

THE
JOURNAL
OF
RIENTAL RESEAR
MADRAS

April—
June



1931

24 SEP 1931

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

MADRAS

PRINTED AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MYLAPORE
1931

Annual Subs., Inland, Rs. 6.

Each Part separately Rupees two, Postage inclusive

Foreign, 10 Shillings.

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RĀVAṆA-BHĀṢYA

BY

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There is a tradition that a commentary called *Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya* on Kaṇāda's Vaiśeṣika sūtras was written by an ancient philosopher called Rāvaṇa and that this work preceded the famous commentary by Praśastapāda on the same sūtras, which has been preserved under the name *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha* and generally accepted as one of the most important basic works of the Vaiśeṣika system. The tradition about Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya is supported by certain references which ought to carry considerable weight with all discerning critics.

In his commentary called *Kiraṇāvalī*, on Praśastapāda's *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha*, Udayanācārya (circa 984 A. D.) annotates the phrase *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha* as follows :—

“पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रह इति ॥ पदार्था द्रव्यादयः ; तेषां धर्माः साधर्म्यवैधर्म्य-
रूपाः । त एव परस्परं विशेषणीभूतास्तेऽनेन सङ्गृह्यन्ते, शास्त्रे नानास्थानेषु
वितता एकत्र सङ्कलय्य कथ्यन्ते इति सङ्ग्रहः ; स प्रकृत्यो वक्ष्यते ; प्रकरणशुद्धेः
सङ्ग्रहपदेनैव दर्शितत्वात् ; वैशद्यं लघुत्वं कृत्स्नत्वं च प्रकर्षः ; सूत्रेषु वैशद्या-
भावात्, भाष्यस्य च विस्तरत्वात् प्रकरणादीनां चैकदेशत्वात् ॥”

Benares Sanskrit Series, *Kiraṇāvalī*, page, 5.

Padmanābhamiśra, who flourished in the latter part of the 16th century, has the following note in his *Kiraṇāvalī-Bhāskara*, a commentary on Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī*, with reference to the concluding part of the extract given above.

“ग्रन्थान्तरेणान्यथासिद्धिमपाकरोति—सूत्र इति ।”

Padmanābhamiśra is an authority on the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems, who cannot be easily brushed aside. According to him and according to Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī* as interpreted by him, Praśastapāda should be understood to have presupposed Rāvaṇa's

Bhāṣya which was too big and extensive to be controlled by ordinary readers, and should therefore be taken to have designed his own work as a comprehensive treatise of an epitomical type (saṅgraha), though Udayana, Śrīdhara and later exponents of the Vaiśeṣika system would unhesitatingly apply the designation—Bhāṣya—to Praśastapāda's work as well, chiefly, perhaps, in view of Praśastapāda's rank as a ṛṣi.

Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, in his Bhāṣya on 2-2-11 of the Brahmasūtras, makes the following statements in the course of his exposition of Paramāṇu-Kāraṇa-vāda :—

“यदापि द्वे द्युके चतुरणुकमारभेते, तदापि समानं द्व्यणुकसमवायिनां शुक्लादीनामारम्भकत्वम् । अणुत्वहस्त्वत्वे तु द्व्यणुकसमवायिनी अपि नैवारभेते, चतुरणुकस्य महत्त्वदीर्घत्वपरिमाणयोगाभ्युपगमात् । यदापि बहवः परमाणवः बहूनि वा द्व्यणुकानि द्व्यणुकसहितो वा परमाणुः कार्यमारभेते तदापि समानैषा योजना ॥”

With reference to the first sentence in the above extract, Ratnaprabhā has the following note :—

“प्रकटार्थकारास्तु यद्वाभ्यां द्व्यणुकाभ्यामारब्धे कार्ये महत्त्वं दृश्यते तस्य हेतुः प्रचयो नाम प्रशिथिलवयवसंयोग इति रावणप्रणीते भाष्ये दृश्यते इति चिरंतनवैशेषिकदृष्टयेदं भाष्यमित्याहुः ।”

In the course of his exposition of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine, Śaṅkara relies upon Kaṇāda's sūtras and Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya. As the author of the Prakāṭārtha-vivaraṇa rightly points out, Śaṅkara seems to utilise also the theories of older Vaiśeṣikas like Rāvaṇa. The first sentence in the above extract from Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya would present an insuperable difficulty, if one should proceed to interpret it in the light of what Praśastapāda has said about the formation of *dvyanukas*, *tryanukas* and *caturanukas* from *paramāṇus*. According to Praśastapāda, Udayana, Śrīdhara and all the later Vaiśeṣikas, two *paramāṇus* or atoms combine to form a binary product (*dvyanuka*); three *dvyanukas* or *anus* combine to form a ternary product (*tryanuka*); and four *tryanukas* or *truṭis* combine to form a quaternary product

1. The passage in the Prakāṭārtha runs as follows :—

परिमाणानां देरपि तत्तदासाधारण्यात् व्यभिचारप्रदर्शनायेव चिरन्तनवैशेषिकाणामुदाहरणान्तरमाह—यदा द्वे हेति । तथा हि—रावणप्रणीते भाष्ये दृश्यते “यद्वाभ्यां द्व्यणुकाभ्यामारब्धे कार्ये यन्महत्त्वमुत्पद्यते तस्य प्रचयोऽसमवायिकारणम्” इति.

P. 278 of the Madras Manuscript of the Prakāṭārtha

(*caturanuka*). According to the Vaiśeṣika authorities, it is only in this way that the difference in the *parimāṇa* or size of a *dvyanuka* and a *tryanuka* may be accounted for, though the size in both of these cases is the result of the *saṅkhyā* of the component parts. Śaṅkara, however, says that two *dvyanukas* form the component parts of a *caturanuka*. This remark is not consistent with the atomic theory as set forth by Praśastapāda and his followers. Vācaspatimiśra, in his Bhāmatī, seeks to forcibly drag Śaṅkara's text into Praśastapāda's mould, by suggesting an emendation to the effect that “यदापि द्वे द्युके” in the text of Śaṅkara quoted above ought to be read as “यदापि द्वे द्वे द्युके”. The alternative explanation which Vācaspatimiśra suggests in his Bhāmatī on the text of Śaṅkara under consideration is in no sense less strained than the emendation referred to. Vācaspatimiśra must have reconciled himself to the idea of doing so much violence to Śaṅkara's text in this connection, either because he was not familiar with the views of earlier Vaiśeṣikas like Rāvaṇa or because he deliberately sought to ignore those views perhaps for the reason that he considered them quite untenable. It is difficult to accept the former of these two alternatives, having due regard to the fact that Vācaspatimiśra was a polymathic philosopher of encyclopaedic knowledge. What Ratnaprabhā has said in explaining of the text of Śaṅkara under consideration has been verified by me and found correct, after consulting the manuscript of the Prakāṭārtha-vivaraṇa, which was acquired by me several years ago for the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, through a peripatetic party working under me. It may be useful to note here that the author of the commentary called Prakāṭārtha-vivaraṇa on Śaṅkara's Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya, generally maintains the view of Sureśvara and Prakāśātman and differs from Maṇḍana and Vācaspatimiśra, not hesitating to expose, wherever possible, the weak points in Vācaspati's Bhāmatī. The tradition regarding Rāvaṇa's Bhāṣya on the Vaiśeṣika sūtras, which the author of the Prakāṭārtha-vivaraṇa relies upon, must be fairly earlier than the 13th century A. D., when Ānandagiri who used the Prakāṭārtha-vivaraṇa in one of his works, flourished.¹

1. Vide page xiv of the late Mr. Tripathi's introduction to Ānandagiri's Tarkasaṅgraha published as No. iii of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

An interesting confirmation of the tradition about Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya comes from a rather unexpected quarter. In the latter part of the somewhat lengthy viṣkambha of the fifth act of the Anargharāghava, the following passage deserves attention :—

[नेपथ्ये—एकतः]

“भो भो लक्ष्मण, वैशेषिककटन्दीपण्डितः जगद्विजयमानः पर्यटामि ।
कासौ रामः? तेन सह विवदिष्ये ।

[अन्यतः]

भो भोः परिव्राजक, कालसर्पखलीकारखर्जूलता न खलु सुखाकरी
वृश्चिकमन्त्रतान्त्रिकस्य । जाम्बवान्—कथं लक्ष्मणपरिव्राजकौ संलपतः ।
शृणोमि तावत् (इत्यवधत्ते)

(नेपथ्ये—पुनरेकतः)

आः लक्ष्मण, सर्वविद्रावणः खल्वहम् ; को मया जनितमानभङ्गो न
पराजीयते ।”

(Anargharāghava, Nirnayasagar Edition, page, 161.)

With reference to the above extract, Rucipatyupādhyāya has the following note :—

“नेपथ्ये रावणवचनम् । कटन्दी वैशेषिकशास्त्रव्याख्याग्रन्थः, कटन्दी
इति यस्य प्रसिद्धिः । सा च रावणेन कृतेति छलतो ज्ञापयति । ‘कन्दली’
इति पाठे कन्दली वैशेषिकटीका सापि रावणेनैव कृता ॥”

It may be inferred from the above extract that the tradition about Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras must be much earlier than the Anargharāghava and that this Bhāṣya might have been known by the designation of Kaṇḍī or Kandali. If the latter of these two names should be correct, Śrīdhara's Kandali a commentary on Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya, should be taken to have borrowed the name that was given to Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya. It would scarcely be difficult to see that, in the days of Murāri, the tradition about Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya must have become sufficiently old to admit of that Vaiśeṣika work being ascribed to the notorious Pratināyaka of the Rāmāyaṇa, in the same mytho-poetic vein that is responsible for the author of the Nyāyasūtras being equated with the saintly husband of Ahalyā. From the reference to Murāri, the dramatist, in verse 67 of canto 38 of the Haravijaya by Ratnākara, a Kashmirian poet belonging to the middle of the 9th century A. D., it may be made out that the author of the Anargharāghava should be

assigned to a date not later than that of Ratnākara. These evidences might well support the belief that Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras might have been earlier than Praśastapāda's *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha*. It would be thus quite reasonable to suggest that Praśastapāda did not proceed to write a Bhāṣya in the usual style but wrote only an epitomical treatise, perhaps because he felt the pre-existing Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya would render another Vaiśeṣika-Bhāṣya superfluous. Though the fact that there was a Vaiśeṣika-Bhāṣya ascribed to Rāvaṇa can no longer be doubted, still the name *Kaṇḍī* occurring in the Anargharāghava requires further confirmation before it could be accepted as the original name which Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya bore.

In this connection, it may not be out of place to invite attention to the manner in which Buddhist tradition connects the name of Rāvaṇa, the Lord of Laṅkā, with one of the oldest texts of the Buddhists, called the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra. The following quotation is given in the footnote 35 to page 252 of Vol. ii of Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western Countries:—“The second treatise or sūtra in the fifth volume of the *Mdo* is entitled ‘in Sanskrit ‘Ārya-Laṅkāvatāra-mahāyāna-sūtra’, a venerable sūtra of high principles on the visiting of Laṅkā. This was delivered at the request of the Lord of Laṅkā by Śākya, when he was in the city of Laṅkā on the top of the Malay mountain on the seashore, together with many priests and Bodhisattvas.” This association, legendary as it may be, of Rāvaṇa's name with Buddhism and the similar association of the same name with the oldest Vaiśeṣika-Bhāṣya may be considered together with the way in which Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya came to completely supersede the earlier Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya. Such considerations may lend support to the conjecture that the earlier Rāvaṇa-Bhāṣya was perhaps dominated by atheistic and pro-Buddhist proclivities, such as might have been quite in keeping with the text of the Vaiśeṣika sūtras, and with the spirit of the tradition characterising the Vaiśeṣikas as *ardha-vaināśikas*, while the work of Praśastapāda gave the Vaiśeṣika system a theistic turn and presented its doctrines in an anti-Buddhist Āstika setting.

When I was at Lahore in November, 1928, in connection with the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference, I happened to see in the Lalchand Library there a manuscript of the *R̥g-Veda-pada-pāṭha* attributed to Rāvaṇa. It is not at present possible to connect the author of this Vedic work with the author of the Vaiśeṣika-Bhāṣya attributed to Rāvaṇa.

ONE OF THE SOURCES OF THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ¹

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In a well-known passage in his Sūtra-Bhāṣya, Śrī Śaṅkarācārya says :—

“न धर्मजिज्ञासायामिव श्रुत्यादय एव प्रमाणं ब्रह्मजिज्ञासायाम् । किं तु श्रुत्यादयोऽनुभवादयश्च यथासम्भवमिह प्रमाणम्, अनुभाववसानत्वाद्भूतवस्तुविषयत्वाच्च ब्रह्मज्ञानस्य ।”

Therefore for Brahma-jñāna to become real, two things should co-operate; namely, acquiescence in the authority of the Śruti, and the testimony of one's own spiritual experience. The one is as essential as the other. Without conformity to an objective standard of experience there is no guarantee of truth in religion, and without an earnest spiritual quest there can be no vitality in religion. Hence authority in religious matters is not only a principle of continuity, but also a principle of sanity. It not only binds the past, present and future generations into a single community and animates them with a zeal for a common end, but also restrains erratic individuals, checks all spiritual vagaries and provides a touchstone of religious experience.

But a blind obedience to authority paralyses the soul. It kills all life in religion. It is the epitaph written on the grave-stones of many a priesthood in the history of the world. In our own individual lives, how often are we prone to forget that a knowledge of scriptures is not a knowledge of God! How often do we fail to say to ourselves “मन्त्रविदेवास्मि नात्मवित् !” And all the while the Śruti herself whispers in our ears :—

“नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।”

And likewise :—

¹ A lecture delivered under the auspices of the Sanskrit Academy on the Bhagavad-Gītā-Day celebrated on the 23rd December 1928.

“नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यो न च प्रमादात्तपसो वाप्यलिङ्गात् ।”

And again :—

“तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः पाण्डित्यं निर्विद्य बाल्येन तिष्ठसेद्बाल्यं च पाण्डित्यं च निर्विद्याथ मुनिः अमौनं च मौनं च विर्विद्याथ ब्राह्मणः ।”

The drift of these texts is clear. Mere acquiescence in the spiritual experience embodied in the Śruti is not enough. Mere obedience to this or that ancient rule of wisdom is not enough. There are no fixed formulas, no cut and dried methods in spiritual life. Asceticism might easily become as wrong as indulgence; and child-like innocence could easily be made a fetish as much as arrogant learning. The path of the spirit is narrow and there are deep gulfs on either side.

“क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गं पथस्तत्कवयो वदन्ति ।”

Sharp as a razor's edge and hard to traverse is that difficult path. Therefore spiritual life is an adventure. It is for the brave and the strong, not for the weakling and the coward. The man who has begun the quest has frequently to go forth alone, out of the sight and the hearing of men. Single-handed, he has to meet unknown terrors that lie in wait for him. His foes are many, and their guile is endless. He has to fight out every inch of his ground, and he often finds that those whom he vanquished and trampled upon one day, appear again on the next, in a different guise and at a different corner of the road. Vanquished as vices, they re-appear as virtues, and offer battle to his soul. No fixed rules, no formulas got by heart, no mantra, charm or spell can avail him in such perils. None can help him save the purity of his own heart and faith in the invisible presence of the Master who prompted the quest. The weapons that he carries in his hands, though forged by the wisdom of ages, cannot be effective in the absence of sincerity, courage and faith. And he will see on the way many a traveller lying dead, buried under the burdens he had attempted to carry or pierced with the weapons with which he had equipped himself. If epitaphs could be written on the dead that lie rotting in the valley, the words egotism, bigotry, relegendry, ritualism, obscurantism etc. should be graven in shining letters as a warning to all travellers. One in a thousand, or a million perhaps, lives to see the end of his journey, to find himself at the feet of Him who says :—

“मनुष्याणां सहस्रेषु कश्चिद्यतति सिद्धये ।

यततामपि सिद्धानां कश्चिन्मां वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ॥”

Of the numerous testimonies, which generation after generation has adduced from its own spiritual experience to the eternal truth of the Śruti during the long course of our history, none is so complete and satisfying as the Bhagavad Gītā. The greatness of this scripture lies not only in its loyalty to the spirit of the Veda, but also in its bold enthusiasm in endeavouring to infuse that spirit into all the details of every-day life. Its divine author cannot be described as a mere conformist on the strength of the passage:—

“तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ ।”

For He also says:—

“श्रुतिविप्रतिपन्ना ते यदा स्थास्यति निश्चला ।

समाधावचला बुद्धिस्तदा योगमवाप्स्यसि ॥”

And one can imagine His gesture of contempt as He exclaims:—

“यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।

वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥”

Moreover, with a daring originality He brings the message of the Indian forests to the battlefield of life. For he knows that the din of the world is only a prelude to the eternal music of silence, that this earth of ours is the outer Court of Heaven and that the whole creation is running a confused race to catch the Infinite. He has laid to His heart the lesson of His favourite Upaniṣad:—

“यदेवेह तदमुत्र यदमुत्र तदन्विह ।

मृत्योः स मृत्युमाप्नोति य इह नानेव पश्यति ॥”

The living presence of God everywhere in the world is a tremendous fact, which it is difficult for us to remember, but which it is difficult for a man of vision to forget. It is the continuous consciousness of this fact that distinguishes a mystic sharply from other men.

“या निशा सर्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्ति संयमी ।

यस्यां जाग्रति भूतानि सा निशा पश्यतो मुनेः ॥”

Īśwara who is the standard of holiness is ever with us frowning at our sins. The ideal of beauty—He is ever with us turning away from our uglinesses. And the perfection of truth—He is ever with us pitying our delusions. But the veil of ignorance is across our eyes, and we cannot see Him. Or we see Him only at rare intervals through a rent in the veil, as it were.

“विमूढा नानुपश्यन्ति पश्यन्ति ज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥”

And the blessedness of that experience it were better not to tell. For it is a delicate sweet that sustains one's life through many a wearisome day and night. It is a silent memory that encourages one through dull routine and many a heart-breaking sorrow. Our life here would be dark indeed but for this fugitive gleam to which our hearts can bear witness along with the scriptures of the world. But for this half-forgotten tune which haunts the memory with a persistence, which it is impossible to resist, the Śruti itself would be music to the deaf. We lift up our hands in gratitude to those who can help to make steady this fitful light, to those who can enable us to listen for a longer while to this eternal melody. Teachers who cannot do this for us are no teachers; and scriptures which cannot guide us here are no scriptures. The former may be great scholars, and the latter may be sound theology. The noise of both may fill our ears, but it leaves the heart hungering. How often one feels while traversing the sandy deserts of theological literature that the Śruti-vākyas quoted there are like bubbling springs of living water, whose coolness is in refreshing contrast to the heat of the desert. The Gītā is one of such springs. Or rather it is a reservoir which collects the waters of many springs. And of these the Kāṭhapa-ṇiṣad seems to me to be the most important. I think it would be a profitable task if we should compare the Gītā with its prototype, and see how the gospel of the hermitage in one generation was expanded into a gospel of the battlefield in another.

Certain obvious resemblances between the Upaniṣad and the Gītā have been noticed by all scholars eastern and western. There are six or seven ślokas in the latter scripture which are practically quotations from the Kāṭhaka mantras. For the sake of completeness let me first briefly remind you of these.

Firstly, the two following Kāṭhaka mantras have become well-known by being quoted in the Gītā:—

“न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चिन्नायं कुतश्चिन्न बभूव कश्चित् ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥
हन्ता चेन्मन्यते हन्तुं हतश्चेन्मन्यते हतम् ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतो नायं हन्ति न हन्यते ॥”

The Gītā, reversing the order and making a few alterations in the पूर्वार्ध of each of them, reads them as follows:—

“य एवं वेत्ति हन्तारं यश्चैनं मन्यते हतम् ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतो नायं हन्ति न हन्यते ॥
न जायते म्रियते वा कदाचिन्नायं भूत्वा भविता वा न भूयः ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥”

It will be observed how the Gītā avoids here the difficult problem of creation by changing नायं कुतश्चिन्न बभूव कश्चित् into नायं भूत्वा भविता वा न भूयः । And it is interesting to note, in passing, that it is the Upaniṣadic mantra rather than the Gītā śloka that Emerson had in his mind when he wrote in his poem on Brahma:—

“If the red slayer think he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep, and pass and turn again.”

Secondly, the figure of the world-tree called Aśvattha employed in the first four verses of the Chapter XV of the Gītā beginning with ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखम् is obviously an elaboration of the Upaniṣadic mantra beginning with ऊर्ध्वमूलोऽवाकशाख एषोऽश्वत्थः सनातनः । Śrījūṭ Tilak in his commentary on the Gītā has a very interesting note on this conception of the world-tree. He glances at the parallel conception of Igdrasil in Norse mythology, quotes references to the tree from the R̥g Veda, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Atharva Veda, the Upaniṣads and the Mahābhārata, examines the derivation of the word अश्वत्थ and discusses the identification of the tree with न्यग्रोध, वट and उदुम्बर. It is to be observed that the Upaniṣad, after describing the world-tree, does not speak of cutting it down, as the Gītā does. The Gītā wants us to imagine the tree as standing in the way of the seeker after God. Therefore it is only after cutting it down with the sword of detachment that one can set one's feet on the path.

“ततः पदं तत्परिमार्गितव्यं यस्मिन्गता न निवर्तन्ति भूयः ।”

The Upaniṣad, on the other hand, says,

“तदेव शुक्रं तद्वृक्षं तदेवामृतमुच्यते ।”

The commentator, no doubt, explains तदेव शुक्रं as यदस्य संसार-वृक्षस्य मूलं तदेव शुक्रं शुभ्रं शुद्धं, ज्योतिष्मच्चैतन्यात्मज्योतिःस्वभावं तदेव ब्रह्म, and introduces into his eloquent comment on the mantra the Gītā notion of cutting down the tree:—

“वेदान्तविहितब्रह्मात्मदर्शनासङ्गशस्त्रकृतोच्छेद एष संसारवृक्षः ।”

But these ideas are not found in the original.

Thirdly, the eleventh verse of the Chapter VIII of the Gītā viz.

“यदक्षरं वेदविदो वदन्ति विशन्ति यद्यतयो वीतरागाः ।

यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति तत्ते पदं सङ्गहेण प्रवक्ष्ये ॥”

is obviously an adaptation of the Upaniṣadic mantra:—

“सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति तपांसि सर्वाणि च यद्वदन्ति ।

यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति तत्ते पदं सङ्गहेण ब्रवीमि ॥ ओमित्येतत् ॥”

It is remarkable that the author of the Gītā in this section of ओङ्कारोपासन, though quoting actually one mantra from his favourite Upaniṣad, has in his mind some four or five different Upaniṣads. The expression आदित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् is from the Śvetāśvatara and the R̥g Veda; the verse beginning with प्रयाण-काले मनसाचलेन is reminiscent of the section in the Praśnopaniṣad beginning with the question

“स यो ह वैतद्भगवन्मनुष्येषु प्रायणान्तमोङ्कारमभिध्यायीत । कतमं वा व स तेन लोकं जयतीति;”

the formula अणोरणीयान् is from the Kaṭha and the Śvetāśvatara; and the use of the word अक्षर in the double sense of Brahman and syllable implies a glance at the Māṇḍūkya as well as the Kaṭha.

Fourthly, the analysis of personality that the Gītā gives in Chapter III viz.,

“इन्द्रियाणि पराण्याहुरिन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः ।

मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्यो बुद्धेः परतस्तु सः ॥”

is obviously only a simplification of the analysis given in the two Kaṭhaka mantras whose meaning is discussed in the आनुमानि काधिकरणम् of the Brahma-sūtras:—

“इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः ।

मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्बुद्धेरात्मा महान्परः ॥

महतः परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात्पुरुषः परः ।

पुरुषान्न परं किञ्चित्सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः ॥”

Fifthly, the stanza in the second Chapter of the Gītā viz.,

“आश्चर्यवत्पश्यति कश्चिदेनमाश्चर्यवद्ब्रूति तथैव चान्यः ।

आश्चर्यवच्चैनमन्यः शृणोति श्रुत्वाप्येनं वेद न चैव कश्चित् ॥”

is evidently reminiscent of the Kāṭhaka mantra:—

“श्रवणायापि बहुमिर्यो न लभ्यः शृण्वन्तोऽपि बहवो यं न विद्युः ।

आश्चर्यो वक्ता कुशलोऽस्य लब्धाश्चर्यो ज्ञाता कुशलानुशिष्टः ॥”

Sixthly, the line न तद्भासयते सूर्यो न शशाङ्को न पावकः occurring in Chapter XV of the Gītā is a faint, though real, echo of the mantra which is well-known for its poetic beauty and which occurs in three Upaniṣads—the Kāṭha, the Muṇḍaka and the Śvetāśvatara, and which will bear repetition any number of times :—

“न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुतोऽयमग्निः ।

तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति ॥”

These six passages are so striking in their resemblance that even a casual reader of the Gītā and the Upaniṣad cannot fail to notice them. But the resemblance between the two scriptures does not end here. There are a number of other passages in the Gītā in which the resemblance to the Upaniṣad is not so striking, but which are, nevertheless, either in the idea or in the phrasing, derived from the same source.

Firstly, the famous description of the yoga-samādhi, in Chapter VI seems to be based partly on the Śvetāśvatara and partly on the Kāṭhaka. The former part of the description dealing with the fit place and posture for the practice of yoga is, no doubt, derived from the second adhyāya of the Śvetāśvatara where the mantras beginning with त्रिरुन्नतं स्थाप्य समं शरीरं and समे शुचौ शर्करावह्निवालुकाविवर्जिते are prototypes of the ślokas beginning with समं कायशिरोग्रीवम् and शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य. But the latter part of the description seems to be a wonderful expansion of the two Kāṭhaka mantras:—

“यदा पञ्चावतिष्ठन्ते ज्ञानानि मनसा सह ।

बुद्धिश्च न विचेष्टति तामाहुः परमां गतिम् ॥

तां योगमिति मन्यन्ते स्थिरामिन्द्रियधारणाम् ।

अप्रमत्तस्तदा भवति योगो हि प्रभवाप्ययौ ॥”

The parallel verses in the Gītā begin with यदा विनियतं चित्तं मात्मन्येवावतिष्ठते and end with:—

“तं विद्याद्दुःखसंयोगवियोगं योगसंज्ञितम् ।

स निश्चयेन योक्तव्यो योगोऽनिर्विण्णचेतसा ॥”

We have to note carefully here not only the लक्षण of yoga described but also the caution given at the end. योगो हि प्रभवाप्ययौ says the Upaniṣad. Yoga comes and goes. And hence, adds the Gītā, स निश्चयेन योक्तव्यो योगोऽनिर्विण्णचेतसा. A yogin should not be depressed at his failure, but pursue his end with determination.

But it is well-known that the words योग, युक्त and अयुक्त are used in the Gītā in a much wider sense than that of mere thought-control or concentration. The Gītā is a yoga-śāstra in a much more comprehensive sense than Patāñjali's aphorisms. Yoga in the Gītā means spiritual life which brings one into fellowship with God, and a Yogin is a holy man who lives in God whatever may be his mode of life—सर्वथा वर्तमानोऽपि स योगी मयि वर्तते. In fact, as I have elsewhere maintained, the aim of the entire scripture is to convert a सक्त into a युक्त—that is, a man of the world into a man of God. The words युक्त and अयुक्त occur in close proximity in the Gītā as in the Upaniṣad; but they have a much deeper significance than in the formulas युक्तेन मनसा सदा and अयुक्तेन मनसा सदा. Numerous examples might be quoted from the Gītā to illustrate the wider meaning attached to these words :—

“युक्त इत्युच्यते योगी समलोष्टास्मकाश्चनः ॥”

“नैव किञ्चित्करोमीति युक्तो मन्येत तत्त्ववित् ॥”

“स बुद्धिमान्मनुष्येषु स युक्तः कृत्स्नकर्मकृत् ॥”

“जोषयेत्सर्वकर्माणि विद्वान्युक्तः समाचरन् ॥”

And above all:—

“युक्तः कर्मफलं त्यक्त्वा शान्तिमाप्नोति नैष्ठिकीम् ।

अयुक्तः कामकारेण फले सक्तो निबध्यते ॥”

Yoga is only a part of the Vidyā or a means to the Vidyā in the Upaniṣad; whereas Yoga *is* Vidyā in the Gītā. This is indicated significantly enough in the concluding formulas of the two scriptures. The Upaniṣad has विद्यामेतां योगविधिं च कृत्स्नम्. The two nouns are in conjunction. The Gītā has ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे. The two nouns are in apposition.

Secondly, the description of ज्ञेय given in Chapter XIII of the Gītā in five verses teeming with metaphysical antinomies is, again, partly based on the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad and partly on the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad. The first of these verses is taken bodily from the Śvetāśvatara.

“सर्वतः पाणिपादं तत्सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।

सर्वतः श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ॥”

The first half of the second verse also is from the same Upaniṣad:—

“सर्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासं सर्वेन्द्रियविवर्जितम् ।

असक्तं सर्वभृच्चैव निर्गुणं गुणभोक्तृ च ॥”

But let us take the next two verses:—

“बहिरन्तश्च भूतानामचरं चरमेव च ।

सूक्ष्मत्वात्तदविज्ञेयं दूरस्थं चान्तिके च तत् ।

अविभक्तं च भूतेषु विभक्तमिव च स्थितम् ।

भूतभर्तृ च तज्ज्ञेयं प्रसिष्यु प्रभविष्यु च ॥”

These seem to me to be reminiscent of two mantras from the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad and one from the Īśa Upaniṣad:—

“आसीनो दूरं व्रजति शयानो याति सर्वतः ।

कस्तं मदामदं देवं मदन्यो ज्ञातुमर्हति ॥

अशरीरं शरीरेषु अनवस्थेष्ववस्थितम् ।

महान्तं विभुमात्मानं मत्वा धीरो न शोचति ॥

तदेजति तन्नैजति तदूरे तद्वदन्तिके ।

तदन्तरस्य सर्वस्य तदु सर्वस्यास्य बाह्यतः ॥”

Note especially the parallelism between:—

“अविभक्तं च भूतेषु विभक्तमिव च स्थितम् ।”

and

“अशरीरं शरीरेषु अनवस्थेष्ववस्थितम् ॥”

And note also, in passing, that the rhetorical question कस्तं मदामदं देवं मदन्यो ज्ञातुमर्हति indicates the sublime egotism of all great mystics. The Gītā, of course, escapes from the charge, if charge it is, by making Īśvara himself the teacher.

