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King Dasaratha on meeting a peacock in the forest



अपि तुग्गसर्मापादपतन्त्रं मयुग्मं
न स रुचिरकलापं वाणलक्ष्म्यचकार ।
सपदि गतमनस्काश्चित्रमान्यानुकाणै
रतिविगलितवन्धे केशपाशे प्रियायाः ॥

Raghu. IX., 67.

A NOTE ON VILVĒLI AND NELVĒLI.

BY

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.,

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The Vēlvikuḍi grant is the earliest copper plate grant of the Pāṇḍyan kings so far known. It contains a valuable account of the achievements of the Pāṇḍyan kings of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. This grant and the larger Sinnamanūr plates are the most trustworthy sources of our knowledge of the history of the kingdom in the extreme south of India for a period of nearly three centuries. It has not yet been possible to explain fully and satisfactorily all the events narrated in these charters. It is the object of this note to discuss one event in the reign of Arikēsari Asamasaman Śrī Māravarman C. 670-710 A.D.¹ This event is the celebrated battle of Nelvēli which is mentioned in ll. 53-54 of the Vēlvikuḍi grant in the words:²

Vilvēli—kkaḍar-rāṇaiyai Nelvēlic-ceru Venṇum.

The particular question that is first to engage our attention relates to Vilvēli. There are three ways in which this word has been understood by different writers. *First* as the name of a general. This is the interpretation originally proposed by Mr. Venkayya in his tentative summary of the Vēlvikuḍi grant given in his Annual Report³ for Epigraphy (Madras) in 1908. He says that Māravarman Arikēsari Asamasaman defeated the army of Vilvēli at Nelvēli. He has been followed by other writers also.⁴

1. My *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 41.

2. Ep. Ind. XVII, p. 300.

3. Pt. II, para 28.

4. Krishna Sastri *Ep. Ind.* XVII, pp. 293 and 306; also S.I.I. III, pp. 441 ff.; Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 258 and 268-9. *Tinnevely Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 46. Also my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 51.

Second as the name of a place. This view is held almost alone by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who, in tracing the campaigns of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I against the south says: "The army that marched against the Pāṇḍyas came from the city of Vilvēli which is perhaps identical with Villivalam in the Chingleput District".¹ *Third* and last, as an adjective to the expression which follows: This is the suggestion first made, so far as I can trace, by Mr. K. G. Sankara.² "The passage only means: 'the army fenced in (*vēli*) by bowmen (*vil*),' and all guesses as to whether Vilvēli was a person or place are needless. We shall now consider each of these interpretations more closely.

If Vilvēli was the name of a person, who was he? Dr. S. K. Aiyangar³ thinks that Vilvēli was a Pallava, because the Pallavas were also known by the name Villava. He refers us also to the hymn of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār on *Tirupparamēccuraviṇṇagaram* in which the Ālvār refers to a battle of Neṇmali, probably the same as Nelvēli. On the other hand, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri⁴ thinks that Vilvēli was 'perhaps a Cēra.' As Mr. Krishna Sastri assigns no reason in support of his surmise, it is not possible to test its correctness. There seems to be almost nothing in its favour except the identification of Nelvēli with Tirunelvēli,⁵ a town more within reach of the Cēras than of the Pallavas. But the identifications proposed by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar of Villavaṇ and Vilvēli, and of Neṇmali and Nelvēli, raise important questions which may be reserved for consideration later on. Meanwhile it may be observed that as the name of a person Vilvēli lends itself to such diverse interpretations at the hands of scholars, and that it has so far received no epigraphical confirmation either as the name of a king or as that of a general commanding an army in a battle at Nelvēli or elsewhere. These circumstances may well raise a doubt as to whether Vilvēli is a personal name at all. It may also be observed that there is a serious difficulty from a grammatical point of view in treating

1. *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 40; also p. 123.

2. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 51, p. 214. Mr. Krishna Sastri attributes this interpretation to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Ep. Ind.* XVII, p. 306 n. 6.

3. *Beginnings*, p. 268-9.

4. *S. I. I.* III, p. 447.

5. *S. I. I.* II, p. 364.

Vilvēli in the present context as a personal name. Our text, clearly and unmistakably, is:

Vilvēli-kkaḍarṛāṇaiyai. But, by a well-known rule of grammar, if Vilvēli were a proper name, the initial *ka* of the succeeding word should not be reduplicated into *kka*.¹ The reduplicated form is clear in the plates and there is not the slightest doubt as to the reading here; it is, therefore, necessary to interpret the passage in some other way and drop the assumption, if it is possible to do so, that Vilvēli is a personal name.

The idea that Vilvēli is a geographical name is not more easy to sustain. This is clear from the reluctance of scholars to accept the suggestion of Mr. K.V.S. Aiyar in this matter. Moreover, Villivalam is referred to in the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman as Vilvala,² a form very different from Vilvēli.³

This brings us to the last of the three views outlined above, which makes Vilvēli an adjective to the succeeding phrase and a part of the description of the army against which Arikēsari fought at Nelvēli. The line thus means: "Having defeated in a battle at Nelvēli (the) ocean-like army fenced in by bowmen." We have here, in fact, a reference to a disposition of forces in battle array which appears to have been common among the Ancient Tamils, and this will become clear from some references in classical and later Tamil literature.⁴ Thus in the *Mullaiṭṭ-p-āṭṭu* we read: *Pūndalai-kkundaṁ-gutti-kkiḍukuniraittu vāṅguvil-araṇam-araṇamāka vērupal perumbaḍai nāppaṇ* (in 41-43), meaning, "In the midst of large and diverse forces which had for protection the enclosure of drawn bows and ornamented pikes planted on the ground, and shields arrayed in regular order." Again, in the *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi*, stanza 279, we read in the description of a fight: *Vēl-miḍaṇda-vēliyum-piṇandu*, meaning: "(After) breaking through the fence bristling with lances." In this case, it is the lancers, not the bowmen that fence the army; it is, in other words, a *vēlvēli* in the place of a *vilvēli*. Lastly, Kambaṇ in his description of Guha in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ calls him:

1. See e.g. *Nannūl* Sec. 158, *Mayilaināthar* ed. Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar (1918). Also *Tolkāppiyam Eluttu*—153.

2. *S. I. I.* II, p. 369, l. 44.

3. *Contra.*, *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 123.

4. I owe these references to Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar and Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai of the Tamil Lexicon.

5. St. 25 of the *Guha-p-paḍalam*.

"*Virpīḍittavēlaiyīnān*," that is to say, "One possessing an ocean (-like army) holding bows", which comes very close to the description in the Vēlvikuḍi grant : *Vilivēli-kkadarṛāṇai*. These quotations must suffice, it is possible to produce others, to convince us that it was usual for armies in those days to surround themselves by a ring of lancers or bowmen, who apparently bore the first shock of the enemy's attack. There is no difficulty, therefore in interpreting the line from the Vēlvikuḍi grant in the light of this practice and to abandon once for all the attempts to identify Vilvēli with a person or a place.

We may now turn to the battle of Nelvēli and the identification proposed by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. Whether Vilvēli is identical with Villavaṇ, and Villavaṇ is another name for Pallava, cease to be matters of any great consequence, if the view urged above is accepted. It may, however, be observed, in passing, that there does not seem to be sufficient support for taking Villava to be another name for Pallava. The lines of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār on which this view rests are not altogether free from doubt. As they stand in the editions which are now current and as interpreted by the celebrated annotator Periyavāccāṇ Pillai these lines indeed seem to identify Pallava and Villava. The text is:

*Pallavaṇ Villavaṇ eṇṇu ulakil
palarāy-pṇala-vēndar vaṇaṅgu-kaḷal—Pallavaṇ.*¹

Here, undoubtedly, the author seeks to glorify the Pallava as superior in power to other kings who were subordinate to him, and one would normally expect the words before "*eṇṇu ulakil palarāy*" to give examples of such subject kings as are collectively referred to as '*palavēndar*'; and one can hardly resist, in the context, emending the first 'Pallava' of the text into 'Vallava', '*pa*' and '*va*' being orthographically so liable to be mistaken for each other. This slight emendation makes the passage very much straighter and more forceful than it is in its present form. For, then, the Cālukya and the Cēra (Villavaṇ) would be the examples of the kings subdued by the Pallava and obliged consequently to make obeisance to him. However that may be, it seems that more evidence is needed² than is

1. *Periya Tirumoli*, II 9, 1.

2. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that in St. 8 of *Periya Tirumoli*, II 9 Pallava is referred to as Villavaṇ. I am unable to see this.

furnished by this passage before one can accept that the Pallava was also called Villava.

The identification of Neṇmali with Nelvēli deserves more attention. The battle of Nelvēli is well-known in literature. Sundaramūrti in his *Tiruttonḍattogai* mentions this battle as the chief achievement of Niṇṇa-Śīr-Neḍumāra Nāyaṇār who may, with good reason, be identified with Arikēsari Māravarman of the Vēlvikuḍi grant.¹ Although the same fight is mentioned more than half a dozen times in the illustrative stanzas in the commentary to the *Iṇṇaiyaṇār-Ahaṇṇorūl*, the name of the enemy against whom Arikēsari fought on this occasion is unfortunately not once mentioned. As is well known, Sundaramūrti's list of the Śaiva saints furnished the basis of two works by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi and Śēkkiḷār. Nambi, again, adds nothing to our knowledge about the battle of Nelvēli. Śēkkiḷār in his account of the life of Niṇṇa Śīr-Neḍumāra Nāyaṇār tells us that the foes of the Pāṇḍyan king came from a distant country seeking a fight with him and that they were the chief rulers of the northern country.² These indications though vague in themselves, may be of some value in deciding whether Neṇmali can be taken to be Nelvēli or not. Udaya Candra the celebrated general of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, fought 'a terrible battle' at Nelvēli against a Śabara king.³ This battle of Nelvēli fought in the war of the Pallava succession by Udaya Candra against the Śabara king is different from and later than the fight in which Arikēsari Māravarman of the Vēlvikuḍi grant defeated his opponents.⁴ There seems to be, however, no reason to suppose that Nelvēli of Udaya Candra's campaigns was not the same place as the scene of Arikēsari's victory. It must, however, be observed that the location of Udaya Candra's Nelvēli must depend on the identity of the Śabara chieftain Udayana. Mr. R. Gopalan observes;⁵ "If the

1. See my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 53, ff.

2. See verses 3 and 7 of the life in *Periya purāṇam*; also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar—*Beginnings*, p. 276.

3. S. I. I. II, 367-8 and 372 and Gopalan *Pallavas*, p. 125.

4. See *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 51-2 and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar—*Beginnings*, p. 274.

5. *The Pallavas of Kāñcī*, p. 125. It will be seen that, rather inconsistently, Mr. Gopalan grants also that 'Nelvēli is probably identical with Neṇmali.' *Contra* Hultzsch, S. I. I. II, 364.

Śabaras are identical with the modern Sauras of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam District (*sic*) it would not be correct to identify Nelvēli where the Śabara king is said to have been killed with Tinnevely. It is, therefore, to be identified with some other place on the border of the Telugu districts."

Turning for a moment to Neṇmali made mention of by Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, we see that here the Pallava king is the victor and the enemy who suffered defeat was a Cēra (Villavaṇ).¹ It is not easy to decide who exactly the Pallava king was that is referred to and on what occasion this fight with the Villavaṇ took place. There are other incidents of a manifestly historical character mentioned by the Ālvār in this hymn. They are; (a) a victory against the Pāṇḍya (st. 2) who is said to have had a mountain fortress (*kuṇṇeyil*) (5); (b) A victory at Maṇṇai said to have been won of old (*muṇṇāl*) (3); (c) a victory against the Pāṇḍya near Karuvūr (7), the Pāṇḍya being mentioned here as the lord of the world (*ulakuḍaimaṇṇavaṇ Teṇṇavaṇai*). Now, are these incidents to be treated as, all of them, relating to the reign of one Pallava ruler, possibly contemporary with the Ālvār? Or, are we to understand that Tirumaṅgai has just brought together some incidents in Pallava history to embellish his hymn in praise of a Pallava shrine?² There can not be the least doubt that, on the former hypothesis, the Pallava ruler referred to must be Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The mention of a powerful Pāṇḍya as the opponent of the Pallava, and the references to Maṇṇai and Kuṇṇeyil (which may be the Kālidurga of the Udayēndiram plates) may be taken to support this view. And an ingenious suggestion made by Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar³ enables us to treat Neṇmali of the Ālvār's hymn as a reference to Udaya Candra's victory against the Śabara chieftain. The suggestion is that, though Villavaṇ normally means the Cēra king, we may, in this context, take the word to mean a hunter (Śabara). If this view is accepted, then Neṇmali *does* come to be another form of the epigraphical name Nelvēli. But, as the careful reader must have guessed already, there are difficulties in the way. First there is the difference in the forms Neṇmali and

Nelvēli which is not easy to account for. Then we have the statement that Maṇṇai was an ancient battle (*muṇṇāl*) when the hymn was composed; and lastly the fact that the battle of Karuvūr is not mentioned in the inscriptions. It should be remembered also that there is a large assumption underlying this part of the discussion *viz.*, that Tirumaṅgai Ālvār has, in this hymn, mentioned only the incidents in the reign of his Pallava contemporary.

At least two Nelvēlis appear to be mentioned in the Cōla inscriptions—one of them in Īṅgā-nāḍu (No. 213 of 195) and the other in Nelvēli-nāḍu a subdivision of Teṇkarai Paṇaiyār-nāḍu in Cōla-maṇḍalam—(276 of 1916). Though not conclusive as an argument, the suggestion may still be made that Nelvēli which gave its name to a *nāḍu* might have been the celebrated Nelvēli of Sundaramūrti's hymn.

The upshot of the preceding discussion is, therefore, this. We have two battles of Nelvēli and one of Neṇmali. The earliest of these was a Pāṇḍyan (Arikēsari's) victory, possibly against the Pallavas. The second battle of Nelvēli was a Pallava success against a Śabara chieftain. The battle of Neṇmali was either the same as the latter or altogether another historical incident. The questions whether the two battles of Nelvēli were fought in the same place and whether Tirumaṅgai's reference to Neṇmali does relate to the second battle of Nelvēli are too closely bound up with the identity of the Śabara chieftain Udayana for us to be able to answer satisfactorily in the present state of our knowledge about him.

1. Viḍaittiṇal-villavaṇ Neṇmaliyil Veruva-ccheru-vēl Valangai piḍitta Paḍaittiṇal Pallavarkōṇ—*Periya Tirumoli*, II, 9, 8.

2. Compare Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Ancient India*, pp. 410-11.

3. See *Ālvārkaḷ-kālanilai*, p. 101.

ANCIENT BHR̥GUS.

BY

A. PADMANABHAYYA, B.A.,

Pleader, Tirupathi.

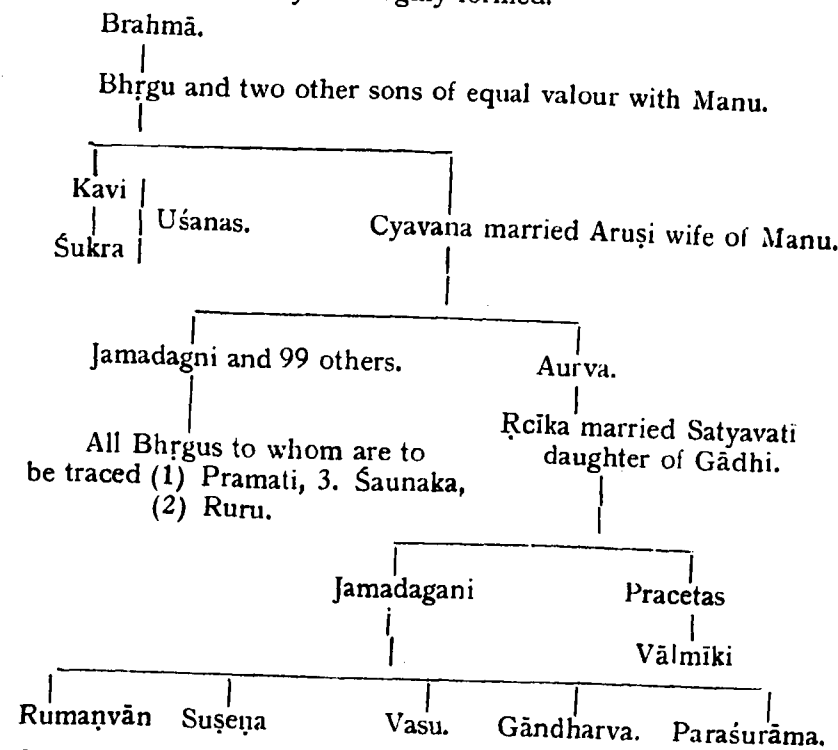
(Continued from page 67 of Vol. V. Part I.)

CHAPTER VI.

It is now necessary for us to consider, an account of the Chief Bhr̥gu leaders, as we find them in our sacred literature.

The Mahā-Bhārata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa give their account in some detail.¹

From the account given in the above works, the following geneological tree may be roughly formed.



- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. See chapter V and VI | Ādi Parva Mahā-Bhārata. |
| " " XVI, | Ādi Parva do. |
| " " XXXIII, | Vana Parva do. |
| " " CXV, | Vana Parva do. |
| " Amśa III Ch. III, | Viṣṇu Purāṇa. |

Bhr̥gu—Āṅgirases-Ātharvans—Their World-wide Influence.

The Bhr̥gu are originators of the "Fire cult" and from "Fire cult" arose the worship of the Phallus and its counter part that of the *Yoni*, the *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*—representing the fatherhood and mother-hood of the God-head. The union of Father God and Mother Goddess represents production.

Varuṇa is the earliest God and he is the ancestor of the Bhr̥gu. Bhr̥gu according to the Brāhmaṇa literature is a Vāruṇi or descendant of Varuṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata calls all Bhr̥gus as Vāruṇeyas. The 'boundless Aditi' is the consort of boundless Varuṇa and this is the central basis on which the cult of the Bhr̥gu is based. Varuṇa combines in himself the two principles. He is the source of the Kṣatra or Virile power of the universe and he is the Māyī or Māyāvi and the sustainer or preserver and this Māyā or occult power is the female principle which represents the preservative and protective character of the God-head of which Viṣṇu is a later manifestation. One branch of these ancient "Fire worshippers" gave prominence to the "female" element of God-head or Aditi and it is this worship of Aditi which gave rise to the worship of the "Great Mother of Gods" in the Aegean area, a cult carried there from the Bhr̥gu-Phrygian-Hittite land. This fact is manifest from the symbolism employed for both aspects of the cult. Varuṇa-Brahma-Rudra are manifestations of the virile power of the Universe and their symbolism is the Phallus and the Bull, and Varuṇa the ancestor of the Bhr̥gu is therefore called *Go-pati* or the lord of the Cow or the Bull. The ancient *Go-tamas*, a branch of the Āṅgirases of which Dīrghatamas, the son of Utathya and nephew of Bṛhaspati is a prominent representative, are the chief repositories of this cult. Dīrghatamas learnt this cult from the children of Surabhi according to the Ādi-Parvā of the Mahā-Bhārata and it is the *Go-vrata* referred to in the Matsya Purāṇa. The Mahā-Bhārata again refers in the Udyoga-Parva to Vipras practising this cult. This universal Cow-Goddess *Go* or Aditi is the guiding Goddess of Vāruṇi = Bhr̥gu = Jamadagni and Vāruṇi = Vasiṣṭha whose sacrificial Cow-Goddesses are Surabhi Kalmāṣa, Surabhi Śabala both meaning speckled or spotted and it is curious to find that the founder of Ilum-Troy should be guided by a spotted cow, a gift made to him by a Phrygian King, and Cadmus, the founder of Thebes in Boetia, should be guided by another Cow. It is interesting also to note the Iconic representation of Jamadagni

guided by Surabhi Kāmadhenu should be found in the country of Śrī Sailam in the Kurnool District of South India. The Greek Hera with Cow's horns, the Egyptian Isis with cow's horns, Zoroaster's respect for the Cow-earth Goddess Araimati, the mythical Prthu and the Cow, Brahmā and the earth Goddess often approaching him in the form of a cow show the importance of this cult. Its origin is in Go-Medha-Plakṣa, the ancient land of the Bhṛgu, and the places where we find it are the Colonies of the Bhṛgu. This cow or Go is the sacred Gāyatrī, the Mantra *par excellence*, the seer of which is the famous Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra related to the Bhṛgu-Ṛcika. Gāyatrī is probably traceable to a word which means "Fire Cow". The Āṅgīrasa Gautama is a worshipper of Gāyatrī according to the Devī-Bhāgavata and the curses levelled by him against the ungrateful Brahmins who violated his hospitality in a prophetic form shows the degeneracy to which this cult was reduced in its later mutilated manifestations. The Āṅgīrasa Gautamas represent the first original thinkers on the first principles of the God-head-Brahmā in opposition to ritualism and the originators of the Saṅkhya Kapila and Gautama Nyāya systems of Philosophy later on presented to us in the degraded Epicureanism of the Greek and the Cārvāka-Lokāyatika system of Bṛhaspati, an Āṅgīrasa. Both the Epicureans and Cārvākas had good beginnings and became degraded only later on.¹ The Cārvākas represent the ancient Asura Bhṛgu magical powers. Cārvāka is a word traceable to the Fire God in the Minoan area and suspiciously suggestive of charites allied to Hephæstus, the Pelasgian fire God. Curiously enough the Mahā-Bhārata makes the Cārvāka, an ally of the Kurus, the representatives of the ancient Asuras. Bhṛgu-Āṅgīras Atharvans, have their parallel in the western area of Bhārgava influence—viz., the Caberi, Curetes, Corybantes.² The Vasus³ and the Pitris have their parallel in the Lares Manes of the Pelasgic-Latin—Etruscans with the Vestal vergins or Pitṛ Kanyās. Pitṛ Kanyā 'Go' is the wife of Śukra Bhārgava. Satyavatī, the wife of Śantanu is a Pitṛi Kanyā according to Harivaṁśa. She is the daughter of Uparicara Vasu. Kuntī is connected with Durvāsas. The Vasus are Pitṛs or Manes or Lares and Gods residing in "Fire".

1. See also Greek Pyrrhanism.

2. See Maha-Bharata Anus. Chap. LXXXV.

3. There are also eight Caberii like the Vasus—See Art: on Phoenicia E. B. 9th Edn.

Almost all the names mentioned in the genealogical tree are names applied either to the "Fire God" or priests of the "Fire God" in Medo Persian History. Brahmā or Baresma, Kavi and Ṛcika are names of priests mentioned by Sir William Rawlinson. Speaking of the religion of the Parsi community that writer says "Worship is conducted by priests called (1) Kavi (seers) Karapani (sacrificers) Ṛcika (wisemen). Brahmā according to the Purāṇas is the first or Adi Kavi, and it is he that gave inspiration to Vālmiki, (the son of Ṛcika, according to Viṣṇu Purāṇa), a hunter in his previous birth. Ṛcika, a hunter God, is mentioned in the Yajur Veda. Brahmā, the first poet is Jarat Tvaṣṭṛ or Sing-maker and Jarat Tvaṣṭṛ or Zoroaster is thus referable to Brahmā, the first ancestor of the Fire worshipping Zoroastrians. Yima or Yama is an early hero of the Zoroastrian epos; Yama, Djemshid are names from which Jamadagni is certainly traceable. Jamadagni and Djemshid are names which are traceable also in Ishmedagan of the adjacent Babylonian country identifiable with Šālmali Dvīpa of our Purāṇa. Urva or Aurva is a name also traceable in the early Babylonian Priest Kings.

These names are sufficient for us to say that Plakṣa and Kuśa, which cover Medo Persia, are the original place of the early Bhṛgu.

We have now to see whether we can find the names of these mystic people in other countries. This leads us to the consideration of (1) "Caberii" (2) "Curetes" (3) "Corybantis", mystic mythical names connected with Fire-cult, which we find in the history of the Phoenicians, the Pelasgians, the Etruscans and the Greeks.

(1) *Caberii*.—Hephæstus is an early Greek fire God traced to the Pelasgic race. He is the lightning God and Homer says that Hephæstus was hurled from heaven by his father Zeus. It is said "wherever a Pelasgic race is found, most certain there the God is found associated with Caberii". Herodotus finds the Caberii in the Pelasgic settlements of Samothrace, and Imbros with its Itty Phallic emblem. Hephæstus is called the Cabirus *par excellence*".

Hence the equation is possible Cabirus = Kavi Hephæstus = Kavi or the best fire God.

"According to Pindar, this Hephæstus or Cabirus, is the lightning that has descended to the earth, and became the origin of all life and the first man".

In Pelasgic Athens, Hephæstus occupied a very high place along with Athene. In the oldest Greek traditions Hephæstus and Athene would appear to be the parents of Erichthonus, the serpent God. Once it is admitted that Athens owes its origin to a Pelasgic fire worshipping race, we have a clue to the names—Hatti—Athene—traceable to Atty—the fire Fig emblem. Athene is thus a fire Goddess, probably the earth Goddess, who gave birth to Erichthonus the serpent or Nāga. Nāgas are fire-born and also earth-born. The two Asura religions, Jainism and Buddhism are of Nāga or Kṣatriya origin. The Kurus are certainly Nāgas as would appear from a comparison of the Kuru names with those of Nāgas given in the Mahā-Bhārata. Hence, Kuru, Nāga, Hittite, Bhṛgu are in a way synonymous. Cecrops the Nāga or Serpent King of Athens has suspiciously the characteristic of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara. Jain Tīrthaṅkaras have serpent emblems. Zeus Phratreus puts us in mind of Vrātya, the supreme God head mentioned in the Praśnopaniṣad and the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa.

The common link to connect the Kurus, Nāgas, Hittites Phœnicians, Ikṣvākus are the "Curetis" identified with the Caberii.

(2) *Curetes* and (3) *Corybantes*.—

The Curetes are held to be synonymous with Corybantes. I suspect that the Krauñca Dvīpa of the Purāṇas is called after these corybantes and the symbolism of the double headed eagle of Eyuk near Boghaz Kieu Hatti represents this symbolism. It may be the same as the Phoenix or the double Phoenix representative of the Sun God or the Fire God, Bhānu referred to in Ch. 223 of the Vanaparva of Mahā-Bhārata as the son of Angiras.

Curetes are priests who brought up Zeus. Their influence like that of Caberii is seen in the Pelasgic area in some place names. The island of Crete is called after them Curetes. Cures is a town in Italy inhabited by the Quirites, an ancient tribe traceable to the Pelasgic Etruscans.

Surat and Barygaza (Broach) in India connect them through the Bhṛgu. Sūri is a word in Sanskrit meaning learned, a term which may without any hesitation be applied to the Bhṛgu-

1. See Enc. Britta. 9th Edition, Art on Fire.

Vipras. The Yadus accompanied Bhṛgu and Purāṇic evidence is that Kuśasthalī founded by a descendant of Cyavana Bhārgava was later on occupied by Yādavas under Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Raivata a descendant of this Cyavana married his daughter to Balarāma. The Yadus are related to Sūra-Senas, which may mean leaders of Curetes. The Bhṛgu are prominently connected with the Yadus. Chāndogyopaniṣad says that Śrī Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra is a pupil of Ghora Aṅgīrasa—a name synonymous or at any rate connected with the Bhṛgu. Harivaṁśa mentions that Kṛṣṇa visited Paraśurāma before he attacked Śṛgāla Vāsudeva. In the Mokṣa Dharma Parva, it is Śrī Kṛṣṇa that relates to Yudhiṣṭhira the greatness of Śiva, when Bhīṣma pleaded his inability.

The Ghoras or Aṅgīrases of which sage Durvāsas is the type, (he is called Ghora in the Mahā-Bharata Ādi-Parva) are probably the same as the Ghorbastae referred to in Persian History and are probably also related to the Corybantes.

Another ancient people directly connected with the Caberii are the ancient Phœnicians. The writer of the article on Phœnicia in the Enc. Britta. 9th Edition says regarding the religion of the Phœnicians.—"Peculiar to Berytus is the worship of Poseidon and other sea-Gods, who are connected genealogically with Zeus Belus, a son of El, born beyond the Euphrates, and perhaps therefore connected with the Babylonian fish Gods. Berytus was also the Chief seat of the worship of the Caberii,¹ the seven nameless sons of Sydek, with their brother Eshmun, who is the eighth and the greatest of Caberii". The learned writer of the article again says "The Phœnicians themselves regarded as not primitive the many Egyptian elements which were quite early introduced into the religion of the Caberii and especially of Eshmun. On the other hand, a figure allied to Eshman Taaut, the inventor of the Alphabet is certainly borrowed from the Egyptian Tehuti. So too Onka is probably the Anuka of Sais, and it is possible that the whole cycle of Gods who revealed and interpreted the sacred books is Egyptian, some of the latter have the form of a serpent". Ethiopian Egypt called Kesh or Cush is a colony of the ancient Elam, or Kuśa Dvīpa, a fact which is established by archæological connections.²

1. Cf. Śyamanta Pañcaka, the pools of the Piṭṛs of Paraśurāma.

2. See Enc. Britta. 13th Edition.

"The two lowest strata belong to the stone age, and the first is characterised by a thin fine pottery with yellow paste decorated with geometrical patterns, and animal or vegetable figures in black and brown red. Some of it is similar to the Pre-historic pottery of Egypt". The God of ancient Elam Susinak worshipped also under the secret title of Atmanu, at Nitum Dilvan, a God too sacred to be seen by mortal eyes, has its counter part in ancient Egyptian religion. The writer of the article on Ancient Egyptian Religion 9th Edition says "The Solar group consists of Ra, or else Mentu, and Atmu, and Shu. Mentu, and Atmu are only a division of Ra, into his chief phases, the rising and setting Sun, the Sun of the upper and the lower world. Both are solar divinities. Shu, the solar light, is the son of Ra, or Mentu or Atmu". The Bhāgavata corroborates this when it says that the people of Kuśa Dvīpa are worshippers of Ātman. It is curious that this God of Elam should be worshipped unseen at Chidambaram, in South India, otherwise known as *Tillaiavanam* under its Elamite name Dilvan. Shuśan the city of Varuṇa is in Elam and the description of the Egyptian God refers to Mitrā-Varuṇā, and the Phœnician Eshmun and eight Caberii are Nāga fire Gods referred to in our literature as Vasus. Elam is the country of Nāga King Vāsuki and of Āryaka, the ancestor of Kuntī, favoured with children by Durvāsas. Eshmun, the eighth Caberii reminds us of Bhīṣma of the Mahā-Bhārata. Bhīṣma is the eighth Vasu, born as son of Śantanu, the Kuru King. He is the disciple of Bhārgava Paraśurāma, as Droṇa and Karṇa, other adept bowmen referred to in the Mahā-Bhārata.

The Curetes are worshippers of Zeus (Palasgian) who has all the characteristics of the Proto-Āryan Varuṇa.¹ This Zeus has all the characteristics of the Vedic Varuṇa. The collapse of Zeus in the west and of Varuṇa in the east runs on parallel lines. Orphic hymns are traceable to "Ouvrva" a Bhṛgu. The above comparative account sufficiently familiarises us with the connection of the Bhṛgu and their cult and the relics of their existence is to be found in certain fetishes symbo-

1. See Bloomfield's "Religion of Veda" page 83 which shows the characteristics of the original Zeus as found by Hesiod and the Orphic hymns. "The eye of Zeus which sees all and knows all" Hesiod. "Zeus is the beginning, Zeus is the middle, on Zeus all is founded" Orphic hymn.

lised under various heads, viz., Tree-stone—Bull and weapons. The God of the Bhṛgu is Rudra-Brahmā as creative principle. In his terrible aspect as punisher, his weapon also is introduced. In his protective character, the cow and Yoni and the breast full of milk are introduced. As a creator, the symbolism is the Phallus and Bull.

(1) *Phallus* :—Orvieto in Italy.

Imbros in the AEgean Area.

Phallica of Egypt.

Phallic festivities of Athens.

Phillistine Baal (Peor).

Lydian Phallic emblems.

(2).....Bull or Nandī.

Minotaurus of Crete (Zeus Zagreus) and the Bull with long yard horns referred to by Mahaffy.

The Bull on the Flag of the Jewish Warrior.

Apis of Egypt.

Bull emblem of Lydia Assyria and Babylon.

Persia and Baluchistan and Afghanistan.

Assyrian Bulls—Assyrian Flag.

(3) *Double Axe Labryn* or *Paraśu*.

Sandon of Cilicia.

Labryn or axe of AEgean area.

(4) *Cow* and *Yoni*.

Representing the female principle-fiddle shaped stones of AEgean area.

(5) *Symbolism of the Dove* or *Pigeon*.

On the Goddess in the AEgean area.

On the Goddess in the Hittite City of Membij

According to Christian symbology the Dove is the emblem of Holy Ghost, representing the fire or spirit or God. The Dove is a sacred bird of the Syrians and their Goddess Semiramis like Śakuntalā was brought up by Doves. The Dove is a bird of good omen in the western countries and Asia Minor. In the semitic flood legend, it is this bird that indicated to Noah the setting of land. But curiously enough it is a bird of evil omen with the Rg Vedic Āryan¹ and it is mentioned as the bird of

1. Rg Veda, X, 164.

Yama or God of Destruction, may be Fire. But in the Aegean area it is the symbolism of love or Kāma which is also the product of Fire—Kāma is an important God in Atharva Veda. It symbolises the sexual craving of the "Great Mother" for production and the union with the Universal father is to be brought about by Fire. It may be that this was the original idea taken by the ancient Bhṛgu to their colonies and lost to us because in the Ṛg Veda prominence is given to Puruṣa and not to Prakṛti—Patriarchy in preference to Matriarchy. But Kālidāsa, a worshipper of the "*Universal Mother*" introduces Agni into the presence of Śiva in the form of a dove who talks to the God on love affairs.¹ The story of Śibi reveals Agni in the form of a Dove pursued by Indra, the hawk.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BOW SYMBOLISM AND DHANUR VEDA.

There is another symbolism of the ancient God Varuṇa the God of Bhṛgu by which is manifested his Kṣatra or power and which connects him with the ancient Assyrians. This symbolism travelled from Assyria to the southern most corner of South India a portion of the ancient Bhārgava country—Dhanush Koṭi and Kerala. It is the bow or Dhanus. The ancient Bhṛgu from Varuṇa—Rudra downwards to Paraśurāma are adepts in the art. Jamadagni, R̥cika, Paraśurāma are mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata as repositories of Dhanurveda or Archery and that is why Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Karṇa are mentioned as pupils of Paraśurāma.

It is the symbolism of "Bow" that establishes the identity of Varuṇa, Rudra or Śiva over and above the statements in the Mahā-Bhārata relied on by Mr. Pargiter in his ancient Indian Historical Tradition page 185 "Śiva who had the form of Varuṇa took Bhṛgu as his son"—basing his statement on Mahā-Bhārata Ānuśāsanika Parva, ch. 85.

Rudra's powerful bow is an oft repeated theme in the Veda. Varuṇa's bow is equally powerful. Scholars like Bloomsfield Maxmuller and Ragozin have shown us the all importance of Pre-Historic God Varuṇa and established his identity with

1. See "Kumāra Sambhava," Chap. IX.

(1) Zeus (Palasgian) later on subordinated to Poseidon-Neptune.

(2) Ahurmazda of Zoroaster.

(3) Ashur-Assur of Assyria.

(4) Varuṇa-subordinated to "Lord of Waters" and as Lord of a cardinal point.

(5) Yahveh of the Jew.

Assyria gives us the key to solve the importance of the bow symbolism. The bow is the symbol of Ashur and a land of the bow is referred to in the Babylonian History.¹ In its wars with the South, Kish was often assisted by another Northern Kingdom, the reading of the name of which, and consequently its precise situation, is still uncertain. The name has been read as the "Land of the Bow". Thanks to the publishers of the New Standard English Dictionary who gave us an image of this God with the bow symbolism and connected him with the Heaven God Anu of the Babylonian and Yahaveh of the Jew. Varuṇa's powerful bow is presented to King Janaka Videha of Ramāyāṇa. Varuṇa presents the bow Gāṇḍīva to Arjuna in the Bhārata. Asura Varuṇa, Ashur of Assyria are thus Gods of Janaka Videha, the descendant of Nimi, and of the Assyrian the descendant of Nimrod—the first founder of Assur. This symbolism travelled to the west coast of India as far as Dhanuṣkoṭi, or end of the bow. The Bhils of Rajaputana and Asirgarh and Turanmal in Bombay sacred to the great bowman Aṅgīrasa Aśvatthāmā, are middle posts. Kerala or Cera, the reputed country of Paraśurāma, adopts the bow symbolism in the flag of the Cera Kings—a fact amply supported by the existence of Villavars referred to by Mr. Kanakasabhai, in his "Tamils 1800 years ago." According to Purāṇic evidence Agastyas and Pulastyas are identical and Pulastya is the source of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa who got the lore from Bhṛgu. According to Rāmāyāṇa, Agastya the son of Mitrā-Varuṇa is a famous Ṛṣi, who presented a bow to Śrī Rāma and eventually settled in the South. The Bhṛgu Dravidian Ṛṣis are later on stigmatised as Brahma Rākṣasas; the God Varuṇa is displaced and later Indra Parjanya husband of Sītā (the Furrow

1. See Assyria and Babylon :—Enc. Britta. 9th and 10th Edition —Assyria and Babylon Volume, XXVI. The land "ur" of the Chaldees is also noted for its long bow archers.

Goddess) in metamorphosed into Rāma, husband of Sītā, and is said to have killed Rāvaṇa Asura, the same as Varuṇa Rudra or his protegee. All this is attempted to be done by later sectarian bias to give prominence to one of the triune aspects of Varuṇa, as Protector Preserver namely Viṣṇu. The existence of many versions of the Rāmāyaṇa is proof positive of this. The original Rāmāyaṇa is lost to us and of its existence and of its relation to the worship of Varuṇa and Vāyu there is the internal evidence in the Rāmāyaṇa itself. Mahā-Bhārata in the Ādi-Parva refers to a Ramo-Pākyāna under the authorship of Uśanas. The Hari-Vaiṣṇava refers to a Rāmāyaṇa dramatised and enacted by the children of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava. In fact the authorship of Rāmāyaṇa attributed to Vālmiki is called in question by Aśva-Ghoṣa in his Buddha Caritra who attributes it to Cyavana Bhārgava, the ancestor of the Raivatas, who are allied to the Yadus. Cyavana is a blind sage rejuvenated by the Dioscuri or Aśvins. The Dioscuri are Gods of the Bhṛgu and are clubbed with the Cabirii. They are found in all the countries wherever we find a Bhārgava race. As Gods of the sea farers and as Medicine Gods, they are closely associated with Varuṇa and Rudra. Though mentioned together they have separate names—Castor and Pollux in the West; Nāsatya and Dasra sons of the Eighth Āditya, Mārtāṇḍa in the East.¹ They are Śūdras among the Gods probably because they are Medicine Gods. They represent the priest-hood of ancient Babylon, the Aspinu, and Śukra Bhārgava is a Sukkur or a priest of the Babylonian and Dioscuri probably means the Gods of the Curitis or Caberoi. The Ass or the Donkey is their vehicle and the name Dasra is also applied to the Ass. In the Ṛg-Veda² one Kṛṣṇa addresses these Gods as coming in a cart driven by the ass. An ass is always associated in the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the South and the apparent reason seems to be that it represents the Aśvins, the Gods of the Yadus, who came to our country along with the Bhṛgu from over the seas. One tribe of the Yadus are Dasarhas probably named after Dasra, one of the Aśvins. The Aśvins thus represent the God of the Asura Yadus—children of Asura-Madhu. Aśvins are always associated with a woman and the Dioscuri appearing with a woman (their wife or sister not known) is depicted on one of the Etruscan vases found in the excavations of one of their buried cities. Puru-

1. See Mahā-Bhārata Śānti-Parva, 208.

2. Ṛg-Veda, I, 34.9—VIII, 74.7.

ṣottama Kṣetra in the Kalinga country is probably a temple of the Dioscuri and their sister. Kalingas are noted ancient sea faring people.

Paraśurāma's overthrow, the incidents of Tātakā, Mārica, Dūṣaṇa, Subāhu, Khara, Śūrpaṇakhā are incidents, I believe relating to the overthrow of Aśvins the subordinate Gods of Varuṇa. Exigencies of space and time forbids me to enter at great length into the account in our two epics to show how the children of Varuṇa the Pulastyas and the Kurus, are said to have been worsted at the hands of the votaries of Indra. Indra Parjanya triumphing and recovering Sītā from Varuṇa (El Ruphon) the Pulastya is the theme of the Rāmāyaṇa. Indra's son triumphing over Kurus is the theme of the Bhārata. The Kurus are curiously said in the Bhārata¹ to be the reanimated spirits of the ancient Pulastyas and the Yādavas are all said to be Asuras; the irony is both Rāma and Arjuna derive their power from the bows presented to them by Varuṇa.

Ikṣvākus, Yadus—Kurus.

The original cradle of these races having been traced along with that of the Bhṛgu to the ancient Plakṣa and Kuśa Dvīpas it is but reasonable to expect an account of our Epics and the doings and history of their heroes in the countries represented by Kuśa and Plakṣa Dvīpas.

CHAPTER VIII.

It is necessary that we consider here the account of Śālmali and Krauñca Dvīpas mentioned in the Purāṇas as it is necessary to know how the Bhṛgu, from their central seat in Plakṣa and Kuśa, dispersed in various directions.

Śālmali Dvīpa.

Without entering into the details of geography and Ethnology, mentioned in the Purāṇas, we may identify this country with Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Northern portion of Syria and some portion of Cappadocia on its western side as far as the Euphrates. According to the Purāṇas the island is so called from a Śālmali, or silk cotton tree. The discussion of the details, though interesting, will be wearying at this stage. Babylonia must be partly located in Kuśa and partly in Śālmali.

1. Ādi Amśāvatāra Parva.

The word Śālmali must give us the clue to the identity Garuḍa is according to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa known as Śālmaliṣṭha शाल्मलिष्ठः or one sitting on Śālmali. But really Śālmali is not a tree but a country. The Historians History of the World¹ gives us a picture of an eagle headed man or God carrying in his hands a vessel, which to the Indian mythologist must certainly carry the idea that it is Garuḍa, the son of Kāśyapa, who according to both Mahā-Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇa is known as Ariṣṭha Nemi, the vessel in the hand denoting अमृतकलश. Another picture given at Vol. II, page 573² symbolises the defeat of Assyria at the hands of Medo Persia. These two pictures considered along with another at page 562 of Enc. Britta. 13th Edition Vol. II, page 562 will leave us no alternative but to accept that Garuḍa represents an Assyrian hero or Demi-God and is therefore symbolised in Assyrian monuments. Garutmān and Suparṇa are also mentioned in the mythology of the Zoroastrians. According to the Vedic evidence,³ Regozin's 'Vedic India' Suparṇa or Garuḍa is the vehicle of Varuṇa and the wings of the disc represent the wings of Garuḍa. In later mythology when Varuṇa is displaced by Viṣṇu he is made the vehicle of Viṣṇu. Ancient Assyria comprises mostly modern Kurdistan. Kurdistan itself means the country of Kadru, the mother of the Nāgas, step brothers of Garuḍa. Assur—Ashur—Ahura is identical with Varuṇa. "Ashur was the God of the people of Asher. His peculiar symbol was the winged disc".⁴ "The Asuras are noted for magic, medicine, sculpture, architecture, and military prowess. The ancient Persians not only succeeded to the empire of Ashur but absorbed and cherished its culture."⁵

Nimrod is the earliest eponymous Hero of this country and Nimeṣa is the son of Garuḍa and Ariṣṭhanemi is his father (Mahā-Bhārata Udyoga-Parva, Ch. 101). Śālmali is the name of a Kuru King, the founder of Kurukṣetra, according to the Mahā-Bhārata.⁶ Kurukṣetra is the land of the Kurus and the Kurus are

1. History of Assyria, Vol. I, p. 345.

2. History of Persia.

3. See Ṛg-Veda.

4. Cambridge ancient History, Vol. III, p. 90; compare Iranian Zend Avestic winged Garorman (S. B. E. Vol. IV, p. 221) symbol of Ahura. Fargard XIX ii (a).

5. Asura India by Banerjee Sastri, page 7.

6. Ādi-Parva, chapter 101. He is the son of Avikṣit.

the Nāgas. Almost all names of Kuru Kings are names of Nāgas which we find in the Astika-Parva of the Bhārata. Their connection with the Kurus is apparent from the fact that Astika, son of Jaratkaru and nephew of serpent King Vāsuki of Pātāla, is a pupil of Cyavana Bhārgava according to the Mahā-Bhārata.¹ In fact Utanka, the pupil of Veda extols the Nāgas Takṣaka and others as if situated on the banks of Ikṣumatī near Kurukṣetra. The Nāgas being related to Garuḍas, the country of Garuḍa being Assyria, interesting issues arise as to the situation of Kurukṣetra, the former Samanta Pañcaka of Bhārgava Paraśurāma, situated near the Naimiśa forest. Kurukṣetra is the sacred land near the river Sarasvatī on the banks of which is situate the Uttara Vedi, or, Northern altar of Brahmā, the first ancestor of the Bhr̥gus.

The affinity of names and their accounts in the Babylonian Ellamite, and Assyrian History namely Sargon of Agade, and his vestal virgin mother, Semiramis, Derketo, the fish Goddess Birth and Death Story of Cyrus the great of Arshah and many other names and incidents, to Sūta Karṇa, Kuntī, Śakuntalā Ajāmiḍa, Piṭrkanyā Satyavatī, the daughter of Uparicara and Adrika, Vāsudeva, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Kamsa and quite a number of similar names and incidents led me into an investigation of the matter and leads me to the belief that the great war of Mahā-Bhārata, if it has ever taken place at all, occurred in the ancient land of Elam on the banks of Aksu (same as Ikṣumatī) and what we have in India is only a colonial account. It is connected with the account of ancient Asuras and that is why we find no reference to it in the post-Vedic Brāhmaṇa literature except some names and the Purāṇas and the Epics being Asura Literature as seen from the statements found in the works themselves preserve the same in detail. The reverse theory of the Ellamite place names being colonial ones is not possible in the face of Epigraphical Evidence of the brick inscription of King Pukhia, of Tuschurmati. Mr. C. W. Johns in his book on Assyria, Cambridge Manual, page 12, says "A brick found at Tuschurmati, on the Aksu, a tributary of Adhan or Rhodanus, bears an inscription of Pukhia, son of Asiru, king of Kurushitu. It is written in Semitic." The name of King Pukhia reminds us of the Ikṣvāku King Pauṣya who along with Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, appointed Veda, a pupil of Upamanyu, as his preceptor according to the Pauṣya-Parva of the Mahā-Bhārata. This Pauṣya or Pauṣya is the

1. Cf. Babylonian Priest King Utug.

Ikṣvāku King Saudāsa for whose patronage Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra so strenuously fought and which I believe lead to the famous Dasaragna war of the Ṛg Veda. Some miles to the south of this Tuschurmati¹ the map shows the ruins of a place called Kurustud. That this is a Kuru Settlement is amply born out by the statement in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, which mentions the Kurus and Āryakas as people residing in Plakṣa Dvīpa. Plakṣa and Kuśa Dvīpas together form the various Kuru countries, viz., Deva Kurus, Uttara Kurus, Kuru proper including Kuru Jāṅgala. The Bhārata clearly supports this.

Naimiśa forest, is in Babylonian Elamite country and the curious story of its origin being due to a wheel (Nimi) sent by Brahmā to show the way to the Ṛṣis to select a sacred place for doing penance is nothing more than the winged wheel of Asur, or the wheel of Hammurabhi of Babylon, both preserving the memories of Nimrod, the son of Cush, according to the Jehovistic portion of the genealogy of nations. Critical students of the Bible find it difficult to find Nimrod to be the son of Cush. But the name of Nimrod occurs also in the book of Micah V 6 "Land of Ashur" "Land of Nimrod". The Purāṇic genealogy of Nimi and Kuśadhvaṇa will solve the difficulty. Nimi is an Ikṣvāku, and the priest Kings of Assyria are called Isakku. Abraham and Isac are Ikṣvāku Bhārgava priests and Assyrian history gives ample testimony of the rule of the Ikṣvākus in Assur and Mittani from days of King Māndhātā and his ascetic son-in-law Subari. Euphrates is the land of Bharatas, (Eu—Water) the leader of whom is the famous Viśvāmitra and the destruction of the Yadus brought about by the curse of Viśvāmitra and Kaṇva at the holy place of Piṇḍarika is an event which must have occurred at the reedy mouths of the Euphrates. Piṇḍarika is a Nāga and a son of Viśvāmitra.

The Bhārata is a redaction of the Śaunakas who got the same from the Sūtas or Cuthites of Kuzistan Elam. The Śaunakas are Bhṛgu Priest Kings probably of Babylon known as Su-anna. It is probable that River Tigris is named after Sigra the great-grand-son of Puṣya or Pukhia according to the genealogy of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.

1. See map in the Atlas published in the last Volume of the 9th Edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica.

The date of Pukhia (Puṣya), contemporary of Janamejaya is placed during the period of the first dynasty of Babylon which scholars place about 2700 B. C. The attempt of scholars to fix the date of the Bhārata War is therefore a wild goose chase, and if it is to be fixed the traditional date of the Purāṇas appears to be correct namely the end of Dvāpara.

The Kurus, Yadus, and Ikṣvākus entered our country along with the Bhṛgus. The events of the rule of the Raghus and Kosalas from Ayodhyā can have no historical basis. According to the account of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, the Daṇḍakas cannot form part of the kingdom of Daśaratha. The statement in the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa that the Daṇḍakas are named after a Daṇḍa, brother of Ikṣvāku, a Bhoja king, and his being cursed by Śukra, a Bhārgava, supports the entry of Ikṣvākus into India along with the Bhṛgus. The Bhojas like the Nimi Videha Ikṣvākus are children of Nimrod—mighty hunter Kings with their settlements on the coast at Bhoja Kataka and Mṛttikāvatī. Their children are the later Kadambas and Ikṣvākus whose inscriptions are being unearthed at Nāgārjuna Hill. They are related to the Agastyas whose leader Agastya married their princess Lopā-Mudrā. The relationship of these Bhojas and the family of the Yadus is amply testified to by the Purāṇas and the statement of Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa addressing Vālī near Kiṣkindhā, and telling him that the forest and the spot of ground on which he was standing belongs to Ikṣvākus cannot be supported if Ayodhyā is the centre. The names of the children of Rāma and his brothers is traceable to the Elamite country and Pātāla. Assyrian Ashur the city of Nimrod, is also known as Patialki.

