.

As for instance, see the section on Nāṭyadharmī and Lokadharmī.

As a great scholar, master of many Śāstras, Abhinava has occasion to quote authorities of many branches of study in his voluminous commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra. Thus while commenting on the word 'संप्रवर्तते' chap. X, p. 317, Vol. II, Mad. Ms. he quotes Bhartṛmītrācārya, a scholar of Mīmāṃsā and Vyākaraṇa. Bhartṛmītrācārya was one of those who made the Mīmāṃsā, Lōkāyata. vide Śloka Vārttika, p. 4. Chowk. edn. Pārthasārathi comments on Śl. 10 thus—

“मीमांसा हि भर्तृमित्रादिभिः अलोकायतैव सती लोकायतीकृता ।”

As a grammarian, he is quoted in Mukula's Abhidhāvṛtti-mātrkā, p. 17, Nir. S. edn. He is given there as the author of the well known Kārikā on the 5 kinds of लक्षणा, अभिधेयेन संबन्धात् etc. which is quoted by all writers. Abhinava quotes him to show how sometimes the origin of a new significance to a root as a result of the added Upasarga is not a rule. After briefly speaking of this अनित्यत्व of the उपसर्गार्थयोग on the authority of Bhartṛmītrācārya, Abhinava says that he stops this grammatical discussion since it will tire the प्रकृताधिकारिन्s, (i.e.) students of Nāṭya. This reference is to show the nature of the sort of references occurring in the Abhinavabhāratī. I shall mention one by one the authors and works thus quoted, giving less attention to writers of extraneous subjects and more to writers on Nāṭya and Saṅgīta. I do not deal with any of the poets whose verses are quoted. The poets quoted must be the subject of a separate paper. There are many valuable names, one such being Hāsa,¹ who

1. P. 251. Gaek. edn. The editor suggests in the brackets that Hāsa may be Bhāsa. The name Hāsa and one Anuṣṭubh verse of his on Śakūra are again found on p. 433, Vol. II, Mad. Ms. “अथ च (तथा च) हासस्य श्लोकः, ‘प्राकृतेऽपि शकारस्य विभूतिर्न प्रसिद्धये । तद्विभूतिरपभ्रंशतावत्स्वेव प्रकाशिता ॥” Hāsa may be a mistake for Bhāsa or Hāla or for anything. But why should not there be a poet and dramatist called Hāsa ?

[The references in the printed portion of the Abhinavabhāratī are to page number of Vol. I of the edition of the Nāṭya Śāstra with the Abhinavabhāratī in the Gaek. series. The references in the unprinted portion are to page number of the manuscript of the Abhinavabhāratī in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.]

is twice quoted. I shall make one exception and mention one poet, belonging to the family of Abhinavagupta.

At the end of the Parātrīṃśikā, written for the sake of one Karna and Abhinava's own brother named Manoratha, Abhinava gives his geneology thus: The Kūṭastha is Atrigupta; Abhinava's father is Cukhala and grandfather Varāhagupta. This father Cukhala or Cukhalaka is given in the Mad. Ms. of the Abhinava-bhārati as दुःखल.

इत्थं दशममध्यायं व्यचष्टे च समासतः ।

शिवस्मृतिकृतार्थोऽपि परार्थं दुःखलात्मजः ॥ Vol. II, p. 325.

This दुःखल is evidently a mistake for चुखल, which seems to be the correct name since it is so given many times in the Parā-trimśikā and the Mālinītantravārtika.

The Abhinavabhārati, at the end of chapters 20 and 27 mentions another guru of Abhinava besides Tota and Bhaṭṭendurāja. He is called Nṛsinhagupta alias Mukhala and is given as the teacher of Abhinavagupta in the lore of music.

“नृसिंहगुप्तायतिनेत्यमत्र वृत्तिस्वरूपं प्रकटं व्यधायि ।

यत्तत् त्रिणेत्रेण हृदन्तरात्मस्वरूपमेव प्रकटं व्यधायि ॥

Vol. III, p. 14.

“नृसिंहगुप्तापरनामधेयो विद्यावदातो मुखलाभिधानः ।

यं गेह(य)विद्याभिरयूयुजत्स प्रयोगसिद्धिं कृतवान् महार्थम् ॥”

Vol. III, p. 93.

Originally, from the 'gupta' in the Sanskrit name and from the vernacular name Mukhala, which resembles Cukhala, the name of Abhinava's father, I thought that this music-teacher of Abhinava might be one of Abhinava's family. Recently I came across a Ms. called Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī Vyākhyā, an anonymous commentary on the commentary of Abhinava on the Īśvara Pratyabhijñā of Abhinava's Paramaguru, Śrīmad Utpaladeva. It is described under R. No. 4353. p. 6399 in the Triennial catalogue of the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, 1922-23 to 1924-25. From the opening sentence of that work we are able to identify that this Nṛsiṃhagupta is none else than Abhinava's own father. The Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī Vyākhyā says—

“इह विश्वानुजिघृक्षारः परमशिव एव सकलभूमण्डलोत्तरे श्रीमच्छारदादि-
न्यक्रीडासदने श्रीकाश्मीरदेशे श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तसहधर्मचारिण्यां श्रीमत्यां विमलायां
लीलया अवतीर्य श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तनाथ इति प्रख्याताभिधानः

.....
 श्रीमदुत्पलदेवाचार्यमुखोद्गीतं श्रीमदीश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाख्यं शास्त्रं व्याचिख्यासुः
 १”

Thus the father of Abhinava whose vernacular name alone as Cukhala, we knew till now, had the Saṁskṛta name as Nṛsiṁhagupta or Narasiṁhagupta. Abhinava learnt the Geyā-Vidyā under his own father. The name 'Mukhala' as given in the Ms. may be a mistake for Cukhala. We also come to know now that Abhinava's mother was named Vimalā.

From the *Abhinavabhārati* we know of two more members of Abhinava's family. One is Abhinava's paternal uncle, वामनगुप्त, a poet, one of whose verses, Abhinava quotes to illustrate *Hāsyābhāsa*.

“तत्र हास्याभासो यथा अस्मत्पितृव्यस्य वामनगुप्तस्य—

लोकोत्तराणि चरितानि न लोक एष

संमन्यते यदि किमङ्ग वदाव(म?) नाम ।

यत्त्वत्र हासमुखतस्त्वममुष्य तेन

पाश्वर्धोपपीडमिह को न विजाहसीति ॥ p. 297, Gaek. edn.

The other name is यशोरोग. Abhinava says that Yaśorāga is his own father's maternal grandfather. Such a distant relative to be specially referred to, in a manner which shows that Abhinava seems to be proud of his connection with him, should have been a great man. But of him we know little except what is said in this reference. Abhinava ends his commentary on the sixteenth chapter thus—

“इति षोडशमध्यायं ग्रन्थ(न्थं) निर्ग्रन्थिकं व्यधात् ।

यशोराशेर्यशोरागनामो(म्नो) दौहित्रदेहनः(जः) ।

Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. II, p. 420, Mad. Ms.

BHATTA TAUTA.

Coming to Abhinava's विद्याकुल — we already know that Bhaṭṭa Tauta is his guru in Nāṭya Sāstra. It is really Tauta that is a prominent figure of landmark in the history of the Nāṭya Sāstra and it is a pity that his Kāvyaakautuka is lost. The few

available glimpses, speaking so amply of the greatness of that work, only heighten our sorrow. Tota's definition of प्रतिभा very soon became classic and Kṣemendra quotes it in his Aucitya-vicāracarcā, mentioning Bhaṭṭa Tauta by name, while many others quote it anonymously.

“यदाह भट्टतौतः—प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता—इति ।”

Au. V. C. K. M. Gucc. I, p. 155.

Tota's definition of Kavi and Kāvya are equally famous and are quoted by many anonymously, as for instance by Hemacandra, p. 3, K. M. edn. Māṇikyaacandra quotes it, mentioning the source by name. Mammaṭa adopts Tota's definition and briefly says of poetry that it is लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणकविकर्म. Commenting on this, Māṇikyaacandra says—

“तथोक्तं काव्यकौतुके—

प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता ।

तदनुप्राणनाजीवद्वर्णनानिपुणः कविः ॥

तस्य कर्म स्मृतं काव्यम् ।”

p. 7, Mysore edn. K. Pr.

With reference to these definitions of Tota's of Pratibhā, Kavi and Kāvya, we have to consider a similar quotation by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dikṣita in his Kāvyaadarpaṇa.

“स्मृतिर्व्यतीतविषया मतिरागामिगोचरा ।

बुद्धिस्तात्कालिकी प्रोक्ता प्रज्ञा त्रैकालिकी मता ॥¹

प्रज्ञां नवनवोन्मेषशालिनीं प्रतिभां विदुः ।

द्वे वर्तनी गिरां देव्याः शास्त्रं च कविकर्म च ।²

प्रज्ञोपज्ञं तयोराद्यं प्रतिभोद्भवमन्तिमम् ॥”

Vol. I, p. 7, Vāṇī Vilās edn.

Tauta's definition of Pratibhā occurs here with a slight change. This quotation is anonymous. It will be surprising if it is a fact that at such a distant time, in the south, Rājacūḍāmaṇi had access to Tota's Kāvyaakautuka; in case we grant that, these verses may occur in some other place in the Kāvyaakautuka. Perhaps some later writer adopted Tota's definition into his.

1. Cf. “विधा च सा (बुद्धिः), स्मृतिः मतिः प्रज्ञेति । अतिक्रान्तस्य अर्थस्य स्मृती स्मृतिः । वर्तमानस्य मन्त्री मतिः । अनागतस्य प्रज्ञात्री प्रज्ञेति । सा त्रिप्रकाशपि कवीनामुपकर्त्री ।” Rājaśekhara's Kāvya Mīmāṃsā, I. 4, p. 10, Gaek. edn.

2. Cf. “इह हि वाङ्मयमुभयथा, शास्त्रं काव्यं च ।” Ibid. I. 2, p. 2.

Tota's definition of Kāvya quoted by Hemacandra and Māṇikyaacandra is quoted in the commentary on the Vyaktiviveka printed in the Triv. series.

“कविव्यापारः । अनेन कवेः कर्म काव्यमिति काव्यकौतुकविहितां काव्यस्य शब्दव्युत्पत्तिं कविमूलकाव्यत्वप्रतिपादि(तां?)कां दर्शयति । तत्र ह्युक्तं ‘तस्य कर्म स्मृतं काव्यम्’ इति ।

p. 13.

There is another quotation in Hemacandra from Tota, in which Tota speaks of the greatness of the poet, whom he calls as Sage and Seer. Hemacandra quotes the verses of Tota while speaking of the etymology of the word Kavi. The Kavi has ‘Darśana’ and ‘Varṇanā’. Without the latter the Sage and Seer does not become a poet. Mere thought is not poetry but only thought in poetic cast called Varṇanā.

तथा चाह भट्टतौतः

“नानृषिः कविरित्युक्तः ऋषिश्च किल दर्शनात् ।

विचित्रभावधर्मांशतत्त्वप्रख्या च दर्शनम् ॥

स तत्त्वदर्शनादेव शास्त्रेषु पठितः कविः ।

दर्शनाद्वर्णनाच्चाथ रूढा लोके कविश्रुतिः ॥

तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेर्मुनेः ।

नोदिता कविता लोके यावज्जाता न वर्णना ॥

p. 316, K. M. edn. K. A.

Tota is the first teacher of Abhinava in Alaṅkāra and Abhinava's commentary on Tota's Kāvyaakautuka is Abhinava's first work in Alaṅkāra. Abhinava refers to this commentary of his in his Locana, III. Ud. ‘Kāvyaakautukavivarṇa’ seems to be its name. The context where Abhinava refers to it in his Locana is Śānta Rasa. There seems to be a brilliant exposition of the Śānta Rasa as the greatest Rasa in the Kāvyaakautuka.

“मोक्षफलत्वेन चायं परमपुरुषार्थनिष्ठितत्वात् सर्वरसेभ्यः प्रधानतमः ।

स चायमस्मदुपाध्यायभट्टतौतेन काव्यकौतुके अस्माभिश्च तद्विवरणे बहुतर-कृतनिर्णयः ।”

p. 178.

Tota is not often referred to in the Locana, which often quotes the views and verses of Abhinava's other guru, Bhaṭṭendurāja, who taught him the Dhvanyāloka. There are however two more references to Tota in the Locana. The first of these two is on p. 29.

“यदुक्तमस्मदुपाध्यायभट्टतोतेन—

‘नायकस्य कवेः श्रोतुः समानोऽनुभवस्ततः ।’”

The second occurs on p. 149. Though as a rule references to ‘Upādhyāya’ in the Locana refer to Bhaṭṭendurāja, one such reference on the etymology of the word ‘Nāṭya Veda’ refers only to Bhaṭṭa Tota.

“प्रीत्यात्मा च रसः, तदेव नाट्यम्, नाट्य एव च वेद
इत्यस्मदुपाध्यायाः ।” p. 149.

Further it is Tota who demolished the theories of Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka on the subject of Rasa-realisation and probably expounded also a little in his Kāvya-kautuka the theory which Abhinava laterly expounded. Abhinava after stating the view of Śrī Śaṅkuka says at the beginning of its refutation—

“तदिदमपि अन्तस्तत्त्वशून्यं न विमर्दक्षममित्युपाध्यायाः ।

p. 275, Gaek. edn.

Tota has criticised Śaṅkuka's ideas of Nāṭa's Anukarṇa in his work. In this same context, Hemacandra and Māṇikya-candra have in the place of the above sentence of Abhinava, the following: ‘नैतदपीति भट्टतोतः ।’ Thus the order of the Rasa-Theorists is Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Tota, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta. The theory propounded by Abhinava is a slight change of that of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and might have been taught by Tota himself. There is no evidence of Tota having refuted Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka also. It is not unlikely that the Hṛdayadarpaṇa, which in style and execution, is a work that can be compared to the Kāvya-kautuka, came after Tota wrote his work.

References to Bhaṭṭa Tota in the Abhinavabhāratī are innumerable. References to him as the teacher of Abhinava in Nāṭya are two, one in the beginning of the commentary and the other at the end of the commentary on chapter XIX.

“साद्विप्रतोतवदनोदितनाट्यवेद-

तत्त्वार्थमर्थिजनवाञ्छितसिद्धिहेतोः ।

माहेश्वराभिनवगुप्तपदप्रतिष्ठः

संक्षिप्तवृत्तिविधिना विशदीकरोति ॥ p. 1, Gaek. edn. Śl. 4.

द्विजवरतोतनिरूपितसन्ध्यध्यातव्यतत्त्वघटनेयम् ।

अभिनवगुप्तेन कृता शिवचरणाम्भोजमधुपेन ॥

last verse, Chap. XIX, p. 543, Mad, Ms.

There are many references to the interpretations of difficult texts suggested by Tota. These are not given here; but only fragments of his Kāvya-kautuka, quoted by Abhinava, so that scholars may have an idea of the further nature of that work. Anuvādas or references to the views of Tota in his Kāvya-kautuka occurring in the Abhinavabhāratī are also given.

1. Commenting on the text of Bharata— ‘त्रैलोक्यस्यास्य सर्वस्य नाट्यं भावानुकीर्तनम्’—Abhinava, at great length, explains the significance of the word अनुकीर्तनम्, differentiates it from अनुकरणं or ‘Imitation’, criticises Anukarṇa and says that the text of the Kāvya-kautuka also on this subject must be taken to mean this.

“तस्मादनियतानुकारो नाट्यमिति न भ्रमितव्यम् । अस्मदुपाध्यायकृत-
काव्यकौतुकेऽप्येवमेव अभिप्रायो मन्तव्यः न त्वनियतानुकारोऽपि ।”

p. 37, Gaek. edn.

Abhinava's point is this. Drama is not exactly Imitation—Anukarṇa. That is, the idea of Anukarṇa must be modified. Imitation which is Drama is not the imitation which is the basis of laughter, of the Hāsyarasa.

परचेष्टानुकारणात् हासः समुपजायेत । N. Ś. VII. 116

Some others seem to have modified अनुकार into अनियतानुकार. Abhinava refutes this and says that the proper word for it is what Bharata has given—अनुकीर्तनम्, which he explains as अनुव्यवसाय.

“—तदिदमनुकीर्तनमनुव्यवसायविशेषो नाट्यापरपर्यायो नानुकार इति
भ्रमितव्यम् ।” p. 37, Gaek. edn.

“तेन अनुव्यवसायविशेषविषयीकार्यं नाट्यम् ।

“तस्मात् अनुव्यवसायात्मकं कीर्तनं रूपितविकल्पसंवेदनम् नाट्यम् ।”

p. 38, Gaek. edn.

2. In his commentary on the fourth chapter, Abhinava quotes Tota on the dances in the Pūrvaraṅga.

यथोक्तं भवति भट्टतोतेन—‘पर्यायशस्त्रस्य प्रयोगः’ इति

p. 187, Gaek. edn.

3. In chapter Six, on Rasas, Abhinava quotes Tota. Tota opines that Rasas are primarily in Nāṭya only, for it is necessary for Rasa-realisation that a thing must be made ‘प्रत्यक्ष’ by acting. This Rasa-realisation can also be in दृश्यकाव्य, if the descriptions

are powerful enough to make the story appear so vivid as drama enacted before our minds' eye.

“न नाट्य एव च रसाः काव्येऽपि, नाट्यायमान एव रसः, काव्यार्थ-विषये हि प्रत्यक्षकल्पसंवेदनोदये रसोदय इत्युपाध्यायाः । यदाहुः काव्यकौतुके—

‘प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने काव्ये नास्वादसंभवः ।’

‘वर्णनोत्कलिकाभोगप्रौढोक्त्या सम्यगर्पिताः ।

उद्यानकान्ताचन्द्राद्या भावाः प्रत्यक्षवत्स्फुटाः ॥’ इति ।”

pp. 291-2, Gaek. edn.

There is no possibility of delectation unless the poem attains the state of dramatic presentation—प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने. Therefore Rasa is realised perfectly only in drama.—नाट्यायमान एव रसः. Such Rasa-realisation can be from a Kāvya also if the description is brilliant, if it is as powerful and living as if enacted before our eyes. The masterpoet's प्रौढोक्ति has that power to make things like garden, heroine, moon etc. appear as if they are seen with the eyes—प्रत्यक्षवत्स्फुटाः. Others however hold a different view of Rasa-realisation in Kāvya but Abhinava follows his teacher and says that Kāvya is in essence dramatic, and hence Rasa-realisation. But he adds that greater than the narrative and descriptive Māhā-Kāvya, it is drama that is Kāvya par excellence. He quotes Vāmana here: सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः ।

“अन्ये तु काव्येऽपि गुणालंकारसौन्दर्यातिशयकृतं रसचर्वणमाहुः । वयं तु ब्रूमः, काव्यं तावन्मुख्यतो दशरूपकमेव । तत एवोच्यते ‘सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकमिते(ति ?) ।’ काव्यं च नाट्यमेव ”¹

4. The fourth quotation from the Kāvya-kautuka is on the 10 Avasthās of Śṛṅgāra.

“यदा तु विप्रलम्भाङ्गता न भवति, तदा स्वातन्त्र्यम् । तदुक्तम् अस्मदुपाध्यायभट्टतोतेन—

‘स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रवृत्तौ तु सर्वप्राणिषु सम्भवः’ इति ।” p. 310, Gaek. edn.

Bharata discusses the question, how in Śṛṅgāra, which is रतिप्रभव, developed from the Sthāyin called Rati, there appear Bhāvas of the Karuṇa Rasa? The reply is that these Bhāvas appear in the second aspect of Śṛṅgāra called Vipralambha, which

1. Vide Hemacandra, K. A. Viveka, II, p. 68 for an epitome of this portion of the Abhinavabhāratī.

is of ten stages or states as shown in the Vaiśika Śāstras. It is only as विप्रलम्भाङ्ग that these ten states appear in the Nāyaka or Nāyikā. There are other places where independently or in the absence of Śṛṅgāra, these states appear. These can appear in all beings and have nothing to do with Vipralambha, when they are thus ‘Svatantra.’ Abhinava gives the illustration of the states in Rāvaṇa, where also they are Svatantra, since in Rāvaṇa, it is a case of Rasābhāsa.

5. In the commentary on chap. XIII Tota is quoted on Nāṭyadharmī and Lokadharmī.

“यथोक्तमस्मदुपाध्यायैः

‘यदत्रास्ति न तत्रास्य कविर्वर्णनमर्हति ।

यन्नासंभवती तत्र न स्यात् तद् ग्यम् ॥(?)

Vol. II, p. 358, Mad. Ms.

6. The next reference is in chap. XIV.

“यन्तु उपाध्यायैः काव्यकौतुके ‘रसोद्देशपरश्लोकः’ इत्यादि निरूपितं तदुक्तानार्थतयैव न ग्रहीतव्यम् ।”

Vol. II, p. 364, Mad. Ms.

7. The seventh quotation from the Kāvya-kautuka is in the fifteenth chapter.

“यद्यपि नाटकादिरूपकविरचनकाले पठितत्व(स्व)प्रज्ञस्य (?) न क्रम-प्रतिभासः, तथाप्यपोद्धारधिया कल्प्यत इत्याहुः । प्रथमस्य ये (?) युक्तोऽभ्यासः तन्निष्पत्तिः प्रबन्धाभ्यासः । तत्संपत्तिरभिनयार्थनिर्वर्तनं तदभिनयारोपणमिति । स एव क्रम इत्युपाध्यायाः । यदाहुः—

“महाकवीनां पदवीमुदात्तामाततक्षताम् ।

ये संस्पृश्य पदस्पर्शात् संपत्सोपानपद्धतिः ॥”

Vol. II, p. 377—378.

8. In chapter 16, in the commentary on the section on the 36 Kāvya Lakṣaṇas, which has 2 recensions in the text of the N.S. Abhinava says that he follows mainly the Upajāti recension which has been handed down to him from his teacher.

“उद्देशक्रमस्तु अस्मदुपाध्यायपरम्परागतः ।”

Vol. II, p. 384.

There is evidence to show that the Kāvya-kautuka dealt with the 36 Lakṣaṇas. Vide my paper on Lakṣaṇa published in the last issue of this Journal. Abhinava, on p. 404, in the same chapter, refers also to the view of Tota that Alāṅkāras multiply by

mixing with the Lakṣaṇas. In a quotation from Tota found in a further context, there is mention of Lakṣaṇa along with Alaṅkāra, Gūṇa etc.

9. In chapter XIX, on the Sandhis of a drama, Abhinava quotes Tota who says that all actions have the five stages, प्रारम्भ etc. The text is bad and this much can be reproduced here.

“उपाध्यायास्त्वाहुः, ‘सर्वत्रैवेतिवृत्तं पञ्चसन्ध्येव । न हि कश्चिदपि व्यापारेण ।’” Vol. II, p. 495.

10. The fragment No. 5 given above is again quoted along with its following verse. The text is better in this second quotation but still much of what it means is not easily made out. This quotation is in chap. XIX.

“रसोपयोगी तथाविधः कालविशेषो ग्रहीतव्यः । तथा च रत्नावल्यां भूयसा चन्द्रोदयो वर्णितः, ‘संप्रत्येव सरोरुहद्युतिमुषः’ इति, ‘उदयतटान्तरितम्’, इति, ‘वक्त्रेन्दौ तत्र सत्ययं यदपरः शीतांशुरुज्जृम्भते’ इत्येवं रसोपयोग्यलौकिककालविशेषग्रहणप्रच्छेदकादुपजीवितः । यदाहुरुपाध्यायपादाः—

‘यदत्रास्ति न तत्रास्य कविर्वर्णनमर्हति ।
यन्नासम्भवि तत्राख्यतद्वर्ण्यं सौमनस्यदम् ॥
देशादिदंतुरो दौर्वा तटिकुण्डलमण्डिता ॥
....कृष्णाथवा न सत् किं कदाचन कुत्रचित् ॥’

इत्यादि ।” p. 535, Vol. II.

11. The biggest quotation from the Kāvya-kautuka, containing four verses, is the following. It describes वाच्याभिनय or वाचिकाभिनय, the text of a drama.

“अलौकिकवैचित्र्यसरो हि रसः । तथा चेत्तं भट्टतोतेन—
‘लक्षणालकृतिगुणा दोषाः शब्दप्रवृत्तयः ।
वृत्तिसन्ध्यङ्गसंरम्भः संहारो यः कवेः किल ॥
अन्योऽन्यस्यानुकूल्येन सम्भूयैव समुत्थितैः ।
शटित्येव रसा यत्र व्यज्यन्ते ह्लादिभिर्गुणाः(णैः) ॥
वृत्तैः सरलवन्धैर्यन्मुखैश्चूर्णपदैरपि ।
अ(सु)श्लिष्टद्वयघटनभाषया सुप्रसिद्धया ॥

यच्चेदृक् काव्यमात्रं सत् रसभावानुभावत(भावकम्, भावनम्) ।
समान्येऽभिनये प्रोक्तं वाच्याभिनयसंज्ञया ॥” Vol. II, p. 541.

12. In chapter XXIII, while speaking of the ten Avasthās of Kāma, upon which Abhinava quoted Tota in an earlier instance also, given above as no 4.—Abhinava again quotes Tota.

“तथा च भट्टतोतेन उक्तम्—
‘कामावस्था न शृङ्गारः कचिदासां तदङ्गता ।’” Vol. III, p. 55.

13. In the Tālādhyāya, (chap. XXXII) there is a reference to an opinion of Tota expressed in his Kāvya-kautuka and there is also a small quotation from it. The point in discussion and the reference to Tota appeared earlier also. Vide p. 173, Gaek. edn. The text is very bad and its import cannot be made out.

“तथा च डोम्बिकासु स एवार्थः प्रधानभूत इति चूडामणौ स्पष्टमेव उक्तम् । ‘चोरि अमिकुणभवं महसा कुकुंमे हितइ’ इति । तथा च चिरन्तनोऽयं प्रवाद(दः) पडमचूडामणीया इति । तदेतत् भट्टतोतेन काव्यकौतुके वितत्य दर्शितं च ‘सारैस्तु नये नुष्यते’ इति । लोके शास्त्रान्तरे चैवं प्रधानाङ्गानां प्रधानन्यायिनाम् अन्योन्यमनुनयसंमतमेवेति यावत् । (?)”

The earlier reference to the same point mentioned above is in the discussion on the difference between Nāṭya and Nṛtṭya.

“अत एव चूडामणिडोम्बिकायां प्रतिज्ञातम् ‘बिन्दुगुणं वमि सहि इहोदिवचो अमिदुणवं । महसारक गेते उं(?)’ अत एव सहृदयाः स्मरन्ति ‘वध(स)मचूडामणिआ ।’ तस्मान्मुक्तं च नाट्यादभिन्नं तल्लक्षणोपेतत्वात् ।”

p. 173, Gaek. edn.

The Dombikā is an Uparūpaka, a Nṛtṭyaprabandha. The Cūḍāmaṇi Dombikā which Abhinava refers to more than once is an example of it. It can be inferred from another reference that one Rāṇaka was the author of this Cūḍāmaṇi Dombikā.

“अत एवैतत्स्थानोपजीविभिरेव श्रीराणकादिकविभिः डोम्बिकादौ चतुरपसारकः प्रयोगः ।” p. 190, Gaek. edn.