Thirdly, there are three ślokas in Chapter XIII namely,

“अनादित्वान्निर्गुणत्वात्परमात्मामन्ययः ।

शरीरस्थोऽपि कौन्तेय न करोति न लिप्यते ॥

यथा सर्वगतं सौक्ष्मादाकाशं नोपलिप्यते ।

सर्वत्रावस्थितो देहे तथात्मा नोपलिप्यते ॥

यथा प्रकाशयत्येकः कृत्स्नं लोकमिमं रविः ।

क्षेत्रं क्षेत्री तथा कृत्स्नं प्रकाशयति भारत ॥”

which describe how the divine spark at the centre of our souls is untouched by sin and suffering, as ether and sunlight are unaffected by the dirt of the world. Though the words क्षेत्र and क्षेत्रज्ञ do not occur in the Kāṭhaka but occur in the Śvetāśvatara, the foregoing verses seem to be a paraphrase of the following Kāṭhaka mantra :—

“सूर्यो यथा सर्वलोकस्य चक्षु-

र्न लिप्यते चाक्षुषैर्बाह्यदोषैः ।

एकस्तथा सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा

न लिप्यते लोकदुःखेन बाह्यः ॥”

Fourthly, the last two ślokas in Chapter II of the Gītā viz.,

विहाय कामान्यः सर्वान्पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः ।

निर्ममो निरहङ्कारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥

एषा ब्राह्मी स्थितिः पार्थ नैनां प्राप्य विमुह्यति ।

स्थित्वास्यामन्तकालेऽपि ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमृच्छति ॥

seem to be, again, a paraphrase of an ancient verse quoted in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad and Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad :—

“यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि श्रिताः ।
अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवति अत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥”

The second stanza in the Gītā extract expands the meaning implied in the Upaniṣadic expression अत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते—even here he becomes Brahman. And Śrī Śaṅkarācārya expands it still further when he says in his commentary on the Gītā किमु वक्तव्यं ब्रह्मचर्यादेव संन्यस्य यावज्जीवं ब्रह्मण्येवावतिष्ठते, स ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमृच्छतीति—thus probably striking a personal note.

Fifthly, the two ślokas in Chapter XI of the Gītā viz.,

“नाहं वेदैर्न तपसा न दानेन न चेज्यया ।
शक्य एवंविधो द्रष्टुं दृष्टवानसि मां यथा ॥
भक्त्या त्वनन्यया शक्य अहमेवंविधोऽर्जुन ।
ज्ञातुं द्रष्टुं च तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टुं च परन्तप ॥”

seem to be an echo of the well-known Kāṭhaka mantra which I have already quoted in part:—

“नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यः तस्यैवात्मा विवृणुते तनूं स्वाम् ॥”

The only difference between the two passages is that the Gītā emphasises the bhakti of the worshipper and the Upaniṣad the grace of Īśvara. Both are at one in condemning the soulless ritualism which tries to do duty for religious emotion.

Sixthly, the line in the Gītā न मां दुष्कृतिनो मूढाः प्रपद्यन्ते नराधमाः which conveys the ethical implications of spiritual life is again an echo of the Upaniṣadic lines:—

“नाविरतो दुश्चरितान्नाशान्तो नासमाहितः ।
नाशान्तमनसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात् ॥”

Similarly, the downward path of sinful souls described by the Gītā in the verse:—

“आसुरीं योनिमापन्ना मूढा जन्मनि जन्मनि ।
मामप्राप्यैव कौन्तेय ततो यान्मथमां गतिम् ॥”

is reminiscent of the mantra :—

“न साम्परायः प्रतिभाति बालं प्रमाद्यन्तं वित्तमोहेन मूढम् ।
अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी पुनः पुनर्वशमापद्यते मे ॥”

Seventhly the verse :—

“यदा भूतपृथग्भावमेकस्थमनुपश्यति ।
तत एव च विस्तारं ब्रह्म सम्पद्यते तदा ॥”

which describes the unity of all things perceived by a seer expresses in plain unfigurative language what the Upaniṣad says in two figurative mantras :—

“यथोदकं दुर्गे वृष्टं पर्वतेषु विधावति ।
एवं धर्मान्पृथक् पश्यंस्तानवानुविधावति ॥
यथोदकं शुद्धे शुद्धमासिक्तं तादृगेव भवति ।
एवं मुनेर्विजानत आत्मा भवति गौतम ॥”

Lastly, there are a number of phrases in the Gītā which seem to me to be reminiscent of the Upaniṣadic phrases. I give them below:—

Gītā.	Upaniṣad.
1. तद्धाम परमं मम	1. तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम्
2. प्राक्शरीरविमोक्षणात्	2. प्राक्शरीरस्य विमोक्षः
3. य इदं परमं गुह्यम् मद्भक्तेष्वभिधास्यति	3. य इमं परमं गुह्यं श्रावयेद्ब्रह्मसंसदि
4. विवृतं सद्य नचिकेतसं मन्ये	4. स्वर्गद्वारमपावृतम्
5. नायं लोकोऽस्ति न परः	5. अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी
6. मनुष्याणां सहस्रेषु कश्चिद्यतति सिद्धये	6. कश्चिद्धीरः प्रत्यगात्मानमै- क्षदावृत्तचक्षुरमृतत्वमिच्छन्
7. ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति	7. अङ्गुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषोऽन्तरा- त्मा सदा जनानां हृदये संनिविष्टः

Moreover I find from the Concordance to the Gītā and the Upaniṣads that certain expressions like हर्षशोकौ, शरीरस्थः, पृथग्भावः occur only in the Gītā and Kāṭhopaniṣad and not in the other principal Upaniṣads. And it is rather astonishing that the word आनन्द, which plays such an important part in our Vedāntic literature, does not seem to occur either in the Gītā or the Kāṭhaka

Upaniṣad. But much cannot be made of these facts, if facts they are, which might be purely accidental.

We are on firmer, if rather too extensive, ground when we come to the form and the scope of the two gospels. Some critics are of opinion that the idea of making the Gītā a dialogue between Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the charioteer and Arjuna, the hero in the chariot drawn by white horses may have suggested itself to the author by the well-known simile in the Kathopaniṣad :—

“आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि शरीरं रथमेव तु ।
बुद्धिं तु सारथिं विद्धि मनः प्रग्रहेव च ॥”

Well, whatever that may be, the form of the Upaniṣad seems to have suggested some points to the author of the Gītā in choosing a form for his gospel. For both are dialogues. Both utilise an ancient story. Both have a dramatic beginning. Both employ the machinery of temptation, sorrow and death. The heroes in both the poems are disgusted with life, though the disgust of one of them is rather sudden and momentary. “अपि सर्वं जीवितमल्पमेव, तवैव बाह्यास्तव नृत्यगीते”, says Naciketas. “किं नो राज्येन गोविन्द किं भोगैर्जीवितेन वा,” says Arjuna. And the tension of the situation is very artistically intensified in the Gītā by the tears that fill the eyes of a great and world-renowned warrior.

“तं तथा कृपयाविष्टमश्रुपूर्णकुलेक्षणम् ।
विषीदन्तमिदं वाक्यमुवाच मधुसूदनः ॥”

Disgust with life, in which death is such a tremendous and mysterious factor, is with most of us the beginning of spiritual life. Everyone who has experienced great sorrow knows that sorrow is sacred in that it very soon takes us away from our little selves and makes us throb with the throbbing heart of humanity. It teaches us many things we have not known before. It gives us a new sense by which we perceive what we have not perceived before. It makes us quiveringly sensitive to the sufferings of all creatures to which we have been indifferent before. In the temple of sorrow there is no Time. We have a taste of eternity, as we face the eternal questions of whence, and whither. Death has been the teacher of many a man besides Naciketas. Sorrow has driven many a man besides Arjuna to a mood of despair and renunciation. There was a time when I used to laugh at the title of अर्जुनविषादयोग given to the first

Chapter of the Gītā. I now know better. We live and learn. We learn that विषाद leads to Yoga or union with God, as well as कर्म or भक्ति, and that sorrow-mysticism is as real as nature-mysticism. Dante expressed a profound truth when he said that sorrow remarries us to God. It is a subject which has had a remarkable development in Christian theology.

When we come to the scope of the teaching of the Upaniṣad and the Gītā the two scriptures at first sight appear to be poles asunder. The Upaniṣad has little reference to the duties of life. The word कर्म which plays such an important part in the Gītā occurs very rarely in the Upaniṣad. The latter seems simply to brush aside the world, saying न ह्यधुवैः प्राप्यते हि ध्रुवं तत्. And it mentions the social orders only to say that they are swallowed up in the Absolute.

“यस्य ब्रह्म च क्षत्रं च उभे भवत ओदनः ।”

On the other hand the Gītā is mainly concerned with the right way in which a man should discharge his duties. It evinces great solicitude for the maintenance of the world. It describes Īśvara as a शाश्वतधर्मोपता who comes down in the form of man for धर्मसंस्थापन. The author is very anxious that Dharma should be maintained, that every man should discharge his duty according to his station in life in a selfless manner as a servant of God, and that even a wise man should set an example in this matter to the world. And hence the word लोकसङ्ग्रह which does not occur in the Upaniṣads, has become an important one in all discussions regarding the import of the Gītā. In fact, the whole trend of this scripture seems at first sight as though it reversed the Śruti-vākya न ह्यधुवैः प्राप्यते हि ध्रुवं तत् and read instead अप्यधुवैः प्राप्यते हि ध्रुवं तत् and understood literally the words अनित्यैर्द्रव्यैः प्राप्तवानस्मि नित्यं which give such trouble to commentators. For, its sublime pronouncement स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः may be interpreted as an application in their literal sense of the words अनित्यैर्द्रव्यैः प्राप्तवानस्मि नित्यम्.

But the contradiction is only apparent. A closer study of the Upaniṣad and the Gītā shows that the goal of their teaching is the same. In comparing the two scriptures we should not forget the question which each of them attempts to answer. The question of Arjuna is entirely different from that of Naci-

ketas. He says पृच्छामि त्वां धर्मसम्मूढचेताः. He wants to know what his dharma really is in the peculiar circumstances in which he is placed. His question is entirely an ethical one. Whereas the question of Naciketas is a metaphysical one. 'Does the soul survive after death?' That may sound as a curious question on the part of one who has undergone death, and who is alive enough to carry on a conversation in the other world. But, as the Vedānta-sūtras point out, the meaning of Naciketas is made clearer by his next question :—

“अन्यत्र धर्मादन्यत्राधर्मादन्यत्रास्मात्कृताकृतात् ।

अन्यत्र भूताच्च भव्याच्च यत्तत्पश्यसि तद्वद ॥”

He does not want to know anything about dharma. On the other hand he expressly says that what he wants to know is whether there is any absolute Reality beyond the moral categories of dharma and adharma, the physical categories of cause and effect, and the temporal categories of past, present and future. Hence the Upaniṣad proceeds to establish, by means of intuitive experience, the positive character of the One, who is नित्यो नित्यानां चेतनश्चेतनानाम्, who is सुप्तेषु जागर्ति, who is मध्ये वामनमासीनम्, who is यतश्चोदेति यत्र च सूर्योऽस्तं गच्छति and who is above all स एवायं, स उ श्व एतद्वै तत्. The Gītā is not concerned with such metaphysical and psychological proofs of the existence of the Absolute.

However, divergent as their aims are, the teaching of both is essentially the same. Both deal with the reality of spiritual life, and not with the abstractions which we term religion and morality which are inseparable. Only the Gītā lays emphasis on the earlier stages of the pilgrim's progress, while the Upaniṣad lays emphasis on the later stages. The Gītā was a message delivered to the man of the world, while the Upaniṣad was a message delivered to the recluse in the forest. Nevertheless the Upaniṣad is not unmindful of the early stages, nor the Gītā of the later stages. It is pointed out by commentators that the characters introduced in the Upaniṣad—Vājaśravasa, Yama and Naciketas—represent respectively the three stages of spiritual life viz., karma, upāsanā and jñāna. The first goes back to *samsāra*, the second goes by way of *krama-mukti* and the third attains *sadyo-mukti*. Moreover there are several mantras in the Upaniṣad setting forth the ethical implications of spiritual life, the

importance of faith and the indispensable necessity of the grace of God. Similarly, there are several ślokas in the Gītā setting forth the goal of all moral endeavour and religious worship.

“सर्वं कर्माखिलं पार्थ ज्ञाने परिसमाप्यते ।”

It is interesting to observe that the use of the word योगक्षेम in the Upaniṣad and the Gītā clearly brings out the resemblance and the difference between the two scriptures. The Upaniṣad says that it only a dull fool that concentrates his attention on योगक्षेम and prefers what is pleasant to what is good.

“प्रेयो मन्दो योगक्षेमादृणीते”

Similarly the Gītā advises us not to pay attention to योगक्षेम but to possess our souls.

“निर्वन्दो नित्यसत्त्वस्थो निर्योगक्षेम आत्मवान् ।”

But it does not stop there. In another place it points out that if we renounce everything and concentrate our minds on God He will bring us back the योगक्षेम we have renounced.

“अनन्याश्चिन्तयन्तो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते ।

तेषां नित्याभियुक्तानां योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम् ॥”

One is reminded of what the Hound of Heaven says in Francis Thompson's famous poem :—

“All which I took from thee I did but take,
Not for thy harms,
But just that thou might'st seek it in My arms.”

Thus the distinction between the Upaniṣad and the Gītā is analogous to the distinction between the classical drama and the romantic drama. In the classical drama, as in the modern short story, only the crisis is visualised, and all the steps leading to it are indicated in retrospect. A strict economy of means is observed. The effect is produced by suggestion, and not by actual description. And all irrelevant matters that do not contribute to the unity of impression are scrupulously avoided. Whereas in the romantic drama, as in the modern novel, the whole story is visualised. All the steps leading to the crisis are represented. There is considerable time for growth of character and the representation of the various phases of life. Therefore the unity that this art-form aims at is a much more complex affair than the simple unity of the classical drama. In fact, its unity is unity in diversity. Similarly, while the Upaniṣads intended for the specialist

deal with the final stages of spiritual life, taking for granted the early stages, the Gītā, which is intended for the layman, covers the whole ground, works out in detail the suggestions of the Upaniṣads and emphasises that part of the teaching which is of the greatest moment to us in practical life. For this purpose the later scripture lays under contribution not one Upaniṣad but several, and not the Upaniṣads alone but several other scriptures. The Kāṭhaka-Upaniṣad is only *one* of its sources. Īśa and Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads are next in importance among other sources. For instance the Gītā's characteristic message of selfless action is developed out of the opening verses of the former, especially :—

“कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।

एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥”

and its so-called Sāṅkhya and Yoga conceptions and partly its theism are derived from the latter.

But the value of the Gītā lies to us, not in its being simply a synthesis of various Śrutis, but in its being a sincere and adequate expression of the experience of a great personality into whose being have entered not only all the Śrutis but almost all that is best in the wisdom of India. In his mouth the words of ancient wisdom become instinct with life, because he tried to tread the path which the ancient Ṛṣis had trodden, he tried to see the visions they had seen, and he tried to make their experience his own. His loyalty to the spiritual traditions he inherited was not a mere lip-loyalty. Hence his soul was not cramped by it. He lived in an era of expansion and threw open the gates of the temple of the Spirit to all classes. Let us follow his example. We too live in an age of Renaissance. We too swear by the Veda. But have we got his catholicity, his courage, his sanity, his moral grandeur and his spiritual insight? If we don't have them, and if we don't mean to have them the Gītā was written in vain.

AN AUTOLYCUS IN THE CAMP OF ZULFAQAR KHĀN AT JINJI (1690 A. D.).

BY

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*This paper is based on Ms. No. 484 of the Tamil Manuscripts preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. In Vol. I of the Descriptive Catalogue of that Library (1912) it is described as follows :—“Substance, palm-leaf. Size 14½ x 1 inches. pages, 53. Lines 5 on a page. Character, Tamil. Condition, good. Appearance, somewhat old. Complete”. The Ms. has been kindly placed at my disposal by the Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

It contains a poem entitled *Saiyakkādi pēril nonḍi nāḍagam*. Literally translated, the title would mean the drama of the lame man (sung) about Sayyād Qādir. More freely rendered, it is the dramatic lay of the lame man, composed for the purpose of eulogizing Sayyad Qādir.

Nonḍi nāḍagam, the drama of the lame one, is a species of Tamil drama of which there exist several specimens. It is more properly a lay, for it is but a monologue narrating in autobiographical fashion the adventures of a thief. It is called a drama because the hero puts on barbaric actor's trappings and mounts a platform and recites the poem with appropriate gestures and dance before a crowded audience. Tamil literary convention has inexorably fixed the plot of this kind of dramatic composition. It ought to begin with a prayer to some God or other and then go on to praise the God or man in whose honour it is composed. Then the thief enters on the stage in conventional actor's panoply and narrates his genealogy and his early education, wherein the thief underwent not only a practical training in the artifices of his profession, but studied the theory of the subject as expounded in books. Many such books on thieft-craft, according to the evidence of Sanskrit and Tamil literature,

* The author's own system of transliteration is retained in the paper at his request.

existed in India, composed by authors, both superhuman and human. The hero then describes, according to the literary tradition prescribed for this kind of literature, how he amassed a fortune by the practice of his honourable calling and then squandered it on women. He then started on a great adventure in search of wealth. He was caught and his feet and hands were cut off. He then wandered about till he miraculously recovered them by the intervention of some supernatural power. This is the unalterable plot of dramas of this class, the only permissible variation being in the *deus ex machina* invoked to enable the hero to recover his lost limbs.

This species of drama ought to be recited as a *Nonḍiccindu*. *Cindu* is a kind of simple tune used frequently in Tamil dramas as a contrast to the more elaborate melodies in which they abound; and though brought under one or other of the numerous melody-types (*rāgas*) into which all Indian musical compositions are classified, it is yet devoid of the involutions and convolutions, glides and graces, trills and tremors by means of which great singers make their mark in the musical world, and which I may briefly describe as musical pun-ditry. The poem besides is marked by a peculiar lilt, which cannot be reproduced in an English translation. As the catalogue rather quaintly puts it, "the drama is written chiefly with a view to exemplify poetic rhythm", which is an awkward way of saying that the music of the verse can best be brought out by its being sung in the special mode called *Cindu*. Dramas of this class are to-day being played, just as in old times, in villages, the actor strutting on a primitive platform built on bamboo props and covered with a thatch of cocoanut leaves, and the audience, men, women and squeaking children, being seated on the sands of the village street. They attract a large audience of unsophisticated villagers. Though thus it is but the illiterate masses that to-day enjoy this kind of drama, yet it is composed in the refined literary dialect by poets who are masters of Tamil verse.

The poem is not only a *Nonḍināḍagam*, a drama of the lame one, but is also sung in honour of *Saiyakkādi*. This name is a corruption in Tamil mouths of Sayyad Abdul Qādir. This person was a merchant-prince of Kāyal, on the Madura coast. Kāyal became the chief sea-port of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, after the sea had retreated from Kōrkai, the great sea-port where the Roman ships from the age of Augustus to that of Alaric

were laden with pepper, 'dear to the Yavanas', as it is named in Sanskrit, and the muslins and the silks, the sapphires and the pearls, which gratified the vanity of the Roman ladies of those remote times and the emerald cups out of which Roman leaders of fashion drank wine. Before 100 A. D., Kolchi, as the Greek merchants called Kōrkai, was replaced by Kāyal as the great South Indian sea-port, the trade with India had passed to the hands of Arabs and Kāyal had become a Muslim town. Here at the end of the XIII century, according to Abdullah Wassāf, Takiud dīn Abdur Raḥmān was the deputy minister and adviser of Sundara Pāṇḍya Dēvar, the great Pāṇḍya Emperor of the time. A similar position was held by Sayyad Abdul Qādir under Vijaya Raghunātha Dēvar, the Sētupati, or Lord of Adam's Bridge, at the end of the XVII century.

This Sayyad Abdul Qādir was a Maraikkāyar; the Maraikkāyar are Muslims of South India who speak a Tamil mixed with much Tamilized Arabic words. They write Tamil in Arabic character and call it Arabuttamiḷ. Their religious literature is mostly in Arabuttamiḷ. This is due to the feeling of the Moulvis who regard Tamil as the language of Kafirs and would have a special language for the Maraikkāyar if they could; but as they could not create a language for them, they tried to save the face of orthodoxy by adopting the Arabic script. A similar spirit makes Brahmanas charge their vernaculars heavily with long Sanskrit words all over India, thus gaining holiness at the expense of vigour of diction; this same desperate bid for sanctity on the part of ecclesiastics subjugated the sturdy linguistic independence of the Anglo-saxons and changed their pithy phrase 'agenbite of inwyt' into the lumbering locution, 'remorse of conscience'. This spirit is fast dying out now and during the last twenty years serious attempts are being made to discard Arabuttamiḷ and write all books on religion, Hadīth etc., in pure Tamil. The obverse movement also existed among the Maraikkāyar. For tempering the wind to the shorn lamb, formerly they wrote select verses and Sūras and the Qurān itself in the Tamil script for the use of those who could not read Arabic. But these books are fast disappearing now.

The Maraikkāyar are passionately attached to Tamil, as the Moplahs to Malayalam. The Maraikkāyar have Tamil names, besides Muslim ones. Sayyad Abdul Qādir was known to con-

temporaries as Periya Tambi Maraikkāyar, which name assumed, in the hands of the writers of the East India Company, the form Pereatombee Mercawn. Tambi, meaning in Tamil 'younger brother', an affectionate cognomen attached to proper names, is a part of the names of many Maraikkāyar. In accordance with the custom prevalent in Tamil India from early times, by which Rājas invested their favourites with their own names and titles, Abdul Qādir was called Vijaya Ragunāda Periya Tambi, because he was the 'Minister', *i.e.*, chief adviser and a sort of Secretary of State of Vijaya Ragunāda Dēvar, the Sētupati, ruler of Ramnad.

Vijaya Ragunāda Dēvar, better known as Kīlavan Sētupati to students of South Indian history, was the strongest character amongst the South Indian Rājas of the last quarter of the XVII century. He it was that helped his brother-in-law, Ragunāda Tonḍaimān, to found the state of Pudukottah, which is to-day the only relic of Tamil rule, and the Rājas of which have been unswervingly loyal to the British ever since the East India Company entered into the whirlpool of South Indian politics in the XVIII century. Śokkanāda Nāyakan, the Rāja of Madura, was delivered from the tyranny of a usurper called Rustam Khān by the Sētupati; so he gave Vijaya Ragunāda Dēvar the title of Para Rāja Kēsari, Lion to other kings. At first Vijaya Ragunāda Dēvar was nominally subordinate to the Nāyaka Rājas of Madura, but very soon established his independence and thus founded the line of the Sētupati Rājas of Ramnad, who have been the greatest patrons of Tamil poets since his time (1673-1710).

Friend of this Sētupati was Sayyad Abdul Qādir, Vijaya Ragunāda Periya Tambi Maraikkāyar. He had so much influence with the Sētupati that, as we shall see later, the Council of Fort St. George thought it necessary to offer him special trade privileges at Madras to induce him to secure permission for them to build a factory in the Sētupati's dominions. Periya Tambi was the Maecenas of his age. He lavishly patronized Tamil poets, of whom there were many in his time, both among the Hindus and the Muslims. During the last three hundred years there have flourished many eminent Tamil poets among the Maraikkāyar of the Madura country. These poets write pure literary Tamil, observing all the age-long conventions of

Tamil verse. Of these, Umar Pulavar, the author of Śīrāppu-rāṇam, a poem of about 4,000 stanzas on the life of the prophet, in excellent Tamil verse, was chief. Besides Umar, there were Kandasvami Pulavar, author of Āppanār Purāṇam, a poem in praise of Śiva, enshrined in the ancient temple of Āppanār, fifteen miles from Ramnad; Paḍikkāśu Pulavar, author of Tonḍaimaṇḍa-lacatakam, an account of the geography and the literature of the Kañcīpuram country, and several others. These poets affectionately contracted the name Sayyad Qādir into Śeydakkādi or Śīdakkādi which became Śīdakkāḷi in the spoken dialect. They sang his generosity in numerous stanzas of which one is translated below.

"When the clouds failed and famine prevailed, and one scalepan of rice was sold for one scalepan of gold, though his servants attempted to close his doors (against beggars) the great Śīdakkādi, the bountiful lord, proclaimed himself, by tapping his breast, as the giver of food to all". This is another. "What does it matter if the mean ones who do not give in charity live or die? What does it matter if the nux vomica tree bears fruit or no? To those who spread open their hands and beg, the great Śīdakkādi alone is the tireless giver of handfuls of red gold." When he died, numerous elegies were sung In Memoriam Śīdakkādi, of which the following are two specimens. "Śīdakkādi, the Lord of Kāyal, of the excellent Vajra country, who has earned much wealth, has raised a pillar of praise. Now that he has entered the grave and is hidden there, he had made poets carry the beggar's bowl and thrown a handful of dust in their mouths". "Does it at all matter whether the fools who even in a fit of abstraction will not give a Kāśu (*i.e.*, paisā), live on the earth or die? Unless Śīdakkādi, the Lord of Kāyal, who is dead and leads an excellent life in Heaven, comes back and is re-born (on earth), there is no redemption for poets".

Local tradition (of Kāyal) has it that Sayyad Qādir was a friend and disciple of Shaykh Sadaqattullāh, who was a great Arabic scholar and a Muslim saint of Kīlakkarai, near Kāyal, and is much venerated even to-day in South India. It is said that Aurangzeb was a great admirer of this scholar-saint and invited him in vain to his court and also desired to appoint him as his Khalīfa. The saint declined the honour, but requested the Emperor to appoint his disciple, Śīdakkādi, to some high office,

Aurangzeb made him his representative in Bengal, but Śīdak-kādi was too religious-minded to continue long in the office. He resigned it and on his return sent the emperor a rosary (tasbīḥ) of pearls, each as big as the bitter berry of *Solanum Pubescens*, called in Tamil *śuṇḍaikkāy**.

It was in honour of this Peria Tambi that the poem about which this paper is written, was composed. It was composed by a Muslim Tamil poet at about the end of the XVII century. It appropriately begins with an invocation to the Lord of all creatures, the sole Lord who is formless and at the same time not formless. It then praises the feet of Muhammad, the Anbiya who was like a cloud-like umbrella to the world, then Abu Bakr who gave to the Prophet his daughter (Āyesha) who was like the lotus-seated Lakṣmī, then Umar who cut off his dear son for misbehaving to an old man, then 'Usman who collected (in book form) the extensive Veda of Islam (Qurān), then Ali who rode the horse Duldul, faster than the wind, then Hasan and Husain, sons of Ali, the tiger (of Allāh) who lived in Medina, and then the Supreme Guru Muhid-Dīn. It will be noticed that the Mussulman poet follows the tradition of Hindu poets in singing the line of teachers from God downwards and, like the Puritan poet Milton, does not hesitate to introduce allusions to Pagan deities. In every stanza of this invocation to the Muse, the author announces that his object is to sing the greatness of Periya Tambi, of Vagudai in the Vajra country.

After these introductory verses, the hero enters the stage dressed as actors should. He is his own herald and announces to the world that he has tied, for the purpose of praising the greatness of Vijaya Ragunāda Periya Tambi, anklets with bells to tinkle when he dances or keeps time to his song with his feet. He has decked himself with the sarband (*i.e.* chara-band or bracelets on the upper arm), a coat of broad-cloth, (introduced by the East India Company into India), sounding anklets of heroes, and bangles of sea-shells. He has taken up a sword in one hand and in another a buckler with pieces of glass stuck on. He has trimmed his whiskers and he will show his teeth, which are like pebbles of limestone, and dance and sing the glory of Periya Tambi. He announces that he will kick all those who will

* From the life of this saint printed in the *Friend of Islam*, an ephemeral Tamil magazine.

not bow before his patron. After these preliminaries, he begins his autobiography. But before I summarise the account of the adventures in the exercise of the qualities of amativeness and acquisitiveness, which this light-fingered Lothario was amply endowed with, and which may be interesting to students of human nature and critics of the lighter forms of Tamil literature, but is not likely to appeal to sober historical investigators, I ought to describe the historic occasion when our Autolycus claims our notice, for thereby he has contributed in his small but humble way to help us in our historical studies.

In the year 1690, the Maratha fort of Miraj fell and Rājārām, ruler of the Maratha Empire on behalf of Sāhu, then a captive of the Emperor Aurangzeb, expecting that the next move of the Emperor would be against Vishalgadh, along with Prahād Nīrāji, Dhāna Jādahv and Santoji Ghorpaḍe, left the place, all disguised as Liṅgāyata pilgrims. They wandered to Bangalore, where the immediate risk of detection compelled them to flee to Jinji. Rājārām installed himself there, (November, 1689) as Rāja and assumed the royal insignia. Jinji, about 80 miles south-west of Madras, thus became for a time the capital of the Marathas.