Rāmāyaṇa is purely an esoteric work, blending in itself the events and incidents in the Babylonian or Assyrian accounts of the Epic of Gilgamesh with the RAM-YASHT of Zendavesta. The following points deserve notice.

1. Uruk (Supari-well guarded) is the well guarded Ayodhyā.
2. Isdubar its King has an Ikṣvāku flavour about him.
3. Great prominence is given to dreams in Gilgamesh epic. In Rāmāyaṇa the dreams of Bharata and Trijaṭā deserve notice.
4. Eabani is similar to Hanumān the Monkey with the body of a beast and the wisdom of a man.
5. Eabani is tempted by a harlot and brought to civilised life like Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, the son of Ruru, or, Deer. Eabani is the son of Goddess A-Ruru.

6. The entry of Gilgamish into limitless darkness and his coming to the seashore after seeing light and trees and passing by a tree and grove with precious stones for fruit is similar to the entry of the monkeys into the cave of Svayam Prabhā and exit therefrom to the seacoast.

7. Rammon is the wind god mentioned in the Gilgamish epic. Rāma exhibits the qualities of the Wind God or Mahā Bala in casting Mārīca many miles away with Vāyavya astra and by casting away Dundubhi's corpse to a great distance by the mere touch of his toe and by throwing down with one arrow seven big palm trees.

8. Sitna Pishtam in the Gilgamish epic cures Gilgamish by the use of a plant having power to prolong life. Lakṣmaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa is cured by the use of a similar plant brought by Hanumān from Droṇagiri.

9. The tale of the Eagle trying to reach the Sun (Shamash) and dying in the attempt is similar to the fate which Sampāti in Rāmāyaṇa says was brought on him by trying to effect a similar feat.

10. The rejection of the love advances of Ishtar is the cause of trouble to Gilgamish and the rejection of the love of Śūrpaṇakhā is the cause of the trouble of Rāma.

The connection of Rāma with the Ram Yasht of Zend-avesta carries the esoteric nature of the theme still nearer.

Ram is the wind God of the Zendavesta. According to R̥g Veda the wind God or Vāyu is the first of gods, and he has the right to the first drink of Soma. He may be identical with Indra or Varuṇa, both sky goods. Rāma's characteristics as a Wind God we have already seen. He is a descendant of Raghu and as such a Rāghava. Raghu is traceable to a root meaning "swift goer". Rāma is the best Raghu or Raghma. Ragh in the Median country, the city of Zoroaster, is the seat of Raghus probably. Like the Ram of the Zoroastrians the allied Bhārgava races have their wind God.

Phœnician—Kolpia.

Hittite—Thesup.

Babylonian—Ramman or Bin.

The latter Assyrian mounts this idea in the wheel symbolism with wings. The South Indian Kohls have their Cokka-

liṅga or Soku Liṅga or Vāyu Liṅga. Soku is a Dravidian word meaning Wind. Marā the evil striker is seen in the word Marut as applied to the Wind God. Vālmiki before he became a sage was asked to utter the word Marā which was transformed into Rāma. But the point of interest for us is the connection of Ram with our Rāmāyaṇa. The wind God Ram was worshipped according to Zoroaster by Kareseswa and ever so many others. The Aṅgīrasa Bhārgava weapons presented to Rāma by Viśvāmitra which circumambulated him as servants 33 in number—are the sons of Ṛṣi Bhṛśāśva. (Identified with sons of Kṛśāśva in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.)

The 33 Gods are traditionally mentioned from the R̥g Vedic days and the Buddhists connect Buddha also with the heaven of 33 Gods.

CHAPTER VIII.

Krauñca Dvīpa.

The country occupied by the five sons of Shem according to the 10th chapter of the book of Genesis are—

1. The country of Elam.
2. Asuur, Media, Persia, Babylon, Chaldæa.
3. Arphaxad or Arabia.
4. Lud-Lydia: Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Asia Minor.
5. Aram—the upper portion of the country between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

We may identify Krauñca Dvīpa with item 4 above. Apart from the results obtained from a discussion of the details given in the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas, a statement in the Mahā-Bhārata Bhīṣma-Parva regarding Mæonia fully corroborates the identity. Lydia and the 3 countries mentioned with it show traces of Bhārgava influence in every respect. The flood account is connected with Babylon and Medo-Persia. A fire cataclysm is connected with this country and corroboration for both is found in the Dravidian Dekhanese country and in our epics. The destruction of the cities of the plain mentioned in the Bible, the scene of which still eludes the Biblical Archæologist, has its counter-part in the destruction of Daṇḍaka by the anger of Bhārgava Śukra in the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa. The Fire cataclysm of Catacomana in the Phrygia Mænian country with its lake Coele has its counter part in the Veṅgināḍu (दण्डराट्ट)

or burnt country as its counter part in the Dekhanese Andhra country with the lake Kolleru. The Goddess of Ephesus, whose temple is said to have been founded by Androgus and to whom the bee is sacred has her counter part in Śrī Śailam with a bee Goddess Bhramarāmbikā. A pond near the temple called Paraśurāma tank shows the Bhārgava origin of the shrine. These coincidences point to the migration of a common race with common traditions and these are Agnikula Bhṛgu.

The Phrygian or Bhṛgu origin of Ilium has already been seen and it is strengthened by the representation in art, of Paris the Trojan Hero with a Phrygian cap. This is the ancient land of the Hittites and the proverbial wealth of the Phrygian Midas, the Trojan Priam, attributable to their worship of (Great Mother) Mā, or Bhārgavī is corroborated by the accounts in the Mahā-Bhārata of the proverbial wealth of the ancient Bhṛgu and their being rooted out by the avaricious Kṣatriyas to secure their wealth.¹

The Phrygians are the oldest people in the world, and the Hittites and Palasgians from the Phrygian countries extended their migration to the Etruscan country a fact sufficiently strongly well established by the writings of the western scholars.² The ancient Franks are the remnants of the ancient Trojans and their Bhṛgu connection with their battle axes is seen in the account of this race in the Encyclopædia Britannica 9th Edition but curiously enough this portion is omitted in the 13th Edition.

It is also found by western scholars that the founders of Ilium proceeded from Elam or Kuśa Dvīpa. It must be the land of Kussar held by Professor Sayce to be the original country of the Hittites. Elam thus represents the cradle of the Bhṛgu, the Kurus, the Hittites, the Phœnicians, the Yadus, and the Ikṣvākus. The migration of the Bhṛgu must, I think, synchronise with the conquest of Babylon by the Kassites, a branch of the ancient Hittites. Kāśyapa took the entire land of Paraśurāma, the last Bhārgava, as a gift and unceremoniously drove him out of the country. This must have occurred about 2400 B.C.

1. See account of Bhārgava Aurva in the Ādi Parva of the Bhārata.

2. See Articles on Etruscans, Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Asia Minor generally in the Enc. Britta. 9th Edition and 13th Edition.

CHAPTER IX.

EL-the name of God Head.

Elam is the original land of the Bhṛgu, the children of Varuṇa. Elam means, the land of El or God and Varuṇa is El, the common name for God-head among all the Semitic races. Bhṛgu-Dravidian and Semetic both preserve the word and connects the common origin of both, Shem and Kṣema (Garuḍa) are the connecting links. Semitic -Ilu, El, Ilah, Allah, El-Elum meaning high, most high "Lord" are words applicable to Varuṇa, the "King" met with in the pages of Ṛg Veda—the Semitic relationship of man to the God-head, being, that of servant and master. In the Mediterranean lands, the names Eleusis, Elopia, Eleusiania and the people who observe them, viz., Celeans, Philiasians, Pheneatei, Lacædemonians, Parrhasians, and Cretans, and the name of Eleleus, a surname of Bacchus, to whom the fig was sacred, and the names Eleleis applied to the Priestesses indicates to us the all importance of this word "El". Allat is Moon Goddess and Helen of Troy received divine honor in some places. Dravidian "Alamaram" a name applied to the Ficus Indica sacred to Śiva means nothing more than "God's Tree", the God being Bacchus-Śiva-Eleleus. It is the name of this God that was uttered by the ancient Asuras referred to by Patañjali and the Brāhmaṇas. The meaning is not understood and is unjustly ridiculed. There cannot be a more fitting time to the Asura to call upon the name of his God than when pressed by the foe in the din of battle. "He layo, Helayo" is a mutilation of Eleleus by the later Vedic Sanskritists and the God of the Asuras is Varuṇa.

The earliest Dravidian language must be the language of Plakṣa and Kuśadvīpas or the Pehlevi, Aramiac. Ancient words in the Assyrian and Babylonian records are words of Dravidian import and Bishop Caldwell has sufficiently established the Dravidian connection of Elamite languages. He calls the Brāhmī Dravidian, Brāhmī, for obvious reasons. Phœnicians are the originators of the Alphabet and Brāhmī-lipi is based upon Aramiac, a language whose influence on the languages of all countries from India to Mediterranean is apparent from the histories of all the countries intervening. Paisāci language is the parent of all these languages along with Pushtu. "The Nānāvātāyee" in the Pushtu which means "I have come in"

—the rule of Asylum gives the direct contradiction to its Āryan connection.

The Ethiopic or Cushite engineering works, remnants of which are found in Arabia and Baluchistan, built on the same models and with the same skill attributed to the Ghur Bastī—the ancient fire worshippers are evidences of the engineering skill of these ancient fire worshipping Dravidian Bhṛgu. Their skill in music, and the invention of the Bhārgava Viṇā, their knowledge of astrology and astronomy is borne out by the abundance of this literature in South India unconnected with the North Āryan. Orphic lyre, Orphic songs, which gave inspiration to blind Homer gave similar inspiration to the blind Cyavana, the reputed author of Rāmācarita and the Ramopākhyāna of Uśanas.

There is a numerical sacred notation running through the cult and the history and literature of all these countries.

- * 12 Etruscan Cities.
- 12 tribes of Israel.
- 12 Kings of Malabar.
- 12 Adityas.
- 12 Lucumo of Etruscan.
- 9 Gods of Etruscans.
- 9 Kadamba Kings.
- 9 Aṅgirasas.
- 9 Navaguas.
- 9 Kings of Padmāvati whose capital is Karavirapura a Nāga settlement.
- (i) 24 letters of Gāyatrī on which Rāmāyaṇa is based with 24,000 Ślokas.
- (ii) 24,000 Ślokas of Mahā-Bhārata at one stage.
- (iii) 24 books of Iliad and Odissey

The claim of the mystic race of Bhṛgu upon the learned public is apparent and within the limited space allotted to me I have indicated the main lines. I have under preparation a more detailed account of the ancient Bhṛgu, which I hope to issue in a book form shortly.

REFERENCES TO ANCIENT STORIES IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

BY

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Maharṣi Śrī Vālmiki, the renowned author of the Rāmāyaṇa, is the pioneer in the field of Sanskrit poetry. The style of the Rāmāyaṇa is so unique, lucid and attractive that to the later Ālaṅkārikas it has served to illustrate perhaps almost all the principles of Sanskrit Literary criticism. The chief characteristic of the style of the Rāmāyaṇa consists in the narration of events and description in simple yet forcible language, interwoven with numerous similes and occasional metaphors and other figures of speech.

It is held in certain quarters that most of the similes found therein have no bearing upon old traditional stories but are merely taken from nature and things connected. A careful perusal of the Rāmāyaṇa will, however, reveal the fact that in many places Vālmiki compares his characters to the heroes of old known to him. The story of king Yayāti among others seems to have attracted Vālmiki; for he has referred to most of the important incidents in Yayāti's life. The episode of Yayāti is narrated in the Mahābhārata I, 69—87. He was the second son of king Nahuṣa and had two wives, viz., Devayāni and Śarmiṣṭhā. When he grew old, Yayāti got Puru's (his son) youth in exchange for his old age. After enjoying worldly pleasures for a long time, he came to realise their worthlessness; and renouncing them, he went to Svarga through severe penance. The jealous Indra once asked Yayāti, "Was there anybody equal to him in penance." Yayāti being a truth-speaker, his reply was "Nobody". Since no vain man is fit for Svarga, the king was thrown down on the earth by Indra. Yayāti, however, regained Svarga as the result of association with wise and good men.

Turning to the Rāmāyaṇa, we find the holy Vasiṣṭha confiding to Śrī Rāma in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa the message of Daśaratha in regard to fasting, as preliminary to his coronation. It is

said there : " King Daśaratha, your father, will, with pleasure, instal you on the throne tomorrow even as King Nahuṣa installed his son Yayāti¹.

Daśaratha when lying prostrate on earth, sorely afflicted with grief on hearing Kaikeyī's harsh words regarding the banishment of Rāma, is compared to Yayāti by Vālmiki when he was banished from heaven by Indra². The same simile is repeated in connection with Vālin, when he fell down in the battle field struck by Rāma's arrows³.

Rāma, while seeking Kausalyā's permission to leave for the Daṇḍakas, asserts that he will return to Ayodhyā from the forest having accomplished his father's promise, just as Yayāti, in olden days, came back to heaven from the world of mortals⁴. The same comparison is repeated once again by Rāma in a different form, when requesting Kausalyā to permit him to go to the Daṇḍaks and bestow on him her benedictions⁵.

Sumantra on his return to Ayodhyā, leaving Rāma in the forest, is questioned in detail by Daśaratha about Rāma's doings and he (Daśaratha) says that he will retain his life taking solace in hearing about Rāma's activities, just as Yayāti did in the company of the holy wise men after his down-fall from heaven⁶.

Bharata, bemoaning his father's loss, in company with his ministers is compared to Yayāti, in company with the holy sages of the forest after his down-fall from the heaven⁷.

Sītā was carried away by Rāvaṇa from the Āśrama in the absence of Rāma. Rāma searched for her in the neighbouring

1. प्रातस्त्वामभिषेक्ता हि यौवराज्ये नराधिपः ।
पिता दशरथः प्रीत्या ययातिं नहुषो यथा ॥ II. 5, 10
2. ययातिमिव पुण्यान्ते देवलोकात्परिच्युतम् ॥ II. 13, 1.
3. ययातिमिव पुण्यान्ते देवलोकादिव च्युतम् ॥ IV. 17, 9.
4. तीर्णप्रतिज्ञश्च वनात्पुनरेष्याम्यहं पुरीम् ।
ययातिरिव राजर्षिः पुरा हित्वा पुनर्दिवम् ॥ II. 21, 47.
5. यथा समाप्ते पुनराब्रजेयं यथा हि सत्येन पुनर्ययातिः ॥ II. 21, 62.
6. आसितं शयितं भुक्तं सत रामस्य कीर्तय ।
जीविष्याम्यहमेतेन ययातिरिव साधुषु ॥ II. 58, 12.
7. अभिपेतुस्ततः सर्वे तस्यामात्याः, शुचिब्रतम् ।
अन्तकाले निपतितं ययातिमृषयो यथा ॥ II. 77, 10.

groves, mountains, rivers and other places, but could not trace her ; and filled with profound sorrow, he was lamenting over his calamities past and present. Lakṣmaṇa, consoling him, says that such happenings are but natural in this world and that none is free from calamities, though they are freed from it in a short while. Yayāti the son of Nahuṣa, though he owned the world of Indra, was not yet free from calamities¹.

Śibi is known to have sacrificed his own body in order to fulfil his promise to a dove which in fear of a vulture took shelter under him (*vide* Mahā-Bhārata III 133 and 200). Similarly king Alarka sacrificed his two eyes for a learned brahmin who begged of him. Kaikeyī is represented by sage Vālmiki to have alluded to these events in order to impress upon Daśaratha the sanctity of fulfilling the vow².

Again Rāmā, in order to persuade his mother Kausalyā to allow him to go to the forest, is represented to have quoted Kaṇḍu and Paraśurāma as examples of virtue and implicit obedience to father's commands³. The former, learned and conscious of good and bad, killed a cow only to respect his father's command; while the latter for the very same reason beheaded his own mother. (*See* Mahābhārata III, 117.)

To justify the death of Vālin, who pleaded innocence, at the hands of Rāma, Vālmiki quotes a parallel in the anecdote of Māndhātā and the monk, wherein the former, for an offence which

1. लोकस्वभाव एवैष ययातिर्नहुषात्मजः ।
गतः शक्रेण सालोक्यमनयस्तं समस्पृशत् ॥ III. 66, 7.
2. संभृत्य शैब्यः श्येनाय स्वां तनुं जगतीपतिः ।
प्रदाय पक्षिणे राजा जगाम गतिमुत्तमाम् ॥
तथा ह्यलर्कस्तेजस्वी ब्राह्मणे वेदपारगे ।
याचमाने स्वके नेत्रे उद्धृयाविमना ददौ ॥ II. 14, 4 & 5.
3. ऋषिणा च पितुर्वाक्यं कुर्वता वनचारिणा ।
गौर्हिता जानता धर्मे कण्डुना च विपश्चिता ॥ II. 21, 31.
जामदग्न्येन रामेण रेणुका जननी स्वयम् ।
कृता परशुनारण्ये पितुर्वचनकारणात् ॥ II. 21, 33.

Vālin was guilty of, beheaded the latter on the plea that a king would be failing in his duty, if he did not punish wrong-doers¹.

The story of Māndhātā is told in the Mahābhārata (III. 127, VII 62 and XII 28, 81), though this part of the story is not to be found therein.

In the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa the poet introduces as *dr̥ṣṭānta* the episode of Viśvāmitra. Tārā, the monkey-queen prays forgiveness of Lakṣmaṇa on behalf of Sugrīva, on the plea that Sugrīva, as Viśvāmitra in company with Ghṛtācī, is not aware of the fact that the time for action has come and is in deep slumber—a luxury which has been denied to him for sometime past².

The story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, which has a Vedic origin and is later on narrated in the Matsyapurāṇa, Viṣṇupurāṇa and other works, is alluded to by Vālmiki also. Rāvaṇa persuaded Sītā to yield to his wishes and meeting with repulse, speaks in the following vein, “O timid one! having forsaken me, you will repent for your action, just as Urvaśī, who kicked her lover, did”³.

Śrī Rāma, while leaving for the Daṇḍakas, asks Sītā to remain at home on the plea that Daṇḍakā is inhabited by beasts of prey and life there will be very difficult. He also advises her to be of service to Kausalyā and his step-mothers and do at no time any harm to Bharata. Sītā, in trying to convince her lord of the necessity for taking her also with him to the Daṇḍakas, requests him to realise that she is an inseparable companion, ever in the service of her own lord, just as Sāvitrī was of her lord Satyavān, the son of Dyumatsena⁴.

Again in reply to the persuasion of Rākṣasīs in the Aśoka garden, Sītā declares that she can love Rāma alone and none else, just as Lopāmudrā loved none but Agastya, Sukanyā none but Cyavana, Sāvitrī none but Satyavān, Śrīmatī none but

1. आर्येण मम मान्धात्रा व्यसनं घोरमीप्सितम् ।
श्रमणेन कृते पापे यथा पापं कृतं त्वया ॥ IV. 18, 33.
2. प्राप्तकालं न जानीते विश्वामित्रो यथा मुनिः ॥ IV. 35, 6.
धृताच्यां किल संसक्तो दश वर्षाणि लक्ष्मण । IV. 35, 71.
3. प्रत्याख्याय हि मां भीरु पश्चात्तापं गमिष्यसि ।
चरणेनाभिहत्येव पुरुरवसमुर्वशी ॥ III. 48, 18.
4. द्युमत्सेनसुतं वीरं सत्यवन्तमनुव्रताम् ।
सावित्रीमिव मां विद्धि त्वमात्मवशावर्तिनीम् ॥ II. 30, 6.

Kapila, Madayantī none but Saudāsa, Keśinī none but Sagara and Damayantī Naiṣadha¹—heroines and heroes reputed for their chastity and mutual love.

In addition to the above references and those of secondary importance like Indra killing Vṛtra, Namuci and Bala, Vālmiki alludes to anecdotes connected with Viṣṇu, Śiva and Guha. While Rāma is bewailing the carrying away of Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa consoles him, saying that he (Rāma) is sure to have his beloved Sītā safely restored to him, just as Lord Viṣṇu got back the goddess Earth by subduing Bali. Then again in the Sundarakāṇḍa, while the ideal Bhakta, Hanumān, assumes his gigantic form, he is compared by Vālmiki to Viṣṇu taking up his Viśvarūpa in order to measure the three steps given to him by Bali Cakravartin³. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa also, the same comparison is repeated in connection with the description of Kumbhakarna⁴.

Once again in the Sundarakāṇḍa, Hanumān reducing himself to his normal stature is likened to Viṣṇu throwing off his Viśvarūpa after accomplishing his purpose, i.e., subduing Bali⁵. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa, Indrajit, while pacifying his father Rāvaṇa, boasts of his immeasurable and fierce valour being like that of Viṣṇu while on Bali's Yajñaśālā⁶.

Among the stories connected with god Rudra, the burning of Manmatha and the slaying of Tripurāsura are well known. These

1. लोपामुद्रा यथागस्त्यं सुकन्या च्यवनं यथा ।
सावित्री सत्यवन्तं च कपिलं श्रीमती यथा ॥
सौदासं मदयन्तीव केशिनी सगरं यथा ।
नैषधं दमयन्तीव भैमी पतिमनुव्रता ॥ V. 24, 11 & 12.
2. प्राप्स्यसे त्वं महाप्राज्ञ मैथिली जनकात्मजाम् ।
यथा विष्णुर्महाबाहुर्बलिं बद्ध्वा महीमिमाम् ॥ III. 61, 24.
3. त्रिविक्रमं कृतोत्साहं नारायणमिव प्रजाः ॥ IV. 67, 3.
विष्णोः प्रक्रममाणस्य तदा त्रीन् विक्रमानिव ॥ IV. 67, 25.
4. त्रिविक्रमकृतोत्साहो नारायण इवावभौ ॥ VI. 65, 31.
5. तद्रूपमतिसंक्षिप्य हनूमान् प्रकृतौ स्थितः ।
त्रीन् क्रमानिव विक्रम्य बलिवीर्यहरो हरिः ॥ V. 1, 198.
6. द्रक्ष्यन्तु मे विक्रममप्रमेयं
विष्णोरिवोग्रं बलियज्ञवाटे ॥ VI. 73, 7.

are also alluded to in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Āraṇyakāṇḍa, Sītā, in reply to Rāvaṇa's attempt to win her over, says that if only Rāma had seen him while she was removed by force, he (Rāmā) could have burnt him instantaneously, just as god Rudra did Manmatha¹. Again in the Sundarakāṇḍa, the burning of the city of Laṅkā by the quick-footed Hanumān is compared by Vālmiki to the burning of Tripura by god Rudra².

Once again in the Yuddhakāṇḍa, Atikāya, one of the sons of Rāvaṇa, pierced by the arrows of Lakṣmaṇa, is said to resemble Tripura suffering the same fate at the hands of Rudra³. Rudra with his bow of Vedas is again mentioned to describe Rāma standing firm with his Kodaṇḍa in the midst of his army of Vānaras⁴. The death of Khara by the fire of Rāma's arrows is stated by Vālmiki to resemble the burning of Andhaka by Rudra⁵.

Regarding Guha (God Skanda), it may be noted that Vālmiki mentions him in two places. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa, Narāntaka, one of Rāvaṇa's sons, marching against the army of Rāma on a horse, with Prāsa in his hand, is described by Vālmiki as resembling Lord Guha on his peacock with his Śakti in his hand⁶.

1. यदि पश्येत्स रामस्त्वां रोषदीप्तेन चक्षुषा ।
रक्षस्त्वमद्य निर्दग्धो यथा रुद्रेण मन्मथः ॥ III, 56, 10.
2. हनूमता वेगवता वानरेण महात्मना ।
लङ्कापुरं प्रदग्धं तद्रुद्रेण त्रिपुरं यथा ॥ V, 54, 30.
3. रुद्रबाणहतं घोरं यथा त्रिपुरगोपुरम् । VI, 71, 74.
4. भगवानिव संकुद्धो भवो वेदमयं धनुः ॥ VI, 75, 36.
5. स पपात खरो भूमौ दह्यमानः शराग्निना ।
रुद्रेणैव विनिर्दग्धः श्वेतारण्ये यथान्धकः ॥ III, 30, 27.

According to Tilaka Tīkā on the Rāmāyaṇa, this simile relates to the incidents which have been mentioned either in the Māhātmyagrantha of Śvetāraṇya, a holy place on the bank of the Kāveri or in the Kūrmottara Khaṇḍa Adhyāya 36. From the former we learn that Rudra killed Antaka in order to grant Mārkaṇḍeya a long life; the latter, however, states that Rudra put to death Antaka (Andhaka?) to save the royal sage, Śveta, who was performing a terrible penance in a mountain called Kalanjara.

6. गृहीत्वा प्रासमुत्कामं विरराज नरान्तकः ।
शक्तिमादाय तेजस्वी गुहः शिखिगतो यथा ॥

Again in Kumbhakarna's battle with Hanumān, the former is represented to have dealt a blow to the latter on his chest by means of the Śūla, which Vālmiki compares to Kārtikeya's smiting Krauñca mountain with his Śakti¹.

A closer examination of the Rāmāyaṇa may reveal more references to other ancient heroes. But it will be clear from the above (1) that ancient heroes and heroines *are* alluded to in the Rāmāyaṇa by Vālmiki and (2) that it is impossible to draw on this score a clear line of demarcation between the styles of the Rāmāyaṇa and Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, as suggested by Prof. K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer². It will not be far from truth if we say that Vālmiki, while composing his poem, had access to the sources containing the needed information about the personages mentioned above.

1. बाह्वन्तरे मारुतिमाजयान
गुहोऽचलं क्रौञ्चमिवोग्रशक्त्या ॥

2. See his "Studies in the imagery of Rāmāyaṇa" J. O. R. M. Vol. IV, part 1, page, 34.

THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

BY

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I

Round the city of Madurai,¹ the capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, have gathered a large number of legends which deserve study for the light they throw on the growth of tradition in the Tamil country.² The vast majority of these legends is religious in character, only a few being secular in type. Of the legends of the former class a very large number cluster round the temple of Śiva in that city and only a few relate to the temple of Viṣṇu which lies a little to the south of the temple of Śiva but within the limits of the city itself.

The temple to Viṣṇu at Madurai is dedicated to Him under the name of Sundara (or Saundara-rāja), and the legends which chronicle His activities are found embodied in a 'sthala-purāṇa' or 'local chronicle' known as the *Kūḍal Māhātmya*, which professes to be a portion of the 'Kṣētra-Māhātmya' section of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*. A Tamil version of it is the *Kūḍal Purāṇam*,³ of the author or the date of which we happen to know little.⁴

1. The anglicised form is 'Madura'.

2. My erudite friend K. Ramaratnam-Aiyar, B. A., has done me the kindness of reading this paper in manuscript and has made numerous suggestions which I have thankfully adopted.

3. Ed. by T. K. Ramanuja-Aiyangar, 1929, and published as No. 52 of the publications of the *Śen-Tamil*, Madura.

4. The work mentions Rāmānuja (1017-1137 A.D.), the great ācārya of Vaiṣṇavism (*Kāṇḍavul vaṇakkam*, 12) and cannot therefore be earlier than him. The only available manuscript having been copied 132 years back (*vide* Prefatory Note to the printed copy), we may presume that the work is at least a century and a half old.

The temple to Śiva is dedicated to Him under the name of the Lord Sundara and is considered one of the holiest of Śiva temples by the Tamil people. To the ardent devotee of Śiva the Lord appears to disport himself in mysterious ways: His activity, consisting as it does in the manifestation of His grace, is indeed but sport: such activities of His are therefore known to the devotee as the Lord's Sports. To the devotee who worships the Lord in His manifestation as Sundara at Madurai there are sixty-four Sports which stand out as of pre-eminent importance. Among these sixty-four are some which relate to the Academies in which, according to tradition, were gathered the poets of the earliest Tamil literature. The accounts of these Sports have therefore considerable interest to the student of south Indian history.

The sixty-four Sports of Śiva as Sundara have been duly chronicled in various *sthala-purāṇas* or 'local chronicles'. We are told of six different *sthala-purāṇas* in Sanskrit which narrate the Sports played by Śiva in Madurai. We know of a Sanskrit chronicle, the *Sāra-samuccaya*, which is said to be a section of the *Uttara Mahā Purāṇa*, but neither the major work nor the section of it dealing with Madurai is now traceable. Another of the Sanskrit chronicles, the *Hālāśya Māhātmya*, has been very popular for some centuries. Three other *purāṇas* are known in Sanskrit,—the *Kadamba-vana Purāṇa* (otherwise called the *Nipāranya Purāṇa*), the *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* and the *Aṣṭamī-pradaḥṣiṇa Māhātmya*,—but these three have little interest either to the lover of literature or to the student of history. None of these five chronicles contains any clue to its authorship or date. The *Śiva-Līlārṇava* of Nīlakaṇṭha-Dīkṣita, a great scholar of the middle of the 17th century A. D., is a poem of rare excellence, but it is of little value for our purpose as it follows the *Hālāśya Māhātmya* very closely.¹ The *sthala-purāṇas* of Madurai which are found in Tamil are all probably translations,—rather adaptations,—from these Sanskrit chronicles. The *Kadamba-vana Purāṇa* has been rendered into Tamil verse under the title, the

1. My friend, Mr. Y. Mahalinga-Sastri, B.A., B. L., Advocate, who kindly examined the work tells me that the only deviations consist in the omission of the legend of the Unfailing Purse and in the splitting up of the legend of the Lord carrying earth into two legends,—that of the Lord carrying earth and that of His being beaten.

Kadamba-vana Purāṇam, by Vimanāda-panḍitar, a poet whose date is uncertain, but who is perhaps not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D. The *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* was done into excellent Tamil verse by an able poet, Anadāri, in the year 1563 A. D.¹ The *Aṣṭamī-pradakṣiṇa Māhātmya* was put into good Tamil prose by Rāmasvāmi-Pillai, a scholar who lived about fifty years ago. These three works are of no greater value than their Sanskrit originals. The *Sāra-samuccaya* has been translated into fine Tamil verse,² and called the *Tiru-Ālavāy-Uḍaiyār Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam*³ (the 'Chronicle of the Sacred Sports of the Lord of Ālavāy'),⁴ by a poet of no mean attainments, Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi. The *Hālāsyā Māhātmya* of Sanskrit has its counterpart in Tamil in the *Madurai Arupattu-nāngu Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* (the 'Chronicle of the Sixty-four Sports at Madurai of the Lord'), by Param-jyōti;⁵ opinion is divided on the question as to which of them is the original and which the translation.⁶ The dates of these two works will be discussed later on at some length, but it may be assumed for the present that the work of Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi was earlier than Param-jyōti's. For reasons which it is now difficult to appreciate in full, Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi's work receded into the back-ground when Param-jyōti's appeared: perhaps, the severe restraint of the former was less suited to the popular taste than the limpid flow, the haunting melody, the florid exuberance and the emotional surge of the latter.

The popular notions now current in the Tamil land about the Academies supposed to have been founded at Madurai for fostering the growth of Tamil literature being based less on the

1. See also Vidvan R. Raghava-Aiyangar in *ST* (1907 J-J.) iv. 371-5.

2. The book calls itself a translation (see stanza 23 of the Invocation).

3. MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar has edited this work with his usual ability and thoroughness. (This is referred to hereafter as PPPN. *TVP*.)

4. This is one of the numerous names of Madurai.

5. This is referred to hereafter as PJ. *TVP*. I have used the edition of Ārumuḥa-Nāvalar (Madras, 1907).

6. Much valuable information is found collected in MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar's Introduction to PPPN. *TVP*.

Sanskrit chronicles above mentioned than on their Tamil translations or counterparts, we cannot do better than make the Tamil chronicles the basis of a study into the legendary lore relating to those Academies. Of these Tamil chronicles the earliest being Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi's we may start with an examination of his work.

II

The *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* of Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi starts with Invocations and Benedictions, an Apology by the author to his audience and a Decad of verses enumerating the miracles in the order in which they are narrated in the body of the work.¹ Then follows a History of the work, in which we are told how, when Parāśara,² Viśvāmitra, Nārada, Durvāsas and a number of other distinguished ṛṣis including Agastya had once gathered at Benares in the presence of the Lord Viśvanātha, Agastya was requested by his companions to narrate to them the Sports of Śiva on the banks of the Vegavati (Vaihai). In one section, the 'Glory of the Land', Agastya eulogises the greatness of the country round about Madurai, and in the next section 'The Glory of the City', he speaks of the greatness of the city of Madurai, and he adds that he would tell them of the Sixty-four Sports played by Śiva at the rate of sixteen in a *yuga*, and, in a third section, 'The Fruits of Study', he assures his audience that a perusal of the accounts of the Sports will confer innumerable blessings.

Then follow sixty-four Cantos in which Agastya narrates the sixty-four Sports: henceforward, each canto narrates a legend.

The first two legends relate the raising of a temple by Indra over a *liṅga* which stood in a forest, Indra's calling the *liṅga* the Lord Sundara,³ and Indra's elephant ridding itself of a curse by worshipping the *liṅga*.⁴

1. In summarising the legends I have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the Tamil of the original,—even in disregard of English idiom.

2. In view of the extensive use of Sanskrit words and names in the works of both Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi and Param-jyōti, I have preferred the Sanskrit forms to the corresponding Tamil ones, except where the latter are more familiar.

3. Legend 1

4. Legend 2

In the next two cantos we gather that to a Pāṇḍya king, Malayadhvaja, who performed great austerities to obtain a son, the Lord Sundara gave a daughter, Taṭātakā who had three breasts,¹ that she became queen on her father's death, that she marched up to Kailāsa, conquering numerous kings on the way, that at sight of Śiva, the Lord of Kailāsa, her third breast disappeared, and that the Lord Śiva took her to Madurai, married her and became king of the country under the name of Sundara-Māra, and that the couple reigned for long as king and queen of Madurai.²

Then follow seven cantos in which are narrated how, after the marriage, the God Sundara danced in the Silver Hall to please Patañjali,³ how He made Kuṇḍōdara eat up the hillocks of food left over after the wedding-feast⁴ and drink up the Vaihai which flowed at His behest to slake that goblin's thirst,⁵ how the Lord called the seven seas to Madurai to give His mother-in-law the benefits of a holy sea-bath,⁶ how He called His father-in-law from the shades so that father-in-law and mother-in-law might take the bath together hand in hand,⁷ how He had a son Ugra-Pāṇḍya, whom in due course He crowned under the name Jaṭila-varma,⁸ and how, prescient that Indra, the sea and Mount Mēru would prove rebellious, the Lord presented His son with three weapons,— a discus to aim at Indra, a javelin with which to quell the sea and a club with which to strike down Mount Mēru, and how the Lord then disappeared into the temple with Taṭātakā.⁹

Then come three legends,— how the Lord once brought four great clouds together to hang over Madurai and drink up the seas which had been sent against the city and how they became four canopied halls and protected the city from the down-pour of torrential rains¹⁰ and how as an Adept He once roamed about Madurai working strange miracles¹¹ and quickened a stone-elephant to life and made it munch sugar-canes.¹²

These are followed by a series of seven cantos in which are narrated certain Sports showing how great the Lord's interest was in Tamil literature.

1. Legend 3
4. Legend 6
7. Legend 9
10. Legend 12

2. Legend 4
5. Legend 7
8. Legend 10
11. Legend 13

3. Legend 5
6. Legend 8
9. Legend 11
12. Legend 14

Once upon a time the poets, being desirous of obtaining a great board on which they could seat themselves in due order in the Hall of the Academy, went up to the temple, with Kabilar, Nak-Kīrar and Paraṇar at their head, and prayed the Lord Sundara to grant them a board on which they could all seat themselves without crowding. Sundara gave them a shining board, a cubit square, just wide enough to accommodate one person, and capable of sensing poetry. While the poets were remonstrating with Sundara for not having granted their request in the terms of their prayer, He having given them a board to seat only one whereas they had asked for a broad one whereon they could all find seats and could pursue their enquiries, a voice full of sympathy rose from the sky and told them that the board given by Sundara would know all true poets and would keep growing to accommodate them all. When it was taken to the Academy and laid right in the middle, Kīraṇ first took his seat thereon with éclat, and, finding that it grew in size, Kabilar followed and seated himself on it, and, it growing still, Paraṇar also took his seat. The other Academicians too, versed in the bunch of the three Tamils resplendent with the four-fold objects of human desire, took their places on the board and it kept on growing to accommodate every one of them. All the world praised the curious board for the sense it displayed in affording adequate accommodation and preventing squabbles. The learned poets deposited in the Academy, time and again, the works of classic Tamil which they strung together out of their convictions and in course of time the works became innumerable and the heaps grew till they touched the very sky. The Academicians then gathered together and in right friendly spirit disputed among themselves about the aptness of their respective works, and, finding that they could not easily vanquish one another, they agreed that they should examine their works and reject those that lacked lucidity and retain those alone that were good. On entering the Academy they found that all that literature had become mingled up and had got out of shape and could not be reduced to order and so they were struck with great grief. The lord in the plenitude of His grace appeared before them in the guise of a poet, asked them why they who were poets skilled in Letter,

V—15

Word, Theme,¹ Prosody and Rhetoric, having been happy so long should have then become downcast, and said, 'Tell us what has happened: if it is such that We can find a remedy for it We shall think out one'. To that the poets replied, 'Oh poet of unrivalled poesy! If Thou wouldst string together in due order these bunches of the three Tamils which to us look confounded, we shall add Thee to our number making it forty-nine instead of forty-eight as now'. Sundara gladly strung them all in order in a moment, and, the Academicians adding Him to their number, He took His seat on the board, and they all pursued their enquiries into Tamil. Finding that the poets were perplexed for want of an understanding of 'Poruḷ' (Theme), He gave them a treatise thereon, beginning, 'Of five-fold Love', and he classified the poems to accord with that treatise. While the poets were engaged in appreciation of their respective poems which accorded with the treatise on 'Poruḷ', the jealous Kīraṇ said, 'Hard should it be to find a parallel to the flawless Fifth Composition among my works'. The Lord thereupon sang a song packed close with 'Poruḷ' and asked the assembled poets to comment on it: while the other poets stood approvingly silent, Nak-Kīraṇ, in his ignorance, pronounced it unsound. The Lord Sundara said in reply, 'Who knoweth not that thou hast ever been a prey to jealousy? If any one else amongst ye saith it is unsound, then shall I be content'. The poets remaining silent, a voice from on high spoke: 'Oh, ye learned! the Lord came as one amongst ye to compose all contentions: worship Him'. They all marvelled: Kīraṇ worshipped Sundara and craved pardon. The Lord, who had for long sat in the Academy under the name of Pēr-Ālavāyar of Madurai, vanished, and the *Poruḷ Adihāram* shone resplendent as Iṟaiyaṇār's the Lord's *Poruḷ*.²

Once upon a time unknown, when a Pāṇḍya king was walking up and down with his queen in the moonlight on the terrace of his palace at Madurai, the breeze wafted to him the abiding fragrance of the tresses of his queen and he was bewitched by its indescribable sweetness. Asking himself if the frag-

1. I am painfully aware that the terms *Letter*, *Word* and *Theme* hardly represent the connotation of the terms used in Tamil grammars—*Eluttu*, *Ṣol* and *Poruḷ*. Even the ugly words *Orthography*, *Semasiology* and *Gnosiology* are not fair approximations.

2. Legend 15

rance was independent of the flowers that decked the tresses or no, he put together a thousand gold pieces into a purse and had it hoisted in front of the Academy and he had it notified that any one who came forward with a fine poem packed close with the apt answer to his question could take the purse. Poets kept coming to the king with poems, but the purse swung in its place. One day, a Brahman of the name of Darumi, pure, upright and devout, entering the temple and prostrating himself, told the Lord that so poor was he that he could not marry and his line was in danger of dying with him. The Lord Sundara composed a poem, gave it to Darumi and asked him to place it before the Academy and take the purse, and also advised him to seek His aid should any opposition arise. On Darumi taking the poem to the Academy and showing it to the Academicians, they appreciated it within themselves but would not show their appreciation openly. Darumi went back to the king and the Academicians followed him. The Pāṇḍya admitted that in the poem he found the apt answer to his question and he adjudged the prize to the poet who had composed the poem. Thereupon, Darumi went to the Academy to take down the purse, but the jealous Kīraṇ declared that the poem was not free from flaws, charged Darumi with incapacity to comprehend even the purport of words and asked him to fetch the poet who had composed the poem. Darumi appealing to Sundara, the Lord came in the guise of a poet, stood before the Academy, pervading the universe, and asked the Academicians who it was among them that had found fault with His poem. Kīraṇ replied that it was he. On the Lord asking that the flaw be pointed out, Kīraṇ said that if a head of hair was not properly dressed it would emit an evil odour. When Sundara asked him if he would apply the statement to the tresses of even goddesses, Kīraṇ replied that the sweetness of the tresses was due not to nature but to the attention bestowed on them. Sundara chiding him for his obstinacy and asking him if he held it true of even the tresses of His Consort, Gaurī, a prompt answer in the affirmative came from Kīraṇ. When Sundara revealed His identity by turning round and showing Kīraṇ the matted locks in which lay the Gaṅgā, Kīraṇ retorted, 'Frighten me not with Thy matted locks! The world doth know (the truth)'. Then Sundara opened His blazing third eye, but, nothing daunted, Kīraṇ said, 'Though flaming eyes be all around me, the flaw doth still remain a flaw'. Sundara

conjured him to give up his unseemly contrariness and asked, 'Knowest thou not that Our Dame is called Cit-puṣpa-keśī by the Vedas?'. Roasted by the flaming eye and suffering greatly, Kīraṇ called aloud for water, and unable to sustain the heat precipitated himself into a pool so that he might cool himself in its waters. The Lord Sundara vanished, and Darumi took down the purse and went his way praising the Lord.¹ At the intercession of the poets and on Kīraṇ composing an *andādi* poem in praise of Kailāsa and Kālahastī as he lay cooling himself in the pool, Sundara went with His Consort to Kīraṇ, helped him out of the pool and set him on the bank and disappeared. Kīraṇ went up to the Lord's temple and stood there for long in devout worship.²

Sundara being pleased with the unremitting devotion of Kīraṇ wished to improve Kīraṇ's knowledge of Tamil. His Consort reminded Him how once when they both were seated on Kailāsa, the celestials and the mortals, the ṛṣis, the yakṣas, the Adepts and the Nāgas had represented to Him that the north-east of the earth had got depressed and that the south-west, where stands Mount Podiyil, had got elevated, and how they had prayed that some one might be sent south so that he might restore equilibrium and how from the countless persons who stood around He had chosen Agastya and instructed him to go south and seat himself on Mount Podiyil (Malaya), how Agastya had then prayed that since he was being sent to the Tamil country he might be taught all about Tamil, how the Lord had then taught duly all the aphorisms dealing with Letter, Word and Theme, and how He had promised to teach him the purport of Tamil literature in the Kadamba forest wherein He lovingly dwelt. Thereupon Sundara thought that no one but Agastya could teach Kīraṇ the bunch of Tamil and that Kīraṇ should be filled with Tamil literature through Agastya: immediately Agastya appeared and, paying due obeisance to the Lord, entreated that he might be taught the rare aphorisms of Tamil. Sundara taught them to Agastya and asked him in turn to teach them all to Kīraṇ. Agastya having thus become better versed in Tamil than ever before taught it all duly to Kīraṇ, and went back to the Malaya Hill. When Sundara's Consort asked Him why He had not Himself taught Kīraṇ, Sundara replied that a preceptor should

1. Legend 16

2. Legend 17

instruct only those who paid amply, rendered services, were sympathetically inclined, were free from jealousy, had crushed untruth, were not disposed to cavil and had understood what was in the preceptor's heart, and that Kīraṇ having been guilty of irrepressible jealousy and of inordinate self-esteem, He could not in His own person play preceptor to Kīraṇ.¹

The learned poets wrote commentaries on the aphorisms on Poruḷ which the Lord had formerly composed, but differences arose among them, for each had admiration for his commentary alone. Then, they agreed that they would place all the commentaries before the Lord and abide by His decision, and they told the Lord of their resolution. Thereto the Lord replied, 'Ye have spoken wisely. In this city doth live a devotee of ours, a merchant Uppūr-kiḷār. His son is but a boy, and is dumb to boot. Truth to tell, he is none other than Śaravaṇa-Guha. He is a peerless sage. He is called Rudra-Janman. Place your glosses before him and the one that he doth approve of is the true gloss: doubt it not'. The poets then asking Him, 'Being mute from birth, how shall he speak?', the Lord replied, 'At which gloss soever his hair doth bristle and his eyes grow wet, that is the true gloss: the rest are not. Despise him not, any of ye. Go ye in accord, place him on Our seat and beseech the boon'. So, the poets brought the dumb boy to the sacred Hall, seated him on the lion throne, burned incense and lights before him and set out the true glosses. On hearing those of Kīraṇ, Kabilāṇ and Paraṇāṇ, the boy was filled with joy and the hair on his body bristled and his eyes grew wet with tears. All present accepted those glosses as the ones which accorded with the divine author's mind, and for long days they praised the greatness of the Lord. The spell which had lain on the boy broke, and, after manifesting himself before the poets with six faces and twelve arms and riding a peacock, he vanished all of a sudden.²

Once upon a time a great poet of the name of Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ, a sweet companion of poets and chum of Kabilāṇ, sang a poem on a Pāṇḍya king and presented it to him, but the king pushed the poet aside and went his way. Greatly vexed, the poet wended his way to the shrine of the Lord Sundara and said, 'The Word is Thy Consort, and Thou art the Theme: so say the

1. Legend 18

2. Legend 19

Vedas. In insulting me a poet, the king hath insulted Thee and Thy Consort. Is it meet?'. Having spoken thus, the poet left the sacred presence. The Lord was startled at these words and wished to pacify Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ and his friend Kabilāṇ. So, He left the shrine with His Consort, and, proceeding northward with the Academicians, stayed on the southern bank of the Vaihai. While thus He stayed beyond the pale of the temple,—the Academy in full strength being with Him and also adoring ascetics and devas—the devotees of the Lord entered the temple before dawn for worship as was their wont but they found Him not in the temple. Dazed at it, they ran up to the king and informed him of how the Lord had betaken himself with the poets to the banks of the river, having deserted His sacred fane. Taken aback by the news, the king, with his queen and ministers, went afoot to the Lord and prayed to be told how he had so offended the Lord that He had abandoned His shrine. The Lord asked, 'How happened it that, thoughtless and impelled by thine arrogance, thou pushed and drove out the companion of Kabilāṇ (who hath sung an *andādi* on Us), though his poem was without flaw, whether in word or in theme? Though thou art learned, yet, like the low in mind, thou hast imputed flaws indiscriminately'. King and queen prostrating themselves and beseeching forgiveness, the Lord came back to the temple, accompanied by the Academicians and by Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ. The place where the Lord had tarried awhile to please Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ came to be known as North Ālavāy.¹

The next legend narrates how the sea rose and advanced against Old Madurai, how Ugra-Pāṇḍya thereupon hurled his javelin at the sea, how it subsided instantly and kept submissively lapping the margins of his feet, and how he erected a lofty Hall for the Academy and remained in it for long amidst the laudations of the poets. The last stanza of this canto adds that the First and the Middle Academies were held in that Hall and that the Academy 'of the future' would be on banks of the Ganges.²

Then follow six cantos chronicling six miscellaneous miracles,—how once on a time the Lord cast curses about, His Consort to be born as daughter to a chieftain over fishermen, His son Skanda to be born as son to a merehant of Madurai and be

1. Legend 20

2. Legend 21

a congenital mute, and His Chief of Staff, Nandī, to be born as a shark, and how he plied fish-nets in the sea and took the fisherman's daughter to wife,¹ how He sold bangles and delighted the *vāṇiga* girls of Madurai,² how to a chieftain, Kāḍu-veṭṭi, He gave surreptitious access to His shrine, the Pāṇḍya king being that chieftain's enemy, and how He cut open a new gateway through the ramparts of the city and placed His Bull-seal on the gates,³ how He appeared as a dealer in precious stones and presented a Pāṇḍya prince with the diadem needed for his coronation,⁴ and how he mounted a turret on the ramparts and with an arrow called the Narasimha killed an ogre-elephant conjured up by the incantations of some Śramaṇas who had been incited by a Cōla king, how the carcase of the elephant was turned into the Elephant Hill and how as a memorial of the miracle of felling the ogre-elephant with the Narasimha-arrow the Lord installed Narasimha in the Elephant Hill.⁵

Now follow four cantos in which the story of the saint Māṇikya-vācaka is told at much length and with great pathos,—a Pāṇḍya king's prime minister turning devotee and being taught by the Lord⁶, the transformation of jackals into horses by the Lord to oblige the devotee,⁷ the re-transformation of the horses into jackals,⁸ and the carrying of baskets of earth by the Lord on His head for the sake of an old dame and for procuring the liberation of the devotee from the prison into which the king had thrown him.⁹

Following these are six cantos recounting six miracles,—how the Lord became an old man, then a youth and lastly a babe in an endeavour to console a girl who, though born and bred a Śaivite, had been married to a Vaiṣṇava,¹⁰ how to satisfy a Pāṇḍya who apprehended that the Lord's dancing continuously in one mode would tire Him out the Lord changed the mode and danced contrariwise,¹¹ how to save a Pāṇḍya from incurring the infamy of a judicial murder the Lord revealed the true circumstances of an accidental death,¹² how He showed the path of salvation to a wretch who had been guilty of both incest and

1. Legend 22

2. Legend 23

3. Legend 24

4. Legend 25

5. Legend 26

6. Legend 27

7. Legend 28

8. Legend 29

9. Legend 30

10. Legend 31

11. Legend 32

12. Legend 33

parricide,¹ how He cut down limb by limb a young 'blade' who had so far forgotten himself as to make love to the wife of his aged preceptor,² and how in the days of king Dattāṇ the Lord wrought a miracle from which the city got its name Madhura (Madurai) and how He turned a serpent, a magic cow and His Bull into three mounts named after them respectively³.

The next two legends concern the miracles which the Lord worked through the saint Jñāna-sambandha,— the saint curing a Pāṇḍya king of a malignant fever and transforming him from a hunchback into a really beautiful person⁴, and the saint getting the cantankerous Śramaṇas impaled after he had vanquished them in disputation⁵.