14. On p. 184, Vol. III there is a discussion on the language to be used in the Lāsyāṅga called शीर्षक. This Āṅga of Lāsyā VI—21

called शीर्षक is considered as the greatest, since it is described as Uttamottama and naturally we find a variety of views on the subject of the language to be used in it. Some say it is Sanskrit; others, Prākṛt. Bhaṭṭa Tota is quoted here as holding the view that since the context is one speaking of the Saindhavī Prākṛt, the Śiṣaka must be in the Saindhavī Prākṛt.

“यत्र भाषानियमो नोक्तः तत्र प्राथम्यात् संस्कृतैव । यथेच्छमित्यन्ये ।
स्त्रीपुंभावाश्रयत्वात् प्राकृतभाषैवेत्यपरे । सैन्धव्येव प्रकरणात् इति भट्टतोतः ।
यदाह काव्यकौतुके—

‘न भाषानियमः पात्रे काव्ये स्यात् सैन्धवीमिति ।’ Vol. III, p. 181.

15. In the Sāmānyābhinaya chapter, Bharata has given Vākya (i. e.) Vācikābhinaya as one of the six varieties of Śārīrābhinaya. Surely speech is physical, Śārīra, but in that case even Bhāvas would have to be called similarly. In connection with this difficulty, Abhinava quotes a peculiar definition of Vācikābhinaya itself offered by his teacher Tota. The text here is bad, though a reference to Tota can be clearly seen. The text can be thus given.

“तत एव—

‘.....रसभावानुभावकम् ।

तदा तदेव वाक्का(व्या)भिनयः.... ॥’ ”

This then, Abhinava explains and thus concludes—

“इत्युपाध्यायेनायमेकीयोऽभिप्रायो दर्शितः ।” Vol. IV, p. 40.

BHAṬṬENDURĀJA.

All the ‘Upādhyāyas’ occurring in the Abhinavabhāratī refer only to Bhaṭṭa Tota. Bhaṭṭendurāja is quoted as a poet, his verses occurring as illustrations for the Lakṣaṇas etc. As in the Locana, here also he is extravagantly praised by Abhinava and in one place he is classed along with Vyāsa and Kālidāsa for प्रतिभाज्ञानातिशय ! Vol. II, P. 378. On p. 35 Vol. III, there is one noteworthy reference to him. The context is the Alankāras of the Nāyikās, viz., Śobhā, Vilāsa etc., coming under Sāmānyābhinaya. While illustrating Vibhrama comes the verse from K. S. I. ‘गतेषु लीलान्वितविभ्रमेषु.’ An emendation of this by some one who is

described as तन्त्रज्ञ is given by Abhinava, viz., गतेषु लीलान्वितसुन्दरेषु. Abhinava refutes this emendation, proudly referring to himself as Bhaṭṭendurāja Śiṣya. ‘नेति भट्टेन्दुराजशिष्यः.’ The Tantrajña here referred to may be Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka for Abhinava often pricks the Mīmāṃsaka in him.

UTPALADEVA.

Having treated here of the teachers of Abhinava, we can speak here also of Abhinava's Paramaguru in Śaivism, Śrīmad Utpaladevapāda, whose life seems to have been as rich as Abhinava's. The Abhinavabhāratī reveals to us that this Śaivācārya and grand-preceptor of Abhinava is also a Saṅgītācārya, and wrote a work on music. Abhinava quotes him in the Geyādhikāra four times.

1. “अन्ये त्वाहुः स्वरा इत्यलंकारैकदेशाः प्रयोज्यायां तु (?) ज्ञाताः ।
श्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादास्तथा मन्यन्ते ।”

Chap. XXIX. जात्यध्यायः Vol. IV, p. 21, Mad. Ms.

2. “परमगुरुश्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादानां मते वर्णानां पदनिबन्धनत्वे तदा-
श्रितालंकारगीतविप्रयोगयोः ” p. 22.

3. In this third instance, Abhinava differs from his Paramaguru.

“उत्पलदेवपादास्तु अस्मत्परमुखो व्याचक्षते
.... निर्गुण्यमानमस्तीति । वयं तु मन्यामहे वीप्सायामपि”

Chap. XXXI, p. 84, Vol. IV.

The word ‘व्याचक्षते’ does not mean so much as Utpaladeva actually commented on Bharata, but means only that he interpreted a particular text of Bharata in a certain way in his independent work on music. This particular text is—

त्रयो भेदा हि तालस्य द्विगुणा द्विगुणाः स्मृताः ।

तालाध्यायः Śl. 26, p. 344, N. S. Kāśī edn.

4. तस्मादुक्तधर्मोपजीवनमेव परमगुरुनिरूपयितं(पितं)युक्तम् । यथोक्तं
श्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादैः—

स्थितस्थायित्वसंपन्नात् प्रस्तुतस्थमयोजनम् ।

ध्रुवास्तु यद्यदन्येभ्यस्तद्वत्प्रज्ञोपकल्पयेत् ॥(?)

Vol. IV, p. 188.

The Abhinavabhāratī is the only source of information as regards Utpaladeva having written a work on music. Śārṅgadeva's list and the lists in other music works, cataloguing the Saṅgītā-cāryas do not mention him. There seems to be however one reference, perhaps to this work of Utpaladeva on music in the Śivatattvaratnākara of Basavarāja, in its Saṅgīta Chapter. This work is a thesaurus like Someśvara's Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi otherwise called Mānasollāsa, to which the Śivatattvaratnākara is much indebted. Chapter six of this work of Basava treats of the fine arts. The concluding verses of this chapter give the authorities of the Śāstras. The following refer to the Saṅgīta section.

“दत्तिलेन कृतं नन्दिभृङ्गिकोहलकादिभिः ।

भरतं चादिभरतं गीतरत्नाकरं तथा ॥

उत्पलाद्यं परिमलं कृतिं शार्ङ्गधरस्य च ।”

Most likely the text of the last line is somewhat corrupt. Anyhow we have a mention here, among authorities on Saṅgīta, of a name, Utpala.

Early Nāṭya literature is also early Saṅgīta literature. Saṅgīta itself was not music, vocal or instrumental, but both kinds of music and also dance.

गीतं नृत्तं च वाद्यं च त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते ।

Therefore the works of the early period dealt completely with these three, though they were called works on Nāṭya. Works, as of Kohala's, dealt at length with both Nāṭya and music. Certain others were primarily works on Nāṭya but contained a section on music. Certain others dealt primarily with music and to this class belongs the work of Dattila. Many of the old authorities quoted by Abhinava are writers on both Nāṭya and music. The most important among these is Kohala. His work must have been very big, treating elaborately and completely of drama, dance and music. Kohala is attributed by all writers on dramaturgy with the introduction of the Uparūpakas. His personality is clouded in mythology and it appears in the Nāṭya Śāstra itself. Many a work with his name is seen in the Mss. libraries. One work at least, we surely know as written by Kohala and as being called Saṅgīta Meru. It must be a stupendous treatise on the Nāṭya Śāstra. It is set in the style of dialogue between Kohala and Sage Śārdūla and large extracts from this on the Karavarttanās of dance are given by Kallinātha, in his commentary on the last

chapter of the Saṅgīta Ratnākara. There are many references to Kohala in the Abhinavabhāratī, in the Nāṭyādhikāra as well as in the Geyādhikāra. Of Kohala and writers like Dattila we cannot speak much.¹ Dattila is also quoted often by Abhinava, but only in the section on music, which means that the work of Dattila is important only for its section on music. As a work on Nāṭya Śāstra it must be big and the very small music work called Dattilam published in the Triv. series is perhaps only a very much abridged copy of the Music-section of the original Dattilam. But Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇakavi says² that since all quotations found in the name of Dattila are traceable in the Triv. दत्तिलं, it is genuine and that the original work of Dattila is only small and that this small Dattilam had a commentary called प्रयोगस्तबक. Another such writer, a Saṅgītācārya who is often quoted by Abhinava is Viśā-khilācārya. Nārada is however quoted only twice. The first reference to him is on his Nirvacana of the word Gāndharva as 'प्रीतिवर्धनं'. Mataṅga, another sage, author of the Bṛhaddeśi, published in the Triv. series, is twice quoted by Abhinava. Kaśyapa is another sage and writer on music whom Abhinava quotes. He is quoted by other writers on music also. In Vol. IV, pp. 6-13, Abhinava gives eight pages of Anuṣṭubhs on the tunes to be used according to each Rasa and Bhāva. These verses are either quotations or a compilation made by Abhinava from Kaśyapa's work. For he says at the beginning—

‘तत्र लक्ष्यप्रबन्धगाने प्रायोगिककश्चपादुदिष्टं (कश्यपाद्युदिष्टं) विनियोग-
जातं कथ्यते ।’

p. 5. Vol. IV.

And the Anuṣṭubhs close thus—

‘इत्येष कश्यपाद्युक्तो विनियोगो निरूपितः ।’

This Kaśyapa is a very prominent name in Saṅgīta and is quoted by other writers also. Our interest in him is all the more, since he appears to be one of the early writers on Alaṅkāra also.

1. Of these writers I have dealt with at length in a paper of mine on “Some names in the Early Saṅgīta literature” read before the Madras Music conference, 1931 and now being published in the Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.

2. References to the views of Mr. R. Kavi in this paper are to those expressed by him to me in a personal discussion I had with him on the writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī.

We have the authority of a commentator of the Kāvyaadarśa for taking Kaśyapa as an early writer on Alaṅkāra. The Hṛdayaṅgamā mentions a Kāśyapa along with Vararuci as an ancient writer on Alaṅkāra.

‘पूर्वेषां काश्यपवररुचिप्रभृतीनामाचार्याणां लक्षणशास्त्राणि संहस्य...’

K. Ā. Mad. edn., p. 3.

If this Kāśyapa is the Kaśyapa of Saṅgīta, we can take that the work of Kāśyapa is a big one dealing completely with Nāṭya Śāstra, a portion of which is Vācikābhinaya, in whose treatment Alaṅkāra Śāstra comes. This Kaśyapa seems to have written two works. Nānyadeva, in his Bharata Bhāṣya or the Sarasvatī-hṛdayālaṅkāra, besides quoting Kaśyapa often, quotes a बृहत्कश्यप also.¹ More about the names in early Saṅgīta literature cannot be said since most of the books are lost and we have only fragmentary quotations to help us. The names are involved in mythology and many of them are Sages and Gods.

UDBHAṬA.

Another set of authors which we shall briefly do away with here is of those who wrote regular commentaries on the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata. As we have said above, the earliest known commentator is Udbhaṭa. He is mentioned as one of the commentators on Bharata by Śārṅgadeva. There is now no doubt of his having written a commentary on Bharata for the Abhinavabhāratī confirms Śārṅgadeva. There are four references to Udbhaṭa at distant intervals in the Abhinavabhāratī. The first occurs while Abhinava comments on Śl. 10, Chap. VI, p. 266. Gaek. edn. This verse of Bharata gives the Saṅgraha or brief enumeration of the topics of the Nāṭya Śāstra, numbering eleven.

रसा भावा ह्यभिनया धर्मीवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः ।

सिद्धिः स्वरास्तथातोयं गानं रङ्गश्च सङ्गहः ॥

On this Udbhaṭa is said to have commented thus: this verse gives eleven Aṅgas while according to Bharata's Mata, the Aṅgas are only five, three Abhinayas and music of two kinds, vocal and

1. Chap. VIII, pp. 111-b and 114-a. Ms. of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute. This Ms. was kindly borrowed for my use by my Professor. M. M. U. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar from the Bhandarkar Institute. The work is incomplete and this Ms. contains only the Saṅgīta portion of the Vācikāśā, which is a fourth of the whole.

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instrumental. This verse with eleven Aṅgas is according to Kohala's Mata, which only restates into eleven the five Aṅgas of Bharata. Further Bharata, in dealing with these Aṅgas one by one, does not follow this order.

“अभिनयत्रयं गीतातोये चेति पञ्चाङ्गं नाट्यम् । * * * *
* * अनेन तु श्लोकेन कोहलमते एकादशाङ्गत्वमुच्यते, न तु भरते, तत्संगृही
तस्यापि पुनरोद्देशात्, क्रमव्यत्यासनादित्यौद्भटः ।”

pp. 255 and 256, Gaek. edn.

Lollaṭa has criticised this view as can be seen from the next sentence in the Abhinavabhāratī here.

2. The second reference to Udbhaṭa is in the Chapter on Hastābhinaya. Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa is quoted on the Nṛtta Hasta called स्वस्तिकपताक. The text of Bharata on this Hasta is this—

‘उत्तानौ वामपार्श्वस्थौ स्वस्तिकः परिकीर्तितः ।

Śl. 129, p. 123, Kāśī edn. N. S

The reference to Udbhaṭa in the Abhinavabhāratī on this verse is this—

“त्रिपताकः उत्तानः अधस्तलः त्र्यश्वो(श्रो)ऽग्रहो(हस्तो)ऽधोमुख एव
च पञ्च प्रचारास्तस्येति भट्टोद्भटः पठति ।” Vol. II, p. 307, Mad. Ms.

3. The third reference is in the Daśarūpādhyāya, in the Lakṣaṇa of Samavakāra.

“उष्णिक् सप्तभिः गायत्री षड्भिः....बन्धकुटिलानि विषमार्धसमानि ।
तान्यत्र समवकारे सम्यक् योज्यानीति । नैव प्रयोज्यान्युद्भटः(ज्यानीत्युद्भटः)
पठति । स्रग्धरादीन्येव प्रयोज्यानि, नाल्पाक्षराणीति स व्याचष्टे ।” Vol. II, p. 472.

In describing the Samavakāra, Bharata says—

उष्णिग्गायत्री वा यानि तथान्यानि बन्धकुटिलानि ।

वृत्तानि समवकारे कविभिर्नैव प्रयोज्यानि ॥ XX, 80, Kāśī edn.

The Kāśī edn. notes another reading for the last foot in the foot note, viz., कविभिः सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानि. This reading is followed by Abhinava who holds that in a Samavakāra, the metres of small number of syllables and crooked metres must be introduced. Udbhaṭa adopts the reading कविभिर्नैव प्रयोज्यानि and says that those metres must not be introduced and only Sragdharā etc. which are long and smooth must be used.

4. The fourth reference to Udbhaṭa is in the Daśarūpā-dhyāya. This is a valuable reference and here we have the Anuvāda of a very original view of Udbhaṭa as regards the Vṛttis, Kaiśikī etc. Bharata gives four Vṛttis, Kaiśikī, Ārabhaṭī, Sāttvatī and Bhāratī. Udbhaṭa first raises a point that these four Vṛttis are not enough since there are places where there is none of these four. The case of मरण is one such. Death is the result or fruit one gets for some action. The Vṛtti of this state, and of similar states, is फलवृत्ति or फलसंविद्धि. This new Vṛtti, Udbhaṭa first establishes. Then he attacks the four Vṛttis of Bharata and says that they must be cast away. He creates two new Vṛttis in their place. These two plus the first-established Phalavṛtti make three and Udbhaṭa, we can clearly see, holds only these three Vṛttis. The Daśarūpaka and the Bhāvaprakāśa have missed the exact view of Udbhaṭa. The authors of these two works did not note the two Vṛttis Udbhaṭa set in the place of the four of Bharata but were all aware that Udbhaṭa created an additional Vṛtti called फलवृत्ति. This they called by the name अर्थवृत्ति, the word अर्थ being used as a synonym of फल. It is absolutely wrong to attribute five Vṛttis to Udbhaṭa. Surely Bhoja recognises five Vṛttis in his Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa but what is his fifth Vṛtti? As is usual with him, he mixes all the four of Bharata and creates the fifth, called मिश्रवृत्ति. This is no new Vṛtti and has nothing to do with the अर्थवृत्ति or फलवृत्ति of Udbhaṭa, calling which as the fifth is itself wrong. मिश्र can never mean फल and फलवृत्ति is explained at length by Abhinava as Vṛtti of मरण etc. according to its author, Udbhaṭa. Bhoja's Miśravṛtti is the name of the Vṛtti of the Kāvya as a whole, particular portions of it being in any one of the four Vṛttis. Thus the remarks on Udbhaṭa and Vṛttis made by Mr. Ramasvami Sastriyar in his Sanskrit introduction (p. 15) to his recently published edition of the Kāvyaśāstra-sārasaṅgraha of Udbhaṭa with Tilaka's commentary, (Gaeck. series, LV.) are all wrong. More elaborate treatment of this subject, the correct interpretation of Daśarūpaka etc. have been given by me in a paper of mine on the Vṛttis, to be published in the next issue of this Journal. The text of the Abhinavabhāratī, giving the view of Udbhaṭa is long and I have reserved its quotation to the paper above referred to.

There is further a long discussion and refutation of the स्वशब्दवाच्यत्व of Rasa in the beginning of the commentary on chap. XIV, which is the beginning of Vācikābhinaya. Though Udbhaṭa is not mentioned here by name, this section is evidently directed against Udbhaṭa. p. 361—364, Vol. II, Abhi. Bhā.

Further evidence of Udbhaṭa having commented on the Nāṭya Śāstra comes from Kuntaka who refers to him as expert in Bharata, while criticising Udbhaṭa's Ūrjasvi Alaṅkāra.

“ननु भरतनयनिपुणमानसानां परमार्थविदां तत्रभवतां वयं विवदामहे ।”

V. J. III.

LOLLAṬA AND ŚAṆKUKA.

The next commentator on the Nāṭya Śāstra is Lollaṭa. He is always seen in the Abhinavabhāratī just after Udbhaṭa whose views Lollaṭa is given as refuting at every step. Thus Lollaṭa is referred to as refuting Udbhaṭa's views on the eleven topics of Nāṭya and on the Vṛttis. This also proves that Lollaṭa's commentary came after Udbhaṭa's. Besides these, there are many references to Lollaṭa although the Abhi. Bhā. There can be no doubt of his having written a regular commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra.

Śaṅkuka is also often quoted in the Abhi. Bhā. and he must also have written a regular commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra. His commentary comes next to Lollaṭa's. Rājaśekhara quotes two Āryā verses in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā under the name of one Āparājiti.

“‘अस्तु नाम निस्सीमा अर्थसार्थः । किन्तु रसवत एव निबन्धे युक्तः, न नीरसस्य’ इति आपराजितिः । यदाह—

‘मज्जनपुष्पावचयनसन्ध्याचन्द्रोदयादिवाक्यमिह ।

सरसमपि नातिबहुलं प्रकृतरसानन्वितं रचयेत् ॥

यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरपुरतुरगरथादिवर्णने यतः ।

कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधियां नो मतः स इह ॥’ ”

K. M. p. 45.

The second verse in the above quotation along with its following verse is, as pointed out by the editor in the notes (Gaeck. edn.) quoted by Hemacandra under the name Lollaṭa. K. A. p. 215. तथा च लोल्लटः—

‘यस्तु सरिद्रिसागरनगतरुग पुरारिवर्णने यत्नः ।
 कविशक्तिह्यातिफलो विततधियां नो मतः प्रबन्धेषु ॥
 यमकानुलोमतदितरचक्रादिभिदोऽतिरसविरोधिन्यः ।
 अभिमानमात्रमेतद्गुरुरिकादिप्रवाहो वा ..’ इति

The second verse in this quotation is quoted by Namisādhū anonymously (K. A. p. 35). Whether these verses are from an independent work is not known. They may be Saṅgraha Śloka in Lollaṭa's Commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra itself.

These verses point out some principles of रसौचित्य in Varṇanās and condemn the long descriptions in the Mahā-kāvya that have nothing to do with the Rasa. Thus Āparājita, son of Aparājita, found in Rājaśekhara is none else than Lollaṭa. A poet called Bhaṭṭa Aparājita is found in the Subhāṣitāvali (Śl. 1024—an Anyāpadeśa on a dog). He is probably the father of Lollaṭa. Therefore Lollaṭa falls between Udbhaṭa and Rājaśekhara and is earlier to Śaṅkuka, a poet described by Kaihaṇa as the author of a poem called Bhuvanābhūdaya and as having lived in the time of Ajitāpīṇa. C. 814-851. Thus Śaṅkuka is earlier to Ānandavardhana. With Lollaṭa began the theories of Rasa. Udbhaṭa's interpretation of the Rasa Sūtra does not seem to have been noteworthy. On Rasas, we have two views of Udbhaṭa quoted in Pratihārendurāja's Laghuvṛtti on the K. A. S. S. Those two are—

पञ्चरूपा रसाः । and चतुरूपा भावाः । Pp. 48, 49, Nir. S. edn.

The latter refers to the four Bhāvas, विभाव, अनुभाव, व्यभिचारिभाव, and स्थायिभाव. The former contains a point for which Udbhaṭa has been severely criticised. The former says that Rasa is developed from or is in five forms which he thus gives in K. A. S. S. स्वशब्द-स्थायि-सञ्चारि-विभाव-अभिनय-आस्पदम् । Of these the स्वशब्दास्पदत्व of Rasa of Udbhaṭa has been refuted by all writers, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and others. This स्वशब्दवाच्यत्व of Rasa is considered as a positive flaw of Rasa. Besides these no peculiar Rasa-doctrine of Udbhaṭa is found anywhere. It is Lollaṭa who began to analyse the experience of the spectator of a drama.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM JAYĀNANDA'S COMMENTARY
 ON THE MADHYAMAKĀVATĀRA, CHAP. VI.
 RETRANSLATED INTO SANSKRIT
 FROM THE TIBETAN VERSION

BY

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In the Volume XXV of Tanjore, we find a commentary on the Madhyamakāvatāra of Candrakīrti written by Jayānanda a great pandit (*mahāpaṇḍita*) of Kashmir. The title of the commentary as transliterated and translated into Tibetan goes thus *mādhyamikāvatārasya ṭikā arthaprakāśikā nāma*. It is stated in the colophon that the commentary is translated into Tibetan by the commentator himself assisted by novice (*vandya*) Lothsava Kun. dgah. grags (*Ānandakīrti*) in the great monastery called Khyad. par. mkhar. sku. residence of a royal garrison, situated between Chu. bo. Rma (a beautiful river) and the slopes of Ri. bo. rtse. lña (a mountain with five peaks, *pañcaśikha-parvata*) in the country of mi. ñag; and the same is copied by Śākya-bhikṣu Smon. lam. rgal. ba (prañidhidhvaja) from a manuscript of Mahāsthavira Suresapahyena. Gyonti. śa (Surasāhvaya Jyotiṣa ?) in the great monastery called hphags. pa. hbum. gsal. brtegs. pa. The commentator, according to Dr. P. Cordier's catalogue (Vol. III, p. 303) is variously called Jayānanda, Jayaā and Jayaa. We find in the same catalogue (XVII. 3, 8, 12, 13, 16, XXXIII. 88) translators from Kashmir bearing the names Ananta, Ānanta, Jayānanta, Jayānantata and Ānanda which are all treated as equal to Jayānanda by P. Cordier. Whether all these translators and the commentator Jayānanda are one and the same is a question to be solved from further investigations. If we take, however, for granted, at least, the identity of the commentator with one Kashmiri pandit Ānanda [Jayānanda] who has revised the Akṣara-Śataka and Akṣara-Śatakavṛtti (Mdo. XVII. 12, 13) assisted by one Lothsava lo. chuñ. grags. hbyor. śes. rab (Junior Kīrtibhūti-prajña) and the latter again identified with Lo. chuñ.

grags. hbyor. śes. rab¹ (Junior Kīrtibhūti-prajña) who was one of the three that remained out of the 21 men who were sent out to India by Lha. lhama. ye. śes. hod the king of Tibet about 1025 A. D.; we may assign the same date to the author of the commentary. The manifold changes of the name Jayānanda, on the other hand, into Ananta and Ānanda etc. as mentioned above, may really persuade one to surmise that the commentator Jayānanda is no other than that Kashmirian pandit Ananta² who went to Tibet along with the Buddhist saint Śāntarakṣita as an interpreter to the king and therefore a younger contemporary to Śāntarakṣita. That he is later than Śāntarakṣita is doubtless supported from the internal evidence. While discussing the validity of the sentences (*āgamaḥprāmāṇya*) in his commentary, Jayānanda states in reply to his opponents the definition³ of the same as given by Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattvasaṅgraha*. If the equation of Ananta and Jayānanda is correct, one is certainly justified in placing the commentator in the 8th century A. D.; for it is reported that during the reign of the king Thi. stoñ. detsan one Kashmiri pandit named Ānanda⁴ was one of the chief pandits who played a prominent roll in the translation work. But I, for one, prefer to fix the eleventh century as the date of the commentator to any other period;⁵ because the Tibetan version of the commentary naturally presupposes the existence of the *Madhyamakāvatāra* in the Tibetan translation which is said to be done with the assistance of Lothsava Śīlarāja i.e. Nag. tso a contemporary to Atīśa of the eleventh century A. D.

Jayānanda's commentary as it stands in the Tibetan translation, serves us two objects. In the first place it explains very well the meaning of the passages of the text (*mūla*) which are otherwise unintelligible; in addition to that it discusses at length now and then the important topics independently; and secondly it supplies the valuable different readings of the Tibetan version of the *Madhyamakāvatāra*. It will not, therefore, I think, be

1. See Pag. sam. yon. Zang (ed. by Saracchandra Das) p. 1-2.

2. See the article on Indian pandits in Tibet (Journal of the Buddhist text society, Vol. I, part I, p. 2).

3. See page below and *Tattvasaṅgraha* (Gos) Vol. II, p. 877.

4. See L. A. Waddel, *Lamaism* (1895) p. 30, n. 1.

5. P. L. Vaidya (Aryadeva et son *Catuhśataka*, Introduction p. 54) opines that he is probably of the tenth century after Christ.

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uninteresting to give some extracts from the commentary together with retranslation in Sanskrit here.

Tibetan version published in the following pages based on the Narthang edition of Tanjur belonging to the Adyar Library, Madras.