The arrival of Rājārām at Jinji caused a flutter in the bosoms of the European merchants in South India. For we find that Governor Elihu Yule and the six other persons who constituted the Council of Fort St. George meeting on the 14th November 1689 and placing on record in their Diary and Consultation Book, "We having certaine advice that Rāma Rājah king of the Marathas is come privately from His Kingdome of Punnaree to the Chingye (Jinji) countrey leaveing his Uncle, in charge of the Kingdom and family to manage the warr against the Mogull, his designe of comeing hither being reported to divert the Mogulls Army from thence and joine with the several Gentue Naigues and raise a considerable army to retake the Golconda and Vizapore Kingdome, which there is great probability of, both places being at present very weakly gaurded and we having had several factorys under the Chingee Government where he now is, 'twas proposed and debated whether 'twas not absolutely necessary to congratulate his arrival and some suitable present be sent to soe great Prince and friend, he haveing lately been very kind and assisting to the Generalle at Bombay in their troubles, and very just and favourable to our factoryes and trade

under his Government in these parts, but considering that our appearance from hence may exasperate the Mogulls forces agst us, 'twas therefore thought more safe and prudent, such civillities be paid and managed by our chief at Conymere (Kūnimēḍu) who are directly under his Government, and therefore can be less resented, but yt do first observe wt the french and dutch do therein, something following their methods both in respects and presents, and that we take the opportunity to improve our privilege in those parts".¹ On the 4th December, the Council resolved that "the cheif at Conimere with a suitable ritinnue do goe and Vissit King Rāma Rājah at Chingye with a present from thence wherein not much to exceed the amount of Pags 600, since the french circumstances and ours in those parts are different, where they, haveing their cheif residence and settlement in that Government, and lately built a considerable fort at Pullicherry, The Particulars of our present to be one of the Rt Honble Compas Persia horses with handsome furniture three four pieces of Broadcloth Fine and ordinary, Fyre Armes, wth : some other varities, that may be most pleasing and acceptable to Him".² Again on 10 March 1690, Fort. St. George recorded a "General from Conimere of the 6th instant Adviseing of Rama Rajah's King of the Morattaes intention of visitting those parts. And on account of useing his ceremonyes about the Eclipse of the Moon wash himself in the sea which possibly may occasione a Present from them wherein they desire to be directed".³

Rājā Rām was in great need of money, which mere presents could not satisfy. And the Council of Fort St. George "very desirous of a Fort on those parts, which never was more necessary then now the Mogull being likely to be conqueror of these parts, notwithstanding the present rebellion, and therefore the Rt : Honble : Compas interest to have a fortified settlement in those parts, under another government, as well for the safety and supply of that as the security of their future trade in these parts". So they instructed Mr. Thomas Mavell & Mr. Henry Alford that "we hear that Rāma Rājah's occasions now incline him to sell it, and that the Dutch and french are treating with him about it"

1. Diary and Consultation Book, 1689, p. 92.

2. Ib. p. 94.

3. Madras Diary and Consultation Book of 1690, p. 20.

and, directed them to buy it¹ (7th May 1690). After much higgling, Tevanapatnam (afterwards Fort St. David, where Clive served soon after as a writer), was bought from Rājārām for 51,500 chuckrams on 7th September 1690.²

The Maratha army was now reorganised and inflicted severe losses on the Moghuls. Aurangzeb sent a small force to keep Rājārām in check until the Emperor could engage him with his main army. This scheme might have succeeded but for the activity of Santoji Ghorpade and Dhānāji Jādhav. These enterprising commanders aided by Prahlād Nirāji soon collected fresh bodies of troops and raised them to a high state of efficiency; when the Moghul force appeared that was to keep in check Rājā Rām, Santoji Ghorpade and Dhānāji Jādhav at once attacked and destroyed it."³

After the detachment sent against Jinji had been destroyed, Santoji Ghorpade and Dhānāji Jādhav developed an offensive against the Mughal, taking as usual, fort after fort, says the Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb, "Messengers now brought to the knowledge of the Emperor that the forces of Rāma Rāja had marched in various directions to ravage the territories and reduce the forts belonging to the Imperial throne. The fort of Parnala was one of the highest and most celebrated of the forts belonging to Bījāpūr, and had been captured by the royal forces with a good deal of difficulty. It was now taken with little exertion by Rāma Rāja's officers and its commandant was wounded and taken prisoner. It was also reported that Rāma Rāja had gone to the assistance of the chiefs of Jinji and was busy collecting men..... Many of the Mahratta chieftains received instructions from Rāma Rāja to ravage the country. They hovered round the Imperial armies and were exceedingly daring.....Among them was Santa Ghorpura and Dahina Jadu, two experienced warriors and leaders of from fifteen to twenty thousand horse. Other Mahratta chiefs submitted to their leadership, and great losses were inflicted on the Imperial forces.

"Santa more especially distinguished himself in ravaging the cultivated districts, and in attacking the royal leaders. Every

1. Ib. p. 34.

2. Ib. p. 65, 72.

3. Kincaid and Parasnis. History of the Maratha people. Vol. ii, p. 78.

one who encountered him was either killed or wounded and made prisoner; or, if any one did escape, it was with his mere life, with the loss of his army and baggage. Nothing could be done for where-ever the accursed dog went and threatened an attack, there was no Imperial Amīr bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made the boldest warriors quake."

"Ismail Khān was accounted one of the bravest and most skilful warriors, but he was defeated in the first action, his army was plundered and he himself was wounded and made prisoner. After some months he obtained his release, on the payment of a large sum of money. So also Rustam Khān, otherwise called Sherza Khān, the Rustam of the time and as brave as a lion, was defeated by him in the district of Sattara, and after losing his baggage and all that he had with him, he was taken prisoner, and had to pay a large sum for his ransom.¹ Aurangzeb, "detached from the Imperial Court at Koregaon at the end of November 1689, the General Zulfaqār Khān who "marched by way of Rāichūr, Karnūl, Nandyāl, Kaḍapa, and Garamkoṇḍa and then descended into the Karnatak plain (about June 1690), fighting and capturing many forts on the way and reaching Conjeeveram in August and the environs of Jinji at the beginnings of September. Rājarām had sent his own troops with the contingents of his allies, Tanjore Trimbak Rao and Yāchappa Nāyak (who had just deserted the side of Aurangzeb, because the promises made by the Emperor on the annexation of Golkonda were not kept), north-westwards into the Karnatak plateau to prevent the Mughal General's descent into the Eastern plains, but the terror of his name was too great and they returned without doing anything."² Yāchappa Nāyaka seems to have rejoined the Mughal side at this moment, for he is mentioned as one of the leaders of one of the contingents of Zulfaqār's army by the hero of our poem.³ Zulfaqār Khān soon reached Jinji.

Another person in whom we are more interested reached Jinji at about the same time. He was our hero, the devotee of St. Nicholas, or to be more swadeśī in phrase, the worshipper

1. Sir H. Elliott. History of India Vol. vii, p. 346-7.

2. J. N. Sarkar's Hist. of Aurangzeb, Vol. v, pp. 68-69.

3. Vide extracts from Nonḍi Nāḍagam given later on.

of "the fair God, dark as the night", enshrined "on a hill situated in the middle of a forest", the God of thieves, Kaḷḷaḷakar, the handsome God of thieves, a curious metamorphosis of Krishna, who resided in one of the oldest temples of South India, Tirumālirūncōlai, 10 miles from Madura and was sung by Tamil poets of fifteen centuries ago in excellent Tamil verse. Our hero was the head of the thieving community of the district and as he says of himself, "one who could draw milk from a stone cow". He went to Madura to worship the God of the place, Cokkar; but he fell a victim to the charms of one of the servant-maids of the God and she relieved him of all his wealth. He then proceeded to Śrīraṅgam, where he wreaked his vengeance on ladies of easy virtue by easing one of them of her load of jewels while she was asleep. He then proceeded to Jiñji.

From now we may follow his adventures as narrated by himself. "I saw the fort of Jiñji (which is so high that) the crescent moon crawls (on its top); I saw the peṭṭah in front of it. I saw its many streets, its flat-roofed sheds and bazaar streets". The thief observes things differently from the author of a military history. This is how Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfi Khān, author of Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb describes Jiñji. "The fortress of Jinji occupies several adjacent hills, on each of which stands a fort bearing a distinct name. Two of these hills are very high, and the forts are well-furnished with artillery, provisions, and all necessary stores.¹" To return to the story of the thief. "In the city of Jiñji lived the son of Sivāji Rāja, the bull among the lords of war. His feet were worshipped by his enemies. The light of his face shone in all directions in the great city. He was the controller of Governors of various provinces. He was the Lord of Love and from his face issued sweet scent. He enjoyed the pleasure of drink and intoxicating drugs. He was a tiger to the enemies that opposed him, this Rāma Rāja. He owned elephants which were very fierce. He was a magnificent warrior. He wielded his sceptre in the world in accordance with the Dharma propounded by Manu. Then Sulū Kan, (the Tamil rendering of Zulfaqār Khān, a generous cloud among lords, Maka Ismāil Khān, the lion-like lord of lords, Dāud Khān

1. He was "constantly intoxicated by the habitual use of gañja and opium". Wilkes i. 133. quoted by Jadu Nath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, V. p. 64

lord of men, Yāchappa Nāyaka (the ruler of Venkatagiri, and the last feeble relic of the mighty line of Vijayanagarām Emperors)" and other generals marched South. Here our hero gives the names of a number of Mughal commanders who led contingents, but the names are so heavily Tamilized, that behind the strange sea-change these names have undergone, it is almost impossible to discover their original forms. As far as it is possible to make them out they were Bahadūr Khān, Jawād Khān, Sadr Khān, Shamsheer Khān, Mā'būd Khān, Yadul Khān, Imām Khān, Khān-i-khān, Malik Candā Khān. This list is a more complete list of Mughal commanders at Jīñji than that given by existing histories and can be rivalled only by the official despatch regarding the expedition, if it is available. To return to the story, "By the order of Aurangzeb Saheb, ruler of Agra (āgarai in Tamil), these men gathered together. The Wazīrs proceeded to collect tribute from the whole of the Southern region; they had many elephants in rut, 60,000 horses, and Bundeli soldiers. The northern mountain trembled. The heads of enemies turned giddy. The pregnancy of women came to a premature end. They reached Vellore and with their cavalry they captured that place and also Wandewash. They defeated in battle Santosh Vairoj Ghorpade and drove away his army. Their enemies paid them tribute. They then proceeded against the fort of Jīñji. The drums of the Rājas whose lances were streaked with blood were sounded and they encamped near the fort. They came with great energy and, round Jīñji, like the eight elephants round the chief mountain, they pitched their tents and planted their flags (nishān). The crowds of fierce elephants surrounded the place like rows of black hills. Bushes and trees were lopped off, the forests cut down and horses were tied (to the stumps of trees). Crowds of camels and bulls that carried baggages were tethered in many rows. They placed patrols in the eight directions to guard against thieves. Vaḍugas (Telugus) and Kannaḍas (the Telugu and Canarese soldiers of Yāchappa Nāyaka) were stationed in topes and in houses. As the sea surrounds the earth, kings surrounded the camp and were allotted tents. It was not the (despicable) army of the Uriya, of Katti (a petty chief), of Nālgoṇḍa or of Golgoṇḍa. As the tide of the sea rushes over the land so the Tulukkas (literally Turks, but used wrongly in Tamil for Mussulmans generally) came, speaking an unintelligible tongue. Fearing that the Tulukkas who were full of

stratagems would take them as captives, the Marathas, no more desiring to rule, ran away from their houses. They did not mind their houses, their tape-cots, beds, pillows and standing-lamps (*i. e.*, the furniture of their bed-rooms). They did not mind their cattle, nor their children who could not run along with them. Some carried on their hips their dearly loved babes; others fond of their wealth concealed themselves near; yet others missed their beloved children and wandered hither and thither in search of them, weeping bitterly the while; not being able to recover them, they went away with intense pain in their hearts. Like the birds that wander in the sky, some took refuge in forests; others suffered from hunger. Yet others, bewailing their sad fate, stayed in mutts, and spread their cloth (on the floor) for going to sleep. Others, unable to escape, were caught and joined their palms in supplication. Thus all the people, in great distress, deserted their homes. I entered the deserted houses, and looked round as a rat in a house which the tiger has abandoned. I went back to my place and I thought that by adverse fate I could not get any booty. So I resolved to steal one of Zulfaqār Khān's horses".

The thief then disguised himself as a faqīr. Provided with a wand, a cocoanut-steel for smoking gañja, a small mat, a pair of long tongs, a bunch of peacock feathers, a cord of black wool, and other paraphernalia of a faqīr, he dressed himself in rags and tied a cummerband round and rubbed ashes on his body. His eyes were red like those of a fierce tiger. He then went in front of the tents of the Wazīrs. To resume the narrative in his own words. "They said, 'āure Kānse āye'. I replied, 'Saheb, from abil kabul āye'. They said, 'kāvure k(h) āna'. I thought that this was my good karma and went near. They ordered the churned gañja-water to be poured into my vessel. I thought that this was Brahma's dispensation and without delay, knelt, said 'bisumila' and swallowed it. Without hesitation, like a sage, I ate it in the orthodox manner. On account of the intoxication of bhang my eyes became red, my tongue and teeth became dry. I became very giddy and doubled up my legs and arms and lay bunched up in a corner. The sun set. By the grace of Yāchappa Nāyaka whose breast is adorned with a sweet-swalling garland of flowers, the cooks shouted, 'bhōn ceyya āure'." He then ate to his heart's content and went to sleep. He prowled about the camp till the night of the new moon, learning the language of the horse-grooms. At midnight,

tightening his breeches, he approached the horse of Zulfaqār Khān which looked as if it were a statue of emerald. He touched the hoofs of the horse, bowed to it, passed his hand over its face, put the bit into its mouth, and waited till the white foam came out of its mouth. He then cut off its tether, and led it outside. Then, lo! the guards woke up and turned the night into day by lighting innumerable torches. Then our hero concealed himself in a stack of firewood, where a scorpion stung him. Like a Brāhmaṇa lady who had lost the salted fish which she had kept in secret, he could not cry out; he gently rolled on, his skin pierced by thorns. He then dropped with a thud into a dirty pit and was caught, washed and taken to the presence of Dāūd Khān. This chief smiled and sent him on to Zulfaqār Khān who ordered his legs and arms to be chopped off. The punishment was at once executed. We may take it that the chopping off was only symbolically given effect to; very soon Māmūn Nayinār, the younger brother of Sayyad Qādir of Kāyal, happened to reach Jīñji from Chennapaṭṭam¹ (Madras).

The poem does not tell us what business Māmūn Nayinār had at Madras. But we find that on 14th November 1689 the President of Fort St. George "proposed to the Council the settling of a Factory near Tutecarry [now called Tuticorin], which we were lately encouraged to by an Invitation and hopes of procuring great quantities of Pepper"². At a consultation held on 9th January 1690 it was recorded that "Haveing been long treating about a settlement in Eccogees country, [the name for the Tanjore Principality used in the Company's records even after Ekōji died] or somewhere towards Tutecaree and Comoreen to engage the peper trade in those parts, which now they invite us to, butt haveing yet come to noe agreeemt: about our fortifying eta: priviledges a letter of proposalls was sent to them, which when confirmed, Tis agreed that we sent fitting Persons to settle and build a factory and commence a trade."³

On 30th January 1690, it was recorded at a consultation that "Prince Devora [*i. e.*, Vijaya Ragunāda Dēva, the Sētupati], near Cape Comoreen haveing often corresponded with the Pre-

1. This is the first mention of the name Chennapaṭṭam in Tamil literature.

2. Madras Diary and Consultation Book 1689 p. 91.

3. Ib. 1690 p. 2.

sident for a settlement and trade in his country, and in a late letter in answer to the President's promises to mediate with the new king of Candy on Zealon [Vimala Dharma II, acc. 1687] freedome of the English captives there as desired which he doubts not to effect, haveing a good correspondence with him and that he had lately sent the king a Present at his own charge for that purpose desireing us that we would Permitt his Merchant Pereatombee Mercawn (Periyatambi Maraikkāyar) to trade here and pay no more custome or other duties then the English, which in consideration of the above said is agreed to and the customer for the future orderd to receive no more of them then the English pay on noe pretence whatever".¹

These extracts from the Madras Diary enable us to understand what business Māmūn Nayinār had in Madras. He had gone thither for furthering the cause of his brother's trade and conducting negotiations on behalf of the Sētupati to induce the East India Company to open a settlement on the Madura coast. To return to the story, Māmūn Nayinār kindly asked me 'from what town, from what country are you?' I told him I was a thief from Tirumāliṟuñcolai. He said 'sabash' and gave me money for purchasing lime-fruits and oil". The slices of the acid fruit dipped in hot oil are an excellent fomentation for wounds. He gave him more money and told him to present himself, after his wounds were healed, before Periyatambi Maraikkāyar. The thief bought a horse with the money and rode on to Vālikonḍapuram, the southernmost outpost of the Bījāpūr Sultanate, then passed through Ariyalūr and Pudukottah, Tirumayam, Toṇḍi and other places famous in South Indian history, till he reached Rāmnād, the capital of the Sētupati. He went to the house of the crest-jewel of merchants, Periyatambi Maraikkāyar Rāja, but learnt that he was away. The thief then went to Kāyal where Māmūn Nayinār introduced our hero to Periya Tambi. The generous merchant was seated along with noblemen and the Tamil poets of his court, in right royal state. "Sīdakkādi's face brightened and his heart cooled and he listened to my story. He relieved my distress by speaking kind words to me. He said, 'let us turn this vagrant to the path of Islam', and gave me a thousand pieces". Our hero then presented himself at the Khutba palli, [Jāmi Masjid] where on

1. Ib. p. 7.

Fridays a sermon is read before the prayer with Imām, and begged to be admitted to Islam. Sadaqatullāh recited the Kalima and the lame one repeated it after the sage. He was then taught how to say the farī prayer (farz) compulsory on every one, the sunnat, or practice of Muhammad and the nafl or supplementary prayer. He then repeated the Fātiha or benediction. He was instructed to observe the fast during Ramzān and give Zakats. He was then advised to perform the Haj pilgrimage. He got into one of Śīdakkādī's boats, reached Calicut, whence he embarked for Mecca. He saw the Ka'aba tulla h. He got his initiation (Murīd) from the Sharīfs there, worshipped the Supreme God in accordance with the injunctions of the Furqān (Qurān). He then went to Medina, saw its forts (burj), the place "where the holy feet of the Nabi slanted" (i. e. he died). He circumambulated the house of him who drank the milk from the withered breast (of Halima). He then went to sleep and lo! during the sleep his legs and arms grew again. He suddenly got up, rendered shukr to Alla and uttered benedictions to all his patrons. The poem ends with "blessed be Rabbul A'lamīn, the Lord of all the worlds", as it began with Bismillāhi.

THE DATE OF ŚRĪ ŚAṆKARĀCĀRYA
AND
SOME OF HIS PREDECESSORS

BY

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There is no name in the history of Indian Philosophy which is more honoured, which is more esteemed, which is more inspiring, or perhaps which is more prominent than that of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the illustrious son of India and the ablest exponent of the most subtle and supremely intellectual system of philosophy—the Advaita of the Upaniṣads. It is indeed very unfortunate that a trustworthy biography of such a famous philosopher has not come down to posterity; and more so, that the period in which he actually flourished is sealed to us. If the date of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya could be satisfactorily determined, it would form a landmark, an important landmark, in the history of Indian Philosophy in general and Advaita Vedānta in particular. After a good deal of controversy for more than half a century, orientalists have come to the conclusion that Śrī Śaṅkara should have flourished between 788-820 A. D. This has become a superstition amongst orientalists of modern times and to swerve from this is viewed with strong disfavour. But still, in the interests of historical truth, we have to look at these things from a scientific point of view and judge with an impartial mind. A large mass of new and interesting material throwing much light on the vexed question of the date of Śrī Śaṅkara has now become available and consequently we have to start afresh another discussion regarding his date.

I shall, at the outset, for the sake of easy reference, summarise the various theories that have been so far advanced regarding the date of Śaṅkara.

i. Śaṅkara lived in the 5th cent. B. C. and he attained *Brahmābhāva* in 476 B. C.¹.

1. Vide "Age of Śaṅkara" by T. S. Narayana Sastri, Madras.

ii. The Keralotpatti gives a reference according to which it is made out that Śrī Śaṅkara lived in 400 A. D. and that he lived for 38 years¹.

iii. The late Hon. Justice K. T. Telang held² that Śrī Śaṅkara should have flourished between 550-590 A. D.; his reasons are

(a) mention of *Srughna* and *Pāṭaliputra* in the *Bhāṣya* on II-i-17. The city of *Pāṭaliputra* ceased to exist after 750 A. D.³

(b) *Pūrṇavarman*, mentioned in the *Bhāṣya* II-i-17 is in all probability, a historical personage and Cunningham places him in 630 A. D.⁴, though he should have actually flourished at the end of the 6th century;

(c) the work *Koṅgudeśarājākkaḷ* in the Mackenzie Collection mentions one *Trivikramadeva Cakravartī* as having been converted to Śaivism by Śrī Śaṅkara. Prof. Bhandarkar places him on independent grounds in 526 A. D.

(d) *Gauḍapāda's* *Bhāṣya* on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* was translated into Chinese during the period of the Ch' en dynasty which ruled between 557-583 A. D.⁵

iv. Dr. Burnell in the preface to his edition of the *Sāma-vidhānabrāhmaṇa* places Śrī Śaṅkara between 652-680 A. D. mainly because he was a contemporary of *Kumārila* *bhaṭṭa*, who was in turn a contemporary of *Dharmakīrti* who lived between 629-658 A. D. in the reign of *Srong-tsan-gam-po*⁶.

v. Dr. J. F. Fleet, on the strength of a statement in the *Varṇasāvalī*⁷ of Nepal⁸ says that Śrī Śaṅkara visited that country during the last days of *Vṛṣadeva* or immediately after his death. This *Vṛṣadeva* was reigning in Nepal between 630-655 A. D.

vi. Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao in his "History of Vijayanagar" traces the genealogy of the heads of the Śrīgeri Mutt and arrives at the conclusion that *Sureśvarācārya*, the pupil of Śrī

1. *Vide* I. A. Vol. VII, p. 282; Vol. XIII, p. 95 ff.

2. "I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 95 ff.

3. Report of Archaeological Survey Vol. VIII, p. xiii & 20 ff.

4. Archaeological Report 1879-1880.

5. *Vide* J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, p. 355, ff.

6. This information is from Tibetan Sources.

7. *Vide* I. A. Vol. XVI, p. 41-42.

8. Compare Wright's History of Nepal p. 118 ff; 123.

Śaṅkara passed away in 773 A. D. Consequently Śrī Śaṅkara belongs to the beginning of the 8th century.¹

vii. Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar regards *Balavarman* mentioned in *Bhāṣya* on II-iv-1 and IV-iii-5 as a historical personage and contemporary of Śrī Śaṅkara. According to him, this *Balavarman* is probably identical with the *Balavarman* mentioned in the *Kadab* plates of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king *Govinda III* who belongs to 767-785 A. D. So Śrī Śaṅkara should be assigned to the same period.²

viii. So early as 1877, Prof. Teile in his "Outlines of the History of Ancient Religions" placed Śrī Śaṅkara between 788-820 A. D.³

Prof. Pathak found in an anonymous work a verse which reads as follows :—

निधिनगेभवह्यन्दे विभवे शङ्करोदयः ।

कल्यन्दे चन्द्रनेत्राङ्कवह्यन्दे गुहाप्रवेशः [प्राविशद्गुहाम्] ॥

वैशाखे पूर्णिमायां तु शङ्करः शिवतामगात् ।

From this, he concludes that Śrī Śaṅkara was born in Kali 3889 (788 A. D.) and died in Kali 3921 (820 A. D.)⁴

ix. Mr. S. V. Venkatesvara Aiyar thinks that Śrī Śaṅkara is later than the Śaiva saints *Tirujñānasambandha*, *Sundaramūrti*, and *Mathurakavi* of 8th Cent. and earlier than *Nāthamuni* of the 10th century.⁵ Later, in 1916 he placed the birth of Śrī Śaṅkara in 805 A. D. on the strength of the statement *तुङ्गस्थे सूर्ये कुजे रविसुते च गुरौ च केन्द्रे* found in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* attributed to *Mādhavācārya*; but at the same time he would not believe the remark made therein that he lived only for 32 years. The date of Śrī Śaṅkara according to him is 805-897 A. D.⁶

x. Mr. Balakrishna Pillai identifies the *Manukulāditya* referred to by *Sarvajñātman*, pupil of *Sureśvara*, as his patron, with the king of that name mentioned in the inscription of *Bhāskara Ravi Varman* of 978 A. D. and consequently says that

1. *Vide* I. A. Vol. XLIII, p. 272.

2. *Vide* I. A. Vol. XLI, p. 200.

3. I. A. Vol. XI, p. 263 (Editor's note).

4. I. A. Vol. XI, p. 174-175.

5. I. A. Vol. XLIV, p. 164 ff.

6. J. R. A. S. 1916 pages 153 ff.

Śrī Śaṅkara, Sureśvara, Sarvajñātman and Manukulāditya should be referred to the beginning of the 10th Cent. A. D.¹

I have thus briefly set forth the theories that have been put forward till now regarding Śrī Śaṅkara's date. My own conclusions differ from most of these. I shall state my position first and then answer the points raised in the theories of others.

Two incontrovertible dates *i. e.*, that of Bhartṛhari on the one hand and that of Vācaspati-miśra on the other, practically fix the upper and lower limits of Śrī Śaṅkara's life. Accepting the testimony of I-Tsing, the Chinese traveller, (there is no argument to discard it), Bhartṛhari should have lived between 600-650 A. D. for about the latter year he died. Vācaspati-miśra according to his own statement,

न्यायसूचीनिबन्धोऽयमकारि सुधियां मुदे ।

श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण वस्वङ्कवसुवत्सरे ॥

composed the Nyāyasūcīnibandhana in 898 samvat or 841 A. D. Later than Bhartṛhari and earlier than Vācaspati-miśra, Śrī Śaṅkara should have flourished, between 600-841 A. D.

Tradition holds that Śrī Śaṅkara had occasion to meet the great mīmāṃsaka teacher Kumārila Bhaṭṭa during the last hours of his life. At that time Śrī Śaṅkara had finished writing his Bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtras, so says the tradition. The same tradition also holds that Śrī Śaṅkara had an intellectual conflict with one of the pupils of Kumārila (*i. e.*,) Maṇḍana-miśra. Till now no evidence that can come into conflict with this chronological position of Kumārila, Maṇḍana and Śrī Śaṅkara has been brought forward by any scholar. Hence there is no room to disbelieve the authority of tradition in this respect. Now what is the date of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa? Bhavabhūti's date gives the clue to that of Kumārila. Bhavabhūti, otherwise known as Uṇveka, was one of the pupils of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and he was patronised by Yaśovarman of Kanauj about 720 A. D. The life-time of Bhavabhūti therefore must be approximately fixed between 650-720 A. D. Kumārila refers to Dharmakīrti in his Śloka-vārtika and quotes from the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari. Dharmakīrti was alive about 639 A. D. and Bhartṛhari died in 650 A. D. So the date of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa would fall approximately between 620 and 680 A. D.

1. I. A. Vol. I, p. 136.

The date of Kumārila being thus settled, the date of Maṇḍana-miśra also becomes clear. He was, along with Prabhākara and Bhavabhūti, a pupil of Kumārila. He should, therefore, be assigned to the same period to which we would assign Kumārila. He would have been younger than Kumārila by probably a decade or two. His date will therefore fall between 650-700 A. D. There is a clear and persistent tradition that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya met Maṇḍana-miśra after he met Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, and by that time he had finished his Bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtras. Now Amalananda in his Kalpataru declares that Maṇḍana-miśra had occasion to criticise a particular statement of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya made in his Bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtras. In commenting upon the passage of the Bhāmatī

स्थितप्रज्ञश्च न साधकः । तस्य उत्तरोत्तरध्यानोत्कर्षेण पूर्वप्रत्ययानव-
Amalananda says :— [स्थितत्वात् ।

नियोगस्तथास्त्विति विधिः अनुयोगः कथमेतदिति चोद्यम् । भाष्ये
स्थितप्रज्ञलक्षणनिर्देशो जीवन्मुक्तिसाधक उक्तः । तत्र स्थितप्रज्ञः साधको न
साक्षात्कारवान् इति मण्डनमिश्रैरुक्तं दूषणमुद्धरति—स्थितप्रज्ञश्चेति ॥

pp. 958-959 Nirṇayasāgara Edition.

If, thus, Maṇḍana-miśra, a pupil of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa presupposes Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the only satisfactory chronological relation between these people would be that they should have been contemporaries. Śrī Śaṅkara did not quote from Kumārila Bhaṭṭa for he was not aware of his work till he saw him. Maṇḍana had some differences of opinion and consequently he stated them. Maṇḍana-miśra was a pupil of Kumārila and consequently freely quoted from his works. The Brahmasiddhi contains numerous quotations from the Śloka-vārtika. Prabhākara was his co-pupil and Prof. Kuppaswami Sastriar has shown that Maṇḍana quotes from the Bṛhatī. I would, therefore, fix 655-687 A. D. as the date of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, of course assuming that he lived only for 32 years. The year 655 A. D. is subject to correction by a few years this way or that.

This is corroborated by other evidences also. Maṇḍana-miśra quotes in the Brahmasiddhi (on page 150) one of Gauḍapāda's Kārikās on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad.¹

1. This is taken from the Madras Edition of the Brahmasiddhi, to be issued shortly, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppaswami Sastriar, Curator, Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

कार्यकारणबद्धौ ताविष्येते विश्वतैजसौ ।

प्राज्ञः कारणबद्धस्तु द्वौ तु तुर्ये न सिध्यतः ॥

Gauḍapāda is the *prācūrya* of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya.

There is one important fact which is worthy of consideration. Sureśvara, the author of the *Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣyavārtika*, wrote the work probably immediately after the death of his master, or during his last days. Vidyānanda, a Jain author quotes one of the verses of Sureśvara from the *Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtika* in his *Aṣṭāsāhasrī*. What is the date of this Vidyānanda? The lower limit to his date is furnished by Jinasena the author of the *Bṛhaddharivaṃśapurāṇa*. Jinasena wrote that work in Śaka 705 or 783 A. D.¹ as given by him at the end of that *Purāṇa* thus :—

शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां

पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् ।

पूर्वं श्रीमदवन्तिभूयति नृपे वत्साधिराजे परां

सौर्यानामधिमण्डलं जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

.....शान्तेः शान्तिगृहोचितः सुरचितो वंशो हरीणामयम् ॥

From this we understand that Jinasena composed his *Harivaṃśa* in 705 Śaka or 783 A. D. This Jinasena refers to a predecessor of his by name Vidyānanda—the author of the *Aṣṭāsāhasrī*. This Vidyānanda must consequently be older than 783 A. D. We may fix his date in the first quarter of the 8th Cent. A. D. Now Vidyānanda quotes in his *Aṣṭāsāhasrī* a verse from Sureśvara's *Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣyavārtika*.² If an author living in the beginning of the 8th century quotes from a previous writer, one conclusion is certain that the writer from whose work

1. C. Mober Duff in her "Chronology of India" records the fact that Jinasena wrote in 705 Śaka (783 A. D.)

2. The passage in the *Aṣṭāsāhasrī* runs as follows :—

तदुक्तं बृहदारण्यकवार्तिके—

आत्मापि सदिदं ब्रह्म मोहात्पारोक्ष्यदृष्टितम् ।

ब्रह्मापि स तथैवात्मा सद्वितीयतयेक्ष्यते ॥

History of Indian Logic Prof. S. C. Vidyabhushana, Page 187.

This verse occurs as No. 909 in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣya-sambandhavārtika*. The second *ardha* has a slightly different reading there i.e., ब्रह्मापि संस्तथैवात्मा सद्वितीयतयेक्ष्यते.

the quotation is taken must be older than the 8th century. Now, therefore, Sureśvara cannot be regarded later than the first quarter of the 8th cent. A. D.; and Sureśvara was one of the direct pupils of Śrī Śaṅkara. The traditional date of Śrī Śaṅkara (i. e., 788-820 A. D.) has therefore to be discarded.