Another series of miscellaneous miracles follows,—how the Lord appeared as a General at the head of a huge army to save from disgrace a chieftain who had spent on temples and devotees the large sums of money which had been entrusted to him by his king, Vira-māraṇ, for raising an army to repulse an invasion threatened by Śēdibaṇ, king of hunters,⁶ how He gave an unfailing purse to another Pāṇḍya king with the injunction that he should protect the Vedas,⁷ how He settled a dispute about succession to some property,⁸ how He taught the eight great *stddhis* to certain Yakṣiṇis,⁹ how as a water-carrier He served out water to the thirsty troops of a Pāṇḍya king (Vira-Māraṇ) when they were engaged in battle with the forces of a Cōla king who had advanced against Madurai.¹⁰

The next canto tells us that once upon a time, rains failing in the kingdoms of the Cēra, the Cōla and the Pāṇḍya, the three kings went together to Indra, that Indra took umbrage at the Pāṇḍya's independence but did not reveal his displeasure and sent the three kings back to earth with great honours, and that Indra made the clouds rain copiously on the realms of the Cōla and the Cēra while he denied rain to the Pāṇḍya's country.¹¹

1. Legend 34

2. Legend 35

3. Legend 36

4. Legend 37

5. Legend 38

6. Legend 39

7. Legend 40.

8. Legend 41

9. Legend 42

10. Legend 43.

11. At this point, are found a number of stanzas which, according to M. M. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar, the great editor of this work, are not to be found in some manuscripts. The purport of these stanzas is given below :

The Pāṇḍya worshipped Skanda at Tirup-Param-kunṇam and went ahunting on the Podiyil Mount. Finding the four great clouds wondering about, he captured and consigned them to prison at Kaṭṭu-Nallūr-irum-śirai. When the jealous Indra came to rescue them, the Pāṇḍya (Vira-Māraṇ?) engaged him in battle, smote him with a discus and put him to rout at Tanic-Śayam, and compelled him, in return for the liberation of the clouds, to send him prompt and regular rains.¹

Two cantos follow narrating how, to fulfil the wish of a pious danseuse to have an idol of Śiva cast and consecrated, the Lord played alchemist,² and how to save a Pāṇḍya king from being driven from the throne by an invading Cōla, He fought on the battle-field, javelin in hand, and drove the Cōla to a watery grave.³

In the next canto we are told of the close of a Brahma-kalpa, the dawn of a new age, the birth of a new Pāṇḍya, his finding the temple unscathed by the incidents of the change from one kalpa to another, his raising a city round the temple, his appealing to the Lord to discover to him the ancient limits of the city, a serpent winding itself along the ancient bounds at the behest of the Lord and the city coming to be called Ālavāy in consequence.⁴

The Pāṇḍya went to Tirup-Param-kunṇam, sacred to Muruhaṇ (Skanda). A leaf, wafted down from a tree on the bank of a pool on the hill, fell where along the margin of the pool the earth and the water met, and the leaf turned immediately into a living thing which was half bird and half fish. The bird-half sought to fly and the fish-half sought to swim. The poet Kīraṇ sought to end this strife between bird and fish, but he was caught hold of by an ogre and consigned to the depths of a dungeon cut into the rock. At the bidding of Muruhaṇ, Kīraṇ sang a glorious psalm,— an *Ārrup-padaḍai*, 'Putting the Pilgrim in the Way' to his Lord,— and, Muruhaṇ, mightily pleased, aimed his javelin at the hill and liberated Kīraṇ and then vanished into the shrine,—but not before he had commented that Kīraṇ had called him an old man in the psalm. Kīraṇ thereupon sang a poem on Muruhaṇ's victory over the hill and his perpetual youth and unfading beauty. Muruhaṇ declared that whoso chanted Kīraṇ's psalms would receive the boon he prayed for, and Kīraṇ returned to Madurai and recited the psalms before the Academy amidst applause. Then, Kīraṇ enquired what the Pāṇḍya had done to obtain rain¹.

1. Legend 44.

2. Legend 45.

3. Legend 46.

4. Legend 47.

The next legend is the story of king Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya,—how the king sought to atone for the sin of having unwittingly killed a Brāhmaṇa and to cast out the ghost which had possessed him in consequence, how the Lord encouraged the king with a promise, how he routed and pursued a Cōla who had dared march on Madurai, how the ghost abandoned the king on his entering the temple of Tiruv-Idai-Marudūr, how the king made his exit by the western gateway, how he stayed there for some time and had that gateway rebuilt, how he returned to Madurai and reigned in peace and how through the Lord's grace he obtained a vision of His world.¹

Then follows a canto telling how when Varguṇa's son, to repulse the attack of a Cōla king, who along with allies such as the hunters, the Yavanas and the Karnāṭas had besieged Madurai, threw himself at the feet of the Hero who had slain the magic-elephant, the Lord appeared before the walls of the city as an archer and put to rout the attacking forces with arrows on which He had impressed His sign, the Bull.²

In the next legend the Lord is said to have given a never-failing bag to a devotee who had spend his substance in feeding the Lord's devotees.³

Then comes a miracle relating that once on a time a Karnāṭa king drove the Pāṇḍya from his throne and subdued the Pāṇḍya country, became a convert to the religion of the Śramaṇas and oppressed those who followed the orthodox faith. A merchant, Mūrti, gave signal proof of his devotion to the Lord in defiance of the oppressor's ukases. At the decree of the Lord the usurper died suddenly, and Mūrti, being miraculously chosen king, re-established the orthodox faith.⁴

In the next canto we are told that once upon a time in a kalpa, two eminent poets, Kāri and Nāri, journeyed to Madurai from the north, took the wrong road and wandered about. Meeting a shepherd, they asked for the way to Madurai, but the shepherd insisted on being told first what the poets were going to Madurai for. On their protesting that it could be no concern of his, he retorted that he would not then tell them which way the city lay. The poets had then to say that they were going to the king with good poems in praise of him; the shepherd there-

1. Legend 48.
3. Legend 50.

2. Legend 49.
4. Legend 51.

upon taunted them with carrying poetry to a place crowded with the most eminent poets, and he insisted on a poem being recited before him. On the poets complying with the demand, the shepherd denounced them and, declaring that it was not their composition, recited the poem straight away. The poets thereupon promised him all the wealth that the king might shower on them if only he would tell them who it was that had taught him the poem, but he stipulated instead that a half of all their poems should be in eulogy of him. The moment the poets assented to the bargain the shepherd vanished. The poets, convinced that the shepherd was none other than the Lord Sundara, went up to His temple and made half their poems into hymns in praise of Him, and then went to the king with the other half.¹

The next canto tells how once upon a time the Lord made a tiger give suck to a young deer in the Kadamba forest, how a merchant of Maṇavūr, who had gone westward in quest of wealth discovered, on the way back, a city with a great temple in it and told the king of the discovery, how at the king's request the Lord took the guise of an Adept and pointed out to him the boundary of the city by walking along it and how the king made the city his home.²

In the next four cantos we have the legend of the Lord playing four Sports on behalf of a bard Bhadra and his wife,—how, in response to Bhadra's appeal to help him vanquish a rival bard, the Lord appeared as a wood-cutter and sang a song of ineffable sweetness and how the rival took to his heels when he heard that Bhadra had refused to accept that master-songster for a pupil as he was not proficient enough to be accorded the high privilege of being Bhadra's disciple,³ how the Lord sent Bhadra with a commendatory note to the Cēra king of that time who received him with high honours and piled on him the most costly gifts,⁴ how the Lord gave Bhadra a board on which to stand when singing psalms in His praise⁵ and how the Lord made the Pāṇḍya king award the palm to Bhadra's wife in a musical contest, though the king had arranged for the contest for the express purpose of spiting himself against Bhadra and his wife.⁶

1. Legend 52. 2. Legend 53. 3. Legend 54.
4. Legend 55. 5. Legend 56. 6. Legend 57.

In the seven succeeding cantos we have a varied collection of legends,— how through a curse the dozen sons of a Vellāḷa were born as pups to a boar and sow, how the couple lost their lives at the hands of a Pāṇḍya king and how the Lord played mother to the orphan pups,¹ how through the Lord's grace they were born again as human beings and were brought up on the Boar Hill and in due course were made ministers to the Pāṇḍya king,² how the Lord taught to a black-bird the *mṛtyuñjaya mantra*, powerful even against death,³ how there was a drought in the days of a Pāṇḍya king of the lineage of Ugra, how the king grew eager for great wealth to support sacrifices and maintain worship so that there might thereafter be no failure of rains, how at a suggestion from the Lord the king advanced against Mount Mēru, how when it refused to yield up the treasures hidden in its entrails the king struck it down with his club and incised on it his insignia, the fish and the club, and how there-upon the Mount disgorged the treasures,⁴ how a young man who was taking his orphan cousin to Madurai with a view to marrying her there in pursuance of her father's wishes, was bitten to death by a cobra at Tirup-Purambiyam, how the saint Jñāna-sambandha resurrected him and had him married to the cousin with no witnesses but a well, a *vaṇṇi* tree and the idol of the temple of Tirup-Purambiyam, and how when doubts came to be cast, years later, on the fact of the marriage, the Lord made the well, the tree and the idol appear at Madurai and bear testimony to the marriage,⁵ how through piety a crane forswore fish and starved and how the Lord vouchsafed salvation to it and to all its kind,⁶ and how at the beginning of the first of the four yugas of the fifth mahā-yuga of this Brahma-kalpa the Lord assumed the guise of a preceptor at the request of the Ṛṣis and taught them the four Vedas and the six Aṅgas in Madurai.⁷

The sixty-four Sports having been thus narrated at length, the work closes with some verses in which the 'Fruits of Study' of the work are enumerated.

(To be continued.)

1. Legend 58.
3. Legend 60.
5. Legend 62.
7. Legend 64.

2. Legend 59.
4. Legend 61.
6. Legend 63.

LITERARY NOTES.

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शशिनमुपगतेयं कौमुदी मेघमुक्तं

जलनिधिमनुरूपं जङ्घकन्यावतीर्णा ।

इति समगुणयोगप्रीतयस्तत्रपौराः

श्रवणकटु नृपाणामेकवाक्यं विवदुः ॥ Raghu. VI. 85.

The above is an apt illustration of Kālidāsa's characteristic poetic genius in weaving into the fine texture of exquisite verse the subtle references to Śāstraic thought and scientific truth which often elude the superficial reader. It occurs in the context, wherein the assembled citizens of the capital city of the Vidarbha king are said to have given expression to their rejoicings at the happy union in wedlock of princess Indumati with prince Aja, in the great Svayamvara that was held at the court of that king. Mightily pleased with the absolute worthiness of the ultimate choice of a husband by the princess, the citizens voiced forth their heart-felt felicitations thus: "The moonlight has united with the moon freed from the cloud; the daughter of Jahnu (Gaṅgā) has flowed down into the ocean of like nature." The general import of the stanza is fairly clear, namely, that the princess and her husband are quite worthy of each other in every respect by the equal excellence of their qualities of head and heart, and, hence, their marriage evokes the hearty appreciation of the citizens. The exact significance of the expression "*Ekavākya*" (एकवाक्य) however, it is a little difficult to understand. In his cryptic commentary, Mallinātha renders it as *Avisaṁvādivākya* (अविसंवादिवाक्य), i.e., non-divergent sentence, and the translator in the Poona edition of the Raghuvamśa translates it as "unanimous opinion". One can well see that this elucidation of the meaning of the expression fails to bring out the full effect suggested therein, and the significance of the verb

"*Vivavruḥ*" is also missed. Moreover, the first half of the stanza consists of two sentences, and it seems to be an apparent contradiction of language to say that the citizens gave expression to one sentence. Hence, it stands in need of probing further to find out the hidden meaning and suggestion.

The phrase "*Ekavākya*" (एकवाक्य) or, more accurately, *Ekavākyatva* (एकवाक्यत्व) is a well-known term of art in the science of *Mīmāṃsā*, which connotes the rule that, where there are two sentences which are inter-dependent on account of the inter-relation of the underlying idea conveyed by them, they together form one sentence conveying one complete idea. This is known to the writers of the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* as the 'Nyāya' of *Ekavākyatva* (एकवाक्यत्व). Thus Kumārila Bhaṭṭa defines it in the following stanza:

स्वार्थबोधे समाप्तानामङ्गाङ्गित्वव्यपेक्षया ।

वाक्यानामेकवाक्यत्वं पुनः संहस्य जायते ॥

"Two sentences, each conveying its complete sense, join together to form one sentence by reason that they are inter-dependent as component parts."

If we apply the principle of this rule to the two sentences in the first half of the stanza, it will be seen that, though they appear as two separate sentences conveying two ideas, still, in the context, their ultimate import is only one complete idea, namely, that the bride has chosen a husband worthy of her and that he has obtained a bride worthy of him in every respect. This idea is conveyed by the citizens in the form of two figures of speech which are indicated in the two separate sentences. But the real idea portrayed by these two similes is only one. Hence, by applying this principle of *Ekavākyatva* the poet is justified in saying that the citizens, though they apparently gave expression to their rejoicings in two separate sentences, still, really uttered only one sentence. If we examine a little more carefully the two sentences, we can realise also how their inter-dependence, *Parasparākāṅkṣā* (परस्पराकाङ्क्षा) has been indicated by well-chosen words therein. The first beginning with "*Śaśinam*" (शशिनं) connotes the idea that prince Aja was all along waiting for, and, at last, obtained, a bride worthy of him. This idea naturally provokes the thought in the mind of reader whether the converse is also true, and the second beginning with

"*Jalanidhim*" (जलनिधिं) hits that off and conveys that the princess, in her turn, was waiting for a worthy husband and had the good fortune of getting one in the prince. The adjective "*Megha-mukta*" (मेघमुक्तं) is used in the first sentence to qualify the word "*Śaśinam*" (शशिनं) signifying the prince. Hidden by the cloud, the moon was waiting for the approach of the moonlight and now freed from it, the moon stands united with the moonlight. In the other sentence, the word "*Jahnukanyā*" (जह्नुकन्या) is used in relation to Gaṅgā signifying the princess, with the deliberate purpose of conveying the idea to the reader that, in her long course through the plains to reach ultimately her lord, the ocean, the mighty river was for a time intercepted by the Ṛṣi Jahnu, and, then, freed from him, flows into the ocean. It may be that the words, "*Kaumudī*" (कौमुदी) and "*Jahnukanyā*" (जह्नुकन्या) both denoting the princess in the context, are used as *kartas* in the two sentences. Still, by the qualifying epithet, "*Megha-mukta*" (मेघमुक्त) in relation to *Śaśi* (शशी) in the first sentence, the *Ākāṅkṣā* (आकाङ्क्षा) is established, as the ultimate import (तात्पर्य) of the first sentence, namely, that it is the moon which stands to gain by the union, suggests the necessity for the second sentence which clearly conveys that the river, signifying the princess also stands equally to gain by the union. Therefore, the first sentence and the simile contained therein naturally run into the second sentence and simile contained therein, and the two together form, as it were, the component parts of one sentence and one idea, namely, that the bride and bridegroom are worthy of each other to be united in wedlock. That this is the central idea desired to be conveyed by the poet is fairly certain from the following verse referring to the same prince and the princess.

परस्परेण सृष्टणीयशोभं

न चेदिदं द्वन्द्वमयोजयिष्यत् ।

अस्मिन् द्वये रूपविधानयत्नः

पत्युः प्रजानां वितथोऽभविष्यत् ॥ (Ragh. VII. 14.)

The reader will now readily appreciate how the bald and prosaic *Mīmāṃsā* rule of interpretation has been made to subserve the ends of poetic art, so as to evolve a fine poetic conceit.

MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF BHAKTI-RĀJA

BY

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This copper plate grant appears to have been found somewhere in the vicinity of Nuzvid and was in the possession of the Zamindar of Nuzvid till 1873, when, according to the "Catalogue of the copper plate grants in the Government Museum, Madras" (1918), it was presented to the Madras Museum by the Zamindar. As early as 1871 it came to the notice of that veteran archæologist, Sewell, whose remarks on this grant are found on pp. 26-27 of his "Lists of Inscriptions and Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India" (1884). But curiously enough this important grant has not yet been published.

The grant consists of three plates strung together by a ring going through holes on the left-hand sides of these plates. The ends of the ring (now cut) are soldered to the bottom of an oval seal, 2" x 1", with the figure of a man engraved on it. What this figure represents is not clear. It is in the act of walking or dancing with the hands lifted up to the level of the neck. Similar figures can be seen on the copper issues of the Cōḷa king Rājā-rāja I (985—1012 A. D.). Except the first plate, which has writing on its inner side, the other two have writings on both the sides. They measure 8½" x 4". The rims of these plates are slightly raised, and the plates themselves are consequently well preserved.

The writing is legible. The lines do not run straight but often overlap, so much so that they have to be carefully followed. The writing too has not been cut sufficiently deep and in some places the letters are faint. The language used is throughout Sanskrit except for a few lines (40-44) written in old Telugu language which speak of the boundaries of the village granted. The script employed is old Telugu, most of the letters having almost assumed their present shape. The whole grant, which is done in 51 lines, can be said to consist of 24 verses in Sanskrit and four lines (40-44) of prose in Telugu.

The *anusvāra* is always used for the corresponding nasal, e.g. *prasanna*, *Gaṅgā*, *Caṇdra*. The vowel "ē" has no top stroke as at present. *Da* and *ḍa* are done almost in the same way but the latter has, as in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva, the son of Bhakti-Rāja, a greater curve. *Ba* is distinguished from *bha* by a top stroke in the latter. Almost all the letters have the top stroke or the *talakaṭṭu*.

Repha is indicated by a stroke usually called "*velapali gilaka*." The letter following *anusvāra* is doubled in certain places. The *anusvāra* is sometimes found in places where it is not necessary e.g. *Vaṁṛṇanīyam* (in line 15) and is sometimes omitted where its presence is necessary e.g. *nṛpāṇā(m)* (in line 50). Sometimes consonants get doubled e.g. *sūryya* (in line 8), *bhargga* (in line 10); *bāndha-vīyyam* (in line 20). *ḷa*, *ṣa* and *ka* retain the *Cālukyan* form (line 4.). Sometimes *bha* is used for *pha* (lines 20 and 24) and *ba* (line 19); and *ṭa* for *ḍa* (line 24).

The contents of this grant may be summarised as follows, fuller details being given under translation of the text (p. 140-3):—

In the line of the sun there appeared several kings like Manu, Bhagīratha, Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha, Raghu, Rāma, Arikāla and Karikāla and Nalla-Bhīma. After Nalla-Bhīma came Dāmabhūpa alias Dōhatta-Nārāyaṇa who was succeeded by his son Sōma-nṛpāla. Sōma-nṛpāla's son was Gaṅgādhara who married Irugāmbā, the daughter of Kāmabhūpa and sister of Vēṅga-bhūpati of the lunar race. To Gaṅgādhara was born Bhaktirāja, called a Cōḍa, who also bore the name Kāmārāja after his maternal grandfather. This Bhaktirāja was a great devotee of Śiva. He was like the Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa to his inimical lions and bore the title Rāyavēśyābhujāṅga which indicated his sovereignty. While he was engaged in conquering neighbouring kingdoms, in the course of one of his marches, he came upon Viśvanātha, a celebrate-sage of the Kauśika-gōtra and a great Śaiva teacher, at Śrī Parvata (Śrī Śailam,) whose disciple he forthwith became. And he granted to him a village called Kaṇḍvakolnu in Śaka 1277, on Monday, in the month of Kārttika (Monday, 21st October, 1355 A.D.).

This inscription is of much historical interest, as it discloses the genealogy of an almost unknown line of local chiefs, who call themselves Cōḍas of the solar race and who appear to have flourished in the country now bounded by the Gōdāvari and

Vizagapatam districts during the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth centuries. Thus they appear to have flourished immediately after the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu. The information regarding these Cōḍas has been culled from the following inscriptions:—

- No. 145 (S. I. I., Vol. 5, p. 55)
 No. 1347 (" " 4, p. 474)
 No. 1348 (" " " ")
 No. 254 (M. E. R., 1905)
 No. 293 (" " 1920)
 No. 16-A (" " 1917-18)
 No. 865 (S. I. I., Vol. VI, p. 334),

and from the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa published in J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I., No. 4, pp. 172-189.

From these inscriptions we learn that these Cōḍas were quite distinct from the several other Cōḍa families that ruled in several parts of the Āndhra country like the Telugu Cōḍas of Nellore, the Velanāṭi Cōḍas and the Rēnāḍu Cōḍas. In the earlier part of the fourteenth century the Telingaṇa appears to have been the scene of severe internecine struggle for individual supremacy. Close on the heels of the downfall of the Kākatīyas, the central power had waned considerably and from inscriptions we learn that many principalities arose like those of the Nāyaks of Piṭhāpuram etc., who held great military posts under the Kākatīyas. In about this time several powers like the Gajapatis (*i.e.*, Gāṅgas of Kaḷiṅga), the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu, the Velamas of Dēvarakoṇḍa and Rācakoṇḍa, the Karṇāṭas of Vijayanagara and the Muhammadan powers like the Bahamanis tore the country into shreds by frequent fights amongst themselves for individual supremacy. In this juncture the Cōḍas of our grant come to light and power.

From the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva we learn that they took part in these fights, joining one side or the other as the case may be, to effect a "balance of power." The plates say that Annadēva helped the Turuṣka (Firoz Shah Bahamani ?) against the Kannaḍa kings and inflicted a severe defeat on the latter. Though all the inscriptions of these Cōḍas speak of them in eulogistic terms they do not appear to have had

1. A. S. P. P., Vol. I, part 2 :—Anitalli's Kaluvacēru inscription.

larger territory or sovereign power at any time. So their position should have been of Maṇḍalēśvaras or chieftains.

As regards their religion almost all the inscriptions are agreed in calling them devotees of Śiva, and they made pious gifts to the temples of Śiva at Dākṣārāma, Mahānandīśvara, Tripurāntaka, Śrīśaila, Paṭṭisa and Benares etc., and to brāhmanas of deep learning like Viśvanātha, the donee in the grant under description.

The genealogy of this family, as gathered from our grant, is as follows :—

After a mythological pedigree consisting of names like Manu, Bhagīratha, Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha, Raghu, Rāma, the names of Arikāla and Karikāla, are given. After Karikāla there were several kings, the foremost among them being Nalla-Bhīma. Then came Dāmabhūpa alias Dōhatta Nārāyaṇa, then his son Sōmanṛpāla and after him Gaṅgādhara, the latter's son. After Gaṅgādhara came Bhaktirāja, the donor of our grant. He had various birudas of which the most important are Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa, and Rāyavēśyābhujāṅga. He was also known by the name of Kāmarāja or Kāmabhūpa, the name by which he is referred to in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva. When we compare this genealogy with the one given in the Rajahmundry grant, we get the following connected table:

(1)	(2)
MADRAS MUSEUM GRANT.	RAJAHMUNDY MUSEUM GRANT.
Nalla-Bhīma	m. Annamāmbā
Dāma-bhūpa m. Lakṣmī	Ēruva-Bhīma m. Prōlāmbikā
Sōma-nṛpāla m. Sūrāmbikā	Dāma-nṛpāla m. Lakṣmī
Gaṅgādhara m. Irugāmbā (of the lunar race, daughter of Kāmabhūpa and sister of Vēṅga- bhūpati.)	Sōma-bhūpa m. Sūrāmbikā
Bhaktirāja	Gaṅgādhara m. Irugāmbā
	Kāmarāja <i>alias</i> Bhaktirāja m. Annamāmbā
	Annadēva m. Irugāmbikā
	Virabhadra

Nalla-Bhīma of (1) would correspond to Ēruva-Bhīma of (2) and is, therefore, identical with the great warrior-chief Ēruva, about whom there are some cātu verses in Telugu, praising his valour¹. Mr. V. Appa Rao thinks that Mailama-Bhīma was perhaps another name² of his. But this cannot be, for we learn from grant (2) (lines 15-16) that his mother was known as Annamāmbā and not as Mailama. We can easily concede that he had the name Nalla-Bhīma which probably reflected on his complexion or good rule. His wife was Prōlāmbikā. His son was Dāmabhūpa or Dāmanṛpāla who married Lakṣmī. Both the grants agree with regard to Dāmabhūpa, Sōmabhūpa and Gaṅgādhara and their wives. Gaṅgādhara's wife was Irugāmbā, the daughter of Kāma-bhūpa and the sister of king Vēṅga-bhūpati. No. (2) gives Gaṅgādhara the title Arigaṇḍaragaṇḍa, and calls Bhaktirāja as Kāmarāja after his maternal grand-father. The name Bhaktirāja is explained by No. (2), as having been given to Kāmarāja, the name by which he was known from childhood, for his extreme devotion to Śiva (Candracūḍa). His wife, according to no. (2), was Annamāmbā and their son was Annadēva who married Irugāmbikā. And Annadēva's son was Vīrabhadra with whom our knowledge of this family comes to a close for the present.

Our grant is silent about the military exploits and other activities of Bhaktirāja, as it concentrates only on the religious persuasions of the king. Fortunately the Rajahmundry plates give us ample information about his military and civil activities³. He built a town and named it Kāmapurī after his own name. It also bore the name of Kalyāṇa and was as it were the crest-jewel of the Āndhradēśa. Even as a youth he conquered the valorous Yavana chiefs like Boggara and others⁴ in the vicinity of the

1. V. Prabhākara Sastri, *Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjarī*, p. 76 (Ed. 1913).

2. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 174-5.

3. It is to be regretted that facsimiles of these plates have not yet appeared. For much of my information regarding these Cōḍas I rely on the readings given in J.A.H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 182-187.

4. M. E. R., 1912, part II, p. 86.—In this report the word *boggaraḍi* occurring in line 23 of Annadēva's plates (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 4) has been interpreted as the name of a place called *boggaraḍi*, changing the *di* into *ḍi*. But what we find in the inscription is *bṛggaraḍi-yavana* meaning Bōggara and other Yavanas. The passage itself runs thus:—"Prāntiḥ yuvaiva Gulapūṇḍi-purasya Śūrān yō Bṛggaraḍi yavanādhipaṣṭin ajaiṣṭi" (lines 22-23).

town of Gulapūṇḍi (?Gunupūṇḍi). On the east he defeated the Gajapati king at the battle of Pañcadhāra (?Pañcadhārā) and installed on the throne the lord of Koppula. Near the town of Bharanipāḍu he conquered a king called Śiṅga and in a pitched battle near the town of Pedakoṇḍa vanquished the demon-forces (probably Muhammadan forces) under Dabaru Khan and others. At the town of Sūravara he easily defeated the great hero Anna-vōta whose identity becomes clear from the Vanapalli plates of Anna Vēma dated Śaka 1300, published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, pp. 59-60. He was the grandson of Prōla, and son of Vēma who built a hall and steps at Śrī Śailam, and a brother of Anna Vēma, the donor of the Vanapalli plates. He was therefore of the Koṇḍaviḍu Redḍi family.

Besides the gift mentioned in this grant, Bhaktirāja is said to have given away two other villages, Ātukūru and Āmudālapalli at the instance of Pōlidēvayya¹. The capital before his time appears to be Mummaḍi Prōlavaram, (probably Murumaṇḍa Pōlavaram in the Godavari district) and Bhaktirāja should have, therefore, built a new capital and called it Kāmapurī. But when we come to the time of his son Annadēva we learn that his capital was Mummaḍi Prōlavaram and not Kāmapurī².

About the activities of Annadēva, both military and religious, we have luckily ample records. Thus from the Rajahmundry Museum plates we learn all about his military exploits. He commanded a large force, and, ably assisted by his son Vīra-

1. Śrīnātha, *Śivarātrimāhātmyam*, canto I, verse 16:—

సీ॥ చేపూరిభీమేశుజెలువార గుండెలబూజగావించినపుణ్యమూర్తి ।
కడిమిమైనిరువత్తుగండనిచేమల్లికార్జునకుత్పలం బర్కిబడసె ।
గొలనిరామా రెడ్డినలన లింగాల.....రిమ్మోడ
భక్తిరాజాఖ్యుచేబర్వతేవ్వరునకు నర్పించెజెరువాడు నాతుకూరు
ధరణిద్రువురాంతకున కాముదాలపల్లె, రాయవేశ్యా
భుజంగువల్లవయిచ్చె
నిట్టి పారువ....., పోలిదేవయ్య చెన్నారంబుణ్యమూర్తి ।

2. M. E. R., 1912, p. 86.

bhadra, he is said to have consolidated his power, for which reason he is hailed as the greatest hero of the line. He allied himself with the Turuṣka king (probably a Bahamani king) and devastated the forces of the Karṇāṭas and captured several towns like Jaggavāgu. Then he defeated the kings of the south near Attili and protected 10,000 of his foes who sought refuge with him. Assisted by his brother-in-law, Pinayunḍi (Pinnunḍi) he killed the Kannaḍa and other kings at Kāṅkarapatti (Kākarapatti) on the banks of the river Gautamī (Gōdāvarī) in order to save his ally whose name is not however mentioned. Being desirous of fame he protected the kings of the Kāṭaya-Vēma family, who prostrated themselves at his feet, after being defeated by him in battle. Mr. V. Appa Rao, we think, has answered on pp. 177-180 of J. A. H. R. S., 1927, Vol. I, No. 4, the questions "who are the persons meant by the phrase "Kāṭaya Vēma-varṇśa" and "how did they come to be defeated and subsequently protected by Annadēva".

Annadēva's wife was Irugāmbikā of the solar race, the daughter of Śrī Cakravarti and sister of Pinnunḍi, probably a brother of Uṇḍirāja. These Uṇḍirājas also claim the solar race as theirs and are said to belong to the Harita-gōtra. They appear to have been allies to our Cōḍa chiefs in their hours of need. The Rāvulapatti copper plate grant of Uṇḍirāja records the grant of Rāvulapatti surnamed Uṇḍiśapura to brahmans. The king's capital is said to be Sūravaram (one of the two villages of this name in Bhadrachalam Taluk, Godavari Dt.) near which we learnt that Bhaktirāja defeated Annavōta. It is dated Śaka 1304 and would fall in the reign of Bhaktirāja, as the earliest date known for Annadēva is Śaka 1310¹. This grant gives their genealogy as follows :—

Dēvarāja of the Sūryavarṇśa and
the Harita-gōtra
Uṇḍiśa m. (Bi) mmidēvi
|
Tammarāja m. Viramadēvi
|
Uṇḍirāja m. Rudramadēvi of the
Mānavyasa-gōtra and probably
of Cālukyan blood.

1. M. E. R., 1905, No. 254.

From an inscription in Simhācalam, Vizagapatam district, published in South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, No. 865, dated Śaka 1325, we hear of a Kūnabhūpāla or Kūnaparāja of the Harita-gotra and son of king Cakravarti (line 5). If we remember that Irugāmbikā, the wife of Annadēva was the daughter of Cakravarti and the sister of Pinnunḍi (Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva, lines. 42-43—*Śrī Cakravartitanayām Irugāmbikām—Pinnunḍibhūpa-sahajām* . .) of the Harita-gōtra it goes without saying that Kūnabhūpa was Irugāmbikā's brother, either identical with Pinnunḍi (Pinnunḍi meaning only the "junior Uṇḍi"), or a brother of the latter.

Though we have ample materials concerning these Uṇḍirājas we are unable to determine the exact political relationship of Uṇḍirāja to the contemporary Reḍḍi chiefs Anna Vōta or Anna Vēma of Koṇḍaviḍu, who were powerful in this part of the country about the time of this inscription.

Annadēva was also a great devotee of Śiva and is said to have made many gifts to brahmans and temples¹. He covered with gold the temple of Virabhadra at Gōmukhagiri and gilding the pinnacle of the temple of Bhimeśvara at Dākṣārāma he converted it into a jewel in the crown of the Āndhra country. He made a gift of cows to brahmans of Paṭṭisa on the bank of the Gōdāvarī and gave away a village called Uttamagaṇḍa-Cōḍānnadēvavaram at a spot called Pinna-sāni-saṅga. And lastly he appears to have given several villages to God Viśvēśvara of Benares, his family deity.

Nothing more is known about Annadēva's son, Virabhadra than that he was associated with his father in the latter's military activities. The earliest date that we get for Annadēva is Śaka 1310² and the latest date happens to be Śaka 1335³ or 1336⁴. Subsequent to Śaka 1336 we do not hear either of Annadēva or his son Virabhadra.

While thus it is easy to assign these Cōḍas to the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, it is still more easy to follow their military activities, as meaning nothing more than

1. S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 145; Vol. IV, Nos. 1347-48; M. E. R., 1905, No. 254; 1920, No. 293.

2. M. E. R., 1905, No. 254.

3. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 145.

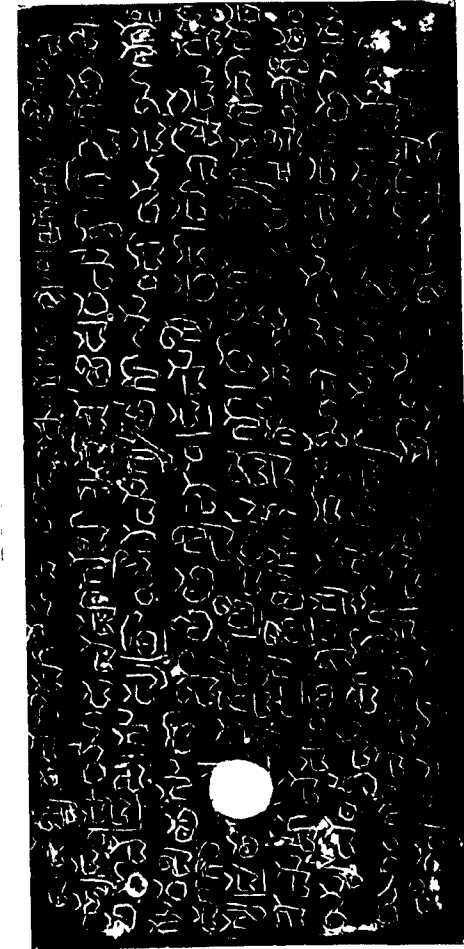
4. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 4, p. 181.

a feeble attempt made by a small power with far-reaching ambitions, that took advantage of the disruption in the country caused by the Narapatis (the Karṇāṭa kings), the Gajapatis (Gāṅgas of Kaṭiṅga) and Aśvapatis (the Muhammadans) and other minor chiefs constantly fighting against each other for individual supremacy.

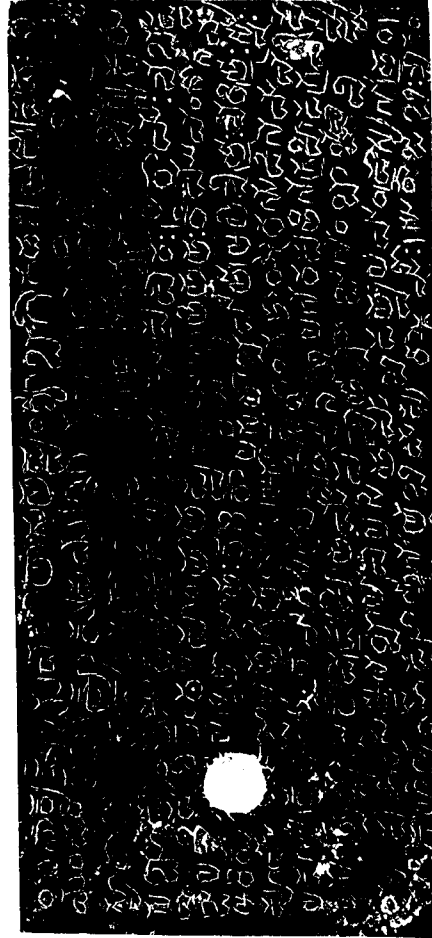
The gift itself shall now be examined. The king happened to reach in the course of his military marches, Śrī Parvata (Śrī Śaila), the holy of the holies for the Śaivites, where he came under the spiritual influence of a great celebrate-sage called Viśva-nātha or Viśvēśvara, who had Śrī Parvata as his head-quarters and was renowned both for his saintliness and learning. We find some of his inscriptions in the temple of Cālukya Bhīmēśvara, and it appears that he was a great guru with a large number of disciples that aided him in spreading Śaivism in the Telugu country.

He was like a second Śiva, observing, as a bachelor, the Naiṣṭhika-vratas prescribed, having controlled the senses, and came of the Kauśika-gōtra. Such spiritual dignity and sincerity of purpose the king discerned in the sage that the moment he saw him he became his disciple and was so devoted to him from thence that he felt that unless he made some gifts (dānas) to the sage, the only deserving person in his eyes to receive them, the members of his illustrious family or race which counted kings like Rāma, Arikāla and Karikāla etc., could not be considered to deserve their superior birth in that noble race. This resolve he translated into action by giving to the sage a village called Kaṇḍvakolnu in the Śaka year 1277 arrived at by the chronogram, *muni* (sages), *i.e.* 7, *ṛṣi* (sages) *i.e.* 7, *nētra* (eyes) *i.e.* 2, and *Candra* (moon) *i.e.* 1, on Monday, in the month of Kārttika (= Monday, 21st October, 1355 A.D.). The cyclic year would then be Manmatha.

The boundaries of the village are then stated in old Telugu. To the east of it was a big anthill; to the south-east a low land with tamarind trees; to the south a stream; to the south-west an elevated ground with fig trees and Nandikambha or a pillar supporting or bearing the figure of Nandī (bull); to the west a stream coming from a dale; to the north a paddy-pit (probably low ground to keep or collect paddy in) and to the north-west Bommeḍamukkulu?



FIRST PLATE : SECOND SIDE.



SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE.

15

21

None of the boundaries mentioned above appear to be the names of other villages or places of interest. They are merely fields, streams and other places probably of local interest and their inclusion in this grant is just to make the grant familiar to the people, to whom the common places mentioned, which would otherwise be insignificant, were probably too familiar. For this reason these boundaries are called "well-known" (*prathita sīmānam*-line, 44).

The inscription finishes with the usual Vyāsa ślōkas, "Svā-dattām etc." and with the verse "Sāmānyō'yam, etc." found in almost all donative records which emphasise in clear terms that the grant should be respected by all in every way.

TEXT (TRANSLITERATED).

First Plate : Second side.

- Line 1. Dēva(h) Śvēta-Varāhō mām¹pāyādyō ghana-sarīni-
bhām| Asavarṇēti sarīci-
„ 2. mtya daṁṣṭrayōdavahan-mahīm| [1*] Pārvati-paramē-
śānu jagataḥ pi-
„ 3. tarāvapi| Suputrau yēna manyētē sōyam pāyād-Gajā-
nanaḥ| [2*]
„ 4. Surapītasudhā bhāti tanvī cāṁdramasyī² kaḷā| Haviṣē
dugdhadō-
„ 5. hā gau-ragdhni³hōtrī-va yajvanā| [3*] Rājanyakasyāt-
manidhānaka-
„ 6. sya pratāpasatkīrtiguṇō(ṇō)dayāya| Uṣṇam ca śītam
„ 7. ca mahair-vahamtau Bhāsvatsudhāmśū vijayam Vidha-
tām⁴| [4*] Sū-
„ 8. ryyavamśē mahiśānāmādyō Manu-rajāyata| Bhūma-
„ 9. yīm nāvamārōpya matsyātmā yamajūgapat| [5*] Vi-
„ 10. jītya tapasā Bharggam Gaṁgā tanmaulibhūṣaṇam|

Second Plate : First side.

- „ 11. Yēnākṛṣya bhuvam nītā sa tadvamśyō Bhagīrathah|
[6*] Apiprathamni-⁵

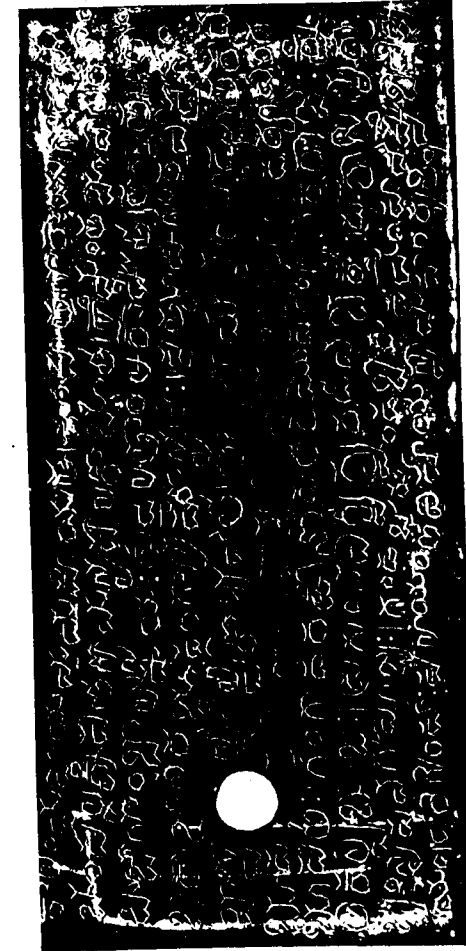
1. "m" in mām has been inserted above "mā".
2. Read "cāṁdramasī".
3. "agnihōtrī".
4. "vidhattām".
5. "Apiprathamni".

- Line 12. maṇi vaṁśa-mikṣvāku-pramukhā-nṛpāḥ| Yadvikra-
mēṇa Śakrasya
„ 13. svārājyam prājyātāmayāt| [7*] Ārūḍha-Śakra-vṛṣabha-
ssa Kaku
„ 14. stha-bhūpō mōghikṛtēndrakulīśaḥ ca Rāghu-praviraḥ|
Rāmaḥ ca baddha-
„ 15. jaladhir-Daśakarṁṭha-haritā tadvaṁśajā iti tataḥ kimu
vaṁṇaniyyam⁶| [8*]
„ 16. Arikālas-tatō jātaḥ Karikālas-tatō bhavēt⁷| Aticitraiḥ
caritraiḥ svaiḥ
„ 17. pūrvajānatyaśēta yaḥ| [9*] Astnāsīd⁸-Gāṁgatōyai-
ranudinamavanipā-
„ 18. lahastakramāttaiḥ Kāvērīsētubaniḍhē nikhila-narapati-
nagrahī-dagravēṣṭyai|
„ 19. Astambhīd-Bhōjarājaprahitamapacitē-rbhājanam b(h)ani-
dhavi-
„ 20. yyam pādāṁguṣṭhēna bhālē⁹ vilasita-mabhidat-Palla-
vēndrasya nētram| [10*]
„ 21. Karikālānvayōdbhūtair-Nalla-Bhīmapurōgamaiḥ| Su-
rājabhiḥ ciraṁ

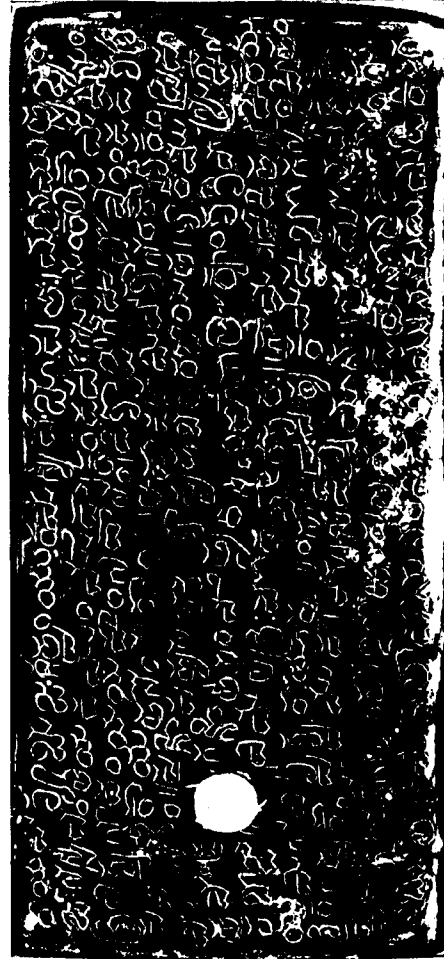
Second Plate : Second side.

- „ 22. kālaṁ mahīya-mamahiyata| [11*] Dūhatta¹⁰-Nārā-
yaṇa-Dāma-
„ 23. bhūpāl-Lakṣ(m)īpatēs-Sōma-nṛpālakō-bhūt| Sāmanṭa-
bhūpālakarām-
„ 24. bujānām bhālēṣu¹¹ yaḥ kuṭmalatām¹² akārṣīt| [12*]
Tasmāt-Sūrām-
„ 25. bikājānē-rabhūd-Gaṁgā nṛ¹³-dharō-nṛpāḥ| Pratyūṣē
suraviprāṇām
„ 26. Bhāsvān vaikalpikō-bhavēt¹⁴| [13*] Tasya Sōmān-
vayōdbhūta-Kāma-

6. „ *“varṇanīyam”*.
7. „ *“tatō-bhavat”*.
8. „ *“asnāsīt”*.
9. „ *“phālē”*.
10. „ *“Dūhatta”*.
11. „ *“Phālēṣu”*.
12. „ *“Kuṭmalatām”*.
13. *nṛ* is superfluous.
14. Read *“-bhavat”*.



SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE.



THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE.

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- Line 27. bhūpa-tanūbhavā| Bhāryāsīd-Irugāmbāryā sōdaryā
Vēṁga-
„ 28. bhūpatēḥ| [14*] Gaṁgādhara-kṣōṇipatē-ramuṣyām Śrī
Bhaktirājaḥ kṣi-
„ 29. tikaḥpabhūjaḥ| Prasanna-Viśvēśvara-dēvabhaktaḥ pra-
śāsti nṛ¹ rā-
„ 30. jyaṁ nṛpavargapūjyaḥ| [15*] Gaṁḍabhērūṇḍa-biruda-
māhavēṣvabhivikṣya
„ 31. yaṁ| Vairisimhāḥ palāyaṁtē vihāya svā-mahānṛtīm|
[16*]

Third plate: First side.

- „ 32. Rāyavēśyābhujamgatvaṁ yuktamasyaiva bhūpatēḥ|
Māna-mutsrjya rā-
„ 33. jāna-ssēvaṁtē yadamuṁ mudā| [17*] Kaṁḍarpasūnum
Kali-Kāmadhēnum
„ 34. Śrī Viśvanātham ya yēśāṁ² nidhānam| Diśō jigīṣur-
vicaraṁ dadarśa Śrī-
„ 35. parvataikāyatanaṁ sa rājā| [18*] Athā-paramivēśānam
Kauśikam brahma-
„ 36. cāriṇam| Praṇipatya sa Bhaktiśō dṛḍhabhakti-rajāya-
ta| [19*] Śākē munyurṣinē-
„ 37. tracaṁdragaṇitē samvatsarēsmā Mahākārttikyām
Śaśivā-
„ 38. rabhāji vimalaśrīḥ Cōḍa-Bhaktiśvaraḥ| Grāmaṁ prā-
dita-naiṣṭhikāya
„ 39. yaminē Viśvēśvarāyātulaṁ sāṣṭaiśvarya-maṣṭabhō-
gasahitaṁ
„ 40. Śrī Kaṁḍvakolnum mudā| [20*] Asya simānaḥ|
Tūrpuna peddapu-
„ 41. tṭa Agnēyāna Cimtājōrupallamunnu dakṣiṇānaku vāṁgu
„ 42. Nairṛtiki Mēḍitāpānu Nāṁdikāmbhamunnu paḍumaṭi-
kiṁ ga-

Third plate: Second side.

- „ 43. numēru uttarānaku vaṭṭakurṇṭa iśānyānaku Boṁme-
„ 44. ḍamukkulu polamēralu|| Ēvaṁ prathitasimānam grā-
mam datvā
„ 45. mahīpatiḥ| Pātrapradānata³-svasya vaṁśyānva(mśyā)n-
amanyata| [21*]

1. nṛ is superfluous.
2. Read "yaśasām".
3. Read "pradānataḥ".

- Line 46. Śrī Kaṭvakolnī¹-nāma-grāmasyāsya pradānavikhyātā|
 Śāsanami-
 „ 47. da-mākalpaṁ prakalpatām Bhaktibhūpa²-vitirṇam³|
 [22*] Svadattām pa-
 „ 48. radattām vā yō harēta vasumdhārām| Śaṣṭir-varṣa-
 sahasrā-
 „ 49. ṇi viṣṭhāyām jāyatē krimiḥ| [23*] Sāmānyōyam
 Dharmmasētur-nṛ-
 „ 50. pāṇā(m) kālē kālē pālaniyyo⁴ bhavadbhiḥ| Sarvā-nētān-
 bhāvinaḥ Pārthivēndrā-
 „ 51. n-bhūyō bhūyō yācatē Rāmacaṁdraḥ| [24*]

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. May the lord, the white Varāha (*i. e.*, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu) protect me, who lifted up the earth, of colour as black as the clouds, on his tusk thinking that she was dissimilar to him in colour (*i. e.*, not his equal in caste to be spoused by him)⁵.

Verse 2. May Gajānana (the elephant-faced god) protect (me), by whom God Paramaśiva and his consort Pārvatī, the world-parents, consider themselves to be possessed of a good and illustrious son.

Verse 3. The tiny digit of the moon, the nector in whose rays have been drunk by the gods, shines (*i. e.*, prospers) like the cow used in the performance of agni-rites (agnihōtra) which has been milked of its milk by the sacrificer for ablution (havis).

Verse 4. May the sun and the moon, that carry in their rays heat and cold respectively give victory to the world of kings who treasure most the elevation of their souls or who care most for self-respect, so that their fame arising out of their valour may appear (*i. e.*, spread).

Verse 5. Of the kings, in the line of the sun, the first was Manu, who, during the deluge (pralaya) was protected by Viṣṇu appearing as a fish that landed him safely in the world-boat.

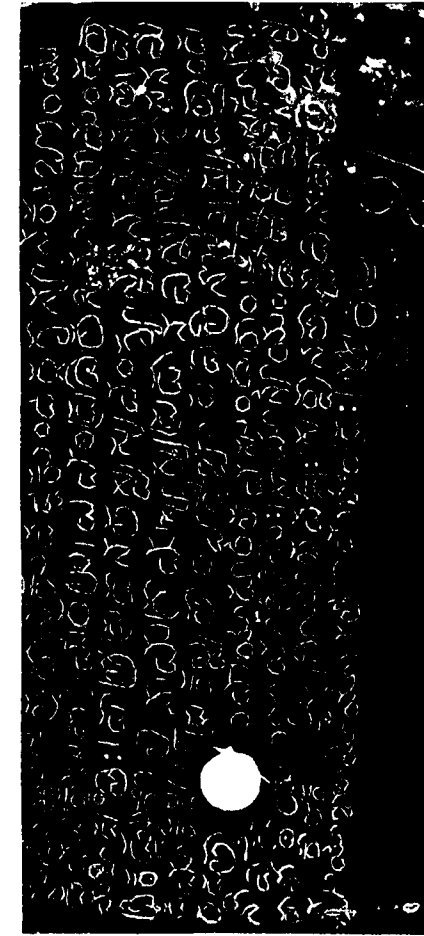
1. Read "Kaṭvakolnu".