(mdo. ra. fol. 128b. L. 6). sems. bskyed. pa. drug. pa. la. gnas. pai. byañ. chub. sems. dpai. mthsan. ñid. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir | mñon. phyogs. pa[r]shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. pa. la. rdsogs. pai. sañs. rgyas. chos. la. mñon. phyogs. śiñ. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. mñon. du. gyur. pai. ñes. thsig. gsuñs. pa. yin. te | gañ. gi. phyir. śes. rab. kyi. pha. rol. tu. phyin. pa. rab. tu. son. pa. thob. pa. las | stabs (f. 129a) bcu. la. sog. pa. sañs. rgyas. kyi. yon. tan. rñams. dañ. ñe. bar. gyur. pa. dei. phyir. mñon. du. phyogs. pa. shes. byao ||

=प्रवृत्तितोत्पादस्थ बोधिसत्त्वलक्षणप्रतिपादनायाह । [स्थितो]ऽभिमुख्या-
मित्यादि । सम्बुद्धधर्माभिमुखीति । अभिमुखीभूमेः निरुक्तिरुच्यते । यस्मात्
प्रज्ञापारमिताप्रगमनलाभात् दशबलादिबुद्धगुणानां सन्निहिता । तस्मादभिमुखी-
त्युच्यते ।

hdi. rten. hbyuñ. bai. de. ñid. mthoñ. ba. ste. shes. bya. ba. ni. ma. rig. pa. la. sog. pai. dños. po. hdi. rñams. la. brten. nas. hdu. byed. la. sog. pa. rñams. hbyuñ. ba. yin. pas. hdi. la. brten. hbyuñ. ba. ste | rten. ciñ. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. shes. bya. bai. don. to | dei. de. kho. na. ñid. de | rañ. bshin. phyin. ci. ma. log. pa. gañ. gis. mthoñ. ba. de. la. de. skad. ces. bya. ba. o | dei. rañ. bshin. yañ. stoñ. pa. ñid. de | rten. ciñ. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. yañ. don. dam. par. na. rañ. bshin. med. pa. yin. pas. skye. ba. med. pa. o || de. ñid. kyi. phyir | 'rten. ciñ. hbrel. hbyuñ. gañ. yin. te | khyed. kyi. de. ñid. stoñ. ñid. hdod.' ces. gsuñs. pas. so ||

=इदंप्रतीत्योद्भवतत्त्वदर्शीति । अविद्यादीनिमान् भावान् प्रतीत्य-
संस्कारादीनामुद्भवात् इदंप्रतीत्योद्भवः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद इत्यर्थः । तस्य तत्त्वम्
अविपरीतस्वभावं यः पश्यति स तथोक्तः । तत्त्वभावश्च शून्यता । प्रतीत्य-
समुत्पादश्च परमार्थतो निस्वभावत्वेन अनुत्पादः । अत एवोक्तम्—यः
प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः त्वयेष्टा सैव शून्यता—इति ।

śes. rab. gnas. pas. shes. bya. ba. ni. śes. rab. kyi. pha. rol. tu. phyin. pa. la. gnas. pas. so || hgog. pa. thob. par. hgyur. shes. bya. ba. ni. śes. pa. dañ. śes. bya. mi. dmigs. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. gyi. hgog. pa. thob. par. hgyur. ba. o ||

=प्रज्ञाविहारादिति । प्रज्ञापारमितायां विहारात् । लभते निरोधमिति ।
ज्ञानज्ञेयानुपलब्धिलक्षणं निरोधं लभते ।

(f. 129b, L. 1) sbyin. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. ni. śes. pa. dañ. śes. bya. mi. dmigs. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. gyi. hgog. pa. yañ. nas. yañ. du. rgyun. gyi[s]. grub. par. mi. nus. so || de. cii. phyir. she. na | byañ. chub. sems. dpah. rnam. kyis. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. te | sbyin. pa. la. sog. pa. lhag. par. gyur. pas. sbyin. pa. la. sog. pa. gzugs. brñan. dañ. mthsan. par. rtogs. pa. yin. pas. hgeg. pa. thob. pai. dus. su. gzugs. brñan. dañ. mthsan. pai. rnam. par. rtog. pa. yañ. med. pas. so || sa. lña. par. shes. bya. ba. ni. dañ. po. nas. sa. lña. pai. bar. ro ||

=दानेत्यादि । ज्ञानज्ञेयानुपलब्धिलक्षणं निरोधं पुनः पुनः प्रबन्धतः
साधयितुं न शक्नोति । तत्कस्मात् । आह । बोधिसत्त्वैरित्यादि । अधिक-
भूतेन दानादिना प्रतिबिम्बतुल्यदानाद्यवगमेन निरोधाप्तिकाले प्रतिबिम्बतौल्य-
विकल्पस्याप्यभावात् । पञ्चम्यां भूमाविति । प्रथमतः पञ्चमभूमिपर्यन्तम् ।

mñon. du. gyur. pai. shes. [bya] ñes. thsig. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir | lam. gyi. bden. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. pa. la | lam. gyi. bden. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. śes. pa. dañ. śes. bya. mi. dmigs. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. ni. | dmigs. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. mñon. du. gyur. pa. o || rdsogs. pai. sañs. rgyas. kyis. chos. la. mñon. du. phyogs. pai. phyir. dañ. shes. bya. ba. ni. sñā. ma. bshin. no || des. na. lam. la. mñon. du. phyogs. pa. dañ | yañ. dag. par. rdsogs. pai. sañs. rgyas. kyis. chos. la. mñon. du. phyogs. pai. phyir | sa. hdi. la. mñon. du. phyogs. pas. shes. bya. o ||

=अभिमुखीनामनिरुक्तिकथनायाह । मार्गसत्येत्यादि । मार्गसत्यं ज्ञान-
ज्ञेयानुपलब्धिलक्षणम् आलम्बनम् अभिमुख्यम् । संबुद्धधर्माभिमुख्याच्चेति ।
पूर्ववत् । तेन मार्गाभिमुख्यात् सम्यक्संबुद्धधर्माभिमुख्याच्च अस्या
भूमेरभिमुखी नाम ॥ १ ॥

(f. 129b L. 6). ji. [Xyl.: da] bshin. shes. pa. ni. skyes. bu. mig. dañ. ldan. pas. loñ. bai. thsogs. rnam. hgrog. bar. hdod. pai. yul. du. khrid. pa. de. bshin. du. o || yon. tan. shes. bya. ba. ni. sbyin. pa. dañ | thsul. khrim. dañ | bzod. pa. dañ. | brthson. hgras. la. sog. pa. o || de. rnam. kyañ. yin. te | thar. pa. don. du. gñer. ba. rnam. kyis. goms. par. bya. ba. yin. pas. so || rgyal. ñid. hgrog. shes. bya. ba. ni. sañs. rgyas. ñid. thob. par. byed. pa. o ||

=यथेति । सचक्षुष्कः पुरुषः अन्धसङ्घं जिगमिषितं देशं नयति
तथा । गुणानिति । दानशीलक्षान्तिवीर्यादयः । तानपि । मोक्षार्थिभिः
अभ्यस्यमानत्वात् । जिनत्वमेति बुद्धत्वं प्रापयति ।

(f. 130a. l. 1.) pha. rol. tu. phyin. pai. yon. tan. rnam. shes. bya. ba. ni. pha. rol. tu. phyin. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. gyi. yon. tan. rnam. so. shes. pai. don. no || yañ. dag. pai. lam. dañ. lam. ma. yin. pa. mthoñ. bai. rañ. bshin. ñid. yin. pai. phyir. ro || shes. bya. ba. ni. śes. rab. rnam. par. dpyod. pai. rañ. bshin. can. yin. la | rnam. par. dpyod. pa. yañ. dños. po. hdi. kho. na. ñid. rtogs. pa. yin. pas. dei. stobs. kyis. dmigs. pa. dañ. bcas. pai. sbyin. pa. la. sog. pa. la. lam. ma. yin. pai. rañ. bshin. ñid. du. mthoñ. ba. yin. la | mi. dmigs. pai. sbyor. bas. lam. gyi. rañ. bshin. ñid. du. mthoñ. ba. yin. pai. phyir. śes. rab. lam. dañ. lam. ma. yin. pa. mthoñ. bai. rañ. bshin. can. no ||

=पारमितागुणान् पारमितालक्षणान् गुणान् इत्यर्थः । तथ्यमार्गमार्ग-
दर्शनप्रकृतिकत्वात् इति । प्रज्ञा विचारस्वभावा । विचारश्च इदंस्तुतत्त्व-
बोधक इति तद्वलेन सालम्बनदानादिषु अमार्गस्वभावत्वदर्शनात् अना-
लम्बनयोगेन मार्गस्वभावत्वदर्शनाच्च प्रज्ञा मार्गमार्गदर्शनस्वभावा ।

da. [Xyl.: re] ni. thabs. gañ. gis. śes. rab. de. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir. | hdir. smras. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. te | hdir. rañ. ñid. kyis. iten. cin. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. zab. mo. ñid. yoñs. su. śes. par. hgyur. ram | hon. te. rañ. bshin. ñid. kyis. luñ. [Xyl.: lus.] dag. gi. rjes. su. hbrañs. nas. sam | hon. te. skyes. bu. khyad. par. can. gyis. byas. pai. luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. ston. pai. bstan. bcas. mthoñ. nas. yoñs. su. śes. par. hgyur. she. na. o || de. la. lan. ni. rañ. ñid. kyis. ni. ma. yin. no. shes. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir | bsad. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. dei. rañ. gi. ño. bo. ni. rten. cin. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. zab. moi. rañ. gi. ño. bo. ñid. do | ma. rig. pai. liñ. tog. mthug. pos. bloi. mig. ma. lus. par. gyogs. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. ma. rig. pa. ni. mi. śes. pa. o | de. ñid. liñ. tog. ste | dños. poi. de. kho. na. ñid. mthoñ. ba. la. gegs. byed. pai. phyir || de. yañ. mthug. po. ñid. yin. te | thog. ma. med. pai. dus. nas. goms. pa. yin. pas. so || de. yis. bloi. mig. ma. lus. par. gyogs. pa. gañ. la. yod. pa. de. la. de. skad. ces. bya. o || ma. lus. pa. shes. smos. pa. ni. so. soi. skye. bo. rnam. (f. 130b) kyis. rnam. pa. thams. cad. du. mthoñ. bai. yul. du. mi. hgyur. shes. bstan. pa. yin. no ||

=संप्राप्तं येन उपायेन प्रज्ञा तत्प्रदर्शनायाह । अत्राहेत्यादि । किमत्र स्वयमेव गम्भीरप्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं परिज्ञास्यति । उत स्वभावत एवागमानुसारात् अथवा विशिष्टपुरुषकृतमविपरीतागमदेशकं शास्त्रं दृष्ट्वा परिज्ञास्यति । तत्र न स्वयमेव इत्युत्तरप्रतिपादनाय उच्यते इत्यादि । तत्स्वरूपं गम्भीरप्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्वरूपम् । अविद्याघनपटलनिर्देशावृतबुद्धिलोचनानामिति । अविद्या अज्ञानम् । तदेव पटलं वस्तुतत्त्वदर्शनप्रतिबन्धात् । तच्च घनमेव । अनादिकालाभ्यासात् । तेन निश्शेषमावृतं बुद्धिलोचनं यस्य स तथोक्तः । निश्शेषग्रहणं पृथग्जनानां सर्वथा न दृष्टिविषयो भवति इति प्रदर्शयति ।

ho. na. gañ. gi. mthoñ. yul. bai. du. hgyur. she. na | drug. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. pa. yin. te | drug. pa. la. sog. pa. sa. goñ. ma. la. gnas. pai. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. drug. pa. nas. brtsams. te | sa. bcu. pai. bar. la. gnas. pa. rnams. so || rten. ciñ. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. zab. mo. ñid. rtogs. pas. dañ. po. nas. yod. dub. ni. kyañ. sa. dañ. po. la. sog. pa. rnams. ni. sbyin. pa. la. sog. pa. lha. pa. yin. pas. de. rnams. na. ses. rab. rab. tu. son. pa. med. pas. de. rnams. su. rnam. par. bshag. pa. ma. byas. pa. yin. no ||

=तर्हि कस्य दृष्टिविषयो भवति इति चेदाह । षष्ठ्यादि । षष्ठ्युत्तमभूमिष्ठानां षष्ठभूमेरारभ्य यावद्दशमभूमिं स्थितानाम् । प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादगम्भीरबोधात् । आदितः सक्लेशा अपि प्रथमभूम्यादयः दानाद्यधिका इति तेषु सत्सु [अपि] प्रज्ञाप्रगमनाभावेन तेषु व्यवस्थान कृता ।

(130b. L. 4) des. na. rañ. ñid. kyis. rten. ciñ. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. bai. zab. mo. ñid. khoñ. du. chud. par. rigs. pa. ma. yin. no || shes. bstan. pa. yin. no || da. ni. rañ. dgar. luñ. [Xyl.: lus] dag. gi. rjes. su. hbrañs. nas. de. kho. na. ñid. khoñ. du. chud. pa. yañ. rigs. pa. ma. yin. no || shes. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir. rgol. ba. ni | gal. te. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. te. go. sla. o |

=तेन स्वयमेव गम्भीरप्रतीत्यसमुत्पादतत्त्वावगमो न युक्त इत्युक्तम् । अधुना स्वतन्त्रमागममनुसृत्य तत्त्वावगमोऽपि न युक्त इति प्रतिपादनाय चोद्यमाह । यदी(नन्वि ?)त्यादि । सुगमम् ।

de. le. lan. ni. de. yañ. yod. pa. ma. yin. te. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. te | luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. nes. par. dkah. bai. phyir. shes. pa. ni. gañ. gi. phiyr. luñ. las. gsuñs. pai. don. gañ. yin. pa. de. so. soi. skye. bos. ñams. su. myoñ. ba. ma. yin. pas. luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. nes. par. dkah. ba. o ||

=तत्रोत्तरमाह । नैतदप्यस्तीत्यादि । आगमाभिप्रायस्य दुर्निश्चयत्वादिति । यस्माद्योऽर्थ आगमे उक्तः तस्य पृथग्जनाननुभवादागमाभिप्रायो दुर्निश्चयः ।

gal. te. luñ. gi. rjes. su. hbrañs. pas. de. kho. na. ñid. mi. rtogs. na | ho. na. ci. yañ. smra. bar. hdug. cid. ce. na | de. ñid. kyī. phyir | rañ. dbañ. ñid. kyī. dbañ. du. byas. nas. de. skad. du. brjod. kyis. (f. 131a) shes. pa. gsuñs. te | gal. te. tsad. mar. gyur. pai. skyes. bu. byas. pai. bstan. bcos. luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. hchad. par. mthoñ. ba. med. na. rañ. dbañ. ñid. kyī. luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. nes. par. dkah. ba. yin. no. shes. brgod. pa. yin. no ||

=यद्यागमानुसारेण तत्त्वं न बुध्यते । किं तर्हि पुनर्वचनमस्ति । अत एवाह स्वतन्त्रतामधिकृत्यैवमुच्यते इति । यदि प्रमाणभूतपुरुषकृतमविपरीतागमव्याख्यातृ शास्त्रं न दृश्यते स्वतन्त्रमागमाभिप्रायो दुर्निश्चय इत्युच्यते ।

da. ni. thsād. par. gyur. pai. skyes. bus. byas. pai. bstan. bcos. luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. hchad. pa. mthoñ. ba. las. luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. phyin. ci. [xyl.; ni] ma. log. par. nes. pa. yin. shes. rañ. ñid. bshed. pai. phyogs. ston. pa. ni | thsād. mar. gyur. pai. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. te | thsād. mar. gyur. pa. yañ. yin. la | skyes. bu. yañ. yin. pas. na. thsād. mar. gyur. pai. skyes. bu. ste | hphags. pa. klu. sgrub. shabs. la. sog. pa. o | de. rnams. kyis. byas. pai. bstan. bcos. te | dbu. ma. rtsa. bai. ses. rab. la. sog. pa. o | de. yañ. ci. lta. bu. she. ne | luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. hchad. pa. o || de. mthoñ. ba. ni. rna. bai. rnam. par. ses. pas. thos. pa. ste | mthoñ. bai. don. thos. pa. la. bya. o || luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. nes. pa. ni. dei. sgo. nas. luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. nes. pa. o || hdi. don. ni. hdi. yin. te | kho. bo. dañ. hdra. ba. rnams. kyis. luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. nes. par. dkah. ba. yin. gyi | ho. na. kyañ. slob. [xyl.; slod.] dpon. klu. sgrub. [xyl.; sgrubs] shabs. kyis. de. kho. na. ñid. dños. su. gzigs. pa. yin. pas. des. mdsad. pai. bstan. bcos. kyī. sgo. nas. luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. ses. pa. yin. no. shes. pai. tha. thsig. go ||

=इदानीं प्रमाणभूतपुरुषेण कृतं शास्त्रमविपरीतागमव्याख्यातृ दृष्ट्वा आगमाभिप्रायोऽविपरीतोऽवधार्यते इति स्वाभिमतं पक्षं वक्तुमाह । प्रमाणभूतेत्यादि । प्रमाणभूताश्च पुरुषाश्च प्रमाणभूतपुरुषाः आर्थनागार्जुनपादादयः । तैः कृतं शास्त्रं मूलमध्यमकप्रज्ञादि । तच्च कीदृशम् । अविपरीतागमव्याख्यातृ । तद्दर्शनं श्रोत्रविज्ञानेन श्रवणम् । दर्शनार्थं श्रवणक्रिया । आगमाभिप्रायो निश्चीयते । तद्द्वारा आगमाभिप्रायोऽवधार्यते । अस्यायमर्थः । अस्मादशैरागमाभिप्रायो

दुर्निर्णयः । अथापि आचार्यनागार्जुनपादैर्वस्तुतस्तत्त्वदर्शनेन तत्प्रणीतशास्त्रद्वारा
आगमाभिप्रायो ज्ञायत इत्यर्थः ॥ २ ॥

chos. shes. bya. ba. ni. phuñ. po. la. sog. pa. o|| zab. mo. ni.
stoñ. pa. ñid. kyī. rañ. bshin. can. no|| rigs. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni.
dbu. ma. rtsa. bai. śes. rab. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. las. so|| hphags.
pa. klu. sgrub. gshuñ. lugs. las. shes. bya. ba. ni. hphags. pa. klu.
sgrub. shabs. kyis. bśad. pai. dbañ. du. byas. nas. so|| ji. ltar. gnas.
pai. lugs. bshin. brjod. par. bya. shes. bya. ba. ni. dbu. rtsa. bai
śes. rab. la. sog. pa. ji. ltar. rnam. bshag. byas. pa. de. ltar. brjod
par. bya. shes. pai. tha. thsig. go||

=धर्ममिति । स्कन्धादिकम् । गभीरं शून्यतास्वभावकम् । नयेनेति ।
मूलमध्यमकप्रज्ञायुक्तेन । आर्यनागार्जुनशास्त्रनीत्येति । आर्यनागार्जुनपादवचन-
मधिकृत्य । यथाव्यवस्थं मतमुच्यत इति । मूलमध्यमकप्रज्ञादौ यथा व्यवस्थापितं
तथा उच्यत इत्यर्थः ।

ci. lta. ba. ñid. ces. bya. ba. ni. chos. rnam. kyī. (f. 131b)
rañ. bshin. gañ. yin. pa. o|| chos. rnam. kyī. [bdag. ñid.] yañ.
dag. pai. (pa. ji?) lta. ba. ñid. ces. bya. ba. ni. stoñ. pa. ñid. do|| ci.
ltar. gnas. pa. bshin. du. brjod. par. bya. o|| shes. bya. ba. ni.
phyin. ci. ma. log. par. brjod. par. bya. o. shes. pai. tha. thsig. go||

=यथातत्त्वमिति । धर्माणां यः स्वभावः । धर्माणां आत्मभावो यथा-
भूत इति । शून्यता । यथाव्यवस्थमुच्यत इति । अविपर्ययमुच्यत इत्यर्थः ।

luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. ñes. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. gal.
te. hphags. pa. klu. sgrub. shabs. la. de. kho. na. ñid. khoñ. du.
chud. pa. hdod. na|| dei. thse. luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. ñes.
pa. de. la. yod. pa. ñid. du. hgyur. ba. las| de. la. de. kho. na. ñid.
khoñ. du. chud. pa. yod. dam. med. pa. the. thsom. za. bas. luñ.
phyin. ci. ma. log. par. ñes. pa. ji. ltar. yod. ce. na| de. la.
lan. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir| luñ. las. shes. bya. ba. la. sog.
pa. gsuñs. te |

=अविपरीतागमनिर्णय इति । यद्यार्यनागार्जुनपादानां तत्त्वावबोध इष्यते,
तदा तस्याविपरीतागमनिश्चयो भवेदेव । तस्य तत्त्वावबोधोऽस्ति न वेति सन्देहेन
कथमविपरीतागमनिश्चयः स्यात् । तस्योत्तरप्रतिपादनायाह—आगमादित्यादीति ।

dge. stoñ. shes. bya. ba. ni. ñon. myoñs. pa. bcom. pas. so||
dpal. dañ. ldan. pa. ni. [xyl.; pai] bsod. nam. kyī. thsogs. dañ.
ldan. pas. so|| ches. grags. pa. ni. phyogs. bcu. grags. pa. bsgrags.
pas. so|| klu. shes. bya. ba. ni. klu. sgrub. ces. bya. ste| dper. na.

hjigs. sde. la. hjigs. pa. shes. brjod. la| de. bshin. du. hphags. pa.
klu. sgrub. la. klu. shes. brjod. pa. la. skyon. yañ. ma. yin. no||
yod. dañ. med. pai. phyogs. hjig. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. yod. pa.
dañ. med. pai. phyogs. dag. pa. [la.] bgag. nas. dbu. mai. thsul. la.
gnas. pa. yin. no. shes. bya. bai. tha. thsig. go|| bla. na. med. pa.
ni. theg. pa. chen. po. ste| de. las. mchog. tu. gyur. pa. theg. pa.
gshan. med. pas. so|| rab. tu. dgah. bai. sa. bsgrubs. shes. bya. ba.
ni. thams. cad. kyī. de. kho. na. ñid. mñon. du. mdsad. pai. rab.
tu. dgah. bai. sa. thob. nas. so. shes. bya. dai. don. to ||

=भिक्षुरिति । क्लेशभेदनात् । श्रीमान् पुण्यसंभारयोगात् महायशाः
दशदिक्षुयशःप्रथनात् । नागाह्वयः नागार्जुन इति यथा भीमसेनस्य भीम इत्युच्यते
तथा आर्यनागार्जुनस्य नाग इत्युक्तौ न दोषोऽपि । सदसत्पक्षदारक इति ।
सदसत्पक्षौ प्रतिषिध्य मध्यमायां नीतौ स्थित इत्यर्थः । अनुत्तरं महायानं तत
उत्तमभूतयानान्तराभावात् । आसद्य भूमिं मुदितामिति । सर्वतत्त्वसाक्षात्कर्त्री
मुदितां भूमिं प्राप्येत्यर्थः ।

luñ. gshan. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir. yañ. hphags. shes.
bya. ba. la. sog. gsuñs. te| li. tsi. bi. shes. bya. ba. ni. rus. so||
gshon. nu. shes. bya. ba. ni. lo. ñuñ. bas. so|| mthar. gis. shes.
bya. ba. ni. dri. ma. med. pa. la. sog. pai. sai. rim. pas. so||

=आगमान्तरं दर्शयितुमाह—आर्येत्यादि । लिच्छिवीति कुलम् । कुमार
इति । अल्पवयसा । अनुपूर्वेणेति । विमलादिभूमिक्रमेण ।

gal. te. luñ. ji. ltar. thsad. ma. yin. te| hdi. ltar. luñ. ñes. pa.
zad. pas. byas. pa. yin. pas. na. thsad. ma. hgyur. ram| skyes. bus.
ma. byas. pa. yin| de. la. phyogs. dañ. po. ni. ma. yin. te| ñes. pa.
zad. pa. (f. 132a) ni. hdod. chags. la. sog. pai. ñes. pa. zad. pa.
dañ| yañ. dag. pai. don. ji. lta. ba. bshin. du. mthoñ. ba. dañ.
ldan. pa. dañ| brtse. ba. la. sog. pai. yon. tan. dañ. ldan. bya. o||
des. byas. pa. ni. ñes. pa. zad. pas. byas. pa. shes. brjod. par. bya.
ba. yin. la| ñes. pa. zad. pas. byas. pa. yin. pas. ñes. par. mi. nus. te|
gañ. gi. phyir. gshan. gyi. sems. śes. par. ma. nus. pa. dei. phyir.
ro|| hdi. ltar. gshan. gyi. sems. śes. pa. ni. hbras. bui. sgo. nas.
yin. la| ño. boi. sgo. nas. ni. ma. yin. te| de. ñid. bsgrub. par.
bya. ba. yin. pas. so|| lus. kyī. bya. ba. la. sog. pai. hbras. bu. yañ.
skyes. bui. hdod. pas. gshan. du. bya. bar. nus. pa. yin. te| hdod.
chags. dañ. bcas. pa. rnam. hdod. chags. dañ. bral. bai. bya. ba.
byed. par. mthoñ. ba. dañ|| hdod. chags. dañ. bral. ba. rnam.
hdod. chags. dañ. bcas. pa. bshin. du. bya. ba. byed. par. mthoñ.
bas. dei. phyir. ñes. pa. zad. pa. ñid. kyī. rtags. ñes. par. mi. nus.

pas. ñes. par. dkah. ba. yin. no|| des. na. ñes. pa. zad. pas. byas.
par. mi. ñes. pas. luñ. ñes. pa. zad. pas. byas. ñid. du. ma. grub.
bo ||

=ननु (lit. यदि) आगमः कथं प्रमाणम् ? तथा हि । आगमः
क्षीणदोषकृतत्वेन प्रमाणं भवेत् अपौरुषेयत्वेन वा । तत्र नाद्यः पक्षः । क्षीणदोषो
हि क्षीणरागादिदोषः यथाभूतार्थदृष्टियुक्तो दयादिगुणयुक्तश्च भाव्यः ।
तत्कृतः क्षीणदोषकृत इत्युच्यते । क्षीणदोषकृत इति तु निश्चेतुमशक्यम् ।
यस्मात् परचित्तज्ञानमशक्यं तस्मात् । तथा हि । परचित्तज्ञानं कार्यद्वारा ।
न स्वरूपद्वारा । तत्त्वस्य साध्यत्वात् । कायिकक्रियादिकार्यमपि पुरुषेच्छया
अन्यथा भवितुं शक्यम् । रागिणो विरागिक्रियाकारिणो दृष्टाः । विरागिणो
रागिवत् क्रियाकारिणो दृष्टाः । तस्मात् क्षीणदोषत्वहेतुः निश्चेतुमशक्यतया
दुर्निश्चयः । तेन क्षीणदोषकृतानिश्चयेन आगमः क्षीणदोषकृतत्वेन असिद्धः ।

skyes. bus. ma. byas. pai. luñ. yañ. thsād. ma. ñid. du. mi
hgrub. ste | hdi. ltar. skyes. bus. ma. byas. pai. luñ. thsād. mar
smra. ba. rnams. hdi. ltar. brjod. pa. yin. te | skyes. bu. ni. yon.
tan. dañ. skyon. gyi. rten. du. gyur. pa. yin. pas. dei phyir. de. yis
byas. pai. ñag. rnams. la. phyin. ci. log. gi. don. yañ. srid. la |
bden. pai. don. yañ. srid. pas | des. skyes. bu. log. pas. don.
phyin. ci. log. tu. ston. pai. the. thsom. ldog. pas. skyes. bus. ma.
byas. pai. thsig. thsād. mar. hdod. pa. yin. shes. pa. o || de yañ.
hthad. pa. ma. yin. te | gañ. gi. phyir. ñag. rnams. kyi. phyin. ci.
log. dañ | bden. pa. ñid. kyi. rten. du. gyur. pa. yon. tan. dañ.
skyon. dañ. ldan. pai. skyes. bu. log. pas. don. med. par. thal. bar.
hgyur. te | bden. pa. ñid. dañ. brdul. ba. ñid. las. tha. dad. du.
gyur. pai. rnam. pa. gshan. med. pas. so ||