There are other considerations which compel us to discard this date. Padmapāda was one of Śrī Śaṅkara's pupils and Vācaspati-miśra who was living in 841 A. D. quotes from the work of Padmapāda. It would be difficult to maintain that he was quoting in 840 from a writer who was the pupil of a teacher living between 788-820 A. D. The following references may be noted :—

ये तु आकाशशब्दो ब्रह्मण्यपि मुख्य एव नभोवदित्याचक्षते तैः
“अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम्” इति च “अनन्यलब्धः शब्दार्थः” इति च मीमांसका-
नां मुद्राभेदः कृतः

Bhāmātī on I-iii-17.

पञ्चपाद्यां तु रुदिरुक्ता, तां दृश्यति—ये त्विति ॥

Amalānanda's Kalpataru.

ii अत एव पुरुष इति पुरुषमनूय न वैश्वानरो विधीयते.

Bhāmātī I-ii-26.

पञ्चपादीकृतस्तु वाजसनेयिवाक्यस्यापि आत्मोपक्रमत्वलाभे किं शाखा-
न्तारालोचनयेति पश्यन्तः पुरुषमनूय वैश्वानरत्वं विधेयमिति व्याचक्षते; तदु-
च्यति—अत एवेति ।

Amalānanda's Kalpataru.

Now these two extracts show that Vācaspati-miśra had access to the *Pañcapādikā* of Padmapāda. If Śrī Śaṅkara had been living in 820 A. D., his pupil should certainly be later and it would be improbable to say that he was criticised in 841 A. D.

Such references and quotations are possible among contemporaries but they must have been known to each other very well; and the way in which Vācaspati-miśra refers to the author of the *Pañcapādikā* does not show such sort of relationship as would exist between contemporaries. This difficulty may be easily explained away if we push back the date of Śrī Śaṅkara by about a century or even more.

Bhāskara, the author of a *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtras*, written from the point of view of the *bhedābheda vāda*, criticises

Śrī Śaṅkara in a number of places. He is in turn criticised by Vācaspati-miśra who maintains the view of Śrī Śaṅkara against Bhāskara. This makes Bhāskara older than Vācaspati-miśra. Vācaspati-miśra criticises Bhāskara in many places and I would invite attention to the following extracts.

- i यथाहुः—कार्यरूपेण नानात्वमभेदः कारणात्मना ।
हेमात्मना यथाभेदः कुण्डलाद्यात्मना भिदा ॥

Bhāmātī Page 118.

This verse is taken from Bhāskara's Bhāṣya and it occurs in page 18 of Bhāskarabhāṣya. (Chowkhamba edition).

- ii न च प्राणमयादिषु विकारार्थत्वायागोत् स्वार्थिको मयडिति युक्तम्

Bhāmātī Page 178

भास्करोक्तमाशङ्क्याह—न चेति.

Amalānanda's Kalpataru.

- iii ये तु प्रधानं पूर्वपक्षयित्वा अनेन सूत्रेण परमात्मैवाक्षरमिति सिद्धान्तयन्ति.

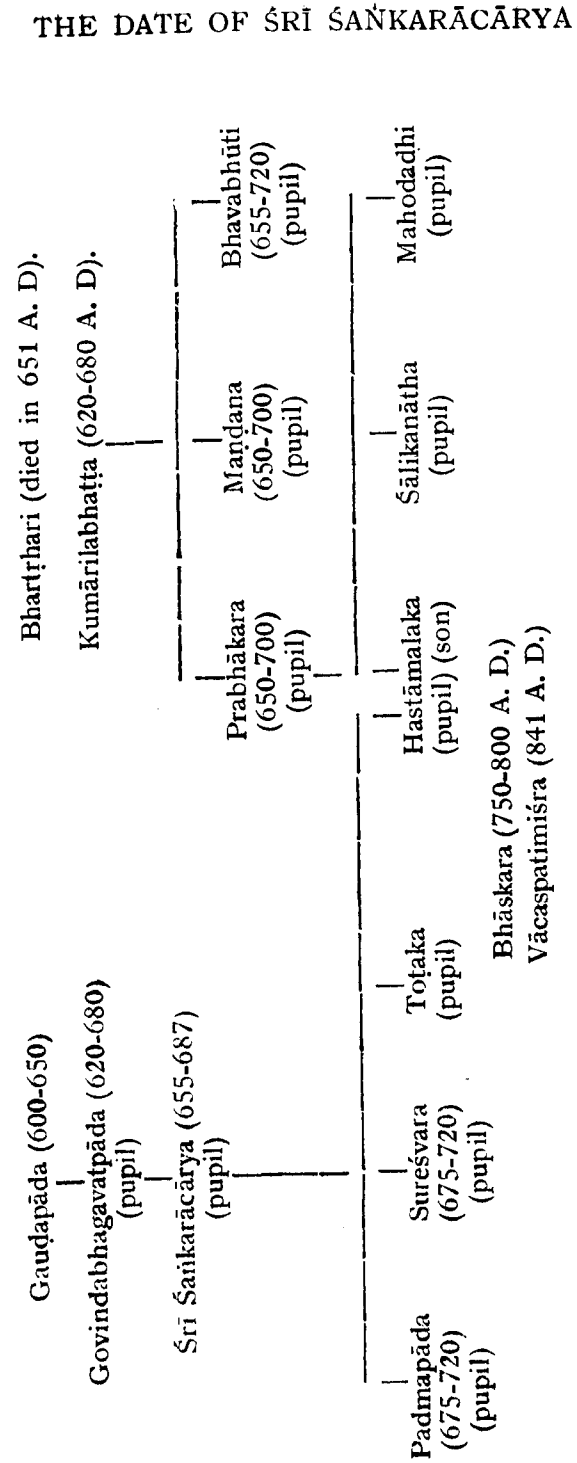
Bhāmātī page 284.

भास्करस्तु अस्थूलमनणु इत्यादेर्वर्णेष्वप्राप्तनिषेधत्वानुपपत्तेरधिकरण-मन्यथयामास । तदनूष दूषयति—ये त्वित्यादिना

Amalānanda's Kalpataru.

There are many more instances but they are not referred to for want of space. We find from these extracts that Vācaspati had to uphold Śrī Śaṅkara at every step against Bhāskara. There are reasons to think that Bhāskara had before him the Pañcapādikā of Padmapāda also. Now two writers (*i. e.*) Bhāskara and Padmapāda precede Vācaspati. Śrī Śaṅkara should have lived at least two generations before the time of Vācaspati-miśra. This will certainly disprove the present theory regarding the date of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya.

One of the traditions, among many, is the one which makes Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's pupil Hastāmalaka a son of Prabhākara-miśra. If this tradition were genuine, then it strengthens our position. Prabhākara and Śrī Śaṅkara should have been contemporaries. The chronology of the writers of the period between 600-800 A. D. may be tabulated as follows :—



The chronological relation is almost correct though the actual number of years may vary in certain cases by a few years this side or that ; but it matters very little.

We may now dispose of the arguments of scholars who place him either before or after the period I have assigned (*i. e.*, 655-687 A. D.).

i. The theory that states that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya lived in the 5th century and attained *Brahmībhāva* in 476 B. C. does not deserve to be criticised. Historians, I am sure, will be amused to hear that even now some people are upholding such a view. They probably believe that the greatness of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya would be enhanced if he is put back by millenniums. We have only to pity them; they are not aware of the fact that a thing is not great simply because it is old. I would only remind them of the oft-quoted verse of Kālidāsa पुराणमित्येव न साधुसर्गम्. The promulgators and the now living trustees of this important discovery may well keep it for themselves without trying to delude themselves with the belief that at least some swallow them. They are simpletons and let us have nothing to do with them.

ii. The second of the theories stated above is the one which places Śrī Śaṅkara in 400 A. D. and makes him live for 38 years. Now the tradition that is persistently and assiduously recorded by almost all Sanskrit writers is that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya lived for 32 years alone. This is, perhaps, the only work that gives him 6 years more to live; and the work itself was compiled only very lately and consequently much faith cannot be placed on its authenticity.

iii. Justice Telang's argument for placing Śrī Śaṅkara between 550-590 A. D. are worthy of consideration. According to him and according to Mr. Cunningham also, Pāṭaliputra ceased to exist only after 750 A. D. The reference to Pāṭaliputra therefore need not compel us to place Śrī Śaṅkara before even 600 A. D. The date which I now assign to him certainly falls in a period when Pāṭaliputra was still an important city. The date assigned to Pūrṇavarman by Cunningham is 630 A. D. and this fits in very well with my date of Śrī Śaṅkara. The reasons for placing Pūrṇavarman in the last quarter of the 6th century are not really convincing. Mr. Taylor has pointed out in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science that the reference to Śrī Śaṅkara in the Koṅḡudēśarājākaḷ in the Mackenzie collection is a mistake. Professor Belvalkar has shown² that the Chinese translation of the commentary on the Sāṅkhyakārikā should be

1. Vol. XIV, pages 14; 65.

2. Refer to the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.

that of Māṭhara and not that of Gauḍapāda as was supposed by other orientologists. So that argument cannot stand. It may be taken therefore that Mr. Telang took a view very similar to that of mine.

iv. Dr. Burnell's view is the same as that of mine and I may say that in a way it summarises my conclusions.

v. Dr. Fleet's arguments do not come into conflict either with Dr. Burnell's arguments or that of mine. They only add strength to the position taken up by me and Dr. Burnell.

vi. The genealogy of the Ācāryas preserved in one Mutt does not agree with that preserved in another and consequently, we are at a loss to know as to the genuineness of the lists. The genealogy traced by Mr. Suryanarayana Rao cannot be implicitly relied upon unless there are corroborative evidences. We have to discard therefore that genealogy for our present purposes.

vii. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar regards Balavarman as a historical person, probably without any strong reasons. Even granting that he was a historical personage, there is no guarantee that he was Śrī Śaṅkara's contemporary. The identification of this supposed historical Balavarman with the Balavarman mentioned in the Kadab Plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govinda III who reigned between 767-785 A. D. is based on nothing but a simple identity of names. There is no other argument. There have been ever so many Balavarmans and Prof. Bhandarkar's arguments cannot stand.

viii. The work from which the verse निधिनागे etc. was taken to give the exact date of Śrī Śaṅkara is an anonymous work and much faith need not be put in such a work. Even granting that it is very authentic, it probably records the date of a Śaṅkarācārya and not that of the author of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya and other works.

ix. I have already pointed out the difficulties which prevent us from accepting 788-820 as the date of Śrī Śaṅkara. It is hence unnecessary to answer the arguments of Mr. S. V. Venkatesvara Aiyar. In fact it is very difficult for him to maintain that Śrī Śaṅkara was later than Triujñānasambandha, Sundaramaūrti, Mathurakavi and others. And the dates of the Śaiva saints have not been settled beyond doubt.

x. Sarvajñātman's reference to Manukulāditya induces Mr. Balakrishna Pillai to place all these people (*i. e.*, Śrī Śaṅkara

Sureśvara, Sarvajñātman etc.) in the beginning of the 10th century. It seems to me that Sarvajñātman has been wrongly supposed to be the pupil of Sureśvara. Sarvajñātman at the end of his Saṅkṣepaśārīraka says :—

श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपङ्कजरजःसम्पर्कपूताशयः

सर्वज्ञात्मगिराङ्कितो मुनिवरः संक्षेपशरीरकम् ।

चक्रे सज्जनबुद्धिमण्डनमिदं राजन्यवंशे नृपे

श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ॥

IV-62.

Sarvajñātman's teacher is here called *Deveśvara* and not *Sureśvara*. The colophon at the end of each of the adhyāyas of the Saṅkṣepaśārīraka consistently says that Deveśvara is the teacher of Sarvajñātman. Consequently I think that Sarvajñātman is not a pupil of Sureśvara but a different person altogether. This Sarvajñātman may belong to 978 A. D. or thereabout and it does not affect our arguments.

Another important fact may be noted here. According to all the available commentaries on the Saṅkṣepaśārīraka, the author, Sarvajñātman had access to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman. The following reference is worthy of consideration :—

चित्तिभेदमभेदमेव वा द्वयरूपत्वमथो मृषात्मताम् ।

परिहृत्य तमो निवर्तनं प्रथयन्ते खलु मुक्तिकोविदाः ॥

Saṅkṣepaśārīraka IV-14.

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in commenting upon the above verse says:—मुक्तिकोविदाः—इष्टसिद्धिकाराः

Rāmatīrtha's gloss runs thus :—

मुक्तिकोविदा इष्टसिद्धिकारादयः पण्डिता इत्यर्थः ।

Agnicītpuruṣottama explains. :—

मुक्तिकोविदा इष्टसिद्धिकारादयः ।

If we take it that the tradition recorded by the commentators is reliable, then Sarvajñātman has to be placed after the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*.

Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar drew my attention to the following passage in the *Pramāṇamālā*. (page 4. Chowkhamba edition.)

एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः—

नान्यत्र कारणात् कार्यं न चेत्तत्र क तद्वदेत् ।

This verse belongs to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* and from this we have to conclude that Ānandabodha, the author of the *Pramāṇamālā* was the pupil of Vimuktātman. These writers seem to have been contemporaries of Prakāśātman, the author of the *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa*. Sarvajñātman who refers to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* (according to the commentators) should be later than Vimuktātman. He was probably his younger contemporary and all these writers belong to the last quarter of the 10th century A. D.

Thus we see that after all no serious argument has been brought forward by anybody which may disprove the date which has been suggested in the preceding pages.

The date which I suggest gives rise to a number of important issues. Firstly, who is the Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya¹ presupposed by Śrī Śāṅkara at the end of the *Samanvayādhikaraṇa-bhāṣya*? What is his date?

Professor Kuppuswami Sastriar suggests three possibilities regarding the identification of Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya :

1. He might be identical with Kubja Pāṇḍya or Kūṇ Pāṇḍya ;
2. He might be the same as Sambandha; or
3. He might be some unknown author who was living before Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa.

Now the date which I have suggested for Śrī Śāṅkara and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa eliminates the first two of the possibilities noted above. The date of Kūṇ Pāṇḍya and Tirujñānasambandha falls between 640-700 and consequently they were younger contemporaries of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Kumārila could not have quoted from the work of an younger contemporary. On the other hand there are sufficient reasons to think that this Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya is older than Śābarasvāmin and that his *Vārtikas* were based on some *Vṛtti* other than Śābarasvāmin's on the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* and *Uttaramīmāṃsā* sūtras. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa refers to one such *vārtika* on a *Vṛtti*. He says :—

सूत्रेष्वेव हि तत्सर्वं यद्वृत्तौ यच्च वार्तिकं ।

सूत्रं योनिरिहार्थानां सर्वं सूत्रे प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

इति ये वदन्ति तान्प्रत्युच्यते । न किञ्चित्साधनमप्रदर्शितिविषयं स्वार्थं साधयति । तत्र च पूर्ववदेव त्रेधा संशयमुपन्यस्तवान् । सूत्रकारेण

1. For other particulars about Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya, refer to J. O. R. Vol. I, pages 1—10.

चेह हेतुमात्रमुपात्तम् । न चार्थप्रकरणादिभिरप्युदाहरणप्रतिज्ञासंशयहेतूनां
अन्यतममुपलभ्यते ।[इदं] पदं सूत्रकारेण नोपात्तम्,
इदं वृत्तिकारेण इत्येतत्प्रदर्शनार्थं एतद्वर्णयन्ति । तदिह भगवानुपवर्षः
किल अग्निहोत्रे धेनुदोहाधिकारे श्रुतमिदं वाक्यमुदातद्वान् 'वत्समालभेत'
इति ।

Pages 606-607.

From this extract it is clear that the Vṛttikāra in this context is Upavarṣa and naturally the Vārtika referred to in the verse is a Vārtika based on the Vṛtti. Kumārila was aware of the Vārtika of Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya. Therefore it requires no great imagination to draw the conclusion that the same Vārtikakāra is referred to in this passage also. This tends towards the conclusion that the Vārtika of Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya is on the Vṛtti of Upavarṣa.

Śabarasvāmin quotes in his Bhāṣya (Page 37 Vol. 11) a verse which runs thus :—

कुर्यात्, क्रियेत, कर्तव्यं, भवेत्, स्यादिति पञ्चकम्

with the prefatory note पदवाक्यार्थन्यायविदः । The same verse is quoted by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya in his Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya with the note न्यायविदां स्मरणम्. Amalānanda while commenting on the passage refers to this verse as a वार्तिक and he was familiar with Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya's Vārtika. The Vārtika in question (i.e.) कुर्यात् etc. is probably taken from Sundara Pāṇḍya's work. If this is proved then there is no doubt that his is much earlier than even Śabarasvāmin. So much with regard to Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya.

The next predecessor that we have to notice here is Dramiḍācārya. It has been pointed out¹ by Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastriar that the Dramiḍa presupposed by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya is the same as the Dramiḍācārya referred to in Viśiṣṭādvaita literature. He also suggests that Dramiḍācārya may be identified with Tirumaliśai ālvār. Now this ālvār is assigned by historians like the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao to the first quarter of the eighth century. The date that we have assigned for Śrī Śaṅkarācārya is 655-687 and consequently Dramiḍa's date would fall much earlier than 650 A. D. Is it not clear from this that Dramiḍa cannot be identified with one who was living much later

1. Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference

than 687 A. D.? Tirumaliśai cannot be Dramiḍācārya if we accept 655-687 A. D. as the date of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya.

We may pass on to Upavarṣa. It has been already pointed out by Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastriar that Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa might have been identical. Probably they were; but that is not our concern at present; we have only to discuss the date of Upavarṣa.

Upavarṣa seems to have commented upon both the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsā Sūtras. References to both the works are available. Now Vācaspati Miśra in commenting upon Śrī Śaṅkara's explanation of the word ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा observes as follows :—

षष्ठीसमासप्रदर्शनेन प्राचां वृत्तिकृतां 'ब्रह्मणे जिज्ञासा ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा'
इति चतुर्थीसमासः परास्तो वेदितव्यः ।

It is agreed on all hands that the प्राचीनवृत्तिकार mentioned in the extract cited above is Upavarṣa. From this we understand that Upavarṣa advocated the *Caturthī Samāsa*. We have to look into the history of the *Caturthī Samāsa*. The Sūtra of Pāṇini on which this *samāsa* is based is चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितेभ्यः । Kātyāyana supplemented the Sūtra by two vārtikas (i.e.) तादर्थ्य-समासे प्रकृतिविकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अश्वघासादयश्च, and in the case of ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा it should be included under the group अश्वघासादि. Later on Patañjali declared अश्वघासादयस्तु षष्ठीसमासा एव. After this last statement of Patañjali there is no room to explain the compound in the way in which the *Prācīnas* have explained it. The only basis for such an explanation is the Sūtra as also Kātyāyana's Vārtika to some extent. Would it be far-fetched to suppose that if the Vṛttikāra had known the statement of Patañjali अश्वघासादयस्तु षष्ठीसमासा : he would not have gone against it for it was considered a sin to go against Patañjali. The Statement यथोत्तरं मुनीनां प्रामाण्यम् was so strictly followed. Arguing historically it cannot be far-fetched if it is surmised that the Vṛttikāra in question was living at a time when Patañjali had not written his Bhāṣya.

If this is agreed to, a corroborating statement may be found in the Bṛhatkathā which tells us that Upavarṣa and Varṣa were the elder contemporaries of Patañjali. This may place Upavarṣa in the 2nd century B. C.

Since writing the above article, I came across an interesting bit of information in a work called Śaṅkaravijayavilāsa attribu-

ted to one Cidvilāsa. The following passage from canto 25 of that work is worthy of consideration :—

काश्चीं वरदराजस्य राजधानीमवाप सः ।

इयाज वेधा यत्रैव समुद्दिश्याम्बुजेक्षणम् ॥ ७ ॥

सोऽप्याविरासीत्सन्तुष्टो वपामेवोद्वहन्मुखे ।

पश्यत्सु सर्वदेवेषु यज्ञकुण्डद्विताशनात् ॥ ८ ॥

....

....

....

तत्रत्यो राजसेनोऽपि राजा राजन्वर्ती धराम् ।

कर्तुमेतन्निशम्याथ वृत्तं देशिकवाञ्छितम् ॥ १२ ॥

तत्पुत्रमित्रसेनानीसचिवस्सहबान्धवः ।

शङ्कराचार्यवर्यस्य जगाहे सविधं मुदा ॥ १३ ॥

....

....

....

श्रीमान् वरदराजोऽसौ वरदो जगतामपि ।

श्रीकान्तोऽपि कृतातङ्को ह्यनालयकृताश्रयः ॥ १९ ॥

सा सर्वमङ्गलत्रैव कुत्रापि च गृहान्तरे ।

तदर्धमत्रनिर्माप्य देवालयमनुत्तमम् ॥ २० ॥

परस्य ब्रह्मणः शक्तेः कामाक्ष्याश्च महौजसः ।

प्रतिष्ठा करणीयेति तत्र कर्ता त्वमेव हि ॥ २१ ॥

....

यथोक्तं कारयामास पुरीं लक्षणलक्षिताम् ।

देवालयत्रयं तत्र पृथगेव विनिर्ममे ॥ २४ ॥

शिवकाश्चीति तत्रैकामेकाश्रयकृताश्रयाम् ।

....

नाम्ना तत्रैव कामाक्ष्याः पार्श्वे प्रासादमुन्नतम् ॥ २९ ॥

विष्णुकाश्चीति नाम्नान्यां तोरणादिपरिष्कृताम् ।

श्रीमद्वरदराजस्य सौधमन्यत्समुज्ज्वलम् ॥ ३० ॥

....

यत्त्वस्ति किञ्चिद्वैकल्यं क्षम्यतां किंकरस्य मे ।

इत्युक्त्वा पुरतः स्थित्वा राजसेनो महीपतिः ॥ ३३ ॥

We gather from these verses that at the time Śrī Śaṅkara visited the city of Kāñcī, there was a king by name Rājasena and through him Śrī Śaṅkarācārya built the temples which now adorn that famous city. The Rājasena referred to in the above passage may be identified with the Pallava King Rājasihma, alias Narasihma-varman II, the founder of the Kailāsanātha temple. The name Rājasena in the extract quoted above is very probably a mistake for Rājasihma. Rājasihma written illegibly in the Grantha and Malayālam characters could easily be read as Rājasena. The confusion seems to have arisen in that way. During the period prior to the 10th century A. D. there was no king in the history of Kāñcī by name by Rājasena ruling there. If we can identify Rājasena with any king, it could only be Rājasihma. The date of Narasihmavarman II falls in the the last quarter of 7th century and the beginning of the 8th century of the Christian Era.

One may raise a question as to the possibility of attributing the construction of these temples to the Pallava Rājasihma. So far as the Ekāmreśvara temple is concerned, we can very easily prove that a portion of the temple is even earlier than Rājasihma. Prof. Dubreuil has shown in the pamphlet "The Conjeevaram Inscription of Mahendravarman" that even as early as the day's of Mahendravarman the Paurṇamī Maṇḍapa of the temple existed and that it was caused to be constructed by the curious-minded (विचित्रचित्त) Mahendravarman. Rājasihma probably made certain additions to the temple.

With regard to the other two temples we hope that later researches may bring to light some Pallava inscriptions which may throw light on the date of their construction.

We thus find that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya was a contemporary of Narasihmavarman whose period well nigh synchronises with the one I have suggested for Śrī Śaṅkara.

[NOTE.]

The additional data set forth in this article compel a careful consideration of the whole question. While the evidence adduced by Mr. T. R. Chintamani in favour of his view that Śaṅkara should be assigned to the latter half of the seventh century A. D.

is very weighty, it cannot yet be regarded as conclusive. If, as Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and Agnicitpuruṣottama say in their commentary on 1-8 of the Saṁkṣepaśārīraka, Sarvajñātmamuni was a direct disciple of Sureśvara; if, as Professor M. Hiriyanna suggested in a note in the Indian Antiquary Vol. LV, 1926, the king referred to in the penultimate verse of the Saṁkṣepaśārīraka could be identified with the founder of the Kollam era (824-25 A. D.): and if, as already pointed out by me, the author of the Iṣṭasiddhi who presupposes Śaṁkara, Maṇḍana and Sureśvara, should be the guru of Ānandabodha, who wrote a commentary on Prakāśātman's Śābdanirṇaya:—there still remains a tangle to be unravelled in the question of Śaṁkara's age.]

S. K. SASTRI.

PROBABLE IDENTIFICATION OF KING HĀRAVARṢA.

BY

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The Gaekwad's Oriental Series of Baroda will publish shortly the *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda which has been edited by the contributor of this paper. This is one of the finest examples of Indian classical poetry written in a charming, easy and natural style. The work introduces Rāma in a state of great mental anxiety waiting for the arrival of Sugrīva who was to be sent out in search of the residence of Rāvaṇa on the close of the rainy season. *Rāmacarita* is divided into forty cantos but the last four cannot be attributed definitely to Abhinanda. These four cantos have two definite recensions, one¹ attributing the authorship to Abhinanda and the other² to Bhīmakavi, a fairly unknown author. But this latter definitely says that Abhinanda left the work incomplete and it fell to his lot to complete the book by adding four more cantos. Most of the 36 cantos which are undoubtedly Abhinanda's own³ contain besides the subject matter of the poem certain additional verses written obviously in praise of his patron king and describing the merits of his own composition.

The nature and the style of the verses are such as to preclude the possibility of their being regarded as interpolations or copyist's additions. On the contrary the style of the verses and the intimate connection between Abhinanda and his patron as expressed in them lead us to hold that they were composed by the author himself.

All manuscripts from the different parts of India contain the additional verses in question, with slight changes in their arrangement. In these verses, Abinanda mentions as his patron one

1. The Ms. of Madras Oriental Mss. Library.
2. The Ms. of Baroda Oriental Institute.
3. All other Mss. contain only 36 Cantos.

Hāravarṣa and Yuvarāja of the Pāla Dynasty and the object of this paper is to investigate into the question of the identity of the king and to consider the plausibility of identifying him with king Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla, of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal.

Dr. Buhler, as early as 1873¹ attributed 2 works to Abhinanda namely the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* and the *Rāmacarita* in his article entitled "Abhinanda, the Gauḍa". After examining the historical information contained in these two works, he concluded that the authorship of these two works must be attributed to Abhinanda who is described in the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* as the son of Jayantabhaṭṭa, the author of *Nyāyamañjarī*. Jayantabhaṭṭa, it may be remembered, is the great-grandson of Śaktisvāmin, who was a minister of Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa of Kashmir². With regard to Hāravarṣa, Dr. Buhler was of opinion that nothing definite could be said about him until further materials were available.

Later on, however, Dr. F. W. Thomas,³ Dr. Aufrecht⁴ and the editor of the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* in the *Kāvya-mālā* Series, disagreed completely with the opinion of Dr. Buhler and held that the author of the *Rāmacarita* and the author of the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* must be different persons. The reason for holding this view was that, while the Abhinanda of the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* described himself as the son of Jayantabhaṭṭa, the Abhinanda of *Rāmacarita* called himself the son of Śātānanda. Śātānanda, we must remember, was well-known in the field of *Alaṅkāra* literature by his other name Rudraṭa and as the author of the *Kāvya-ālaṅkāra*. With regard to Hāravarṣa, however, nothing has been definitely settled, because the chronology and succession list of the Kings of the Pāla Dynasty are far from being of a definite character. But let us hope, with the *Rāmacarita* in hand, to tackle this interesting problem. Before, however, entering into the question more deeply let us quote a few stanzas from the *Rāmacarita* bearing on this point.

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. II, P. 102.
2. See the introductory Verses of the *Kādambarīkathāsāra*.
3. Vide Introduction of *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* Page 20.
4. Vide C. C. Page 246.

1. एते निकामरसिकस्य जयन्ति पादाः श्रीहारवर्षयुवराजमहीतलेन्दोः ।
यैर्द्वादशार्ककिरणोत्करदुर्निवारः सृष्टोऽभिनन्दकुमुदस्य महाविकासः ॥
I, VII
2. पालान्वयाम्बुजवनैकविरोचनाय तस्मै नमोऽस्तु युवराजनरेश्वराय ।
कोटिप्रदानघटितोज्ज्वलकीर्तिमूर्तिः येनामरत्वपदवीं गमितोऽभिनन्दः ॥
II, VIII, XIV, XXXV
3. नमः श्रीहारवर्षाय येन हालादनन्तरम् ।
स्वकोशः कविकोशानामाविर्भावाय संभृतः ॥ V, VIII, X, XII
4. श्यामः सितासितनिरायतपक्ष्मलक्षः क्षामोदरः कठिनकान्तभुजान्तरालः ।
सर्वाङ्गपल्लवितयौवनलाञ्छनश्रीः श्रीहारवर्ष इव कुत्र पतिः पृथिव्याः ॥ VI
5. येनाद्य रामचरितं चरितार्द्धतेन स्वेनाधरीकृतमतीव महीतलेऽस्मिन् ।
तेनैव पालकुलचन्द्रमसा तदित्यमुत्थापितं जगति पश्यत चित्तमेतत् ॥ X
6. दीपः सतां स खलु पालकुलप्रदीपः श्रीहारवर्ष इति येन कविप्रियेण ।
सद्यः प्रसादभरदत्तमहाप्रतिष्ठे निष्ठापितः पिशुनवाक्प्रसरोऽभिनन्दे ॥ XI
7. सुदृढविपुलगात्रः शत्रुकीटान्तकारी सततमुपचितायां सन्निविष्टो दशायाम् ।
जगदमलमुदस्ताशेषदोषान्धकारं जनयति युवराजः पालवंशप्रदीपः ॥
XXVI

The verses quoted above clearly show that the patron of Abhinanda was Hāravarṣa also known as Yuvarāja who belonged to the Pāla Dynasty. It is not, however, difficult to imagine that this is the same as the famous Pāla Dynasty of Bengal history, even though the surname Pāla may be found occasionally in the names of kings of other dynasties, such as Mahendrapāla of the Gūrjara Pratihāra Dynasty. According to V. A. Smith, however, the word "Pālānvaya" refers to the famous Pāla Dynasty of Bengal alone¹.

One may raise the question as to how the rulers of the Pāla Dynasty, with a definite partiality to the Buddhist creed, could patronise a Hindu poet like Abhinanda. The rulers of the Pāla Dynasty usually call themselves "Paramasaugata"² in their inscriptions and they are the accredited benefactors of purely Buddhist monasteries such as Nalānda, Vikramaśilā and Odanta-

1. Vide Early History of India Page 413.
2. Vide E. I. Vol. IV, Page 249, and Indian Antiquary Vol. XXI, Page 258.

puri. It is, therefore, an anomaly to think of a Pāla King being the patron of a Hindu poet. The answer to this is not far to seek. The testimony of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, the editor of the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin, is that the Pālas were tolerant to Hindu religion though they actually professed Buddhism.¹ The Grants made by Dharmapāla² to a Viṣṇu temple and Devapāla's Grant³ to a Brahmin of the Āśvalāyana Śākhā and of the Aupamanyava gōtra, go to show that the Pālas were tolerant towards Hindu religion.