2. The last *pāda* is deficient by one *mātrā*.

3. Read "vitirṇam".

4. Read "pālaniḥ, ō".

5. This second meaning is suggested by the terms *asataraṇā* and *Udavaḥat*.



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THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE.



SEAL.

Verse 6. To this family (sūrya-varṇa) belongs Bhagiratha, by whom, after conquering (*i.e.*, pleasing) Śiva by severe penance, the river Gaṅgā, the jewel on the head of Śiva was dragged to the world.

Verse 7. Kings like Ikṣvāku made this race famous, by whose valour (*i.e.*, valorous assistance) the sovereignty of Indra became wide or large.

Verse 8. This race need not be further extolled. It will suffice if we say that to it belonged several kings such as :— Kakutstha who rode on Indra himself, the latter carrying the former on his back as a bull, the heroic Raghu who made the thunderbolt weapon of Indra useless, and Rāma, the slayer of the ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa, who built a dam across the seas.

Verse 9. Then was born Arikāla, and Karikāla came after him. The latter surpassed his ancestors by his wonderful exploits.

Verse 10. He (Karikāla) bathed everyday with the waters of the river Gaṅgā fetched for him by various kings that passed these waters from hand to hand (*i.e.*, the waters were collected in pitchers and were passed on from the Ganges by hand by the various kings that ruled between the Ganges and Karikāla's kingdom). In the construction of a dam for the river Kāvērī (when its waters overflowed its banks) he engaged all the kings to effect a suitable blockade. He received or upheld or supported the friendly reverence of his leige, Bhōja-rāja (probably a Vākāṭaka) who wished to assure him that he would be his vassal and ally. With ease he broke (*i.e.*, blinded) the eye (*i.e.*, the third eye) on the fore-head of the Pallava king (*i.e.*, Trilōcana Pallava) by stamping on the latter's forehead with the first finger of his leg.¹

Verse 11. By several good kings such as Nalla-Bhima of this race to which Karikāla also belonged, the earth was ruled and as a result of their virtuous rule prospered or was honoured.

Verse 12. To Dāmabhūpa alias Dōhatta-Nārāyaṇa, the husband of Lakṣmī was born Sōma-nṛpāla who made the lotus-like hands of the subordinate kings assume the forms of buds in front of their foreheads (*i.e.*, they worshipped him with their hands folded in añjali).

1. For an account of the tradition see Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōla*, p. 10.

Verse 13. To him, the husband of Sūrāmbikā, was born king Gaṅgādhara, who, when the day dawned made the sun optional to the gods and the brahmans (*i.e.*, he was like the sun unto them so much so that the need for the real sun was not so much felt).

Verse 14. The venerable Irugāmbā, daughter of king Kāmabhūpa of the lunar race and sister of king Vēṅga-bhūpati, became his wife.

Verse 15. To king Gaṅgādhara, through her, (was born) Śrī Bhakti-rāja who was as it were a Kalpa tree (wish-giving tree) of the world. He was a great devotee of the gracious lord of the universe, Lord Śiva, and was ruling the kingdom being revered by other kings.

Verse 16. On seeing him who bore the title Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa (a mythical bird), in battles the inimical lions (*i.e.*, the foes are compared to lions) stop roaring and take to their heels.

Verse 17. This king alone deserves the title Rāyavēśyābhujāṅga (*i.e.*, a viṭa who sports with the harlot who in this case is sovereignty or *rājyalakṣmī*), for all the kings leave modesty or (self-respect) and serve him with pleasure.

Verse 18. This king, while engaged in conquering neighbouring kingdoms, in the course of his march, came to Śrī Parvata where he saw Śrī Viśvanātha, the reservoir of fame and virtue, the son of Manmatha or the god of love (*i.e.*, he was of handsome appearance), the milch-cow Kāmadhēnu of the Kali era, who had made Śrī Parvata as his head-quarters.

Verse 19. Then he, Bhaktiśa (Bhaktirāja), bowed before him (Viśvanātha), who was a bachelor of the Kauśika-gōtra and who looked like another Śiva himself, and became ardently devoted to him.

Verse 20. In the Śaka year 1277 denoted by the chronogram, *muni* (the sages), *i.e.* 7, *ṛṣi* (the sages) *i.e.* 7, *nētra* (eyes) *i.e.* 2, and *candra* (moon) *i.e.* 1, on Monday, in the month of Kārttika (A. D. 1355, Monday, 21st October), the Cōḍa king, Bhaktiśvara, of spotless fame, gave away with joy to Viśvēśvara, the austere mendicant, (*naiṣṭhika*-brahmacārī or *yamī*) a complete village called Śrī Kaṇḍvakolnu, along with eight kinds of wealth (*aṣṭaiśvarya*) and eight kinds of enjoyment (*aṣṭabhōga*).

Lines 40-44 contain the boundaries of the village granted.

The boundaries of this are: In the east Peddapuṭṭa, *i.e.*, big ant-hill, in the south-east (āgnēya) Cintājōru-pallamu, *i.e.*, low-lying land with tamarind trees, in the south vāngu, *i.e.*, a stream, in the south-west mēḍitāpa or elevated ground with fig trees and Nandikambha or pillar bearing a bull (*nandī*) relief on it, in the west a stream from a dale; in the north a paddy-pit (probably low ground to keep paddy in) and in the north-east Bommeḍamukulu ?. (These are) the boundaries.

Verse 21. Thus having given away the village of well-known boundaries, the king felt that, by his gift having gone to a person that deserved it, the members of his race deserved their births in his race.

Verse 22. By the fame of the gift of the village called Śrī Kaḍvakolni spreading, let this grant, the royal order enjoined or issued by Bhaktibhūpa, spread or become popular till the kalpas, *i.e.*, for ever.

Verse 23. He who dishonours land gifted away either by himself or by others, he shall be born as a worm in dung for 60,000 years.

Verse 24. This ordinary gift of kings which is as it were the bridge of Dharma (*i.e.*, which enables one to cross the ocean of life) should be protected and honoured by you in time. Rāmacandra thus requests, again and again, all those kings that are to come.

REVIEW.

SOUTH INDIAN PORTRAITS IN STONE AND METAL by T. G. Aravamuthan, Advocate madras. Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London. Crown x 16 Vo. pp. i-xv + 96. Price 5 sh. or Rs. 3 nett.

This is a very interesting brochure from the pen of Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, who is also a prominent contributor to our Journal. Mr. Aravamuthan is a scholar of repute, and has attained already great distinction in the pursuit of historical studies and research, especially, in South Indian History and Tamil literature. The present work is, as mentioned in the preface, a complement to another book entitled "Portrait Sculpture in South India," which is being published by the India Society, London. The subject forms a very fascinating study, though it is not commonly pursued by scholars and historians. Indeed, it has been assumed by superficial critics and observers that there is very little portrait sculpture in South India. A perusal of this work will show how portrait sculpture has been a persistent art through out South Indian History. It will also remove the impression that portrait sculpture is an art which the Hindus did not cultivate and had even an aversion to. The author has taken great pains to produce illustrations of various statues, in stone and metal scattered throughout southern India, and has also given a short account of the persons whom they can be said to represent. Unfortunately, as usual in this country, in many cases, the individual who is represented in the sculpture is not specifically mentioned underneath the statue. Hence, too often, we have to investigate whom the portrait is likely to represent. After a brief survey of the many sculptures in stone and metal found in temples and other places, the author comes to the conclusion that nowhere in India has the art had so persistent a life as in South India, or such a creditable record of achievement. Nowhere else has the art drawn its inspiration more from the fondest beliefs and the deepest convictions of the people. We must congratulate Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan on this work and on the opening up of a new field of investigation in South Indian History which

will amply repay the efforts of scholars and is likely to yield more beneficent results than the barren investigation of dates and the records of forgotten dynasties. Mr. Aravamuthan commands a virile pen, and presents his conclusions in an impartial and sound manner, without undue emphasis or sweeping generalization. We await with interest the publication of his other books which may throw a great deal more light on this fascinating subject.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

We deeply regret to announce the death of Professor P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Professor of Indian History, Annamalai University, on the 16th of June, 1931. He was for a good number of years Reader in Indian History in the Madras University. He had a long and brilliant record as a professor and was a scholar of great repute in English and in History. In the world of research scholars, he holds a distinguished place, and he was the author of many works, which were the result of laborious study and research. He was a very prominent contributor to our Journal, and many articles from his vigorous and literary pen have already appeared in the volumes of this Journal. Recently, he began to contribute a series of articles on the "Saka Pallavas in Indian History." Unfortunately, the series has not yet been finished, and in his death, the Journal has sustained a great loss. His writings were marked by originality of thought and vigour of expression. His death has created a void in the field of South Indian scholarship and research. We beg to express our heartfelt sympathy to the family of the deceased Professor in their sad bereavement.

26 NOV 1931

" TO SRINGERI "

At last, I have found thee, my dream of years,
Realised on earth e'en on this earth of dreams;
Thee hiding coy and safe, from fear it seems,
Of worldly vandals and their vulgar sneers:
The chosen land, by him, the sage of seers,
Who saw that all that was, was one, and taught
That all that seems divided, is but naught:
And fetched forth God on earth and fooled our tears:
Thou nestling land of peace, of health supreme,
Midst beauteous woods and circling rampart hills:
Of contemplation, of joy serene that fills,
Of the beaming Goddess by the rippling stream !
Thou hallowed land of saints and bliss divine
Grant me that mine may e'er abide in thine !

At Sringeri.

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STUDIES IN THE IMAGERY OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

BY

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

Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Lucknow University.

(Continued from page 350 of Vol. IV.)

It is a remarkable fact that in spite of the antiquity and the age long reputation of the Rāmāyaṇa as a 'Kāvya', writers on Alaṅkāraśāstra have not turned to it for preference for their illustrations. Not that references to the Rāmāyaṇa are totally absent in works on Alaṅkāraśāstra. The work is frequently mentioned, together with the Mahābhārata as a source from which a poet might borrow his subject matter. The history of Sanskrit literature also shows to what extent it has been so used by poets right up to modern times. It is, however, true to say in a general manner that the Rāmāyaṇa plays a comparatively small part in the thousands of ślokas which are given as illustrations of the different theories of poetics in the Alaṅkāraśāstra. Whether it be the Alaṅkāra or the Rīti or the Dhvani or the Vakrokti system, it is from the later classical literature, from the works of authors like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha that critics primarily draw their examples, and not from the 'Ādikāvya'.

It is not that the Rāmāyaṇa cannot furnish illustrations of the Alaṅkāras. The best proof of it is that the commentators do occasionally point out different Alaṅkāras in the verses of the Rāmāyaṇa. But they only point out the well-known ones and do not say anything which has a historical value.

The most recent study of the *form* of the Alaṅkāras from the historical point of view is found in Mr. Diwekar's "Les fleurs de rhétorique dans l'Inde" p. 35-53 (Paris, 1930). The author draws attention to those ornamental devices for which the poet seems to have a preference and those which he holds to be the poet's own invention. Among the former, he mentions the repetition of syllables which form part of different words: वानराणां नराणां च पुरस्यान्तः पुरस्य च ; the repetition of similar sounds in a verse or in a stanza: परिकुपितं पितरं पाति पातीतः;

the use of rhyme consisting in the repetition of the same word at a definite place in the verse, the use of Arthālaṅkāras like Upamā, Rūpaka, etc. The author is of opinion that we can see in the Rāmāyaṇa the development of the Alaṅkāras, Upameyopamā and Ananvaya. Among the devices which he considers Vālmiki's own invention, Mr. Diwekar mentions the combinations of Śabdālaṅkāras and Arthālaṅkāras, the particular kind of rhyme called Śṛṅkhalāyamaka :

Rāvaṇaṃ bhaja bhartāraṃ bhartāraṃ sarvarakṣasām. And even the use of such expressions as (1) the repetition of the word 'क' in order to indicate difference between two things (2) नैतच्चित्रम् .

It must be said in regard to the above that it is possible to establish preference by mere counting, whereas one feels a certain diffidence when it comes to attributing to the poet the invention of particular devices. Form is something which is meant to be the same in all writers. A good deal of the work of commentators consists in pointing out the same forms in the Alaṅkāras of the different writers. Poetic theory also assumes that the form of imagery is the same in the case of all writers. Indeed, poets are expected to conform themselves to the definition of the forms given in the Alaṅkāraśāstra. If one analyses the Alaṅkāras of the Rāmāyaṇa one is likely to come across practically all the Alaṅkāras which have been defined and analysed in the Śāstra. Some may, of course, be found more frequently used than others, but that is due to the inherent nature of the Alaṅkāras themselves. In these circumstances, to say about a particular Alaṅkāra that it is the invention of Vālmiki requires a good knowledge of contemporary and antecedent literature. The most that one can perhaps say is that the Rāmāyaṇa is the earliest known work in which a particular Alaṅkāra occurs and I take it that this is what Mr. Diwekar means when he calls a particular Alaṅkāra an invention of Vālmiki.

Things are slightly different when it comes to the contents of an Alaṅkāra. Here it is that even poetic theory and ancient tradition expect a poet to show his originality and power of invention. Also, the contents of an Alaṅkāra can, in some cases, come only out of individual minds, specially gifted minds. When Kālidāsa says : मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः, one feels that not everybody could think of such a comparison. It does

not require a genius to invent the particular form of Alaṅkāra called Upamā. Perhaps it would be difficult for most of us to speak for half an hour continuously without introducing Upamā into our speech. Such Upamā would perhaps not be poetic, but to say of an Upamā that it is poetic or not poetic is to make a distinction in contents and not in form.

When one feels diffidence in attributing a particular form of Alaṅkāra to the inventive power of Vālmiki, what to say of such expressions as the repetition of क, and the use of नैतच्चित्रम् ? I feel that these have always been part of the everyday speech of the people and do not depend upon a genius for their existence.

As was said before, Mr. Diwekar's study is an attempt to determine the part which the Rāmāyaṇa has played in the evolution of the forms of Sanskrit imagery. The series of articles of which this is the last, has been a study of the contents of the imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa. In the previous articles, an attempt was made to determine the particular occasions on which images appear in abundance and the particular objects which are brought in to describe particular things. In the present article, I wish to do no more than make a few observations on the relation between content and form in the imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa.

It is not always possible to establish a relation of cause and effect between form and image. One can, however, establish certain associations, certain contents which always appear together with certain forms.

Mr. Diwekar has already pointed out the occurrence of continued metaphors in the Rāmāyaṇa (p. 48). He has, however, said nothing about their contents. To me, they seem worthy of observation. A continued metaphor is a comparison involving complete identification between two things and their parts. The standard of comparison must, therefore, be something complex, something having parts. Certain complex things have therefore become fixed in the Rāmāyaṇa and, as will be shown, persist in the later literature also.

It is but natural that the immense ocean, with its ever surging waves and the inexhaustible life within it, should occur to the poet when anything complex had to be described. Thus the grief of Daśaratha at the departure of Rāma to the forest is compared to the ocean. Once the identification between the ocean and grief was made, it had to be followed up, to be justi-

fied so to speak and the result is that we get a series of identifications of the parts of both. Daśaratha declares to Kausalyā that it is impossible for him to cross the ocean of grief. This ocean has sighs for waves and whirlpools; it is muddy with the current of tears; its fishes are the throwing about of arms in despair; its roar is weeping; its weeds are dishevelled hair; its mare (*Vaḍvā*) is Kaikeyī; it is the result of Daśaratha's tears; the words of the Kubjā (*Mantharā*) are its crocodiles and its coasts are extensive, as it would last as long or Rāma is banished.¹ The simple identification of grief and ocean is common enough. Even the English expression "plunged in grief" is a reminder that grief can be thought of as a collection of water. What is noteworthy in the above example is the attempt to push the identification to its logical conclusion, even at the risk of seeming artificial. The ocean appears again and again in such complex metaphors. Thus, Śūrpaṇakhā asks Rāvaṇa "Why do you not protect me when I am plunged in the ocean of grief, inhabited by crocodiles in the form of chagrin and waves in the form of trembling"?² On another occasion, it is the sky which is identified with the ocean. We are told that Hanumān flew across the sky which was a veritable ocean. The moon in the sky corresponds to the lotus; the sun to Kāraṇḍava; the stars Tiṣya and Śravaṇa to Kādamba birds; clouds to weeds; the star Punarvasu to big fish; Lohitāṅga to crocodiles and Airāvata to big islands³. The

1. श्रुतितोर्मिमहावर्तो बाष्पवेगजलाविलः ।
बाहुविशेषमीनोऽसौ विक्रन्दितमहास्वनः ॥
प्रकीर्णकेशशैवालः कैकेयीवडवामुखः ।
ममाश्रुवेगप्रभवः कुब्जावाक्यमहाग्रहः ॥
वरवेलो नृशंसाया रामप्रव्राजनायतः ।
यस्मिन् बत निमग्नोऽहं कौसल्ये राघवं विना ॥ R. II. 59. 28-31.
2. विषादनक्राध्युषिते परित्रासोर्मिमालिनि ।
किं मां न त्रायसे मग्नां विपुले शोकसागरे ॥ R. III. 21-12.
3. सचन्द्रकुमुदं रम्यं सार्ककारण्डवं शुभम् ।
तिथ्यश्रवणकादम्बमश्रुशैवालशाद्वलम् ॥
पुनर्वसुमहामीनं लोहिता गमहाग्रहम् ।
ऐरावतमहाद्वीपं स्वातीहंसविलासितम् ॥
वातसङ्घातजालोर्मि चन्द्रांशुशिशिरांशुमत् ।
हनुमानपरिश्रान्तः पुष्पुव गगनार्णवम् ॥ R. V. 57. 2-4.

sky, like the ocean, strikes one by its complexity and it is, therefore, perfectly intelligible that the two are identified as wholes as well as in their parts. An equally intelligible identification is that of the army of the gods with the ocean. In this identification, the weapons Śakti and Tomara are the fishes, scattered arms are the weeds, horses are frogs, elephants are turtles, Rudra and Āditya are the big crocodiles; the Maruts and the Vasus are the snakes; chariots, horses and elephants are its water currents and infantry, the sandy shores¹. The above examples are sufficient to prove the frequency with which the ocean appears in continued metaphors in the Rāmāyaṇa. Nor is it confined to the Rāmāyaṇa. It occurs in the later literature also. For instance, Aśvaghoṣa says in his 'Saundarānanda' that the Buddha crossed the ocean of evils in which Upādhi was the water, Ādhi, the water-animals, anger, intoxication and fear, the waves.² Again, he says in his 'Buddhacarita' that the Buddha will make the world cross the ocean of sorrow by means of the boat of knowledge. In this ocean, the diseases are the foam, oldage, the waves, and death the current.³

Sometimes it is the river which takes the place of the ocean. We are told that the battle ground is like a river. The dead heroes are the banks; broken arms, the great trees; streams of blood, the water; death, the ocean to which it leads; liver and spleen, the mud; scattered entrails, the weeds; broken limbs and heads, the fish; the vultures, swans; the herons, the Sārāsa birds and human fat, the foam.⁴ Following Vālmiki, Aśvaghoṣa says

1. शक्तितोमरमीनं च विनिकीर्णान्शैवलम् ।
गजकच्छपसम्बाधमश्वमण्डूकसंकुलम् ॥
रुद्रादित्यमहाग्राहं मरुदसुमहोरगम् ।
रथाश्वगजतोयौघं पदातिपुलिनं महत् ॥
अनेन हि समासाद्य देवानां बलसागरम् ॥ R. VI. 7. 20.
2. स हि दोषसागरमगाधमुपाधिजलमाधिजन्तुकम् ।
क्रोधमदभयतरङ्गचलं प्रततार लोकमपि चाप्यतारयत् ॥ Saun. III. 14.
3. दुःखार्णवादप्याधिविकीर्णफेनाजरातरङ्गान्मरणोग्रवेगात् ।
उत्तारयिष्यत्ययमुद्यमानमार्तं जगज्ज्ञानमहाप्रवेन ॥
Buddhacarita. I. 75.
4. हतवीरौघवप्रां तु भग्नायुधमहाद्रुमाम् ।
शोणितौघमहातोयां यमसागरगामिनीम् ॥
यकृत्स्लीहमहापङ्कां विनिकीर्णान्शैवलम् ।

in his Buddhacarita that the thirsty world will drink from the river of Dharma, having the current of wisdom, banks in the form of firm conduct, cool through Samādhi and having Cakra-vākas in the form of vows.¹

It is not only collections of water like the ocean and the river which appear in continued metaphors. Sometimes, it is fire which takes their place. The simple metaphor 'fire of sorrow' is almost a common place in Sanskrit literature and there is, therefore, nothing surprising in its occurring in continued metaphors. Thus Kausalyā says that the fire of sorrow, fanned by the separation of Rāma, fed by the fuel of lamentation, having offerings in the form of weeping and smoke in the form of anxiety and tears etc., will consume her in the absence of Rāma². As in the Rāmāyaṇa, so in later literature also, fire continues to appear in continued metaphors. Thus, in the Buddhacarita, we are told that Rāhula, son of the Buddha, being burnt by the fire of sorrow, to which separation from the Buddha added fresh fuel, whose smoke was sighs and flame, despair, goes to see him outside and inside the palace.³ In another

भिन्नकायशिरोमीनामङ्गावयवशब्दलाम् ॥
युग्रहंसवराकीर्णा कङ्कसारससेविताम् ।
मेदःकेनसमाकीर्णामावर्तस्वननिःस्वनाम् ॥
तां कापुरुषदुस्तारां युद्धभूमिमयीं नदीम् ।
नदीमिव घनापाये हंससारससेविताम् ॥ R. VI. 58. 29-32.

1. प्रज्ञाम्बुवेगां स्थिरशीलवप्रां
समाधिशीतां व्रतचक्रवाकाम् ।
अस्योत्तमां धर्मनदीं प्रवृत्तां
तृष्णार्दितः पास्यति जीवलोकः ॥ B. C. I. 76.
2. अयं तु मामात्मभवस्तवाददर्शनमारुतः ।
विलापदुःखसमिधो रुदिताश्रुहुताहुतिः ॥
चिन्ताबाष्पमहाधूमस्तवागमनचिन्तजः ।
कर्शयित्वाधिकं पुत्र निःश्वासायाससंभवः ॥
त्वया विहीनामिह मां शोकाग्निस्तुलो महान् ।
प्रधक्ष्यति यथा कक्ष्यं चित्रभानुर्हिमात्यये ॥ R. II. 24-6-7-8.
3. शोकाग्निना त्वद्विरहेन्धनेन
निःश्वासधूमेन तमःशिखेन ।
त्वद्दर्शनायच्छति दह्यमानः
सोऽन्तःपुरं चैव पुरं च कृत्स्नम् ॥ B. C. IX. 29.

passage, Rāma himself is compared to fire. In this state arrows are his sparks, and bow and dagger, his fuel.¹

Another object which plays an important part in continued metaphors in the Rāmāyaṇa as well as in later literature is the snake. Kumbhakarna asks Rāvaṇa: "O king! who brought you the snake in the form of Sītā, whose chest is its coils, anxiety concerning whom is its poison, whose smile is its fangs and whose fine fingers are its fine heads?"² Vālmiki seems to have a preference for the five-headed snake on such occasions. Lakṣmaṇa, in his anger, looked like a five-headed snake with arrows for tongue, its string for coils and his own lustre for poison.³ Similarly in the Saundarānanda, Nanda says to the Buddha: "I have been bitten in the heart by the snake in the form of love, having evil for hood, destruction for glance, blunder for fangs and ignorance for poison; give me, therefore, an antedote, O great physician!"⁴

The army itself is a sufficiently complex thing to appear in such metaphors. The clouds, we are told, with banners in the shape of lightning and emitting a roar in the form of thunder-bolt like an army of monkeys ready for battle.⁵

1. शरार्विषमनाधृष्यं चापखञ्जेन्धनं रणे ।
रामाग्निं सहसा दीप्तं न प्रवेष्टुं त्वमर्हसि ॥ R. III. 37. 15.
2. वृतो हि बाह्वन्तरभोगराशि-
श्चिन्ताविषः सस्मिततीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रः ।
पञ्चाङ्गुलीपञ्चशिरोऽतिकायः
सीतामहाहिस्तव केन राजन् ॥ R. VI. 14. 2.
3. बाणशल्यस्फुरजिह्वः सायकासनभोगवान् ।
स्वतेजोविषसंभूतः पञ्चास्य इव पन्नगः ॥ R. IV. 31. 30.
4. अनर्थभोगेन विषातदृष्टिना
प्रमाददंष्ट्रेण तमोविषाग्निना ।
अहं हि दष्टो हृदि मन्मथाग्निना
विधत्स्व तस्मादगदं महाभिषक् ॥ Saund. X. 55
5. तडित्पताकाभिरलंकृताना-
मुदीर्णगम्भीरमहारवाणाम् ।
विभान्ति रूपाणि बलाहकानां
रणोत्सुकानामिव वानराणाम् ॥ R. IV. 28. 31

The above examples do not exhaust the list of objects which appear in complex metaphors. In the beautiful description of the rainy season occurring in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, we are told there is music in the forests. In this music, the buzzing of bees is the *Vīṇā*; time is marked by the cries of monkeys and the roar of clouds corresponds to the sound of *Mṛdaṅga*.¹ Music appears again in the indignant speech of *Rāvaṇa* when he hears that *Rāma* has come to *Laṅkā* to fight him. He says: "I shall descend on the stage of the battlefield and play my lute in the form of my bow, with the bow in the form of arrows."² In the description of the rainy season referred to above, the sky is identified with a lover. In this identification, gentle breeze forms the sigh, the reddish hue of sunset corresponds to sandal paste and the pale clouds to the pale face of the lover.³ In an equally beautiful description of the autumn occurring also in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, the night is identified with a woman. The moon is her face, the stars are the eyes, and the moonlight her clothes.⁴ More prosaic is an identification of *Rāma* with a tree, the flowers and fruits being *Sītā* and the branches being *Sugrīva*, *Jāmbavān*, *Kumuda*, and *Nala*.⁵ More striking perhaps is the comparison between mountains and *Brahmacārins*: the clouds are the *Kṛṣṇājina*, being dark in colour; streams are the sacred thread,

1. षट्पादतन्त्रीमधुराभिधानं प्लवङ्गमोदीरितकण्ठतालम् ।
आविष्कृतं मेघमृदङ्गनादैर्वनेषु संगीतमिव प्रवृत्तम् ॥ R. IV. 28. 36.
2. मम चापमयीं वीणां शरकोणैः प्रवादिताम् ।
ज्याशब्दतुमुलां घोरामार्तगीतमहास्वनाम् ॥
नाराचतलसन्नादां नदीमहितवादिनाम् ।
अवगाह्य महारङ्गं वादयिष्याम्यहं रणे ॥ R. VI. 24. 42-43
3. मन्दमारुतनिःश्वासं सन्ध्याचन्दनरञ्जितम् ।
आपाण्डुजलदं भाति कामातुरमिवाम्बरम् । R. IV. 28. 6.
4. रालिः शशाङ्कोदितसौम्यवक्त्रा
तारागणोन्मीलितचारुनेत्रा ।
ज्योत्स्नांशुकप्रावरणा विभाति
नारीव शुक्लांशुकसंवृताङ्गी ॥ R. IV. 30. 46.
5. रामवृक्षं रणे हन्मि सीतापुष्पफलप्रदम् ।
प्रशाखा यस्य सुग्रीवो जाम्बवान् कुमुदो नलः ॥ R. VI. 100. 4.

being bright and flowing; the caves being filled with air by the wind corresponds to the taking in of breath or *Prāṇāyāma*.¹

The above examples are sufficient to show the kind of objects that figure in continued metaphors and the historical interest which they have in view of their persistence in later times. The association of form and contents which we find in the above example is the most striking of all in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Summing up the results of this study, we have found that imagery comes forth more spontaneously and in greater abundance in descriptions of nature and in speeches made by the different characters when they are under the stress of some emotion. The objects to which persons, or ideas, or situations are compared are chiefly drawn from nature. Though *Vālmiki* has incorporated into his work much popular imagery which was due to the inventive faculty of no particular writer, there is also in the imagery of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, much that could have been the creation of individual minds. The contents of *Vālmiki*'s imagery persist to a very great extent in later works, whose works can therefore be better understood with reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. To determine the exact relation between *Vālmiki* and the later writers is a separate study which can be undertaken now that *Vālmiki*'s imagery has been analysed.

1. मेघकृष्णाजिनधरा धारायज्ञोपवीतिनः ।
मास्तापूरितगुहाः प्राचीता इव पर्वताः ॥ R. IV. 28. 10.

NOTES ON SOME DRAVIDIC PLANT-NAMES

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In his Forlong Lectures for 1929 (printed in BSOS, Vol. V, Part IV), Prof. Jules Bloch adverting to the lists given by Caldwell, Gundert and Kittel, of possible Dravidian words borrowed by Sanskrit, observes very justly that "these lists are at once too large and too narrow. Too large because the majority of cases brought forward even in Kittel's Preface to his *Kannāḍa Dictionary*, do not stand discussion, when they are worth it. Too narrow, because Kanara and Tamil do not suffice to identify a Dravidian form, and the other languages belonging to the same family ought to be taken into account. A second point is the difficulty of distinguishing which language is the borrower, which the lender. Moreover, there may be intermediaries between both or a common origin to elements they both have." Some of the limitations pointed out by Prof. Bloch always confront the student of Dravidic etymologies who attempts with the help of the data are available for him, to reconstruct the base-forms of Dravidian words. But these limitations become perplexing in those cases where we have to consider if a given set of inter-allied Dravidic forms bearing striking structural and semantic parallelisms to words of other linguistic systems of India, are original in Dravidian or not. The problem of the lexicological connections of Dravidian words with foreign forms is extremely intricate; for, we find that as even the earliest extant Tamil literary texts had begun to suffer in a greater or lesser degree the influence of Sanskrit vocabulary, there is considerable difficulty in tracing the native or foreign character of certain words. Moreover, complications are introduced by the 'Austrie' problem also.

The only tests that might in such instances enable us in envisage possibilities are the following:—

(a) Whether the forms in question are ancient and widespread among the different dialects of Dravidian, and (if so) whether their relationship to one another is based on normal and regular sound-changes, and then whether the source-form (as reconstructed) could be resolved, according to Dravidic principles of word-formation, in such a way that the radical portions could be shown to be cognates of elementary Dravidic bases;

(b) Whether the conclusion formulated as a result of the above test is to any extent confirmed by the analysis of the etymology of the foreign form or forms which show parallelism in structure and meaning to the Dravidian words. If these latter and the Dravidian words are at the same time found to be native in the respective language-families to which they belong, the parallelisms may be fortuitous.

The scheme as formulated above seems indeed very simple and straight, but the actual difficulties encountered in the application of these tests are very many indeed:—

(i) The lesser dialects of Dravidian especially of central and north India, having for centuries been under the influence of powerful language-systems have in many instances replaced the native Dravidian forms by borrowed foreign words. The native words presumably once current in the past are no longer recoverable in view of the entire absence in these dialects of literary texts or of other linguistic data relating to the past condition of these speeches.

(ii) The lesser dialects of north and central India, besides, have not yet been as intensively investigated as they will have to be, if rare nuggets of indigenous native forms probably preserved in sub-dialects and local speech-varieties have to be unearthed.

(iii) The application of the Dravidic principles of word-formation, while undoubtedly of help to us in studying the etymologies of a good portion of our word-stock, fails us completely in the case of a certain number of what we consider to be original Dravidian forms.

(iv) Indo-Āryan etymological studies have also proved within recent years to be more complicated than we hitherto believed them to be. Barring the large number of undoubtedly genuine Aryan words, there does exist a portion of Indo-Aryan vocabulary, which recent scholarship has shown to be explicable only

along lines different from what Sanskrit lexicologists with an extra-strong Indo-European bias used to follow rather naively (as we can now see) in the last century.

The discussion of the few following Dravidic plant-names would be illustrative of some of these difficulties confronting the Dravidist.

I TAMIL "ARTOCARPUS."

Tam. *palā*, *palavu*, *pilā*¹ (commonly 'Artocarpus integrifolia' or jack).

Mal: *pilā-vu*, *plāvu* (jack-tree).

Tulu: *pela*, *pila* (jack-tree), *peja* (Artocarpus pubescens).

Kannada: *halase*, *haḷasa*.

Tulugu: *panasa*.

Kūvi: *panha*.

No connected forms are available in Gōṇḍi, Kurukh or Brāhūi, so far as we can ascertain from the existing lists.

Forms of Tamil, Tulu and Malayāḷam.

Tamil *palā* and *palav* with the meaning 'jack-tree' occur in the most ancient Tamil texts.

cf. Puṇāṇūru, verse 109, l. 5: திருக்கைப் பலவின் பழமுழ்க்
கும்மே (the sweet-pulped jack-fruit will ripen); verse 129, l. 4:
திருக்கைப் பலவின் மாமலைக் கிழவ (he of the great mountain where
the sweet-fruited jack grows).

Aiṅḡurūru, verse 214, l. 1: பலவின் கொழுந்துணர் நறும் பழம்
(the sweet ripe fruit of the jack-tree).

Patirruppattu, verse 61, l. 1: பலாஅம் பழுத்த பசும்புண்ணரியல்
(honey exuding from an over-ripe jack-fruit, red like a stained
wound).

Śilappadigāram, Kāḍugāṅkāḍai, line 84: வாழையுந் கழுஞ்
தாழ்குலைத் தெஞ்ஞ மாவும் பலாவு . . .

The fruit of the common jack-tree being a very popular delicacy in the southern and the western parts of the Madras

1. Another Tamil word for "jack-tree" is *pūgal*. Cf. Maṇimēgalai, Kolaikkalakkāḍai, *kūḷi-p-pūgal*. *Pūgal* in modern parlance commonly denotes the creeper 'Momordica charantia.' Possibly both meanings are from the base *pūg-* (connected with *pūy-* 'to be spread' which means 'to spread regularly,' 'to be rooted,' 'to be extended') *pūgal* with the probable meaning 'a climbing plant' occurs in verse 16 of Puṇāṇūru also.

Presidency¹ the terms *palā*, *palavu* usually denote this variety of 'Artocarpus'; but other fruit-trees of a similar kind also appear to have been named '*palā*' with qualifying words to indicate the particular species or variety.

cf. Tamil *ira-ppalā*, *ātti-ppalā*.

In Malayāḷam, *kaṭa-ppilāvu* or *vilātti-ppilāvu* denotes 'Artocarpus pubescens' known otherwise as *āññili* (Tam. *ayini*).

Tamil literary *palā* and *palavu*, Tamil colloquial *pilā* and Malayāḷam *pilāvu* are directly connected with Tulu *pela*, *peja* and Koḍagu *pela*.

Tulu *pela* means 'Artocarpus integrifolia' or the common jack, while *peja* denotes the wild variety 'Artocarpus pubescens.' Koḍagu *pela* denotes the common jack-fruit only.

The -e-, -i- of the radical vowel in the Tulu and the Koḍagu forms and the -i- of the Tamil colloquial and the Malayāḷam forms appear to be the result of the loss of accent in the first syllable owing to the extra accent thrown on the second syllable with the long vowel.

This long vowel in the second syllable found in all forms except Tamil *palavu* is peculiar.

In this connection, the following analogies may be compared:—

<i>narā</i> , <i>nar-ai</i> (honey)	—	<i>naravu</i>
<i>nilā</i> (moonlight)	—	<i>nilavu</i>
<i>kaḷā</i> (wortleberry)	—	<i>kaḷavu</i>
<i>viḷā</i> (wood-apple)	—	<i>viḷavu</i>
Mal. <i>cuṟā</i> , <i>ciṟā</i> (shark)	—	<i>cuṟavu</i>

cf., for the peculiar final long vowel, Tamil *kaḍā* (male) Mal. *kīḍa* also. The final long vowel should be regarded as original in these forms and -v- of the alternative words as the dorsal glide, as -vu-forms do not generally give rise to -ā finally. This is probably confirmed by the fact that in some of these instances with final -vu we find the immediately preceding vowel

1. The three favourite fruits (முப்பழம்) of the Tamil country, famed from of old, are those of the plantain, mango and the jack. Of these, the fruit of the jack-tree which grows in abundance on the west coast and in the riparian regions of the Tamilnāḍ, had been in ancient times probably the most popular in view of the qualifying epithets like *iñ-juḷai* (sweet-pulped), etc. occurring in the classical texts.

to be alternatively long:—*naṛāvu* (honey) *niḷāvu* (moonlight), *cuṛāvu* (shark), etc. The long *-ā-* is certainly peculiar in the above words. Among these, *viḷā* (wood-apple) and *kaḷā* (wortle-berry) may be foreign; but the other words appear to be native Dravidian. *-ā-* never appears as a formative suffix in Tamil; can it possibly represent the root *ā* (to become) compounded with *naṛ-* (to be pleasant, sweet), *niḷ-* (to be steady), *cuṛ-* (to turn round), etc. ?

Thus the original among these forms would appear to be *palā* which, as we should expect, is attested in the most ancient Tamil texts, significantly enough, by the side of *palav-* in the oblique cases.

Kannaḍa and Telugu forms.

Kannaḍa *halasa* and *haḷisa* are supposed to be *tadbhavas* from Sanskrit *panasa*. Kannaḍa *haḷasina haṇṇu* denotes the fruit of the common jack or 'Artocarpus integrifolia.'

Telugu *panasa* is applied to both the common jack-fruit and to the bread-fruit, as in Sanskrit.

So far as Kūi-Kūvi is concerned, Winfield does not give any forms at all, but Schulze in his vocabulary of Kūvi words gives the form *panha* as equivalent to 'jack-fruit' and *buddha panaha* for 'pine-apple.' These forms *panha* and *panaha* are apparently connected with *panasa*, the change of *-s-* to *-h-* being common in Kūvi.

Sanskrit panasa.

Now, the Sanskrit forms *palasa*, *panasa*, are applied to the 'jack-fruit' as well as to the 'bread-fruit', more often to the latter than to the former. The terms occur only in Epic Sanskrit. Besides the two meanings given above, the lexicographers equate *panasa* with 'a thorn' also (cf. Kannaḍa *pane* 'a pointed tooth'). The lexicographers give a third form फलस with the meaning 'jack-fruit' or 'bread-fruit.'

Are these forms native Indo-Āryan? Fick in his *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen* attempts, though with hesitation (p. 109 Vol. III), to connect Skt. *panasa* with the Indo-European roots *pā* 'to feed', *pa* 'to drink' and suggests a hypothetical base *pan* from which *panasa* on the one hand, and Sanskrit *pala* with the meaning 'fat' may have been derived. He also mentions Greek *panios* (fulness) as being connected with the Sanskrit word. These derivations and cognates are extremely doubtful.

Monier Williams would consider *panasa* to be original, and फलस and फलस to be its variants. He too is not certain about its derivation but he hesitatingly suggests the root *pan* 'to be worthy of admiration', as being the possible source from which पनस was derived.

The Pāli Text Society Dictionary confronts *panasa* with Latin *penus* and Lithuanian *pēnas* 'fodder', on the supposition that the term may be native Indo-Āryan.

The derivation of *panasa* seems on the whole to be extremely uncertain.

The Sanskrit terms occur only in late Sanskrit; and denoting as they do the names of tropical flora, one should be very cautious, in the absence of definite and unequivocal evidence about the native Indo-Āryan character of the words, in ruling out the possibility of their being borrowings. The significations of tropical fruits should certainly have been evolved in India, and possibly the forms themselves were adopted from non-Āryan speeches.

Sanskrit palasa, panasa and the Dravidian forms.

Kittel (p. XXIII of his Preface to Kannaḍa Dictionary) makes the following observations: "Gundert thinks that the Skt. words are related to Dr. *pala* 'much' 'many'". His leading idea is not easily conceivable. Does he think of the numerosness of fruits on a jack-tree? May it be suggested that perhaps Dr. (Kannaḍa only) *pane* 'a pointed tooth' is at the root of the terms, referring to the jack-fruit as covered with nail-like points (cf. Skt. *Kaṇṭaka-phala*).

One point may be preliminarily noted. The group *palā*, *palavu*, *pela* of Tamil, Tulu, Malayālam and Koḍagu are different from Kannaḍa *halasa* in as much as the final *-sa* here is clearly extra-Dravidian. There is a little doubt that the Kannaḍa, Telugu and Kūvi forms are adaptations from Indo-Āryan and therefore, not directly connected with the forms of Tamil, Malayālam, Tulu and Koḍagu.

This of course does not necessarily preclude the possibility of *palā* (according to Gundert) or *pane* (according to Kittel) being at the back of I. A. *panasa*; these views will have to be discussed separately.

Kittel's suggestion about Kannaḍa *pane* (pointed tooth) as being at the root of Sanskrit *panasa* is probably far-fetched

especially because *pane* with this meaning exists *only* in Kannaḍa. Tamil and Malayāḷam *pana* means 'palmyra', and as we shall see below, this word offers difficulties of its own, in the matter of etymological derivation.

Gundert's suggestion of the Dravidian origin of *pilāvu* as indicative of the 'numerousness' of the fruits on a jack-tree, is, like many another similar suggestion of his, too naive to command scientific approval.

The question of the Dravidian origin of Indo-Āryan *palasa*, *panasa* from *pala* etc., can be seriously raised only when we can be sure of the native character of Dravidian *palā* etc., for, if the Dravidian words themselves are borrowings from a third source, which in the circumstances may be Kolarian-Austric, the possibility of the Indo-Āryan words being also loans from that third source will have to be considered.

The position, therefore, seems to be this:—

(a) It is possible that the Indo-Āryan words have been borrowed from or influenced by non-Āryan speeches.

(b) So long as the Dravidian forms are not conclusively proved to be native in this family, nothing could be said about the possible influence exercised by them on the formation of the Indo-Āryan forms.

Are the Dravidian forms borrowings?

If the jack-fruit on account of its delicacy was considered as the fruit *par excellence*, the word for 'fruit' may very well have been applied to this variety; but the probable proto-base for 'fruit' differs from *palā* structurally to a certain extent. The Dravidian words for 'fruit' are:—

Tamil :	<i>pal-am</i> ,
Kannaḍa :	<i>pala</i> , <i>pannu</i> , <i>hanṇu</i> .
Tel :	<i>paṇḍu</i> .
Tuḷu :	<i>parndu</i> — <i>-r-</i> of Tuḷu corresponds to <i>-l-</i> of Tamil- Kannaḍa (as in <i>bāra</i> , <i>vālai</i> , etc.).
Kūvi :	<i>paṇḍu</i> .
Gōṇḍi :	<i>kaiā</i> —but cf. <i>paṇḍ</i> —(to become ripe).
Kurukh :	<i>pañj-kā</i> (fruits)—cf. <i>pān-</i> (to ripen) and <i>kañj-ka</i> (fruits).
Brāhūi :	? <i>bēr</i> (plum)?

Now, some of these words may remind us of IA *phala* on the one hand, and of a number of Austric forms on the other; but Professor Jules Bloch (*BSOS*, Vol. XXVI) has already adverted to the almost insuperable difficulty of giving any satisfactory explanation regarding the possibility of mutual relationship among these forms.

So far as the Dravidian forms for 'fruit' are concerned, they appear to be very ancient. Gōṇḍi *kaiā*, Kurukh *kañjka* appear to be derived from a base connected with south Dravidian *kāy* (fruit), etc. The other forms are all inter-related. The character and origin of the Tamil-Mal-Kannaḍa sound *-l-* being uncertain and elusive, it is difficult to reconstruct the older base; probably it was *paḍ-*, on the analogy of Tamil *ēl*—Tel. *ēḍu* (seven) Tamil *kōḷi*—Tel. *kōḍi* (fowl), Tamil *kaḷugu*—Tel. *kaḍugu* (to wash), etc.

However this may be, what we have to note here specially is that Dravidian *palā* (jack-fruit) does not contain the sound *-l-* or *-ḍ-*, and that, therefore, it may not be related to the Dravidian base meaning 'fruit'.

The Austric forms (as given by Prof. Rivet in his *Océanien et Sumerien* p. 39) are the following: *pala*, *palo*, *pelo*, *plo*, *blo*, *bla*, etc. All of them show medially the lateral *-l-*; so also does Indo-Āryan *phala*. But whether, indeed, Dravidian *palā* is related to either of these sets and what exactly may have been the course or direction of relationship, are problems that form part of the wider question of vast language-movements in South Asia in an ancient past of which we have at present only hazy notions.

(a) The forms *palā pela*, etc. of Tamil, Mal., Tuḷu and Koḍagu are very ancient and do not appear to be borrowings from Skt. *panasa*, etc. which occur only in epic Sanskrit.

(b) The forms of Kannaḍa, Tel., Kūi and Kūvi are, on the contrary, directly connected with these Skt. forms.

(c) The question of the relationship of Dr. *palā*, etc. to IA *phal* on the one hand and to the Austric forms on the other, remains purely hypothetical in the present state of our knowledge.

II Tamil pan-ai, 'Borassus flabelliformis'.

Tam. *pan-ai*, *penṇ-ai* (palmyra).

Mal. *pana* (palmyra).

Tuḷu *pane*, *paṇe* (palmyra), *pan-oli* (leaf of palmyra).

No other Dravidian dialects show related words, and it is remarkable that these dialects have other later forms¹ (Tamil *tāḷi*, Tuḷu *tarā*, etc.) to denote 'Borassus flabelliformis'.

Peṇai and *peṇṇai* both appear in the ancient Tamil texts. The term *paṇai* is used commonly in the ancient classical texts as a measure of height or of girth and it is also referred to as supplying banners to ancient chiefs. These usages may be compared to similar ones in Mahābhārata and other Sanskrit poems. We find in the Tamil texts numerous other references to the use of the parts of the familiar Borassus tree,—cf. Puraṇānūru, Verse 295, Patirrup-pattu, Verses 40, 58, 66, 67.

Malayāḷam *pana* commonly signifies the 'Borassus' tree but other palms are also denoted by specialised terms: *āna-ppana* (Corypha), *iram-bana* (Caryota urens), *Kūṭappana* (another species of Corypha).

Kannaḍa and Telugu do not show *pana* or any connected forms denoting 'palm' but Kannaḍa has a word *pane* which means 'pointed tooth' with which we have already compared one of the meanings of Sanskrit *panasa*, viz. 'a thorn'.

Gundert connects the word with *pani* (drop, cold, dew) and naively explains *pana* (palmyra) as the "oozing tree" referring thereby to the country liquor which is extracted from it. The derivation of *pana* directly from *pani* is impossible in Dravidian, as *pani* itself appears to be a characteristically formed Dravidian derivative with final -i. If *pani* and *pana* are connected, they may be so basically, but of this base, we do not and cannot, so far as we can see, have a clear idea.

Is Kannaḍa *pane* with the meaning 'pointed tooth' native Dravidian? (Late Sanskrit *panasa* has the meaning 'thorn' according to the lexicologists. Are these terms related? If so, how?) Has Kannaḍa *pane* any relationship to Tamil *panai*?²

1. Vide my discussion of Dravidian *tāḷi* in JBORS, June 1931. Kurukh *pun-man* 'a species of plum tree' and *panēra* 'a kind of plum with a small stone' appear to be forms connected with Kurukh *pānnū* 'to ripen' (of fruits).

2. Prof. Przyluski has pointed out, in one of his most interesting and suggestive papers, the existence of a set of "Austrian" forms: *panah*,

III Dr. Brinjal, 'Solanum melongena'.

Tam.:	<i>vaḷudunai, vaḷudanai, vaḷudalai.</i>
Mal:	<i>vaḷudana, vaḷidina.</i>
Kannaḍa:	<i>badane, badani.</i>
Tuḷu ¹	<i>badane.</i>
Koḍagu:	<i>baldane.</i>
Telugu:	<i>vaṅkāya.</i>

[Gōṇḍi *sēpa* and Kūi *sēja* appear to be different.]

The Tamil words are not found in the ancient Śaṅgam texts. In modern parlance, the term *kattari-kkāy* is used in Tamil, though Malayāḷam employs only *vaḷudana, vaḷudina* to denote the 'egg-plant.' The presence of this form in Malayāḷam from very early times shows that it is not a comparatively new word in Malayāḷam or Tamil.

Kannaḍa and Tuḷu *badane, badani*¹ are supposed to be adaptations from late Sanskrit or Prākṛit. The Telugu form appears to be very closely related to Sanskrit *vaṅga* or to a M I A form connected with modern Hindu *baṅgan*, Bengali *began*, Marāṭhi *baingāni* (brinjal-coloured).

Structurally Tamil *vaḷudane* and *vaḷudalai* do not appear to be native.

The suggestion that the native base *vaḷ-* (to thrive, grow) may be the source of these forms is of no value; for, whatever part the native base *vaḷ-* and *vaḷund-* may have played in the introduction of -l- in *vaḷudalai*, it should at most be restricted to phonetic contamination or semantic confusion, arising from folk-etymology. The uncommon structure of the Tamil words and the wavering character of the sounds in the final syllables point to a foreign origin for these words; the Tamil terms cannot be dissociated in origin from the other Dravidian and Indo-Āryan forms given above.

pnoh, bana with the meanings 'bow', 'arrow', 'to shoot arrow' etc. In South India, bows and arrows are made of the Borassus or *panai*-tree. Is it possible that there may have been some remote relationship here? And is Kannaḍa *pane* 'pointed tooth' in any way connected?

1. Tuḷu *kudane, kudane* is the name of another variety of Solanum; it is curious that the difference in structure is denoted by a seeming change in the prefix [*badane* 'brinjal' *kudane* 'solanum pubescens']?

The Indo-Āryan forms of today are all without a medial dental which, excepting Telugu, the Dravidian forms show. Tri-kāṇḍaśeṣa records late OIA *vāṭiṅgaṇaḥ* and Medinī has *vāṭigaḥ*; the Dr. forms with the medial dental appear to be related to these. The question, however, whether Dr. *directly* adapted the words from I A is not an easy one to solve, in view of what is stated below.