= अपौरुषेय आगमोऽपि प्रमाणतया न सिद्धयति । तथा हि ।
अपौरुषेयागमप्रमाणवादिन एवं वदन्ति । पुरुषो हि गुणदोषाश्रयभूतः ।
तस्मात् तत्कृतवाक्यानां विपरीतार्थश्च संभवति । सत्यार्थश्च संभवति । अतः
पुरुषनिवृत्त्या विपरीतार्थदशनासंशयनिवृत्तेः अपौरुषेयं वचनं प्रमाणमिष्यते ।
इति । तदपि नोपपद्यते । यस्मात् वचनानां विपरीतसत्यत्वकारणभूत-
(lit. आश्रयभूत) गुणदोषविशिष्टपुरुषनिवृत्त्या आनर्थक्यं प्रसज्येत । सत्यत्व-
मिध्यात्वान्यां पृथग्भूतप्रकारान्तराभावात् ।

gshan. yañ. (f. 132b) mgrin. pa. la. sog. pai. gnas. dañ. byed.
pas. sgra. rnams. hbyuñ. bar. mthoñ. bai. phyir. ci. thar. na.

skyes. bus. ma. byas. pa. yin. par. hgyur | gal. te. gnas. dañ. byed.
pa. la. sog. pas. sgra. gsal. bar. byed. pa. yin. gyi | skyed. par.
byed. pa. ni. ma. yin. no. she. na | de. yañ. mi. rigs. te | gal. te.
gsal. bar. byed. na. gsal. ba. ñid. de. sgra. rnams. kyi. rañ. bshin.
khyad. par. can. du. hgyur. ba. yin. nam | sgra. la. sgrib. pa. med.
par. hgyur. baam | hon. te. ses. pa. skyed. par. byed. pa. yin. te |
de. la. sgra. rnams. rañ. bshin. gyi. khyad. par. du. byed. pa. ni.
ma. yin. te | rtag. pa. ñid. yin. pa. so | sgrib. pa. dañ. bral. ba. yañ.
ma. yin. te | rtag. pa. ñid. yin. pai. phyir. skrib. pas. sgra. la.
cuñ. zad. kyañ. ma. byes. yin. pai. phyir. ro || ses. pa. yañ. ma. yin.
te | rtag. pai. phyir. sgra. rnams. rgyun. du. ses. pa. skyed. pa. ruñ.
ba. yin. pas. so || des. na. gsal. bar. byed. pa. mi. hthod. do || des.
na. skyes. bus. ma. byas. pa. ñid. du. ma. grub. pas. luñ. thsād.
ma. ji. ltar. yin. she. na ||

= किञ्च कण्ठादिस्थानकरणतः शब्दानामुत्पत्तिदर्शनात् कथमपौ-
रुषेयो भवेत् । स्थानकरणादिना शब्दः व्यज्यते । नोत्पाद्यते इति चेत् ।
तदपि न युक्तम् । यदि व्यज्यते । व्यक्तिरेव किं तच्छब्दानां
स्वभावातिशयकरणं किं वा शब्दानामावरणापगमः उत ज्ञानजननम् ।
न तत्र शब्दानां स्वभावातिशयकरणम् । नित्यत्वात् । नाप्यावरणापगमः ।
नित्यत्वात् आवरणेन शब्दानामकिञ्चित्करत्वात् । नापि ज्ञान[जननम्] ।
नित्यत्वात् शब्दानां सन्ततं ज्ञानजननौचित्यात् । तेन व्यक्तिः नोपपद्यते ।
अतः अपौरुषेयत्वासिद्ध्या कथमागमः प्रमाणम् । इति चेत् ।

de. la. lan. ni. ci. ltar. hjig. rten. pai. thsād. ma. yin. pas. de.
bshin. du. luñ. yañ. thsād. ma. yin. te | hdi. ltar. hjig. rten. na.
hbrel. ba. dañ. rjes. su. mthun. pai. thabs. dañ. ldan. pa. dañ |
skyes. bui. don. rjod. par. byed. pa. dañ | mi. bslu. bai. thsig. ni.
thsād. mar. hdod. pa. yin. no || de. la. hbrel. ba. ni. gañ. du. thsig.
rnams. kyi. yan. lag. dañ | yan. lag. can. du. gyur. pas. sgrub. pa.
am | dgag. paam. | btañ. sñoms. kyi. don. gcig. rtogs. par.
byed. gañ. yin. po. o || de. la. gañ. ma. hbrel. bai. thsig. de. ni.
thsād. ma. [ma.] yin. te | dper. na. se. hbru. [xyl.: se. hu.] bcu.
sgyed. bu. gsum. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. lta. bu. ste | hdi.
rnams. gcig. la. ñe. bar. [b]sdu. ba. med. yin. te | phan. chun.
hbrel. ba. med. pai. phyir. ro || rjes. su. mthun. pai. thabs. ni.
gañ. hbras. bu. sgrub. pai. thabs. sgrub. par. nus. pa. de. la. rjes.
mthun. pai. thabs. shes. bya. o || de. lta. bui. thsig. ni. hjig. rten.
par. thsād. ma. ñid. du. las. len. gyi | de. las. gshan. pa. ni. ma.

yin. te | dper. [f. 133a] na. dug. shi. bar. bya. bai. phyir. hjog. poi. gtsug. gyi. nor. bu. len. pai. bstan. bcos. bshin. no || de. lta. gyur. pa. yin. kyañ. gal. te. skyes. bui. don. brjod. pa. ma. yin. par. gyur. na. dei. thse. thsad. ma. ma. yin. te | dper. na. bya. rog. gi. so. rtog. pai. bstan. bcos. bshin. no || de. dag. de. lta. bur. gyur. kyañ. rtog. dpyod. byas. nas. mi. slu. ba. yin. na. dei. thse. thsad. ma. yin. gyi | gshan. du. na. ma. yin. te | dper. na. mñon. sum. dañ. rjes. su. dpag. pa. dañ | luñ. gis. gnod. pai. don. lta. bu. o ||.

= तत्र समधीयते । यथा लौकिकं प्रमाणं तथा आगमोऽपि प्रमाणम् । तथा हि । लोके सम्बद्धम् अनुगुणोपायं पुरुषार्थमिधायकम् अवि-
संवादि वाक्यं प्रमाणमिष्यते । तत्र सम्बद्धम्—यत्र वाक्यानामवयवावयवि-
भावेन विहितं प्रतिषिद्धमुदासीनं वा एकार्थं यद्वोधयति । तत्र यद्-
सम्बद्धं वाक्यं तदप्रमाणम् । यथा दश दाडिमानि तिस्रश्चुल्लय इत्यादि ।
एतानि नैकत्रोपसंहृतानि । मिथस्सम्बन्धाभावात् । अनुगुणोपायम्—यत्
शक्यानुष्ठानफलसिद्धयुपायं तत् अनुगुणोपायमिति । एवंविधं वाक्यं लोके
प्रमाणत्वेन गृह्यते । न ततोऽन्यत् । यथा विषप्रशमनाय तक्षकचूडारत्न-
ग्रहणशास्त्रम् । एवंभूतमपि यदि पुरुषार्थानभिधायकं भवेत् तदा न
प्रमाणम् । यथा काकदन्तपरीक्षाशास्त्रम् । तदेवंभूतमपि परीक्षां कृत्वा
अविसंवादि चेत् तदा प्रमाणम् । नान्यथा । यथा प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमैः
बाधितोऽर्थः ।

mi. bslu. ba. shes. bya. ba. ni. ci. lta. bu. she. na | brjod. par. bya. ste | hdi. yul. gsum. ste | mñon. sum. dañ | lkog. tu. gyur. pa. dañ | śiñ. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pa. o || de. la. bstan. bcos. las. mñon. sum. du. hdod. pai. dños. po. rnams. la. mñon. sum. gyi. yul. gyi. dños. por. gyur. ñid. mñon. sum. gyis. mi. gnod. mi. bslu. ba. ste | dper. na. sñon. po. la. sogs. pa. bshin. no || de. bshin. du. mñon. sum. la. sogs. pa. ma. yin. par. hdod. pai. dños. po. rnams. mñon. sum. ma. yin. pa. ñid. grub. pas. mñon. sum. gyis. mi. gnod. pa. ste | hdi. lta. gshan. gyis. mñon. sum. ba. ñid. du. bstan. pa. ñid. sañs. rgyas. pai. grub. mthah. las. mñon. sum. ma. yin. pa. la | de. rnams. dpyañ. na. mñon. sum. ma. yin. pa. kho. na. yin. te | dper. na. sgra. la. sogs. pai. rañ. bshin. bde. la. sogs. pa. gañ. yin. pa. ste | gañ. gi. phyir. nañ. gi. bdag. ñid. kho. nar. dgah. ba. dañ. gduñ. bai. rañ. bshin. can. gyi. bde. ba. dañ. sdug. bsñal. ñams. su. myoñ. ba. yin. gyi | sgra. la. sogs. pa. (xyl. add. pai. bde. = सुख) la. gnas. pai. bde. ba. dañ | sdug. bsñal.

ñams. su. myoñ. ba. ma. yin. pas. so || hdi. ni. grañs. can. pai. hdod. pai. dbañ. du. byas. nas. brjod. pa. yin. no || bye. brag. pai. dbañ. du. byas. nas. ni. rdsas. la. sogs. pai. mñon. sum. ma. yin. pa. bshin. no || hdi. lta. de. rnams. kyi. cha. śas. las. tha. dad. du. gyur. pai. cha. śas. las. hdu. bai. cha. śas. can. [f. 133b] khas. len. pa. dañ | las. kyañ. hdeg. pa. dañ | hjog. pa. dañ | hgro. ba. dañ | hoñ. ba. dañ | bskum. pa. la. sogs. pas. rdsas. la[s.]tha. dad. du. gyur. pai. mñon. sum. du. hdod. pa. dañ | stod. pa. ñid. la. sogs. pai. spyi. rdsas. las. tha. dad. pai. mñon. sum. ñid. du. hdod. . . . yin. no || de. rnams. ni. mñon. sum. ma. yin. pa. ste | gañ. [xyl.: gan. zag.] gi. phyir. gzugs. su. la. sogs. pa. las. tha. dad. du. gyur. pai. rdsas. la. sogs. pa. gshan. mñon. sum. pa. yod. pa. ma. yin. te | de. las. lha. dad. du. gyur. pa. ma. dmigs. pai. phyir. ro || de. lta[r]. mthoñ. bai. dños. po. rnams. la. mi. bslu. ba. ñid. śes. par. bya. o ||

= अविसंवादीति कीदृशम् । उच्यते । प्रत्यक्षं परोक्षम् अत्यन्त-
परोक्षं चेत्येते त्रयो विषयाः । तत्र शास्त्रतः प्रत्यक्षाभिमतानां भावानां प्रत्यक्ष-
विषयभाव एव प्रत्यक्षेण अबाधितः अविसंवादी । यथा नीलादेः । एवम-
प्रत्यक्षाभिमतानां भावानामप्रत्यक्षत्वं सिध्यति । अतः प्रत्यक्षेण अबाधितम् ।
तथा हि परेण प्रत्यक्षतया देशितानामेव बौद्धसिद्धान्तादप्रत्यक्षाणाम् । तानि
विचारे अप्रत्यक्षाण्येव । यथा शब्दादिस्वभावः सुखादि यत् । यस्मात्
अध्यात्ममेव हर्षव्यसनस्वभावकं सुखं दुःखं चानुभूयते । न तु शब्दा-
दिनिष्ठं सुखं दुःखं चानुभूयते । इदं सांख्यमतमधिकृत्य उक्तम् । वैशे-
षिक[मत]मधिकृत्य तु—यथा द्रव्याद्यप्रत्यक्षम् । तथा हि । तेषामवयवात्पृथ-
ग्भूतः अवयवसमवेतः अवयवी अङ्गीक्रियते ! उत्क्षेपणावक्षेपणगमनगत्यागा-
तिसङ्कोचादिना कर्मापि द्रव्यात्पृथग्भूतं प्रत्यक्षमिष्यते । श्लाघ्यत्वा (=stod.
pa. nid) दिसामान्यं द्रव्यात्पृथग्भूतं प्रत्यक्षतयेष्यते । तानि अप्रत्य-
क्षाणि । यस्मात् रूपादेः पृथग्भूतं द्रव्यादन्यत् प्रत्यक्षं नास्ति । ततः
पृथग्भावानुपलम्भात् । तादृशानां वस्तूनामविसंवादित्वं ज्ञेयम् ।

de. bshin. du. rjes. dpag. gi. yul. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. dños. po. rnams. la. rjes. dpag. gis. de. kho. na. bshin. du. grub. pa. ni. mi. bslu. ba. ste | dper. na. mi. rtag. pa. la. sogs. pa. o || rjes. su. dpag. par. bya. ba. ma. yin. pai. rjes. su. dpag. par. bya. ba. ma. yin. pa. ñid. du. grub. pas. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pa. ni. mi. bslu. ba. ste | dper. na. gtso. bo. dañ | dbañ. phyugs. la. sogs. pa. bshin. no ||

First the paṭa or canvas is taken up. It possesses a smooth and shining surface, the result of high polishing. In all texts on painting, the first requisite for a good picture is, it is stated, a highly polished surface on which to paint. Śilparatna gives the following rule :—

एवं धवलिते भित्तौ दर्पणोदरसन्निभे ।
फलकादौ पटादौ वा चित्रलेखनमारभेत् ॥

Citrālekḥā now prepares Vajrālepa whose importance in the production of a picture in colours cannot be underrated. The process of the preparation of Vajrālepa is found stated in all books on painting since every colour is to be mixed with that before it is ready for use. The text as found in Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara, which is an almost verbatim copy of that in the former, is

माहिषीं त्वचमादाय नवां तोयेन पाचयेत् ।
नवनीतमिवायाति यावच्चिकणतां भृशम् ॥
तत्कल्कं चिकणीभूतं शलाकां परिकल्पयेत् ।
यत्नेन शोषयेत्पश्चाद्वाक्काठिन्यमाप्नुयात् ॥
वज्रलेपमिदं कृयात् चित्रे सर्वत्र शस्यते ।
तद्दृढं मृत्तिकापात्रे तोये कृत्वा प्रतापयेत् ॥
संतप्तो द्रवतां याति सर्ववर्णेषु तद्द्रवः ।
मिश्रणीयः प्रमाणेन यथा वर्णः प्रशस्यते ॥

The celestial damsel now takes the five important colours in separate golden and silver saucers. The rich metal mentioned for the saucers is merely indicative of the opulence of the painter; but saucers of some ordinary type are absolutely necessary. Five colours are referred to by Potana. Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi mentions only four :

श्वेतेषु पूरयेच्छङ्खं शोणेषु दरदं तथा ।
रक्तेष्वलकशकलं लोहितं गैरिकं तथा ॥
पीतेषु हरितालं स्यात् कृष्णे कज्जलमिष्यते ।
शुद्धा वर्णा इमे प्रोक्ताश्चत्वारश्चित्रसंश्रयाः ॥

Indian texts on painting generally give only four colours as primary ones exceeding the western list by the addition of white,
VI—24

A PASSAGE ON PAINTING IN POTANA'S BHĀGAVATA.

BY

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

It is a short time back when peeping into the leaves of Potana's Bhāgavata I chanced to light upon a particular passage throwing a flood of light on the method of painting prevalent in the poet's time and his close familiarity with detail. A thought that it would be useful to compare it with the texts on painting giving out rules in the execution of pictures and write a short note pointing out the close observance of the rules in the passage gave rise to this small essay.

In the verse

సరసిజనేత్ర యేటికి వి చారము నా కుశలత్వ మేర్పడెన్
సరసురయక్షకింపురుష నాగసభచ్చరసిస్థసాధ్యకి
న్నరవరముఖ్యులం బటము నన్ లిఖించినఁ జూచి నీమనో
హరుఁ గనివీడె పొమ్మనిన నప్పుడె వానిని నీకుఁడెచ్చెడన్.

Citrālekḥā promises to paint the most beautiful youths of various classes like Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, etc., for Uṣā to recognise and name the particular comely young man she had seen in her dream. The passage that comes next describes the process of Citrālekḥā's work and runs thus:

అని యొడంబటిచి మిలమిలని మంచుతోడం బురణించు ధళ
ధళయని మెలుంగులు దుఱంగలిగొను పటంబు నావటంబునేసి వజ్రంబు
మెదియించి పంచవన్నీయలు వేలువేటకనకరజతపాత్రంబుల నించి
కేలం దూలిక ధరించి యొక్క విజనస్థలంబునకుం జని ముల్లోకంబులం
జేరు గలిగిన వయోహుసగసన్నులైన పురుషముఖ్యుల నన్వయ
గోత్రనామధేయబుల్లోడ వ్రాసి యాయితంబైన యప్పుటంబు దన
ముదటికిఁ దెచ్చియుంచి యిప్పుటంబునం దగులనివారు లేరు, సావ
ధానంబున నాకర్ణిపు నుని యిట్లనియె.

Śrī Harṣa the poet gives exactly four colours as primary ones in his verse

विरहपाण्डिमरागतमोमपीशितिमतन्निजपीतिमवर्णकैः ।

दश दिशः खलु तद्दृगकल्पयल्लिपिकरो नलरूपकचित्रिताः ॥

What this additional colour referred to by Potana is, is a question. It must be in all probability Blue whose nature Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi gives as

केवलैव च या नीली भवेदिन्दीवरप्रभा ।

This colour is different from Kajjala (for Kṛṣṇa) and is absolutely essential for preparing secondary colours. These five colours are kept in separate cups so that they might be used as pure colours or mixed to produce secondary colour tints.

Citrālekḥā now takes up the *Tūlikā*. This is one of the three types of brushes with which to apply colours, *Tūlikā*, *Vartikā* and *Lekhanī*. The first is a fine colour pen for line work. The second is a sort of colour stump; and the third is the brush proper with soft animal hair at its tip. The *Tūlikā* going also by the name of *Tindu* is to be made of a strong and hollowless bamboo of the thickness of the little finger with two nodes and at its tip is to be placed a small copper pin with a grain's length of it protruding. Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi gives it thus :

कनिष्ठिकापरीणाहं भागद्वयसमायुताम् ।

धनवेणुसमुद्भूतां तूलिकां परिकल्पयेत् ॥

तदग्रे ताम्रजं शङ्कु यवमात्रं विनिक्षिपेत् ।

तावन्मात्रं बहिः कुर्यात्तिन्दुनामेरिता बुधैः ॥

The first outline of the picture is to be drawn with the *Tūlikā* or *Vartikā*. It is only later that colour is applied. Hence it is stated,

पूर्वं तिन्दुकलेख्यं स्यात् यद्वा वर्तिकया बुधैः ।

and also

आकारमात्रिकां रेखां तिन्दुवर्तिविनिर्मिताम् ।

लिखेत्तामेव लेखिन्या गैरिकोद्भूतवर्णतः ॥

It is therefore obvious why Citrālekḥā took up the *Tūlikā* first.

She is next represented as seeking a secluded spot where painting without any disturbance is possible. To satisfy the conditions given in Śilparatna—

स्वस्थचितः सुखासीनः स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा पुनः पुनः ।

a sequestered spot is absolutely essential.

She is now stated as drawing the most beautiful youths of all the three worlds. Attempting subjects from the three worlds is an essential rule with the Indian artists as is seen in Śilparatna

जङ्गमा वा स्थावरा वा ये सन्ति भुवनत्रये ।

तत्तत्स्वभावतस्तेषां करणं चित्रमुच्यते ॥

These are in short all the stages in drawing a picture and the small passage gives a very good idea of the process adopted by the artists of Potana's day who, as is clear, stuck to the time-honoured customs in the realm of painting.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

January, 1932.

1. *Tulu initial Affricates and Sibilants*: L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar.
2. *The hundred-pillared Maṇṭapam at Cidambaram*: S. R. Balasubramanyam. The article traces the history of this Maṇṭapam and incidentally deals with other temples of South India and their architecture. The article is to be continued.
3. *Harṣa vardhana in Kaṇṇāṭaka*: Dr. B. A. Saletore. The article concludes in this number.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

Vol. XIII. Part I, 1931—32,

1. *Kṛṣṇakulūhala Nāṭaka of Madhusūdana*: Prahlad C. Diwanji.

The कृष्णकुलुहलनाटक mentioned by Aufrecht as one of the works of Śrī Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, author of Advaita Siddhi, etc., is discovered in the Baroda library and found out as some other Madhusūdana's work from the prologue. Its literary value and a summary of the seven acts of the drama is given.

The Drama is thus not by the famous Vedāntin Madhusūdana Sarasvatī but by another Saṁnyāsin of the same name.

On the text and interpretation of some passages in the Mahā Bhāṣya of Patañjali: K. B. Pathak. The article is a critical examination of some passages of Dr. Keilhorn's edition of the Mahā Bhāṣya; the author makes some additions and corrections.

3. *The text of the Jīvedra-Vyākaraṇa and the priority of Candra to Pūjya Pāda*: Dr. K. B. Pathak.
4. *Śubha Candra and his Prākṛt Grammar*: A. N. Upadhyae.
5. *Buddhist Logic (An introductory survey)*. D. Chatterji.
6. *Bharata—Ādibharata Problem and the Ms. of Ādi-Bharata in the Mysore Govt. Oriental library*: P. K. Gode.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS 189

Scholars were of opinion that two works exist separately as Bharata and Ādi Bharata, the latter believed to be so called as preserved in the Mysore library. Mr. Gode examines the Ms. and finds it to be only the Bhāratiya Nāṭyaśāstra, in another recension.

7. *A Note on the dates of Ratna Candra's Commentaries on Raghuvamśa and the Naiṣadhiya—Between A. D. 1612—1627*: P. K. Gode.

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY. December 1931. Vol. XVII. Part. IV.

1. *Śakasthān, the Country of the Śakas. Its possession by the Aṇoient Persian*: Dr. Sir. Jivanji Jamsbredj Modi.
2. *Purāṇa Coin and the date of the Mānava Dharma Śāstra*. K. P. Jayasural.
3. *The Samskr̥t text of Mīmāṃsā Śāstra Sarvasva of Halā-gudha*, being printed from the last number, is continued.

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

Vol. VI. Part I.

1. *A study of Telugu roots*: (Contd.) C. Narayana Rao.
2. *Political History of the Kākatīyas*:
(i) M. Rama Rao. (ii) Rudra 1158—1195 A. D.
(iii) Mahādeva 1195—1198. (iv) Gaṇapati 1108—1261. The article is to be continued.
3. *Dravidic Word Studies*: L. V. Ramaswamy Ayyar.
4. *Education in Ancient India*: (Contd.) K. Venkatapayya.

JOURNAL OF THE BOMPAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. IV. March 1931.

1. *The Manathas in Bengal*: Kāli Kinkar Datta,
2. *Durvanīta, Simha Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu Vardhana*: B. C. S. Sarma. The article deals with Bhāravi and Dandin and examines the Avanti Sundari Kathā.
3. *Kambakāya Grant of the Eastern Gauga, Devendra-Varman*: T. N. Ramacandran.
4. *Chidambaram in Vijayanagar days*: T. B. Balasubramaniyam.

या जनिक्रिया तत्कर्ता अङ्कुरोऽनागतत्वादसन्नेव । तदभावे चाश्रयरहितेयं नास्ति । असती कथं निरोधतुल्यकालिका स्यात् । तस्मात्क्रिययोर्यौगपद्यं नैवयुक्तम् । उक्तं हि ।

यदि कश्चिदनुत्पन्नो भावः संविद्यते क्वचित् ।

उत्पद्येत स किं तस्मिन् भाव उत्पद्यतेऽसति¹ ॥ इति ।

²अस्यायमर्थः । यदि कश्चिदनुत्पन्न उत्पादात्पूर्वमङ्कुराख्यो भावः क्वचित् संविद्येत, स उत्पद्येत । न च कश्चिदुत्पादात्पूर्वं क्वचिद्भावः स्थातुं क्षमः । अनुत्पन्नत्वात् । अत उत्पत्तिक्रियाश्रये तस्मिन् भाव उत्पादात्पूर्वमसति अविद्यमाने किमुत्पद्यत इति । तस्मिञ्शब्दो भावविशेषणात् समानाधिकरणः । भाव इति सप्तमी । असतीत्यपि विशेषणम् । किंशब्द उत्पद्यत इत्यनेन योज्यः । भावेऽसति किमुत्पद्यते । न किञ्चिदुत्पद्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

(97,¹) ननु तुलादण्डोन्नाभावनामन्यायेन यस्मिन्नेव क्षणे बीजो निरुध्यते तस्मिन्नेवाङ्कुर उत्पद्यत ³इत्यर्थशालिस्तम्बसूत्रेऽयं दृष्टान्त उपन्यस्त इति चेत्, सत्यमुपन्यस्तः । स तु न परत उत्पाददेशनार्थम् । नापि स्वलक्षणोत्पाद-देशनार्थम् । किं तर्हि । युगपत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादमविचारसिद्धं मायोपमं परिदीप-पितुम् । यथोक्तम् ।

निरुद्धाद्वानिरुद्धाद्वा बीजान्नाङ्कुरसंभवः ।

मायोत्पादवदुत्पादः सर्व एव त्वयोच्यते ॥ ⁴इति ।

(97,¹³) अत्राह बीजाङ्कुरयोर्यौगपद्यासत्त्वेन परत्वाभावाज्जनिर्न युक्ता । यत्र तु यौगपद्यमस्ति तत्र परत्वसत्त्वेन जनिर्भविष्यति । तद्यथा चक्षुर्विज्ञानं तत्सहभूवेदनादयश्च । चक्षुरूपादयः सहभूवो वेदनादयश्च समकाल

1. म० शास्त्र VII. 17. (L. V. P.).

2. Cf. म० वृ० p. 161, L. 1.

3. Cited in बो० प० p. LL. 5—1. The same doctrine in Abhidharma-kośa Mss. Soc. As. fol. 222a: बीजाङ्कुरनिरोधन्यायेन एकस्मिन्नेव क्षणे बीजं निरुध्यतेऽङ्कुरश्चोत्पद्यते तुलादण्डनामोन्नामवन्नाशोत्पादयोस्समकालत्वात् । (L. V, P.).

4. Cited in बो० प० p. 533, L. 10, from catuh Stava (L. V. P.).

एव चक्षुर्विज्ञानं जनयन्ति । तथा चक्षुरादयश्चित्तं च समकाल एव वेदनादीनां प्रत्ययतां यान्ति इति । तन्न भवति । कस्मात् ।

चक्षुर्धियः स्वजनकान्ननु लोचनदेः

संज्ञादितः सहभुवो यदि तुल्यकालम् ।

अन्यत्वमास्ति, भवनेन सतः किमास्ते

तन्नास्ति चेदथ पुनः कथितोऽत्र दोषः ॥ २० ॥

यदि चक्षुरादयः संज्ञादयश्च समकालिका वर्तमानचक्षुर्ध्याप्रत्ययत्वेन इष्यन्ते, तदा विद्यमानमेव तामपेक्ष्य ¹परत्वं स्यात् । विद्यमानस्य तु भवनेन न किञ्चिदपि प्रयोजनमस्तीति नास्त्युत्पत्तिः । यद्यनुत्पत्तिपरिजिहीर्षया न तदस्त्व-मुपगम्यते । तदापि अविद्यमानधियश्चक्षुरादयो नान्या इति दोष उक्त एव ।

तस्मादेवमिष्टे परत उत्पादे परत्वसंभवेऽपि नोत्पादः संभवति । तदसंभवान्नोभयं संभवति । उत्पादसंभवेऽपि न परत्वं संभवति । तदसंभवादुभयमपि न संभवति इति सर्वथा बह्यार्थसत्त्वाद्बह्यार्थशून्यतया गत्वा गत्वा केवलं शब्दमात्रं शिष्यते । तस्मादियं कल्पना न युक्ता ॥

(98,20) इदानीं हेतुफलयोरुभयोर्हेतुफलापेक्षः कालो नास्तीति देशयितुमाह ।

जन्यं परं जनयते जनकः स हेतुः

सद्वोत वाऽसदुभयं जनयेद्विहीनम् ।

²कोऽर्थः सतश्च जनकादसतोऽपि तेन

द्वित्वस्य किं द्विरहितस्य च तेन कार्यम् ॥ २१ ॥

जनकहेतुर्न तावत्सद्भूतस्य जन्यस्य जनकः ॥

जातस्य जन्म पुनरेव च नैव युक्तम्³ ।

इत्यादिना दोषस्यैवोक्तत्वात् । अतस्तस्य प्रत्ययेन किञ्चिदपि प्रयोजनम् ।

1. प्रत्ययादीनां इत्यादिः ।
2. Lit. सतो जनकः किमर्थः ।
3. VI 8 d supra.