It is well-known that there are two lists of the Pāla kings ; one comes from the Tibetan sources while the other is reconstructed with the help of inscriptional evidence. According to the Tibetan list the reign of Gopāla begins from 660 A. D. He is followed by 18 kings one after another and the last in that chain reigned in the year 1139 A. D.⁴ The inscriptional evidence, on the other hand, does not agree with the Tibetan account with regard to the names of the kings or the duration of their reign.

Sir V. A. Smith, R. D. Banerji and M. H. D. Śāstrī are inclined to take the inscriptional evidence as more reliable than the information afforded by the Tibetan authorities. According to the Khalimpūr and the Monghyr Grants of Dharmapāla and Devapāla respectively, the first king of the Pāla Dynasty was Gopāla, the second was his son Dharmapāla while the third was Devapāla his grandson. Dharmapāla was a contemporary of King Indrāyudha who was ruling in Kanauj in 783 A. D.⁵ Relying on this piece of evidence we can place the reign of Gopāla in the first half of the 8th century and that of Dharmapāla in the second half of the same century. The Pāla Dynasty was continued up to the end of the 12th century and thereafter was reduced to insignificance on the rise of the Sena kings and at the advent of the Muhammadans. The long chain of Pāla kings was noted for their fondness of literature and their patronage towards the great poets and philosophers of the time belonging to different religious sects. But amongst the known kings of the Pāla

1. See Introduction to *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin M.A.S.B.

2. *Vide* E. I. Vol. IV.

3. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXI, Page 258.

4. *Vide* M. M. S. C. Vidyabhushana's *History of Indian Logic*, P. 517.

5. *Vide* Page 50, *Pālas of Bengal*, M. A. S. B., Vol. V.

Dynasty no. one bore the title Hāravarṣa, the patron of our poet Abhinanda, the author of the *Rāmacarita*.

The title Yuvarāja was, however, given to some of the Pāla Princes¹ but this appears to signify nothing more than a mere heir-apparent to the throne. But from what we can gather from the account of Abhinanda, Hāravarṣa the Yuvarāja seems to have been a ruling Prince and not a mere heir-apparent. This is also confirmed by the authority of Soddhala, author of the *Udayasundarikathā*. In this work, published as No. XI of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, it is mentioned that Yuvarāja, the patron of poet Abhinanda, was a ruling prince.

श्रीविक्रमो नृपतिरक्षपतिः समानामासीत्स कोऽप्यसदृशः कविमित्रनामा ।
यो वार्थमात्रमुदितः कृतिनां गृहेषु दत्त्वा चकार करटीन्दुघटान्धकारम् ॥
हाले गते गुणिनि शोकभराद्भूतुरुच्छिन्नवाङ्मयमजडाः कृतिनस्तथामी ।
यत्तस्य नाम नृपतेरनिशं स्मरन्तो हेत्यक्षरं प्रथममेव परं विदन्ति ॥
श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु नास्त्रैव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
श्रीहर्ष एष निजसंसदि येन राज्ञा सम्पूजितः कनककोटिशतेन बाणः ॥
सृष्टं यदत्र युवराजनरेश्वरेण यदुष्करं किमपि येन गिरः श्रियश्च ।
प्रत्यायनं स्फुटमकारि निजे कवीन्द्रमेकासने समुपवेशयतामिनन्दम् ॥

Udayasundarikathā Pp. 2-3.

Soddhala flourished in the court of the three Royal brothers Cittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mumminirāja of Koṅkaṇa² and from the inscription dated 1026 A. D.³ of Cittarāja we can assign him to the early part of the 11th century. That Hāravarṣa, the Yuvarāja, was a ruling prince, can also be ascertained from the following quotations taken at random from the *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda.

नमो नृपतिचन्द्राय पृथ्वीपालाय येन सा ।
विकालमलिना दिक्षु दर्शिता कविपद्धतिः ॥ IV
एषोऽस्म्यहं निजवचस्सु चिरादिदानीं निस्साध्वसः कविसहस्रसमागमेऽपि ।
श्रीहारवर्षनरलोकपतेः पुरस्ताद्विस्तारिविष्णुवनमालिविचारितेषु ॥ X

1. *Vide* E.I. Vol. IV, Page 249 and *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXI, P. 258.

2. See the Introduction of the *Udayasundarikathā*, G. O. S. XI.

3. *Vide* *Indian Antiquary* Part V, Page 277.

यया कयापि कलया यस्य तस्य सुभाषितैः ।
 गृह्यते हारवर्षस्य मनोऽद्य नृपतेः परम् ॥ XIII
 नाश्चर्यमावहति कस्य चराचरेऽस्मिन् श्रीहारवर्षनृपचन्द्रमसः प्रभावः ।
 येनानिशं ललितकोमलकाव्यमूर्तेः सृष्टोऽभिनन्दकुमुदस्य महाविकासः ॥ XVII, XX

आचन्द्रसूर्यं निदधे जगत्सु व्यासस्य यद्वज्रमेजयेन ।
 एषोऽभिनन्दस्य महाप्रबन्धः क्षोणीभुजा भीमपराक्रमेण ॥ XVIII, XXI
 हालेनोत्तमपूजया कविवृषा श्रीपालितो ललितः
 ख्यातिं कामपि कालिदासकृतयो नीताः शकारातिना ।
 श्रीहर्षो त्रितार गद्यकवये बाणाय वाणीफलं
 सद्यः सक्रिययाभिनन्दमपि च श्रीहारवर्षोऽग्रहीत् ॥ XXXIII
 शकभूपरिपोरनन्तरं कवयः कुत्र पवित्रसङ्कथाः ।
 युवराज इवायमीक्षितो नृपतिः काव्यकलाकुतूहली ॥ XXII

From these citations it is easy to prove that Hāravarṣa, the Yuvarāja, was a ruling prince and patronised Abhinanda in the capacity of a sovereign. This Prince was powerful in battle-fields; he carried his victorious arms into the territories of his contemporaries and extirpated all his enemies; this is borne out by the following verses.

एते तवैकसुभगस्य जयन्ति पादाः श्रीहारवर्षयुवराज महीतलेन्दो ।
 यान् सप्रतापभुवनेऽपि सदाभिसृत्य रात्रौ दिवा च रिपुराजस्मा रमन्ते ॥ VII

सुदृढविपुलगात्रः शत्रुकीटान्तकारी
 आचन्द्रसूर्यं.....क्षोणीभुजा भीमपराक्रमेण ॥ XXVII
 ते मेघमुक्तमपि न स्तुवते सुधांशुं तेषां मनो न रमते मकरध्वजेऽपि ।
 सर्वारिवीरविजयप्रसूतप्रशस्तिः श्रीहारवर्षजगतीपतिरीक्षितो यैः ॥ XXVII

प्रतिनृपसुरमौलिरत्नराजीरुचिरप्रसवार्पिताङ्गीपूजः ।
 कृतसदृशनुतिर्महाकवीन्द्रैर्जयति चिरं युवराजमेदिनीन्द्रः ॥ XXIX, XXXIV

निर्मत्सरः कविरपि प्रभुरप्यवामः कान्तोऽप्यरूढसुभगत्वमदप्रमीलः ।
 अत्युग्रशौर्यरभसोऽप्यकठोरवादी पृथ्वीपतिर्जयति विक्रमशीलजन्मा ॥
 त्यागस्य पात्रमियमल्पतरा त्रिलोकी को विक्रमस्य कणिकामपि संसेहत ।
 शास्त्राणि कानि सुबहून्पि हारवर्षक्षोणीपतेरतिपटुप्रतिभागुणस्य ॥ XXXI

Now let us take up the question of the time of Abhinanda and Hāravarṣa. The testimony of Soddhala, as has been shown already, leads us to believe that Abhinanda and his patron king Yuvarāja were already famous in 1000 A. D. He actually compares Abhinanda with such famous authors as Bāṇa and Kālidāsa who preceded him.¹ On the other hand, we have to assign Hāravarṣa to a period after Dharmapāla, the second king of the Pāla Dynasty on the authority of the following citation from the *Rāmācarita* of Abhinanda.

श्रीधर्मपालकुलकैरवकाननेन्दू राजा विलासकृतिपङ्कजिनीविवस्वान् ।
 सर्वाभिरामगुणपत्ररथत्रजेकनीडद्रुमो विजयते युवराजदेवः ॥ XXVII

As Dharmapāla ruled upto the first quarter of the 9th century, this fixes the earliest limit for the time of Hāravarṣa while the latest limit of his time is fixed by Soddhala, circa 1000 A. D. During this time, we find three or four names of kings in the Pāla Dynasty renowned for their valour and patronage of Sanskrit learning. These are 1. Devapāla, 2. Vighrahpāla, 3. Narāyaṇapāla and 4. Mahipāla I. Two Yuvarājas also make their appearance during this period, namely Tribhuvanapāla, first son of Dharmapāla and Rājyapāla, son of Devapāla. These two latter were undoubtedly heirs-apparent but history does not tell us whether they ever got an opportunity to rule.

Next, let us examine the materials connected with the identity of Abhinanda and attempt to fix his date with some degree of precision. As has already been pointed out, there is a general impression amongst scholars that the Abhinanda of the *Rāmācarita* is different from the Abhinanda of the *Kādambarī-kathāsāra* on the ground that he is the son of Śātānanda while the other is the son of Jayantabhaṭṭa. That the author of the *Rāmācarita* was the son of Śātānanda is borne out by the following verse :—

1. See page 60 above.

तथा तूर्णं कवेः कस्य निर्गतं जीवतो यशः ।
हारवर्षप्रसादेन शातानन्देर्यथाधुना ॥

V, IX

As Jayantabhaṭṭa is generally assigned to the period between 825 and 850 A.D., his son Abhinanda and the Abhinanda of the *Rāmacarita* must be regarded as contemporaries, even though they may not be identical. It has already been pointed out that Abhinanda is referred to by Soddhala the author of the *Udaya-sundarīkathā* who flourished early in the 11th century. Bhojadeva in his *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* and the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* quotes extensively from the *Rāmacarita*; so also Mammataḥṭṭa in his *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Several other writers on poetics such as Abhinavagupta and Kṣemendra of Kashmir refer to Abhinanda though it is rather difficult at this stage to say whether this Abhinanda is the same as the author of the *Rāmacarita*.

On the strength of these quotations one may be tempted to hold that Abhinanda was the Court-poet of Mahīpāla I who flourished between 978-1030 A. D. But this can be disproved by the fact that Soddhala in his Chronology of famous poets of ancient India beginning from Vālmiki down to his own time places Abhinanda before Rājaśekhara.* He says:—

आसीदसीमस्फुरितोरुधामा वाल्मीकिरग्रण्यतमो मुनीनाम् ।
वंशः कवीनामुदियाय तस्मान्मूर्ध्ना धृतो भूमिभृतां गणेन ॥
यस्मिन्भूदग्रभवः कवीनां व्यासो मुनिर्यस्य गुणैर्विजेतुः ।
कविर्गुणाढ्यः स च येन सृष्टा बृहत्कथा प्रीतिकरी जनानाम् ॥
स कश्चिदालेख्यकरः कवित्वे प्रसिद्धनामा भुवि भर्तृमेष्ठः ।
ख्यातः कृती सोऽपि च कालिदासः शुद्धा सुधास्वादयती च यस्य ॥
बाणः कवीनामिह चक्रवर्ती चकास्ति यस्योज्ज्वलवर्णशोभा ।
मान्यो जगत्यां भवभूतिरार्यः सारस्वते वर्त्मनि सार्यवाहः ॥
सामन्तजन्मापि कवीश्वराणां महत्तमो वाक्पतिराजसूरिः ।
बन्धः स विद्वानभिनन्दनामा विस्मयभपात्रं वचसाधिदेव्याः ॥
यायावरः प्राज्ञवरो गुणज्ञैराशंसितः सूरिसमाजवर्यैः ॥

* The author of the paper seeks to infer a chronological relation from the order in which certain poets are mentioned in these verses and argues that Abhinanda is older than Rājaśekhara. This inference is untenable since Kālidāsa in the extract comes after Bhartṛmēṭha. [Ed.]

Rājaśekhara was teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanauj and therefore must have flourished in the beginning of the 10th century.¹ If Abhinanda is regarded under the circumstances as a contemporary of Mahīpāla there will remain hardly any margin for his composition becoming famous so as to be classed with that of the Vālmiki, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and others.

According to Soddhala, therefore, Abhinanda must have flourished in the court of King Yuvarāja before the 10th century. In this way it is possible to shorten the later limit for the time of Abhinanda as 900 A. D. Between 800 and 900 A. D. in the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal, there were only two kings famous for their literary activities and renowned for their valour. These two are Dharmapāla and his son Devapāla the two most famous and powerful kings of the Pāla Dynasty. From the verses cited above, we find ample evidence of the high esteem in which King Dharmapāla was held in the eyes of Abhinanda. I will quote here some more verses from the *Rāmacarita* in which mention has been made of the father of his patron king Hāra-varṣa.

किमिन्दुना चन्दनवारिणापि किमञ्जकन्दैरभिनन्दवत्सलः ।
विचिन्स्यतामान्तरतापशान्तये स केवलं विक्रमशीलनन्दनः ॥

VII

निर्मत्सरः कविरपि प्रभुरप्यवामः पृथ्वीपतिर्जयति विक्रमशीलजन्मा ॥

XXIX

श्रीधर्मपालकुलकैरवकाननेन्दु राजा
बन्धः सुतः स खलु रामपराक्रमस्य येनैव रामचरितार्पितसम्पदेन ।
सद्यः प्रसादभरदत्तमहाप्रतिष्ठे निष्ठापितः पिशुनवाक्प्रसरोऽभिनन्दे ॥

VII

In these two stanzas, Hāra-varṣa is described as the son of Vikramaśīla. Who this Vikramaśīla is, is again a difficult question. Or it may be a mere epithet. Be that as it may, the word Vikramaśīla very forcibly reminds us of the famous Vikramaśīla monastery of the Buddhists which was founded by Dharmapāla.² Is it then very improbable to identify

1. Vide Sir V. A. Smith Page 394.

2. See Sir V. A. Smith Page 414.

Vikramaśīla with king Dharmapāla, the founder of the Vikramaśīla monastery? On the contrary this seems to be quite likely as it is confirmed by the colophon of the *Sragdharā-stotraṭīkā*¹ which runs as follows:—

श्रीमद्विक्रमशीलदेवमहाविहारीयराजगुरुपण्डितभिक्षुश्रीजिनरक्षितकृता
बालार्कस्तुतिटीका समाप्ता ।

Dharmapāla had two sons Tribhuvanapāla and Devapāla. In the Khalimpur Grant, Tribhuvanapāla is mentioned as Yuvarāja; but in the Monghyr Grant, Devapāla succeeds his father. In the second half of the 9th century, Devapāla attained great fame and popularity as a ruler.

Considering the mass of evidence given above, we have no other alternative than to identify Hāravarṣa or Yuvarāja the patron king of Abhinanda with Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla, otherwise known as Vikramaśīla.

A confirmatory evidence in support of the proposed identification is afforded to us when we compare a statement in the Monghyr Grant of Devapāla with another made by Abhinanda in his *Rāmacarita*. In the Monghyr Grant², we find the following remarkable verse describing Devapāla—

यः पूर्वं बलिना कृतः कृतयुगे येनागमद्भार्गव-
स्त्रेतायां प्रहतः प्रियप्रणयिना कर्णेन यो द्वापरे ।
विच्छिन्नः कलिना शकद्विषि गते कालेन लोकान्तरं
येन त्यागपथः स एव हि पुनर्विस्पष्टमुन्मीलितः ॥

Here Devapāla is warmly praised for reviving the path of liberality which was opened up by Bali in Kṛtayuga and continued by Bhārgava in Tretā, Karṇa in Dvāpara and Śakadvīṭ Vikramāditya in the Kali age, but which was interrupted after the death of the last, mentioned king.

The same idea is expressed in the following few stanzas from the *Rāmacarita* describing Hāravarṣa's liberality—

न त्यागशक्तिमधिगच्छति कश्चिदर्थी
नास्त्येव विक्रमगुणस्य समः सपत्नः ।

1. See M. M. S. C. Vidyabhushana's History of Indian Logic, Page 519.

2. *Ind. Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXI, Page 258.

अर्थो विशन्ति पथि यस्य धियश्च शास्त्र-
मेकः स विस्मयकरः परचक्रभीमः ॥ XXV
कवीनां किं दत्तैर्नृपपशुभिरन्यैरवसरे
परं पृथ्वीपालः क्षणमपि स कर्णो वितरतु ।
अनातं तत्त्वज्ञैरपि सुविपुलार्थव्ययभिया
प्रतिष्ठां येनोच्चैर्जगति गमितं रामचरितम् ॥ III
तस्यैकस्य निकामदानरभसप्रोलासिनः शोभते
श्लाघ्ये वस्तुनि यत्र तत्र पृथिवीपालस्य कौतूहलम् ।
रुद्धा सर्वदिशो मनोरथपथातीतद्विभिः पुस्तकैः
सत्काव्याभिरतेन रामचरितं येन प्रतिष्ठापितम् ॥ XXVIII
त्यागस्य पात्रमियमल्पतरा त्रिलोकी
को विक्रमस्य कणिकामपि संसहेत । XXXI
दत्तानां निधनानि यो वितनुते संख्येषु संख्यावतां
निस्संख्यानि धनानि योऽस्तु सुचिरं श्रीहारवर्षो नृपः ॥ XXIII
एकः स पालतिलकश्चिरमस्तु सम्राट्
कोटिव्ययो न गणितः प्रतिपाठकालम् ।
येनास्य रामचरितस्य समं सदस्यै-
रेकैकसूक्तिपरिभावनगददेन ॥ XXIV

These verses are so remarkably similar that on the strength of this alone the identity of Devapāla with Hāravarṣa may be established.

The question may be raised as to how a king of the Pāla Dynasty, instead of bearing a name ending in Pāla, should prefer to be called Hāravarṣa, a name quite foreign to the Pāla tradition. The reason for this is not difficult to discover. It is well known that Dharmapāla married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess known by the name of Rannadevi.¹ Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes were very fond of adopting names ending in "Varṣa" and it is very probable that king Devapāla during his stay in his maternal uncle's household was known by the name of Hāravarṣa, while his elder brother Tribhuvanapāla was Yuvarāja in the court of his father Dharmapāla.

1. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXI, Page 257.

(given below) expressly state that the author of the drama was Ānandarāyamakhin whose name as author and as minister of the Mahratha kings—Shahji and Serfoji was widely known.

सूत्रधारः—विद्वत्कविकल्पकतरुनन्दरायमखी । यस्य किल

आनन्दरायमखिनो वाल्मीकेरिव योगिनः ।

इतरापेक्षणात्सारस्वतः सारस्वतोदयः ॥

अपि च,

नानापूर्वमहाकृतप्रगयनरैध्यात्मसम्मर्शनैः

कर्मब्रह्मपथप्रचारसविता षड्दर्शनीवल्लभः ॥

तातो यस्य किलैकराजवमुधाधौरन्धरी गीष्पतिः

क्षोणीपालकिरीटलालितपदः ख्यातो नृसिद्धाध्वरी ॥

क्षुण्णा यद्यपि शास्त्रपद्धतिरसावन्यैः कवीन्द्रैरयं

त्वल्लीलं न तितिक्षते न सहते पत्रेषु चानौचितीम् ।

नेतुः शास्त्रमतां त्रिवर्गफलसम्पत्तिं विमुच्य त्वयो-

पन्यासं च जुगुप्सते तदयमारम्भोऽस्य संरम्भतः ॥

अद्वैतं वस्तु, शृङ्गारो रसः, अयं च निर्दोषतेति सर्वमत्यद्भुतं
दृश्यते । अथ वा—

सकलराज्यधुरन्धरस्य शरभमहाराजमन्त्रिशिखामणेरस्य जनकसनक....
धौरन्धरेयमिति मे महदाश्चर्यम् ।

आवाल्यादपि पोषितोऽजनि मया प्रेम्णा तथा ललितः

तेनासौ सरसामुपैतु कवितामानन्दरायाध्वरी ।

इत्येकक्षितिपालवंशजलधेर्देव्या गिरा जातया

धीरश्रीशरभावनीन्द्रवपुषा नूनं प्रसादः कृतः ॥

(Prologue of Vidyāpariṇaya.)

The requisition note addressed to king Shahji in the work Ācāranavanīta by Appādhvarin is an eloquent proof of the fact that king Shahji—not Ānandarāya—was the patron of Appādhvarin. (See the extract given in the next section of this paper.)

Appādhvarin.

Appādhvarin belongs to Śrīvatsa family (gotra) and he is the son of one Cidambaramakhin, an inhabitant of Kīlayūr (modern Kīlīyūr) a village near Māyavaram in Tanjore District.

तातो यस्य चिदम्बेश्वर इति प्रख्यातनामा मखी

यद्रात्रिन्दिवदत्तहव्यनिवहादनैककृत्यास्सुराः ।

श्रीवत्सान्वयवारिधीन्दुरवसद्यः किलियूर्नामनि

श्रीमान्विश्रुतकीर्तिरार्द्रहृदये पुण्येऽप्रहारे सुधीः ॥

(Prologue of Madanabhūṣaṇabhāṇa, of which a ms. is available in the Tanjore Palace Library.)

श्रीमच्चिदम्बरमखीन्द्रसुतेन वत्स-

वंशाम्बुराशिबिधुना विधिशाल्यमार्गे ।

सञ्चारनिर्मलधिया सकलार्थबोध-

माचारसारनवनीतमिदं गृहीतम् ॥

(Ācāranavanīta—ms. available in Tanjore Palace Library.)

His Ācārya was one Udayamūrti and his Prācārya was one Pillai Śāstrin of Ālattūr village near Māyavaram, as the following verses show :—

आलतूरधिवासस्य पिलैशास्त्रिबुधेशितुः ।

आचारनवनीताख्यं निबध्नाति कृपाबलात् ॥

वन्दे गुरुनुदयमूर्तिबुधाभिधानान्

यद्भोविजृम्भणमहो ! जगतस्तमोनुत् ।

तान्पिलै[ल]शास्त्र्यभिधलोकगुरोः पुराण-

पुण्यानुभावकृतभूमितलावतारान् ॥

(Ācāranavanīta.)

That he was patronised by King Shahji is evident from the following verses found in his Ācāranavanīta.

श्रीशाहक्षितिपालनायकदयादत्तान्नमोगोलस-

द्भुद्भुत्कर्षविभावितश्रुतिबहुस्पृश्यसरोदयः ।

सभ्यानां प्रमदाय सर्वविषयान्धर्मनिहस्योत्तरान्

सङ्गृह्णामि मितैः पदैरधिवसन्मायूरमण्याध्वरी ॥

एकक्षमापतिपूर्वपुण्यसुकृतोत्कर्षेण लब्धोदयः

दीपाम्बोदरगर्भवासमाहिमप्रख्यातपुण्योदयः ।

श्रीशाहक्षितिराट् प्रशास्तु वसुधामाचन्द्रमप्पाध्वरी
यदत्तान्नबलेन धर्मविषयं शास्त्रं समग्रन्थयत् ॥

(Ācāranavanīta.)

Again, that Appādhvarin enjoyed royal patronage and help is evident from the following facts taken from the Ācāranavanīta (See extracts below).

When he had the honour of attending the great sacrifice performed by Tryambakarāyamakhin the minister of Shahji in Dhātṛ year (1696 A. D.) in Svāmimalai near Kumbhakonam, his company was much appreciated by the Mahratha ruler and consequently, he was honourably delayed in Tanjore for three months to do Mahābhāratapārāyaṇa in the royal court; and when he was afterwards at his own request permitted to return to his place Māyavaram, he was asked by king Shahji to write a treatise on Dharmaśāstra. Consequently soon after his return to his residence, along with his son he took up that great task and finished his monumental work on Dharmaśāstra—Ācāranavanīta of 15,000 granthas—which cost him hard mental labour for eight full years; and he made a final request to the royal patron to accept and popularise his work and to fulfil his desire to perform several vedic sacrifices.

धातृवर्षे यदा यज्ञसेवार्थमहमागतः ।
श्रीमहाराजराजस्य मन्त्रिणस्यम्बकप्रभोः ॥
महाराजस्तु मां प्रीत्या स्वसभायामवासयत् ।
भारतश्रवणार्थाय रात्रिन्दिवमुदारधीः ॥
यदा मासत्रयादूर्ध्वं प्राप्यानुज्ञां महीपतेः ।
गन्तुमिच्छामि च तदा धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धने ॥
महाराजेन चाज्ञतो गौरीमायूरमागतः ।
तस्मिन्वर्षे वृश्चिकार्के धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधेः ॥
एकेनैव मया पुत्रयुक्तेन शनकैः कृते ।
बुद्धिदण्डेन मथने रात्रिन्दिवमनेकधा ॥
अष्टभिर्लब्धवानस्मि क्तसैस्तत्फलं महत् ।
आचारनवनीतं तन्मृदु सर्वमनोहरम् ॥

महाराजस्य दयया तत्सङ्गाह्यमभूद्वि ।
समाप्तः पञ्चदशभिः सहस्रैर्ग्रन्थसङ्ख्यया ॥
प्रचारोऽस्य महाराजाधीन एव हि सर्वथा ।
अहमप्पाध्वरीनाम्ना महाराजेन सादरम् ॥
दत्तां महीं समादाय तत्र कृष्यादिसम्भृतैः ।
धान्यैः परम्परासिद्धे ग्रामे कृष्या समाजितैः ॥
कुर्वन्कुटुम्बभरणं पुत्रपौत्रैस्समावृतः ।
श्रेयः प्रार्थयमानस्सन्महाराजस्य सन्ततम् ॥
आयुश्शेषं सुखं वस्तुमिच्छाम्यग्निक्रि[त्र]यान्तिके ।
मनोरथो महानेष महाराजेन पूर्यताम् ॥

[Ācāranavanīta.]

Appādhvarin is widely known among scholars as the author of Ācāranavanīta, a big and good compendium of most of the important topics—specially funeral rites—related to Dharmaśāstra. The masterly exposition of the subject with all its complications, the vast number of quotations he has gathered from original smṛtis and digests—Nibandhanagranthas—on Dharmaśāstra including the most modern and up-to-date authority in South India—viz. the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha Dikṣita, are sufficient proofs to the clear understanding and sound judgment of our author. His Madanabhūṣaṇabhāṇa and Gaurimāyūramāhātmya Campū are the two literary productions that may stand on a par with the most famous works in that sphere of literature. In short, Appādhvarin is an author of a high order and his Ācāranavanīta and two other literary productions will make his name remembered by posterity.

Note.—This Appādhvarin should not be mistaken for one Appāsūri, who is known as the disciple of one Vaidyanātha Śāstri, as evidenced from his work on grammar, Śabdaratnāvali, an incomplete copy of which is available in this library.

येषां प्रसादमात्रेण प्रज्ञा भवति निर्मला ।
तान्वैद्यनाथशास्त्र्यादीन्गुरुन्वयमुपास्महे ॥
श्रीसादशा.....प्रख्याताप्येन सूरिवर्येण ।
नानावृत्तिषु सिद्धाः सङ्गृह्यन्तेऽत्र सारभूतार्थाः ॥

TIRUMAṆGAI ĀLVĀR AND CĀḶUKYA
VIKRAMĀDITYA I.

BY

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Tirumaṅgai Ālvār mentions in several of his hymns a mighty king of the north being vanquished with the Pāṇḍya king by the warriors of Nāṅkūr.¹ Who that king is, is the subject of this article.

That Tirumaṅgaiyār lived after the Age of Śaṅgam is clear from his celebrating Kōc-c-ceṅkaṇāṇ, a king of Śaṅgam fame.² He mentions the shore temple of Śiva at Mahābalipuram built by Narasiṃha Varman II³ (who lived towards the close of 7th century). He eulogises in his Paramēśvara Viṇṇakaram-Tirumoli, the temple consecrated by Pallava Malla (A. D. 717-779) who was known as Paramēśvara Varman before he came to the throne⁴ and known after him as Paramēśvara Viṇṇakaram⁵ and this hymn speaks of him and his triumphs even as they are known to us from inscriptions.⁶ The Ālvār celebrates the prowess of Vairamēkaṇ in such a way that he could not have been other than his contemporary.⁷ Hence, whoever this Vairamēkaṇ might have been, whether he was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror of Kāñcī in 754, or his daughter's son, Danti Varman, it is quite clear that the Ālvār should have been his contemporary and lived in the 8th century. Further, the *Divyasūricaritam*, the most ancient and authoritative treatise on the lives of the Ālvārs mentions that Periyālvār, Nammālvār, Tirumaṅgai Ālvār and others were contemporaries and it has

1. *Periya Tirumoli*—4, 5, 6; 4, 1, 2; 4, 1, 5; 4, 6, 2; 4, 7, 1.
2. *Ibid.* 6, 6.
3. *Ibid.* 2, 6, 9.
4. S. I. I, iv. p. 11.
5. It is now known as Vaikuṇṭha perumāl kōvil in Conjeevaram.
6. *Periya Tirumoli* 2, 9.
7. *Ibid.* 2, 8, 10.

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been proved in my *Ālvārkaḷ-Kāla-nilai*, that they must have lived in the 8th century.