The modern Indo-Āryan forms are derivatives of *vāṭimgana* (Chatterji's *Origin and Development of the Bengali language*, p. 510); but *vāṭimgana* itself is a rare word that cannot easily be explained on an I A basis.

Recently it has been suggested that *vāṭimgana* may be related to the Austric compound word (Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dravidian, Introduction, p. XXVIII) formed of *bah* or *buah* (fruit) and *tiung*, *tiung*, *ting* (brinjal) of the Semang dialects.

If so, in view of the absence of evidence to show that the Dravidian words were adapted from I A, we cannot rule out the postulate that Tamil *valudunai* or *valudalai* together with Kannaḍa and Tuḷu *badane*, may be directly connected with Austric groups like *bah* and *ting*; while the source of the Telugu word may be the Indo-Āryan *vaṅga*.¹

The cerebral continuative *-l-* of the Tamil-Malayāḷam forms might have been introduced in the process of adaptation and naturalisation of the foreign form in Tamil.

We would like to emphasise here that, in view of the postulate recently made of direct contact between Dravidian and Austric on the mainland of India, it is quite possible that the forms of Tamil, Kannaḍa and Tuḷu, which (be it noted) reproduce the initial bilabial, the medial dental and the nasal at the end, may have been directly adapted from Austric² instead of through the Indo-Āryan *vāṭimgana*; but for this no proof is available, even as there is no proof to show that the Dr. words are *directly* related to I A. On the other hand, the structure of the Telugu word indicates that it may have been a direct borrowing from Indo-Āryan.

1. Amarsimha gives *vāṭiāki*, *bhaṇḍāki*, *vaṅgana* and *vaṅga* as synonyms for the 'egg-plant'. Their derivations are all uncertain.

2. The Indian 'Kolarian' dialects show only I A loans like *bāgan*, *baigan*.

CONQUESTS OF KULŌTTUNGA III.

BY

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I

It is proposed to consider the chief conquests of Kulōttunga III and to point out with the help of the historical introductions of the king that there were during his reign *three* distinct Cōḷa campaigns against the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

The first campaign: An inscription of his 3rd year (165/02 see Appendix) contains the usual panegyric without any historical data. The earliest reference *definitely* known to the interference of Kulōttunga III in the Pāṇḍyan war of succession seems to be found in the inscription of the 8th year (320th day) of his reign found at Tirumayānam (260/25). His inscription at Chidambaram in his 9th year (457/02) gives the following particulars of the campaign in the Pāṇḍyan country. Vikrama-Pāṇḍya applied for help. By the Cōḷa army (that was sent to his help) Vira-Pāṇḍya's son fell, Ēḷagam fell, the Maṇavā army (of the Pāṇḍya) fell, the Singhalese soldiers entered the sea after their noses had been cut off, Vira-Pāṇḍya was forced to beat a retreat. Madura and the crown were secured, a pillar of victory was planted; Madura, the crown and the (Pāṇḍya) country were bestowed on the Pāṇḍya who sought his help.¹

1. "ஏழகம்புல மறப்படைபுல"—The place of Ēḷagam fell. This is how Hultzsch construes it. But in another inscription in another context occurs the expressions *மறப்படை* and *ஏழகம்புடை*. Evidently they were sections of armies or commands of the Pāṇḍyan army. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar uses the expression *Māra* army (மாற or மாறன்) implying the Pāṇḍya (South India and her Muhammadan Invaders p. 12). The reading is *மறப்படை* not *மாறப்படை* or *மாறன்படை*. 'Marappaḍai' may be the army of the *Māra*vas as explained by Hultzsch.

This may be considered as the first campaign of Kulōttuṅga III; It was evidently to help Vikrama-Pāṇḍya against Vira-Pāṇḍya in the civil war.¹

The second campaign: An inscription of the 11th year (and 118th day, 458/02) refers to the return of Vira-Pāṇḍya and the renewing of the war against Vikrama-Pāṇḍya owing to Vira-Pāṇḍya's desire to wipe out the disgrace of defeat.²

In later inscriptions further particulars are given of this second campaign. The Cōḷa king met Vira-Pāṇḍya at Neṭṭur. Vira-Pāṇḍya's crown was secured. His queen was sent to the Cōḷa Royal household (harem?). The defeated Pāṇḍya and Cēra rulers were made to sit at the foot of his throne and acknowledge the Cōḷa supremacy.³

There is great difficulty in deciphering this part of the historical introduction. Reference is made to the Pāṇḍya ruler twice in this part of the text. The earlier part has been quoted above. The term 'முடி வழங்கி' would imply that the Vira-Pāṇḍya was made to acknowledge his supremacy and he was crowned. Later on there is reference to the Cōḷa king accepting gifts from (another?) the Pāṇḍya, who held the title 'Lord of the Solar race'—"பருதிசுல பதியென்னும் திருநாமந்தரித்த பாண்டியற்கு" and his bestowing presents, robes and jewels on the said Pāṇḍya. It is suggested that the Pāṇḍya referred to in the

1. The Tirukkolambudur inscription (1 of 1899) of the 4th year of the Kulōttuṅga III refers to all these features of the campaign above referred to. Hence it should have taken place between the 3rd and the 9th year of his reign. We do not know if Dr. S. K. Ayyangar is right when he suggests, in connection with this inscription, that the campaign was conducted by "Kulōttuṅga III as *heir-apparent*" (P. 11 of South India.) The absence of the reference to the Madura campaign in inscriptions of this 3rd year (cf. 165/02) and the mention of it in his later records should fix the campaign under discussion *in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III* but it may be as *coregent* with Rājādhi-Rāja II.

2. "மீண்டதற்பின் எடுத்து வந்து பரிபவத்தால் எதிர்த்த வீரபாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டு".

3. "நெட்டுரில் எதிர்த்த வீரபாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டு அமர் முடித்து மடக்கொடியை வேளம் வற்றி திரு விழந்த தென்னவனும் சேரலனும் வந்திரஞ்ச அரியணையின் சீழிருப்ப அவர்முடிமேல் அடி வைத்துப் படி வழங்கி முடி வழங்கி" (66 of 1892—Text slightly altered. Inscription of the 19th year of Kulōttuṅga III).

earlier part may be Vira-Pāṇḍya and that in the latter part Vikrama. It seems likely that Vira-Pāṇḍya was recognised (and crowned?) as the Madura Viceroy and consequently the cause of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was abandoned by the Cōḷa king. In the light of this we may infer that Vikrama-Pāṇḍya with his own resources and relying on his own efforts made war and drove out Vira-Pāṇḍya from Madura. This success of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya may be taken to be reflected in inscriptions 42 and 43 of '06, which refer to the flight of Vira-Pāṇḍya and his relatives seeking refuge in Travancore in the 16th year of Kulōttuṅga III. In this reconstruction the difficulty is to explain Kulōttuṅga's change of front and the possibility of Vikrama's success by his single-handed efforts. We must leave it to the future for more light on this point. But as a tentative hypothesis it may be mentioned that the object of Kulōttuṅga III was not so much the restoration of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, as the aggrandisement of his power. The disputed succession at Madura gave him the chance. This hypothesis receives further strengthening by his third campaign which will be discussed later.¹ We shall also point out in the following pages how, in certain points, we render the passage differently.²

1. Hultzsch and other later writers have overlooked this difficulty in the interpretation of the text, though literally the translation may be considered correct. His translation runs thus:—"He took the crowned head of Vira-Pāṇḍya, who, after (the Cōḷa king) had returned, started because (he felt his) disgrace and faced (him) at Neṭṭur. (He) put an end to the war and caused his (*viz.*, the Pāṇḍya's) young wife to enter (his) harem?. When the Teṇṇavaṇ (*i.e.* the Pāṇḍya king), who had lost his fortune and the Ceralan (*i.e.* the Cēra king) came (to the Cōḷa king) bowed (to him) and sat down at the foot of (his) throne, (he) placed (his) feet on the crown of the former, granted (him) land, granted (him) a crown, and gave the Pāṇḍya permission (to go), and to the Villavaṇ (*i.e.* the Cēra king) who (formerly had) distributed crores (he) bestowed riches (on him) in public and gave (him) to eat from the royal plates.

To the Pāṇḍya who bore the glorious name of 'chief of the family of the Sun' (he) granted great treasures, robes and vessels (set with) brilliant jewels etc."—(S. I. I. III, Part II, Page 218. No. 88).

2. See also Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's South India pp. 12 and 13 and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's The Pandyan Kingdom pp. 134—6 and p. 138.

The third campaign: Let us consider the last campaign of his reign. The historical introduction of two inscriptions (nos. 163 and 166 of the list of inscriptions of the Pudukkottai state) in the 31st and 34th year of Kulōttuṅga's reign respectively contains fuller account of his wars and conquests. Unfortunately, some portions are built in or mutilated, so that a complete copy of the text is hard to get. The text published in this paper is secured by using the above two incomplete records. A summary of the passage in English is also given at the end. If any reliance can be placed on the correctness of the sequence of events in the historical introduction, the following is the order of events:—But it seems probable that the Kāñci campaign might have been later than the 2nd Madura campaign.

- (1) First Madura campaign.
- (2) Recovery of Kāñci and his wars against the kings of the north—the Veṅgi country.
- (3) Second Madura campaign.

(Battle of Neṭṭūr).

- (4) Conquest of *Īlamanḍalam* (Ceylon).
- (5) Conquest of Koṅgu country (and Magadhai maṇḍalam).
- (6) Third Madura campaign.

Vikrama-Pāṇḍya might have tried to regain strength and revive the Pāṇḍyan greatness. Perhaps Vikrama also attempted to throw off the Cōḷa shackles and recover the Pāṇḍya country from Cōḷa control. This led to a great Cōḷa campaign—the third of the reign—described fully and graphically in the two inscriptions of the Pudukkottai state.

Kulōttuṅga captured Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḷikkōṭṭai.¹

The army of Maṇavās and that of Ēḷagam were defeated and captured as prisoners of war.²

Then the large Cōḷa army besieged the fortified city of Madura and captured it. The Cōḷa king came round the city and worshipped the presiding deity of the place. Then Kulōt-

1. “மட்டியூரையும் கழிக்கோட்டையும் வளைந்து” We have taken these events as part of the 3rd Madura campaign—Maṭṭiyūr seems to be in the region of the modern Tirumeyyam Taluq of the Pudukkottai State—*Vide* Inscriptions (Text) of the Pudukkottai State Nos. 244 and 361.

2. “மறப்படையுடன் ஏழகப்படை சிறைப்பட”.

tuṅga III held a grand Durbar at Madura. The Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam was renamed *Cōḷa-Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam*; The name of Madura was given up. It was renamed (*Muḍittalai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa Puram*). He himself took the title of ‘*Cēra-Pāṇḍya-Tambirāṇ*’. The term Pāṇḍyan became a thing of the past (பாண்டியம் or பண்டியம்—old). To the *Bāṇa* (bard) who sang his praises of the conquest of Madura was given the title of *Pāṇḍya*. A street and festival were instituted in his name; and pillars of victory inscribed with an account of his achievements were planted in all directions. In all later inscriptions the Cōḷa king calls himself “Tribhuvana-cakravartī Tribhuvana Vīra-dēva who took Madura Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and performed the anointment of hero and victor”.

These are the details of the triumph of Kulōttuṅga III celebrated at Madura about the 30th year of his reign. This humiliation should have wrangled in the minds of Jaṭāvaman Kulaśekhara and his more famous successor Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. Viewed in this light, there seems to be some justification for the war of the latter early in his reign (*i.e.* before his third year of accession—322 of 1927-28)—against the Cōḷa king to retrieve the name and fortunes of the Pāṇḍya house.¹

It is not the insult of Kulōttuṅga's durbar at Madura after the battle of Neṭṭūr but that held after the 3rd campaign with such provocative ostentation that might have caused the Pāṇḍyan war. We do not agree with the interpretation of Dr. S. K. Ayyangar given on page 13 of his book, “Seating himself upon the throne with his queen he placed his feet upon the crowned head of the vanquished Vira-Pāṇḍya ‘which had been cut off on the field of battle’ according to the inscription as if to say that that was to be the fate of those who would not acknowledge his authority”—but that of Hultzsch, *viz.*, that Kulōttuṅga placed his foot on Vira-Pāṇḍya's crown, may be accepted.²

The Ceylonese chronicle seems to support the triple campaign of this reign. The ceylonese forces under the orders

1. I have suggested the possibility of a 3rd Madura campaign in my essay on Kopperuñcinga but this hypothesis seems to gain strength by the two Pudukkottai inscriptions mentioned above. I am indebted to the Pudukkottai Durbar for a copy of the Inscriptions.

2. *Vide* Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's South India pp. 13 and 14 and Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's “The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom” p. 135 and note 5, p. 136, p. 145 and p. 146 and note 1.

of Nissankamalla, the successor of Parākrama Bāhu the Great, are said to have invaded the Pāṇḍya country *thrice* (Mysore Gazetteer, new edition p. 1178, Vol. II, part II).¹

II

TEXTS OF INSCRIPTIONS

1. 165 of 1902—3rd year—Tirumānikuḷi.

புயல் பெருக² வளம் பெரு(க்)ப் பொய்யாத நான்மறையின் செயல் வாய்ப்பத் திருமகனும் ஜயமகனும் சிறந்துவாழ வெண்மதி பொற்குடை விளங்க வேல் வேந்தரடி வணங்க மண் மடந்தை மன மகிழ³ மனுவின் நெறி⁴ தழைத்தோங்கச் சக்கரமுஞ் செங்கோலுந் திக்களைத்துஞ்செல நடக்க⁵ கற்பகாலம் புவி காப்ப பொற்பமைந்த முடி சூடிச் செம்பொன் வீரசிம்மாசனத்துப் புவன முழுதுடையாளோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய etc.

2. 457 of 1902—9th year (88th day)—Chidambaram.

Text same as No. 1 up to முடி.

.....முடி புனைந்து விக்ரம பாண்டியன் வேண்ட⁶ விட்டதண்டால் வீர பாண்டியன் மகன் பட ஏழகம்பட மறப்படை படச் சிங்களப் படை மூச்சுறுப்புண்டு அலைகடல் புக வீர பாண்டியனை முதுகிடும் படி தாக்கி மதுரையும் அரசுங் கொண்டு ஜயஸ்தம்பம் நட்டு அம் மதுரையும் நாடும் அடைந்த பாண்டியன் கனித்தருளி மெய்ம்மலர்ந்த வீரக்கொடியுடன் தியாகக்கொடி எடுத்துச் செம்பொன் வீரசிம்மாசனத்துப் புவன முழுதுடையாளோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய etc.

3. 458 of 1902—11th year (118th day)—Chidambaram.

.....முடி புனைந்து தண்டொன்றால் வீர பாண்டியன் தன் மகனை மூக்கரிந்து கொண்டு விக்ரம பாண்டியற்கு கூடல் மாநகர் குடுத்து

1. The editor of the new edition of the Mysore Gazetteer has expressed the difficulty in unravelling this mystery of the Pāṇḍyan invasion of the Cōḷa country under Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. He says:—"He (Mar. S. Pāṇḍya) was apparently an ambitious and perhaps even an *unscrupulous* prince, who at an opportune moment turned without any moral rectitude against his own protector..... The actual circumstances which led up to this event still remain to be cleared up." (Mysore Gazetteer, new edition, p. 1185, Vol. II, p. II.) The reconstruction attempted above, if correct, will solve this puzzle and help us to depict the character of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in a better light.

2. வாய்த்து. 3. மனங்கனிப்ப. 4. நீதி. 5. தனித் தனித்துஞ் செல நடக்க. 6. வேண்டி.

மீண்டதற்பின் எடுத்து வந்து பரிபலத்தால் எதிர்த்த வீர பாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டவர் முடிவில் ஜயஸ்தம்பம் நட்டபின் வாகைப் பெரு வீரக்கொடி தியாகக்கொடி உடன் எடுத்து செம்பொன் வீர சிம்மாசனத்து புவன முழுதுடையாளோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய etc.

4. 66 of 1892—19th year—Srirangam.

Text of this inscription is indicated in the margin in No. 5—(below)—but ends thus:—

தியாக வீரக்கொடியெடுத்து வாகை வீரக் கழல் கட்டித் திக் கெட்டுமேவல் கேட்ப்ப சக்கரவெற்பில் புகழெறிப்பச் செம்பொன் வீர சிம்மாசனத்துப் புவன முழுதுடையாளோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய etc.

5. Nos. 163 and 166 of the Pudukkottai Inscriptions (probably) in the 31st year and in the 34th year of Kulōttuṅga III found at *Seranur* (Tirumeyyam Taluq) and at *Kudimiyūmali* (also in the same Taluq) respectively:—

புயல் வாழ்த்து¹ மணவாளர்² புலியானையும் சகரம் செயல ணைத்த⁴ மதுனா லும் திசை நடப்ப கொற்ற வையும் திருவும்வாழ⁵ கோடுங்⁶கவி கெடச் குளிர் வெண்குடை கற்ப காலம்⁷ படிச விற்ப கதிரவன் குலமுடி சூடி⁸

எத்தரையும் தொழும் இறைவற் கெதிரம்பலஞ் செம்பொன் மேருத⁹ சித்திரைவிழா அமைந்திறை வித்திருக்கோபுரம் செம்பொன் மேய்ந்து அரிப்பிரமர் தொழிரிவையர்க்கு அகிலம் எல்லாம் தொழுது போற்ற திரி புவன விரிவரம்¹⁰ செய்து திருவைய காசியும் சிறந்த திருவாவணியுந் திசை விளங்கு.....பூர் நிறைந்த செல்வத்துடன் விளங்க நிலவும் திருநாள் கண்டு மன்னுயிரருளிக் கும் வாகவர் நாயகவாழ [அ]ருளி [அ]மைந்த திருமலைபோல் கோயில் கண்டு தரணி கொள் திருத்தாதைக்கும் இராசராதி (ஜீ?) சுரத்தார்க்கும் காரணனை சிறந்த கோயில் அணிதிகழ் பொன் மேய்ந்தருளி

தனி ஆனை விட்டா(ண்)மை சொப்த வடமன்னரை(த்) தறை(ப்)படுத்தி முனிவாறி¹¹ கச்சிபுக்கு முழுதரைசையும்¹² திறை கவித்து¹³

1. வாய்த்து; 2. வளர்; 3. யானை; 4. சக்கரமுஞ்செயல் வாய்த்து; 5. வனுடன் திருமகிழ; 6. கருங்; 7. கத்தால் (?); 8. கவித்து; 9. மேய்ந்து; 10. வீசுவரம்; 11. வாற; 12. முழுதரையும்; 13. கவர்ந்து.

தாங்களும் போல¹ வடுகை வென்று வேங்கை மண்டலம் தனதாக்கி (க) பொன் மழை பெய் துறங்கை என்னும் பொன் நகர்புக்கு அருள்

¹ தண்டொன்றால் வழி மனதவன்² மூக்கரிந்து தமிழ் மதுரை கொண்டு விக்ரமபாண்டியற்குக்கொடுத்து மீண்ட(தற்)பின் பரிபவத்தால் எடுத்துவந்து நெட்டேரில் எதிர்த்த வீரபாண்டியன் முடித்தலை கொண்டவர் முடித்தவனபடைக்கோடியைவனம் ஏற்றி³ திருவிழந்த தென்னவனும் சேரலனும்⁴ வந்திரஞ்சி (ச)அறியவனயின்⁵ கீழிருப்ப அவர் முடிமேல் அடிவைத்துப்படிவழங்கி முடிவழங்கி பாண்டியற்கு விடைகுடுத்து கொடிவழங்கும் வில்லவர்க்குக் கொற்றவர் வேறு⁶ திருவழங்கி வீரகேளன் விரல் தறித்து இவனை கொண்டு வந்தறை (திரைஞ்சி) பாரதியவாழ அருள்⁷ பரிசுவந்து அமுது அளித்துப் பதிசுலபதி யென்று திரு நாமந்தரித்த பாண்டியர்க்கு இருநெதியும் பரி(ச்)சட்டமும் இலங்கு மணிக்கலனும் நல்கி

ஈழமண்டலம் ஈறிந்தருளி ஆழிமண்டலத்தரசு இறை(ரை)ஞ்ச ஊழியர் கெடக்கொங்கும் பாழ்படப்⁸ பொருது புக்கு கருவூ(ற)ர்⁹ சோழ கேள நென்று மன்னர் தொழ விசையமாமுடி சூடி வீர முடிபுனையுதர்க்கு. (வி?) ட்டு எழுந்து பன்னதான் வந்துடன் போமலையப்படை¹⁰ விட்ட...பாயப்படையெல்லாம் படப்பொருது காட்டாங்குளடிக்கோடி ... ழலைதமடு இட்டிதி¹¹ மட்டியூரும் கழிக்கோட்டையும் வளைந்து அறுத்து (க்?) களமாடி நெட்ட வகை குலமாட நெடுங்கன்றாறலமர்ந்.....சூடியில் கடியாணப் பொற்படைப்பப்பொடி பொடியாக்கி அடியுண்ட படைத்தகை விறைவருதா எவரிவளையுண்டு பிடியுண்டு புலமாட நெடுங்கன்றாறல் கெட்டு உண்டு பேதைகள் உடன்கேபோக வெண்ணிலக்கொடியடைய வீரர் புண்ணகரில் புக்கழந்தாக்கிய போர்வயலிருந்ததார்முத்திழந்த..... மழல்¹² மறப்படையுடனே ஏழகப்படை சிறைப்பட்டு விழதடிந்து தாநதை மற சாந்து உணய துரந்து செநகா அழிஞ்ச நறுத்¹³ தென் மதுரை புறம் துளைதன்¹⁴ நெடுப்படைக்கடல் வளையப்பெருவழுதிய ரும்தம் வில.....மரேற்ற தாயாரும் பெருசீமையும் பெரு வருதுயர் துணையாக வெறு தரைப்படர் மண்வழங்கிக் கழுதை கொடுமுது புகழ்கதிர் விளையக் கவடி விச்சம் பெவதபதங்கண்டு கெட்டு எபற்... கமிடதிர சோழபாண்டியன் என்று பேர் சறதன்படக்கார் வீர

1. போர்; 2. மைந்தனை; 3. கொண்டமர் முடித்து அவர் மடக் கொடியை வேளம் ஏற்றி; 4. கேளனும்; 5. அரியணையின்; 6. பெரு or பேறு; 7. பாரதியா வாழ்வு அருள்; 8. வாழ் படப்; 9. உள்ளில்; 10. பொாமலையப்படை; 11. This line is obscure; 12. விருதர் மூக்கழிந்து முகமழிய; 13. காஞ்சிதறித்; 14. நினைத்தரு.

ராமுடி புணர்ந்து¹ திருபுவன வீரனெறிருநலம் சோழமுடிசூடி இகல் மாக்கழல் சட்டிப்² புகழ் வீரக்கொடி எடுத்துத் தியாகக் கொடி எத்திசையும் ஓட்டி³...கலிப்பகை துரக்க மாமதுரையை வலங்கொண்டு திருவாலவாய் உறையும் தென்மலற் கொன்றைவார் சடைச் செழுஞ்சுடரை தோழதிரஞ்சி⁴ ஆங்கவர்க்குப் பூணூல்⁵ அநேக விதங் கொடுத்தருளி ஒங்கிய பேர் ஒலிக்கழல் இறைஞ்ச இந்தி (ர?) நது பொற்ப...யும் இளற்றின கற்படியும் குடுத்தருளி வண்டறைதார் வழிதியரைக் கொண்ட பாண்டி மண்டலத்தைச் சோழபாண்டியன் மண்டலம் என்று எழுபாருஞ்செல்ல நிறுத்தி மல்ல வைய (வயல்?) மதுரையையும் மதுரையென்று போரொழித்து சொல்ல முடித்தலை கொண்ட சோழ புரமென்றருளித்தா (மெ?) மு (ந்?) த மண்டபத்தில் சேரபாண்டியன் தம்பிரான் என்று பேரொழுதிப் பாண்டியனைப் பாண்டியநென்றும்⁶ பேர் மாறி வர நெடும் படைத் தென்னவன்⁷ கெட மதுரை கொண்ட தோள்வலி பாடிய பாணனைப் பாண்டியன் என்று பரி(ரு)மணிபட்டம் கட்டிச் சூட்டி வெஞ்சிலை வாங்கி வேட்டையா.....விளையாடிப்படந்த கயருடன் பகைபாந்திக்குடந்துறை நீர்படிந்தாடி ஓடைமதிக்களிற்றெறியாடல்⁸ வம்பர் நடவித்தண்டெளவம் மலர் மாலையில் வண்டாற்..... சாளிபாடிய அரன் திருவாலவாயில் அமந்தவர்க்குத் தன் பேரால் சிறந்த பெருந்திரு வீதியும் திருநாளும் கண்டருள உருதருடனே⁹ சிலையால் முப்புரம் எரித்த சொக்கற்கு திருப்பவனி கண்டருளி திரு வீதியில் சேவித்துத்தென்மதுரை திருவாலவாய்ப்பொன்மலையென்ப பொன் மேய்ந்து திறை கொண்ட புனல் வையகைச் சேர¹⁰ பாண்டியன் மண்டலத்திறைகொண்ட பசும் பொன்னும் இறையிலியும் மெயில் ஆடியூர்¹¹ ஆடும் அம்பலவாணற்குடிவாய்ந்திருநடங்கண்டருளப் பாடக்கால் பைங்கிளிக்கும்.....பைம் பொன் மதுரை மதுள் திருவாரூர் வானவற்குந்¹² திரிபுவனீசுவரம் பகுந்தவற்குத் தென்வி¹³ சடைத்திருவாலவாய் அரனே செழுஞ்சுடற் சூடி குடுத்து அருளமந்தா மறைமுழுதுணர்ந்த வந்தணர்க்கறமேற்றி எழுது என்ற செயத்தம்பம் எத்திசையிலும் நடுவித்து வழுவில் செஞ்செ(ர)ற் குவிக்குன்று பிடங்காக மதுரையடங்கவும் பொற்பத் தவன்¹⁴ அடி நிழற் கீழ்பைய மிறியஞ்சலெந...முதிக்கும்பதி தடையும் தாமரையுங் கோசாணையிமேம்பரியுங்கொடி தெருங்குருசாமும்

1. புணர்ந்து; 2. கட்டிப்; 3. நாட்டி; 4. சடைக் கெழு சுடனைக் கொழுதிஞ்சி; 5. புகுந் நாரும்; 6. பாண்டியனென்றும்; 7. தென்னவன்; 8. க்ரு...டமதர்களி நீரறியாடல்; 9. பொருப்பு நெடுஞ்; 10. சோழ; 11. மெயிற்புலியூர்; 12. ஆனதற்குத்; 13. தென்னவன்; 14. பொறிப்பித்தவன்.

வைகைநாடும்.....பழம்ப.....இவற்.....னுகதியல் திக்கு எட்டும்
எல்லை தேட (தொட) மசதகாமேற்பின்புகழ்ப் புலவர்.....

செம்பொன் வீரசிம்மாசனத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளிய கோப்பா
கேசரிபற்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீமதுரையும் ஈழமும்
கருவூரும் பாண்டியன் முடித்தலையுங்கொண்டு வீராபிஷேகமும்
விசையாபிஷேகமும் பண்ணி அருளிய திரிபுவன வீரதேவற்கு
யாண்டு 34-வது.

III

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORICAL
INTRODUCTION

While the clouds were abundant, and the country prospered; the reign of the commands (authority) of the tiger and that of discus prevailed, the laws of Manu and the sceptre flourished in all directions while the Goddess of Fortune rejoiced to be united with the king, the cruel Kali perished, the cool white parasol overshadowed the earth to the end of aeons, and the king put on the crown of the solar race;

The king covered with gold the *Edir-Ambalam* of the Lord, instituted the *caitrā* festival, built the Gopura and the Tribhuvanavīśvaram for the Goddess, (*அரிவைவயார்*?) instituted the *Vaikāśi* and *Āvaṇi* festivals, and constructed the temple for the Lord resembling the Holy mountain and covered the Rājādīśvaram shrine with gold;

He despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the north, entered Kāñcī after his anger had abated and levied tribute from the whole of the northern region (or to his heart's content).

He subdued the warlike *Vadugas*, brought under his sway the *Veṅgi-maṇḍalam*, entered the city called Uraṅgai or Turāṅgai (*பொன் மழை பெய்துறங்கை*), cut off, with the help of his single army, the nose of the son of the Pāṇḍya king, took the Tamil-famed Madura, and gave it to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, when unable to suffer the disgrace of defeat Vira-Pāṇḍya came again, and fought at Neṭṭūr, he caused him to *lose his crown* (not cut off his head) after defeat, (Hultzsch has translated this differently) sent the queen (*மடக்கொடியை*) of the Pāṇḍya king to his royal household (*வேனம் harem?*), he was pleased to place his feet on the heads of the kings of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra

(or Kērala) who sat at the foot of the throne, he gave the Pāṇḍya gifts and the crown (*படி* and *முடி*) and told him to go; Then when the Cēra king begged for mercy and made presents to the Cōḷa king, he gave large gifts separately to the Cēra and received the submission of *Vira-kēralan*. ("He cut off a finger of Vira-Kērala" does not seem to fit in with the context.)

To the Pāṇḍya who bore the glorious title of (*பருதிசுல பதி*) Lord of the solar race, he gave great treasures, robes and jewels set with precious stones.

Then after (setting fire to? and) conquering Ceylon (*Īla-maṇḍalam*) he invaded the Koṅgu country, fought so fiercely that the land suffered misery and its king begged for peace and then he assumed the title of *Karuvūr-Cōḷa-Kēralan* and had himself crowned as victor and hero.

Then he fought successfully against his enemies (we do not know who—the lines are mutilated)—at Maṭṭiyūr and Kalik-kōṭṭai (*மட்டியூரும் கழிக்கோட்டையும்*). Then his ocean-like army surrounded the outer walls of Southern Madura, and captured the city, he caused defeat (and death?) to the Pāṇḍya (*தரைப்படர் மண் வழங்கி*), had the country ploughed with asses, bestowed the name of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍyan and himself put on the crown of the Cōḷa called *Tribhuvana Virar* and circumambulated the big city of Madura worshipped the Lord with presents of jewels, caused the *Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam* of the Pāṇḍya to be renamed *Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam*, the city of Madura to be 'Muḍittalai Koṇḍa Cōḷa Puram', He took the title of *Lord of the Cēras and the Pāṇḍyas* (*சேரபாண்டியன் தம்பிரான்*) the term Pāṇḍya (so far as it applied to the ruler of the south) to become a thing of the past (Here is a play on the word Pāṇḍya, the king and Pāṇḍu or Paṇḍu—old); and on the bard (*பாணன்*) who sang the praise of the victor-king,—he bestowed the title of Pāṇḍya, he caused a big street and festivals to be instituted in his name and worshipped the God when taken out in procession. He covered with gold the shrine of Tiruvālavāy (*Sundareśvara?*) and made it resemble a mountain of gold, he granted to the Lord of Dance (*புலியூர் ஆடும் அம்பலவாணற்கு*) the revenue and tribute levied from the Cēra Pāṇḍya (or Cōḷa Pāṇḍya) country,.....
.....gave gifts to Brahmins and caused pillars of victory with inscriptions eulogising his glory to be planted in all directions etc. In the 34th 51st day of king Kō-p-Para-Kesari-Varman

Tribhuvunacakravartī Tribhuvanavīradēva who took Madura, Karuvūr, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and celebrated Virābhīṣeka (anointment of hero) and Vijayābhīṣeka (anointment of victor) etc.

[N. B.] The Tribhuvanam inscription of Kulōttuṅga III (190—192 of 1907) refers to his building activities. The temple of Hālāhalāśya at Madura is among those temples mentioned to have been built by this king. This is confirmed by the two inscriptions from the Pudukkottai state referred to above.

TIRU-MURUKĀRRU--P-PATAI AND KATHOPANIṢAD.

BY

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The word *ārru-p-patai* is derived from the word *ārū* (way) and the root *paṭu* (to direct), and hence means a poem wherein a poet or a dancer directs another to go to a patron of learning to receive presents when he meets him on his return from the same patron.

The fact that such a poetic composition existed before the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār is seen from his statements

கூத்தரும் பாணரும் பொருளரும் விறலியும்
ஆற்றிடைக் காட்டி யுறழத் தோன்றி
பெற்ற பெருவளம் பெருஅர்க் கறிவுறீஇ
சென்றபய னெதிரச் சொன்ன பக்கமும்.
Kūttarum pāṇarum porunarum viṭaliyum
Ārriṭai-k kāṭci y-uraḷa-t tōṇṇi
Perṭa peruvaḷam perūar-k k-aṟiv-uṟi
Ceṇṇu-paya ṇ-eṭira-c coṇṇa paḱkamum.
(Tol. Poruḷ. 91.)

and

முன்னிலை சுட்டிய வொருமைக் கினலி
பன்மையொடு முடியினும் வணைநிலை யின்றே
ஆற்றப்படை மருங்கிற் போற்றல் வேண்டும்.
Munṇilai cuṭṭiya v-orumai-k kiḷavi
Paṇmaiyoṭṭu muṭiyiṇum varai-nilai y-iṇṇē
Ārru-p-patai maruṅkiṭ pōṟṟal vēṇṭum.
(Tol. Col. 462.)

The poem is named *pāṇar-ārru-p-patai*, *kūttar-ārru-p-patai*, *porunar-ārru-p-patai*, *viṭali-y-ārru-p-patai* etc. according as the poet describes a *pāṇar* (bard), *kūttar* (dancer), *porunar* (dancer at battle-field or threshing floor), *viṭali* (female dancer) etc. directing another of the respective class to go to the same patron from whom he or she has received presents.

But the poem *Tiru-murukārru-p-paṭai* does not receive its name in the same way. Here a poet is directed by Nakkīraṇār, the author of the poem, to go to God Murukan at the shrines of Tiru-p-paraṅkunram, Tiru-c-cīr-alai-vāy (Tiruchendur), Tiru-v-āvinan-kuṭi (Palni), Tiru-v-ērakam (Udupi), Paḷa-mutircōlai probably (Aḷakar-kōil) etc. and worship Him if he wants to reach 'the final goal' (eternal bliss).

The lines that convey the sense 'if you want to reach the final goal' are:—

சேவடி பட்டருஞ் செம்ம லுள்ளமொடு
நலம்புரி கொள்கைப் புலம்பிரிந் துறையும்
செலவுநீ நயந்தனை யாயின்.
Cē-v-aṭi paṭaruñ cemma l-uḷlamotū
Nalam-puri koḷkai-p pulam-pirin t-uraiyum
Celavu-nī nayantaṇai y-āyin.

What is the exact idea that these lines convey is the point in question? The meaning given by Naccīnārkkīṇiyar, the learned commentator, is 'If you desire (*nī nayantaṇai-y-āyin*) to go (*celavu*) with your mind (*uḷlamotū*) refined (*cemmal*) by your having done meritorious deeds (*nalam puri koḷkai*) which will enable you to reach the Holy Feet (*cē-v-aṭi-paṭarum*) that cannot be seen through the senses (*pulam pirintū uraiyum*). The prose order according to him is this:—*Pulam pirintū uraiyum, cē-v-aṭi paṭarum, nalam puri koḷkai, cemmal uḷlamotū, celavu nī nayantaṇai-y-āyin*.

He is to be congratulated on having intuitively found out that the main idea of the lines is 'if you desire to win eternal bliss'. But there are some weak points in his interpretation:—(1) He does not seem to have found any word in the lines which means 'final goal'. (2) He splits the second line into two parts *நலம்புரி கொள்கை* (*nalam-puri-koḷkai*) and *புலம்பிரிந்துறையும்* (*pulam-pirint-uraiyum*) and takes the latter to mean 'being away from the cognisance of sense-organs' and makes the relative participle *uraiyum* qualify the word *cē-v-aṭi* found in the first line; the former part *நலம்புரி கொள்கை* (*nalam-puri-koḷkai*) is taken to mean 'the doing of meritorious deeds' and is considered to be the cause of reaching *cē-v-aṭi* and the refinement of the mind, and hence is taken after *cē-v-aṭi paṭarum* and before *cemmal-uḷlamotū*; and the relative participle *paṭarum* is taken to mean 'which stands as the reason to reach' (*paṭar-vataṅkū-k-kāra-*

namāṇa). (3) The word *celavu* is taken to mean 'going'. (4) The place whereto he should go is not mentioned. The reason for this difficult construction of Naccīnārkkīṇiyar seems to be that he thought that the ideas—(1) that the Holy Feet of God are non-cognisable to senses, (2) that the mind is purified by meritorious deeds and (3) that the Holy Feet are reached by meritorious deeds—are expressed in these lines.

But a comparison of the lines with the following stanzas in Kathopaniṣad—

यस्तु विज्ञानवान् भवति समनस्कः सदाशुचिः ।

स तु तत्पदमाप्नोति यस्माद्भूयो न जायते ॥ (iii, 8.)

तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् । (iii, 9.)

सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः ॥ (iii, 11.)

enables us to interpret them without adopting the strained construction resorted to by the commentator. The expressions *cē-v-aṭi*, *cemmal-uḷlamotū* and *celavu* respectively give the same sense as *परमं पदम्*, *समनस्कः* and *गतिः*. Hence the word '*celavu*' here does not mean 'going', but means 'final goal' (*parā gatiḥ*). The expression '*nalam¹-puri-koḷkai-p-pulam-pirinturaiyum*' which means 'which is different from the region (*svarga*) where the fruit of his meritorious deeds (*puṇya*) alone are reaped' conveys in a different way the idea which is similar to that conveyed by '*यस्माद्भूयो न जायते*' which means 'from which he never returns'. Hence the meaning of the three lines of *Tirumurukārru-p-paṭai* is 'If you desire to reach, with a pure heart, the final goal which is the residence of the Holy Feet and which is different from Heaven (*svarga*) wherein one enjoys the fruit of one's meritorious deeds alone'.

Besides, the above lines of Kathopaniṣad clearly show that Mahāmahopādhyāya Dākṣiṇātya Kalānidhi V. Swaminatha Aiyar has rightly chosen the reading *பிரிந்து* (*pirintū*) in the second line in preference to the reading *புரிந்து* (*purintū*) found in some editions and manuscripts.²

1. *Nalam* means *nal-viṇai-p-payan*.

2. (a) Tirumurukāruppaṭai, V. S. Iyer Edition.

(b) Paṭiṇorāntirumurai, Centilvēlu Mudaliar Edition.

(c) Naccīnārkkīṇiyar, Commentary under Tol. Poruḷ. 91 Bhavanandam Pillai Edition.

It may also be noted here that, as the word *cē-v-aṭi* of *Tirumukāṛṇu-p-paṭai* is identical with परमं पदम्, so also the word அந்நிலை (*a-n-nilai*) in—

தில்லா வுலகத்து நிலைமை தூக்கி

அந்நிலை யனுகல் வேண்டி.

Nillā v-ulakattu nilaimai tūkki

A-n-nilai y-aṇukal vēṇṭi. (Perumpāṇ.¹ 466-7.)

(Desiring to reach that goal after carefully considering the transitoriness of earthly objects)—is evidently identical with तत्पदम् of Kāṭhupanīṣad. The demonstrative root 'a' in *a-n-nilai* refers to the object in the mind of the speaker. It is called *neñcaṇi-cuṭṭu* by Tamil scholars.

It is a source of gratification to find that the most important Upanīṣadic thoughts are imbedded in the minds of Nakkīraṇār and others and that they find a natural expression in their Tamil works.

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

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

It is my idea to present, in this thesis, the important grammatical theories in Tamil Language available from the written works of Tamil Grammarians and modern Tamil scholars in their historical setting and their relation to the Grammatical literature in Sanskrit and to discuss them on their merits and in reference to the evidences that may be collected from literary works and inscriptions.

The Grammarians mentioned in Tamil Language are:—

(1) Agastya with his twelve disciples Tolkāppiyāṇār, Ataṇ-kōṭṭācāṇ, Turālīṇkaṇ, Cempūṭcēy, Vaiyāpikaṇ, Vāyppiyaṇ, Paṇampāraṇ, Kalārampaṇ, Avinayaṇ, Kākaipāṭiṇiyaṇ, Naṇṇat-taṇ and Vāmanaṇ who are said to have lived in the pre-Christian Era.

(2) Iḷampūraṇār otherwise known as Uraiyācīriyar, probably of the 10th century, the earliest known commentator on Tolkāppiyam, the learned treatise on Tamil Grammar written by Tolkāppiyāṇār.

(3) Puttamittiraṇār of the 11th century, the author of *Vīracōḷiyam*.

(4) Peruntēvaṇār of the 11th or 12th century the commentator on *Vīracōḷiyam*.

(5) Kuṇavīraṇṭitar of the 13th century, the author of *Nēminātam*.

(6) Pavaṇanti of the 13th century, the author of *Naṇṇūl*.

(7) Mayilainātar, probably of the 14th century, the earliest commentator on *Naṇṇūl*.

1. Perumpāṇ = Perum-pāṇ-āṇṇu-p-paṭai.

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(8) Cēṇāvaraiyar, Teyvaccilaiyār and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, the well-known commentators on Tolkāppiyam (whose dates are not exactly known).

(9) Cuppiramaṇiya-tiṭṭitar of the 17th century, the author of Pirayōkavivēkam.

(10) Vaitṭiyanāta-tēcīkar of the 17th century, the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam.

(11) Cuvāmināta-tēcīkar of the 17th century, the author of Ilakkaṇakkottū.

(12) Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavar of the 17th century, a commentator on Naṇṇūl.

(13) The Rev. C. J. Beschi of the 18th century, the author of Toṇṇūlviḷakkam.

(14) Civaṇṇa-muṇivar of the 18th century, the author of Tolkāppiyamutaṛcūttiravirutti and Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūṛāvaḷi.

(15) A few other commentators on Tolkāppiyam and Naṇṇūl.

Of them, Agastya and his disciples except Tolkāppiyaṇār, Paṇampāraṇār, Ataṅkōṭṭācāṇ and Avinayaṇār are known to us only from stray references found in the works of others. Paṇampāraṇār has written the *pāyiram* or the introductory stanza to Tolkāppiyam. There, it is mentioned, that Tolkāppiyam was written by Tolkāppiyaṇār after a careful study of the earlier treatises on Tamil grammar, on the model of Aindra-Vyākaraṇa, dealing with the Tamil Language current both in literature and usage from Tirupati on the north to Cape Comorin on the South; and that it was first read in the court of a Pāṇṭiyaṇ king for recognition before the grammarian Ataṅkōṭṭācāṇ. Mayilainātar, in his commentary on Naṇṇūl, mentions that a treatise on Grammar was written by Avinayaṇār and it was commented upon by Irāca-p-pavittira-p-pallavataṛaiyaṇ. But neither the treatise nor the commentary is available at present. The earliest treatise on Grammar that is available at present is only Tolkāppiyam. The later treatises are Viracōḷiyam, Naṇṇūl, Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam, Pirayōkavivēkam, Ilakkaṇakkottū, Toṇṇūlviḷakkam, Tolkāppiyamutaṛcūttiravirutti and Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūṛāvaḷi.

The author of Viracōḷiyam improves upon Tolkāppiyam and mentions a few points with reference to the literature of his time which are not found in it. The author of Naṇṇūl has incorporated almost all those contained in Tolkāppiyam and Viracōḷi-

yam omitting a few, added a few points more and has given expression to them as concisely as possible. In doing so he has not generally followed the important principle observed by Tolkāppiyaṇār that one sūtra should have only one *vidhēya* or logical predicate with reference to one *uddēśya* or logical subject and this mars the beauty of his work. The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam, after making a critical study of Tolkāppiyam and Naṇṇūl, has selected sūtras from them both, given most of them as they are found there and modified the rest a little. Hence he may be treated more as a commentator on Tolkāppiyam and Naṇṇūl than an author of a separate treatise. Pirayōkavivēkam is a treatise by itself where the author imports the technical expressions and theories of Sanskrit Grammar. The author of Ilakkaṇakkottū summarises in a few sūtras the ideas contained in the works of his predecessors. Hence he may be taken as an author of a compendium rather than an independent work.

The author of Toṇṇūlviḷakkam incorporates most of the sūtras found in Naṇṇūl, but modifies them wherever he differs from it. But in commentary on the same he has made very good use of the literature available to him.

Tolkāppiyamutaṛcūttiravirutti is an elaborate discussion on the first sūtra of Eḷuttatikāram of Tolkāppiyam, where the author avails himself of the opportunity to discuss the important views on Phonology and Accidence expressed by Tolkāppiyaṇār, by his commentators (Uraiyaṇaiyār), Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, and the author of Naṇṇūl, with the aid of his ripe knowledge both of Tamil and Sanskrit.

Ilakkaṇaviḷakkaccūṛāvaḷi is only a criticism on the views of the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam where he differs from the author of Naṇṇūl.

I may also mention here that Tolkāppiyaṇār has worked out a beautiful Tamil Grammar on the models of Sanskrit Prātiśākhya, Yāska's Nirukta, Pāṇini's Śikṣā and Pāṇini's Grammar or that of his predecessors without doing the least violence to the genius of the Tamil Language. It is also said by Paṇampāraṇār that he based his work on Aindra-Vyākaraṇa; but tradition says that all the eight treatises on Sanskrit Grammar including Aindra were ousted by Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. The only reference which connects Indra with Sanskrit Grammar is found in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya where it is said that he studied Sanskrit Grammar

word by word under Bṛhaspati for 1000 celestial years and was not able to complete it.¹

There is striking correspondence between Kātantra and Tolkāppiyam in respect of arrangement of topics and use of technical terms such as *vibhakti* = *vērūmai*, *dirgha* = *neṭil*, *hrasva* = *kuṟil* etc. From this Dr. Burnell² seems to infer that Tolkāppiyaṇār followed Kātantra and Prātiśākhya which, according to him, represented the Aindra School, instead of Pāṇini's Grammar and also conjectures that Tolkāppiyam may be assigned to the 8th century after Christ.³ But from inscriptional and other evidences it is generally believed that the works of Sangam period could not have been produced later than 5th century A. D. and some of them like *Puraṇānūṟu* and *Patirruppattū* could be taken to the beginning of the Christian Era, and Tolkāppiyam is earlier than all of them. Consistently with this widely prevalent belief, it could hardly be held that Tolkāppiyaṇār had for his model the Kātantra Grammar which is said to belong to the first century after Christ.⁴

An attempt is made in this thesis to show that Tolkāppiyaṇār adapted not only the Sanskrit Grammatical terms and the arrangement, but also many of the Sanskrit grammatical theories. For instance, his account of the origin of speech-sounds and the function of case-suffixes is a close reproduction of what is found in old Sanskrit Grammars; while, however, in the treatment of compounds, and the initial and the final sounds of words, he appears to have made certain alterations and adaptations to suit the requirements of Tamil language. On the other hand, the authors of *Viracōliyam* and *Pirayōkavivēkam* have imitated Pāṇini's Grammar in declension, conjugation and word-formation to such an extent that they have completely distorted the perspective through which the linguistic phenomena of the Tamil Language should be analysed and evaluated. They have also incorporated in their works a close translation of Vararuci's *Kārikās* on Sanskrit compounds.

It will also be seen from the following pages that the other grammarians like the authors of *Naṇṇūl* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*

1. *Bṛhaspatiḥ Indrāya divyam varṣa-sahasram pratipadoktānām śabdānām śabda-pūrāyaṇam provāca, nāntam jagāma.*
2. B. A. S. p. 8.
3. B. A. S. p. 55 f.n.
4. B. S. G. p. 83.

have, in general, followed Tolkāppiyaṇār, though, here and there as in the case of accent and *aḷaṭṭai*, they agree with the author of *Viracōliyam*.

For the sake of convenience, I have divided, in this thesis, the period from the Pre-Christian Era to the present day into three:—Ancient, Medieval and Modern, Ancient representing the period extending from the Pre-Christian Era to the 5th century A.D. (i.e.) the end of Sangam Period, Medieval, the period from the 6th century A.D. to the 14th century A.D. and Modern, the period from the 15th century A.D. upto the present day.

I. SPEECH-SOUNDS.

1. 1. *How speech sounds are produced*:—Tolkāppiyaṇār says in the sūtra—

Unti mutalā muntu-vaḷi tōṇṇi-t
Talaiyīṇu miṭarriṇu neñciṇu nilaii-ṭ
Pallu m-ilalū nāvu mūkkum
Aṇṇamu m-uḷappaḷa v-eṇṇurai nilaiyāṇ
Uruṭṭur ṛ-amaiya neṟippaḷa nāṭi
Ellā v-eḷuttuṇ colluṇ kālai-ṭ
Pirappi ṇ-ākkam vēru-vē ṛ-iyala
Tirappaḷa-t teriyuṇ kāḷci y-āṇa. (Tol. E. 83.)

that air which starts from navel comes out as different speech-sounds by passing through the eight parts—chest, neck, head, hard palate, teeth, tongue, lips and nose, and undergoing different modifications therein. This is more or less the translation of the following *Kārikās* of Pāṇini's *Śikṣā*:—

Mārutastūrasī caran mandraṇ janayati svaram |
Kaṇṭhē mādhyandinayugam
Tāram tārtīyasavanam śīrṣaṇyam jāgatānugam |
Sōdīrṇō mūrdhnyabhihatō vaktram-āḷpadya mārutaḥ |
Varṇāṇ janayatē
Aṣṭāu sthānāni varṇānām uraḥ kaṇṭhaḥ śīras-tathā |
Jihvāmūlaṇca dantāśca nāsikōṣṭhāu ca tālu ca ||

It may be noted here that *jihvāmūlam* is translated as 'nā' or tongue, while it really means the root of the tongue.

Besides it is said in Pāṇini's *Śikṣā* that 'h', when it is in company with any one of the five nasals and four semi-vowels, is 'chest-sound' but that, when it is alone, it is guttural.

Cf. 'Hakāram pañcamairiyuktam antasthābhiśca saṁyutam |
Uraṣyam tam vijānīyāt kaṇṭhyam āhurasamīyutam ||
(P. Ś. 16.)

Though Tolkāppiyaṇār has not stated 'h' among Tamil sounds, he has mentioned the chest as one of the organs of speech probably because the air which finally comes out as speech-sound passes through it.