असद्भूतस्यापि जन्यस्य किं कार्यं तैः प्रत्ययैः । असत्त्वात् खरविषाणवत् । यथोक्तम्¹ ।

स्तम्भादीनामलङ्कारो गृह्यार्थे निरर्थकः ।

सत्कार्यमेव यस्येष्टं यस्यासत्कार्यमेव च ॥ इति ।

(99,15) मध्यमकेऽयुक्तम्² ।

फलं स्वभावसद्भूतं किं हेतुर्जनयिष्यति ।

फलं स्वभावासद्भूतं किं हेतुर्जनयिष्यति ॥

न चाजनयमानस्य हेतुत्वमुपपद्यते ।

हेतुत्वानुपपत्तौ च फलं कस्य भविष्यति ॥ इति ।

द्वित्वे सत्यपि किं तस्य प्रत्ययैः कार्यम् । उक्तदोषप्रसङ्गात् । द्वयोर्भावो द्वित्वम् । द्वित्वे विद्यमानं हि द्वित्वम् । एकदा एकस्य सदसत्त्वभावकता न संभवति । अतस्तत्त्वभावको भाव एव नास्ति । अविद्यमानत्वात्तस्य जनकैः प्रत्ययैः किं कार्यम् । यथोक्तं शास्त्रे³ ।

भवेदभावो भावश्च निर्वाण उभयं कथम् ।

तयोरेकत्र नास्तित्वमालोक्यतमसोर्यथा ॥ इति ।

तथा

कारकः सदसद्भूतः सदसत्कुरुते न तत् ।

परस्परविरुद्धं हि सच्चासच्चैकतः कुतः ॥ इति च ।

(100,12) यदुभयरहितं फलं न सन्नाप्यसत् । तस्योभयरहितस्यापि किं तैः प्रत्ययैः । सदसत्त्वभावमुक्तस्य फलस्याविद्यमानत्वात् । सदसत्त्वा-संभवे 'न सन्नासत्' इति तयोः प्रतिषेधान्न किञ्चिदपि विशेषणं भवेत् । यदा चैतदुभयमसिद्धं तदा न सन्नासच्च नैव संभवति । यथोक्तम्⁴ ।

1. चतुश्शतक (Harap. Sastri) p. 511, (P. L. Vaidya) XI. 15 and cited in म० वृ० p. 393.

2. म० शास्त्र XX. 21 and 22.

3. म० शास्त्र XXV. 14 and VIII. 7.

4. Ibid. XXV. 15.

नैवाभावो नैव भावो निर्वाणमिति याज्ञना ।
अभावे चैव भावे च सा सिद्धे सति सिध्यति ॥ इति ।

(101,3) जनिप्रसिद्धयै या योपपत्तिरुक्ता सा सा त्वन्मतिज्वलनेन सर्पिस्सिक्तशुष्केन्धनवन्निशेषं दग्धा¹ चेत्, अलं त्वत्प्रज्ञाज्वलनोत्थापन²-परायणयुक्तीन्धनचोदनया । ननु यदि युक्त्या नोपदेशः, न निवक्षितोऽर्थः सेत्स्यति । तन्न भवति । योऽर्थो लोकत एव सिद्धः, न तत्र किञ्चि-युक्त्या कार्यम् । लोकदर्शनस्यातिव्यवत्वात् इत्याह ।

लोकं स्वदृष्टिगतमिच्छति यः प्रमाणं
युक्त्यैव संकथितयास्य हि दर्शनं किम् ।

भावः परस्य परतोऽपि च लोककलत्पः
तेनास्ति जन्म परतोऽत्र नयेन कोऽर्थः ॥ २२ ॥

स्वदृष्टिमेवाश्रिते सर्वस्मिँल्लोक अतिबलवान् । दृश्यते च परत एव उत्पादः । युक्त्युपन्यसितं वस्तु पुनरप्रत्यक्षस्यैव योग्यं न तु प्रत्यक्षस्य । तस्माद्विनाप्युपपत्तिं भावानां परत उत्पादो विद्यत एव इति ।

(101,19) यः पुनरनधिगताविपरीतशास्त्रार्थः आहितानादिसंसारभव-वासनापरिपाको भावाभिनिवेशविप्रियां श्रुतिमसहमानो लोकबाधानिः³सरणो-पायमाश्रयते । एनमतिमहतीमुदारां लौकिकनीतिमनुक्त्वा लोकबाधा⁴लीका-निवर्तयितुमशक्यमिति लोकबाधाविषय सविशेषं प्रदर्शयितुं तावत्सत्यद्वय-व्यमस्थामधिकृत्याह ।

सम्यङ्मृषादर्शनलब्धभावं
रूपद्वयं बिभ्रति सर्वभावाः ।

1. Tib. p. 101, L. 5 read bsregs for bsgregs. But my guru Prof. V. Bhattācārya of Santiniketan, reads for it bsgrigs = आच्छादित

2. Tib. Spor-ba = उत्थापन ?

3. Tib. rdol = निःसरण (V. Bhattācārya).

4. Tib. bla-rdol = पदसु, pa.

सम्यग्दृशां यो विषयः स तत्त्वं
मृषादृशां संवृतिसत्यमुक्तम्¹ ॥ २३ ॥

इहाविपरीतसत्यद्वयस्वरूपवेदिभिर्भगवान्बुद्धैर्द्विविधं स्वरूपमुपदिष्टं आध्या-त्मिकानां बाह्यानां च सर्वेषां भावानां संस्काराङ्कुरादीनां । यदुत सांवृतं पारमार्थिकं च । तत्र पारमार्थिकमेकं रूपं सम्यग्दृशां ज्ञानविशेष-विषयतयात्मभावं लभते । न तु स्वात्मतया सिद्धम् । अन्यत् अविद्यातिमिरपटला-शेषावृतबुद्धिलोचनानां पृथग्जनानां मृषादर्शनबलादात्मभावं लभते । बाल-दर्शनविषयीकृतो यथातथास्वभावस्तु स्वरूपतोऽसिद्धः । तस्मादेतत्स्वभावद्वयं सर्वे पदार्था धारयन्ति । तयोश्च स्वभावयोर्यः सम्यग्दृशां विषयस्तदेव तत्त्वम् । तदेव पारमार्थिकं सत्यमित्यर्थः । तत्स्वरूपं हि वक्ष्यते । यश्च मृषादृशां विषयः तत्संवृतिसत्यम् ।

(103,7) तस्मादेवं सत्यद्वयं व्यवस्थाप्य मृषादृक्त्वपि सम्यक्-मृषादृक्तया द्वित्वसत्त्वात् तद्वाह्यार्थज्ञानयोर्द्वित्वं कथयितुमाह ।

मृषादृशोऽपि द्विविधास्त इष्टा
दीप्तेन्द्रिया इन्द्रियदोषवन्तः ।
दुष्टेन्द्रियाणां किल बोध इष्टः
²सुस्थेन्द्रियज्ञानमपेक्ष्य मिथ्या ॥ २४ ॥

तत्र दीप्तेन्द्रियास्तिमिरविगताः कामलादिनानुपहताश्च गृहीताविपरीत-तथाविधबाह्यविषयाः । दुष्टेन्द्रियास्तद्विपरीताः । तत्र दुष्टेन्द्रियाणां यज्ज्ञानं तत् सुस्थेन्द्रियाणां ज्ञानमपेक्ष्य मिथ्याज्ञानमिष्टम् ॥

(104,1) यथैषां ज्ञानं विपरीताविपरीतताद्वारा द्विविधम् । तथा-विषयोऽपीति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

1. Cited in बो० प० p. 361, L. 4. (L.V.P.)

2. Tib. legs-gyur = सुस्थ ?

विनोपघातेन यदिन्द्रियाणां

षण्णामपि ग्राह्यमवैति लोकः ।

सत्यं हि तल्लोकत एव शेषं

विकल्पितं लोकत एव मिथ्या¹ ॥ २५ ॥

तत्र तिमिरकामलादयो दर्दुराहारादयश्च इन्द्रियोपघातप्रत्यया आध्यात्मिकाः । तैलसलिलदर्पणशैलगुहाद्युच्चरितशब्दादयो देशकालविशिष्टसूर्यकिरणसामीप्यादयश्च इन्द्रियोपघातप्रत्यया बाह्याः । ते च मुक्त्वाध्यात्मिकानिन्द्रियोपघातान् प्रतिविम्बप्रतिश्रुत्कमरीच्युदकचन्द्रादिग्रहहेतवो भवन्ति । तथेन्द्रजालविदादिना प्रयुक्ता मन्त्रौषध्यादयोऽपि वेदितव्याः । ते² चासत्कृतसिद्धान्तादयोऽनुमानाभासाश्च मनउपघाताः । स्वप्नादीनां व्यवस्था त्वाख्यास्यते³ । तस्मादेवं यथोक्तेनेन्द्रियोपघातप्रत्ययेन विना [य]मिन्द्रियषटेन ग्राह्यमर्थमवैति लोकः । तल्लोकत एव सत्यम् । न त्वार्यापेक्षया । यच्च प्रतिविम्बादिविषयरूपत्वेनावभासते सतीन्द्रियाणामुपघाते । तल्लोकापेक्षयैव मिथ्या ॥

(105,7) इदानीमुदाहरणरूपेणोक्तमेवार्थमुपदेष्टुमाह ।

अज्ञानमिद्वोत्क्षुभितैर्यथास्व⁴

प्रकल्पितं यत्किल तीर्थिकैश्च ।

मायामरीच्यादिषु कल्पितं यत्

तल्लोकतश्चापि न विद्यते हि ॥ २६ ॥

एते हि तीर्थिकास्तत्त्वावततारयिषया आगोपालाङ्गनादिकमव्युत्पन्न⁵-जनप्रसिद्धं भावानामुत्पादविनाशादिकमविपरीतं सम्यगवधार्य⁶ प्रकर्षगमनेच्छया-

1. Cited in बो० प० p. 353, L. 13. (L.V.P.)

2. Tib. yañ-dag-pa-ma-yiñ-pa = अस्तु ?

3. VI. 48. infra.

4. Dr. poussin, comparing बो० प० p. 353, L. 11 reads here यथास्वं (Le Museon. N. S. XI. p. 302).

5. Prof. V. Bhattācārya asserts from Catuḥ Śataka Vṛtti that the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tib. word 'ma-byañ' is अव्युत्पन्न.

6. Compare बो०. प०. p. 258, L. 1.

वृक्षमारूढः पूर्वशाखामुत्सृज्य ऊर्ध्वशाखां गृह्णन्निव दुर्दृष्टिदरीषु¹ महापातं पतन्ति । सत्यद्वयविरहाच्च न फलमाप्नुवन्ति ॥ तस्मादेतैर्यद्गुणत्रयादिकं कल्पितम्, तल्लोकसंवृत्त्यैव नास्ति ॥ तस्मादिह (106,2.) ।

न बाधते ज्ञानमतैमिराणां

यथोपलब्धं तिमिरेक्षणानाम् ।

तथामलज्ञानतिरस्कृतानां

धियास्ति बाधा न धियोऽमलायाः³ ॥ २७ ॥

यत् पुनः परत उत्पादप्रतिषेधकथनं न तल्लोकदृष्टावेव स्थित्वा । किं तर्हि । आर्याणां दर्शनमभ्युपगम्य । यदोत्पादप्रतिषेधस्यैतद्विशेषणम् । तदा यथा तैमिरिकाणां केशादिरूपोपलम्भः नातैमिरिकाणां ज्ञानं बाधते । तथानासन्नज्ञानविरहितानां पृथग्जनानां ज्ञानमपि न निरासन्नं दर्शनं बाधते इत्येवंविधे विषये न लोकेन बाधा । अतश्चैवं परः सद्भिर्हसनीय एव स्यात् । तस्मादेतेन सत्यद्वयं सांवृतपारमार्थिकविभागेन भाषानां स्वरूपद्वयं चाभिहितम् ॥

(106,19) तत्र लोकसंवृत्तिसत्यप्रदर्शनायाह ।

मोहः स्वभाववरणाद्धि संवृतिः

सत्यं तयाख्याति यदेव कृत्रिमम् ।

जगाद तत्संवृत्तिसत्यमित्यसौ

मुनिः पदार्थं कृतकं च संवृतिम्⁴ ॥ २८ ॥

तत्रायं सत्त्वान् यथावस्थितभावदृष्टौ मोहयतीति मोहः । अविद्या⁵ हि पदार्थासत्स्वरूपारोपिका स्वभावदर्शनावरणामिका संवृतिः । तथा च संवृत्या यत्सत्याभासं निःस्वभाववत् स्वभावेन प्रतिभासते । तन्मिथ्याभूत-लोकसंवृत्तिसत्यम् । तत्कृत्रिमं प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नम् । किञ्चित्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं प्रति-

1. = ri-sul. But the Indices Verborum of न्यायविन्दु etc., give निकुञ्ज as the equivalent of it.

2. Lit. पतेन.

3. Cited in बो० प० p. 369, L. 15, (L.V.P.).

4. Ibid. p. 353, 3. (L.V.P.).

5. Cf. Ibid. p. 352, L. 7.

त्रिभुवप्रतिश्रुत्कादिकं मृषाप्यविद्यावतां भासते । किञ्चिन्नीलादिरूपचित्त-
वेदनादिकं सत्यं भासते । सर्वथा स्वभवो नाविद्यावतां भासते । अतः
संवृत्यापि यन्मृषा तत्संवृतिसत्यं न भवति । एवं तावत् भवाङ्गसङ्घातः
संक्लिष्टाविद्यावशेन संवृतिसत्यं व्यवस्थाप्यते । तच्च तिरस्कृतसंक्लिष्टाविद्यानां
संस्कारान् प्रतिबिम्बादिसत्तातुल्यानवलोकयतां श्रावकप्रत्येकबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वानां
कृत्रिमस्वभावम् । न तु सत्यम् । सत्याभिमानविरहात् । बालानां मोषकं
तदन्येषां मायादिवत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नतया संवृतिमात्रम् । तच्च ज्ञेयावरणलक्षणा¹-
विद्यामात्रसंयोजनात्साभासगोचरगतानामार्याणां भाति । न तु ²निराभासगोचर-
गतानाम् । संबुद्धेषु सर्वधर्मसर्वाकाराभिसम्बोधाच्चित्तचैतत्संचारोऽत्यन्तं निवृत्त
इष्यते । एवं तावदसौ भगवान् संवृतिसत्यं संवृतिमात्रं जगाद । तत्र
पृथग्जनानां यः परमार्थः स साभासगोचरगतानामार्याणां संवृतिमात्रमेव ।
या तत्स्वभावशून्यता, सैव तेषां परमार्थः । संबुद्धानां परमार्थः एवस्वभावः ।
सोऽप्यप्रमोषकत्वात्परमार्थसत्यम् । तद्धि तेषां प्रत्यामवेद्यम्³ । संवृतिसत्यं
तु प्रमोषकत्वान्न परमार्थसत्यम् ॥

(109,1) तस्मादेवं संवृतिसत्यमुक्त्वा परमार्थसत्यविवक्षया अवाच्यत्वात्
ज्ञानविषयत्वाच्च तद्वस्तुतो वक्तुं न शक्यते⁴ इति श्रोतुकामानां स्वसंवेद्यतया
तत्स्वभावं व्यञ्जयितुं दृष्टान्तमाह ।

विकल्पितं यत्तिमिरप्रभावात्
केशादिरूपं वितथं तदेव ।
येनात्मना पश्यति शुद्धदृष्टि-
स्तत्तत्त्वमित्येवमिहाप्यवैहि⁵ ॥ २९ ॥

1. See धर्मसङ्ग्रह CXV and म० वृ० p. 117. n. 1.
2. Bhūmis 8-10 are called "nirābhāsa" in लङ्कावतारसूत्र, अभिसमयपरिवर्त (Glossary of the Daśa bhūmika-Sutra, p. 27).
3. Cf. बो० प० p. 367, L. 12 and म० वृ० p. 373, L. 6 and n. 2.
4. Cf. बो० प० pp. 365, LL. 6-8 and 366, 8.
5. Cited in बो० प० p. 365, L. 2 (L.V.P.).

ग्राह्यं विना ग्राहकतामपश्यन्
विज्ञानमात्रं त्रिभवं परैति¹ ॥ ४५ ॥

विहारीति शब्दोऽयं प्रतिष्ठिते वर्तते । प्रज्ञायां विहारः प्रज्ञाविहारः ।
सोऽस्यास्तीति प्रज्ञाविहारी । प्रज्ञाभावयिता उच्यते । स हि बोधिसत्त्व
इति । अभिमुख्यां प्रतिष्ठितः । प्रतिबुद्धं दृष्टम् अवगतं तत्त्वम् अविपरीतम्
अनव्यारोपितं येन सः प्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वः । विज्ञानमात्रं प्रतिबुद्धं तत्त्वम् इति
वाक्यविग्रहः । रूपाभावाच्चित्तचैतानामपि प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नानां ²वस्तुमात्रतया
प्रतिबोधात् विज्ञानमात्रप्रतिबुद्धतत्त्व इत्युच्यते । कथं पुनरयं विज्ञानमात्र-
प्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वः । तस्मादेवमुक्तम् ।

(136,15) ग्राह्यं विना ग्राहकतामपश्यन्
विज्ञानमात्रं त्रिभवं परैति ॥ इति ।

यस्मादयं बोधिसत्त्वः वक्ष्यमाणयुक्त्या चित्तप्राह्याभावादेव ग्राहकतां
चापश्यन् त्रैधातुकमिदं विज्ञानमात्रमिति चिरमभ्यस्यति । कृत्वा च तदभ्यासम्
अनभिलाष्यं वस्तुमात्रं स्वसंवित्त्वा पश्यति । तस्मादनेन क्रमेण विज्ञानमात्र-
प्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वो भवति ॥

(137,4) यद्येतद्विज्ञानमात्रमेव । कथं तर्ह्यत्र बाह्यार्थं विना तदा-
कारकं विज्ञानमात्रमुत्पत्स्यते । आह ।

यथा तरङ्गा महतोऽम्बुराशेः
समीरणप्रेरणयोद्भवन्ति ।
तथालयाख्यादपि सर्वबीजा-
द्विज्ञानमात्रं भवति स्वशक्तेः³ ॥ ४६ ॥

1. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. (L. V. P.)
2. Prof. Poussin remarks:—वस्तुमात्रं est une expression technique et je suis porté à comprendre 'hbyuñ-bahi' comme un absolu: चित्तचैतानामपि प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वे वस्तुमात्रतः (तत्त्वं) अवबुध्य ; Le रूप n'existe pas; la चित्तचैतं est produit par les causes (परतन्त्र); il voit la réalité dans l'être pur, indicible, वस्तुमात्रं, (qu'est le विज्ञान sans object et sujet)
3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. (L. V. P.)

यथा तरङ्गाधारभूतजलावयवसमीरणेन संक्षुभितादम्बुराशेः सुप्ततुल्या-
स्तरङ्गाः समीरणमात्रप्रत्ययोपागमाल्लब्धात्मभावाः स्पर्धयेव सर्वतः परि-
धावन्तो बुध्यन्ते । तथात्वापि विज्ञानेनानादिकालपरम्पराप्रवृत्तग्राह्यग्राहकाभि-
निवेशवासनापरिपाकात् आत्मनः सद्भावं¹ प्राप्य निरुद्धेनाहितो य आलयविज्ञाने
वासनाविशेषः स्वाकारानुबन्धिविज्ञानान्तरोत्पत्तिहेतुभूतः क्रमेण स्वपरिपाक-
प्रत्ययागमेन परिपाकं प्राप्नोति । तस्माद्यदुपजायते परतन्त्रमपरिशुद्धम् ।
तत्रैव बाला ग्राह्यग्राहकविकल्पं परिकल्पयन्ति । न तु किञ्चिदपि विज्ञाना-
तिरिक्तं ग्राह्यमस्ति । यथेश्वरादिकारणवादिनः

गोशब्दानां हि गौर्हेतुश्चन्द्रकान्तोऽम्भसामिव ।

प्ररोहाणामिव प्लक्षः स हेतुः सर्वदेहिनाम्² ॥

इतीश्वरादीनेव जगत्कर्तृन् वदन्ति । तथालयविज्ञानवादिनोऽपि आलयविज्ञानं
सकलभावोपलम्भबीजाश्रयत्वेन सर्वबीजं वदन्ति । अयमेव विशेषः यदीश्वरो
नित्यः आलयविज्ञानमनित्यमिति ॥

(138,15) यस्मादियं प्रवचनस्य व्यवस्था प्रसिद्धा ।

संविद्यतेऽतः परतन्त्ररूपं

प्रज्ञप्तिसद्वस्तुनिबन्धनं यत् ।

बाह्यं विना ग्राह्यमुदेति सच्च

सर्वप्रपञ्चाविषयस्वरूपम्³ ॥ ४७ ॥

परतन्त्ररूपमिदमवश्यमभ्युपगन्तव्यम् । यस्मात्तदशेषकल्पनाजालाश्रय-
मिष्यते । न हि रज्जुनिमित्तकः सर्पभ्रमस्तामनपेक्ष्य युज्यते । घटादिभ्रमो
भूम्यादिनिमित्तको भूम्यादिमनपेक्ष्य नाकाशप्रदेशे उदेति । तथात्वापि बाह्यार्थं
विना नीलादिकल्पना किञ्चिन्मिता स्यात् । अतः कल्पनाकारणमवश्यं परतन्त्र-

1. Tib. dāos. po. yod. pa.

2. Compare तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहपञ्जिका P. 76.

ऊर्णनाभ इवांशूनां चन्द्रकान्त इवाभसाम् ।

प्ररोहाणामिव प्लक्षः स हेतुः सर्वजन्मिनाम् ॥

and Prajñāpradīpa (B. I) P. 19.

3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. On प्रज्ञप्तिसत् see मध्य० वृत्ति P. 28. n. 1.

(L. V. P.)

रूपमुपगन्तव्यम् । संक्षेपव्यवदानयोर्हेतुत्वात् । एवं च यत्र यदसत् तत्तेन
शून्यमिति समनुदृष्टिः यदत्राधिकमवशिष्टं तदत्र सत्यमस्तीतीयं यथाभूतप्रज्ञा च
हि शून्यतायामविपर्ययासेनावतारः¹ इत्यादिना शून्यतापि सुगृहीता भवति ॥

तदपि² सर्वप्रपञ्चाविषयस्वरूपम् । अभिधानं तु प्रज्ञप्त्याकारग्रहणार्थम् ।
यावदभिधानमस्ति । तावन्न वस्त्वभिधानम् ।

(139,19) तस्मात् संक्षेपतोऽत्र परतन्त्ररूपे त्रयं व्यवस्थाप्यते । ज्ञेयं
विना स्ववासनात् एवात्पत्तिः सत्त्वं प्रपञ्चाविषयत्वं चेति । प्रज्ञप्तिसद्वस्तु-
निबन्धनता तु सत्त्वेनैव सिद्धा । इति न सा त्रयादतिरिक्ता । इति चेत् ।
अत्रोच्यते ।

बाह्यं विना क यथास्ति चित्तं

इतीदमेव पुनः सम्यग्विचारणीयम् । आह ।

स्वप्ने यथा चेत्

अत्यल्पे गृहेऽन्तःसुप्तो निद्राविपर्ययेण महामत्तहस्तिगणमन्तर्गृहं
पश्यति । न कदाचिदयं विद्यते । तस्मात् बाह्यविषयं विनैव विज्ञान-
मिदमवश्यमुपेयम् ॥

(140,11) अत्राप्यसारताप्रदर्शनायाह ।

इदमेव चिन्त्यम् ।

किं पुनस्तत् । आह ।

स्वप्नेऽपि मे नैव हि चित्तमस्ति

यदा तदा नास्ति निदर्शनं ते³ ॥ ४८ ॥

मत्तपूर्णहस्तिगणाकारकं तत् ज्ञानं तु विषयवन्नास्त्यस्माकम् । अनुत्पन्न-
त्वात् । असति च विज्ञाने उभयोः प्रसिद्धनिदर्शनाभावात् बाह्यं विना ज्ञानं नास्ति ॥

1. This seems to be an extract from some other work.

But compare शि० स० P. 357 L. 10: योनिशः प्रयुक्तो हि.....

बोधिसत्त्वो यदस्ति तदस्तीति प्रजानाति । यन्नास्ति तन्नास्तीति प्रजानाति ।

2. परतन्त्रम् ।

3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. (L. V. P.)