The Ālvār born of the warrior class and having distinguished himself as a warrior of great valour, never failed to appreciate courage and prowess wherever he found them and immortalised the heroes in fitting terms. When he had an occasion to describe Kāñcī, he says that she (Conjeevaram) was steeped in the valour and fame of Vairamēkaṇ¹. He speaks very highly of the warriors of Nāṅkai or Tirunāṅgūr in Cōḷa-nāḍu, for having so admirably routed a Pāṇḍya king and a mighty king of the North that they had to take to their heels². But he has not mentioned the name of the king under whom the soldiers of Nāṅkai fought. This king should evidently have been one of the Pallavas who held the sovereignty from the 7th century in Cōḷa country with the help of Muttaraiyars³. The words 'manṇum' 'payil' etc., that he uses here and also the fact that his native place was Tiruvāli-Tirunagari, a village near Tiru-nāṅkūr enable us to infer that he ought to have had a personal knowledge of the heroes of that great war. Who these heroes were, is worth investigating. In the first half of the eighth century when Tirumaṅgai Ālvār lived, the kings that were most flourishing were the Pallavas. In this period, Kāñcī was invaded twice, once in 741 A.D. by Cāḷukya-Vikramāditya II⁵ and again in 754 A. D. by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Danti Durga in the time of Pallava Malla⁶ and in both, the Pallava king was miserably defeated. Then we hear at the beginning of the ninth century that another

1. "வயிரமேகன் தன்வலி தன்புகழ்குழந்தைகச்சி" *Periya Tirumoli*, 2, 8, 10.
2. "ஒண்டிறல் தென்னஞ்ஞெட வடவா சோட்டங்கண்ட, திண்டிற லானர் நாங்கு" (*Ibid.* 4, 5, 6).
3. *Muttaraiyar* belonged to the Kaḷḷar caste and were such great warriors as to be eulogised by the poets. Tirumaṅgai mannan may be one of them. (vide *Ālvārkaḷ-Kāla-nilai*, pp. 117-21).
4. "மாவருந் தின்படைமன்னை வென்றிகொள்வார் மன்னும் நாங்கை" (*P. T.* 4, 1, 2).
5. "நண்ணர்முனை வென்றிகொள்வார் மன்னும் நாங்கை" (*Ibid.* 4, 7, 1).
6. "மண்ணித் தென்கரைமேல் திண்டிறலார் பயில் நாங்கை" (*Ibid.* 4, 1, 5).
5. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. i, No. 29, p. 205.
6. *Kadaba Plates*—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. iv, p. 334.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III invaded Kāñcī, defeated Dantivarman, son of Pallava Malla and took Kāñcī by force. This gradually led to the decline of Pallava rule¹.

From the Aihole inscription we gather that Pulakēśin II defeated at about 610 A. D. Pallava Māhēndravarman. Again Pulakēśin invaded the south about 640 A. D. and fought many a battle at Maṇimaṅgalam and other places against Narasiṃhavarman I, son of Māhēndravarman. Narasiṃha had him defeated, pursued him as far as his capital, Vātāpi, and destroyed the city. Dr. V. A. Smith opines that Pulakēśin fell owing to this encounter. Pulakēśin's son Cālukya Vikramāditya, was an able soldier like his father. He wanted to take vengeance on the Pallava monarch who was Paramēśvaravarman at this time. The Gadval, Kūram and Udayēndram plates say that Pallava Paramēśvara inflicted such a crushing defeat at Peruvaḷanallūr on Cālukya Vikramāditya I about 676 A. D. who invaded the Cōla country and encamped at Urāgapuram on the southern bank of the Cauvery, that he had to flee with rags on. It is reasonable then to infer that the Ālvār's reference is only to the invasion of Cālukya Vikramāditya, and not of Pulakēśin; for it is more probable for the Ālvār to have met the warriors who had fought in 676 A. D. than those who had fought in 640 A. D., since he should have lived at least up to 754 A. D. when he eulogised Vairamēkaṇ in his hymns; besides the scene of action during the invasion at 676 A. D. was only Cōḷanāḍu and not Toṇḍāināḍu, nor is found any mention, in the hymns, of the destruction of Vātāpi, the capital of Pulakēśin II.

Scholars vary, in their opinion, that Urāgapuram mentioned above might have been Madura, Negapatam or Urāiyūr. But Dr. Dubreuil has conclusively proved that it could not have been other than Urāiyūr² since Peruvaḷanallūr is a village 10 miles northwest of it.³ But he says that three kings, Mānavarman, the Singhalese king, Kō-c-caṭaiyaṇ, the Pāṇḍya king and Paramēś-

1. Ind. Ant. Vol. ix, p. 127.

2. The Pallavas, Eng. tr. p. 43.

3. Mahā-vidvān R. Raghava Ayyangar Avl. kindly brought to my notice a passage "உரகபுரியான் தலைவா தாலேலோ" from a poem called *Kulōttuṅga-cōḷaṇ Piḷḷai-t-tamil* by Oṭṭak-kūttar in the Tanjore Palace Library wherein *Urāgapuri* is referred to as a Cōla capital at the time of Kulōttuṅga II. The Cōla capital referred to, could not have been anything other than Urāiyūr.

varavarman, the Pallava king made an alliance among themselves to vanquish the invader Vikramāditya I.¹ But the Gadval plates refer only to Vikramāditya's recovering the tracts which the three unnamed kings deprived him of, in the opening years of his reign.

Even assuming that three kings opposed the invasion of Vikramāditya of whom one was the Pāṇḍya, he cannot possibly be Kō-c-caṭaiyaṇ as Dr. Dubreuil thinks. For, from the Āṇaimalai inscriptions and Vēlvikuḍi plates we learn that Parāntaka Neṭuñcaṭaiyaṇ the grandson of Kō-c-caṭaiyaṇ ascended the throne about 767 A. D. Had Kō-c-caṭaiyaṇ lived during the invasion of Vikramāditya i.e., about 675 A. D., a period of 92 years should be allotted to the reigns of Kō-c-caṭaiyaṇ and his son Māṇavarman which is too long. Hence there is great possibility for his father Arikēsari Māṇavarman to have lived at that time.

In this connection it may be pointed out that there is no support in the Vēlvikuḍi plates for the suggestion that Kō-c-caṭaiyaṇ vanquishing the Mahārathas in the city Maṅgaḷapuram has no reference to any war of the Pāṇḍya with Vikramāditya I, as Dubreuil thinks. It is well known from the commentary to Irāiyaṇār Akapporuḷ and the Vēlvikuḍi plates that above-said Arikēsari Māṇavarman was the victor over the Cēra in a number of battles and brought under his sway a part of Koṅgu-nāḍu. If, during the time of this Pāṇḍya, Vikramāditya had passed through the Koṅgu-country and had camped at Urāiyūr, it is worth investigating whether he was there as the friend or foe of Pāṇḍya. The Gadval plates granted at the camp of Urāiyūr mention that Vikramāditya was camped there with the object of invading the Pallava domains, but does not mention that any battle had taken place there. There is thus no ground for the assumption that he camped at Urāiyūr after scoring a victory over the Pāṇḍya. The other theory that Vikramāditya passed through the Koṅgu-country and was encamped at Urāiyūr as the ally of the Pāṇḍya, considerably gains in strength. It is note-

1. He has perhaps based his argument on Kendur plates which were later than the Gadval and Kūram plates above referred to. Vikramāditya might have vanquished Pāṇḍya some time other than this since the above-plates do not clearly state that Pāṇḍya was one of the triad referred to. They merely enumerate the kings that became vassals.

worthy that there were reasons why the Pāṇḍya should range himself on the side opposite to that of the Pallava. The Pallavas had rudely shaken the balance of power, by their conquest of the Cōla country (even as early as the time of Śiṃhaviṣṇu, 590 A.D.) and time and again they had attacked the frontiers of the Pāṇḍya country. So bitter was the feeling between these two powers that it gave rise to their hostility for generations. Hence the probability is that the Pāṇḍya took the opportunity of the invasion of a Northern Power to wreck his neighbour and enemy the Pallavas.¹

The subjugation of the Koṅḍu-country by the Pāṇḍya procured for him an inveterate enemy in the Cēra, who, on all subsequent occasions, ranged himself with the Pallava². The Ālvār himself hints that the Cēra was a vassal of the Pallava.³

From the above it may be clear, that if at all there were three kings that opposed the march of Vikramāditya, the probability is that they were the Pallava, the Cēra and the Singhalese king. That the Pāṇḍya was an ally of the invader is clear from the following lines of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār. “ஒண்டிறல் தேன்னோட (வ) வடவா சோட்டங் கண்ட திண்டிறலாளர் நாங்குர்”. “மாவருந்தின்படைமன்ன வென்றிகொள்வார் மன்னும் நாங்கை”. “துண்ணெனமாற்றார் தம்மைத் தொலைத்தவர் நாங்கை”. The first passage is to be interpreted thus:—The people of Nāṅkūr were so powerful as to see the flight of the Northern king with the mighty Pāṇḍya. It may also be interpreted thus.—The people of Nāṅkūr were so powerful as to see the flight of the Northern King after the mighty Pāṇḍya's flight. These passages also show how powerful the king of the North was, how soon he was vanquished by the warriors of Nāṅkūr, and how he was forced to retreat, all of which completely agree with the contents of the Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I.

1. As there is distinct inscriptional reference that Pulakēśin II invaded the south against the Pallavas for the benefit of Cōla. Cēra and Pāṇḍyas, there is no doubt that the same motive must have actuated his son Cālukya Vikramāditya also: He must have been therefore friendly to the Pāṇḍyas. (E. I. vi. p. 1.)

2. “பல்லவனுங் கோளும்...அணுகவந்து விட்டிருப்ப-இருவரையும் இருபாலும் இடரெய்தப் படைவிடுத்த” — *Madras Museum Plates*.

3. “பல்லவர் வில்லவ ரென்றுலகிற் பலராய்ப் பலவேந்தர் வணங்குதழிற் பல்லவன்” (P. T. 2, 9, 1.).

The Ālvār who lived during the reign of Pallava Malla (717-779) should have had an opportunity to hear from the soldiers who took part in vanquishing the king of the North and who lived in Nāṅkūr, a village near his native place, all about the battle of Peruvaṇallūr, and this king of the North could not have been any one other than Cālukya Vikramāditya I.

THE PRATIJÑĀCĀṆAKYA OF BHĪMA

BY

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It is a well-known fact that the *Mudrārākṣasa* treats about the accession of Candragupta Maurya to the throne of Magadha, after defeating the Nandas and the "confederacy of the northern powers", with the help of Cāṇakya. This historical fact has been made the plot of the drama "Pratijñācāṇakya" or the "Pratibhācāṇakya" as it is otherwise called by Bhīma. Abhinavagupta refers to this drama in the *Abhinavabhāratī* twice. The following are the extracts :—

“भवतु तनयं लोके जातापशब्दपरंपरा

परिचयमयी वार्ता कीर्तिं निरूप्य निकर्तनी” इति

प्रतिज्ञाचाणक्ये महाकविना भीमेन राजापि विन्ध्यकेतुः भूयसा

व्यवहृतः ।

Vol. ii, P. 343. A. Bhāratī.

प्रवेशका बाहुल्येन तावत्तापसवत्सराजप्रतिभाचाणक्यमुदाराक्षसादिषु.

Vol. ii, P. 459. A. Bhāratī.

From the above two extracts we infer that Bhīma was a poet of a high order as is shown by the adjective "Mahākavi" and that he was the author of a drama with the twin-names of "Pratijñācāṇakya" and "Pratibhācāṇakya."¹

This statement of Abhinava is confirmed by quotations in the latter day anthologies. Some of the verses ascribed to Bhīma in the anthologies like "श्रुत्वा कर्णज्वरम्", "कानि स्थानानि दग्धानि"

1. The main argument of the author of this paper in giving an alternative name for the drama *Pratijñācāṇakya* as *Pratibhācāṇakya* is based on the second reference given above (*Abhinavabhāratī* Vol. II, P. 459.). It may be noted that in all probability this is a scribal error, the confusion between *bhā* and *jñā* being quite common in many scripts. To base an argument on this point would appear to be far-fetched. [Ed.]

seem to have been taken from a drama and especially the verse "स्मेरास्सन्तु सभासदः" ascribed to Bhīma in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* certainly seems to be a verse in the *Prastāvanā*.

No writer before Abhinavagupta as far as I know has mentioned Bhīma or his dramas. There is no doubt as to the date of Abhinavagupta since he himself furnishes it in his "Bṛhativṛtti" on the *Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. The date of Abhinava's literary activity ranges from 990 to 1015 A. D. This then forms the lowest determinant of the date of the *Pratijñācāṇakya*. We shall, in the course of this article, fix the other determinant. That the *Pratijñācāṇakya* had the very same plot as the *Mudrārākṣasa* is clearly suggested by the title itself, and a study of the names given to these respective dramas furnishes us with some interesting information. The *Mudrārākṣasa* gives pronounced prominence to Rākṣasa and his ill-fated seal, while the *Pratijñācāṇakya* or the *Pratibhācāṇakya* gives prominence to Cāṇakya and his terrible pledge or to Cāṇakya and his scintillating genius. This makes us infer that perhaps Bhīma wrote his drama as a rival play to the *Mudrārākṣasa*. This perhaps legitimate, though speculative, inference is further strengthened by the similarity in the names of characters in the play. Like Malayaketu in the *Mudrārākṣasa* there is Vindhyaketu in the *Pratijñācāṇakya*. In this connection it is necessary to refer to the date of the *Mudrārākṣasa*. No scholar will agree to ascribe Viśākhadatta to a date earlier than 800 A. D. Since the *Mudrārākṣasa* seems to be the first play dramatising the ascendancy of Candragupta and since the *Pratijñācāṇakya* seems to be a rival play, it need hardly be said that the *Mudrārākṣasa* forms the upper limit of the *Pratijñācāṇakya*. Thus we may say that the drama in question was written between 800 and 1015 A. D.

Now, a further clue seems to be found in one of the couplets of Rājaśekhara, praising poets or productions. One of such couplets praises a king of Kālañjara of the name of Bhīmaṭa.

कालञ्जरपतिश्चक्रे भीमटः पञ्चनाटकीम् ।

तेषु प्रबन्धराजत्वं प्राप स्वप्रदशाननम् ॥

43. *Sūktimuktāvalī*.

The above verse furnishes us with the information that Bhīmaṭa was the author of five dramas, and the *Svapnadaśānana*, was the best of them.

Kālañjara was a fortress, which was beautified later, as a chief town by the great builders, the Chandels. The history of the Chandels according to V. A. Smith began only early in the ninth century and Kālañjara fell into their hands only in the reign of Yaśovarman, the Chandel King in 916 A. D. This easily proves that Bhimaṭa was the ruler of Kālañjara before the Chandels seized it. Thus the date of his rule should have been before 915 A. D. on the strength of these two reasons :—

(1) Rājasekhara's reference.

(2) Fall of Kālañjara.

Now it is quite probable that the letters “—ṭa” may have elided, his name thus reducing itself to simple Bhima. Since Rājasekhara attributes five dramas to this king, since this really requires a high quality of creative genius, and since Abhinavagupta refers to a drama Pratijñācāṇakya, and speaks of its author Bhima as a Mahākavi, it need not be thought far-fetched or laboured if we identify the two and include the Pratijñācāṇakya as one of the five dramas referred to before.

Chronologically there is nothing incongruous. The adjective “Mahākavi” does not militate against the royal status since we find Harṣa of Kanouj speaking of himself in the प्रस्तावना of his dramas as “श्रीहर्षो निपुणः कविः”. This identity has made us go a step further in fixing the date of the play (*i. e.*) the play seems to have been written between 800 to 915 A. D.

Thus we may conclude that the author of the Pratijñācāṇakya was no other than the King of Kālañjara, that he was the author of five dramas of which we know only two namely the Svapnadaśanana, and the Pratijñācāṇakya, and that he flourished between 800 to A. D. and 915 A. D.

Definition of Poetry or Kavya

(THESIS APPROVED BY THE MADRAS
UNIVERSITY FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ORIENTAL LEARNING)

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PUBLISHED IN
THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH
MADRAS.

1929

DEFINITION OF POETRY, OR KĀVYA¹

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INTRODUCTION.

By way of seeking for a definition, an attempt is here made to point out what in the different phases of literary criticism was thought to be the essence of poetry. The thesis is divided into three chapters which relate to the English, Aristotelean and the Indian views on the characteristic principle of poetry. Since English criticism marks, logically, though not chronologically, the earliest stage of literary criticism, it is given the first place here. In my opinion at least, Aristotle has been grossly misunderstood throughout from his own age till now and it seems to me that we can hardly mention a treatise which has suffered at the hands of critics of various nations and countries as Aristotle's Poetics. The little acquaintance I have with the work of Aristotle (indeed in translation) assures me that he can be better understood by a scholar who is familiar with our (Indian) ancient poetical and philosophical works than anybody else. Butcher, truly a scholar of deep and admirable erudition, concentrated his attention upon the 'Imitation' and the 'Universal' of poetics; and thinking that all his predecessors were not able to penetrate into the true significance of the terms and that he alone has found it out, makes special mention of them in the introduction. I have to make the same remark with regard to his interpretation. Of course another scholar may come after me and repeat the same remark with regard to my interpretation also. But whether it may be correct or not, it is for the readers to judge. The critics including Butcher brush aside those passages of Aristotle that militate against their explanation, as casual and incidental remarks.

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

Professor Saintsbury ridicules Greek Philosophers that they tried to establish certain categories because of the existence of words signifying them. But the ridicule cast by the ignorant comes doubly to themselves. Current words cannot but have some significance as the moving body cannot but have a soul. Yet he ridicules because he may.

But the strong point in my views as to the "universal" and imitiveness of poetry spoken of in the Poetics is that the same line of argument is advanced by our old authors such as Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, and that we need hardly say as Butcher does (Intro. p. ix) "that in his Poetics there are oversights and omissions . . . ;" but all passages, if my interpretation of the above-mentioned terms are accepted, remain mutually concordant and are quite congruous with the Aristotelian principle of poetry.

In the third chapter I have tried to prove that Bhāmaha also accepts the svabhāvokti-alaṅkāra (his illustrative śloka alone will suffice to convince one of this fact) and that Daṇḍin does not belong to the Rīti School of Vāmana, but to the same Alaṅkāra School of Bhāmaha. It is always more difficult to disprove than to form a conclusion. So until I see that sound scholars accept my view and explanation I cannot think that the case is finally proved.

It is often that I meet with a difficult passage in this or that work and I give my own explanation and I find afterwards that the same explanation is given by an old and accepted author. Instances were so numerous that I was forced to write once :

इत्थं परिष्कृतधियो महता श्रमेण
नैकप्रभेदनयशालिनि शास्त्रमार्गे ।
ब्रूमो यमर्थमवधार्य बहुत्र सोऽयं
संवादमृच्छति चिरन्तनसन्निबन्धैः ॥

It was not seldom that I had the same experience during the preparation of this thesis. One most striking instance is that portion of the first chapter which deals with the prose form of kāvya. It was more than a full year after writing this portion that I happened to see the introduction to the Pratimā Nāṭaka, by Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstri of Trivandrum, where he writes about *gadya* (गद्य) in the same strain, not failing

to quote गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति, which was already quoted by me. I thought it necessary to say this here so that what I have said in connection with गद्य may not be taken to be second-hand.

I studied or consulted almost every alaṅkāra book that my college library contains, besides many English critical essays, some belonging to the above library and others kindly lent to me by friends. I did not try to refer in the thesis to every book or essay that I read. Lest I should be thought of as digressing or speaking of far-fetched things I avoided many a point that came uppermost. One such point is the consideration of poetry as the criticism or interpretation of life. It seemed to me that this would result in much dilation and therefore I abstained from it. But some conflicting opinions about the Śānta-Rasa expressed in some works are dealt with in an appendix to this thesis.

The following works have been referred to in the thesis:—

Sanskrit.

1. Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra.
2. Bhāmaha's Kāvyaṅkāra.
3. Daṇḍin's Kāvyaḍarśa.
4. Udbhaṭa's Kāvyaṅkārasaṅgraha.
5. Vāmana's Kāvyaṅkārasūtra.
6. Rudraṭālaṅkāra.
7. Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka with Abhinavagupta's Locana.
8. Dhanañjaya's Daśarūpa with Dhanika's Avaloka.
9. Rājaśekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (Kāvya or K. M.)
10. Kuntala's Vakrokti-jīvita.
11. Mammaṭa's Kāvya-prakāśa.
12. Ruyyaka's Alaṅkārasarvasva, with Jayaratha's Vimarśini.
13. Vāgbhaṭa's Alaṅkāra.
14. Hemacandra's Kāvya-anuśāsana, with Alaṅkāra-cūḍāmaṇi.
15. Vidyānātha's Pratāparudriya.
16. Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpaṇa.
17. Jagannātha's Rasagaṅgādhara, with Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa's commentary thereon.

18. Dharmasūri's Sāhityaratnākara.
19. Vaidyanātha's Candrikā, commentary upon Appayya Dikṣita's Kuvalāyananda.

English.

1. Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art. (1911) (Trans. Butcher). (Aris.)
2. Hazlitt's Lectures on the English Poets and Spirit of the Age. (Every Man's Library Edition).
3. English Critical Essays. (19th Century.) (The World's Classics). (E. C. E.)
4. English Literary Criticism. (C. E. Vaughan. (E. L. C.)
5. Mathew Arnold's Lectures on Literary criticism.
6. Life in Poetry and Law in Taste. (Courthope). (L. L.)
7. An Introduction to the Study of Literature. (Hudson). (I. S. L.)
8. Daśarūpa translated by Haas.
9. Bandārkar Commemoration Volume. (B. C. V.)
10. Sanskrit Poetics Volume I. (S. K. De).

Besides the above books, reference is here made also to certain other works like the Raghuvamśa, the Kirātārjunīya, the Prabodhacandrodaya, the Saṅkalpa-sūryodaya, Goldsmith's Essays etc.

श्रीः

वेदापहारविक्रोशद्वेधःखेदविमर्दिनम् ।

पण्णातीरपरिष्कारं परिजातमुपास्महे ॥

CHAPTER I.

THE ENGLISH CRITICS.

I remember to have heard one among many of "grand-mother stories" in which it was told that there was a beautiful princess who, having a mysterious power, used to appear, with all her graceful and bewitching splendours, before many a prince, and disappear from his sight as soon as he approached and began to talk to her amorously, leaving him melancholy for ever. Critics think that there seem to be many things which have just the same tantalising appearance as this deceitful princess and that, however, other things may be, it is certainly so with what we call poetry. There is scarcely a man in the world who, being at home in the language in which it is written is not charmed by a piece of poetic art. And yet if questioned as to what it is that makes a piece poetic, what it is that enables us to distinguish poetry from other kinds of literary compositions, very few answer satisfactorily; for, the very moment the question is asked, all the beauties of poetry vanish away, and they find themselves in the dark. Hudson applies to the case of poetry what St. Augustine is said to have remarked with reference to other matters :

"If not asked I know ;

If you ask me I know not."

Further Hudson says that the definitions given now and then by various authors and critics are not of any practical help; and quoting by way of illustration some twenty definitions, he remarks as follows :—

"How far they help us separately or in combination, to answer the question what is poetry, is a matter which each reader must decide for himself. Suggestive, one and all, they doubtless are. Yet when we look at them critically, and compare them with one another, certain disturbing facts about them become clear. They are almost distracting in their variety because the subject is approached from many different points of view. Some, strictly speaking, fail to define, because they ex-

press rather what is poetical in general wherever it may be found, than what is specifically poetry. Some, on the other hand, are too narrow and exclusive, because they recognise only the particular kind of poetry in which the writer happened to be personally interested. And all are necessarily so abstract in statement that, whatever may be their philosophic value, they leave us in a region very remote from that world of concrete reality in which we move when we are reading poetry itself." (P. 84—5.)

Thus far perhaps we can follow Hudson. But when he says :—

"It is fortunate for us, then, as students, not of aesthetic theory, but of poetry, that we need not concern ourselves greatly to begin with about formulas and definitions, and the controversies about the ideal aims of poetry which these will often be found to involve". (P. 85.)—we should necessarily part company with him. I cannot understand how it is possible for anybody to study a thing without knowing first what the object of his study is and what not; and such a knowledge requires a definition. That "a certain instinctive sense" of what constitutes poetry we all have, is not an excuse that can justify one that sets about laying down principles for a systematic study of poetry, in evading the difficulty that might attend one's attempt to get at a reasonable definition of it. Unless it is so, we can hardly account for the fact that critics often begin with a definition. You may be a student not of aesthetic theory, but of poetry. But you are a student of poetry in general. When you, thus being a student of poetry in general, think it necessary to consider some of its elements, its distinctness from science, its function, ultimate standard and varieties, and to dwell at some length upon the theories of metre, you should first attempt to define poetry. To enter into the study of poetry without having a definition of it is to get into our two-bullocked rural carts which have no foot-board. A reader who takes a particular piece with no other view than to please himself has no business to inquire what the definition of poetry is, just as one that enjoys the fragrance of a flower-garden has no business to inquire what are flowers. But if you feel that you begin within yourself to ask such a question, you may be sure that you are past the moments of the pleasurable feelings aroused by the beautiful thing; that you are no

longer in the state of a mere reader, but are stepping into the shoes of a critic. True enjoyment refuses to keep company with any other thought. The reader is interested in the particular and he is fascinated and absorbed in it. The critic is engaged in the general, and through it in the particular; and he examines it. The one is the lover of poetry and the other the philosopher. The one enjoys the fruit and the other describes what and how it is.

It would appear that we cannot get from the critics a satisfactory definition of poetry. Many a "definition" in Hudson's list however seems to suggest the idea that the critics that have given these various definitions have conceived the characteristic essence of poetry in the same way as our Ālaṅkārikas; but they hardly troubled themselves to think deeply. It lay in their minds always embryonically, or, in the phrase of Ānandavardhana, स्फुरितप्रसुप्तकल्प. The word and sense are the body of poetry, we know. What fit them for the name of poetry as distinguished from all other kinds of literature, are guṇas and alaṅkāras, qualities and embellishments. The pleasure which it affords is its life and soul. When we consider poetry in itself, without thinking of the genius that produced it, all the topics concerning it must necessarily come under one or another of these five headings. Guṇas, alaṅkāras—both embellishers, and the pleasure, the result of the embellishment, are correlated, and therefore when one is stated the other two are implied. Somewhat of a similar kind is the analysis of poetic essence, that lies in Goldsmith's mind when he says in one of his miscellaneous essays—"Poetry Distinguished From Other Writings"—

"Were the histories of Polybius and Livy simply turned into verse, they would not become poems; because they would be destitute of those figures, embellishments, and flights of imagination, which display the poet's art and imagination."

I am inclined to think that Goldsmith means here a division of the factors of poetic essence into two kinds, figures and embellishments, which may be loosely called in Sanskrit, alaṅkāras and guṇas respectively. "The flights of imagination" refer, I think, to the development and the elevation of the subject through addition and omission. That he intends such a division of the outward life of poetry becomes more apparent when we find him saying in the same essay :—

"Tropes and figures are likewise liberally used in rhetoric.

And besides the metaphors, similies and allusions of poetry there is an infinite variety of tropes, or turns of expression, occasionally disseminated through works of genius, which serve to animate the whole and distinguish the glowing effusions of real inspiration from the cold efforts of mere science."

In the latter passage the "metaphors and similies" stand for figures in general. What are the allusions of poetry? To me they seem to be the same as Ānandavardhana's *vyāñjanā-vyāpāra*. In explaining the tropes, he continues :—

"These tropes consist of a certain happy choice and arrangement of words, by which ideas are artfully disclosed in a great variety of attitudes; of epithets and the compound epithets; of sounds collected in order to echo the sense conveyed; of apostrophes; and above all, the enchanting uses of the *prosopopœia*, which is a kind of magic, by which the poet gives life and motion to every inanimate part of nature."

We may note that a few of our *guṇas* are here recognisable. The "epithets" appear to be the same as constitute the second kind of Daṇḍin's *andārya*—

श्लाघ्यैर्विशेषणैर्युक्तमुदारं कैश्चिदिष्यते ।

यथा लीलाम्बुजक्रीडासरोद्देहमाङ्गदादयः ॥

and most probably the "compound epithets" form the *ojas* (ओजः). The *prosopopœia* is undoubtedly the *samādhi-guṇa* and strangely we see that, just as Daṇḍin highly commends this *samādhi*—

तदेतत् काव्यसर्वस्वं समाधिर्नाम यो गुणः ।

कविसार्थः समग्रोऽपि तमेनमनुगच्छति ॥

(That which is called the *samādhi-guṇa* is the "entire substance" of poetry); even so does Goldsmith say :—

"which is a kind of magic, by which the poet gives life and motion to every inanimate part of nature."

As regards the apostrophe, I think, either something of the nature of our *Ākṣepa* figure, or such a turn of expression as is peculiar to the language of a man in the condition of the *vyabhi-*

cāribhāva, called "unmāda"¹ (insanity), is meant by it. We know there are three *vr̥ttis* mentioned in Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkārasaṅgraha*. Pratihārendurāja's interpretation of *vr̥tti* is रसाभिव्यक्त्यनुगुणवर्णव्यवहार. This may be explained as 'sounds collected in order to echo the sense conveyed.' Within the sense of these words of Goldsmith can be brought Ānandavardhana's suggestiveness, व्यञ्जना, and Kṣemendra's propriety औचित्य of sounds, and a *guṇa* called संमित, which may be the "absence of the blemish (असंमित,) which is defined by Vāgbhaṭa thus :—

“शब्दार्थौ यत्र न तुलविधृताविव संमितौ ।

तदसंमितमित्याहुर्वाक्यं वाक्यविदो यथा ॥”

A little more advanced is Leigh Hunt's enquiry into "What is Poetry". He begins his 'answer' to this question with a definition which runs thus :—

"Poetry . . . is the utterance of a passion for truth, beauty and power, embodying and illustrating its conceptions by imagination and fancy, and modulating its language on the principle of variety in uniformity."

(E. C. E. p. 300)

We see that the material and the end of poetry are not included in this definition. So he adds "Its means are whatever the Universe contains; and its ends, pleasure and exaltation." In the above definition, many words do not constitute the definition proper. Many of them refer to some aspects of poetry which are common to other branches of fine art and other kinds of writings. Eliminating such elements in the definition, we have to take into consideration only two points. And in this essay, Leigh Hunt discusses prominently and at length only these two points :—"imagination" (fancy "which is a

1. Unmāda is defined by Dhanika thus :—

अप्रेक्षाकारितोन्मादः सन्निपातग्रहादिभिः

Obviously अप्रेक्षाकारिता in the printed books is a misreading for अप्रेक्ष्यकारिता. 'सन्निपातग्रहादिभिः' is translated by Haas into "by physical derangement, planetary influence and the like;" but it really means by the dangerous illness called सन्निपातज्वर, (which causes delirium), being possessed by evil spirits and the like.

lighter play of imagination" being included in it) and the "language on the principle of variety in uniformity." He refers, however, before entering into a detailed discussion of imagination, to the relation of poetry to music and painting, and seems to hold it superior to these two arts. What, in our point of view, is the relation between poetry and music? What are their respective places? These are questions which I would answer by referring to the oft-quoted saying.

सङ्गीतमपि साहित्यं सरस्वत्याः स्तनद्वयम्.

Music and Poetry,

Form the breasts of Sarasvatī.

As for painting, it seems that the ālaṅkārikas rank it far below the best kind of poetry. We know Ānandavardhana divides poetry into three kinds—superior, mediocre and inferior. The last kind is called citra (picture) because it is आलेख्यप्रख्य, painting-like. A few lines of Ānandavardhana are worthy of reference.