But the other grammarians from Ḵampūraṇar downwards have not correctly understood the significance of the mention of chest, neck and head. Ḵampūraṇar says in his commentary on the sūtra—

Melleḷut tārum pīraṇṇi ṇ-ākkam
Colliya paḷḷi nilaiyiṇa v-āyīnum
Mūkkiṇ vaḷi-y-icai yāppura-t tōṇrum. (Tol. E. 100.)

where it is said that the nasals have for their organ of production, nose also besides their respective organs of production, that the voiceless consonants are produced by *talai-vaḷi* or the air when it passes through the head, and that the semi-vowels are produced by *miṭarṇu-vaḷi* or the air when it passes through the neck. This statement of his is probably due to the fact that, of the eight organs mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār in Tol. E. 83, all but chest, neck and head have been mentioned as organs of production in sūtras 84 to 100. But he does not seem to have noted that *neñcu* or chest mentioned in Tol. E. 83 is left out.

The author of Viracōliyam mentions the same eight organs¹ as Tolkāppiyaṇār, but does not say anything as Ḵampūraṇar does about the places where *valliṇam*, *melliṇam* and *iṭaiyiṇam* are produced. But his commentator Peruntēvaṇār says that the voiceless consonants are produced at the chest, *āyṭam* at the head, vowels and semi-vowels at the neck and the nasals at the nose.² The author of Naṇṇūl closely follows Peruntēvaṇār in all respects.³

1. *Unti-mutal-eḷuṇ kāṇṇu-p-pīraṇṇ-ura muñ-ciramum*
Pantamali-kaṇṇu tamu-mūkkum-ur-r-aṇṇam pal-l-uṭaṇē
Muntum-itaḷ-nā moli-y-uṭupṇaku muyaṇṇi y-iṇ-āḷ
Vantu-nikaḷu m-eḷutṇṇu-colluvar vāṇutalē. (V. C. 6.)
2. *Ivaṇṇuḷ, urattai valliṇamum, cirattai āyṭamum, kaṇṇattai*
uyirum iṭaiyiṇamum, mūkkai melliṇamum, poruntum-ṇa-k-
koḷka. (V. C. 6, Comm.)
3. *Nīrai-y-uyir muyaṇṇi y-iṭai-miṭa r-ākkam*
Elum-aṇu-t tiraḷ-uraṇṇ kaṇṇa m-ucci
Mūkkuṇ r-itaḷ-nā-p pal-l-aṇa-t toliliṇ
Veṇṇē r-eḷuttoli y-āy-varal pīraṇṇē. (Na. 74.)

The author of Ḵakkaṇaḷakkam improves upon Tol. E. 83 by adding that the sound has emanated from *udāna* which is made to rise by the will of the person.¹ This clearly shows that he has in his mind the Kārikā—

Ātmā buddhyā samētyārthān manō yuñktē vivakṣayā |
Manah kāyāgnim āhanti sa prērayati mārutam ||

which precedes 'Mārutastūrasī caran etc.' in Pāṇini's Śikṣā, and agrees with Ḵampūraṇar that *valliṇam* is produced at the head, *melliṇam* at the nose and *iṭaiyiṇam* at the neck² and differs from Naṇṇūlār in saying that *āyṭam* is produced at the chest³ instead of at the head. This is perhaps due to his having known that the Sanskrit 'h' is produced at the chest when it is in company with any one of the five nasals and semi-vowels; but since *āyṭam* must invariably be followed by a voiceless consonant, it is more appropriate to say that it is produced in places just near the places of production of the respective voiceless consonants. This point will be dealt with at great length in 1.55.

C. J. Beschi follows Naṇṇūlār in toto⁴.

From all this it is evident that the Tamil Grammarians with the exception of Tolkāppiyaṇār have not recognised the true distinction between the *ābhyantara-prayatna* and the *bāhya-prayatna* mentioned by Pāṇini and other Sanskrit Grammarians. They have not also recognised that the classification of vowels, explosives, semi-vowels and fricatives is due to their distinction in *ābhyantaraprayatna* and that the classification into voiceless and voiced is due to the difference in the condition of the vocal

- Arvaḷi,*
Āvi y-iṭaimai y-iṭa-miṭa r-ākkam
Mēvu meṇmai-mūk ku-uram-perum vaṇmai. (Na. 75.)
Āyṭa-k k-iṭan-talai y-aṇkā muyaṇṇi
Cārpeḷut t-ēṇavun tam-muta l-aṇaiya. (Na. 87.)
1. *Uyir-uḷap putāṇaṇi nūta m-ucci*
Miṭarṇu mūkkuṇ r-itaḷ-nā-p pal-l-aṇa-t
Taṭaintu piṇṇa r-avaṇṇatu viṇaiyūṇ
Veṇṇu-ṇē r-eḷuttoli y-āy-varal pīraṇṇē. (I. V. 9.)
 2. *A-v-vaḷi y-āvi y-iṭai-miṭa r-ucci*
Vaṇmai meṇmai-mūk k-icaiyir r-ōṇṇum. (I. V. 10.)
Āyṭa-ṇē cōcai-yi y-aṇkāṇ t-iyaluṇ
Cārpeḷut t-ēṇa-v-un tam-muta l-aṇaiya. (I. V. 13.)
 T. V. 3. Comm.

chords and certain concomitant factors which come under *bāhyaṣṛayaṭna*¹.

It may be useful to note in this connection that the tension of the vocal chords and the accompanying vibration and musical clang or voice correspond to the *bāhyaṣṛayaṭnas* of the voiced consonants, viz., *saṃvāra*, *nāda* and *ghōṣa*, while the flaccid condition of the vocal chords and the accompanying non-vibration and breath correspond to the *bāhyaṣṛayaṭnas* of the voiceless consonants, viz., *vivāra*, *śvāsa* and *aghōṣa*.

At the end of the third section in *Eluttatikāram*, Tolkāppiyāṇār states in two sūtras—

Ellā v-eluttum velippaṭa-k kilantū
Colliya paḷli y-elutaru valiyiṟ
Piṟappoṭu viṭuvali y-uṟalcci vāra-t
Takattelu vali-y-icai y-arirapa nāṭi
Aḷapiṟ kōṭa l-antaṇar maraittē. (Tol. E. 102.)
Aṣṭiva nuvalā t-eluntupurat t-icaikku
Meyteri vali-y-icai y-aḷavu-nuvan ricinē.

(*ibid.* 103.)

that the theory of speech sounds and modifications which sound undergoes within the body may be learnt from the scriptures of the Brahmins and that he has dealt with here only the articulated speech-sounds that come out of the mouth. Here it is evident that he refers to the four phases of speech-sound, *parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* described in Sanskrit Grammar, *parā*, being that phase of the *śabda-brahman*, the undifferentiated primordial sound manifested at *mūlādhāra* or sacral plexus, *paśyantī* being that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisable to Yōgins, *madhyamā* being that phase which is manifested at the heart and *vaikharī* being that phase which is manifested out of the vocal organs as the articulated sound. These four phases are clearly suggested by the following *Rk* mentioned by Patañjali in the first *āhnika* of his *Mahābhāṣya* :—

Catvāri vākparimitā padāni
Tāni vidur brāhmaṇā yē maṇiṣiṇaḥ |

1. *Samvṛtē kaṇṭhē nādaḥ kriyatē. (Tai. P. II; 4.)*
Vivṛtē śvāsaḥ. (Tai. P. II. 5.)
...Kaṇṭhasya khē vivṛtē samvṛtē vā āpadyatē
śvāsatām nādatām vā. (R. V. P. 13, 1.)

Guhā trīṇi nihitā nēṅgayanti
Turiyam vācō manuṣyā vadanti ||

(M. B. i. 3. 24 and 25.)

Hence the three sūtras, Tol. E. 83, 102 and 103 clearly show that Tolkāppiyāṇār had studied Sanskrit Śikṣā, Prātiśākhya and grammar, and had adopted in his work those points which would suit Tamil Language.

1.2. *Classification*:—Speech-sounds are first classified into primary and secondary in almost all the treatises on Tamil Grammar. They are respectively called *mutal-eluttū*¹ and *cārpeḷuttū*² by Naṇṇūlār and his successors. The name *cārpeḷuttū* may have been suggested to them by the expression '*cārntu-varaṇ maraṇ*' in the first sūtra in *Eluttatikāram* of Tolkāppiyam.

1.21. *Primary sounds* : 1.211. *Definition*:—Primary sounds are those which have only one definite place of production in vocal organs for each of them. That this is the idea of Tolkāppiyāṇār is inferred from his statement that secondary sounds are found only in the company of primary sounds and cannot have a separate place of production.³

1.212. *Number of primary sounds*:—The primary sounds are, in the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār, thirty⁴ in number consisting of 12 vowels⁵ and 18 consonants⁶. The author of *Viracōḷiyam* mentions *āylam* between vowels and consonants and hence

1. *Uyiru m-uṭampum-ā muppatu mutalē. (Na. 59.)*
2. *Uyirmey āylam uyiralaṭu oṟṟalaṭu*
A : kiya iu aiau ma : kāṇ
Taṇi-nilai pattuñ cārpeḷut t-ākum. (Na. 60.)
Moli-k-kā raṇam-ā nāta-kā riya-v-oli
Eluttatu mutal-cār peṇa-v-iru vakaittē. (I. V. 3.)
3. *Cārntu vari ṇ-allatu tamakkiyal pila-v-ēṇa-*
Tērntu-veli-p paṭutta v-ēṇai mūṇrun
Tattañ cārpiṟ piṟappoṭu civaṇi
Oṭta kūṭciyir rammiyal p-iyalum. (Tol. E. 101.)
4. *Elutteṇa-p-paṭuṇa*
Akara-mutal
Ṇakara v-iṟuvāy muppa : teṇpa
Cārntu-varaṇ maraṇ mūṇralaṇ kaṭaiyē. (ibid. 1.)
5. *Aukāra v-iṟuvāy-p*
Paṇṇi r-eluttu m-uyir-eṇa molipa. (ibid. 8.)
6. *Ṇakara v-iṟuvāy-p*
Patiṇeṇ ṇ-eluttu mey-y-eṇa molipa. (ibid. 9.)

according to him the primary sounds seem to be thirty-one.¹ The author of Nēminātam follows him in this point.² But all the other grammarians repeat the opinion of Tolkāppiyānār.

It seems to me that the authors of Viracōliyam and Nēminātam have gone wrong in having included āytam among primary sounds, since its pronunciation varies according to the consonant that succeeds it. This point will be dealt with at greater length in 1.55.

1.213. *Classification of primary sounds*:—Primary sounds are classified into vowels and consonants, of which the vowels are produced by opening the mouth, which is seen from the expression 'aṅkūntū iyalum' in Tol. E. 85 and *avarṇōraṇṇa* in Tol. E. 86, etc. The vowels and the consonants will be dealt with in detail after secondary sounds are defined and numbered (i.e.) in 1.3 and 1.4.

1.22. *Secondary sounds*: 1.221. *Definition*:—Secondary sounds are those which depend for their pronunciation upon the preceding or succeeding consonants. This is evident from Tolkāppiyānār's statement 'cārntū varin allatū tamakkū iyalpila' in Tol. E. 101.

But Naṇṇūlār does not seem to have understood the full significance of this definition of Tolkāppiyānār. He seems to have mistaken *kurriyal-ikaram* and *kurriyal-ukaram* for 'i' and 'u' shortened to half a mātrā each. According to Tolkāppiyānār the places of production of *kurriyalikaram* and *kurriyal-ukaram* are not always the same as those for 'i' and 'u', but change according to the preceding consonant.

Mayilainātar says that *cārpeluttū* is that which is other than *mutal-elettū* and which is used along with another sound.³ An old commentator on Naṇṇūl says that *cārpeluttū* is one which has

1. *Arinta-v-eluttam-muṇ paṇṇiraṇṇāvi-ka l-āṇa-kam-muṇ*
Piṇanta-patiṇettu meṇ-naṭu-v-āytam peyarttiṭai-y-ām
Murintāṇa-yam-muta l-āru naṇṇa namaṇa-v-eṇṇu
Cerintāṇa-melliṇaṇ ceppūta-valliṇaṇ tēmolīyē. (V. C. 1.)
2. *Āvi y-akara-muta l-āṇiraṇṇā-āytam-iṭai*
Mēvuṇ kakara-mutaṇ meṇkal-ā—mūvārūṇ
Kaṇṇu muraimaiyār kūṭṭiya-muṇ pattonṇu
Naṇṇumutal vaiṇṇāku nāṇkū. (N. N. E. 1.)
3. *Mutaleluttū-taṇmai avarṇik-iṇmaiyaṇum, cārppitṭōruttal-*
āṇum ippattum cār pākavē kollavēṇṇum-eṇṇatū. (Na. 59. M.)

undergone modification by one part of it combining with another part or by being preceded or succeeded by another sound.¹

The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Mayilainātar.

Caṅkaranamaccivāyar says that *cārpeluttū* is that which is used only in combination as vowel-consonant, which comes in company of *mutaleluttū* as *āytam* or *mutaleluttū* modified as the rest. He adds that it may also be defined as a sound found only in words.²

Civaṇṇamuṇivar, on the other hand, agrees with Tolkāppiyānār and elaborately criticises in his Tolkāppiyamutarcūttiravirutti, the definition given by the commentators of Naṇṇūl and the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam.

1.222. *Number of secondary sounds*:—The secondary sounds are, in the opinion of Tolkāppiyānār, three in number consisting of *kurriyal-ikaram* (roughly translated as shortened 'i'), *kurriyal-ukaram* (roughly translated as shortened 'u'), and *āytam*³, and each of them has half a mātrā for its quantity.⁴ Iḷampūraṇar mentions under Tol. E. 1, that they are 226 in number consisting of *kurriyal-ikaram*, *kurriyal-ukaram* and *āytam*, 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai* and 216 vowel-consonants. According to the author of Viracōliyam they are 11 in number consisting of 7 *aḷapeṭai* (one corresponding to each of 7 long vowels), *kurriyal-ikaram*, *kurriyal-ukaram*, shortened 'ai' and shortened 'au'.⁵

1. *Tammoṭu tām cārntum, iṭam cārntum, paṇṇukkōṭṭū cārntum, vikārattāl varutaliṇ.* (Na. p. 40- f.n.)

2. *Uyirmey uyirum meyyum kūṭṭipṇattalāṇum, āytam . . .*
avarṇiṇ-iṭaiyē cārntuvarutalāṇum eṇṇaiya tattamutaleluttū-iripū
vikārattāl pṇattalāṇum cārpeḷuttūyīṇavūka-kkoḷka . . .
orumōiyai-c-cārntu varutalē tamakkilakka-ṇamūkavūṭaimaiyir
cārpeḷuttūyīṇa-v-eṇṇakkōṭṭalūm-ām-eṇka.

(Na. 60. C.)

3. *Avaitām,*
Kurriya l-ikaram kurriya l-ukaram
Āytam-eṇṇa
Mupṇṇu pulṇiyu m-eluttō r-aṇṇa. (Tol. E. 2.)
4. *Avviya-ṇilaiyu m-eṇṇai mūṇṇē.* (ibid. 12.)
5. *Iṇuti-mey-nāṇkiya v-irāṇil-aintu kuṇṇēṇil-eḷ*
Peṇuvaiyāṇēṇu nirmai-y-aḷapū piṇainta-varakkam
Aṇuvāṇu-valloṇṇu melloṇ ṇum-ām-vāṇmai mēl-ukaram
Uṇvatu-naiyūm toṇarmōli-p-piṇṇu netiṇ-piṇṇumē. (V. C. 2.)
Akaram-vakaratti ṇōṭṭiyaint-avūm yakarattiṇōṭṭū

The author of Nēminātam mentions both in his text and commentary 244 secondary sounds consisting of 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, *kurṛiyal-ikaram*, *kurṛiyal-ukaram*, shortened 'ai', shortened 'au' 216 vowel-consonants (*ka, kā, ki*, etc.), 6 shortened voiceless consonants, 6 nasals, and the shortened 'y', 'l', 'v', 'ḷ' and ḷ .¹

Nanṇūlār mentions 369 secondary sounds consisting of 216 vowel-consonants, 8 *murṛāytam*, 21 *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, 42 *orṛaḷapeṭai*, 37 *kurṛiyal-ikaram*, 36 *kurṛiyal-ukaram*, 3 shortened 'ai' 1 shortened 'au', 3 shortened 'm' and 2 shortened *āytam*.² He explains them thus :—Since there are 12 vowels and 18 consonants, the number of vowel-consonants is $18 \times 12 = 216$.³ Since there are 6 voiceless consonants which can follow *āytam*, since *āytam* is substituted in sandhi for consonants as in *av + kaṭiya = aṣkaṭiya* and since it is inserted in certain words for the

sake of metre as in *ceyvaṣṭū* (for *ceyvatū*), the number of *murṛāytam* is $6 + 2 = 8$.¹ Since *aḷapeṭai* can come at the beginning, the middle and the end of words and since there are seven long vowels, the number of *uyir-aḷapeṭai* is $7 \times 3 = 21$.²

(To be continued.)

Akaram-iyaintaiya tūkum ā ē ḍ viṇṇā-v-antam-ām
Ekara-okara-mey yiṭ-puḷḷi-mēvum a-i-u-c-cuṭṭām
Ikarai-kuruki varuṇ-kurṛukaram-piṇ ya-v-variṇē. (ibid. 3.)
Kurṛeluttuṇṇuṇ r-arai-yākum-ai-au v-iraṇṇuṇēṭil
Orṛeluttāytam i-u-v-arai-mūṇṇaḷa p-ḍṇukuyirmey
Marṛeluttāṇṇuyir māttirai-y-ē-peṇu maṇṇukiṇṇa
Orṛeluttāṇṇuṇ n-uyir-variṇ-ēru m-ōḷi-y-ilaiyē. (ibid. 5.)

1. *Ḍṇukuyirka l-orriṇṇē l-ēri y-uyirmey-y-āy*
Āṇkiru nūṇṇorupāt tārākum—pāṇkuṭaiya
Valloṇṇu melloṇṇu varkka m-aḷapeṭaikaḷ
Colloṇṇi nūṭṭa-t takum. (N. N. E. 3.)
Toṭarṇēṭiṭ kīl-vāṇmai mēl-ukaram ya-p-piṇ
Paṭaiya varum-ikar m-aṇṇi—maṭa-nallāy
Mummai-y-iṭat t-ai-y-au-v-uṇ kuṇṇumunṇu nōṇṇuṇṇēl
Cemmai-y-uyi r-ēruṇ cēṇṇu. (ibid. 4.)
2. *Uyirmey y-irattū-nūṇ ṇēṭṭuṇya r-āytam*
Ḍṇṇuyi r-aḷapeḷu mūṇṇor r-aḷapeṭai
Āṇē la .: ku m-immuṇ paṇṇēl
Ukara m-āṇṇu r-aikāṇ mūṇṇē
Aukā n-ōṇṇē ma .: kāṇ mūṇṇē
Āyta m-iraṇṇōṭu cārpeḷut t-uṇ-viri
Oṇṇōḷi mūṇṇuṇ ṇēḷupā n-ēṇpa. (Na. 61.)
3. *Puḷḷi-viṭ tav-v-ōṭu muṇ-ṇ-uru v-āki-y-um*
Ḍṇai y-uyir ḍ ṭuruvu tirintum
Uyir-aḷa vāy-ataṇ vaṭivolṇṇi tiruvayin
Peṇarōṭu m-orru-muṇ n-āy-varu m-uyirmey. (ibid. 89.)

1. *Kuriyataṇ muṇṇa r-āyta-puḷḷi*
Uyiroṭu puṇarntaval lāṇṇu micaitṭē. (ibid. 90.)
2. *Icāi-keṭiṇ mōḷi-muta l-iṭai-kaṭai nīlai-ṇēṭil*
Aḷapeḷu m-avarṇavar r-iṇa-k-kuril kurī-y-ē. (ibid. 91.)

THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

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(Continued from page 124 of Vol. V part II.)

III

Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's Chronicle of the Sacred Sports of Madurai would be dismissed by the sober historian as having very little value as raw material for history were it not that the work had been designed, obviously, to exalt the fane at Madurai above all others dedicated to the lord Śiva by making its divine denizen the hero of numerous miracles, to make Madurai the scene of those miracles and to associate the kings of Madurai as closely as possible with the miracles wrought by the Lord,— a three-fold purpose which was inspired by the circumstances that the city was the capital of the Madurai country, that the country was ruled over by the Pāṇḍyas and that the principal temple of Madurai is esteemed among the holiest of south India. It is the chronicler's attempt to associate the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai with these legends that invests his work with some interest to the historian and compels him to look for some strands of history, however fine and difficult of perception, in the wearisome web of the chronicler's fancy.

The chronicle contains very little material which is useful to the historian: it does not even proceed on a chronological basis. It mentions only eight sovereigns of the Pāṇḍya line, Malayadhvaja,¹ Taṭātakā,² Ugra,³ Datta,⁴ Vira,⁵ Mūrti,⁶ Varaguṇa⁷ and Varaguṇa's son,⁸ and of these the first three are clearly mythical, the fourth and the fifth are shadowy, and the last is not even mentioned by name. Two places in the

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| 1. Legend 3 | 2. Legend 4 |
| 3. Legend 10 | 4. Legend 36 |
| 5. Legend 39, and probably Legends 43, 44 also. | |
| 6. Legend 51 | 7. Legend 48 8. Legend 49 |

Pāṇḍya country are specially mentioned, Old Madurai¹ and Maṇavūr,² but very little is said about them. One of the legends discovers a miraculous reason for the river Vaihai flowing along the outskirts of the city.³ Other legends have been fabricated for furnishing plausible explanations of such place-names as Madurai,⁴ Nāṇ-māḍak-Kūḍal,⁵ Ālavāy,⁶ North Ālavāy,⁷ the Serpent, the Cow and the Bull Mounts,⁸ the Boar Mount⁹ and the Elephant Mount,¹⁰ Uttara-kōśa-maṅgai,¹¹ Kaṭṭu-Nallūr-irum-śīrai and Taṇic-Śayam¹²: the chronicler turns etymologist but instead of seeking for explanations of the names in linguistic facts he weaves frivolous romance round and round the names. The chronicler's lack of inventiveness is responsible for the Lord figuring in miracles which are tediously monotonous in *motif*: the Lord gives a board to the Academicians¹³ and another to Bhadra¹⁴: He gives a purse to Darumi,¹⁵ an unfailing purse to a Pāṇḍya¹⁶ and an unfailing bag to another devotee¹⁷: Māṇikya-vācaka is made to squander his king's monies¹⁸ and a chieftain commissioned by his king to raise a force of mercenaries is made to do likewise¹⁹: the legends in which the Lord shows His grace to some orphan pups,²⁰ to a black-bird²¹ and to a heron²² are quite similar in conception: in as many as three legends the prime *motif* is metamorphosis²³: if transfiguration has a part to play in only one legend,²⁴ the *motif* of a curse and transformation in consequence is found in as many as three.²⁵

Many of the miracles narrated in this chronicle fall into groups or 'cycles'. Two miracles are intended to establish the surpassing holiness of the fane of Madurai by associating Indra and his elephant with it.²⁶ In nine the principal figure is practically king Sundara who is identified with Lord Sundara of the sacred temple of Madurai.²⁷ The minor figures in these miracles are a Pāṇḍya king, Malayadhvaja,²⁸ and his daughter, Taṭātakā,

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| 1. Legend 21 | 2. Legend 53 | 3. Legend 7 |
| 4. Legend 36 | 5. Legend 12 | 6. Legend 47 |
| 7. Legend 20 | 8. Legend 36 | 9. Legend 59 |
| 10. Legend 26 | 11. Legend 22 | 12. Legend 44 |
| 13. Legend 15 | 14. Legend 56 | 15. Legend 16 |
| 16. Legend 40 | 17. Legend 50 | 18. Legends 27-30 |
| 19. Legend 39 | 20. Legend 59 | 21. Legend 60 |
| 22. Legend 63 | 23. Legends 28, 29, 31 | |
| 24. Legend 37 | 25. Legends 19, 22, 58 | 26. Legends 1, 2 |
| 27. Legends 3-11 | 28. Legends 3, 9 | |

who becomes king Sundara's consort,¹ and Ugra, the son of king Sundara by this Pāṇḍya princess. Ugra becomes the hero of another miracle² and has a subsidiary place in two others.³ In two miracles the hero is an adept,— but he is none other than the Lord Sundara.⁴ A cycle of seven legends⁵ clusters round an Academy at Madurai: in these the Lord himself occupies the centre of the stage and the minor characters are Agastya,⁶ Nak-Kiraṇ,⁷ Kabilāṇ,⁸ Paraṇar,⁹ Rudra-Janman,¹⁰ Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ¹¹ and Darumi.¹² Perhaps, an eighth legend also relates to the Academy, for Nak-Kiraṇ seems to figure in it prominently.¹³ Two cycles of legends relate to two great hymnalists of Tamil Śaivism,— Māṇikya-vācaka¹⁴ and Jñāna-sambandha.¹⁵ We have two more cycles,— one of four miracles relating to Bhadra a bard,¹⁶ and another of two miracles relating to the children of a boar.¹⁷

Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi has been quite disdainful of chronological details. With reference to most of the miracles he vouchsafes to us nothing more definite than that they occurred 'once upon a time': this phrase is as common, indeed, in his chronicle as it is in children's tales. Nor does he marshal the miracles in chronological order: he narrates them as they come to him: he tumbles them out pell mell. Two instances should be enough: the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle¹⁸ is interposed between two series of miracles each of which happened 'once upon a time':¹⁹ two of the miracles of the cycle of Jñāna-sambandha are related in the middle of the work²⁰ and the third miracle is relegated almost to the end.²¹ Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi was not a chronicler of events but a vendor of miracles: to the miracle-monger the vagueness of undetermined antiquity has naturally a greater fascination than the precision of dated history.

Still, scattered about in these legends, we have occasional hints about the periods to which some of the miracles could be

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| 1. Legends 3, 4 | 2. Legend 21 | 3. Legends 10, 11 |
| 4. Legends 13, 14 | 5. Legends 15-21 | 6. Legend 18 |
| 7. Legends 15-19 | 8. Legends 15, 19, 20 | |
| 9. Legends 15, 19 | 10. Legend 19; See also Legend 22 | |
| 11. Legend 20 | 12. Legend 16 | 13. Legend 44 |
| 14. Legends 27-30 | 15. Legends 37, 38, 62 | |
| 16. Legends 54-7 | 17. Legends 58-9 | |
| 18. Legends 27-30 | 19. Legends 23-6 and Legends 31-6 | |
| 20. Legends 37-8 | 21. Legend 62 | |

roughly assigned. The hints are few and vague, and when closely scanned they prove less useful than they appear at first sight. Such as they are, they have to be accepted and turned by the historian to such purpose as he can.

The chronicle makes mention of various potentates and peoples: kings like the Cōla,¹ the Cēra,² the Cēdi-rāya³ and the Kāḍu-veṭṭi,⁴ and peoples like the Karṇāṭas,⁵ the hunters,⁶ the Śramaṇas,⁷ the Yavanas⁸ and the Turks.⁹ None of them, however, is mentioned with that fulness which is necessary for the historian: it is impossible, on the strength of these references, to determine the sequence of the miracles.

The chronicler tells us, for instance, that, in the reigns of four different Pāṇḍyas, the Cōla kings invaded the Pāṇḍya country and advanced upon the capital city of Madurai, and that on each occasion the Lord Sundara played a miracle and saved the city from falling into Cōla hands.¹⁰ The only historical event of antiquity which could be suggested as affording a basis for these legends is the Battle of Kūḍal (Madurai) of which Nak-Kiraṇ, the poet of the Śaṅgam collections, makes mention in one of his poems: Palaiyaṇ-Māraṇ defeated Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavaṇ who had encamped with a large army just outside the walls of Kūḍal.¹¹ But we can now discover no circumstance which would enable us to decide whether Palaiyaṇ-Māraṇ and

1. Legends 26, 43, 44 (54), 46, 48, 49, 54 (3)
2. Legends 44, 55
3. Legends 39, 49
4. Legend 24
5. Legends 49, 51
6. Legend 49
7. Legends 26, 36, 37, 38, 51
8. Legend 49
9. Legend 39 (26)
10. Legends 43, 46, 48, 49
11. நெடுந்தே

ரிழையணி யானைப் பழையன் மாறன்
மாடமலி மறுகிற் கூட லாங்கண்
வெள்ளத் தானையொடு வேறுபுலத் திறுத்த
கிள்ளி வளவ னல்லமர் சாஅய்க்
கடும்பரிப் புரவியொடு களிறு பல வவ்வி
யேதின் மன்னநூர் கொளத்
கோதை மார்ப னுவகையிற் பெரிதே.

Aha-Nāṇūru, 346 : 18-25.

Other interpretations of these lines are possible but not probable.

his victory at the Battle of Kūḍal are referred to in any of the four legends.¹

At the very start we may decide, for the present purpose, to leave wholly of account the numerous legends which contain no clue for determining their place in a chronological scheme and do not even stand related to some other legend the place of which atleast in a system of chronology is beyond cavil. Such legends can be shoved in and out as suits the fancy of the chronicler: they cannot help us to fix either their own sequence or the relative positions of the legends between which they are thrust in.²

The first of the chronological hints is to be found early in the chronicle: Śiva is said to have played these sports at the rate of sixteen in a yuga.³ The yugas being four and the Sports being sixty-four, the arithmetic of the chronicler is flawless, but we have yet to verify if the Lord was so regular in playing at the game of miracles as the arithmetic of the chronicler would require. The statement, however, seems clearly to imply that the sixty-four miracles were worked out in four successive yugas, that is, within the space of a Mahā-yuga.

The scene of all the Sports of the Lord having been Madurai, it follows that the discovery of the *liṅga* of the Lord at Madurai and the raising of a temple over it⁴ and the worshipping of the *liṅga* by Indra's elephant⁵ must have been the very earliest of them.

The next legend, in the chronicle, is about the birth of a princess to a Pāṇḍya king, Malayadhvaja,⁶—a princess who in

1. There are those who would find only one Nak-Kīrar among the personalities of the Śāṅgam age and would make him the commentator on Irāiyanār's *Ahaṇ-Poruḷ*: they assume also,—as is done by others as well,—that he was the author of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*. The contemporary Pāṇḍya king of this Nak-Kīrar would then be the Neḍu-Māraṇ of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*. But it is surprising that though this Neḍu-Māraṇ is credited in that poem with numerous victories, the Battle of Kūḍal does not figure among them. It must follow that the Nak-Kīrar who eulogised the Pāṇḍya of the Battle of Kūḍal is different from the Nak-Kīrar of the days of Neḍu-Māraṇ.

2. The Legends of this class are Nos. 12-4, 23-5, 31-6, 40-2, 45, 50, 58-9, 60, 63.

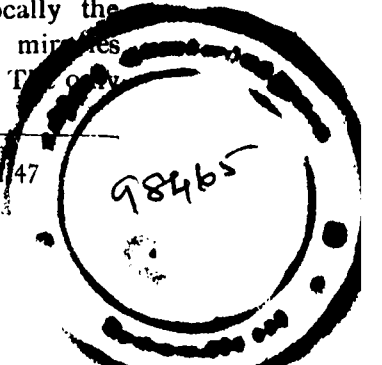
3. In the section on 'The Glory of the City'.

4. Legend 1 5. Legend 2 6. Legend 3

due time became the consort of the Lord,—but apart from the fact that numerous kings are said to have preceded that king there is no hint as to the period in which he flourished. We cannot therefore, presume that chronologically this legend followed immediately after the first two miracles.

To the difficulties which result from the absence of any chronological indications whatsoever are added the difficulties which flow from the indefiniteness of such chronological hints as are given and the further difficulties resulting from the abandonment of the chronological scheme suggested early in the chronicle that the miracles were worked out at the rate of sixteen in a yuga. A legend which appears late in the chronicle relates to the discovery of the temple of Madurai by a human being and the determination of the bounds of the city, but these events are said to have taken place 'once upon a time'.¹ We are therefore left to depend merely on our own estimate of the probabilities. The discovery of the temple having first been made by Indra and then by his elephant the next step obviously is its discovery by men and the marking out of the city-limits:² this legend may therefore be taken to be the third in chronological sequence. From this miracle it must have been a long way indeed to the miracle of the re-determination of the ancient limits of the city:³ but we find it placed at the dawn of a new age after the close of a Brahma-kalpa. Obviously, the earlier legend must stand assigned to atleast the Brahma-kalpa which had just then come to a close. These miracles must therefore have taken place in different Brahma-kalpas and any chronological scheme for the miracles must therefore be framed as much in terms of Brahma-kalpas as in terms of mere yugas. This is not a solitary instance of the miracles being dated expressly in terms of kalpas: the legend of the poets Kāri and Nāri is assigned to an indefinite time in an indefinite kalpa⁴ and the legend of the Lord teaching the Vedas to the Ṛṣis is placed at the beginning of the first of the four yugas of the fifth Mahā-yuga of this Brahma-kalpa.⁵ In these legends the chronicler negatives unequivocally the suggestion already referred to,—that all the sixty-four miracles were performed within the limits of one Mahā-yuga. The only

1. Legend 53 (1) 2. Legend 53 3. Legend 47
4. Legend 52 5. Legend 64



way of reconciling these different statements is to assume that in a Mahā-yuga or cycle of four yugas the Lord works out the full tale of the sixty-four miracles, and that as Mahā-yuga succeeds to Mahā-yuga the Lord patiently repeats over and over again the same sixty-four miracles. However much these assumptions might accord with or be necessitated by the tenets of certain theological schools, they have no value whatsoever to the historian. Nor do the assumptions help us to understand why the chronicler should speak of different kalpas when all the miracles could be boxed up into one Mahā-yuga. Perhaps the stanza in which the miracles are sought to be compressed into the limits of a cycle of four yugas is after all an interpolation, but, even so, the task of the chronologist does not become easier, for he has then to go roaming over numerous kalpas in hopes of discovering clues which would help to settle the sequence of the miracles. We are thus driven again to rely on our sense of probabilities for determining the sequence.

The discovery of the temple and the fixing of the city-limits were perhaps followed immediately by the Lord assuming the sovereignty of Madurai as king Sundara: the cycle of miracles connected with king Sundara¹ would then have to be placed next after the miracle which, we have already seen, must have been the third.

Immediately after these must be placed the miracle of the quelling of the sea, for it happened in the days of Ugra-Pāṇḍya, the son of king Sundara.²

Two other miracles,—the defeat of Indra³ and the overthrow of Mount Mēru,⁴—must, *prima facie*, be assigned to this same period, the chronicler not having suggested that some one other than Ugra-Pāṇḍya was the Lord's chosen instrument in working out these miracles.⁵ When, however, the chronicler came to the narration of the two legends, he failed to link up the former with Ugra⁶ and he made it clear that the latter was worked in the days of a descendant of Ugra.⁷ We are not in a position to determine the reasons which induced the chronicler to dissociate the miracles from Ugra: perhaps, the chronicler took it that the three gifts of the Lord

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| 1. Legends 3-11 | 2. Legend 21 | 3. Legend 44 |
| 4. Legend 61 | 5. Legend 11 | 6. Legend 44 |
| 7. Legend 61 (1) | | |

were gifts to Ugra's dynasty and not to Ugra alone and that they were not to be exhausted by Ugra. This is not the only difficulty in fixing the chronological position of these two miracles. In the account of the former miracle we have an incident,—that of Nak-Kīraṇ composing the *Tiru-Mūruhu-Ārrup-paḍai*,¹—which suggests that the legend may have to be associated with the cycle of tales about the Academy and classed chronologically with them, but as the incident is not found narrated in some of the manuscripts the implied association looks improbable. Further, we have a stanza in this canto which imputes this miracle to the reign of a Vīra-Māraṇ (that is, 'Hero-Pāṇḍya'²), but it is open to considerable doubt whether the word *Vīra* is used here as a proper name or as a mere adjective: if it is a proper name, the miracle cannot be attributed to the period of Ugra-Pāṇḍya in the face of a specific ascription to Vīra-Māraṇ. In connection with another legend too we have a similar doubt as to whether it could be attributed to Vīra-Pāṇḍya,³ but in a third legend the poet has made it absolutely clear that he refers to a king who bore the name Vīra-Māraṇ.⁴ We are thus forced to determine the sequence of the miracles concerning the Academies and those which could be referred to the days of Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

The legend of the quelling of the sea⁵ closes with two interesting stanzas,—the penultimate one chronicling how after the victory the Lord had a Hall built for the Academy and how he remained in it among the hallelujahs of the poets, and the last stanza stating that the first two Academies were housed in that Hall and that the 'future' Academy would be on the banks of the Gaṅgā—traditionally equated to the Golden Lily Tank in the temple of Madurai. Except for this solitary reference to three Academies, nowhere else in the chronicle do we find the faintest suggestion of more than one Academy: the last stanza speaking of the 'future' Academy becomes very much suspect in consequence. We have already seen that the legend of the victory over Indra⁶ contains an account, according to some manuscripts, of how Nak-Kīraṇ came to compose his *Tiru-Mūruhu-Ārrup-paḍai*. The chronological position of this

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| 1. Legend 44 | 2. Legend 44 (42) |
| 3. Legend 39 (2) | 4. Legend 43 (5) |
| 5. Legend 21 | 6. Legend 44 |
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miracle will be determined if only we can arrive at correct findings on two questions of fact,— whether the stanza about the three Academies and the stanzas about the composition of the *Tiru-Muruhu-Ārrup-paḍai* are genuine,— that is, whether the chronicler had three Academies in mind and whether Nak-Kīraṇ is to be assigned to the period of the miracle of Indra's defeat.

If we admit the genuineness of all these stanzas, we admit three Academies but we do not know to which of them Nak-Kīraṇ belonged: for aught we can gather from this chronicle he might have belonged to any one of the three. If we decide against the genuineness of all the stanzas, we have evidence of only one Academy, but that Academy does not stand related chronologically either to the legend of Indra's defeat or to the tale of the composition of Nak-Kīraṇ's hymn on Muruhaṇ. To reject the stanza relating to the three Academies, while accepting the stanzas about the *Tiru-Muruhu-Ārrup-paḍai*, would lead to the miracle of the victory over Indra being linked up with the other legends about the Academy and possibly also with the legend of the quelling of the sea. To accept the former and reject the latter would lead to the result that while three Academies are admitted it is impossible to show that either Nak-Kīraṇ's poetic effort or Indra's defeat is chronologically related to any of the three Academies.

It may perhaps be worth pointing out at this stage that none of these four possibilities squares with the popular beliefs now current about the Tamil Academies, based as they are largely on the Preface to the Comment on Iṟaiyaṇār's *Ahaṇ-Poruḷ*. The possibility which takes us nearest to the popular beliefs is the first,— namely, that all the stanzas are genuine. But, even so, there is no reason to allot Nak-Kīraṇ to the last of the Academies and there is not even a distant allusion in the Comment on Iṟaiyaṇār's *Ahaṇ-Poruḷ* to the story of the composition of the *Tiru-Muruhu-Ārrup-paḍai*.

Apart from arguments based on the account of the Academies in Iṟaiyaṇār's *Ahaṇ-Poruḷ*, it must be noted that the stanza mentioning the three Academies runs counter to the whole tenor of the chronicle: nowhere else does the chronicle contemplate more than one Academy. The story of Nak-Kīraṇ composing the *Tiru-Muruhu-Ārrup-paḍai* looks wholly out of place in the legend in which it is found embedded in some of the manuscripts: no connection can be traced between this story and the

main legend. The circumstance that the stanzas recounting the incident are not to be found in some of the manuscripts is not devoid of significance. Even more significant is the fact that none of the later chronicles,— not even that of Param-jyōti,— mentions the incident. These considerations compel us to arrive at a finding against the genuineness of the stanzas in question. They are obviously interpolations by a much later hand. We have to conclude that the chronicler had only one Academy in mind, that he did not know of three Academies and that he said nothing about Nak-Kīraṇ having written the *Tiru-Muruhu-Ārrup-paḍai* or about the circumstances surrounding its composition.

It follows therefore that from the account of the legend of the sea¹ must be omitted the last stanza foreshadowing the Academy of the 'future' and that from the account of the legend of the victory over Indra² must be excised all reference to Nak-Kīraṇ and his hymn. Once the interpolations are removed, it becomes patent that the chronicler has let fall no hint, however faint, as to the relative chronological positions of the two miracles.

Two circumstances, however, cannot be ignored. Indra's defeat has to stand removed by some distance of time from the overthrow of Mount Mēru,³ a miracle which has been specifically assigned by the chronicler to the days of a descendant of Ugra.⁴ It is impossible to find for the former miracle a place lower down, as will be evident from the discussion that follows. The limits being thus fixed, we cannot do better than place Indra's defeat⁵ immediately after the quelling of the sea.⁶

If we assumed that in the legend of the victory over Indra⁷ the chronicler used the word *Vira* as a noun and not as an adjective, we shall have to associate with it the two other legends allotted to the reign of a Vira-Pāṇḍya,— namely, the legend of the general who misapplied military funds to building temples⁸ and the legend of the Lord doling out water to soldiers engaged in a fierce battle.⁹ But the assumption being unwarranted, the sequence is not established.

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| 1. Legend 21 | 2. Legend 44 | 3. Legend 61 |
| 4. Stanza 1 | 5. Legend 44 | 6. Legend 21 |
| 7. Legend 44 | 8. Legend 39 | 9. Legend 43 |

We may now ask ourselves what the position is of the miracles dated in the different kalpas. The legend of the poets Kāri and Nāri¹ may be placed among the earlier of them, and the miracle of the redetermination of the bounds of Madurai may come next as it is placed at the dawn of a new kalpa.² The miracle of the ṛṣis being taught the Vedas³ is located early in the kalpa now current; so, just immediately before it we may place the legend of the overthrow of Mount Mēru;⁴ this arrangement removes the miracle sufficiently from the days of Ugra-Pāṇḍya.

The account of the quelling of the sea⁵ would seem to contain another chronological hint: in the penultimate stanza we are told that Ugra built a Hall for the Academy. In the first legend⁶ of the Academy-cycle we learn that the Academicians desired to be seated in due order in the Hall of the Academy and that when they obtained the board which could sense poetry they laid it in the middle of the Hall. The miracles of this cycle must therefore be later than the miracle on the conclusion of which the Hall of the Academy was built. How much later the miracles must be cannot now be easily determined: that Ugra built a Hall for an Academy cannot lead us to the inference that Nak-Kiraṇ and his contemporaries belonged to his age. In one of the legends of the Academy-cycle,—that of Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ,⁷—the Lord is said to have deserted His temple and betaken Himself to a place north of it which came to be called North Ālavāy: it follows then that the temple which the Lord temporarily deserted must have already been known as Ālavāy. The name Ālavāy, as has been already noticed, had come to be applied to Lord Sundara's permanent habitat, in the legend of a serpent helping a Pāṇḍya to rediscover the limits of Madurai.⁸ We have therefore to assign the legends of the cycle of the Academy,⁹ or, at any rate, the legend of Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ,¹⁰ to a period later than the one in which the name Ālavāy arises.¹¹

One of the picturesque figures of the Academy is Rudra-Janman, and the circumstances which led to his birth are set out

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| 1. Legend 52 | 2. Legend 47 | 3. Legend 64 |
| 4. Legend 61 | 5. Legend 21 | 6. Legend 15 |
| 7. Legend 20 | 8. Legend 47 | 9. Legends 15-20 |
| 10. Legend 20 | 11. Legend 47 | |

in a legend.¹ This legend, foreshadowing as it does the advent of Rudra-Janman, must be earlier than the legends dealing with the Academy: and as we know of no miracle which could be placed earlier in this kalpa we may rank this legend next in order of time to the legend of the ṛṣis being taught the Vedas.²

In the first of the legends³ of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle, the Hall of the Academy is mentioned among the principal buildings of Madurai: the legends of this cycle must therefore be dated later than those of the Academy.⁴

That some other miracles, however, came between the two cycles seems to be evident.

Another of the interesting personalities sketched in the Chronicle is Jñāna-sambandha.⁵ The chronicler makes him out to have been a contemporary of Vāgīśa or Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu,⁶ who has referred, in one of his numerous hymns,⁷ to the legend of the Lord securing a purse of gold for Darumi.⁸ This legend, and, therefore, the other legends with which it forms a cycle,—the cycle of the Academy,⁹—must be earlier than Jñāna-sambandha. But in the last of the Māṇikya-vācaka legends¹⁰ the chronicler makes the Pāṇḍya king who was Māṇikya-vācaka's master allude to a miracle performed by Śiva for the saint Śirutoṇḍar.¹¹ This saint is said to be referred to by Jñāna-sambandha¹² in one of his hymns as his contemporary.¹³ The legends of the Jñāna-sambandha cycle must therefore be placed before those of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle.¹⁴

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| 1. Legend 22 | 2. Legend 64 | 3. Legend 27 |
| 4. Legends 15-20 | 5. Legends 37, 38, 62 | |
| 6. Legend 37 (4, 9, 12) | | |
| 7. நன் பாட்டுப் புலவனாய்ச் சங்க மேறி
நற் கனகக் கிழி தருமிக் கருளிநோன் காண்.
Hymn புரிந்தமார் on Tirup-Puttūr. | | |
| 8. Legend 16 | 9. Legends 15-20 | |
| 10. Legend 30 | 11. Stanza 52 | |
| 12. செங்காட்டங் குடிமேய சிறுத்தொண்டன் பணிசெய்ய
செந்தண் பூம்புனல் பரந்த செங்காட்டாங்குடி மேய
வெந்த நீறணிமார்பன் சிறுத்தொண்டனவன் வேண்ட
வந்தண் பூங்கலிக்காழி யடிகளையே பாவஞ்
சந்தங்கொள் சம்பந்தன் றமிழுண்டிப்போர் தக்கோரே.
Hymn பைங்கோட்டு on Tiruc-Sem-Kāṭṭam-guḍi. | | |
| 13. Legends 37, 38, 62 | 14. Legends 27-30 | |

The chronicler assigns two of the miracles to the kali yuga—that of a Cōḷa king being consigned to a watery grave¹ and that of Varaguṇa being given a peep into the world of Śiva.² They may therefore be ranked among the latest of the Sports. Another of the legends being dated in the reign of Varaguṇa's son,³ it may be placed next in chronological sequence.

In working out this sequence we have confined ourselves to a consideration of the materials found in the Chronicle.⁴ The order of a few more of the legends might be determined if we took note of some facts not contained between the two covers of the Chronicle,— facts of history the chronology of which is fairly well settled,— but for our present purpose, it is unnecessary to embark on that enquiry. We have succeeded in bringing no more than thirty-five out of the sixty-four legends into this chronological sequence and there can be no concealing the fact that our deductions are based more on a consideration of probabilities than of fully verified facts.⁵

1. Legend 46 (32) 2. Legend 48 3. Legend 49

4. Except where mention is made of Darumi being referred to by Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu in one of his hymns. The chronicler refers in the legends of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle to the various hymns composed by Māṇikya-vācaka. It is not therefore inappropriate to settle the sequence of one of the legends by reference to the hymn of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu.

5. When revising the proofs I notice that I could have emphasised my contention about the chronological ineptitudes of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi by drawing attention, in due place, to the fact that the reign of Ugra-Pāṇḍya is said to have extended over a period of sixteen years of the gods (Legend 11, st. 4).

IV

The chronicle of Param-jyōti narrates sixty-four legends most of which are almost identical in tenor with those narrated by Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi. Some miracles chronicled by Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi are omitted by Param-jyōti, and some others are split into distinct miracles,¹ and many of the legends are told with considerable variations.

A distinctive feature of Param-jyōti's chronicle requires special mention: the miracles are narrated by him in strictly chronological sequence and not in the haphazard fashion of

1. TABLE showing the Legends of PARAM-JYOTI corresponding to the Legends of PERUM-PARRAP-PULIYUR NAMBI.

PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ
1	1	13	20	26	22	38	63	51	—
2	2	14	21	27	58	39	30	52	—
3	4	15	51	28	59	40	31	53	3
4	5	16	52	29	60	41	39	54	41
5	6	17	53	30	61	42	33	55	42
6	7	18	54	31	23	43	35	56	43
7	8	19	55	32	24	44	14	57	44
8	9	20	56	33	25	45	36	58	45
9	10	21	13	34	26	46	37	59	46
10	11	22	57	35	27	47	49	60	47
11	12	23	32	36	28	48	40	61	15
12	{ 18	24	34	{ 29	49	50	62	64	64
	{ 19	25	17	37	62	50	38	63	48
								64	16

TABLE showing the Legends of PERUM-PARRAP-PULIYUR NAMBI corresponding to the legends of PARAM-JYOTI.

PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN
1	1	14	44	27	35	40	48	53	17
2	2	15	61	28	{ 36	41	54	54	18
3	53	16	64	29	{ 36	42	55	55	19
4	3	17	25	30	39	43	56	56	20
5	4	18	{ 12	31	40	44	57	57	22
6	5	19	{ 12	32	23	45	58	58	27
7	6	20	13	33	42	46	59	59	28
8	7	21	14	34	24	47	60	60	29
9	8	22	26	35	43	48	63	61	30
10	9	23	31	36	45	49	47	62	37
11	10	24	32	37	46	50	49	63	38
12	11	25	33	38	50	51	15	64	62
13	21	26	34	39	41	52	16		

Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi. In narrating each legend Param-jyōti takes care to mention the name of the Pāṇḍya king in whose reign each miracle is assumed to have been worked, and he records, almost invariably, the relationship which that king bore to his predecessor and successor: it is thus possible to deduce from his chronicle a full succession-list of the Pāṇḍya dynasty and also a chronological scheme showing the order in which the miracles were performed by the Lord.¹

1. KINGS OF MADURAI		
(According to Param-jyōti's <i>Tiru-Viṭaiyādal Purāṇam</i> .)		
I BOOK OF MADURAI		
<i>Kṛta Yuga</i>		
01 —	1, 1 21	27 Citra-sēna
1 Kula-śekhara	3	28 Citra-vikrama
2 Malaya-dhvaja	4	29 Rāja-mārtāṇḍa
3 Taṭātakā md.	5-12	30 Rāja-cūḍāmaṇi
4 Sundara		31 Rāja-śārdūla
5 Ugra (ஆரத்தாங்கு)	13-15	32 (Dvi) Rāja-Kulōttama
6 Vira	16	33 Āyōdana-praviṇa
7 Abhiṣeka	17, 18 ²	34 Rāja-kuñjara
II BOOK OF KUDAL		
7 Abhiṣeka	19, 20, 21	35 Para-rāja-bhayaṅkara
8 Vikrama	22, 23	36 Ugra-sēna
9 Rāja-śekhara ⁴	24	37 Śatruñ-jaya
10 Kulōttuṅga	25-27	38 Bhīma-ratha
11 Ananta-guṇa ⁵	28, 29	39 Bhīma-parākrama
12 Kula-bhūṣaṇa	30-32, 33, 34	40 Pratāpa-mārtāṇḍa
13 ³ Rājendra	35, 36 ²	41 Vikrama-kañjuka
14 Rājēśa		42 Samara-kōlāhala
15 Rāja-gambhīra		43 Atula-vikrama
16 Pāṇḍya-vamśa-dīpa		44 Atula-kīrti
17 Purandara-jit		45 Kīrti-bhūṣaṇa
18 Pāṇḍya-vamśa-patāka		<i>Pralaya (The Flood)</i>
19 Sundarēśa-pāda-śekhara	37, 38, 39	46 ³ Vamśa-śekhara 49-51
20 ³ Vara-guṇa	40, 41, 42, 43	47 ³ Vamśa-cūḍāmaṇi <i>alias</i>
21 ³ Rāja-rāja	44, 45, 46 ²	Campaka 52, 53, 54 ² , 55 ²
22 Su-guṇa or Citra-mēru	47, 48	48 Pratāpa-sūrya
III BOOK OF TIRU-ALAVAY		
23 Citra-ratha		49 Vamśa-dhvaja
24 Citra-bhūṣaṇa		50 Ripu-mardana
25 Citra-dhvaja		51 Cōla-vamśāntaka
26 Citra-varma		52 Cēra-vamśāntaka
		53 Pāṇḍya-vamśēśa
		54 Vamśa-śirōmaṇi
		55 Pāṇḍya-īśvara
		56 Kula-dhvaja
		57 Vamśa-bhūṣaṇa

¹No king's name mentioned.