(141,1) अथ स्वप्ने भ्रान्तं विज्ञानं नास्ति । तदा विबुधः स्वप्नानुभवं न स्मरेत् इति । इदमपि न युज्यते । तथा हि ।

स्वप्नस्य बोधे स्मरणान्मनोऽस्ति
यद्यस्ति बाह्यो विषयोऽपि तावत् ।

कस्मात् ।

यथा मया दृष्टमिति स्मृतिस्ते
बाह्येऽपि तद्वत् स्मृतिसंभवोऽस्ति¹ ॥ ४९ ॥

यथा स्वप्नानुभवस्मरणान्चित्तमस्त्येव । तथा विषयानुभवस्मरणसत्त्वाच्च विषयोऽप्यस्ति । अथवा विज्ञानमपि नास्तीति निश्चेतव्यः ॥

(141,13) अत्राह । यदि महागजादिरूपमस्ति स्वप्ने । तद्वृहीतुं चक्षुर्विज्ञानमपि भवतु । तत्तु नास्ति । निद्राव्याकुलतया पञ्चविज्ञानसामग्र्य-संभवात् । तथा हि ।

चक्षुर्धियोऽसंभव एव मिद्वे
नास्त्यस्ति वै मानसमेव चेतः ।
तदाकृतौ बाह्यतया निवेशः
स्वप्ने यथेहापि तथा मतं चेत्² ॥ ५० ॥

स्वप्ने चक्षुर्विज्ञानं सर्वथा नास्ति । तद्विना चक्षुरायतनप्राह्यं तन्महा-गजादिरूपं नास्ति । मनोविज्ञानं त्वस्ति । तस्मात् बाह्यं रूपमसदेव । विज्ञानाकारे बाह्यतयाभिनिवेशस्त्वविवादः । यथा स्वप्ने बाह्यं विना विज्ञानमात्र-मुदेति । तथेहापि स्यात् । इति चेत् ॥

(142,7) मैवम् । स्वप्ने मनोविज्ञानोद्भवासंभवात् । तथा हि ।

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. fol. 24. (L. V. P.) the reading मिद्वे is adopted from the Tib. But the verse as cited in सुभा० reads सिद्धे ।

बाह्यो यथा ते विषयो न जातः
स्वप्ने तथा नैव मनोऽपि जातम् ।

अतः

चक्षुश्च चक्षुर्विषयश्च तज्जं
चित्तं च सर्वं त्रयमप्यलीकम्¹ ॥ ५१ ॥

यथा रूपदर्शने चक्षुरूपं मनश्चैतत्त्रयं संनिहितम् । तथा स्वप्नेऽपि विषयपरिच्छेदे त्रयं संभूय आलम्ब्यते । यथा तत्र चक्षुरूपोभयं नास्ति । तथा चक्षुर्विज्ञानमपि नास्ति ।

(142,19) यथैतानि त्रीणि तथा

श्रोत्रादि शिष्टं त्रयमप्यजातम्,

श्रोत्रादीति । आदिना शब्दः श्रोत्रविज्ञानं यावन्मनो धर्मधातुर्मनोविज्ञानं च संगृह्यन्ते । तस्मात् स्वप्ने एतत्त्रयं सर्वमलीकम् । अतः स्वप्ने मनोविज्ञान-मस्तीत्येतन्न युक्तम् ॥

(143,5) कश्चित्तु मन्यते मनोविज्ञानप्राह्यं धर्मायतनगतं रूपं स्वप्नेऽस्ति । अतो विज्ञानं विषयं विना न कचिदस्तीति । तदप्ययुक्तमेव । सर्वथा स्वप्ने त्रयासंभवात् ॥

(143,10) यदि परसमयप्रत्याख्यानाय तथोपगम्यते तदा स्वप्नदृष्टान्तो निरर्थक एव स्यात् । सोऽमृषार्थक एव दार्ष्टान्तिकवस्तुनस्तु । मृषार्थकत्वेन कथनासंभवात् ॥

(143,13) यस्मात् स्वप्ने त्रिकमप्यसत्यम् । तस्मात् प्रसिद्धद्वारा असिद्धसिद्धिसाधनाय प्रबोधेऽपि सर्वो धर्मो निःस्वभाव एव साध्यत इत्याह ।

स्वप्ने यथात्रापि तथा प्रबोधे ।

भावा मृषा सन्ति मनोऽस्ति तन्न
निर्गोचराक्षाय्यपि वै न सन्ति ॥ ५२ ॥

1. Ibid.

यथा स्वप्ने विषयं इन्द्रियं विज्ञानं च मृषा । तथा प्रबोधेऽपीति ज्ञेयम् ।
तस्मात् सुभाषितम् ।

यथा मायिकाः सत्त्वा उपलभ्यन्ते
संदृश्या अपि तत्त्वतो न तथ्याः ।
मायाकाराः स्वप्नसमानाश्च
तथा धर्मः सुगतेन देशितः¹ ॥ इति ।

तथा
सुपिनोपमा भगवगी (सकला)
नेह कश्चि जायति न चो म्रियते ।
नाम सत्त्वं लभ्यति न जीवु नरो
इमि धर्मं फेनकदलीसदृशः ॥² इत्यादि च ।

(144,12) अतो विबुद्धज्ञानमपेक्ष्य त्रिकमप्यजातमुक्तम् । स्वप्ने
स्वप्नायमानज्ञानमपेक्ष्य तु

यथात्र यावत्खलु बुध्यमानो
नाबोधि तावत्त्रयमस्ति तस्य ।

यथा सत्यामप्यज्ञाननिद्रायां तदतिरिक्तनिद्राविरहेण कस्यचित् विबुद्ध-
स्याविद्यानिद्रया स्वप्नायमानत्वादुपलब्धं त्रिकं स्वात्मत्वेनाजातमप्यस्ति । तथा
अनपगतनिद्राणां स्वप्नावस्थात अनुत्थितानामपि तथास्वभावकं त्रिकमस्ति ।

त्रिकं विबुद्धस्य च नास्ति मोह-
निद्राविबोधात्किल तत्तथैव ॥ ५३ ॥

यथा विबुद्धस्य निद्राक्षयात्स्वप्नोपलब्धं त्रयं न विद्यते । तथोन्मूलिता-
शेषाविद्यानिद्राणां साक्षात्कृतधर्मधातूनामपि न त्रिकमस्तीति बाह्यं विना
न विज्ञानं विद्यते ॥

1. Not identified and rendered into prose.
2. Cited from समाधिराजसूत्र in म० वृत्ति, P. 109, L. 7, 5+9, L. 11.
where it has न च in the place of नाम and न हि for नेह (L. V. P.).

(145,10) अथ तैमिरिकेन अविद्यमानकेशाद्युपलम्भात् बाह्यं विनापि
विज्ञानमस्तीति¹ चेत् । तदप्यनुपपन्नम् । कस्मात् ।

बुद्ध्या यया तैमिरिकेन्द्रिया यान्
पश्यन्ति केशान् तिमिरप्रभावात् ।
सत्यं द्विकं बुद्धिमपेक्ष्य तां च
व्यक्तार्थदृष्टेर्द्वयमप्यलीकम् ॥ ५४ ॥

स्वप्नतावत् द्रष्टव्यम् । तैमिरिकदर्शनमपेक्ष्य केशाकारः पुनरस्ति ।
अतैमिरिकदर्शनमपेक्ष्य तूभयमप्यजातमेव । विषयं विना ज्ञानस्य दुर्नि-
श्चयत्वात् ॥

(146,1) एतद्व्यवश्यमेष्टव्यम्² । मैवम् ।

ज्ञेयं विना वै यदि बुद्धिरस्ति
तत्केशदेशान्वितलोचनस्य ।
स्यात्केशधीस्तैमिरिकेतरस्य³
तथा न तस्मान्न च विद्यते तत् ॥ ५५ ॥

यदि तैमिरिकस्य केशान् विना केशाकारकं ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । यत्र देशे
तैमिरिकः केशान् पश्यति तत्र⁴ समर्पितलोचनस्यातैमिरिकस्यापि⁵ तत्सदृश-
केशबुद्धिः भवेत् । विषयाभावस्य समानत्वात् । तस्माद्विषयं विना विज्ञान-
मुत्पद्यत इत्येतदयुक्तम् ॥

(146,12) अत्राह । भवेदेतदेवं यदि विषयसत्ता विज्ञानोत्पत्तिहेतुः ।
⁶ किं तर्हि । पूर्वमाहितविज्ञानवासनापाकापाकौ विज्ञानोत्पत्त्यनुत्पत्तिहेतुः ।
तस्माद्यस्य केशाकारकविज्ञानान्तराहितवासनापरिपाकोऽस्ति । तस्यैव तदाकारकं

1. P. 145, L. 11. Read yod-pa-yin for yod-pa-ma-yin
2. तैमिरिकदर्शनमपेक्ष्य इति शेषः ।
3. Lit. अतैमिरिकस्य.
4. P. 146, L. 9. Read gtad-pahi.
5. P. 146, L. 9. Read de-dan-hdra-bar (L. V. P.).
6. 'न हि विषयसत्ता हेतुः' इति मध्ये योज्यम् ।

विज्ञानमुदेति । नान्यस्य । इति । एतदप्युक्तमित्याह ।

यस्मदपका खलु ¹पश्यतां धी-
शक्तिस्ततो नास्ति मतिश्च तेषाम् ।
न ज्ञेयसद्भावविलोपना चेत्
तच्छक्त्यभावान्न हि सिध्यतीदम् ॥ ५६ ॥

ज्ञेयसद्भावविलोपनं ज्ञेयासत्त्वमित्यर्थः । यदि शक्तिरिति ²केवलमस्ति ।
तदा तत्पाकापाकयोः सतोर्विज्ञानोद्भवानुद्भवौ स्याताम् । ³अत इदमसिद्धम् ॥

(147,7) कथं पुनः शक्तिर्नास्ति । आह ।

जातस्य शक्तेर्न हि संभवोऽस्ति
नाजातरूपस्य च शक्तिरस्ति ।

अत्रेयं परिकल्पिता शक्तिर्वर्तमानविज्ञानसम्बन्धिनी स्यादाहोस्वित्
अतीतानागतविज्ञानसम्बन्धिनी वा । तत्र न तावज्जातस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तेः
संभवोऽस्ति । यदा शक्तेरिति षष्ठी । तदा फलरूपं विज्ञानं हेतुतयाप्यस्तीति⁴
युक्तं स्यात् । ⁵यद्यस्ति । निर्हेतुकं फलं स्यात् । जाताङ्कुरोऽपि बीजो
न नङ्क्ष्यात् । तस्माज्जातस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तिर्न संभवति । यदा तु शक्तेरिति
पञ्चमी । तदा जातस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तेरुद्भवो न युक्तः । विद्यमानत्वादिति
पूर्वं प्रतिपादितम् । एवं तावज्जातस्य शक्तेर्न हि संभवोऽस्ति ।

(148,3) अजातस्वभावस्यापि विज्ञानस्य शक्तिर्नास्ति । यस्मात्

1. अतैमिरिकाणाम् इति शेषः । prof. L. V. Poussin suggests the
reading 'mthoñ-ba-med-la = अपश्यतां (केशान्) i.e. अतैमिरिकाणाम् ।

2. P. 147, L. 4. If we read hgah-shig (= किञ्चित्) for hbah-shig
(= केवल) we get a better meaning.

3. 'न तु नास्ति' इति मध्ये योज्यम् ।

4. This is a kind of प्रसङ्ग. So the particle 'ma' (= नञ्) introduced
in The Tib. text by Prof. L. V. Poussin seems unnecessary.

5. यदि विज्ञानं हेतुतयाप्यस्ति । फलरूपा शक्तिः निर्हेतुका स्यात् । स्वसमान-
कालीनविज्ञानस्य हेतुत्वासंभवात् इत्यर्थः । See here L. V. poussin's foot-note.

विशेषणं नास्ति विना विशेष्यं¹

बन्ध्यासुतस्यापि च तत्प्रसंगः ॥ ५७ ॥

विशेषणं विना विशेष्यं नास्त्येव । कथम् । विज्ञानस्य शक्तिरिति
विज्ञानं शक्तेर्विशेषणम् । शक्तिर्विशेषणाश्रयः । यदजातं तद्विज्ञानमविज्ञानं
वेति विधिनिषेधरूपेण वक्तुमशक्यम् । यदैवं तदा इदमस्य शक्तिरिति
केन शक्तिर्विशेष्यते । यदैवं विशेषणं नास्ति तदा इदमस्मादुत्पद्यत इति
विशेषणमकथयता नानेन किञ्चिदप्युक्तं भवति । यदि पुनरजातस्य शक्तिरिष्यते ।
बन्ध्यासुतस्याप्येष्टव्या । तस्मादजातस्य शक्तिर्नास्ति ॥

(148,18) अथ यद्विज्ञानं शक्तितो जनिष्यमाणं भाविविज्ञानं
तदेवाभिप्रेत्य “इदमस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तिः” “इदमस्मादुत्पत्स्यते” इति । एवं
विशेषणविशेष्यभावः सिद्धयति । यथाह लोके “ओदनं पच” “अस्य सूत्रस्य
शाकटं वय” इति । ²शास्त्रेऽप्याह—“गर्भावक्रान्तयस्तिष्ठः चक्रवर्ती
स्वयंभुवौ” । इति । तदप्यसारतया वक्तुमाह—

भविष्यता चेद्वचपदेश इष्टः

शक्तिं विना नास्ति हि भावितास्य³ ।

यत्कदाचिद्भवति तदेव भावि । न तु निवृत्त्यं नियतासंभवं बन्ध्यासुता-
दिकमाकाशादिकं वा । तस्मादत्र यदि शक्तिरस्ति । भवतु विज्ञानं भाव्येव ।
यदानागतविज्ञानस्याविद्यमानत्वाच्छक्तिर्नास्त्येव । तदा बन्ध्यासुतादीनामिव न
तस्य भावितास्ति शक्तिं विना । एतेन ओदनादयोऽपि प्रत्युक्ताः ॥

(150,1) किं च । काममस्तु विज्ञानं शक्तिश्च परस्परमपेक्ष्य ।
तथापि परतन्त्ररूपं नास्त्येव । तथा हि—

परस्परार्थाश्रयसंप्रसिद्धं

न सिद्धमेवेति हि सद्भिस्तु ॥ ५८ ॥

1. This line is cited in म० वृत्ति, P. 80, L. 7. (L. V. p.)

2. अभिधर्मकोश, chap. III. 17. (L. V. P.)

3. These two lines cited in म० वृत्ति, p. 82, L. 11. (L. V. p.)

सति विज्ञाने तस्य शक्तिः । तत उत्पद्यते विज्ञानमित्येवं मियोऽर्थ-
माश्रित्य भवति । अस्त्वेवमिति चेत् । विज्ञानं स्वभावतो नास्तीति स्यात् ।
यथा सति दीर्घे ह्रस्वं सति च ह्रस्वे दीर्घम् । ¹सति पारंवारम् ।
सति चात्रारे पारम् । तेषां च प्रज्ञप्तिसतां नास्ति सिद्धस्वभावः ।

(150,13) एवं सति अस्मद्वचनानुसरणमेव भवेत् । यथाह चतुश्शतके

फलं विना कारणस्य विद्यते नैव हेतुता ।
तस्मात्फलस्य सर्वस्य हेतुता हि प्रसज्यते² ॥ इति ।

शास्त्रेऽप्युक्तम् ।

योऽपेक्ष्य सिध्यते भावस्तमेवापेक्ष्य सिध्यते ।
यदि योऽपेक्षितव्यः स सिध्यतां कमपेक्ष्य कः³ ॥ इति ।

अस्यायमर्थः । यदि यो भावः विज्ञानादिः शक्तिविशेषमपेक्ष्य
सिध्यति । तमेव पुनरपेक्ष्य स यदि सिध्यति यो भावः शक्तिविशेषः
विज्ञानेनात्मसाधनायापेक्षितव्यः । इदानीमुभयं साध्यम् । कथ्यतां कमपेक्ष्य कः
सिध्यताम् ॥ अन्यदप्युक्तम् ।

योऽपेक्ष्य सिध्यते भावः सोऽसिद्धोऽपेक्षते कथम् ।
अथाप्यपेक्षते सिद्धस्वपेक्षास्य न युज्यते⁴ ॥ इति ।

अस्याप्ययमर्थः । यदि विज्ञानं शक्तिविशेषमपेक्ष्य सिध्यति । तत्सिद्धां
शक्तिमपेक्षत उतासिद्धां वा । यद्यसिद्धाम् । असिद्धत्वात्खरशृङ्गवत् न
शक्तिमपेक्षते । अथ सिद्धामपेक्षते । सिद्धत्वात् तदपेक्षा न युज्यते । एवं
परस्परार्थाश्रयसंप्रसिद्धं न सिद्धमेवेति प्रज्ञावद्विरुक्तम् । तस्मादेवमनागतस्यापि
शक्तिर्नास्ति ॥

(152,1) सांप्रतमतीतस्यापि शक्तिर्नास्तीति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

1. cf. शि० स० p. 357, L. 17: आपेक्षिकं परात्मत्वं पारावारं यथामृपा ।
and म० वृत्ति. p. 458, L. 13 : पारावारवत् ; p. 459, L. 5. पारासंभवादिवावारम् ।

2. चतुश्शतक (p. L. Vaidya, verse 208) wherein the Tib. reads हेतु
for फल and फलता for हेतुता in the second line.

3. म० शास्त्र० X. 10.

4. *Ibid.* X. 11.

स्याच्चेन्निरुद्धस्य विपक्षशक्तेः
परस्य शक्तेश्च परं हि भावि ।

यदि जनित्वा निरुध्यमानविज्ञानेन फलार्थमालयविज्ञाने समाहित-
शक्तिविशेषस्य निरुद्धविज्ञानस्य या विपक्षा शक्तिस्ततो भावि विज्ञानं भवेत् ।
तदा परस्य शक्तेः परं भावि¹ स्यात् ।

(152,12) कस्मात् । यस्मात् ।

संतानिनः सन्ति पृथग्भिन्नोऽत्र

तनुविस्तार इति अस्य दर्शने सन्तत्याप्रवहन्दीप्रवाहवत् सततगामि-
हेतुफलसंबन्धानुप्रविष्टजातिजरापरंपरया निरन्तराविच्छिन्नज्ञप्तिस्थितत्रैकालिक-
संस्कारक्षणोपादानके व्यापारे । तस्य संतानावयववस्तुक्षणेऽपि सत्त्वात् संतानाङ्ग-
वस्तुक्षणाः सन्तानीत्युच्यन्ते । ते च मिथः अन्योन्यं पृथक् अन्यत्वेन परैरभ्युप-
गम्यन्ते । तस्मात् वासनाहेतुकस्य फलक्षणस्योर्ध्वकालभाविनो वासनाधायकाद्धेतु-
क्षणादन्यता भवति । एवं सति अन्यशक्तेरन्यद्भावि स्यात् ।

(153,6) अथेध्यमाणत्वात् नायं दोष इति । मैवम् । एवमिष्यमाणे
सर्वतः सर्वमुत्पत्त्यते इत्याह ।

तस्माद्धि सर्वं सकलाच्च भावि ॥ ५९ ॥ इति ।

इदं हि परत उत्पादप्रतिषेध³ उक्तमिति न पुनरप्युच्यते ॥

(153,12) अत्राह—

संतानिनस्तत्र यदि प्रभिन्नाः

संतान एषां तु पृथङ् न तस्मात् ।

दाषो न च

1. The commentary has a negation (mi. gyur. ro = न०) which is
not found in the verse and seems inexplicable. (L. V. P.)

2. विज्ञानवादिनः.

3. See VI. 14. c, d above.

यद्यपि तत्र वस्तुक्षणानां संतानिनां मिथः परत्वमस्ति । तथापि सन्तानस्यास्यैकत्वादेव न सर्वतः सर्वजन्मप्रसङ्गः । यद्येवं तदा दोषो मा भवतु । एतस्यैवासिद्धेः

इदं ननु साधनीयं

कस्मात् ।

अभिन्नसन्तानदशा न युक्ता ॥ ६० ॥

दशा अवकाशः ॥

(154,4) परस्परभिन्नस्वभावा अभिन्नसन्तानाश्रयतया न भवितुमर्हन्ति । अन्यत्वात् सन्तानान्तरवत् इति प्रदर्शनायाह—

मैत्रोपगु¹साश्रयकाश्च धर्माः

न ह्येकसन्तानगताः परत्वात् ।

स्वलक्षणेनैव च ये विभिन्ना-

स्त एकसन्तानगता न युक्ताः ॥ ६१ ॥

एवमत्रापि एकसन्तानता न युक्तिमती इति भावः ॥

(154,13) तत्र यदुक्तं शक्तिविपाकसत्त्वासत्त्वाभ्यां विज्ञानसत्त्वासत्त्वे स्तः न विज्ञेयसत्त्वासत्त्वाभ्यामिति । तत् शक्त्यसंभवाभिधानेनानेन न्यायेन प्रत्याख्यातम् । अतो विज्ञेयं विना विज्ञानं नास्तीत्येतत् स्थापितम् ॥

(154,17) एवमुक्ते पुनः स्वमताभिधानपरायणत्वात् विज्ञानवादी अभीष्टमर्थं साधयितुमाशयान आह—

अनन्तरं संजनितात्मविज्ञ-

प्त्याधारशक्तिं किल तां स्वशक्तेः ।

उत्पद्यते लोचनधीश्च यस्या

रूपीन्द्रियं चक्षुरिति ह्येति ॥ ६२ ॥

1. Tib. ñer. spras = उपगुप्त ?

या चक्षुर्विज्ञानवासना नश्यमानविज्ञानान्तरेणालयविज्ञाने निक्षिप्यते । तत्परिपाकादूर्ध्वं तदाकारानुकारिविज्ञानं जायते । तद्विज्ञानं यस्मादनन्तरात् शक्तिक्षणाज्जातम् । तमनन्तरमाधारभूतं शक्तिक्षणं रूपीन्द्रियं चक्षुरिति मुग्धो लोक अवैति । न तु विज्ञानादतिरिक्तं चक्षुरिन्द्रियमस्ति । एवमिन्द्रियान्तरमपि नेयम् ॥

(155,14) अत एव विज्ञानादतिरिक्तं चक्षुरिन्द्रियं नास्तीति निरूप्य विज्ञानादपृथक्स्थितत्वेन रूपमपि प्रदर्शयितुमाह ।

विज्ञानमक्षोद्भवमत्र बाह्यं

ग्राह्यं विनोत्पादितमात्मबीजात् ।

नीलादिकाभासतयाऽप्रबुध्य

बाह्यं जनो ग्राह्यमुपैति संज्ञाम् ॥ ६३ ॥

यथा बन्धुजीवककिंशुकादयो रक्ताकारिणो जायमाना मणय इव बाह्योप-
¹सर्जनरङ्गं नापेक्षन्ते । किं तु अङ्कुरादिसन्तानः स्वबीज²क्षिप्तशक्त्यनुबन्धाद्वि-
शिष्टतया जात उपलभ्यते । तथा नीलादिकं बाह्यरूपं विना नीलाद्याभासं
विज्ञानमुदेति । या तन्नीलाद्याभासता । तत्र बाह्यविषयरूपेणाभिनिविशते
लोकः । यथाति³शुद्धपरिपूर्णनदीतीरान्तरूढवृक्षशाखागतपद्मरागप्रतिबिम्बं जलान्त-
र्विद्यमानरत्नाकाराभासं बाह्यमिवोपलभ्यते जले । न तत्तन्मध्येऽस्ति । एवं
विज्ञानेऽपि योज्यम् ॥ एवं सति विज्ञानाद्बाह्यार्थो नास्ति ॥

(156,14) ⁴तुल्यप्रकारम् ।

स्वप्नेऽन्यरूपार्थमृते स्वशक्ति-

पाकात्तदाकारविशिष्टचित्तम् ।

यथा भवत्येवमिहापि बोधे

बाह्यं विनैवास्ति हि मानसं चेत् ॥ ६४ ॥

1. Tib. ñe. bar. bsgyur. ba = that which transforms, उपसर्जन ?

2. Dr. Poussin reads (P. 156,4) hphañs. pa (= क्षिप्त) for hphags

(= आर्यः)

3. p. 156,9 Read dan. ba (= शुद्ध) for dad. pa (= श्रद्धा)

4. Tib. rnam. pa. gcig. tu. na = तुल्यप्रकारम् ?

(156,10) नैतदेवम् । कस्मात् ।

स्वप्ने यथा नेत्रमृते हि नीला-
द्याभासि चित्तं¹ समुदेति मानसम् ।
नेत्रेन्द्रियं चैवमृते स्वबीज-
पाकादिहान्धस्य कुतो न जातम् ॥ ६५ ॥

यद्यत्र यथा विबोधवस्थान्तर्गतचक्षुषा रूपदर्शनाच्चक्षुर्विज्ञानं स्पष्टतरमुद्भवति । तथा स्वप्नेऽपि चक्षुर्विना स्ववासनाविपाकान्मनोविज्ञानमेव चक्षुर्विज्ञानाकारानुरूपं जायते । विबोधवस्थस्यान्धस्यापि स्ववासनापरिपाकात्तथाविधं कस्मान्नोत्पद्यते । येना²स्यान्धवद्दर्शनं स्यात् । उभयोरपि चक्षुरभावस्य समानत्वात् ॥

(157,13) अथैवंविधमनोविज्ञानस्य हेतुः न चक्षुरभावः । किं तर्हि । एवंविधमनोविज्ञानशक्तिविपाकः । अतो यत्र शक्तिपरिपाकोऽस्ति । तत्रैवंविधमनोविज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । स च निद्राप्रत्ययेन स्वप्न एवास्ति । न विबोधे इति । तदप्युक्तम् । कस्मात् ।

स्वप्ने दृशा ते यदि नाम षष्ठ-
शक्तेर्विपाकोऽस्ति न चास्ति बोधे ।
न षष्ठशक्तेश्च यथात्र पाकः
स्वप्ने तथा नेति कुतो न युक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥

पष्ठेति मनोविज्ञानमित्यर्थः । यदि ³वाक्यविधिमात्रेणैव स्वप्ने तथा-
विधमनोविज्ञानशक्तिविपाक इष्यते । न विबोधे । अस्मद्वाक्येनापि यथात्र विबोधे
तथाविधविज्ञानशक्तिविपाको नास्ति । तथा स्वप्नेऽपि नास्तीत्येष्टव्यम् ॥

1. Tib. yid sems - मानसं चित्तं मानसं ज्ञानमित्यर्थः ।
2. Dr. Poussin remarks : je ne comprends pas, p. 157, L. 10, gañ gis na. hdis.....
3. तव इत्यादिः.