ततोऽन्यत् रसभावादितात्पर्यरहितं व्यङ्ग्यार्थविशेषप्रकाशनशक्तिशून्यं च काव्यं केवलवाच्यवाचकत्रैचित्र्यमालाश्रयेणोपनिबद्धमालेख्यप्रख्यं यदा भासते तच्चित्रम् । न तन्मुख्यं काव्यम् । काव्यानुकारो ह्यसौ । (Dhvanyāloka, P. 220.) Leigh Hunt next points out the difference between the subject-matter of poetry and that of science, which difference has been given expression to, twelve centuries ago by Bhāmaha :—

तत्र लोकाश्रयं काव्यमागमास्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।

To the world relates Poetry;

The Śāstras show the Truth.

Incidentally Hunt happens to speak here of the "simplest truth" which is almost identical with our 'svabhāvokti'. That this "simplest truth" also requires imagination and feeling for its poetic representation is made clear by Hunt in another place in the essay :—

"But in Poetry, feeling and imagination are necessary" to the perception and presentation even of matters of fact. (E. C. E. P. 319.)

These preliminary remarks over, he shows that there are seven kinds of imagination, of which the first four belong to plot-making and supply the material of poetry. In his explanation of the last three kinds, he mentions simile and

metaphor and vaguely indicates also one or two other figures and qualities of poetry. His instance of metaphor—Milton's "notes that people the sunbeams" is Daṇḍin's *samādhi-guṇa* and not metaphor in our sense. Besides the two figures, simile and metaphor, he speaks, under the fifth kind of imagination, of three kinds of epithets, all of which are none other than words used in उपचरितवृत्ति, and his words—"Sometimes in concentrating into a word the main history of a person or thing" contain the same idea as Bhāmaha's.

कथमेकपदेनैव व्यज्येरन्नस्य ते गुणाः ।

इति प्रयुज्यते सन्तः केचिद्विस्तरभीरवः ॥

And when we consider what he says regarding the last three classes of imagination, it appears that he has in his mind something analogous to our उत्प्रेक्षा figure and a *guṇa* treated by Vidyānātha under the name of संक्षेप.

Coming to the next point—to the language on the principle of variety in uniformity—he writes :—

"and he is the best whose verse exhibits the greatest amount of strength, sweetness, straight-forwardness, unsuperfluousness, variety and oneness;—"

From Leigh Hunt's explanation of the above it is clear that the strength and sweetness meant here are the same as Daṇḍin's *śleṣa* and *mādhurya* respectively. The most appropriate translation of Hunt's "strength" is to be found in Vidyānātha's *aurjitya*. Besides, Jagannātha's remarks in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* concerning the wrong setting of sounds in poetic diction—where a sound is immediately followed by the same sound, e. g. पल्ल or after a long vowel there occurs a संयुक्त—are brought to our mind when we go through Hunt's discussion of "strength". I do not think that any one will ever fail to remember the contrast Daṇḍin makes in his *Kāvyādarśa* between *vaidarbha* and *gauḍa* styles, when he reads these words of Leigh Hunt about the abuse of strength:

"The abuse of strength is harshness and heaviness; the reverse of it is weakness." There is a noble sentiment—it appears both in Daniel's and Sir John Beaumont's works, but is most probably the latter's—which is a perfect outrage of strength in the sound of the words. "Only the finest and the constant'st

hearts God sets to act *stout'st* and *hardest* parts." "By straightforwardness is meant," says Leigh Hunt, "the flow of words in their natural order, free alike from mere prose, and from those inversions to which poets recur in order to escape the charge of prose, but chiefly to accommodate the rhymes." This quality consists perhaps in the absence of the blemish *अस्थानस्थ-पद*, or reflects a certain aspect of the quality *प्रसाद*. To one who really knows the deplorably degraded condition of the style of the Sanskrit writers of to-day, it would seem that too much stress cannot be laid upon the necessity of this quality of straightforwardness. If a writer would invert words for the sake of metre—Ānandavardhana's *अनुरोध* or *वृत्तानुरोध* he may be excused, for there is at least that reason for his inversion. Thinking that the change of the natural order of words is a necessary requisite of poetic expression and that thereby they are following the Kādambarī style, many twist words, sometimes even awkwardly. Great poets never invert words in this way for the sake of metre. Kālidāsa excels other poets in this respect. In the verse

अथ प्रजानामधिपः प्रभाते जायाप्रतिग्राहितगन्धमाल्याम् ।
वनाय पीतप्रतिवद्धवत्सां यशोधनो धेनुमृषेर्मुमोच ॥

except the three boldly printed words, the rest are in their proper and natural places. Even for placing these three words where they are found, there is full reason; but I should confine myself to the subject on hand.

Rudraṭa's *पुष्टार्थ* or Bhāmaha's *अर्थ*, or the reverse of Mammaṭa's *अधिक* blemish seems to be Leigh Hunt's *unsuperfluousness*. His "uniformity" refers to the keeping up of the adopted style—perhaps Bhoja's and Vidyānātha's *रीतिमत्*, and his variety corresponds to the employment of different metres, or to Ud-bhaṭa's *vr̥ttis*. It is a well-known fact that our poets change metre in every canto according to its subject. In the Raghuvamśa, the *Vamśasthā* metre is employed in the third sarga where the birth of a son to Dilīpa is narrated; and in the eighth and fifth sargs of the Raghuvamśa and Kumārasambhava respectively, Kālidāsa adopts the *viyoginī* metre to suit the delineation of the sorrow of Aja and Rati. The most interesting and ingenious change of metre is made by Bhāravi in the middle of a sarga, which fully testifies to his possession of an extraordinary

poetic imagination. The 13th sarga of the Kirātārjunīya begins with the *औपच्छन्दसिक* metre and continues it for 34 ślokas, the last of which is

स समुद्धरता विचिन्त्य तेन स्वरुचि कीर्तिमिवोत्तमां दधानः ।
अनुयुक्त इव स्ववार्तमुच्चैः परिरमे नु भृशं विलोचनाभ्याम् ॥

He thought and took it up with care,
Which, as if with fame, shone with its full grace ;
And, as if inquiring how it did fare,
He, with his eyes, did it embrace.

When thus Arjuna,—who being utterly ignorant of the fact that Śiva had come there with his army, had not in the least anticipated to see somebody in the vicinity,—approached his victim with an intense feeling of pride about his arrow which felled his fearful enemy, and fondly looked at it, he suddenly caught sight of a fowler with a bow in his hand, standing before him in order to deliver the message of Śiva. Bhāravi wished to bring to the reader's mind the unexpected and surprising appearance of a fowler before Arjuna, in a short and effective way, and this he did by thus changing the metre. And the metre here employed is *rathoddhatā*, which, not only by its name, but by its very modulations, introduces *uddhata-kirāta* and his admonitions of Arjuna. The following is the first stanza in the metre :—

तत्र कार्मुकभृतं महाभुजः पश्यति स्म सहसा बनेचरम् ।
सन्निकाशयितुमग्रतः स्थितं शासनं कुसुमचापविद्धिषः ॥

This much I have said not merely out of my curiosity in observing some parallelism between the Eastern and Western criticism; but with a view to make it clear that if one sets about to study poetry in itself in order to find out its distinguishing characteristics, the incipient stage of one's study and its result cannot but be very similar to what we see in Goldsmith's and Leigh Hunt's writings referred to above and if using what they have said, other men of letters push on in the same direction, their development of criticism can hardly be otherwise than such as we see in our Alankāra literature from Bhāmaha downwards. Unfortunately, however, almost all the critics seem to have been extremely *loath* to move in the direction shown by another. Each one tried to strike a new path, the result being that, however intelligent and keen-sighted the critics

might have been, the criticism remained always in infancy; so that when there arises a question—What is Poetry—as it is sure to arise whenever poetry happens to be spoken of, one becomes perplexed and has either to stammer in reply or to content oneself with leaving the question aside on the plea that one has nothing to do with such a question. To the same cause is to be assigned the fact that all the works of critics were merely “essays” never rising, nor ever ambitious to rise, to the level of science. The study of language so recently born as in the middle of the last century has grown up to be a science. A Max Muller took up its cause and designated his two volumes on language as ‘The Science of Language’ and successfully vindicated the claim the study of language for the title of science. We have not a Max Muller for poetry. Is poetry not a subject worthy of scientific treatment? Is it not in the fitness of the advanced stage of arts that we should have sciences of arts, especially a science of poetry, or let me call it, *poetology*? It seems to me that it is Aristotle himself who chiefly misled these critics. He treats of style and figure—which are the life-tokens of true poetry—not in Poetics, but in Rhetoric. This fact led to the idea that style and figures belonged to oratory, not to poetry.

When thus the direct and matter-of-fact consideration of poetic essence was thrown beyond the scope and realm of the study of poetry, it is inevitable that critics should enter either into the poet’s mind which gave birth to, or the life of the world which is represented by, poetry. And there they see nothing distinctly; all seem vague and nebulous; and yet, because great geniuses would not remain dumb on any point, they speak and write, which speaking and writing make us only understand that they are wandering philosophers, good dreamers and prose-poets of poetry.

If such a state of things is well understood, it would be apparent that Goldsmith and Leigh Hunt really deserve high commendation for having been able to shake off the traditional prejudice and to mark out the way to find out the distinguishing principle of poetry. That tropes (the elements of good style) and figures belong rather to poets than to orators is plainly said by Goldsmith :—

“Tropes and figures are likewise liberally used in rhetoric; and some of the most celebrated orators have owned

themselves much indebted to the poets. Theophrastus expressly recommends the poets for this purpose. From their source the spirit and energy of the pathetic, the sublime and the beautiful are derived. But these figures must be sparingly used in rhetoric than in poetry, and even then mingled with argumentation, and a detail of facts altogether different from poetical narration.”

But this is a whisper on the shore of the uproarious sea. Who would hear it? One thing, however, is clearly proved by the critics that imagination is—as Hemacandra and Jagannātha say—imagination being the *प्रतिभा* —the root of poetry; and the pleasure it affords is its flowers and fruit: that the language of poets has something in it which is wrought by imagination, beautifies the language and renders it pleasurable. So when poetry is sought to be defined with the help of these imagination, beauty and pleasure, as we see in—

“The expression of the imagination”.

“The language of the imagination”.

“The art of employing words in such a manner as to produce an illusion on the imagination”.

“The rhythmic creation of beauty”.

“The most delightful and perfect form of utterance that human words can reach”.

“The art of uniting pleasure with truth by calling imagination to the help of reason”.—

we may assume that the authors of these definitions are indirectly referring to the essence of poetry which resides in words and thoughts, and which owes itself to tropes and figures. I am inclined therefore to think that though the above and like definitions require a verbal change before they can be strictly called definitions, yet they are in substance the same as the definitions of our old Ālaṅkārikas of the Ālaṅkāra School, which will be considered in the third chapter.

Of a quite different nature and value is John Stuart Mill’s definition which is contained in his question “What is poetry but the thought and words in which emotion spontaneously embodies itself?” Perhaps we have here our *rasa* theory of poetry,

poorly expressed. In a more developed form we find the *rasa* principle in Wordsworth's observation which also refers to the question of origin and philosophy of poetry :

" . . . * Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings ".
(E. C. E. Pp. 6 and 26).

(To be continued.)

* It seems to me that Hudson had better take this formula for Wordsworth's definition of poetry instead of "poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge;" (in Rajaśekhara's words सा हि चतसृणा-मपि विद्यानां निष्पन्दः Kāvya. p. 4) and "it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science". (E. C. E. p. 19).

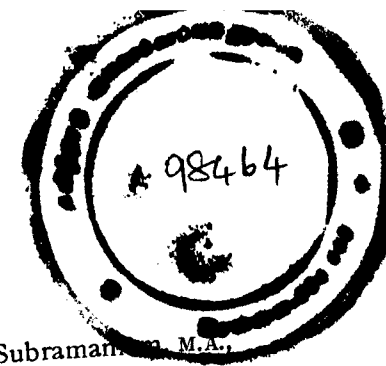
REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE by K. R. Subramanian, M.A.,
Lecturer in History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram.

It is no little credit to the author of this small but interesting volume, when he has so patriotically written a connected history of the reigns of The Maratha Rajahs of Tanjore. However much we may claim progressive ideas in the various fields of knowledge from ages past, it may not be quite uncharitable, if we have been criticised for a deplorable lack of the historical sense. But in recent years much has been done by eminent scholars of our country towards making amends for what we have been so justly charged with. Hence, the author of this treatise being young deserves all the more our praise for having so ably collected information for a book of history of the Tanjore Kings.

The first few pages contain a few incidents of the early history of Tanjore under the Naick Kings before the advent of the Maratthas, under their leader Veñkāji, the brother of the reputed empire-builder Śivāji. The reigns are narrated in their chronological order and end with that of Śivāji, the last of a line of prosperous but rarely intrepid kings. It is not a plethora of information encircling each of the reigns, that engages us here, but the exhaustive data given of the cultural efflorescence of the period. The golden age of Sarabhoji, as it rightly can be deemed, speaks enormously of the intellectual progress and the great development in fine arts. The closing chapters on the administration and economic condition of the period go much to prove, how the institutions, though they may have fallen into disuse in modern times, could not have been anything less than conducive to the welfare of an economically contented people.

Really the book evokes in us a feeling of pride at our own glorious past. But heavier our hearts grow at the comparative decadence, in every way in the present, of the villages of Tanjore, many of which like the famous Tiruvisalore, contained men of honour and learning, whose effulgence never failed to attract



people from outside to such seats of scholarship and the Muses.

We have only feeling of extreme respect to the author for having so nobly endeavoured to write the history of his own country.

K. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A., B.L.

CALCUTTA ORIENTAL SERIES NO. 8. THE VAKROKTI-JIVITA, by Rājānaka Kuntaka with his own commentary, edited with critical notes, introduction and resume :—by Sushil Kumar De, M. A., D. Lit., Reader and Head of the department of Sanskrit and Bengali, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Dacca.—Calcutta, 1928.

This is the second revised and enlarged edition of Kuntaka's *Vakrōkti-Jivita*, which had long been supposed to be lost by most of the Sanskrit scholars, until I was able to discover it through a peripatetic party working under me and announced its discovery in 1920 in my report on the working of the peripatetic party of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library during the triennium 1916-17 to 1918-19. The first edition of this work was published by Dr. S. K. De, in 1923 on the basis of a transcript furnished by me and of another transcript prepared by Mr. S. K. Ramanatha Sastri (now of the University Oriental Institute, Madras) and lent to Mahāmahopādhyāya N. S. Ananta-krishna Sastri of Calcutta. The second edition, now under review, was prepared by the same editor on the basis of the two transcripts above referred to and of a transcript of a manuscript of the same work existing in a Jaina Bhandar at Jesalmere. Though both these editions are inevitably incomplete, on account of the imperfect manuscript material on which they happen to rest, the second edition shows improvements in several directions and supplies several omissions. A fairly reliable text of the first two Unmeṣas is given in this edition, together with a part of the third Unmeṣa and a resume of the remaining part of the third Unmeṣa and the fourth Unmeṣa. What with the deficiencies in the manuscripts of the work and what with the inherent difficulties in Kuntaka's style and diction, which abound with specimens of *Vakrōkti* no less than Kuntaka's illustrative verses, the task of Dr. De, as the first editor of the *Vakrōkti-jivita*, must have been of a very exacting kind. Numerous as are the errors which

happen to disfigure this publication and no less numerous as are the textual problems that are left unsolved, a special meed of praise is due to Dr. De for having made available in print, for the first time, the contents of the rare, valuable and difficult work—*Vakrōkti-Jivita*, which is the oldest standard classic of the *vakrokti* school of Sanskrit Poetics.

In his learned introduction to this publication, Dr. De gives an exposition of the distinguishing features of the *Vakrōkti* school, discusses the place and importance of the *Vakrōkti-Jivita* in the History of Sanskrit Poetics and indicates how Kuntaka's theory of poetry may well be described as a beautiful tree of curly foliage, which grew out of the germinal idea set forth by Bhāmaha in his well-known verse:

सैवा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलंकारोऽनया विना ॥

(ii—85.)

Those who have studied well the *Dhvanyāloka* and *Lōcana* are apt to feel disappointed in a very disagreeable way, on perusing pages xlii and xliii of the introduction. In bringing Ānandavardhana's *Dhvani* under *upacāra-vakratā*, Kuntaka certainly adopts *bhakti-vāda* in the sense that *bhakti* or *lakṣaṇā* or *guṇa-vṛtti* is sufficient to account for all cases of *dhvani* and that a distinct *vṛtti* known as *Vyañjanā* need not be recognised. Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana and Udbhaṭa, who would bring *dhvani* under *alaṅkāra*, are not *bhākta-vādins*. Evidently Dr. De is misled by the ambiguity of the term *bhākta* and confounds this word as sometimes used in the sense of 'an element of secondary importance', with the same word which is used by Ānandavardhana in the sense of 'something associated with the secondary significative power called *lakṣaṇā* or *guṇa-vṛtti*.' Again, *Bhakti-vāda* does not take several forms, as Dr. De seems to imagine. In the concluding *kārikās* of the first Uddyota of the *Dhvanyāloka* and in the *vṛtti* and *Lōcana* relating thereto, *bhākta-vāda* is adversely reviewed through the well-known Śāstraic device of *vikalpyadūṣaṇa*. It is, indeed, amusing that Dr. De wholly misses the meaning of this portion of the *Dhvanyāloka* and *Lōcana* and inflicts upon his readers, not only in the first edition but also in the revised edition under review, the painful task of attempting to construe the subjoined baffling clause appearing at pages xlii and xliii of the introduction:—

“* * * but which (bhakti-vāda) takes several forms, as Abhinavagupta points out, according as the tādātmya or tād rūpya, lakṣaṇa or upalakṣaṇa of the lakṣaṇā or indication is posited with reference to the function of Vyañjanā or suggestion!” Will Dr. De, who chastises Dr. Haricand Sastri somewhat unjustly, at these pages of his introduction, consider the extract quoted above with the same degree of severity?

In what the editor calls the resume of the unedited portion of the text, he rightly states, with commendable modesty, that his emendations are capable of improvement. In some places, his emendations show that he misses the meaning. Attention may be drawn to one such striking example, just to show how wary those who use this publication should be. At page 193, the verse beginning with the word ‘आपीडलोमात्’ should be read thus :—

“आपीडलोमादुपकर्णमेव प्रत्याहतोपांशुरुतैर्द्विरेफैः ।

अभ्यास्यमानेव महीपतीनां संमोहमन्त्रं मकरध्वजेन” ॥

A beautiful Nāyikā, for whose hand several kings are vying with each other, is described in this verse. The bees attracted by the fragrant flowers decorating her ears come close to them and humming low, strike her ; and in this situation, she is described as being taught by Cupid, the *mantra* or spell by which all kings are captivated. Now Dr. De will certainly realise that his emendations consisting in changing ‘प्रत्याहितो’ into ‘प्रत्याहितः’, ‘मन्त्रं’ into ‘मन्त्रः’ and ‘अभ्यास्यमानेव’ into ‘अभ्युद्यमानेन’ would only lead to the verse in the original being entirely dissociated from its sense. Whatever may be the defects of this publication, Dr. De has certainly placed all those interested in the study of advanced Sanskrit Poetics under a deep debt of gratitude, by the great pains which he has taken in publishing the available text of one of the most valuable and rarest works on Sanskrit Poetics—viz., Vākrokti-Jivita.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

KAVYALAMKARA, by Śrī Bhāmaha with English translation and notes—by Mr. P. V. Naganatha Sastri, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Tanjore—Price Rs. 3, Printed and published by the “Wallace Printing Press”, Tanjore.

This is a welcome addition to the noteworthy publications relating to Sanskrit Poetics. The only edition of the text of Bhāmaha, available before the publication of this edition, was what one might find in the form of Appendix VIII to the Bombay Sanskrit Series edition of Pratāparudrayaśōbhūṣaṇa. Mr. P. V. Naganatha Sastri gives, in his edition, the text of Bhāmaha’s Kāvyaḷaṅkāra and an English translation, which is eminently readable and generally reliable, together with brief explanatory notes in English. The learned translator is happy in his rendering in several places and his judicious notes are such as bear ample testimony to his keen literary sense, sound Sanskrit scholarship and well-disciplined discretion—traits for which he has acquired a well-deserved reputation in the circle of cultured men to whom he is known. Bhāmaha’s Kāvyaḷaṅkāra bristles with textual problems, some of which Mr. P. V. Naganatha Sastri has solved, while many a problem still awaits further consideration and solution at the hands of other scholars. The printing is badly done and it is a pity that the learned editor could not decide to publish the results of his scholarly labours through some well-equipped Sanskrit Press. We offer our grateful thanks to Mr. P. V. Naganatha Sastriyar for the very valuable service he has rendered to the cause of higher literary criticism in Sanskrit, by bringing out this edition of one of the oldest works on Sanskrit Poetics.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

शाल—ततस्ततः ।

भरत—ततस्तेन महर्षिणा समुपजातामर्षेण हस्तिहेतोरेव बन्धनं शत्रुवशतां च यास्यतीति
स तु शप्तः ।

राजा—अहो ! नृशंसता महर्षेः ।

शाल—कथं त्वयैतदुपलब्धम् ?

भरत—अदूरस्थेनाऽस्मदीयेन चारेणैव तच्छ्रुतम् ।

राजा—यद्येवं गृहीत एव वत्सराजः ।

शाल—भोः! कथमिदानीं प्रारब्धव्यम् ?

भरत—स खल्विदानीं हस्तिबन्धनप्रियः । अतः—

आकृष्य द्विरदेन शिक्षितवता वन्यद्विपानां परां
लीलां कृत्रिमवर्णलक्षणवता मन्देन भद्रश्रिया ।

शूरैः कक्षगतैरतीव बहुभिः स्निग्धायुधीयैर्वलै-
शक्यशक्र इवर्षिशपविवशो युद्धे ग्रहीतुं बलात् ॥

वसु—अहो ! सुनिपुणो ग्रहणोपायः ।

शाल—मन्दहस्तिनियमः किम् ?

भरत—कदाचित्कार्यविसंवादे परस्य वृद्धिर्मा भूदिति ।

राजा—किमस्ति पुनस्तद्योगानुरूपो हस्ती ?

भरत—देव! अस्यैव कार्यस्य हेतोर्गूढं सुपरिकल्पिताश्चत्वारो हस्तिनः ।

राजा—को नु खलु तत्र यास्यति ?

भरत—आर्यशालङ्कायनः ।

राजा—किं तच्छक्यमिव ?

शाल—अवन्व्यफला हि देवस्याभिप्रायाः ।

राज—कदा नु खल्वार्येण तत्र गन्तव्यम् ?

भरत—यदा स राजा हस्तिवनं प्रविष्टवान् ।

राजा—कथं पुनस्तज्ज्ञास्यामः ?

भरत—न्यस्ता मया सर्वत्र हस्तिवनेषु वनचरपुलिन्दतापसाङ्गारिकादिव्यञ्जनाध्वराः ।

कौशाम्ब्यां च तत्रा[द]नुरूपत[रूपा]स्तेभ्यो यथावृत्त[त्त]कालहीनं मया उपलभ्यते ।

राजा—सखे ! किं त्वया पूर्वमेव व्यवसितं वत्सराजग्रहणम् ?

भरत—न हि ।

राजा—कथं पुनरेतत्सर्वं सुविनिहितम् ?

भरत—सर्वेषां आज्ञा[राज्ञां]छिद्रमुपलभ्य छिद्रानुरूपो विधिः प्रागेव मया क्रियते, स्वामिनः
पश्चादाज्ञासमकालमेवाभिप्रायसिद्धये ।

राजा—सदृशमेव[वै]तदाबाल[ल्य]वृद्धस्नेहपुरस्सरस्य प्रज्ञातिशयस्य ।

(प्रविश्य)

पतीहारी—^१जेदु भट्टा । कालो दाणिं अत्थाणीए । (?)

भरत—देव ! परिसमाप्तो ननु मन्त्रः ?

राजा—तथास्तु ।

(सर्वे उत्थाय परिक्रामन्ति)

राजा—भोः

मम तावदिदं दुःखं नित्यं दुहितृहेतुतः ।

बह्व्यो दुहितरो येषां कुर्वते किन्तु नाम ते ॥

(निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

इति प्रथमोऽङ्कः

१. जयतु भर्ता । काल इदानीं स्नानाय (?) उत्थानाय (?)

१ The corresponding portion in the
Pratijñāyāugandharāyāga is known as
मन्त्रालोचनाङ्कः ।

॥ द्वितीयोऽङ्कः ॥

(ततः प्रविशति तापसव्यञ्जनध्वरः)

चारः—^१जदा वेणुवणं पविट्टो वच्छराओ तदेव मए पेसिदो कवोदको । किं संपत्तो बु[खु]सो
उज्जयिणीम् । (परिक्रम्य) किं शु ड सुक्कपणमम्मरसदो विअ । (विलोक्य) अए !
आउहीओ ।

(प्रविश्य)

भट्टः—^२भअवं ! पाणीअं व, भअवं ! पाणीअं व ।

चारः—^३भद ! करअत्थं विणा णत्थि अण्णम् ।

भट्टः—^४तं एव परमपवित्तम् ।

चारः—^५तह होदु ।

भट्टः—(अञ्जलिना पानीयं पीत्वा) ^६अज्ज जीवाविदद्धि भअवदा ।

चारः—^७भद ! अदिसीअला इअं वेला । किं शु ड तुए अदिमत्तं पाणीअं पीदम् ?

भट्टः—^८भअवं ! भट्टा वच्छराओ सिलिद्धअसण्डे णाअवणे रणवारिप्पविट्टं महंतं
हत्थिज्जहं उवलंभिअ अदीव तुरिदं आआदो ।

१. यदा वेणुवणं पविट्टो वत्सराजस्तदेव मया प्रेषितः कपोतकः । किं सम्प्राप्तः खलु स उज्जयिनीम् ।
किन्तु खलु शुक्कपर्णमम्मरसदो इव । अये ! आयुधीयः ।
२. भगवन् ! पानीयं वा, भगवन् ! पानीयं वा ।
२. भद्र ! करकस्थं विना नास्त्यन्यत ।
४. तदेव परमपवित्तम् ।
५. तथा भवतु ।
६. अद्य जीवितोऽस्मि भगवता ।
७. भद्र ! अतिशीतलेयं वेला । किन्तु खलु त्वयातिमात्रं पानीयं पीतम् ।
८. भगवन् ! भर्ता वत्सराजः शिलीघ्रकण्डे नागवने अरण्यवारिप्रविष्टं महान्तं हस्तियूथमुपलभ्या-
तीव त्वरितमायातः ।

चारः—(आत्मगतम्) ^१एवं एदम् । पुच्छिस्सं दाव णम् । (प्रकाशम्) भो ! किण्णिमित्तं स
राआ अप्पेण बलेण परिब्भमदि ?

भटः—^२किं अप्पबलम् ? दुवे सहस्सा वदामि (पदादओ) ? ; दी सद मत्ता तुरआ;
विसंदि[विसदि] मत्तवारणा ।

चारः—^३किं जोअंधराअणो मोण्डो[रुमण्णो] अ अग्गदो गदो, आदु पिट्टदो आअच्छदि ?

भटः—^४अय्यजोअंधराअणो पुण रक्खाए णिउत्तो ; अय्यो उण रुमण्णो खुलिन्दखोहं
उवसमीदुं पड्डवणं (?) पविट्टो ।

चारः—(आत्मगतम्) ^५भो ! जस्स लहेण [जह लेहण] उत्तं तह एव सव्वं ।

भटः—^६भअवं ! वंदामि । गच्छामि[गच्छमि]अहम् ।

चारः—^७सोत्थि ।

(निष्क्रान्तो भटः)

चारः—^८किं णु हु दाणीं कत्तव्वं । पविट्टो वच्छराओ सिलिद्धअसण्डं णाअवणम् ।
कोच्चि[न्वि] उज्जइणीओ आअच्छदि । (एकतो विलोक्य) दिट्ठिआ एसं कवोदओ
इदो एव आअच्छदि ।

(प्रविश्य)

पुलिन्दवेषश्चारः—^९भो ! सुहु खु एदं पुच्छदि । णिक्कम्मसीलाणं तपो त्ति एत्थ तुवं
चिठ्ठसि । अहं पुण तदुवाअणाली विअ दोतपो [आदवे] परिब्भमामि ।

१. एवमेतत् । पुच्छामि तावदन्तम् । भो ! किण्णिमित्तं स राजा अपेन बलेन परिभ्रमति ।
२. किमल्पबलम् ? द्वे सहस्रे पदातयः द्विशतं मत्ताः तुरागाः विंशतिमत्तवारणाः ।
३. किं यौगन्धरायणो रुमण्वाश्चाग्रतो गतौ, उत पृष्ठत आगच्छतः ?
४. आर्ययौगन्धरायणः पुनरा राक्षसं नियुक्तः । आर्यः पुनरा रुमणवान्पुलिन्दक्षोभमुपशमयितुं प्रस्थवन् (?) प्रविष्टः ।
५. भो यथा लेखेनोक्तं तथैव सर्वम् ।
६. भगवन् ! वन्दे । गच्छाम्यहम् ।
७. स्वस्ति ।
८. किन्तु खल्विदानीं कर्तव्यम् । प्रविष्टो वत्सराजः शिलीघ्रकण्डं नागवनम् । कोऽप्युज्जयिनीत आगच्छति । दिष्टयैव कपोतक इत एवागच्छति ।
९. भो ! सुष्ठु खल्विदं पृच्छामि । निष्कर्मशीलानां तप इत्यत्र त्वं तिष्ठसि । अहं पुनस्तन्तुवायनाली-
वातपे परिभ्रमामि ।

प्रथमः—^१भो ! मच्चंथिअ ! किं तुवं णअरं आअच्छ (?) एव्व णिवुत्तो, ण खु वा ।

द्वितीयः—^२भो ! मए गच्छंतेण मग्ग एव्व अय्यो साळंकाअणो दिट्ठो ।

प्रथमः—^३कहं तेण विण्णादं वच्छराओ सिलिद्धअसण्डं पविट्टो त्ति ?

द्वितीयः—^४णअरत्थेहिं चारेहिम् ।

प्रथमः—^५जुज्जइ । तदो तदो । सो दाणीं कहिं ?