²No king's name mentioned, but the context requires the Sport to be so assigned.

³The relationship of this king to the previously named king is not mentioned, but this king is clearly the previous king's immediate successor.

In all other cases, each king is the son of his predecessor (No. 3 is a queen and is the daughter of No. 2. No. 4 is Siva himself.)

⁴Contemporary of Karikāla-Cōla.

⁵Contemporary of Sri-Rāma.

For our present purpose it is unnecessary to describe or summarise Param-jyōti's chronicle at length,¹ nor even is it necessary to set out how far each of his sixty-four legends differs from those of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi: it should be enough to point out the extent to which variations appear in the accounts of the legends relating to the Academies.

The fifty-first legend in Param-jyōti's chronicle states that when Vamśa-śekhara Pāṇḍya was king, Brahmā performed ten āśvamēdha sacrifices at Benares, and that accompanied by his consorts Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī, he went to the Ganges for a bath. Sarasvatī having tarried on the way listening to the ravishing music of a Vidyādhara lady, Brahmā took his bath along with his other two wives. Sarasvatī remonstrating vehemently with Brahmā for not having waited for her, he pointed out to her that she was the party at fault and he laid on her the curse that she shall expiate her presumption by endless births in the world in human form. On Sarasvatī submitting that it was too hard a lot for Brahmā's consort, Brahmā was mollified, and he said, 'Out of the fifty-one Primary Letters making up your body, the forty-eight from ā to hā shall be born as forty-eight scholars: the Lord of Ālavāy (wherein dwell the three Tamils), being the Lord of even the letter a which associates with all the other letters and transmutes them according to their

58 Sōma-cūḍāmaṇi	66 Vikrama-bāhu
59 Kula-cūḍāmaṇi	67 Parākrama-bāhu
60 Rāja-cūḍāmaṇi	68 Su-ratha
61 Bhūpa-cūḍāmaṇi	69 Kunkuma
62 Kulēśa	70 Karpūra
63 Ari-mardana	71 Kāruṇya
	72 Puruṣōttama
64 Jagan-nātha	73 Śatru-sādana
65 Vira-bāhu	74 Kubja <i>alias</i> Sundara 62-64

1. Summaries will be found in the following publications: W. Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts, in the Tamil Language*, (1835), i. 53-192; H. H. Wilson, in *JRAS*, (1836), iii. 199-242; and in *The Mackenzie Collection, a Descriptive Catalogue* (Madras Reprint, 1882), 45-7, 208-9; J. H. Nelson, *The Madura Country*, iii. 1-55; E. H. Brookes, in *Madras Review* (1900) vi. 61-66, 143-153, 253-265, (1901) vii. 82-93.

Succession Tables will be found in the following: W. Taylor, *op cit.*, passim; R. Sewell, *Lists of Inscriptions and Sketch of the Dynasties of South India*, (1884), ii. 214-221; Sir W. Elliott, *Coins of Southern India*, (1886) 128-3; M. Seshagiri-Sastri, *Tamil Literature*,

respective characteristics, will take the shape of a scholar, ascend and occupy the gem-set seat in the Academy, become the forty-ninth scholar, stand in the heart (of each of the other forty-eight), reveal the truth to them and protect their poesy'. The forty-eight letters were accordingly born as human beings: they became deeply versed in many branches of learning: they critically studied Sanskrit and the eighteen other languages and they attained an unrivalled mastery of Tamil. They wore not only gem-set jewels but also the holy *rudrākṣa*: they covered themselves with holy ashes: they worshipped Śiva with not only their strings of hymns but with garlands of fragrant flowers. Having gone from land to land vanquishing rivals they came to the fertile country watered by the Porunai (Tāmrarparṇi) and advanced towards Madurai, the city blessed by the sceptre of the Pāṇḍya. The Lord appeared as a great scholar and asked them who they were: the forty-eight replied that they were scholars and were going to the land of the Porunai. The scholar invited the forty-eight to Madurai to worship the Lord, took them to Madurai and made them worship the Lord Sundara and then vanished. The Lord descending from on high, the scholars worshipped Him again and lauded Him in strings of psalms, and then went up to the Pāṇḍya king. Convinced that the forty-eight were patterns of scholarship and rectitude, the king loaded them with presents and built for them a Hall of Academy to the north-west of the temple of the Lord. Scholars who were natives of the land, jealous at the favours thus heaped on the forty-eight Academicians, engaged in disputations with them but were completely vanquished: scholars of other lands too were easily worsted. The Academicians then went up to the Lord who was the author of the Original Treatise and said, 'Many are they who come to us and engage us in disputations: so give unto us an Academical board with which we might weigh their scholarship'. The Lord appeared before them in the guise of a scholar, and, holding out a board to them, said, 'Here is a board two spans square: it is stainless like your intellects keen: it has magical qualities: for every one who is hoary with learning like you it will grow a cubit and afford a seat: thus will it be a measuring yard'. The forty-eight went round the temple with the board, entered the Academy and, setting the board down, worshipped it: Nak-Kīrar then seated himself on it; and Kabilar and Paraṇar followed him, and after them the rest of the Acade-

micians, and the Board kept growing till it accommodated all of them. The forty-eight engaged themselves in literary compositions. Their works were so uniform in the wealth and the richness of thought, in the maturity of expression and in the graces of poesy that hard indeed was it to distinguish the work of one poet from that of another, and in course of time differences arose among the forty-eight about the authorship of the respective pieces. The Lord then appeared before them, examined the various works and allotted them among the forty-eight with unerring accuracy. The forty-eight were so grateful that they invited the Lord to join them in the Academy and He acceded graciously to the request. While these forty-nine were engaged in further literary activities, Vamśa-sēkhara had his son Vamśa-cūḍāmaṇi crowned and then he departed this life. In this chronicle the legend closes here: it contains nothing whatsoever about Iṛaiyaṇār's work on *Poruḷ*.

The next legend tells how Vamśa-cūḍāmaṇi made provision for a garden where flowers could be grown for the Lord Sundara and also a garden where *campaka* flowers could be raised for the Lord, how the Pāṇḍya had the Lord decked with *campaka* flowers and how in consequence the Lord came to be called Campaka-Sundara and the king came to be called Campaka Pāṇḍya. Then follows the story of Darumi obtaining the purse of gold, with some variations from the tale as narrated by Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi. None of the deviations is of any importance except that the question propounded to Nak-Kīrar about the fragrance of a lady's tresses refers to the tresses of Nak-Kīrar's patron deity Nāna-pūm-kōḍai of Kalahasti and not to those of Gaurī or Cit-puṣpa-kēśi of Madurai.

The next legend narrates how Nak-Kīrar was helped out of the tank by the Lord: the only variation of importance is that the poems sung by Nak-Kīrar to mollify the Lord were not only the *andādi* on Kailāsa and Kalahasti but also the poems known as the *Kōbaṭ-Piraśādam*, the *Perum-Dēva-Pāṇi* and the *Tiru-Eḷu-kūṟṟu-irukkai*.

In the next legend we have the tale of Kīraṇ being taught grammar: the only additions of note are that Agastya is said to have been accompanied by his wife Lōpāmudrā when he went on his southern expedition and when he appeared before the Lord in response to the summons to teach grammar to Nak-

Kīrar, and that the Treatise taught by the Lord to Agastya and then by the Lord to Nak-Kīrar was the Original Treatise.

In the following legend we have the story of Rudra-Janman, but the version in this work differs in a few essential particulars from that adopted by Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi: the scholars composed poems and not commentaries on Irāiyā-nār's grammar: the Lord had to adjudicate on the merits of the poems and not the commentaries: the mute youth bore no name: his parents were known as Dhanapati and Guṇasālīnī: nothing is said of his being Śaravaṇa-Guha: the Academicians seated him on the academical board and not on a lion-throne.

In the next legend, that of Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ, the only two important additions are that there was a long interval between Campaka-Pāṇḍya and Kulēśa-Pāṇḍya, the king of the times of Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ, that a number of kings ruled over the Pāṇḍya country in the interval and that Kulēśa was well versed in both literature and grammar.

THE TAITTIRĪYASARVĀNUKRAMAṆĪ OF YĀSKA.*

BY

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Till now, only one work of Yāska was known and that is the Nirukta. Wherever there is a reference to Yāska, it was taken as a reference to the author of the Nirukta. There are many references to Yāska in the Bṛhaddevatā. Many of them cannot be traced to the Nirukta; many of them are opposed to the statements in the Nirukta. Yet no one has shown that there might be another Yāska, or another work of Yāska.

Recently I came across a work¹ which gives a large number of quotations from the Sarvāmukramaṇī of the Taittirīyasamhitā by Yāska. No such work was known till now. The Sarvānukramaṇī of the Vājasaneyisamhitā by Kātyāyana alone is known and not of the Taittirīyasamhitā by Yāska. None of these quotations is traceable to the Sarvānukramaṇī of the Vājasaneyisamhitā.

There is a reference to Yāska in Piṅgala's Chandassūtras.² This reference is traceable to its source through one of the quotations found in the work which I came across.³ I give below all the quotations from the Sarvānukramaṇī of the Taittirīyasamhitā by Yāska found in this work.

1. तदुक्तं यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकृता यास्केन—
देवासुराणां छन्दांसि यानि यानि प्रजापतेः ।

* This paper was announced to be read at the 18th session of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Leyden in September, 1931. But as I could not proceed to attend the Congress, I did not submit the paper.

1. A Commentary on the Chandas portion of the Nidāna-sūtras by Hṛṣīkeśa *alias* Pettā-śāstrin.

2. Piṅgala's chandas. उरोद्धती यास्कस्य III. 30 (B. I. Ed.)

3. Cf. quotation No. 9. below.

- *तानि त्वर्षवर्गस्य विद्यादवयवान् पृथक् ॥¹
2. तदुक्तं यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकृता यास्केन—
*छन्दोभिरार्षैरेतैर्ऋचः श्लोकाश्च वैदिकाः ।
लौकिकाश्च प्रवर्तन्ते पादाश्चैष्वेव संहिता ॥²
3. यथाह यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—आ नवाक्षरतायाः प्रतिक्रामति
यदि वा दधे यदि वा नेति । इति ॥³
4. अष्टाक्षरस्योदाहरणं यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारो यास्क आह ।
तद्यथा—अष्टाक्षरताया कचिद्दृश्यते—अपैतु मृत्युरमृतम्⁴ । इति ॥⁵
5. उक्तञ्च यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारयास्केन—सप्तकैस्तृभिः सा पाद-
निचृत् । इति ॥⁶
6. तदुक्तं तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकृता—तृतीयश्चेत् पुरउष्णिक् ॥⁷
7. तदाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—विराड्द्वादशकाम्यामष्टाक्षरेण चैकेन
त्रिपदा । इति ॥⁸
8. यथाह यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—तृतीयो द्वादशाक्षरः
पथ्या । इति ॥⁹
9. तदाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारो यास्कः—द्वितीयश्चेत् स्कन्धोग्रीवी
क्रौष्टुके । उरोबृहती वा स्यात्¹⁰ । इति ॥¹¹
10. आहतुः पिङ्गलनागयजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारौ—तद्यथा सतो-
बृहती ताण्डिनः । इति ॥¹²

* The metre is defective.

1. Page 22 in the Adyar Library Transcript XXXVIII, H. 17.
2. *Ibid.* p. 23.
3. *Ibid.* p. 59.
4. Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa. 3.7.14.4. The third pāda has only eight syllables.
5. Adyar Library Transcript p. 61.
6. *Ibid.* p. 109.
7. *Ibid.* p. 118.
8. *Ibid.* p. 133.
9. *Ibid.* p. 140.
10. Pingala quoted above. n. 2. p. 215.
11. Adyar Library Transcript p. 142.
12. *Ibid.* p. 149.

11. यथाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—त्रिभिर्द्वादशकैर्महाबृहती । इति ॥¹
12. यथा तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—पथ्या पञ्चभिरष्टाक्षरैः । इति ॥²
13. यथाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—अयुजौ चेत् द्वादशाक्षरपादौ सतः-
पङ्क्तिः । इति ॥³
14. यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारश्च—युजौ चेद्विपरीता । इति ॥⁴
15. यथाह यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—अक्षरपङ्क्तिश्चत्वारो द्वौ वैको
वा पञ्च वा ।⁵
16. यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमण्यम्—द्वादशिनस्त्रयोऽष्टाक्षराश्च जगती ज्योति-
ष्मती । सापि त्रिष्टुबिति शौनकः । इति वचनात् ॥⁶
17. तदुक्तं यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकृता—द्वादशाक्षरस्त्रयोऽष्टकाश्च जगती
ज्योतिष्मती । इति ॥⁷
18. यथाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—विराड् द्विपदाष्टकद्वादशकाम्याम् ।
इति ॥⁸

In 1, 2, 4 and 5, Yāska is mentioned as the author of the Sarvānukramaṇī of Yajurveda. In 3, 8, 10, 14, 15 and 17 there is a reference to the author of the Sarvānukramaṇī of Yajurveda; but it is not specified who the author is. In 16, there is a reference to the Sarvānukramaṇī of Yajurveda. In 6, 7, 11, 12, 13 and 18 there is a reference to the author of the Sarvānukramaṇī of “that” (तत्). And in 9, there is mention of Yāska as the author of the Sarvānukramaṇī of “that” (तत्). In all these cases तत् refers to the Taittirīya-śākhā, as in all the seven cases the Taittirīya-śākhā is mentioned in the immediately preceding passage, as :—

1. Adyar Library Transcript p. 149.
2. *Ibid.* p. 156.
3. *Ibid.* p. 157.
4. *Ibid.* p. 158.
5. *Ibid.* p. 179.
6. *Ibid.* p. 183.
7. *Ibid.* p. 191.
8. *Ibid.* p. 201.

तैत्तिरीयाश्च द्विपदा विराज इत्याहुः ।

यथाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः ।¹

From 16, it is found that Yāska knew the works of Śaunaka. The statement of Yāska in 9—according to Krauṣṭuki, it is Skandhogrivi; it may be Urobhātī also—is referred to by Piṅgala².

The above quotations are found in the Adyar Library copy³ of Pettā-śāstrin's work mentioned in para 2 supra.

In the introductory stanzas⁴ which Mādhavabhaṭṭa, son of Venkaṭārya, adds to the various Adhyāyas in his Bhāṣya of the Ṛg-veda, he mentions Yāska and some of the references cannot be traced to the Nirukta. The references are:—

1. त्यान्नु क्षत्रियो अव सूक्तं वृद्धोपदेशतः ।
मत्स्यानां जालबद्धानामार्षं यास्कोऽब्रवीदिति ॥⁵
2. एवं च हृतभाग्निः प्रयाजेष्विति मन्यते ।
तमेव प्राग्वष्टकारात् ज्ञेयं यस्ककुलोद्भव ॥⁶

There are many references to Yāska in the Brhaddevatā. I give below all the references, with my own remarks—

1. चतुर्थ्ये इति तत्राहुर्यास्कगार्ग्यरधीतरौ ।⁷

This quotation follows the questions—कतिभ्यस्तु कर्मभ्यो नाम जायते । Various opinions are given. नवम्य इति नैरुक्ताः and then the above quotation follows. Here Yāska is contrasted with the Nairuktas. The view ascribed to Yāska is not found in the Nirukta.

2. पुरुषादःपदं यास्को वृक्षेवृक्ष इति त्वृचि ।⁸

1. Adyar Library Transcript p. 201.
2. Cf. quotation above, n. 2. p. 215.
3. XXXIV. A. 1. There is a transcript in Devanāgarī, XXXVIII. H. 17 to which the above references are given.
4. These Kārikās are being published by me from the University of Madras.
5. Kārikā. V. i, 28.
6. Kārikā. VII. v, 9.
7. I. 26.
8. II. 6.

Here it is said that the word पुरुषादः was explained by Yāska as two words in Ṛg-veda X, 27-22. But there is nothing in the Nirukta to justify the criticism. पुरुषान् अदनाय is the explanation of Yāska in the Nirukta¹.

3. मयन्ते यास्ककात्यक्याविन्द्रस्येति तु भागुरिः ।²

This has reference to Ṛg-veda I. 22. 1—4. Yāska says nothing about these Ṛks in the Nirukta.

4. शुनासीरं यास्क इन्द्रं तु मेने ।³

Here Yāska is said to have explained शुनासीर as इन्द्र. There is nothing in the Nirukta to suggest such an opinion for Yāska, the author of the Nirukta. This is his explanation: शुनासीरौ । शुनो वायुः । सु एत्यन्तरिक्षे । सीर आदित्यः सरणात् ।⁴ This corresponds to what Brhaddevatā gives just before the opinion assigned to Yāska:

वायुः शुनः सूर्य एवात्र सीरः

शुनासीरौ वायुसूर्यौ वदन्ति ।⁵

This is the opinion which Brhaddevatā ascribes to the commentators. And then the opinion of Yāska is given:—

शुनासीरं यास्क इन्द्रं तु मेने ।

This does not agree with Nirukta.

5. यास्कस्तु पृषणं मेने ।⁶

This is with reference to Ṛg-veda V. 42. 14, which is not explained in the Nirukta.

6. यास्कस्तु च त्वेतं मन्यते वैश्वदेवतम् ।⁷

This is with reference to Ṛg-veda VIII. 65. 10-12, which are not explained in the Nirukta.

7. आचार्यः शौनको यास्कः ।⁸

1. II. 6.
2. III. 100.
3. V. 8.
4. X. 40.
5. V. 8.
6. V. 40.
7. VI. 87.
8. VII. 38.
V—28

This is with reference to R̥g-veda X. 36. 32-14, which are not considered in the Nirukta.

8. अन्त्यं यास्कस्तु मन्यते ।¹

Here, R̥g-veda X. 59. 4 is assigned to Nirṛti. The next is assigned to Asuniti:—

असुनीतेः स्तुतिः परे ।²

Then we find in the Bṛhaddevatā the statement:—

दृचे त्वानुमतं पादमन्त्यं यास्कस्तु मन्यते ।³

The last pāda in R̥g-veda X. 59. 6 is:—

अनुमते मृळ्या नः स्वस्ति ।

According to the statement in the Bṛhaddevatā, Yāska assigns this pāda to Anumati. But this stanza is not explained in the Nirukta.

9. संवादं मन्यते यास्कः ।⁴

This is with reference to R̥g-veda X. 95. Yāska says nowhere in Nirukta that this is a Samvādasūkta.

10. ऐन्द्राग्रं मन्यते यास्कः ।⁵

This is with reference to R̥g-veda X. 161, which is not noticed in the Nirukta.

11. बह्वीनां सन्निपातस्तु यस्मिन् मन्त्रे प्रदृश्यते ।

आचार्यौ यास्कशाण्डिल्यौ वैश्वदेवं तदाहतुः ॥⁶

This may be compared with Yāska's statement:—

...यत्तु किञ्चिद्बहुदेवतं तद्वैश्वदेवानां स्थाने युज्यते ।⁷

12. इयं शुष्मेभिरित्येतां मेने यास्कस्तु सप्तमम् ।⁸

Yāska assigns this mantra to Sarasvatī as a River. His words in the Nirukta are:—

....यदेवतावत्तदुपरिष्ठायास्यामः । अथैनन्दीवत् ।⁹

1. VII. 93.
2. VII. 92.
3. VII. 93.
4. VII. 153.
5. VIII. 65.
6. II. 132.
7. XII. 40.
8. II. 137.
9. II. 23.

इयं शुष्मेभिः etc. etc.¹

13. मन्यते मध्यमं चैव यास्कोऽग्निं न तु पार्थिवम् ।²

Yāska says in the Nirukta:—कमन्थं मध्यमादेवमवक्ष्यत् ।³

14. आदित्यं मन्यते यास्को हविषेति सहस्तुतम् ।⁴

This may be compared with the words of Nirukta:—चायिता आदित्यः ।⁵

15. त्विन्द्रं मेने इह यास्कः प्रधानम् ।⁶

This is with reference to R̥g-veda I. 132. 6. This is not noticed in the Nirukta.

16. इतिहासमिदं सूक्तमाहतुर्यास्कभागुरी ।⁷

This is with reference to R̥g-veda VIII. 91, which is not explained in the Nirukta.

17. इतिहासमिमं यास्कः ।⁸

In the Nirukta we read:—तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते ।⁹

18. यास्कौपमन्यवौ ।¹⁰

This is with reference to the expression पञ्चजनाः ।

In the Nirukta we read:—गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षासीत्येके । चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चमः इत्यौपमन्यवः ।¹¹ Here Yāska does not give his own opinion. We may assume that he accepts the explanation of Aupamanyava. But the statement of Bṛhaddevatā is quite different. According to Bṛhaddevatā the opinion: निषादपञ्चमा वर्णाः¹² is held by Śākaṭāyana, and Yāska holds the opinion:—मनुष्याः पितरो देवा गन्धर्वैरगराक्षसाः ।¹³

1. II. 24.
2. III. 76.
3. X. 36.
4. III. 102.
5. V. 24.
6. IV. 4.
7. VI. 107.
8. VII. 7.
9. XII. 10.
10. VII. 69.
11. III. 8.
12. VII. 69.
13. VII. 68.

But in the Nirukta, Yāska gives this as the opinion of "some" (एके).

19. यास्को द्रौघणमैन्द्रं वा ।¹

This may be compared with the statement in the Nirukta: द्रुघणो द्रुमयो घनः । तदभिवादिन्येषर्गु भवति ।²

Thus it will be found that out of the nineteen³ references in the Brhaddevatā to Yāska, only a very few has any correspondence to the Nirukta. Many of them can have no place in the Nirukta and some of them are in contradiction to the statements in the Nirukta. It is quite possible that most of these references are to the Sarvānukramaṇī of the Taittirīyasaṃhitā by Yāska from which Petta Śāstrin quotes.

I must here add that the difficulty in correlating the references to Yāska found in the Brhaddevatā with Yāska's Nirukta has already been recognised by Macdonell in his edition of the Brhaddevatā. Skold has dealt with the point more elaborately in his book on Nirukta and he confesses that he has not been more fortunate in solving the difficulty. He suggests that the references may be to another recension of the Nirukta.

There is a Sarvānukramaṇī for the Ātreyaśākhā of the Yajurveda, which has been noticed by Max Müller in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature⁴. Yāska is mentioned here as one of the Ṛṣis through whom this Śākhā was handed down⁵. This Sarvānukramaṇī (published in Indische Studien Vol. III. by Weber) is different from the work of Yāska from which Petta Śāstrin is quoting.

1. V. 11.

2. X. 23.

3. I have ignored one reference.

4. p. 222.

5. Ibid p. 223.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE.
VOL. XI. PARTS ii TO iv.

1. *The place of the Āryasatyas and Praṭīyasamutpāda in Hinayāna and Mahāyāna*: Dr. Nalinākṣa Dutt, Ph. D. (Cal.), D. Litt. (Lond.).

2. *Slow progress of Islam power in Ancient India*: Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph. D.—Part II. The author concludes his article in this no., summarising the reasons why the Muhammadans could not establish an Islam empire over the country.

3. *Śāntarakṣita's reference to Kumārila's attacks on Sāmantabhadra and Akalanādeva*: Dr. K. B. Pathak, B.A., Ph. D.

4. V. S. Sukthamkar continues his 'Epic studies', in his second instalment—'Further Text-critical notes'.

5. *A peep into Ancient Indian Sociology*: Dr. R. Sham Sastri.

6. *Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit Literature*: Chintāharan Chakravarti, M.A. In this "chronological frame-work" the author, divides the literary history of Bengal into five periods, the Pre-Pāla period, the Pāla period, the Sena period, the Muhammadan period and the British period. The author mentions Sandhyākara Nandin's Rāmacarita as the only Kāvya work of the Pāla dynasty. It may be mentioned here that another Kāvya of the same name, by Abhinanda was produced in the same age and published by Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Śiromaṇi, in the Gaekwads' Oriental Series.

7. *Epic studies*: V. S. Sukthamkar. Part III.

8. *The Grammar of the Gītā—A vindication*: B. N. Krishnamurthi Sarma. A criticism of Prof. V. K. Rajvade's article on the Gītā that it could not be regarded as one of the best poems of the world.

9. *Proof of Possession under the Smṛtis*: Dr. Amareśwar Thakur M.A., Ph. D.

10. *Dravidian culture*: Dr. R. Sham Sastri, B.A., Ph. D. The author draws a true picture of the religious and social life

of the Vedic Aryans, in order to clarify the issues connected with the theory of the bifurcation of the Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

VOL. XII. PARTS i TO iii.

1. *Forms of Government in Ancient India*: Dr. R. Sham Sastri.

2. *Economical Philosophy of the Ancient Indians*: Dr. R. Sham Sastri.

3. *Was Kautsa a Sceptic?*: Prof. K.M. Shembaronekar, M.A. This article refers the theory that Kautsa was heterodox and establishes his orthodoxy.

4. *Historical data in the Drama 'Kaumudīmahotsava'*: K. P. Jayaswal, M. A. This enthusiastic article extracts these theories out of the drama Kaumudīmahotsava, published in the Dakṣiṇa Bhārati Sanskrit Series. The theories are—

- Kiśorikā is the name of the authoress of this drama.
- In style, this drama belongs to the School of Bhāsa, though chronologically, it is nearer Kālidāsa's time than that of Bhāsa.
- It is earlier than Viśākhadatta's *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*.
- This drama restores a missing link in Gupta History.

5. *Apotheosis in the Ṛg-veda. The Ṛbhus*: (continued from Vol. VIII, p. 182): Sītānāth Pradhān.

6. *Śaṅkara on the limit of empirical knowledge*: Satīndrakumar Mukerji, M.A.

7. *Dharmakīrti's Trilakṣaṇa Hetu*: Dr. K. B. Pathak.

8. *Indian Studies. No. 2. Aryan Immigration into Eastern India*: D. R. Bhandarkar.

9. *Kumārila's verses attacking the Jain and Buddhistic notions of an Omniscient Being*: Dr. K. B. Pathak.

10. *The problem of knowledge and the four Schools of Later Buddhism*: Durgacaran Chatterji.

11. *Jinendrabudhhi, Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta*: Dr. K. B. Pathak. The author establishes that Kaiyaṭa is to be assigned to the close of the 11th century and Haradatta to the 13th century.

The Arctic Regions in the Ṛg-Veda: D. R. Mankad, M.A. The author refutes the statements of Dr. Das in his "Ṛg-Vedic India" and tries to prove that the Vedic people were definitely acquainted with the circumpolar regions.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

1931 January—August.

1. *Dravidic Miscellany*: L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar, M.A., B.L.

2. *On the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*: Sir George A. Grierson, in April, June and August issues.

3. *A Note on the Ten plays of Bhāsa*: R. T. Jatagirdar, M.A. The author classifies 10 of the so called Bhāsa dramas into 2 groups the first group being earlier and the latter group being imitative. He also grants that the Svapna, Pratijñā and Pratimā nāṭakas are the works of one and the same author.

4. *Possible origin of the Caste system in India*: Biren Bonerjea. D. Litt. (Paris.) In this instalment, the writer defines caste and considers the 'Occupational,' 'Somatological' and 'Totemic' theories of the origin of caste in India. The article is continued in the April number and the author concludes his thesis in the May number with the statement—'caste is not an Anthropological Division, but is the outcome of primitive superstitions.'

5. *The staging of the Viddhasālabhañjikā*: Daśarath Śarma, M.A. The author says that the drama was staged at the Court of Keyūra Varṣa Yuvarājadeva I, the Cedi ruler.

6. *Date of Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra*: Pran Nath. D. Sc., Ph. D. The author places the work between 484 and 510 A. D.

7. *A Buddhist paralled to the Avimāraka Story*: A Venkatasubbiah.

8. *The name of the Kharoṣṭhī Script*: Jean Pr Zyluski.

9. *Prāyaścitta or the Hindu ideas of the expiation of Sin*: Biren Bonnerjea.

INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

1930. Vol. VI. Nos. 1—4.

1. *The machinery of Administration in the Kauṭīliya*: Dr. Narendranath Law.

2. *Problems of the Nāṭya Śāstra*: Manoranjan Ghosh. The article says—

- The Nāṭas were śūdras. The word Bharata, meaning Nāṭa is not derived from any person of the same name.

- ii. The Nāṭya Śāstra legend about the origin of Nāṭya is palpably a badly made fable fitted to the text in a still worse manner.
- iii. Śilālin and Kṛṣāśva were the earliest writers on texts for Naṭas and these works are lost because of socio-political circumstances in post-Pāṇiniyan times.
- iv. Bharata and Ādi Bharata are 2 different works.
3. *Śaṅkara on the relation between the Vedas and Reason*: S. K. Mukerjee.
4. *Antiquity of Tantricism*: C. Chakravarti.
5. *The Trustworthiness of the Mahāvamśa*: Dr. Wilh. Geiger, Ph. D.
6. *The Guṇa doctrine in Bharata*: P. C. Lahiri, M.A.
7. *The sign of Buddhism*: Manoranjan Ray, M.A.
8. *Some difficult Vedic words*: V. K. Rajwade.
9. *The Indo-Aryan Invasion—A Myth*: Jainath Pati.
10. *Maṇimekhalā, a divinity of the Sea*: Sylvain Levi.
11. *Yuddhakāṇḍa campū of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita*: T. R. Chintāmani, The text is printed with a short introduction.
12. *The Riddle of the Pradyota dynasty*: Jyotirmoy Sen.
13. *Vidyāranya and Mādhava*: R. Rama Rao. The author establishes that even according to orthodox tradition, the two are not identical. The article is continued in. No. 2. Vol. VII. 1931. Vol. VII. Nos. 1 and 2.
1. *Śīlaparikathā of Vasubandhu*: Ananth Nath Basu: The Tibetan text is published with a Sanskrit rendering and a short introduction. The work is a very short one and deals of Śīla—"morals, vows or observances".
2. *Daṇḍin's Conception of the Guṇas*: P. C. Lahiri.
3. *The Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas*: Dākṣiṇa Ramjan Śāstri.
4. *A short chronology of Indian Astronomy*: S. K. Das.
5. *Date of the Mudrārākṣasa*: S. Śrīkanṭha Śāstri. The author argues that it must have been written in the time of Candragupta II.
6. *Maṇimekhalā "The gaurdian deity of the Sea"—a Cambodian document*: Sylvain Levi.

7. *Notes on Dravidian*: L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar.
8. *Maṇḍana, Sureśvara and Bhavabhūti : The problem of their identity*: D. C. Bhattacharya. The author establishes the equation—Maṇḍana—Viśvarūpa—Umveka--Bhavabhūti—Sureśvara.
9. *Kulaśekhara of Kerala*: K. Rama Pishoroti, M.A.
10. *Vilvamangalarn Svamiyās*: A. Govinda Wariyar. The author decides the number of the saints so named and which of them is the author of the Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta.
11. *More on Maṇimekalā*: Sylvain Levi.
12. *Maṇimekalā*: Arthur A Pereira.

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.
January and April 1930.

1. *The discovery of the author's Vṛtti on Vākyapadīya* Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi. October, 1930.
2. *Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi*: R. Subba Rao.
3. *Ballāla III and Vijaya Nagara*: Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph. D. January 1931.
4. *Literary Gleanings*: No. XI. The identity of Sureśvara: Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi.

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.
Feb.—Dec. 1930.

1. *The Date of the Yoga-Sūtras*: Jwala Prasad. The writer refutes the arguments of Prof. Jacobi and Prof. Woods for the late date of the Yoga-Sūtras.
2. *Some Sāṅkhya and Yoga Conceptions of the Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad*: E. H. Johnston. January 1931.
3. *The Kālavāda and the Zervanite System*: O. G. Von Wesendonk: The writer compares Indian conceptions of time with Greek and Iranian conceptions of time.
4. *Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's Conquest of Rachol*: Rev. H. Heras. S. J. July, 1931
5. *Varuṇa, God of the Sea and Sky*: Jean. Przyluski. V—29

6. *Māṭhara and Paramārtha*: S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. The writer states that the original for Paramārtha's Chinese translation is not the Māṭhara-Vṛtti and that it is probable that both had a common original.

7. *Discovery of the lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini*: Raghu Vīra. The writer makes a study of the original Śikṣā-Sūtras of Pāṇini himself, discovered by the late Dayananda Sarasvati in 1879. The text, available only in a corrupt form, is printed here.

April, 1931.

8. *Notes on the Nyāyapraveśa by Śaṅkara Svāmīn*: Girussepe Tucci.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.
1930, Nos. i—iv.

1. *Prosemy and Ecsemy in Dravidian*: L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar.

2. *Rāmadeva Raya, an unknown emperor of Vijaya Nagara*: Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

3. *Problems of Śaka—Śātavāhana history*: K. P. Jayaswal.
March, 1931.

4. *On the interpretation of some doubtful words in the Atharva-Veda*: Tarapada Chowdhury.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.
1931. Parts 1—3.

1. *Glimpses into the married life of the Ancient Tamil people*: K. G. Sesha Aiyar.

2. *The date of Māṇikkavācaka*: K. G. Śankar. The writer assigns Māṇikkavācaka to the close of the 7th century—A. C.

3. *Social legislation in Ancient South India*: C. M. Ramacandra Chettiyar.

4. *The Kadambas of Banavase*: V. Raghavendra Rao.

5. *Viveka Sāra of Śaṅkarānanda*: Dr. K. Shama Sastri.

6. *Ārya parentage of Astronomical Systems of Chaldea*: V. Subramanya Śāstri.

7. *Antiquity of the Vedas*: H. N. Subba Rao. The writer says that we cannot fix the age of Vedas at any period and should believe them to be coeval with the creation.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY.

April 1931. Vol. X. Part I.

1. *The Prince of Wales Museum inscription of Jayakeśi III.*—The Kadamba King Goa: C. S. Sharma.

2. *The Historical origin of the distinction between Svārthānumāna and Parārthānumāna*: Dr. S. Sen. An examination of the theory that this distinction originated in Dignāga; to be continued.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY.

April, 1930.

1. *Kumārila's Conception of Soul*: Jānakī Vallabha Sāṁkhya tīrtha.

July, 1930.

2. *Indra and Prajāpati as Philosophers*: Sītānath Tattva Bhūṣaṇ.

3. *A Representationist's case examined*: Bibhuramjan Guha.

October, 1930.

4. *A neglected School of Vedānta or the Philosophy of Vijñānabhikṣu*: Umeścanda Bhattacharjee.

REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

Vol. I, No. 2.

1. *Nyāya conception of Truth and Error*: Prof. Hiriyanna.

2. *The chronological Position of Viśiṣṭādvaita*: Y. Subba Rao.

Vol. II, No. 1.

3. *New light on the Gauḍapāda-kārikās*: B. N. Krishnamurti Śarma: a defence of Śrī Mādhavācārya's 'Upaniṣadic theory' of the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās of Gauḍapāda.

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.

1930. Vol. VI. Part. I.

1. *La theorie des Guṇa (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas)*: J. Przyluski.

CENTAMIL. 1930.

1. *Tolkāppiya-c-collatikāra-kurippu*: Dr. P. S. Subramanya Śāstri.

2. *The Tolkāppiyam and the Sanskrit Śikṣāprātisākhya and Niruktas*: Dr. P. S. Subramanya Śāstri.
3. *Puṛaṇānūṛṅkuṛippu*: Dr. P. S. Subramanya Śāstri.

CENTAMILCCELV. 1931.

1. *Koṅgu Country and Roman Coins*: C. M. Ramacandra Chettiyar.
2. *Moḷiyūṛāycci—Comparative Philology*—Vidvān G. Devadāsan. The writer gives a list of English, Greek and Latin words and their Dravidian (Tamil) cognate forms and says that a number of Tamil words had migrated into the foreign vocabulary in ancient times.

In the next issue the same writer gives a list of Tamil words that had got into the Sanskrit vocabulary.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA (ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW) BY PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M.A., L.L.M.—Advocate, High Court, Bombay; Vice-President and Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch: etc. etc.—Vol. I, 1930—to be had of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (4), India—Price Rs. 15—per copy, exclusive of postage—[pages 467 + synopsis XLVIII + general index—pages 468 to 502 + appendix A—list of works on Dharmaśāstra—pages 503 to 676 + appendix B—list of authors on Dharmaśāstra—pages 677 to 760.]

This stout volume, of over eight hundred pages in all, is a substantial and massive work on the history of *Dharmaśāstra*, by Professor Pāṇḍurang Vāman Kane, M.A., L.L.M., whom Sanskrit scholars and Indologists all over the world have long become accustomed to think of first as a learned Sanskrit scholar of established reputation, and only on second thought, as a member of the legal profession. In this volume, the learned author brings together a vast mass of reliable chronological data and reconstructs on acceptable foundations the chronology of the Dharmaśāstra literature, with particular reference to its early makers and medieval scholiasts, beginning with Gautama and ending with Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana. The phrase *Dharmaśāstra* is used in the title of this work in a somewhat restricted sense and is applied only to the Sūtras, metrical texts and digests regulating the conduct of men in matters pertaining to *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*. The Śrauta-sūtras and Gṛhya-sūtras and the directory guides, called *prayoga-granths*, are excluded from the scope of this work.

The author's prodigious industry and admirable analysis have made accessible to scholars, in a controllable form, a bewildering mass of chronological materials relating to Dharmaśāstra works, consisting partly of data gathered by other scholars with reference to individual works on Dharmaśāstra edited by them and partly of fresh data gathered by the learned author of

the work under review. The judicial attitude which the author has adopted in discussing various chronological problems is highly commendable. He arranges all the available data and indicates the conclusion that may follow, with due reservations. Generally, he avoids indulging in hasty or one-sided generalisations and playing the role of an advocate, though himself a veteran advocate by profession. He rightly points out (page 10) the unsoundness of the view held by Professor Max Muller and others that Smṛti works in continuous *anuṣṭubh* metre should invariably be held to be later than the sūtras of the Dharmaśāstra literature. A perusal of the sections (13, 14 and 31) dealing with the *Mānavadharmasūtra*, the *Kauṭīliya-arthaśāstra* and the *Manusmṛti* will show how cautious the author is in stating his conclusions regarding these works. His conclusions in these and similar cases are very satisfactory, though, under no circumstances, they can be said to be more than provisional. He has successfully exploded the myth of *Mānavadharmasūtra*, which, by mere repetition rather than by sound reasoning, has become petrified into a seemingly acceptable hypothesis in the history of ancient Sanskrit literature. He has clearly shown how the weight of evidence is greater in favour of the view that the traditional date of 300 B. C. for the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭīliya* is likely to be correct. The data which he has analysed and presented in section 31 are such as would compel a very favourable consideration of his plausible suggestion that the extant *Manusmṛti* was finally recast, probably by Bhṛgu, between the 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D., on the basis of two pre-existing metrical texts, which were perhaps produced respectively by Svāyambhuva-manu and Prācetas-manu long before the 4th century B. C. The work under review contains new information, not generally known to scholars, in several sections, such as those dealing with Asahāya, Bharṭṛyañña and Bhāruci. That, in spite of his usual caution, the author has sometimes been led to make somewhat hasty statements in the course of his big work is rather a proof of the temptations and difficulties in the way of an Indologist, however conscientious he may be. For instance, in the section dealing with Viśvarūpa (60), it is suggested in page 262 that the use of the word *मीमांसकमन्य*, in the *Taittirīya-bhāṣya-vārttika* 1-9-10, shows that Viśvarūpa, otherwise known as Sureśvara, was never Bhaṭṭakumārila's pupil. As against this suggestion, one should carefully consider verse-442 p. 517, and similar passages in the

Bṛhadāraṇyaka-bhāṣya-vārttika and it will be seen that the feeling that Viśvarūpa's attitude towards Kumārila is one of great respect cannot be resisted. It should also be mentioned here that, in an exhaustive survey of the history of the Dharmaśāstra, like the one under review, it would be felt as a palpable omission to completely ignore, as the author has done, two famous compilers of digests in South India, viz.: Vaidyanātha-dikṣita the famous author of the *Smṛtimuktāphala*, and *Vaidika-sārvabhauma*.

The exhaustive general index and the almost exhaustive list of works on Dharmaśāstra appended to this work (pages 503 to 760) greatly enhance its value as a book of reference. This short review cannot be more appropriately closed than by reminding the author of Kālidāsa's observation “क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते”; and it is our sincere prayer that the learned author of this valuable work may be blessed with a long life and with the health and strength necessary to enable him to complete his great task, by publishing at an early date, the second volume, in which he proposes to deal with the development of the various subjects comprised in the Dharmaśāstra.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

BHAGAVAD-GITA (STUDENTS' EDITION) BY D. S. SARMA M.A.
Published by the Current Thought Press, Triplicane,
Madras. Crown 16 vo. pp. i—xi + 299. Price :—Cloth
bound Rs. 2. Wrapper Rs. 1-8-0.

This book contains the text and translation with introduction and notes. The author, Professor Sarma has made the Gītā his life study. He intends this book primarily for the use of all Hindu students in colleges. He says in the preface “Though the Gītā has passed through countless editions and has been commented on by a host of scholars and has been translated into many Asiatic and European languages, still I had long felt the want of a suitable edition with an introduction, text, English translation and notes for the use of students.” So far as the translation is concerned he says “there are two principles that every translator should keep in view, namely faithfulness to the original and purity of the language into which the translation is made.” He further adds “that most of the translators had not paid much attention to the second.” How far this latter remark

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is justified, we do not propose to discuss in this Review. But in respect of Professor Sarma's translation, the reader has the decided advantage of the translation having been scrutinised and improved by one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars now living, Mahamahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppaswami Sastri. This is, in itself in our opinion, a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy and faithfulness of the translation as far as possible to the original. It is indeed, evident that much labour has been bestowed by the author in co-operation with his other friends in bringing out this edition. Though, there may have been already many editions and translations from the pen of eminent scholars, we welcome this valuable edition to the list, especially a students' edition. The absolute necessity of the study of the Gītā by all Hindu students cannot be better put than in the words of Mahātmā Gāndhī, in his speech in the Hindu High School, Triplicane on 4-9-1927, an extract from which is given in the beginning of this edition. "Those of you who know Sanskrit should to-morrow, if possible to-day, buy the Gītā and begin to study the book. Have private Gītā classes for yourselves. Those of you who do not know Sanskrit, should study Sanskrit, if only for the sake of Gītā. I tell you that it contains treasures of knowledge of which you have no conception whatsoever." What the Gītā meant to the Mahātmā will best be realised from what he says in respect of verses 54 to 72 in the 2nd chapter which are said to be his favourite verses. He says "The last 19 verses of the second chapter have since been inscribed on the tablet of my heart. They contain for me all knowledge. All the truths they teach are the eternal verities. There is reasoning in them but they represent realised knowledge." These are golden words which summarise beautifully the value of the Gītā to the world and to humanity in general. It must, however, be admitted that the Gītā is a work which it is difficult to translate and whose real meaning and ultimate import in many places, it is difficult to grasp. Indeed, it may even be said that the work is as elusive as the personality of the Lord whose teachings it contains. In the beginning of his commentary to this work, the great Śāṅkarācārya observes as follows:

तदिदं गीताशास्त्रं समस्तवेदार्थसारसङ्ग्रहभूतं दुर्विज्ञेयार्थं तदर्थ-
विष्करणाय अनेकैः विवृतपदपदार्थवाक्यवाक्यार्थन्यायमपि अत्यन्तविरुद्धाने-

कार्यत्वेन लौकिकैः गृह्यमाणमुपलभ्य अहं विवेकतः अर्थनिर्धारणार्थं
संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि ॥

To add to the difficulties the interpretation of the Gītā by modern thinkers and scholars in the light of present day problems and ideals and in the language of modern thought has introduced a fresh source of confusion. Hence the task of bringing out an edition like this must be said to be a difficult one. But Professor Sarma has, we are glad to say, accomplished it with a fair measure of success. In a short review, it is not possible to advert to the various points discussed by the author in his valuable introduction and also in the notes. We congratulate the Publishers also on their neat printing and get up.

We conclude, however, with the wish that it should be possible to organize a fund which will enable us to present every student, especially a Hindu student, on the eve of the Annual Convocations of the Universities with a copy of this edition. We hope that there are a few atleast among us who have got something of the spirit, enthusiasm and love which the Christian Missionaries possess.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER.

MUGHAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., are to publish shortly an annotated bibliography of books and manuscripts relating to the Mughals in India on Art, Science, Biography, History, Geography, Travels, Literature, Philosophy, Religions, Economics, Sport, &c., &c., which is now being prepared and will be published early next year. Every effort is being made to make bibliography as complete as possible. Authors desirous of having their works included in bibliography are requested to send particulars of their books or magazine articles to the Editor of the "Indian Literary Review," 190, Hornby Road, Bombay, as early as possible. The full title, author's name, number of pages and illustrations, year and place of publication should be clearly mentioned. If possible, a very short summary of the contents also should be given. If any persons or Institutions happen to have any unique manuscript, full particulars of the same should be given.

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मन्त्राधिकरणम्

तदर्थशास्त्रात् (१—२—३१) ॥

मन्त्रेषु संशयः—ते किं उच्चारणमात्रेणोपकुर्वन्ति, उत अर्थप्रकाशनेननेति । नन्वेवमसङ्गतिः स्यात्, उभयथापि देशनाप्रामाण्यात् । अविधेयार्थत्वेन मन्त्राणामेव प्रामाण्यं न स्यादिति चेत् ; किं तेन ? तेषामदेशनारूपत्वात् । किं च प्रयोगकालेऽर्थ-प्रकाशकत्वेऽपि न प्रामाण्यम् ; न हि तत्कालीनं मन्त्रोच्चारणं राद्धान्तेऽपि प्रमाणम्, तस्य प्रमेयत्वात् ; तत्कालीनस्य च प्रकाशनस्य स्मरणरूपस्याप्रमाणत्वेन किञ्चित्क्रिया-रूपत्वात् । तस्मात् सिद्धान्तेऽप्यध्ययनदशायामेव मन्त्राणां प्रामाण्यम्, न तु प्रयोगदशायामपि । तत्र तस्यां दशायां दृष्टा वा किञ्चित्क्रिया भवत्वदृष्टा वा, किं तया प्रामाण्ये ? अत एव प्रयोगकालेऽनन्यपराणामपि 'हुम्' इत्येवमादीनामध्ययनेऽप्रामाण्यमेव ; अन्यथा सर्वो वेदः प्रमाणं स्यात् ।

कथं पुनरध्ययनदशायां मन्त्राणां प्रामाण्यम् ? उच्यते—मन्त्रैरात्मैवोपनीयते ; तदन्वितश्च स्वार्थो ग्राहकवाक्येन बोध्यते । अतो लक्षणिकानामिव पदानामुपस्थापन-द्वारान्वितप्रतीतिरव्यापारात् प्रामाण्यम् । प्रमेयं(ये) च तत्र लक्षणया मन्त्रैरात्मोपनीयते इति केचित् । नन्वर्थान्तरे वृत्तिर्हि लक्षणा, सा चार्थस्य पदार्थान्तरान्वयायोग्यतया तद्योग्योपस्थापनरूपा ; न चेहैकैकस्य पदस्यात्मा पदार्थान्तरान्वयगमनयोग्यः ; न चार्थयोरयोग्यता । मैवम् ; अर्थयोस्तावदयोग्यत्वं विद्यते, स्वाध्यायकाले बहिर्लवनस्या-वर्तमानस्य तत्तया प्रकाशनायोगात् । न च पदस्यात्मा पदार्थान्तरान्वययोग्यः, अन्यत्रापि पदे स्वात्मन एवार्थत्वात् ; पदयोश्च सम्भूयैकाङ्गरूपस्यान्वयस्य सम्भवात् । तदेवं मन्त्रपदैः स्वे स्वे आत्मनि लक्षिते मन्त्रो लक्षितो भवति ।

अन्ये तु—लक्षणाद्युपस्थितेनैव परमन्विताभिधानं सम्भवतीत्येवं न ; किं तु उपस्थितमात्रेणेति व्युत्पत्तिः ; लक्षणादिकं ह्युपस्थितिरूपत्वादे(त्वेनैव) व्युत्पन्नम्, न तु प्रातिस्विकेन रूपेण ; ततश्च श्रोत्रप्रत्यक्षोपस्थित एव मन्त्रो ग्राहके गृह्यते—इत्याहुः । न चैवं वृत्त्यनङ्गतया तन्निवेशे कथमन्विताभिधाने निवेश इति वाच्यम् ; प्राथिकत्वाद्वृत्तेः, तात्पर्यमात्रेणान्विताभिधाने निवेशात् । अन्यथा "हुमुदीरयेत्" इति नान्वयप्रतीतिः स्यात्, तत्र स्वार्थाभावे लक्षणाभावात् । तस्मात् स्वाध्याय-दशायामेव प्रामाण्यम् । तत्तु प्रयोगकालीनेन प्रकाशनेन दृष्टेनादृष्टेन वा निर्वाह्यते

ब्रीहिवाक्यप्रामाण्यमिव किञ्चित्क्रियया वैतुष्यलक्षणया । तदेव चोक्तं ग्रन्थे । तस्मात् कथमत्र सङ्गतिः ?