यथा न चक्षुर्विरहोऽस्य हेतुः
स्वप्नेऽपि निद्रा हि न चास्ति हेतुः ।

इति वक्तुं शक्यते । स्वप्नदर्शनं हि विबोधवस्थान्धवत् तद्विज्ञाना-
श्रयेन्द्रियव्यापारविरहात् विपक्वशक्तिचक्षुरिन्द्रियाश्रितविज्ञानाकारानुकारि¹मनो-
विज्ञानशक्तिविपाकपरिणतमनोविज्ञानवन्न भवति । तस्मात् यथा तथाविध-
चक्षुर्विरहो विबुद्धेऽन्धे न हेतुः तथा स्वप्ने निद्रापि न विज्ञानवासनाविपाकहेतुः ।
यस्मादेवम् ।

स्वप्नेऽपि मिथ्याविषयावबोध-
हेतावुपेयेऽत इमेऽर्थनेत्रे ॥ ६७ ॥

तस्मात् स्वप्नेऽपि तथाविधविषयस्य ज्ञानं तथाविधं चक्षुर्विज्ञानाधारभूतं
तथाविधं चाभ्युपेयम् ॥ अत एवम्

(159,5) अनेन यो यः परिहार उक्तः
तं तं प्रतिज्ञासममेव दृष्ट्वा ।
असौ विवादो निरकारि

विबोधवस्थामेतत्त्रयं स्वभावशून्यम् उपलभ्यमानत्वात् स्वप्नवत् इति
देशनायामाह परः कश्चित् । विबुद्धविज्ञानं अर्थशून्यं विज्ञानत्वात् स्वप्नविज्ञानवत्
इति । विबोधवस्थायामुपलभ्यमानो विषयो मृषास्वभावकः विषयत्वात्
स्वप्नविषयवत् इति । तथा संकेशव्यवदानानि परतन्त्राभावे न सन्ति निराधारत्वात्
कूर्मरोमकम्बलवत् इति च । तथा तैमिरिकदृष्टान्तेनापि वक्तव्यम् ।

एवमादिनानेन विज्ञानत्रादिना यो यः परिहारो वर्णितः तं तं प्रतिज्ञा-
समं पश्यता माध्यमिकपण्डितेन प्रत्याख्यात एष विवादो यदुत विज्ञानवादः ।

1. It may also be read : स्वप्नदर्शनं.....कारानुकारि ।.....
मनोविज्ञानवन्न भवति ।
2. चक्षुः विज्ञानं विषयश्चेत्यर्थः ।

(160,4) तथाऽगमत्राधादिदाषोऽपि न संभवति । यस्मात्

बुद्धैः

अस्ति कचिद्वस्त्विति देशितं न ॥ ६८ ॥

यथोक्तम्¹

विज्ञप्तिमात्रं त्रिभवं वस्तु नास्ति स्वभावतः ।

प्रज्ञप्तिवस्तुभावेन कल्पयिष्यन्ति तार्किकाः ॥

न स्वभावो न विज्ञप्तिः न च वस्तु न चालयः ।

बालैर्विकल्पिता ह्येते शवभूतैः कुतार्किकैः ॥ इति ॥

(160,17) इतरतराभावशून्यतयाभावतापि न युक्ता । परस्पराभाव-
शून्यता हि महामते सर्वशून्यताजघन्या इत्यागमे² प्रवर्तनात् ॥ गौरनश्वत्वान्नास्ती-
त्युक्तिर्न युक्तापि । स्वात्मतया सत्त्वात् इत्यादि³ ह्यभिधीयते ॥

(161,4) एवं हि भगवन् तत्रेन्द्रियावतारेण धर्मधातावतारः ।
द्वाविंशतिरिन्द्रियाणि⁴ । चक्षुरिन्द्रियं श्रवणेन्द्रियं घ्राणेन्द्रियं जिह्वेन्द्रियं कायेन्द्रियं
मनश्चन्द्रियं स्त्रीन्द्रियं पुरुषेन्द्रियं प्राणेन्द्रियं सुखेन्द्रियं दुःखेन्द्रियं सौमनस्येन्द्रियं
दौर्मनस्येन्द्रियं उपेक्षेन्द्रियं श्रद्धेन्द्रियं वीर्येन्द्रियं स्मृतीन्द्रियं समाधीन्द्रियं प्रज्ञेन्द्रियं
अज्ञातमाज्ञास्यामीन्द्रियं आज्ञेन्द्रियं आज्ञातवानिन्द्रियम् ।⁵ तत्र चक्षुरिन्द्रियं
त्रिष्वप्यध्वसु नोपलभ्यते । यत्त्रिषु अध्वसु नोपलभ्यते । न तच्चक्षुरिन्द्रियम् ।
यन्न चक्षुरिन्द्रियम् ।⁶ कथं तस्य व्यवहारः । तद्यथा रिक्तमुष्टिरलीकः न
संविद्यते यतः नामप्रज्ञप्तिः । न तु खलु परमार्थतो रिक्तमुपलभ्यते न
मुष्टिः । एवं चक्षुश्चेन्द्रियं च रिक्तमुष्टिसदृशमलीकमसद्वृत्तं न संविद्यते ।
वितथं विपरीतं मोषधर्म बालसंमोहनमसद्वृत्तं न संविद्यते । यतो नामप्रज्ञप्तिः ।
न तु खलु परमार्थतश्चक्षुश्चेन्द्रियं चोपलभ्यते । तद्धि भगवता सर्वज्ञानमवाप्य

1. लङ्काव. सूत्र (Kyoto) p. 168. (Verse No. 52.) and p. 167. (Verse No. 58.)

2. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 75.

3. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 188.

4. The list from महाव्युत्पत्ति § 108. (L. V. P.)

5. Cf. the text cited in शिक्षास. p. 261,4. (L. V. P.)

6. Tib. ji. lkar. htshal. bar. bgyi.

19. இயற்கைப் பொருளை யிற்பெனக் கிளத்தல்.
Iyarkai-p porulai y-irrena-k kilattal.

Natural objects should be described by their distinguishing features.

Ex. nilam valitū (Earth is hard).

Nir taṇṇitū (Water is cool).

20. செயற்கைப் பொருளை யாக்கமொடு கூறல்.
Ceyarkai-p porulai y-akkamoḍu kūral.

In a sentence describing the change which an object has undergone, the word denoting that object should be followed by the forms of the verb 'āku' which means 'to become'.

Ex. Maṇ kuṭam āyirru (Earth became a pot).

21. ஆக்கத் தானே காரண முதற்றே.
Ākkan tāṇē kārāṇa mutarṛē.

The verb 'āku' is always preceded by reason, if the reason for the change is given.

Ex. Eṇṇey perṛamaiyāṇ mayir nalla āyiṇa.

(Hair became better on account of the application of oil).

22. ஆக்கக் கிளவி காரண மின்றியும்
பொக்கின் றென்ப வழக்கி னுள்ளே.
Ākka-k kilavi kārāṇa m-inṇiyum
Pōkkin reṇṇa valakki n-uḷḷē.

Expressions with the forms of the verb 'āku' without giving the reason for the change are current in speech.

Ex. mayir nalla āyiṇa (Hair became better.)

23. பான்மயக் குற்ற வையக் கிளவி
தானறி பொருள்வயிற் பன்மை கூறல்.
Pāṇ-maya-k k-urra v-aiya-k kilavi
Tāṇ-ari poruḷ-vayir paṇmai kūral.

When a speaker is sure of the *tiṇai* of the object he is talking about, but not of the *pāl*, he should use a plural verb of the particular *tiṇai*.

Ex. Āṇmakan kollō peṇṭāṭṭi kollō iṣṭō tōṇruvār?

(Is it man or woman that appears there?)

Orutti kollō palar kollō maṇalil viḷaiyāṭiṇār?

(Is it one lady or many ladies that played on sands?)

Oṇṛō palavō cey pukkaṇa?

(Is it one or many that entered the field?)

B

Note 1.—The need of this sūtra is this:—A person looks at an object or objects at a distance. He determines that it is a person, but cannot determine whether it is a male or a female. If he wants to ascertain it from another, what verb should he use in his question, *āṇpāl* verb or *peṇpāl* verb? This sūtra says that he should use *palarpāl* verb. Similarly if he determines that the object or objects at a distance are person or persons, but is not able to determine whether it is one or many, then too should he use the *palarpāl* verb. If, on the other hand, he determines that it is not a person or persons, but is not able to ascertain whether it is one or many, he should use a *palavipāl* verb.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar interprets the expression '*pāṇmayakkurra*' in the sūtra to mean *āṇpāl peṇpāl mayakkurra* and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar '*āṇpāl peṇpāl mayakkurra*, *āṇpāl palarpāl mayakkurra*, and *peṇpāl palarpāl mayakkurra*', while the other two '*āṇpāl peṇpāl mayakkurra*, *āṇpāl palarpāl mayakkurra*, *peṇpāl palarpāl mayakkurra* and *onṇaṇpāl palavipāl mayakkurra*.'

24. உருபென மொழியினு மஹினைப் பிரிப்பினும்
இருவீற்று முரித்தே கூட்டுங் காலை.
Urupēṇa moliyiṇu m-aṇṇai-p pirippinūm
Iru-v-irru m-urittē cuṭṭuṇ kālai.

When the speaker is not sure of the *tiṇai* of the object at a distance, he may use the word *urupū* (or its synonym) or the word *atu* when he denotes it.

Ex. *Kurriyō makaṇō tōṇṇukiṇṇa urupū?*
(Is the form there, stick or boy?)
Kurriyō makaṇō tōṇṇukiṇṇa atu?
(Is that stick or boy?)

Note 1.—This sūtra operates when there is confusion in *tiṇai*, while the previous sūtra, when there is certainty in *tiṇai* but confusion in *pāl*.

Note 2.—The expression '*urupēṇa moliyinūm*' in the sūtra is interpreted by Iḷampūraṇar, Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār, to refer only to *tiṇaimayakkam*. But Cēṇāvaraiyar says that it refers to *āṇpāl peṇpāl aiyam* and *onṇaṇpāl palavipāl aiyam* also. When there is only *āṇpāl peṇpāl aiyam*, the speaker may word his question '*āṇō peṇṇō atō tōṇṇukiṇṇa ā!*' by using the word *ā!* instead of '*urupū*' since he is sure that it is a person. As regards '*onṇaṇpāl palavipāl aiyam*' it is unnecessary for the author to sanction it here, since the *aṇṇai* noun *urupū* may be taken either as singular or as plural according to context.

Note 3.—For the expression '*aṇṇai-p-pirippinūm*' in the sūtra, the three commentators Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar give the example '*onṇō palavō cey pukka peṇṇam*'. Since *peṇṇam* is an *aṇṇai* noun and hence may be taken both as singular and plural, the author need not sanction this usage. Teyvaccilaiyār, on the other hand, takes '*aṇṇai-p-pirippū*' to refer to the word '*atu*'. For the words in *aṇṇai* which have different forms in *onṇaṇpāl* and *palavipāl* are *atu*, *avai*, *ilu*, *ivai*, *utu* and *uvai*; since doubt may arise only about objects at a distance and since the words *ilu*, *ivai*, *utu* and *uvai* are not generally used to denote them, *atu* and *avai* are the only two words that may be denoted by the expression '*aṇṇai-p-pirippū*' here. Teyvaccilaiyār has mentioned only *atu* since such doubts arise more generally with single objects.

25. தன்மை கூட்டலு முரித்தென மொழிப
அன்மைக் கிளவி வேறிடத் தான.
Taṇmai cuṭṭalu m-urittēṇa molipa
Aṇmai-k kiḷavi vēṇṇat t-āṇa.

The word *aṇmai*, denoting negation may take the gender of the ascertained object, though it (*aṇmai*) is used along with the word denoting the object other than the ascertained one.

Ex. (1) *A-v-v-urupū kurri-y-allaṇ, makaṇ.*
(That form is not a pole, but man.)
(2) *Atu kurri-y-allaṇ, makaṇ.*
(It is not a pole, but man.)

Note 1.—In the previous sūtra it has been said that, when one cannot definitely determine the nature of an object at a distance and doubts that it is one or the other, he may use the word '*urupū*' or '*atu*'. For example he sees an object at a distance and is not able to ascertain whether it is a male child or pole and hence he questions either himself or another '*atu kurriyō makaṇō?*', or '*a-v-v-urupū kurriyō makaṇō?*'. The next moment he decides that it is a male child. At once he may say '*atu* or *a-v-v-urupū kurri-y-aṇṇū, makaṇ*' or '*atu* or *a-v-v-urupū kurri-y-allaṇ, makaṇ*', since the doubt clears immediately after he says *atu* or *a-v-v-urupū*. If he says *aṇṇū*, after *kurri*, such a usage need not be sanctioned since it is regular. If he says '*allaṇ*' after *kurri*, it has to be sanctioned since the subject *atu* or *a-v-v-urupū* is neuter-singular and *allaṇ* is masculine-singular. Such a usage is allowed since his doubt has been cleared and he

ascertains that the object is a male child immediately after he says the word *atu* or *a-v-v-urupū*.

Note 2.—The word *vēṛiṭattāṇa* is made up of *vēṛiṭattāṇ* the instrumental singular of *vēṛiṭam* and 'a' the *cāriyai* which it takes if it is at the end of a verse, as is sanctioned by sūtra 108. But it gives the locative sense here. Iḷampūraṇar takes '*vēṛiṭattāṇa*' along with the word '*taṇmai*' and interprets them 'the quality (found) in the object other than the first mentioned one'; while Teyvaccilaiyār takes it along with '*taṇmai-k-kiḷavi*' and interprets 'the word of negation used along with that which is other than the ascertained object'. Both take '*taṇmai*' to mean the nature of the ascertained object'. Cēṇāvaraiyar takes '*taṇmai*' to mean '*taṇmai-y-allaṇ*' and '*vēṛiṭattāṇa*' to mean the word denoting the object other than the ascertained one and gives the example '*ivaṇ kurri-y-allaṇ, makaṇ*'. Nacciṇārkkkiṇiyar agrees with Iḷampūraṇar in the interpretation of the sūtra, but gives '*ivaṇ kurri-y-allaṇ*' as an example. This example as also the example given by Cēṇāvaraiyar does not seem to be appropriate, since the doubt of the hearer is cleared immediately after he hears the word *ivaṇ* which is an *āṇṭāl* noun.

Note 3.—The importance of the particle '*um*' in '*cuṭṭalum*' clearly shows that such usage as '*atu* or *a-v-v-urupū kurri-y-allaṇ*' is rare and the general usage is '*atu* or *a-v-v-urupū kurri-y-allaṇ, makaṇ*'.

26. அடைசினே முதலென முறைமுன்று மயங்காமை
நடைபெற்றியலும் வண்ணச் சினைச்சொல்.
Aṭai-ciṇai mutal-eṇa muraṇ-mūṇṇu mayañkāmai
Naṭai-peṇ ṛiyalum vaṇṇa-c ciṇai-c-col.

(In a group of words denoting a whole, its limb and the quality of the limb), the word denoting the limb invariably follows the adjective and preceeds the word denoting the whole.

- Ex. Ceṇ-kāl-nārai vantatū.
(Red-footed crane came.)
Perun-talai-c-cāttāṇ vantāṇ.
(Large-headed Cāttāṇ came.)

Note 1.—The word '*mayañkāmai*' in the sūtra means *mayañkāmal* and is a verbal participle.

Note 2.—This sūtra enjoins the order of words denoting a whole, its part and the quality of the part. If the quality of the

whole is to be mentioned, the order to be adopted then does not come within the province of this sūtra. cf. *cen-nārai-k-kāl*.

Note 3.—The word '*vaṇṇam*' in the sūtra denotes quality. It is the *tadbhava* of the Skt. *varṇa*. Nacciṇārkkkiṇiyar thinks that *vaṇṇa-c-ciṇai-c-col* is a technical name for the group of words denoting a whole, its limb and the quality of the limb.

Note 4.—The word '*naṭai*' in the sūtra is taken by Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar, and Nacciṇārkkkiṇiyar to refer to *speech* and not to *poetry*; but Teyvaccilaiyār takes it to refer to both.

27. ஒருவரைக் கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்
ஒன்றனைக் கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்
வழக்கி னுகிய வுயர்சொற் கிளவி
இலக்கண மருங்கிற் சொல்லா நல்ல.
Oruvarai-k kūṇum paṇmai-k kiḷaviyum
Oṇṇānai-k kūṇum paṇmai-k kiḷaviyum
Valakki u-ākiya v-uṇar-coṇ kiḷavi
Ilakkāṇa maruṇkiṇ collā ralla.

The use of honorific plural to denote one person or one object is allowed only in speech and not in poetry.

Ex. Yām vantēm; niyir vantir; ivar vantār.

Note 1.—The honorific plural even with respect to *aṣṛiṇai* is *ṭalarṭāl* and not *ṭalaviṇṭāl*. On seeing a fox, one may say '*nariyār vantār*' and never '*nari vantaṇa*'.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkkiṇiyar think that the expression '*ilakkāṇa maruṇkiṇ collā ralla*' is unnecessary since its purpose is served by the third line and hence it suggests that *uyartiṇai* may be used for *aṣṛiṇai* and *vice-versa* in certain cases. Cēṇāvaraiyar, on the other hand, thinks that the third line in the sūtra sanctions such a usage in speech and the fourth line prevents it in poetry. The use of *uyartiṇai* for *aṣṛiṇai* and *vice-versa* is taken by him by *taṇṇiṇamuṭittal*, the mode covering the related points by implication.

28. செலவினும் வரவினும் தரவினும் கொடையினும்
நிலபெறத் தோன்று மந்நாற் சொல்லும்
தன்மை முன்னிலை படர்க்கை யென்னும்
அம்மு விடத்து முரிய வென்ப.
Celaviṇum varaviṇum taraviṇum koṭaiyinum
Nilai-peṇa-t lōṇṇu m-a-n-nōṇ collum
Taṇmai munṇilai ṭaṭarkkai y-eṇṇum
A-m-mū v-iḷattu m-uriya v-eṇṇa.

It is said that the four words *celavu*, *varavu*, *taravu* and *koṭai* are used in the first, second and third persons.

29. அவற்றுள்,
தருசொல் வருசொல் லாயிரு கிளவியுந்
தன்மை முன்னிலை யாயி ரிடத்த.
Avarruḷ,
Taru-col varu-col l-ā-y-iru kiḷaviyūn
Tanmai munṇilai y-āyī r-iṭatta.

Of them the words *taravu* and *varavu* are used only along with the pronouns of the first and the second persons, i.e., the verbs meaning *to give* and *to come* are respectively used, only when the recipient of the gift and the person approached are in the first or the second person.

- Ex. Eṇakkū-t-tantāṇ (He gave it to me).
Niṇakkū-t-tantāṇ (He gave it to you).
Eṇ-ṇ-ulaṭ vantāṇ (He came to me).
Niṇ-ṇ-ulaṭ vantāṇ (He came to you).

30. எனை யிராண்டு மேனை யிடத்த.
Ēṇai y-iraṇṭu m-ēṇai y-iṭatta.

The remaining two (i.e., *celavu* and *koṭai*) are used along with the third person.

- Ex. Avaṇkaṭ cenṇāṇ (He went to him).
Avaṇkū-k-koṭū (Give it to him).

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar takes all the four words *celavu*, *varavu*, *taravu* and *koṭai* in the sense of *giving*; while Cēṇāvarai-yar and Naccinārkkinīyar take *celavu* and *varavu* respectively to mean *going and coming* and *taravu* and *koṭai* to mean *giving*.

Note 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes all the three sūtras, 28, 29 and 30, to be one. According to him the 28th sūtra deals with the opinion of the grammarians earlier than Tolkāppiyāṇar and the sūtras 29 and 30 deal with his own opinion. This view seems to be correct. One may then question whether it does not give room to *vākyabhēda* or sentence-split, since there are three complete sentences. It does not, since the three sūtras are interpreted thus:—Of the four words *celavu*, *varavu*, *taravu* and *koṭai* which could be used with all the three persons in the

opinion of the grammarians, *taravu* and *varavu* are used along with the first, and the second, personal pronouns and the rest with the third person.

31. யாதெவ னென்னு மாயிரு கிளவியும்
அறியாப் பொருள்வயிற் செறியத் தோன்றும்.
Yāteva ṇ-ennu m-ā-y-iru kiḷaviyūm
Ariyā-p-poruḷ-vayir ceṇiya-t tōṇṇum.

The two (interrogative) pronouns *yātū* and *evan* are generally used in questioning about unknown objects.

- Ex. Irāmaṇ eṇṇa coṇkū-p-poruḷ yātū?
(What is the meaning of the word *Irāmaṇ*?).
Pacu eṇṇa coṇkū-p-poruḷ evaṇ?
(What is the meaning of the word *pacu*?).

Note 1.—This sūtra sanctions the usage of both *yātū* and *evan* irrespective of the fact whether the object denoted by the word *poruḷ* is *uyartiṇai* or *aṣṇiṇai*.

32. அவற்றுள்,
யாதென வருஉம் வினாவின் கிளவி
அறிந்த பொருள்வயி னையந் தீர்த்தற்குத்
தெரிந்த கிளவி யாதலு முரித்தே.
Avarruḷ,
Yāteṇa varūm viṇāvīṇ kiḷavi
Arinta poruḷvayī ṇ-aiyan tīrtarkū-t
Terinta kiḷavi y-āṭalu m-urittē.

Of them, the interrogative pronoun *yātū* may also be used in sentences where some doubts are to be cleared regarding the particulars of an object whose general features are known.

- Ex. I-m-maraṇkaḷuḷ karuṇkāli yātū?
(Among these trees which is *karuṇkāli*?)
Nam-m-eru taintaṇuḷ keṭṭa erutū yātū?
(Of our five bulls, which is the bull lost?)

Note 1.—From the previous sūtra one is inclined to think that *yātū* can be used only in questioning about *unknown objects*. This sūtra sanctions its use even in questioning about the *particulars of a known object*.

33. இளைத்தென வறிந்த சினைமுதற் கிளவிக்கு
வினைப்படு தொகுதியி னும்மை வேண்டும்.
Ṇaitteṇa v-arinta cinai-mutar kiḷavikkū
Vinai-p-paṭu toku ti-y-i ṇ-ummai vēṇṭum.

The particle 'um' should invariably be used after the group of words which qualify the verb, i.e., immediately preceding the verb or the predicate where the subject of the verb is a *mutal* (word denoting a whole) or a *ciṇai* (word denoting a part of a whole) qualified by the word which mentions its exact number.

Ex. Paṇṇiru kaiyum pāṇṇaṭa v-iyarri (Tirumu. 118)¹.

(Having placed all the twelve hands so that they might be in their proper places.)

Cēra-cōḷa-pāṇṇiyar mūvarum kūṭṇar.

(All the three kings Cēraṇ, Cōḷaṇ, and Pāṇṇiyaṇ assembled.)

Kaṇ-ṇ-iraṇṭum kuruṭū (Both the eyes are blind).

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar reads in the sūtra *tokaiyiṇ*, while others *tokutiyiṇ*.

Note 2.—The word *viṇai* in the sūtra should be taken to mean the *mutikkuñcol* or predicate.

Note 3.—Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār interpret the expression *viṇai-p-ṇaṭu-tokuti* as the collection of words preceding the verb or predicate. Hence according to them the word *tokai* or *tokuti* means here a collection. But Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar take it to mean the number which qualifies the verb or the predicate. Hence according to them the word *tokuti* means number. They, then according to their interpretation have to justify how the particle 'um' is used in the expression *paṇṇiru-kai-y-um pāṇṇaṭa v-iyarri* where *paṇṇiru*, the word denoting number qualifies, not the verb *pāṇṇaṭa* but the subject *kai*, and *um* is not found immediately after *paṇṇiru*. Cēṇāvaraiyar explains it thus:—The words *paṇṇiru* and *kai* denote the same object. Hence *um* is used after the word *kai*. He says so perhaps through the analogy of the expression *dvādaśa karāḥ* (twelve hands) where the word *dvādaśa* means not twelve, but twelve objects. It is doubtful whether the word *paṇṇiraṇṭū* in Tamil denotes twelve objects when it is followed by a noun. Hence the interpretation given by Iḷampūraṇar on the phrase '*viṇai-p-ṇaṭu tokuti*' seems to me better.

(1) Tirumu. = Tirumurukāṇṇuppaṭai.

Note 4.—It is advisable for the readers to note that the particle 'um' is not found in the sentences *nāṇmarai mutalvar vantār* (Brāhmins versed in the four vedas came), *aiṇṭalai nākam oṭṭirru* (the five-headed cobra ran); for the words denoting number in such sentences do not qualify *mutalvar* or *nākam* the subject of the verb, but only *marai* or *alai* the adjunct of the subject.

34. மன்னுப் பொருளு மன்ன வியற்றே.

Maṇṇū-p poruḷu m-anna v-iyarṛē.

The same is the case even with words denoting transient objects.

Ex. I-v-v-ulakattil oruvar celvamum nilaiyātū.

(Wealth of none in this world is permanent.)

Note 1.—According to Iḷampūraṇar and Cēṇāvaraiyar the word *maṇṇū-p-poruḷ* means *illā-p-poruḷ* or non-existent objects. Hence they have given the sentence '*paṇḍa-k-kōṭṭu nīlayāṇai cātavākaṇaṇ kōyiluḷḷum illai*' (the blue elephant with coral tusks is not found even in the temple of Cātavākaṇaṇ). Here there are three objections:—(1) They have to translate the sūtra thus:—'The same is the case when the non-existence of an object in a certain place or at a certain time is predicated.' There is no word in the sūtra warranting the addition of the idea 'in a certain place or at a certain time'. (2) 'um' in the example given by them is only *ecca-v-ummai* and not *muṇṇummai* as found in the examples of the previous sūtra. (3) The use of 'um' in the example given by them is sanctioned by the sūtra '*eccam ciṇappē . . . ummai-c-collē*' (Tol. Col. 255) and hence this sūtra need not sanction it.

According to Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār, the word *maṇṇū-p-poruḷ* means transient objects. But Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar says that 'um' after the word *maṇṇū-p-poruḷ* in the sūtra suggests non-existent objects also. This is quite against the spirit of the sūtra since 'um' in this sūtra suggests *iṇaitteṇa v-aṇṇa ciṇai-mutar kiḷavi* mentioned in the previous sūtra. The examples given by them are respectively '*yākkaiyum nilaiyātū*' (even the body is not permanent), '*cakkaravartti celvamum nilaiyātū*' (the wealth of even the emperor is not permanent). But in those examples the 'um' after *yākkai* and *celvam* are only *ecca-v-ummai* and not *muṇṇummai* since they respectively suggest

that other objects also are not permanent and that the wealth of others also is not permanent.

Hence I have taken the word *maṇḍā-p-ṣorū* to mean transient objects and *aṇḍa-v-iyaṇṇē* to mean that the *murṇummai* is used immediately preceding the predicate and after the *viṇai-p-ṣaṭutokuti* and suggested the example *‘I-v-v-ulakattil oruvar celvamm nilaiyātū’* where *maṇḍā-p-ṣorū* is *celvam*, *viṇai-p-ṣaṭutokuti* is *i-v-v-ulakattil oruvar celvam* and *um* after *celvam* is *murṇummai* and not *ecca-v-ummai*.

35. எப்பொரு ஸாதின மல்ல தில்லெ லின்
அப்பொரு ஸாதின பிழிதொருள் கூறல்.
E-p-ṣoru ḷ-āyinu m-alla til-l-eṇin
A-p-ṣoru ḷ-allā-p piṇitu-ṣorū kūṛal.

If one (a merchant) wishes to inform (a purchaser) of the absence of any commodity by using the expression *‘allatīl’*, he should associate that expression with a word denoting any commodity (that he has), and not with that denoting the commodity asked for.

Ex. *‘Paruppū uḷavō vaṇikīr?’ enṇu viṇāya-vali ‘uḷuntallatū illai’, ‘Kolḷallatū illai’ enṇu kūṛal vēṇṭum.*

(When a purchaser questions, ‘Oh merchant, have you dhol with you?’, the merchant has to answer ‘I have nothing other than black gram’ if he has black gram with him, ‘I have nothing other than horse-gram’ if he has horse-gram with him, and so on.)

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar is of opinion that the expression *‘allatīl’* in the sūtra means ‘the object that he has not and *‘piṇitū-ṣorū’* means *‘iṇa-p-ṣorū’* or similar commodity. But in the example he has given, he has made use of the expression *‘allatīl’*. Cēṇāvaraiyar criticises him on four grounds:—(1) If Tolkāppiyaṇār has not intended the use of the expression *‘allatīl’* in the merchant’s answer, what harm is there if the merchant words his answer *‘paruppū illai’* (there is no dhol) if he has not got dhol with him? (2) If *‘allatū’* in *‘allatīl’* means *‘uḷuntallatū’* the meaning of the word *allatū* is not clear and Tolkāppiyaṇār would not have framed his sūtra in such a way that the meaning may not be clearly understood. (3) If the word *‘piṇitū-ṣorū’* in the sūtra refers only to a similar object, a merchant who is generally dealing in oil and dhol will be precluded from answering *‘Enṇey-allatū illai’* (there is nothing other than oil), when he has no dhol at the time when a purcha-

ser asks for it, since *enṇey* is not a commodity similar to dhol. (4) If Tolkāppiyaṇār meant *‘iṇa-p-ṣorū’* (similar object) by the term *‘piṇitū-ṣorū’*, he might as well have used the word *‘iṇa-p-ṣorū’* in the place of *‘piṇitū-ṣorū’* in the sūtra itself.