द्वितीयः—^६अय्यो साळंकाअणो तहिं तहिं 'चौरगच्छं जहाणुरव्वं ठाविअ चउस्सदेहि
पदादीहि सव्वराअं [अ]णिदिसिअमाणमग्गो णीळहत्थि[त्थिम्] गह्मिअ
जमुणाकओच्छ साळवणं पविसिअ णिऊढं उपविट्टो ।

प्रथमः—^७तदो तदो ।

द्वितीयः—^८तदो अहं अय्येण साळंकाअणेण सेणस्स समीवं गच्छिअ वच्छराअप्पवुत्तिं
जाणीहि त्ति पेसिदो हि ।

प्रथमः—^९अजुत्तं किदं तेण सेणस्स समीवं कवोदअं विसज्जंतेण ।

द्वितीयः—^{१०}अलं परिहासेण । को दाणिं वुत्तन्तो ?

१. भो ! मत्सन्धीय ! किं त्वं नगरभगवत्यैव निवृत्तः, न खलु वा ।
२. भो ! मया गच्छता मार्ग एवार्थः शालङ्कायनो दृष्टः ।
३. कथं तेन विज्ञातं वत्सराजः शिलीघ्रकण्डं प्रविष्ट इति ?
४. नगरस्थैश्चारैः ।
५. युज्यते । ततस्ततः । स इदानीं कुत्र ?
६. आर्यशालङ्कायनस्तत्र तत्र चौरगजं (?) यथानुरूपं स्थापयित्वा चतुश्शतैः पदातिभिः शक्यराज-
निर्दिश्यमानमार्गो नीलहस्तिनं गृहीत्वा यमुनाकच्छे सालवनं प्रविश्य निगूढमुपविष्टः ।
७. ततस्ततः ।
८. ततोऽहमर्थेण शालङ्कायनेन इयेनस्य समीपं गत्वा वत्सराजप्रवृत्तिं जानीहीति प्रेषितोऽस्मि ।
९. अयुक्तं कृतं तेन इयेनस्य समीपं कपोतकं विसर्जयता ।
१०. अलं परिहासेन । क इदानीं वृत्तान्तः ?

१. चौरगजं चउस्सदेहिं पदादिहिं ।

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वीणावासवदत्तम्

प्रथमः—^१विदिदम् मए एव सव्वम् । आअच्छ दाणिम् । तहिं गए एव गच्छामो ।

द्वितीयः—^२तह ।

(निष्क्रान्तौ)

प्रवेशकः

(ततः प्रविशति राजा, विष्णुत्रातः, विदूषकश्च)

राजा—सखे ! विष्णुत्रात !

तरुभिरभकराग्रभग्नशाखैः कारिदशनोल्लिखितैर्महाद्रिकुक्षैः ।

द्विपदविषमैश्च भूमिभार्गजमयवत्प्रतिदृश्यते वनं मे ॥

विदू—^३मम उण बुभुक्खाए ओदणमअं विअ पडिभादि ।

विष्णु—नैतदाश्चर्यम् ।

राजा—वयस्य ! किमिदानीमेव प्रारब्धा बुभुक्षा ?

विदू—^४कुक्कुडेहिं सह पबुद्धा ।

(सर्वे परीक्रामन्ति)

विष्णु—देव ! इतो विलोक्यताम् । उच्चत्वादस्य प्रदेशस्य विस्पष्टं दृश्यते वारी । एषा हि

ब्रंभ्रम्यमाणकलभेभकरेणुपोतधेनूर्मिभङ्गकलिला रदभे[फे]नमाला ।

वारी विभाति विलसत्करभोगिसङ्घा व्यालोलफेनभुजगोर्मिमतीव वापी ॥

राजा—सम्यगाह भवान् ।

उपलनिचयनीलं धीरगम्भीरघोषं दशनशबलमेतद्भाजते हस्तियूथम् ।

विरलतरबलाकं तोयभारावनम्रं नवमिव घनवृन्दं मन्दमन्द्रप्रणादम् ॥

विदू—^५भो ! मूलकन्दा विअ दन्ता, मोदका विअ कुम्भा, मणगा विअ कण्णा, गुळित्ता(?)

विअ णअणा, ओदणरासी विअ णाआ ।

१. विदितं मयेव सर्वम् । आगच्छेदानीम् । तत्रैव गच्छावः ।

२. तथा ।

३. मम पुनर्बुभुक्षया ओदनमयमिव प्रतिभाति ।

४. कुक्कुटेस्सह प्रबुद्धा ।

५. भो मूलकन्दा इव दन्ताः, मोदका इव कुम्भाः, मण्डका इव कर्णाः, कुलित्वा इव नयनानि, ओदनराशिरिव नासा ।

राजा—अतिसादृश्यमभिहितम् ।

(प्रविश्य)

पाशिकाध्यक्षः—^१जेदु भट्टा ! किदं सव्वासु दिसासु जहाणत्तं बलिविहाणं । हुदो अग्गी । वाइदा सोत्थी लत्थदक्खिणोहिं ब्रह्मणोहिम् । परिवुदा वारी । उत्थाविदा पदाआ । तुज्झस्स घसमालले (?) दुवारसमीवे ठिदा पुरिसा उत्थिद (?) वेणुदंडपासाणकुसपासा-उह(?) समत्थेहिं सह गएहि ओदिण्णो । पडि पादस्स(?) चम्मकञ्चुआसाहावच्छादिदस-रीरदकरेणुवादंतरिदा (?) पादवंधीआ । पेक्खदु पेक्खदु भट्टा एदाणं कम्मविहाणम् ।

राजा—गच्छतु भगवान् । यावदहमप्यागच्छामि ।

पाशि—भट्ट तह । (इति निष्क्रान्तः)

(प्रविश्य)

वनचरवेषश्चरः—अज खु जूहपदिं विअ सुसिखिदा करेणू वञ्चिअ 'वच्चराअवन्धणं पवेसिअ भट्टिणो पज्जोदस्स^२ अणिरिणो भविस्सम् । (परिक्रम्य) पविट्ठो हि सिलिद्धअ सण्डम् । कहिं णु हु वच्चराओ । (विलोक्य) एसो सो । (उपसृत्य) जेदु भट्टा । ण हन्त वञ्चिदो । णीलो गजो मए दिट्ठो ।^३

राजा—(सानन्दम्) भद्र ! नीलो गजः क्व त्वया दृष्टः ?

चारः—^४इदो जोअणमत्ते जमुणाकच्छे सालवणम् ।^१ तहिं माणलभरिआ णाम अदि-मुत्तअलआ ति^५ से समीवे सो अहिरमदि ।

१. जयतु भर्ता । कृतं सर्वासु दिशासु यथाज्ञप्तं बलिविधानम् । हुतोऽग्निः । वाचितं स्तस्ति लब्धदक्षि-जैर्ब्राह्मणैः । परिवृता वारी । उत्थापिताः पताकाः । तत्र गहनालये (?) द्वारसमीपे स्थिताः पुरुषा उद्धृत-वेणुदण्डपाषाणाकुशपाशायुधसमर्थैः सह । गजैः अवतीर्णं पथि पातस्य (?) चर्मकञ्चुकादच्छादितशरीरकरेणुपा-दान्तरिताः (?) पादबन्धनीयाः (?) । प्रेक्षतां, प्रेक्षतां, भर्तेदानीं कर्मविधानम् ।

२. भर्तस्तथा ।

३. अथ खलु यूथपतिमिव सुशिक्षिता करेणुवञ्चयित्वा वत्सराजं बन्धनं प्रवेश्य भर्तुः प्रद्योतस्यानृणो भविष्यामि । प्रविष्टोऽस्मि शिलीघ्रकण्डम् । कुत्र नु खलु वत्सराजः । एष सः । जयतु भर्ता । न हन्त वञ्चितः । नीलो गजो मया दृष्टः ।

४. इतो योजनमात्रे यमुनाकच्छे सालवनम् । तत्र मानलभरिता नाम अतिमुक्तकल्ता अस्ति । अस्याः समीपे स अभिरमते ।

५. वच्चराअं ?

६. पज्जोदस्स ।

७. cf. Pr. एकनीलो हस्ती मया दृश्यते P. 9

४. cf. Pr. ... इतः क्रोशमाले मल्लिकासालप्रच्छा-दितशरीरः P. 9.

५. अत्थि ।

राजा—सखे! विष्णुत्रात! नीलकुवलयतनुर्नाम^१ चक्रवर्तिनो हस्ती । न शक्यः सोऽन्यै-
र्गृहीतुम् । अहं तु पुनः

शक्तो ग्रहीतुं द्विरदप्रवीरं तं वीणया केवलयाश्रमेण ।
विशेषतः कृत्यकरी ममेषा विद्या गजेन्द्रेषु तथाविधेषु ॥

विष्णु—ऐरावतादीनपि दिग्गजान् देवो ग्रहीतुं समर्थः । किं पुनस्तं वनगजम्!^२

राजा—सखे!^३ त्वमिदानीं सर्वैस्साधनैर्हस्तिबन्धने प्रयतस्व । अहं पुनस्तं द्विरदवरं
स्वीकृत्य शीघ्रमानयिष्ये ।

विष्णु—

सापायाः प्रत्यन्ता न च साधु परीक्षिता नदीकक्ष्या ।
तस्माद्बलैस्समस्तैर्गन्तव्यं नान्यथा तत्र ॥^४

विद्—सुष्ठु तत्तद्दोदा उत्तम् । अपरिच्छिदो णाम देसो अपरिच्छिदोदणं विअ
दुःखमुत्पादेदि ।

राजा—वयस्य! तद्दर्शनमनियतम् । नियतप्राप्तस्य महतो हस्तियूथस्य त्यागादर्थ-
हानिर्भवेत् । किमत्र विचारेण । पश्य

दृष्टो^५[ष्टा]भवेद्यदि स घोषवती ममेषा संविद्यते गजवरग्रहणैकहेतुः ।
स्यादत्ययस्तमपि साधयितुं समर्था व्यालोदरासिततलास्ति ममासियष्टिः ॥

विष्णु—हस्तिबन्धनं कृत्यैव ननु गन्तव्यम् ।

राजा—न युक्तः सातिशये वस्तुनि कालातिक्रमः । सामसाध्यत्वाद्गजपतेः कोपकारणञ्च
महाबलदर्शनम् ।

१. सुष्ठु तत्रभवता उक्तम् । अपरीक्षितो नाम देशः अपरीक्षित ओदन इव दुःखमुत्पादयति ।

1. Once mentioned as कुवलयनीलतनु
and again as नीलकुवलयतनु । cf. Pr. भट्टिण
उत्त-अतिथ एतो चक्रवर्ती हत्यी नीलकुवलयतण
णाम हस्तिबन्धनाए पठिदो P. 9.

2. cf. Pr. भट्टा अमन्त्रेण विष्णुविदो—ण दु
दे एलावणादीणं वि दिसागआणं गहणं ण सम्भणी-
अम P. 9.

3. cf. Pr. ता अप्यमत्ता होह तुज्जे इमसिंस

जुहं । गअं तं अहं वीणादुदीओ आणेमि ।

4. cf. Pr. अविदु दुरारकखदाए आसण्णदोसाणि
विसअन्तराणि ।ता पदादिमवाहि डिदं इमं
जुहं कारिअ सअ एव गच्छामो ण एकाइणा सा-
मिणा गन्तव्वम् ।

5. The reading in the Viṇāvāsava-
datta is दृष्टो but the Vatsarājaprabandha
gives दृष्टा ।

Note.—Since the sūtra 196 says that the flexional increment
'in' is added and the sūtra 197 says that the consonant preceding
the final ū is doubled, there arises a doubt whether the flexional
increment is added or not, in cases where the consonant preced-
ing ū is doubled. This sūtra 198 clears that doubt.

Since the word 'ceyarkaiya' is unnecessarily found in the
sūtra, the commentators think that the flexional increment is
sometimes added even when the consonant is doubled. But it
seems to me that they may say so since the word 'enpa' is
found in the sūtra.

199. Enni nirutti yannoṭu civaṇum.

All numbers ending in ū take the flexional increment 'an'

Ex. onru + ai = onraṇai etc.

200. Onru mutalākaṭṭattūrtu varūu
Mellā venṇuṇ colluṇ kālai
Yāṇṭai varīṇu māṇa millai
Yaṣṭeṇ kiṭavi yāvayir keṭumē
Yuytal vēṇṭum paṣkāṇ meyyē.

In compound words having the numbers one to eight (i.e.,
onru, iraṇṭu etc.) as the first member and paṣtu as the second
member, there is no harm if the flexional increment 'ān' also is
added, and in that case aṣtu of paṣtu is dropped. Ex. irupaṣtu +
ai = irupāṇai etc.

Note.—Since it is said that 'ān' also may be added, the
flexional increment 'an' may also be added by the sūtra 199.
Hence we have the form irupaṣṭaṇai also.

201. Yāte niruttiyūṇ cuṭṭumuta lākiya
Vāyṭa viruttiyū manṇoṭu civaṇu
Māyṭaṇ keṭuta lāvayī nāṇa.

The word yātu and the words (aṣtu, iṣtu and uṣtu) which
commence with a demonstrative letter and have āyam in the
middle take the increment an; and the āyam in the latter case
is then dropped. Ex. yāṭaṇai, aṭaṇai, iṭaṇai etc.

202. Ēla nurupirkuṭ ticaippeyar munṇarc
Cāriyaik kiṭavi yiyarkaiyu māku
Māvayī nirutti meyyoṭuṇ keṭumē.

Words denoting direction, when followed by the seventh
case-suffix, do not optionally take the increment in (mentioned in

E

sūtra 196), in which case, the final *u* with the preceding consonant is dropped. Ex. *vatakku* + *kan* = *vatakkān* or *vatakkinkan*.

203. Pulli yirutiṇṇu muiyiriṇṇu kiḷaviyuṇ
Colliya valla vēṇaiya vellān
Tēruṇ kālai yuruṭoṭu civaṇic
Cārīyai nilaiyuṇ katappā tilavē.

All words ending in consonants or vowels, not mentioned above sometimes take flexional increments and sometimes not.

(Urupiyal ends.)

7. *Uyirmayañkiyal.*

(Chapter dealing with sandhi when the standing word ends in a vowel)

204. *Akara virutip peyarnilai munṇar*
Vērrumai yalvalik kacatapat tōṇṇir
Ratta motta vorritai mikumē.

If the standing word is a noun ending in 'a', and if it is followed by k, c, t or p, k, c, t or p is respectively inserted in *non-case-relation sandhi*. Ex. *viḷa + kuritu* = *viḷa-k-kuritu* etc.

205. *Vinaiyeñcu kiḷaviyu muvamak kiḷaviyu*
Menave neccamuñ cuṭṭi nirutiyu
Māṅka veṇṇu muraiyacaik kiḷaviyu
Ñāṅkark kilanta valleluttu mikumē.

If verbal participles and particles denoting comparison that end in 'a', the particle 'eṇa', the demonstrative root 'a' and the particle 'āṅka' happen to be standing words, k, c, t or p is inserted after them as in the case mentioned in the previous sūtra (when they are followed by k, c, t or p respectively). Ex. uṇa + koṇṭāṇ = uṇa-k-koṇṭāṇ; pulipōla + koṇṛāṇ = pulipōla-k-koṇṛāṇ; koḷḷeṇa + koṇṭāṇ = koḷḷeṇa-k-koṇṭāṇ; a + koṛṛāṇ = a-k-koṛṛāṇ; āṅka + koṇṭāṇ = āṅka-k-koṇṭāṇ etc.

206. *Cuṭṭin munṇar ñānamat tōṇri*
Nottiya vorritai mikutal vēntum.

If the demonstrative letter 'a' is followed by ñ, n or m, ñ, n or m is respectively inserted after it. Ex. a + ñālam = a-ñ-ñālam; a-n-nūl; a-m-mani etc.

207. *Yavamun_u varinē vakara morrum.*

(If the demonstrative letter 'a' is followed by y or v, v is inserted after it. Ex. +yā̄ = a-v-yā̄; a + valai = a-v-valai.

208. *Uyirmun̄ varin̄u māyiya ririyātu.*

(If the demonstrative letter 'a') is followed even by a vowel, the same is the case. [*i.e.* v is inserted after it.] Ex. a + ātai = a-v-ātai; a + ilai = a-v-ilai etc.

209. *Nīta varutaḷ ceyyulu lurittē.*

(The demonstrative letter 'a') may be lengthened to ā in poetry. Ex. āyiru tiṇaiyi nicaikkumaṇa collē. (Tol. col. 1).

210. *Cāva vennuñ ceyave neccat*
Tiṛuti vakaraṇ ketutalu murittē.

The verbal participle 'cāva' optionally loses its final 'va' (when it happens to be the standing word). Ex. cāva+kuttinān=cāva-k-kuttinān or cā-k-kuttinān.

211. *Anna vennu muvamak kilaviyu
Maṇmai cuṭṭiya viḷinilaik kilaviyuṇ
Ceymmaṇa vennun toliliru collu
Mēval kaṇṇiya viyaṇkōṭ kilaviyuṇ
Ceyta vennum peyareṇcu kilaviyuṇ
Ceyyiya vennum viṇaiyeṇcu kilaviyu
Mamma vennu muraipporuṭ kilaviyum
Palavar rirutiṭ peyarkkoṭai yulappaṭa
Vanri yanaittu miyaḷpena molipa.*

It is said that no change takes place in sandhi if any of the following words that end in 'a' happen to be the standing words :—(1) 'aṇṇa', the particle of comparison (2) vocatives addressed to persons near at hand (3) finite verbs of the type 'ceymmaṇa' (4) verbs of the imperative mood (5) noun participles of the type 'ceyta' (6) verbal participles of the type 'ceyyiya' (7) amma, the particle used in addressing a person and (8) palla, pala etc. that are always plural pronouns. Ex. (1) poṇ + aṇṇa + kutirai = poṇaṇṇa kutirai (2) ūra (vocative of ūraṇ) + koḷ = ūra koḷ (3) uṇmaṇa + kutirai = uṇmaṇa kutirai (4) celka + kutirai = celka kutirai (5) uṇṭa + kutirai = uṇṭa kutirai (6) uṇṇiya + koṇṭāṇ = uṇṇiya koṇṭāṇ (7) amma + korṛā = amma korṛā (8) pala + kutirai = pala kutirai.

Note.—Iḥampūraṇar interprets *palavariruti-p-peyar* as the pronoun *pala* which ends in 'a' and denotes plural number; while Naccinārkkīṇiyar interprets the same word as the nouns, *palla*, *pala*, *cilla*, *cila*, *uḷḷa* etc. which end in 'a' and denote plural number. Naccinārkkīṇiyar's interpretation is better in the light of the sūtras 214 to 216.

212. *Vāliya venṇuñ ceyaveṇ kiḷavi*
Yiruti yakarañ keṭutalu murittē.

'Ya' of the optative vāliya is sometimes dropped when it is the standing word. Ex. vāliya + korṛā = vālikorṛā.

213. *Uraipporuṭ kiḷavi nittamum varaiyār.*

None prevents the lengthening of the *uraipporuṭkiḷavi* (i.e.) the word 'amma' mentioned in sūtra 211. Ex. amma korṛā.

214. *Palavaṇ riruti nittumoli yūlavē*
Ceyyul kaṇṇiya toṭarmoli yāṇa.

The final 'a' of palla, pala etc. is sometimes lengthened in compound words in poetry.

Note.—Iḷampūraṇar says (1) that, since the sūtra contains the word ula (plural number) instead of unṭu (singular number), the word cila also must be added to pala (2) that, since the expression *toṭarmoli* is found in the sūtra, pala must be followed by cila and (3) that, since the expression *ceyyul kaṇṇiya toṭarmoli yāṇa* is found in the sūtra instead of *ceyyulāṇa*, a followed by ñ will follow ā of palā and a followed by m will follow cila. Ex. 'Palā añcilā amenmaṇār pulavar' for pala cila venmaṇār pulavar.

Note.—Naccinārkkinīyar agrees with him in points (2) and (3).

215. *Totara liruti tammuṇ rāmvariṇ*
Lakaram rakaravōṇ rākalu murittē.

'La' of the standing word may sometimes be changed to r, if those of the above-mentioned words that are not *toṭarmoli* (i.e., pala and cila) are followed by the same words. Ex. pala + pala = paṛpala; cila + cila = ciṛcila.

Note.—For the definition of *toṭarmoli*, refer to sūtra 45.

216. *Vallelut tiyarkai yuralat tōṇṇum.*

The insertion of c, or p after the words pala and cila if they are followed by the same words is only optional. Ex. pala + pala = palapala or pala-p-pala; cila + cila = cilacila or cila-c-cila.

Note.—1. Sūtra 204, enjoins the insertion of c or p and this sūtra makes it optional.

Note.—2. The sūtras 204 to 216 deal with the changes in non-case-relation sandhi when the standing word ends in 'a'.

217. *Vērrumaik kaṇṇu mataṇō rārṛē.*

The same change takes place in case-relation sandhi (i.e.) if the standing word is a noun ending in 'a' and if it is

followed by k, c, t or p, k, c, t or p is respectively inserted in case-relation sandhi in the same way as in non-case-relation sandhi mentioned in sūtra 204.

218. *Marappēyark kiḷavi melleluttu mikumē.*

If the standing word that ends in 'a' denotes a tree, a nasal (i.e., ñ, ñ, n, or m is inserted if it is followed by k, c, t or p respectively. Ex. viḷa + kōṭṭu = viḷa-ñ-kōṭṭu; viḷa-ñ-cetiḷ; viḷa-n-tōḷ; viḷa-m-pū.

219. *Makappēyark kiḷavik kinṇē cāriyai.*

If 'maka' is the standing word, it takes the increment 'in' after it. Ex. maka-v-in-kai etc.

220. *Attavaṇ varinnum varainilai yinṇē.*

It is not objectionable if the increment 'attu' is added after 'maka' instead of in. Ex. maka + attu + kai = makattu-k-kai.

Note.—The a of attu is dropped by the sūtra 126 and k is inserted after it by the sūtra 134.

221. *Palavaṇ riruti yurupiya nilaiyum.*

The words palla, pala etc. take (the increment 'varṛu' if they are followed by k, c, t or p) in the same way as when they are followed by case-suffixes. Ex. pala-varṛu-c-cevi.

Note.—The sūtras 211 to 221 deal with the changes in case-relation sandhi when the standing word ends in 'a'.

222. *Ākāra viruti yakara viyarṛē.*

The changes (in non-case-relation sandhi) when the standing word is a noun and ends in ā are the same as those when it ends in 'a' (if it is followed by k, c, t or p.). Ex. tāṛā + kaṭṭu = tāṛā-k-kaṭṭu etc.

223. *Ceyyā venṇum viṇaiyeñcu kiḷaviyu*
Mavviya ririyā teṇmaṇār pulavar.

Learned men say that the same is the case if the standing word is the verbal participle of the type *ceyyā*, (i.e.) k, c, t or p is respectively inserted if it is followed by k, c, t or p. Ex. unṇā-k-koṇṭāṇ.

224. *Ummai yeñciya viruṇeyart tokaimoli*
Meymmai yāka vakara mikumē.

In *ummai-t-tokai* or *dvandva* compounds made up of two words of which the former member ends in ā, a is inserted after it. Ex. irā + pakal = irā-a-p-pakal.

225. *Āvu māvum vilip̄peyark kilaviyum*
Yāveṇ viṇāvum palavar r̄irutiṇu
Mēval kuritta vuraiyacai miyāvum
Tan̄ṇol̄i luraikkum viṇāviṇ kilaviyō
Tan̄ṇi yaṇaittu miyalpeṇa mol̄ipa.

It is said that there is no change in sandhi if the standing words are (1) the noun ā or mā (2) nouns in the vocative case (3) the interrogative pronoun yā (4) the neuter plural finite verbs ending in ā (5) a verb in the imperative mood with the particle miyā suffixed to it and (6) interrogative verbs denoting the action of the speaker. Ex. (1) ā kur̄itu; mā kur̄itu; (2) ūrā koḷ; (2) yā kur̄iya (4) uṇṇā kutirai (5) kēṇmiyā kor̄rā (6) uṇkā kor̄rā.

Note.—1. Ḥampūraṇar interprets *palavar r̄iruti* as the finite verbs (ending in ā) denoting neuter plural; while Naccinārkkiniyar interprets the same as noun participles denoting negation. Ḥampūraṇar's interpretation seems to be correct since one has to stop a little after pronouncing the finite verb and hence no change in sandhi is possible.

Note.—2. uṇkā kor̄rā means 'will I eat, Oh, kor̄rā?'.
 Note.—3. The sūtras 223 to 225 deal with the changes in *non-case-relation sandhi* when the standing word ends in ā.

226. *Vērrumaik kaṇṇu mataṇō r̄ar̄rē.*

The changes in case-relation sandhi (when the standing word is a noun and ends in ā) are the same as those when it ends in 'a' (if it is followed by k, c, t or p) (i.e.) k, c, t or p is inserted. Ex. tāṇā + kāl = tāṇā-k-kāl etc.

227. *Kur̄iyataṇ mun̄ṇaru mōrel̄uttu mol̄ikku*
Mar̄iyat tōṇru makarak kilavi.

'A' is inserted after the standing word if it happens to be either a word ending in ā with a short vowel previous to it or a single-lettered word ā. Ex. palā + kōṭu = palā-a-k-kōṭu.

Note.—Examples for the second case are not generally found in current literature.

228. *Irāveṇ kilavik kakara millai.*

But 'a' is not inserted if the standing word is 'irā'. Ex. irā + kūttu = irā k-kūttu.

229. *Nilāveṇ kilavi yattoṭu civaṇum.*

If 'nilā' is the standing word, it takes the increment 'attu' after it. Ex. nilā + koṇṭāṇ = nilāttu-k-koṇṭāṇ.

230. *Yāmarak kilaviyum piṭāvum taḷāvu*
Māmuṇ peyaru melleluttu mikumē.

If the three nouns yā denoting tree, piṭā and taḷā are standing words, the nasal ṇ, ñ, n or m is inserted (after the inserted element a according to the sūtra 227). Ex. yā + tōl = yā-a-n-tōl; piṭā-a-n-tōl; taḷā-a-n-tōl etc.

231. *Valleluttu mikinu māna millai.*

There is no harm even if a voiceless consonant (k, c, t or p) is inserted (instead of a nasal). Ex. yā-a-t-tōl; piṭā-a-tōl; taḷā-a-tōl etc.

232. *Māmarak kilaviyu māvu māvu*
Māmuṇ peyaru mavarrō raṇṇa
Vakaram vallel̄ut tavaiyava ṇilaiyā
Nakara mor̄ru māvu māvum.

If the nouns mā denoting tree, ā and mā are standing words the same is the change in sandhi as is mentioned in the sūtra 230 (i.e.) a nasal is inserted. Besides in the case of ā and mā, ṇ is inserted in the place of 'a followed by a nasal'. Ex. mā + tōl = mā-a-n-tōl, māṇ-tōl; ā + talai = ā-n-talai, ā-ṇ-talai etc.

233. *Āṇor vakaramoṭu nilaiyiṭa nuṭaittē.*

If the standing word is ā, it sometimes takes after it ṇ followed by a. Ex. 'Āṇaneytelittunāṇanīvi' for 'Āṇneytelittunāṇanīvi.'

234. *Āṇmuṇ varūu mīkāra pakaran*
Tāṇmikai tōṇrik kuṇkalu murittē.

If the standing word ā is followed by the word 'pī', p is inserted after ā instead of ṇ and ī of pī is shortened to 'i'. Ex. ā-p-pī.

235. *Kur̄iyata n̄irutic ciṇaikeṭa vukara*
Mar̄iya varutal ceyyulu ḷurittē.

In poetry, the final ā of the standing word which has a short vowel previous to it is sometimes shortened to a and u is inserted after it. Ex. puṇavuppurat taṇṇa puṇkāyu kāy. Here puṇa-v-u is used for puṇā.

Note.—Sūtras 226 to 235 deal with the changes in *case-relation sandhi* when the standing word ends in ā.

236. *Ikara viṇutiṭ peyarṇilai mun̄ṇar*
Vērrumai yāyiṇ valleluttu mikumē.

If the standing word is a noun and ends in 'i', a voiceless consonant (*i.e.* k, c, t or p) is inserted after it in case-relation sandhi (if the initial of the coming word is k, c, t or p). Ex. *kiḷi + kāl = kiḷi-k-kāl*, etc.

237. *Inḷiyaṇi yennuṇ kālaiyu miṭṭaṇum*
Viṇaiyeṇcu kiḷaviyuṇ cuṭṭu maṇṇa.

The same is the case (*i.e.* k, c, t or p is inserted) after the words 'inḷi' and 'aṇi' respectively denoting time and place, verbal participles ending in 'i' and the demonstrative root 'i'. Ex. *inḷi + koṇṭāṇ = inḷi-k-koṇṭāṇ*; *aṇi-k-koṇṭāṇ*; *tēṭi-c-cenṇāṇ*; *i-t-tēvaṇ* etc.

238. *Inḷi yennuṇ viṇaiyeṇ ciṇṇuti*
Niṇṇa vikara mukara māta
Ronṇiyaṇ maruṇkiṇ ceyyulu ḷurittē.

The final 'i' of *inḷi* is changed to 'u' in old poetry. Ex. *uppiṇrupurkai yuṇkamākoṇṭakaiyōṇē*.

239. *Cuṭṭi niyaṇkai murkilaṇ tarrē.*

The nature (of sandhi) after the demonstrative root 'i' is the same as that mentioned after 'a'. (*i.e.* a nasal is inserted if the coming word commences with a nasal and 'v' is inserted if it commences with 'y' or 'v'.) Ex. *i-ṇ-ṇāṇ*; *i-m-maṇi*; *i-n-nūḷ*; *i-v-yāḷ*; *i-v-vaṭai*.

240. *Patakkumuṇ varinē tūṇik kiḷavi*
Mutaṇkiḷan teṭutta vēṇṇumai yiyarrē.

If the word 'tūṇi' is followed by the word 'patakkū', the change in sandhi is the same as that in case-relation sandhi (*i.e.* the voiceless p is inserted between them). Ex. *tūṇi-p-patakkū*.

241. *Urivaru kālai nāḷik kiḷavi*
Yiṇṇuti yikāra meyyoṭuṇ keṭumē
Ṭakara morṇu māvayi ṇāṇa.

If the word 'nāḷi' is followed by the word 'uri', 'ḷi' is dropped and ṭ takes its place. Ex. *nāḷi + uri = nā-ṭ-uri*.

242. *Paṇiyēṇa varūṇ kāla vēṇṇumaik*
Kattu miṇṇuṇ cāriyai yāḷkum.

The word 'paṇi' denoting season takes after it the increments 'attu' and 'iṇ' in case-relation sandhi. Ex. *paṇi + koṇṭāṇ = paṇi-y-attu-k-koṇṭāṇ* or *paṇi-y-iṇ-koṇṭāṇ*.

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