As regards the first ground in the criticism, Cēṇāvaraiyar may be informed that in the ordinary course of events merchants are not inclined to use such expressions as ‘I do not have dhol’ if they do not have it when the purchaser needs it. They generally answer ‘I have this’ by showing a commodity other than dhol. This shows that they do not like to say *‘illai’* (no). The third ground in the criticism of Cēṇāvaraiyar may be met thus:—Why should he not take *‘enṇey’* as an *‘iṇa-p-ṣorū’* (similar object) to *‘paruppū’* (dhol)? Though one is a solid and the other is a liquid, yet are they not similar to each other in the fact that each one is a commodity that the merchant deals in? Why should Cēṇāvaraiyar take the term *‘iṇam’* in a restricted sense? The word *‘allatū’* in the sūtra clearly means *‘iṇa-p-ṣorū’*; for the *‘aṇmai’* (negation) in the word *‘allatū’* denotes *anyōṇyābhāva* and hence the word *‘allatū’* means an object partly dissimilar and partly similar (to the object denoted by the word with which it is associated). For example *a-brāhmaṇaḥ* cannot denote a beast which is entirely dissimilar to a brāhmin, but can denote only a man who is other than a brāhmin. Evidently such a man is similar to a brāhmin in being a man and dissimilar to him in not being a brāhmin.

The fourth ground in his criticism may be met thus:—Since the word *‘allatū’* suggests *‘iṇa-p-ṣorū’*, Tolkāppiyaṇār has not used *‘iṇa-p-ṣorū’* in place of *‘piṇitū-ṣorū’*.

Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar gives the same meaning to the sūtra as Iḷampūraṇar and in the example he uses the word *‘allatū’* like him. Teyvaccilaiyār interprets *‘allatīl’* in the same way as Cēṇāvaraiyar, but in the interpretation of the word *‘piṇitū-ṣorū’* he agrees with Iḷampūraṇar.

Since all the four commentators have used the expression *‘allatillai’* in their examples, it is quite clear that, as regards the interpretation of the expression *‘allatīl’* in the sūtra, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār are correct.

36. அப்பொருள் கூறிற் கூட்டிக் கூறல்.
A-p-ṣorū kūṛiṇ cutṭi-k kūṛal.

If, in the answer given by the merchant, the word denoting the object asked for by the purchaser, is used, it should be preceded by a demonstrative root or adjective.

Ex. 'Paruppiṭṭavō?' eṇṇa-vali, 'i-p-paruppallatū illai' eṇṇū kūral vēṇṭum.

(When the merchant is questioned 'Have you dhol?', the answer should be 'There is no dhol other than this'.)

Note 1.—The need for this sūtra is this:—The merchant has the commodity asked for by the purchaser in stock; but the quality of the same commodity is not such as should be given to him without showing it to him and getting his consent. In such a case he has to use the expression 'allatil', but he may associate it with the word denoting the commodity asked for, (though it is against the sanction of the previous sūtra) if that word is preceded by a demonstrative element. The demonstrative element is evidently 'i' if the commodity asked for is near the seat of the merchant and 'a' if it is away from it.

37. பொருளொடு புணராத் சுட்டுவெய் ராயினும்
பொருள்வேறு படாது தொன்றும் கும்மே.
Poruḷoḷṭu puṇarā-c cuṭṭu-p-peya r-āyinuṁ
Poruḷ-vēṇu paṭā t-onṇā kum-m-ē.

Even though the demonstrative element is not associated with the word denoting the commodity asked for, the sense conveyed will be the same.

Ex. 'Paruppiṭṭavō vaṇikīr?' eṇṇūvināya-vali, 'ivai-y-allatū illai' eṇal.

(When questioned 'Oh merchant, have you dhol? the answer may be 'There is nothing except these'.)

Note 1.—The need for this sūtra is this:—The 35th sūtra states that the expression 'allatil' should be associated with the word denoting a commodity other than that asked for by the purchaser. The 36th sūtra states that, if it is associated with the word denoting the object asked for, such a word should be preceded by a demonstrative element. The demonstrative element may be used in two ways:—(1) as a part of the compound word like i-p-paruppiṭṭu and a-p-paruppiṭṭu or as a demonstrative adjective like iṇṭa-p-paruppiṭṭu and aṇṭa-p-paruppiṭṭu; and (2) as a demonstrative pronoun like ivai and avai. In the former case there is no opportunity for any doubt to arise; and in the latter case since the plural pronouns ivai and avai denote not only the object asked for by the purchaser, but also other objects which

the merchant has in his possession, a doubt may arise whether such an expression as 'ivai-y-allatū illai' is a correct answer to the question 'paruppiṭṭu ṭavō?'. This sūtra sanctions the correctness of such an expression. It may be noted that all the three sūtras 35, 36, 37 deal with the use of the expression 'allatil' in different ways. Sūtra 35 deals with it when the merchant has not got in stock the commodity asked for; sūtra 36 deals with it when he has in stock the commodity asked for, but is not satisfied with its quality; and sūtra 37 deals with it whether he has it in stock or no.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have interpreted the sūtra in the same way as above. Cēṇāvaraiyar adds in his commentary that there are some who think that this sūtra sanctions the use of a demonstrative pronoun, when the object denoted by it is not expressed, but is in the mind of the speaker. For instance one learned in 'elephantology' (the science dealing with the nature, appearance etc. of elephants) may say on looking at the foot-prints of an elephant in a forest. 'This surely indicates that the elephant will one day become the king's vehicle'. Here what the word 'this' refers to cannot be understood by the hearer. But a close examination of sūtras 35, 36 and 37 clearly shows that such an interpretation is not quite appropriate.

Note 3.—Naccinārkkinīyar has given an entirely different meaning to the sūtra. He splits the sūtra into two parts:—cuṭṭu poruḷoḷṭu puṇarā āyinuṁ ākum; peyar poruḷoḷṭu puṇarā āyinuṁ (cuṭṭu-p) poruḷ vēṇu-paṭātū onṇākum. The former part means that the demonstrative element may be used without mentioning the object to which it refers. Ex. iṭṭu ottaṇ. (This is some one.) (Kalit. 61)¹. The latter part means that a common noun though used in such a way that it cannot be easily understood to whom it refers, may be used to denote a particular object. In this interpretation the following points are to be carefully considered by the readers:—(1) When Tolkāppiyāṇār has so worded his sūtras as not to give room to vākyabhēda or sentence-split, would he have combined two different ideas in one sūtra? (2) The order of words in the sūtra is completely inverted; the word puṇarā which seems to be a negative relative participle, while it is taken to be a negative verbal participle. (3) The meaning of the word poruḷ in the second line is taken to be

1. Kalit = Kalittokai.

'*cuṭṭu-p-poru!*', the element *cuṭṭu* being added as an adjunct to the word *poru!*. (4) This sūtra does not appear to have any relation to the previous sūtra.

Hence I think that the interpretation given by the other three commentators is sound.

38. இயற்பெயர்க் கிளவியுந் சுட்டுபெயர்க் கிளவியும்
வினைக்கொருங் கியலுங் காலுந் தோன்றின்
சுட்டுபெயர்க் கிளவி முற்படக் கிளவார்
இயற்பெயர் வழிய வென்முது புலவர்.
Iyar-peyar-k kiṭaviyūn cuṭṭu-p-peyar-k kiṭavinum
Vinaikkoruṅ kiyaluṅ kālan tōṇṇin
Cuṭṭu-p-peyark kiṭavi murpaṭak kiṭavār
Iyar-peyar valiya veṇmuṭu pulavar.

If an *iyar-peyar* and a pronoun referring to it do not stand as logical subject and predicate, but take a predicate, after them or qualify different predicates, it is said by learned men that the pronoun is never used before the *iyar-peyar*, but only follows it.

Ex. Cāttaṇ vantāṇ; avarṅkū-c- cōṇu koṭu.

(Cāttaṇ came; give him food.)

Cāttaṇ avan vantāṇ.¹

(Cāttaṇ he came.)

Note 1.—*Iyar-peyar* generally means common noun whose meaning cannot be understood from its derivation. cf. Tol. Col. 174.

Note 2.—The word *iyar-peyar* in the sūtra may be taken as a case of *upalakṣaṇa* i. e., *iyar-peyar* suggests *uyartiṇai-p-peyar* (proper names of persons and gods) and *aṅṇiṇai-p-peyar*.

Note 3.—Iḷampūraṇar, Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have stated that this sūtra operates only when the *iyar-peyar* and the pronoun qualify different verbs. Cēṇavaraiyar alone thinks that it operates when both take the same predicate or qualify the same verb also.

Note 4.—Iḷampūraṇar states that there were some grammarians who took the word *iyar-peyar* in the sūtra to mean all nouns current in the world. But such a view may not be held

1. The use of the pronoun along with the noun which it refers to, between the noun and its predicate seems to have been current at the time of Iḷampūraṇar. cf. *Tanmai-c-collum aṅṇiṇai-c-collum avai eṇṇu, m taṭṭu* (Tol. Col. 43, Iḷam.).

by Tolkāppiyāṇār since he classifies nouns as *iyar-peyar*, *cinai-p-peyar*, *cinai-mutar-peyar*, *murai-p-peyar*, etc. in sūtra 174 of *Peyariyal*.

Note 5.—This sūtra does not operate when the noun and the pronoun stand as logical subject and predicate. Hence the sentence '*Avan Cāttaṇ*' (He is Cāttaṇ) is correct though the pronoun *avan* precedes the noun Cāttaṇ. It does not operate also when the pronoun does not refer to the noun mentioned. Hence the sentence '*Avanum Cāttaṇum vantār*' (He and Cāttaṇ came) is not incorrect since the word '*avan*' does not refer to Cāttaṇ but refers to another person.

39. முற்படக் கிளத்தல் செய்யுளு ளுரித்தே.
Murpaṭa-k- kiṭattal ceyyul-u ḷ-urittē.

(The pronoun referred to in the previous sūtra) may precede the noun which it refers to in poetry.

Ex. *Avan-aṇaṅku nōy-ceytā ṇ-āyilāy vēlaṇ*
Viṇaṇ-miku-tār-c cēntaṇ-pēr vāṭṭi-mukaṇ-amarntū
Anṇai y-alar-kaṭappan tāraṇi-y-i l-eṇṇai-kol
Piṇṇai y-ataṇ-kaṇ viṭaivu.

(Oh, lady beautified with rich ornaments! she has left you to suffer separation. Still why do you expect his garland of *kadamba* flowers with a smiling face, extolling the name of Cēntaṇ who wears a garland on account of his victory with the help of his javelin?)

Here the pronoun *avan* precedes the *Cēntaṇ* found in the second line.

40. சுட்டுமுத லாகிய காரணக் கிளவியும்
சுட்டுபெய ரியற்கையிற் செறியத் தோன்றும்.
Cuṭṭu-muta l-ākiya kāraṇa-k kiṭaviyūm
Cuṭṭu-p-peya r-iyarkaiyir ceṇiya-t tōṇṇum.

The word commencing with a demonstrative root and denoting the reason is similar in its usage to the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

Ex. *Cāttaṇ-kai-y-eḷutu-mārū vallaṇ, ataṇāltantai uvukkam.*

(Cāttaṇ writes a good hand and so his father appreciates him.)

Note 1.—In the sūtras 38 and 39 the pronoun refers to a noun. In this sūtra it is said that, even when the pronoun refers to the idea contained in a sentence, it should follow the sentence and should not precede it.

Note 2.—Iḥampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkinīyar have all given the example given above. Iḥampūraṇar thinks that the word *ataṇṭal* is a noun in the instrumental case, while Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkinīyar take it as *iṭai-c-col*.

41. கிறப்பி ஐகிய பெயர்க்கைக் கிளவிக்கும்
இயற்பெயர்க் கிளவி முற்படக் கிளவார்.
Ciraṭṭi ākiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷavikkum
Iyaṭ-peyar-k kiḷavi muṭ-ṭaṭa-k kiḷavār.

The original name of a person also should not precede the name of distinction of the same person if both qualify the same verb.

Ex. Teyva-p-pulavar Tiru-valḷuvaṇār kuṛaḷ pāṭiṇār.
(The holy poet Tiruvalḷuvar composed kuṛaḷ.)

Note 1.—The word *vinai-k- k-oruṇik- iyalum-vali* has to be taken here from the sūtra 38.

42. ஒருபொருள் குறித்த வேறுபெயர்க் கிளவி
தொழில்வேறு கிளப்பி நென்றிட னிலவே.
Oru-ṭoruḷ kuṛitta vēṇu-peyar-k kiḷavi
Tolil-vēṇu kiḷappi u-ṇṇiṭa u-ilavē.

Epithets denoting the same person or object cannot denote one and the same person or object if each takes a *different* predicate after it.

Ex. In the sentence

‘Maṇṇaṇ venṇāṇ, Iḥantiraiyaṇ tirumpiṇaṇ’

[King won, Iḥantiraiyaṇ (name of king) returned.]

the predicates *venṇāṇ* and *tirumpiṇaṇ* cannot refer to the deeds of the same person since their respective subjects *maṇṇaṇ* and *Iḥantiraiyaṇ* have different connotations, though they denote the same person.

Note. 1.—This sūtra suggests that, if different epithets denoting the same person take the same predicate, the whole may be taken as one sentence.

Ex. Viṭar-c-cilai porṭṭa vēṇṭaṇ vaḷi
Pūn-taṇ poruṇai-p-poraiyaṇ vaḷi
Māntaraṇ cēral maṇṇavaṇ vaḷi.
(Long live the king who engraved in the hill
Long live the lord of the river Poruṇai filled with
flowers and cool water
Long live the King Māntaraṇcēral.)

of Tolkāppiyaṇār to denote the subject of the verb as other technical expressions like *vēṇṇumai*, *peyar*, *vinai*, *ṭayaṇilai* to denote case, noun, verb and predicate respectively. If so *vēṇṇumai-p-peyar* which means ‘the *vēṇṇumai* named *peyar*’ may be taken as the subject and *eluvāy-tōṇṇu-nilai* as the predicate. In that case the meaning would be the nominative case is used to denote *eluvāy*.

Note 2.—Cēṇāvaraiyar on the other hand seems to think that this sūtra deals with the *form* of the noun in the nominative case. This does not seem to be sound for three reasons: (1) The meaning of the nominative case as *ceyvatu* or doer should be mentioned in this chapter since mention is made of it in the sūtra

Vinai-y-ē ceyvatu ceya-p-ṭaṭu poruḷē
Nilai-ē kūlaṇ karuvi y-eṇṇā
Inṇatar k-itu-ṭayaṇ-āka v-ennum
Anṇa maraṭi u-iraṇṭoṭu-n tokaii
Ā-y-eḷ i-enṭa toḷiṇ-muta ṇilai-y-ē.

(Tol. Col. 112.)

as one of the eight requisites for an action to take place. (2) The sūtras 71, 73 etc. deal directly with the *meaning* of the accusative case, the instrumental etc. (3) That there is no suffix for the nominative case is easily inferred from the two sūtras Tol. Col. 64 and Tol. Elut. 114 which respectively deal with the names of cases and the case-suffixes.

66. பொருண்மை சுட்டல் வியங்கொள வருதல்
வினையில யுரைத்தல் வினாவிற்கேற்றல்
பண்புகொள வருதல் பெயர்கொள வருதலென்று
அன்றி யனைத்தும் பெயர்ப்பய னிலையே.
Poruṇmai cuṭṭal viyaṇ-kōḷa varutal
Vinai-nilai y-uraittal viṇā-v-iṭ k-ēṇṇal
Paṇbu-kōḷa varutal peyar-kōḷa varutal-eṇṇu
Anṇi y-aṇaittum peyar-p-ṭaya ṇilai-y-ē.

The predicate to a subject may denote one of the following:—the existence of the subject, the wish or order of another relating to the subject, the kind of action of the subject, question relating to the subject, the quality of the subject, and the number class, order etc. of the subject.

Ex. *Poruṇmai-cuṭṭal*:—

...Curattum

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Tām-ē cellum tāyar-um uḷar-ē. (Tol. Poruḷ. 40.)
(There are mothers who themselves go to the desert.)

Viyañ-koḷa-varuṭal.

Vāṭuka v-iraiva-niṇ kaṇṇi y-onṇār
Nāṭu-cuṭu kamal-pukai y-eṭṭa l-āṇ-ē. (Puṇa. 3, 21, 22.)
(Oh king, let your garland fade on account of the fire
with fragrant smoke burning the enemies' country.)

Vinai-nilai-y-uraittal.

Tāyi rūvā-k kuḷavi pōla
Ōvātu kūn-niṇ u-ṭarṇiyōr nāṭē. (Puṇa. 4, 18, 19.)
(Your enemies' country cries un-interruptedly like
children devoid of mothers.)

Vinā-v-iṭ-k-ēṇṇal.

Entai yāṇṭ-uḷaṇ kol? (Puṇa. 135, 16.)
(Where is my lord?)
Ivar yār? (Puṇa. 201.)
(Who are these?)

Paṇṇu-koḷa-varuṭal.

Avar-ē.....Kaṇṇu-k-k-iniyar. (Puṇa. 167.)
(But they are beautiful to look at.)

Peyar-koḷa-varuṭal.

Yāṇ-ē tantai-tōḷaṇ. (Puṇa. 201.)
(I am (their) father's friend.)

Note 1.—This sūtra deals with the classification of the *ṣaya-nilai* or predicate in a sentence. Is Tolkāppiyāṇār justified in dealing with the classification of *ṣayanilai* without giving out its meaning? It is one of the technical terms used by his ancients which he has made use of. In such cases he does not give the definition. Cf. *vēṇṇumai*, *vinai* etc. Besides, the previous sūtra deals with *eluvāy* or the meaning of the first case. *Eluvāy* cannot exist without a predicate. Hence Tolkāppiyāṇār has dealt with the classification of *ṣayanilai* here.

Note 2.—Almost all the commentators think that this sūtra and the previous one suggest that the definition of *peyar* or noun is that which is capable of taking case-suffixes or being followed by a predicate. This is open to one objection. If *urupēṇṇal* or the taking of case-suffixes is a definition to *peyar*, the flaw of *anyōnyāśraya* or inter-dependence comes in:—A word becomes a noun if it is capable of taking case-suffixes and case-suffixes are suffixed only to nouns:—Hence it may be said that according to

Tolkāppiyāṇār, *peyar* or noun is that which denotes a *poruḷ* or object. This is evident from the designation *peyar* given to the noun. He suggests this in the sūtra

Ellā-c col-l-um poruḷ kuṇittāṇa-v-ē. (Tol. Col. 155.)

The commentators may have taken *urupēṇṇal* as a definition of *peyar* on the model of Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini who take *subāntam* as the definition of noun. The flaw mentioned above does not arise in Sanskrit since the case-suffixes are added there to the *prātipadika* (the base of a noun as *dēva*) and not to nouns. Tolkāppiyāṇār may be said to agree with the definition given to noun in R. V. Prātiśākhya—‘*Dravyābhidhāyakam nāma*’.

Note 3.—Cēṇavaraiyar says that, in the sentence *ā pala* (cows are many), *pala* is in the nominative case, though it is not followed by a predicate; for it is capable of being followed by a predicate in other sentences like *pala uḷa* (there are many). According to other commentators, it cannot be taken so since it is not followed by a predicate and since they take the previous sūtra to mean that the noun in the nominative case is followed by a predicate.

Note 4.—Though the purpose served by the expression *peyar-koḷa-varuṭal* in the sūtra may be said to be served by any one of the remaining five mentioned :—*poruṇmai-cuṭṭal*, *viyañ-koḷa-varuṭal*, *vinai-nilai-y-uraittal*, *vinā-v-iṭ-k-ēṇṇal* and *paṇṇu-koḷa-varuṭal*, yet Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to have mentioned it to show that words which are nouns in *form* and are used as logical predicates may be taken as predicates in grammar also.

67. பெயரி னுகிய தொகையுமா ருளவே
அவ்வு முரிய வப்பா லான.
Peyar-i n-ākiya tokai-yu-m-ā r-uḷa-v-ē
A-v-v-u m-uriya v-a-p-ā l-āṇa.

There are also compounds made up of nouns which, when they take predicates after them, are in the same category (*i.e.*) they stand in the nominative case.

Ex. *Paḷa-mutir-cōlai-malai-kilavōṇ peral-arum-paricil-nal-kumati.* (Tirumuru. 317, 295.)

([God Murukan] the owner of the hill named *Paḷamutir-cōlai* will give (you) a reward which is very rare to get.)

Note 1.—The expression ‘*peyarin-ākiya-tokai*’ does not only mean compounds all of whose members are nouns, but also

compounds like *kol-kalirū* (elephant that killed, kills or will kill) whose final members are nouns. *A-p-pāl-āṇa* literally means 'in that case'. Hence it means here 'when they take *ṣayanilai* after them'.

Note 2.—Though it appears that there are two sentences '*ṣeyariṇ-ākiya tokai-y-um uḷa*' and '*a-v-v-um uriya a-p-pāl-āṇa*' in the sūtra, yet it is really one sentence. The prose order is *a-p-pāl-āṇa* (those that stand in that category), *a-v-v-um uriya* (those that deserve it (i.e.) those that can stand in the nominative case), *ṣeyariṇ-ākiya tokaiyūm* (the compounds made up of nouns also), *uḷa* (are). *A-p-pāl-āṇa* and *a-v-v-um uriya* stand in adjectival relation to *ṣeyariṇ-ākiya tokai*. *Um* after *tokai* is *ecca-v-ummai*. It suggests that not only *ṣeyar* mentioned in sūtra 65 can stand in the nominative case, but also compounds.

Note 3.—Iḥampūraṇar says that, in the opinion of some, the word '*um*' suggests that there are compounds made up of verbs and nouns like *kol-kalirū*. But since the expression *ṣeyariṇ-ākiya tokai* itself may be construed as compounds with nouns as their final member, it is better for '*um*' to connect *ṣeyariṇ-ākiya tokai* with *ṣeyar* as is mentioned above.

Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar, on the other hand, take '*um*' to suggest that there are compounds made up of nouns and verbs. The reason for saying so is that they take the expressions like *nilaṇ-kaṭantāṇ* (he passed through the land) as a compound word and they have no authority to take so in any sūtra of Tolkāppiyam. This seems to me very unnatural for two reasons:—(1) The context is not suited to it. (2) The sūtra will have to be split into two:—*ṣeyariṇ-ākiya tokai-y-um-ār uḷavē* and *a-v-v-um uriya a-p-pāl-āṇa* and the former part should be taken to mean 'there are compounds made up of nouns' and to suggest 'there are compounds made up of nouns and verbs', and the latter part 'they may be in the nominative case and take predicates after them'. Besides the suggested meaning of the former part has to be left out of consideration here. That it is not necessary to take *nilaṇ-kaṭantāṇ* as a compound word will be dealt with in detail under the sūtra

Ellā-t- tokai-y-u m-oru-con ṣaṭaiya.

(Tol. Col. 420.)

Note 4.—Cēṇāvaraiyar states that Iḥampūraṇar has said that there are compounds like *kol-kalirū* made up of verbs and nouns

and condemns that he is wrong in having said so. Both of them agree that expressions like *kol-kalirū* are *viṇai-t-tokai* and may stand in the nominative case; but they differ as regards the part *kol*. Iḥampūraṇar takes it to be the curtailed form of the relative participle *konra* or *kollum*, while Cēṇāvaraiyar takes it as *dhātu* or root and mentions that the compounds like *kol-kalirū* are *nityasamāsa* or unsplittable compounds. Iḥampūraṇar's opinion seems to be better in consideration of the expression *kālattiyaḷum* in the sūtra

Viṇaiyṇ ṣokuti kālāt t-iyalūm.

(Tol. Col. 415).

Note 5.—Cēṇāvaraiyar says that according to Iḥampūraṇar, this sūtra sanctions that the compounds may take predicates and the sūtra '*Ellā-t tokaiyū m-oru-con ṣaṭaiya*' (Tol. Col. 420.) sanctions that they may be used in the nominative case, and he is wrong in having said so. On careful examination of his commentary on the two sūtras, Iḥampūraṇar does not seem to have had that opinion.

68. எவ்வயிற் பெயரும் வெளிப்படத் தோன்றி
அவ்விய னிலையல் செவ்வி தென்ப.
E-v-vayir peyar-um veḷippaṭa-t tōṇṇi
A-v-v-iya nilaiyal cevvi t-eṇṇa.

It is said that it is advisable for every noun to be mentioned explicitly in such places (i.e.) when they take predicates after them.

Ex. (Ni) *niṇ-con-peyaral*. (Puṇa. 3.)
(You should not break your word.)

Note 1.—The word '*cevvitū*' in the sūtra suggests that there may be expressions where the subject is not used. For instance verbs in the second, and the first, person are generally used without their subject.

Note 2.—Iḥampūraṇar gives a different meaning to the sūtra:—the words mostly assume when they take case-suffixes the same form as the one they take in the nominative case. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have given the meaning mentioned above. Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar gives both. The interpretation of Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be suitable to the context.

69. கூறிய முறையி னுருபிலை திரியாது
ஈறபெயர்க் காரு மியற்கைய வென்ப.

Arrai-t-tiṅkaḷ . . .

Entai¹-y-um uṭai-y-ēm . . .

Irrai-t-tiṅkaḷ yām

. . . entai¹-y-um ilam-ē. (Pura. 112.)
(We had our father that day, but now we do not have him.)

Note 1.—All the four commentators take the sūtra to consist of two sentences:—*ai-y-ēṇa-p-peyariya vēṇṇumai-k-kilavi, iranṭā-kuvatē*, and *atu e-v-vai varinnum viṇai-y-ē viṇai-k-kurippu a-v-v-iru-mutaliṇ rōṇrum*. Since *ai* as the second case is known by the sūtra 64, and since, if the sūtra is taken to contain two sentences expressing different ideas, it will give room to *vākya-bhēda* or sentence-split, it is preferable to take the word *iranṭā-kuvatū* to be the adjunct of *ai-y-ēṇa-p-peyariya-vēṇṇumai-k-kilavi* and the compound word *viṇai-y-ē-viṇai-k-kurippu-a-v-v-iru-mutaliṇ-rōṇ-rumatū* as the predicate of *ai-y-ēṇa-p-peyariya-vēṇṇumai-k-kilavi*.

Note 2.—The terms *iranṭāvatū vēṇṇumai*, *mūṇṇāvatū vēṇṇumai* etc., to denote the accusative case, the instrumental etc., are in the opinion of the author of *Pirayōka-vivēkam* the translation of *dvitīyā-vibhaktiḥ*, *tṛtīyā-vibhaktiḥ* etc. found in Sanskrit.

Note 3.—All the four commentators agree in the interpretation of the first two lines of the sūtra:—(*i.e.*) the case *ai* is the second. And ḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkinīyar agree in the sense conveyed by the third and the fourth lines—(*i.e.*) *ai* denotes the direct object of a verb or an appellative verb. But they disagree in the interpretation of the expression *viṇai-y-ē viṇai-k-kurippu-a-v-v-iru-mutal*:—ḷampūraṇar takes it to mean either, that which qualifies a verb or an appellative verb, or, that which has a verb or an appellative verb for its *nimitta* or cause. If we take the former interpretation, the same may hold good for the third case, the fourth case, the fifth case and the seventh case. The latter interpretation is against the sūtra

‘*Viṇai-y-ē ceyvatū ceyā-p-paṭu poruḷē*

.....
Ā-y-eṭ t-ēṇpa toḷiṇ-muta ṇilai-y-ē.

(Tol. Col. 112.)

where it is said that *ceyā-p-paṭu-poruḷ* or the direct object is one of the causes for an action to take place. Cēṇāvaraiyar takes the words *viṇai* and *viṇai-k-kurippu* to mean, ‘the object of *viṇai*’

1. The accusative case suffix ‘*ai*’ is dropped here.