उच्यते—मन्त्रलिङ्गतदर्थशास्त्रयोः परस्परव्याघातादप्रामाण्ये शब्दस्वभावा-
दप्रामाण्यमिति सकलदेशनाप्रामाण्याक्षेपेणैव पूर्वपक्षः । तथा हि—यदि मन्त्राणा-
मर्थपरता, तदा लिङ्गादेव विनियोगसिद्धेस्तदर्थशास्त्रं निष्प्रयोजनं स्यादिति तत्प्रयो-
जनवत्त्वाय मन्त्राणामर्थपरत्वं नास्तीति प्रतीयते । तथा यदि तदर्थशास्त्रस्यार्थ-
परत्वम्, मन्त्राणामर्थपरत्वं त्याज्यम् ; अन्यथा निष्प्रयोजनत्वापत्तेः ; ततः प्रतीत-
मन्त्रार्थपरतानुरोधेन तदर्थशास्त्रं न प्रमाणमिति प्रतिभाति । अतः परस्परव्याघाता-
दप्रामाण्यम् । तदर्थशास्त्राद्विनियोगः, लिङ्गवशात् प्रयोगकाले प्रकाशकत्वम्,
अतो द्वयोरेव सार्थकत्वमिति चेत् न ; प्रयोगकालीनमेव हि प्रकाशनसामर्थ्यं
लिङ्गम् ; तच्चेत् पुरस्कृतम्, विनियोगोऽपि तस्यैव स्यादिति कुतः तदर्थशास्त्रेण ।
तत् परिसङ्ख्यामिति चेत् न, परिसङ्ख्यादीनां दुष्टत्वात् । यत्र वा परिसङ्ख्या-
दिकं न भवति, तदत्रोदाहरणं भविष्यति । तदर्थशास्त्रस्य श्रुतत्वेन दुर्बलं
मन्त्रलिङ्गं बाध्यताम्, न तु व्याघात इति चेत् न ; श्रुतेर्हि प्रयोजनमात्रं न स्यात्,
मन्त्रस्य दुर्बलस्यार्थपरत्वमेव भज्यत इति तुल्यमेव । तथा यथा शीघ्रभावित्वाच्छ्रुते-
र्बलवत्त्वम्, तथा किञ्चित्क्रियार्थं लिङ्गापेक्षणादुर्बलत्वमपीति चाहुः ।

राद्धान्तस्तु—न तदर्थशास्त्रस्य प्रयोजनवत्त्वार्थं व्युत्पन्नं मन्त्राणामर्थ-
परत्वं हातव्यम्, प्रयोजनवत्त्वस्याव्युत्पन्नत्वात् । अतो व्याघातेन लिङ्गमेव विनियो-
जकम् ; तदर्थशास्त्रं त्वर्थवाद एव । ननु श्रुतेः शीघ्रभावित्वात् सैव विनियोजिका
युक्ता ; तथा च मन्त्रस्य द्वाराकाङ्क्षायां प्रसक्तायां लिङ्गं विनियोगद्वारज्ञानमेव
जनयति अन्यार्थशास्त्रेणैवैन्द्र्यां गार्हपत्यविनियुक्तायाम् । अतो न तदर्थशास्त्रमनु-
वादकं युक्तम् ।

अत्र विवेकः—लिङ्गमेवात्र शीघ्रभावि, त्रयाणां (तिसृणामेव) शेष-
शेषिकिञ्चित्क्रियाणामुपस्थापकत्वात् । श्रुतौ शेषशेषिणोर्द्वयोरुपस्थितिः, न किञ्चि-
त्क्रियायाः ; अतस्तदर्थं लिङ्गापेक्षा ; ततो दुर्बलत्वमेव । न चैवमन्यार्थशास्त्रेऽपि
श्रुतेर्दुर्बलत्वमेव स्यादिति वाच्यम् ; तत्र “ ऐन्द्र्या गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते ” इत्यात्मनेपद-
बलात् किञ्चित्क्रियाया अभिधानरूपाया उपस्थितेः—यद्यपि “ धान्यमसीति इषदि
तण्डुलानावपति ” इत्यन्यार्थशास्त्रे किञ्चित्क्रियोपस्थानं नास्ति, लिङ्गादपि
तण्डुलप्रकाशनापत्तेः (शक्तेः) । अतः स्वयं किञ्चित्क्रियामुपस्थाप्यैव निरपेक्षा
श्रुतिर्विनियोजिका ।

तदयुक्तम्—यदि सम्भृतसामग्रीकं लिङ्गम्, तदान्यार्थशास्त्रेऽपि विनि-
योजकं स्यात् । श्रुतिरपि सम्भृतेति चेत्, एवं सति तुल्यत्व स्यात् न तु लिङ्गं
दुर्बलम् । द्वयोरपि सम्भृतयोः श्रुतिर्बलीयसीति चेत् न ; सम्भृतत्वातिरिक्तबल-
वत्त्वाभावात् । भावे च तदर्थशास्त्रे श्रुतेः स्वाभाविकं बलवत्त्वम्, लिङ्गस्य तु
सम्भृतत्वमिति तुल्यबलत्वाद्वयोर्विनियोजकत्वमिति स्यात् ; न तु श्रुतेरनुवादकत्वम् ।
“ धान्यमसि ” इत्यत्रापि च लिङ्गस्यैव सम्भृतसामग्रीकत्वे विनियोजकत्वमप्रे स्यात् ।
तत्र श्रुतेर्लिङ्गानपेक्षेति चेत्, मा भवतु तदपेक्षा ; तथापि सम्भृतत्वे को विशेषः ?
लिङ्गादप्राप्तौ तदनुसन्धायाथान्तरात् किञ्चित्क्रियार्थानुसन्धानहेतोरपि विलम्बात् तत्रापि
गौणमेव लिङ्गमपेक्षते ; कथमन्यथा तण्डुलप्रकाशनं किञ्चित्क्रिया स्यात् ? गौणं
लिङ्गमेव न स्यादिति चेत् न ; सामान्यमात्रं लिङ्गम्, न त्वभिधानशक्तिरेव ।
वाक्यत्वमात्रपर्यालोचनया त्वर्थप्रकाशनं किञ्चित्क्रियेति चेत् न, अस्यापि लिङ्गत्वात् ;
तदर्थशास्त्रेऽपि च तथैव नियोजकत्वापत्तेः । अपि च “ पुरोडाशं प्रथयति ” इति
द्वितीया किञ्चित्क्रियामभिधत्ते, क्रियाजन्यफलभागित्वाभिधानात् । अतो द्वितीया-
भिधायां सामान्यतः किञ्चित्क्रियामादाय विनियोगभूतलिङ्गादविशेषाद्विनियोगावगम-
कावगमो भवति । ननु लिङ्गं विना श्रुतिरपि विनियोजिका, अन्यथा “ ग्रीहीन-
वहन्ति ” इत्यत्रापि लैङ्गिको विनियोगो भवेत्, श्रुतिश्चानुवादिका स्यात्, प्रथनस्य
च किञ्चित्क्रियां विभक्तिराह, न तु मन्त्रस्य, मन्त्रस्य च विनियोगाश्चिन्त्यत इति
चेत् न ; एवं सति अश्रुतत्वप्रसक्तैरेन्द्रीविनियोगश्चैवाश्रुतः स्यात्, अपि च, “ उरु
प्रथा उरु प्रथस्व ” (प्रथस्वेति ” इति) इतिशब्देन करणत्वाभिधानात् तद्वलादेव किञ्चि-
त्क्रियालाभः ; अन्यथा (“ धान्यमसि ”) इत्यत्रापि लैङ्गिको विनियोगः स्यात्, लिङ्गात्
किञ्चित्क्रियाविशेषावगमात् । अपि चैवं तदर्थशास्त्रस्यानुवादकत्वे लिङ्गाच्चाप्रे विनियोगे
रशानामन्त्रस्य गर्दभरशनायामपि विनियोगः स्यात्, लिङ्गात् किञ्चित्क्रियाविशेषा-
वगमात् ; श्रुतेस्तु विनियोजकत्वे लिङ्गं न प्रवर्तत एवेति (न) गर्दभे मन्त्रप्राप्तिः । किञ्च
लिङ्गात् त्रितयमुपस्थितमित्येतावता न विनियोगो भवति, अनेनेदं कर्तव्यम्—इति
शब्दाभावात् । अन्यथा ध्यानादिनापि विनियोगः स्यात्, तत्रापि लिङ्गसद्भावात् ।
ग्राहकेदमर्थद्वारा ऐतदर्थं विनानुपपद्यमानं द्वारे प्रधाने श्रुतेस्तात्पर्यं कल्पयित्वा लिङ्गं
सहायमादाय विनियोजकम्, कल्पना वा (च) अन्यतः सिद्धविनियोजकप्रमाणभावमुपलभ्य
भवति । तत्र लोकव्युत्पत्तिसिद्धतात्पर्यायां श्रुतौ विद्यमानायां लिङ्गस्य सामर्थ्येव
नास्ति ; यस्त्वंशः श्रुतितोऽपि न सिध्यति, तत्र लिङ्गात् तत्तात्पर्यं कल्प्यते ।

चन्द्रस्तु—श्रुतेः शीघ्रं विनियोगः प्रतीत एव ; किन्तु द्वितीयोऽसौ, न तार्तीयः,
किञ्चित्क्रियाविरहात् । लिङ्गात् किञ्चित्क्रियापेक्षणे लिङ्गमेव शेषत्वबोधकम्,

सम्भृतत्वात् । विप्रतिपत्तौ तु प्रथमोपजातत्वे तृतीयविनियोगविरोधादेव न लिङ्गं विनियोजकमिति ।

तत्र, उक्तदोषात् । न च द्वैतीयविनियोगे लिङ्गस्य श्रुतेर्विलम्बः ; किन्तु तार्तीय एव, लिङ्गात् कर्तव्यतायाः प्रतीतिः । न च प्रयोगविधितः कर्तव्यतामादाय लिङ्गस्य विनियोजकत्वम्, अन्यथाङ्गविधीनामनुवादकत्वासम्भवात् इति युक्तम् ; “अङ्गप्रयोगवचनेन (न) गृह्यते, न चाविहितमङ्गं भवति” इत्याभिधानात् । चरमस्तु प्रयोगविधित एव साङ्गप्रधानकर्तव्यतावगमात् (मः) अङ्गवाक्यीयकर्तव्यतावगमः फलतोऽनुवादो भवतीत्येवं सङ्गत्य विधिरनुवादो भवतीत्युच्यते । न च द्वैतीयो विनियोगस्तर्तीतायस्य विरोधी, स्वरूपाश्रयत्वात् । सत्यपि मन्त्राणां तार्तीयविनियोगे ध्यानादीनामपि द्वैतीयविनियोगानपायात् ।

नन्दनस्तु—विधेस्त्रिकालाप्राप्तविषयत्वात् तदर्थशास्त्रस्य विलम्बिन्यामपि लिङ्गात् प्राप्तौ सम्भवन्त्यां न विनियोजकत्वम् । अन्यार्थशास्त्रे तु तद्विषया भाविन्यपि प्राप्तिर्नास्तीति विनियोजकत्वमेव । यत्र तु निमित्तेतर(तोत्तर)भाविनी प्राप्तिः, तत्र नानुवादत्वम् ‘न निमित्तं विधिरपन्नाधते’ इति न्यायात् । यथा “वैष्णवलिङ्गकपालः” इत्यत्र विष्णुविधानादेव देशनालिङ्गादतिदेशेन विष्णोः प्राप्तिः, न त्वन्यथा । तथा च भेदमुक्तम् अवश्यम्भाविनी हि प्राप्तिर्विधित्वं हन्ति ; इह तु श्रौते विनियोगे जाते ग्राहकमन्त्रयोर्निराकाङ्क्षत्वाल्लैङ्गिको विनियोगो नास्ति ; अन्ययोपादानादेवावान्तरा-पूर्वाणां प्राप्तिः सम्भवात् । किञ्च, भाविन्यामपि प्राप्तौ कुतः पूर्वस्यानुवादकत्वम् ? उदितस्य वादोऽनुवादः, न त्वपूर्ववादोऽस्यार्थः ; न तरां शास्त्रम् । यद्यनुष्ठाने विशेषः, तदैव विधित्वम् ; भाविन्यामपि प्राप्तौ नानुष्ठाने विशेष इति चेन्न ; न हि प्रयोजनं विधित्वम्, किन्तु प्रवर्तकत्वम् ; तच्च विद्यत एवात्र, द्वयोरेवाग्रेसरचरमभाविनोः प्रवर्तकत्वात् । अन्यथा भाविन्यपि प्राप्तिः कथं विधिरूपा ? त्रिकालाप्राप्तगोचरत्वा-द्विधेः । शब्दधर्मोऽयं विधित्वमनुवादत्वं वा ; न च लिङ्गं शब्द इति चेन्न ; अनुवादः—इत्यत्र वदेर्गुणमात्रस्य विवक्षितत्वाल्लैङ्गिकस्यापि ज्ञानस्य शब्द-जन्यत्वादनुवादकत्वम् । यदि भाविन्यां प्राप्तौ नानुवादः, तर्हि कथं “पृषदाज्येनानू-याजान् यजति” इत्यनूयाजानुवाद इति चेत्, न ; विशिष्टविधौ गौरवभयादतिदेशस्योपदे-शोत्तरकालमभिधानात् । अपि च, एवं गर्दभेऽपि मन्त्रप्राप्तिः स्यात् ; लिङ्गमेवाग्रेसरम् ; ग्राहकदशायामेव यत्रेयं शक्तिस्तद्द्वारेणास्य विनियोगान्वयप्रतीतिप्राप्तिः, लिङ्गादुपसंहार इति चेत्, न, तस्यां दशायां सामान्यतो द्वारैदमर्थ्याप्रतीतिः ; प्रतीतौ वा यदस्य प्रमाणेनोपनेतव्यम् तदस्य द्वारम्—इति प्रतीतिः प्रथमं श्रौत एवोपसंहारो युक्तः, न तु लैङ्गिकः । अपि च एवमन्यार्थशास्त्रे लिङ्गादुपसंहारः स्यात् ।

अन्ये तु—तदर्थशास्त्रेण यजूरूपस्य मन्त्रस्य परिमाणावधारणाय लिङ्गमपेक्षणी-यम् ; अतोऽत्र लिङ्गमेव बलीयः । ऐन्द्र्यां तु ऋचि छन्दःपादवशेन परिमाणावधारण-मिति न तत्र लिङ्गापेक्षेत्याहुः । तत्र, सफलतदर्थशास्त्राध्यापनात् ; धान्यमस्यादौ च यजूरूपतया लिङ्गस्य बलवत्त्वापत्तेः । न च लिङ्गमपेक्ष्यत इत्येतावता बलीयो भवति ; न हि तस्य विनियोजकत्वमपेक्ष्यम्, किन्त्वेकवाक्यतावधारकत्वम् । न चैतावता तदेव विनियोजकं शीघ्रम् । न हि तस्य स्वरूपं विलम्बेन प्रतीयत इति केनाचिदुक्तम् । श्रुतिसमकालमेव प्रतिपन्नं स्वरूपं न श्रुत्या सह समकालं विनियोगाय समर्थम् ; कल्प-नात्मकं हि तत् ; कल्पना दृष्टश्रुताभ्यामनुपपत्तेरनुपशमे भवति ; यावत् श्रौतविनियो-गाभावं नावधारयति, तावत् कथं प्रवर्तते ? श्रुतेस्तु नेयं सामग्रीति विशेषः ॥

उच्यते—न हि प्रतिमन्त्रं लैङ्गिको विनियोगः कल्प्यते ; किन्तु सर्वानेव मन्त्रान् ग्राहकगृहीतानवलोक्य—यो यत्प्रकाशकः, तत्तेन प्रकाशयेत्—इति विनियोगः कल्प्यत इति । सा च सामान्यकल्पना तदर्थशास्त्रेणापि व्याप्नोति, तत्परित्यागकारणा-भावात् । न, स्वश्रुत्यैव नैराकाङ्क्ष्यात्तत्परित्याग इति चेत्, न ; असामान्याकाङ्क्षाया-स्तत्कल्पनम्, न तु विशेषतस्तत् तदर्थम् । न च तथापि तत्परित्यागेन तत्कल्पनम्, विशेषकल्पनायां गौरवापत्तेः । तत्र द्वयोर्विज्ञानयोर्विधित्वासम्भवात्तदर्थशास्त्रमेवानुवादकं भविष्यति ; लैङ्गिकस्य बहुविषयस्यांशतोऽनुवादकत्वे वैरूप्यप्रसङ्गात् । तस्मादेतत्तदर्थ-शास्त्रं विलम्बेनैवानुबोधकम् ; न चैवमन्यार्थशास्त्रं विलम्बेनैवानुबोधकम् । ननु एवमन्यार्थशास्त्रेऽपि लैङ्गिको विनियोगः स्यात्, तत्र बलवत्त्वाभावात् ; इह विरोधाभावादेव न बाधः ; बलवत्त्वेनैवानुबोधकमपि श्रुतेरत्र लैङ्गिकसामान्यविषयज्ञानस्य दुर्निवारकत्वात् न श्रुतिः प्रथमं विज्ञानं जनयति, किन्तु स्वयमेव विलम्बमालम्बते । न चैवं गर्दभेऽपि मन्त्रप्राप्तिः स्यादिति वाच्यम् ; तत्र श्रुतेः सप्रयोजनत्वानुरोधेन साधारणस्य लिङ्गविनियोगस्य रक्षनेतरविषयतामापाद्य गर्दभप्राप्त्यसंभावनया अश्वरक्षणायां श्रौत एव विनियोगः । यत्र तु विधित्वेऽपि निष्प्रयोजनत्वं लिङ्गादपि तन्मात्र एव मन्त्रप्राप्तिः, तत्र निष्प्रयोजनत्वाविशेषादनुवादकत्वमेव । न तु साधारणस्य लैङ्गिकस्य विनियोगस्य संकोचः ।

विवरणे तु—योग्यमन्त्राणामप्यर्थपरत्वेऽव्यापित्वेनार्थपरत्वं हित्वा अध्ययन-विधिना स्वाध्यायस्य प्रयोजनान्तरपरिग्रहादनर्थपरः स्वाध्यायः । तथा चाध्ययनविधे-रप्यनर्थपरत्वम् तस्या(स्य)चानर्थपरत्वेनैव व्युत्पन्नस्यानर्थपरत्वेक(न) प्रयोजनान्तर-कल्पनम् ततः पुनरर्थपरत्वं हित्वाध्ययनविधिना स्वाध्यायस्यानर्थपरत्वमिति चक्रकादप्रमाण्यम् । अयोग्यादीनां तु जपमन्त्रस्यानर्थपरत्वेनैव व्युत्पन्नस्यानर्थपरत्वेऽपि नाव्यापिता सिद्धान्तेऽध्ययनं तथापि चक्रकं स्यादिति पूर्वः पक्षः । राद्धान्तस्तु निबन्धनोक्त एव ।

स्मृत्यधिकरणम्

धर्मस्य शब्दमूलत्वादशब्दमनपेक्षं स्यात् (१-३-१) ॥

मन्वादिस्मृतीनां किं भ्रान्त्यादिकं मूलम्, किं वा वेद इति चिन्ता । पूर्वपक्षे स्मृतीनामप्रामाण्यात् तदेकवाक्यतापन्नानां मन्त्राणामप्रामाण्यमिति शब्दस्य स्वभावादे-
वाप्रामाण्यम् । एवं च सकलदेशनाप्रामाण्याक्षेपात् संगतिः । ननु यां जना—मन्त्रस्य
नाष्टकास्मृत्येकवाक्यता, तत्र प्रयोगे प्रमाणाभावात् । लिङ्गं विनियोजकमिति चेत्,
सामान्यसम्बन्धाभावात् । अव्यभिचरितक्रतुसम्बन्धदेवतामुखेन ग्राहकग्रहणात् ।
परं तु देवतादी(दि)सामान्यसम्बन्ध इति चेत् न, एवं काम्येऽपि याज्यानुवाक्याकाण्डे
तथा प्रसक्तेः लिङ्गस्य कापि सामान्यसम्बन्धापेक्षा समाख्यादितो न स्यात् ।
अभिधेयस्यार्थस्याव्यभिचारेणाग्राहकग्रहणम् । न च मन्त्रेण स्वाध्यायदशायामर्थोऽभि-
धीयते, स्वपरत्वात् । न च प्रयोगदशायां ग्राहकग्रहणं तस्य, तदुत्तरत्वात् । यत्तु
दूषणम्—न मन्त्रवाक्ये ग्राहकग्रहणं मन्त्रस्यानभिधायकत्वात् ; नापि प्रधानवाक्ये,
तत्र मन्त्रासन्निधेः—तदयुक्तम् ; मन्त्रस्य समाख्ययापि सामान्यसम्बन्धाप्रसक्तेः ।
समाख्याबलात्तत्र प्रधानवाक्य एव सन्निधिकल्पनेति चेत् न ; इहाप्यव्यभिचार-
बलात् स्यात् । स्वत एव नाध्ययनविधिवलात् सामान्यसम्बन्धः, सर्वत्रैवंप्रसक्तेः ।
उपस्थितश्चार्थोऽध्ययनविधिना स्वीक्रियते ; न तु तद्वलादेव तत्कल्पनम् । अत एव
प्रजापतिव्रतपूर्वपक्षभावं विनापि प्रकरणादिना क्रतुसम्बन्धो मन्त्रस्य कल्प्यतामिति
निरस्तम्, सर्वत्रैवंप्रसक्तेः । अभिहितनिर्वाहार्थं सा कल्पना ; न चेहाभिधानमस्ति ।

विवेकचन्द्रौ तु—मा भूतां ग्राहकग्रहणविनियोगौ तथाप्यष्टकाकार्ययोर्भेदे
देवताप्रकाशकतयानुवादानामिव तत्सापेक्षतया न प्रामाण्यमित्याहुः (हतुः) । तदयुक्तम् ।
न तावत् स्वाध्यायकाले प्रकाशकत्वम्, स्वपरत्वात् । न वा प्रयोगकाले, प्रयोगस्य
विनियोगाधीनत्वात् । प्रयोगकाले वा प्रामाण्यं सिद्धान्तिनोऽप्यनुमतम् । यच्च अभ्रुत-
भूम्यादिमन्त्रस्य पाक्षिकी प्राप्तिरुपकारतयोच्यते, तत्र । न तथा प्रामाण्यं भवति, तत्प्रयो-
गस्य पुरुषेच्छाधीनप्रयोगत्वेन वेदाननुमतत्वात् । अन्यथा सिद्धान्तेऽपि बोद्धादिभिः
(बौद्धादिभिः) स्वातन्त्र्येण स्वप्रक्रियायां वैदिकमन्त्रप्रयोगे वेदो न (ना) प्रमाणं स्यात् ।
उच्यते—नेदं पूर्वपक्ष एव बोध्यम् । सिद्धान्तेऽप्यस्य मन्त्रस्याष्टकायां विनियोगाङ्गी-
कारात् । अन्यथा लिङ्गदर्शनस्यानुपपत्तेः । तस्माद्भाष्यकृच्चनादष्टकासम्बन्धोऽपि
समाख्यया अस्तीति कल्प्यते । सा च याज्यानुकूपा । एवं षाष्टकासम्बन्ध एव, तत्रैव देवता-

[अ.१. प. ३. अधि. १.] स्मृत्यधिकरणम्

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प्रकाशनेन याज्यात्वोपपत्तेः ; अन्यथा निशीष्टिसम्बन्धोऽपि स्यात् । अन्ये तु
यथाष्टकादिविधेय(यं)स्मृतिवाक्यं तथा मन्त्रोऽपि स्मृत्यैव तत्र विनियुज्यते । यथा
“अङ्गान्नोत्तरया अपूपान् जुहोति” इत्यापस्तम्बस्मृतिः । भाद्रादौ च स्मार्ते कर्मणि
बहुनां मन्त्राणामेव स्मृत्या विनियोगात् । सामान्यसम्बन्धमालं वा गौरवभीत्या स्मृत्या
बोध्यते ; विनियोगस्तत्र लैङ्गिक एवानूयते तदर्थशास्त्रवशात् । अत एव तन्निशीष्टि-
सम्बन्धः । अत एव वावन्तस्तोमादौ (वाचस्तोमादौ) मन्त्राणां विनियोगेनैव
चरितार्थत्वात् प्रकरणाद्यनुरोधाभावाच्च किं विनियोगेनेति निरस्तम् ।

नन्दनस्तु—“सा नो अस्तु सुमङ्गली” इति फलाशंसनप्रतीतिः, अन्यत्रानुवादे
देवतायाः फलदातृत्वेन कीर्तनात् देवतात्वमेवात्र उच्यते । भवति ह्यनुवादस्वरसन्निर्णयो
यथा “द्वयोः प्रणयन्ति” इत्यत्र “द्वाभ्यामेति” इति । तस्मान्न निशीष्टिसम्बन्धः ।

विवेकस्तु—कालपरत्वे मन्त्रस्य दृष्टार्थत्वं स्यात् । तस्माद्देवतापरत्वम् । कालो
हि प्रयोगादधिकारसिद्धयर्थं स्मर्तव्यः । प्रवृत्तस्यार्थपरतया अनुतिष्ठतो न कालाभाव-
शङ्का । पदार्था अपि यथा ये प्रयोगादौ बुद्धिस्थाः तदनुष्ठानशक्यवगमेनाधि-
कारात्, तथाप्यस्मिन् समयेऽनुष्ठानव्या इत्येतदर्थं स्मरणमपेक्षितमेव तेषाम् । अत
एव पार्वणहोमे कालाभीज्यापक्षे नाश्रयित्वम् ; देवता च प्रधानप्रत्यासन्ना ; कालस्तु
प्रयोगाङ्गतया व्यवहित इति देवतायामेव विनियोगः । बुद्धिद्वारेणैव देवता
व्याप्रियते, कालस्तु स्वरूपेणेति बोधकस्य मन्त्रस्य देवतायामेवान्वयः । केचित्तु
भवतुभयतो विनियोगः ; तथाप्यप्रामाण्यमित्याहुः । ननु प्रामाण्यरक्षणाय न स्मृतौ विनि-
योगः ; तद्वरमस्वारसिकोऽपि निशीष्टावेव विनियोगोऽस्तु, यागान्तरं च मन्त्रबलाद्विनि-
योगार्थं कल्प्यताम् ; देवतामन्त्रशून्ये वा विनियोगः कल्प्यताम् ; तद्वलादेव मान्त्रवर्णिकी
देवता भविष्यति । मैवम् । न खलु प्रामाण्यं व्युत्पन्नम् । न चाद्यापि न्यायेन साधितम्,
प्रथमाध्यायस्यासमाप्तत्वात्, येनैते कल्पनापेक्षतया पक्षाः स्वीकर्तव्याः । ननु पौरुषेयेण
वाक्येन कथमपौरुषेयस्य मन्त्रस्यैकवाक्यत्वमिति । तद्वलाद्वाक्यहेतूपबृंहणात् अप्रामा-
ण्याद्वेदस्यापि पौरुषेयत्वमिति केचित् । अन्ये तु नित्यानित्यसंयोगविरोधात् खलु पौरुषेय-
वेदवाक्ययोर्नैकवाक्यत्वम् । अत्र तु पौरुषेयत्वेऽपि स्मृतिपरंपरया अनादित्वात् न
नित्यानित्यसंयोगदोषः ; सकलकालीनस्मृतिसाधारणस्याष्टकाकार्यवाचित्वस्य पुरस्कृ-
तत्वात् । नन्वेवं सिद्धान्तेऽपि श्रुतिविरुद्धाप्रमाणीभूतस्मृत्येकवाक्यतया वेदस्य
प्रामाण्यम् न स्यात् । मैवम् । सिद्धान्तेऽपि तस्य लोभादिप्रभवाचारमूलत्वादिदं-
प्रथमतया नैकवाक्यत्वम् । पूर्वपक्षे नैतावताशेषविहितानां मन्वादीनां तथा मूलत्वं
युक्तमिति स्मृतिपरंपरैवेयम् । येषां तु सिद्धान्ते विरोधाधिकरणे मर्थधारैव (अर्थधीरेव)
भ्रान्तेर्निमित्तम् ? तेनात इदं बोध्यं दुर्भ्यारेहरं एवं ? “धन्वन्निव प्रपा असि” इत्यर्थवादः
प्रपापेक्षितवादप्रमाणम् । ननु दूरस्थायाः स्मृतेर्नानुवादो युज्यते ; पदैकवाक्यतया

हि तस्यान्वयो व्यवधाने च न स्यात् । सत्यम् । अन्यस्यैव विधेरयमर्थवादः ; किन्तु प्रपानुवादतया स्मृत्या सह वाक्यैकवाक्यतापन्न एव । एवं दर्शपूर्ण-मासादिविधिरपि स्मार्ताचमनाद्यपेक्षः—इति त्रिविधस्य वेदस्याप्रामाण्यम् इति ।

पूर्वपक्षस्तु—न स्मृतीनां वेदमूलत्वं युक्तम्, वेदस्यानुपलम्भात् । न बोद्धव्यं शाखा मूलम्, शाखोच्छेदसंभवक्रमेण सर्वशाखोच्छेदप्रसंगात् । यथा प्रत्यक्षाया अपि श्रुतेर्मैधात्रल-शालिभिरधीयमानाया उच्छेदो न संभाव्यते । अन्यथा तस्या अपि कथम् ? यत्तु दूषणम्—शाखोच्छेदसंभवे पठ्यमानायामपि शाखायां पदवर्णादिकविच्छेदशङ्कया असंगतिः स्यादिति, न तद्दूषणम् ; न हि पौरुषेयेषु ग्रन्थेषु कस्यचिदुच्छेदो भवति, एतावता सर्वेष्वपि पौरुषेयेषु ग्रन्थेषु पदवर्णोच्छेदाशङ्कयानाश्वासो भवति । तस्मादसंभावितः ; चेच्छाखोच्छेदः संभवी ततः पदवर्णोच्छेदोऽपि संभवेत् । अथ पठ्यमानशाखागतान्येव वाक्यानि मूलम्, तानि तु नानाशाखागतत्वात् नानाप्रकरण-स्थत्वाच्चास्मदादिभिस्तदर्थत्वेननाकल्यन्ते ; अतिशयिततपोज्ञानशालिभिस्तु मन्वादिभि-स्तेषामाकलनम् ; न चार्वाचीनेभ्यो मन्वादीनामतिशयितत्वे कश्चित् विप्रतिपद्यते इत्युच्यते—तत्र । एतावतो वैदिकात्कर्मणो बहुतरस्य स्मार्तकर्मराशेः प्रतिपादको वेदः प्रच्छन्न इति युक्तिविरोधात् । यदि च प्रत्यक्षवेदमूलैव स्मृतिः स्यात् ततस्तैरेव कानिचित् कर्माणि स्मार्तानि कानिचित् श्रौतानीति न व्यपदिश्यते ; व्यपदिशन्ति च स्मर्तारः—“कर्म स्मार्तं विवाहाग्नौ श्रौतं वैतानिकाग्निषु” इति । तथा “ऐकाग्रस्य त्वाचार्यः प्रत्यक्षवेदमूलत्वाद्गार्हस्थ्यस्य”, इति गोतमेवचनं स्मार्तानामपि प्रव्रज्यादीनां प्रत्यक्षवेद-मूलकत्वे न घटते । न च मन्वार्थवादमूलत्वं स्मृतीनां युज्यते, तयोरविधायकत्वात् । यां जनेतिमन्त्रानुपपत्त्या रात्रिदेवताकर्मकल्पना स्यात्, न त्वष्टकाकार्यस्य तास्ता इति-कर्तव्यताः सर्वाः । प्रयोगविधिमूलत्वं मानवादीनां (न) युज्यते, प्रयोगविधेः विनियोगा-सामर्थ्यात् । न चैवं स्मृतिपरंपरेयं प्रमाणम्, अन्धपरंपरातुल्यत्वात् । तस्मादनादि-रेवायं व्यामोह इति ।

रास्त्रान्तस्तु—यद्यपि प्रत्यक्षो वेदो योग्यानुपलब्ध्या निराकृतः, तथापि नित्यानु-मेयो वेदो मूलं भविष्यति । किं पुनर्वेदानुमाने लिङ्गम् ? न तावत् स्मृतित्वमात्रम् ; बौद्धादि-स्मृतिभिर्विचारात् ; नापि मन्वादिस्मृतित्वम्, बाधितस्मृतिभिर्विचारात् । उच्यते । परिशेषानुमानमिदम् । वाक्यं हि पञ्चान्यतमकारणकमिदम् × × × भ्रान्त्यादिज्ञानं चेति पञ्च कारणानि । तदिदं महाजनपरिग्रहेण चतुष्टयं निरस्तम् । पारिशेष्यात् ज्ञानमवशिष्टम् । न चात्रानैकान्तिकतोद्भावनमर्हति, शेषाजन्यस्य विज्ञानजन्यत्वा-व्यभिचारात् । ज्ञानमपि चात्र न शास्त्रातिरिक्तं संभाव्यते, विनियोगस्य प्रमाणान्तरा-वेद्यत्वात् । न च वेदस्याप्यसंभावना, वेदार्थानुष्ठाने कर्तृणामेव स्मरणात् ; स्वयं च वेदमूल्यज्ञानत्वात् । अत एव शाक्यादिस्मृतीनां न वेदमूलत्वं तेषामनङ्गीकृत-

¹ तैमिरिकस्तिमिरप्रभावेन स्वहस्तधृतधान्या²दिभाजनान्तरे केशादि....³ परिवर्तमानं पश्यति । तदपसरणेच्छया पुनः पुनस्तस्मिन् भाजने विपरी-तातिदेशकरणकृच्छ्रमाप्नुवन्तं विदित्वा तैमिरिकः किमयं करोतीति तत्समीप-मुपसृत्य तत्केशदेशे समर्पितलोचनोऽपि न तान् केशाकारानुपलभते । नापि तत्केशाधिकरणकान् भावाभावान् केशाकेशनीलादिविशेषान् कल्पयति । यदा पुनस्तैमिरिकः स्वाभिप्रायमतैमिरिकाय प्रकाशयति केशान् पश्यामीति । तदा तद्विकल्पापसरणेच्छया तैमिरिकोपलब्धानुरोधेन प्रतिषेधपरं वचनमाह नात्र केशाः सन्तीति । न तु वक्तास्य तदपवादको भवति ॥

तच्च केशानां तत्त्वं यदतैमिरिकः पश्यति नान्यत् । एवमविद्या-तिमिरोपघातादतत्त्वदृशो यदुपलभन्ते स्कन्धधात्वायतनादीनां स्वरूपम् । तदेषां सांघृतं रूपम् । तानेव स्कन्धादीन् येन स्वभावेन निरस्ताविद्यावासना भगवन्तो बुद्धाः पश्यन्ति अतैमिरिकदृष्टकेशन्यायेन । तदेषां परमार्थसत्यम् ॥

(110,12) ननु यथेवंविधः स्वभावो नैव दृश्यते, कथमतस्ते पश्यन्ति । सत्यम् । अपि तु ते पश्यन्त्यदर्शनन्यायेनेत्युच्यते⁴ । यथोक्तमार्थसत्यद्वयावतरे⁵ । यदि हि देवपुत्र परमार्थतः परमार्थसत्यं कायवाङ्मनसां विषयतामुपगच्छेत् । न तत्परमार्थसत्यमिति संज्ञां (संख्यां) गच्छेत् । संवृतिसत्यमेव तद्भवेत् । अपि तु देवपुत्र परमार्थतः परमार्थसत्यं सर्वव्यवहारसमतिक्रान्तं निर्विशेषमसमुत्पन्न-मनिरुद्धमभिधेयाभिधानज्ञेयज्ञानविगतं यावत्सर्वाकारवरोपेतसर्वज्ञत्वज्ञानावर्षये⁷-समतिक्रान्तं देवपुत्र परमार्थसत्यम् । कथमिव नाभिलष्यते परमार्थसत्यमिति ।

1. Compare this paragraph with बो० प० p. 364 (L.V.P.).

2. Tib. bse-ru = धान्य ?

3. Tib. htshegs.

4. See म० वृ० p. 373, l. 5.

5. Cited in बो० प० p. 366, ll. 10-16. An extract from the Sūtra is cited in म० वृ० p. 374, 5 to explain that the तत्त्वं is अनन्यार्थ. The word परमार्थतः wanting in बो० प०

6. बो० प० : ज्ञानं

7. Ibid : विषयभावस०

सर्वो हि धर्मो मृषामोषधर्मा च । परमार्थसत्यं हि देवपुत्र देशयितुमशक्यम् ।
तत्कस्य हेतोः । येन देशितं यद्देशितं यस्मै देशितम् । ते सर्वे हि
परमार्थतोऽनुत्पन्नाः । अनुत्पन्नैर्धर्मैरनुत्पन्नान् धर्मान् भाषितुमशक्यमिति विस्तरः ॥

(111,11) ¹अतस्तद्विषया भावाभावस्वभावपरभावसत्यासत्यशाश्वतो-
च्छेदनित्यानित्यसुखदुःखशुच्यशुच्यात्मानात्मशून्याशून्यलक्षणलक्ष्यैकत्वानेकत्वोत्पाद-
निरोधादिविशेषास्तत्त्वस्य न संभवन्ति । तत्स्वरूपानुपलम्भात् । तस्मादेवं
तत्त्वचिन्तायामार्या एव प्रमाणं नानार्याः ॥

(112,1) यदि लोकबाधां विवक्षुणा तत्त्वविचारे लोकदृष्टिरपि
प्रमाणत्वेनोपगम्यते । तथा सति

लोकः प्रमाणं यदि, तत्त्वदर्शी

लोकोऽत आर्येण परेण कोऽर्थः ।

आर्यस्य मार्गेण किमस्ति कार्यं

जडः प्रमाणं न हि युज्यतेऽपि ॥ ३० ॥

लोकः² प्रमाणत्वेनाभ्युपगम्यते । स एव तत्त्वदर्शनायावश्यमविद्या-
विहीनोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः । कस्मात् । न हि जडः प्रमाणं युज्यते । यस्य
यद्विषयाज्ञानं न स तत्र प्रमाणं दृश्यते यथा अनर्घरत्नपरीक्षायां तदज्ञानम् ।
चक्षुरादिभिरेव तत्त्वनिर्णयात् आर्यमार्गावगमाय शीलश्रुतिचिन्ताभावनादि-
प्रयासो निष्फलो³ भवेत् । न हि तदेवम् ॥ तस्मात्

(112,18) लोकः प्रमाणं न हि सर्वथाऽता

लोकस्य नो तत्त्वदशासु बाधा ।

1. *Ibid* : p. 566, 17 (L.V.P.).

2. यदीत्यादिः

3. Dr. Poussin compares here with a verse cited in बो० प०
p. 375, 1 :

इन्द्रियैरुपलब्धं यत्तत्त्वत्वेन भवेद्यदि ।

जातास्तत्त्वविदो बालास्तत्त्वज्ञानेन किं तदा ॥

यथोक्तादस्मान्नयान् सर्वथा लोकः प्रमाणं तत्त्वदशासु । नापि
लोकस्य बाधा तत्त्वदशासु ॥

(113,2) कथं तर्हि लोकेन बाधा भवति । आह ।

लोकप्रसिद्ध्या यदि लौकिकोऽर्थो

बाध्येत लोकेन भवेद्धि बाधा ॥ ३१ ॥

यथा कश्चिदाह मम वस्त्वपहृतमिति । अन्यस्तं पर्यनुयुनक्ति किं
तद्वस्तु इति । घट इति स प्राह । घटो वस्तु न, प्रमेयत्वात्, स्वप्रघटवत्,
इति स तं दूषयति । एवमादिविषये लोकप्रसिद्धयैव लौकिकार्थबाधने लोकेन
बाधा भविष्यति । यदा त्वार्याणां दर्शने स्थित्वा विद्वज्जनं प्रमाणयति,
न तदा लोकेन बाधा विद्यते । दिशानया अन्यदपि विदुषा विचारणीयम् ॥

(113,14) एवमभ्युपगम्यापि लोकप्रसिद्ध्या परत उत्पादं लोकबाधा
परिहृता । अधुना लोकेऽपि परत उत्पादाभावेन तद्दृष्टौ स्थित्वापि परत उत्पादं
प्रतिसिद्धयिषोर्न लोकबाधास्तीति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

लोको यतो वक्ति च बीजमात्र-

मुप्त्वा मयोत्पादित एष स्रुतः ।

वृक्षोऽपि विन्यस्त इति ह्यवेति

जनिः परस्मान्न च तेन लोके ॥ ३२ ॥

पुरुषेन्द्रियेणाभिव्यक्तं कंचिदुपदर्शयन् वक्ति, पुत्रोऽयं मयोत्पादित
इति । नायं तथाविधः स्वकायान्निश्चारय्य तन्मातृकोष्ठे निवेशितः ।
किं तर्हि । तद्वीजभूतमशुचिमात्रम् । यस्मादयं तद्वेतुं निक्षिप्य² स्वपुत्रं
निश्चारयति । तस्माद्वीजपुत्रावुभावनन्यावेवेति व्यक्तं लोकतो निर्णीतम् ।
अन्यत्वे पुद्गलान्तरमिव तमपि नोपदर्शयेत् । एवं बीजवृक्षयोरपि योजनीयम् ॥

(114,15) अत एव यथोक्तन्याये शाश्वतोच्छेदरहितप्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद-
सिद्ध्या गुणं प्रदर्शयितुमाह ।

1. Tib. phohi-dbañ-po = पुरुषेन्द्रिय ?

2. Tib. blugs-nas = निक्षिप्य ?

यस्मादनन्योऽङ्कुर एव बीजा-
द्वीजो निरुद्धः सति नाङ्कुरेऽतः ।
एकत्वमास्ते न यतस्ततोऽपि
बीजोऽङ्कुरेऽस्तीति च कथ्यते न ॥ ३३ ॥

यद्यङ्कुरो बीजादन्य एव । निस्संशयमङ्कुरे विद्यमानेऽपि बीज
उच्छिन्नो भवेत् । यस्माद्भवोऽस्तीति मृतभूतापि गौर्नानुच्छिन्ना । नापि
पृथग्जनोऽस्तीत्यार्या न अनिर्वृताः । अनन्यत्वादङ्कुरस्वात्म्यमिव न बीज
उच्छिद्यते । एवमुच्छेदस्तिरस्कृतः । एकत्वाभावाच्च यो बीजः स एव नाङ्कुर
इति बीजाविनाशप्रतिषेधाच्छाश्वतोऽपि प्रतिषिद्धः ॥ यथोक्तम् ।

(115,12) बीजस्य सतो यथाऽङ्कुरो न च यो बीजो स चैव अङ्कुरो ।
न च अन्यु ततो न चैव तदेवमनुच्छेद अशाश्वतधर्मता ॥ इति ।

बीजस्य सत इति सद्गतस्य बीजस्येत्यर्थः । बीजहेतुकस्य चाङ्कुरस्योत्प-
न्नस्य न बीजादन्यता युक्ता इति चेदाह । न च यो बीजो स चैव अङ्कुरो ।
कस्मात्पुनः स एव बीजः सोऽङ्कुरो न स्यादत आह । न च अन्यु ततो
न चैव तत् । इति ॥ यस्मात्तत्त्वान्यत्वोभयपक्षो न संभवति । तस्मात्तदन्यत्वं
तदनन्यत्वं च नोपपद्यते । एवं पक्षद्वयेऽपि प्रतिषिद्धेऽनुच्छेदाशाश्वतधर्मता
परिदीपिता भवति ॥

² अत्रेदमर्थस्य तत्त्वं वेदितव्यम् । बीजाङ्कुरयोः स्वभावे कस्मिंश्चित्
सद्गते हि तदुभयमेकमन्यदेव वा स्यात् । यदा तयोः स्वभाव एव नास्ति ।
तदा स्वप्नोपलब्धबीजाङ्कुरवदेकत्वमन्यत्वं वा कुतो भवेत् । इति ॥
अयमेवार्थः प्रतिपादितः³ ।

संस्कार अविद्यप्रत्ययास्ते संस्कार न सन्ति तत्त्वतः ।
संस्कार अविद्य चैव हि शून्य एते प्रकृतीतिरीहकः ॥ इति ॥

1. ललितविस्तर p. 210, l 3; cited in म० वृ० p. 26, 18; शिखास० pp.
238, 10-239, 4 (L.V.P.).
2. Cf. बो० प० p. 357, L. 18.
3. ललितवि० p. 210 (176. l. 13) cited in शिखास० p. 239, L. 1
L. V. P.).

शास्त्रेऽप्युक्तम्¹ ।

प्रतीत्य यद्यद्ववति न हि तावत्तदेव तत् ।
न चान्यदपि तत्तस्मान्नोच्छिन्नं नापि शाश्वतम् ॥ इति ॥

(117,3) यथास्वभावेन न किञ्चिदुत्पद्यते इतीदमवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यम् ।
अन्यथा

स्वक्षलणं चेद्ववति प्रतीत्य
तस्यापवादेन च² वस्तुनाशात् ।
स्याच्छून्यता वस्तुविनाशहेतु-
रुक्तं न तद्वस्तु च नास्ति तस्मात् ॥ ३४ ॥

यदि रूपवेदनादीनां भावानां स्वलक्षणं स्वरूपं स्वभावो हेतुप्रत्ययै-
रुत्पादितम् । तद्यदायं योगी स्वभावशून्यान् भावान् पश्यन्निस्वभावं सर्वधर्मं
बुध्यते । तदा यथानियममुत्पन्नस्वभावापवादेन शून्यतां भोत्स्यते । तस्माच्च
मुद्रादयो घटादीनां नाशहेतवः । तथा शून्यतापि वस्तुस्वभावापवादहेतुः
स्यात् । तत्तु न युक्तम् । तस्माद्भावादीनां स्वलक्षणमुत्पन्नं सर्वदा नाङ्गीकर्त-
व्यम् ॥ यथोक्तमार्यरत्नकूटसूत्रे³ ।

(118,2) अपि च काश्यप मध्यमा प्रतिपत् धर्माणां भूतप्रत्यवेक्षा ।
यन्न शून्यतया धर्मान् शून्यान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा एव शून्याः ।
यन्नानिमित्तेन धर्माननिमित्तान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा एवानिमित्ताः ।
यन्नाप्रणिहितेन धर्मानप्रणिहितान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा एवाप्रणिहिताः ।
यन्नाभिसंस्कारेण धर्माननभिसंस्कारान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा
एवानभिसंस्काराः । यन्नाजातेन धर्मानजातान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा
एवाजाताः । यन्नानुत्पन्नेन धर्माननुत्पन्नान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा
एवानुत्पन्नाः । इति विस्तरः ॥

1. म० शास्त्र XVIII. 10.
2. Tib. dāos-po = अर्थ, वस्तु, भाव etc.
3. Partly cited in म० वृ० p. 248, l. 4 (L. V. P.).

(118,13) ये तु परतन्त्रस्वभावमङ्गीकृत्य तत्प्रतीत्य शून्यतां ग्राह्यग्राहकरहितलक्षणामनित्यतादिवत्तत्त्वान्यत्वेनानभिलाष्यां मन्यन्ते । तेषां दर्शने शून्यतयैव सर्वे धर्माः शून्याः न तु स्वभावेन इति स्यात् ॥ यथोक्तं चतुश्शतके² ।

नाशून्यं शून्यवद्दृष्टं निर्वाणं मे भवत्विति ॥

मिथ्यादृष्टेर्न निर्वाणं वर्णयन्ति तथागताः ॥ इति ॥

शास्त्रेऽप्युक्तम् ।³

शून्यतासर्वदृष्टीनां प्रोक्ता निःसरणं जिनेः ।

येषां तु शून्यतादृष्टिस्तानसाध्यान् बभाषिरे ॥ इति ॥

(119,10) अत्राह । परमार्थत उत्पादाभावेन स्वतः परतश्चोत्पादः कामं प्रतिषिध्यताम् । रूपवेदनादीनि यानि प्रत्यक्षानूमानाभ्यामुपलब्धानि । तेषां स्वभावस्तु अवश्यं परत उत्पद्यते । अथैवं नेष्यते । कथं सत्यद्वयम् उच्यते । एकमेव सत्यं स्यात् ॥ तस्मात्परत उत्पादो भवत्येव ॥

(119,16) अत्रोच्यते । सत्यमिदम् । परमार्थतः सत्यद्वयं नास्ति । एतद्धि भिक्षवः परमं सत्यमेकं यदुताप्रमोषधर्मनिर्वाणं सर्वसंस्काराश्च मृषामोषधर्माण इत्यागमात्⁴ ॥

(120,1) तस्माद्यत्संवृत्तिसत्यं तस्य परमार्थसत्यावतारोपायत्वात्स्वतः परतश्चोत्पादोऽविचार्य लोकनीत्याङ्गीक्रियते । तथा हि

1. See Vasubandhu's *Trimśakakarikās* 21, 22, and *sthiramati's* *bhāṣya* thereon (ed. Levi, pp. 39—40).

2. (Harap. Sastri) p. 475. (P. L. Vaidya) VIII. 7. Tib. reads मिथ्यादृष्ट्या... । But the correct reading is मिथ्यादृष्टेर्न... and not मिथ्यादृष्टेर्न as is printed in चतुश्शतिका. See Candrakīrti's *vṛtti* on this verse.

3. म० शास्त्र XIII. 8.

4. Cited in म० वृ० p. 41, l. 4: एतद्धि भिक्षवः परमं सत्यं यदुत... । बो० प० p. 363, l. 1: एकमेव भिक्षवः... ।

भावा यतोऽभी हि विचार्यमाणा-

स्तत्त्वात्मवद्भावत एव नार्वाक् ।

स्थानं लभन्ते च ततो विचारः

कार्यो न लोकव्यवहारसत्ये ॥ ३५ ॥

यस्माद्रूपवेदनादीनामेषां, किं स्वतो जायन्ते किं वा परतो जायन्ते इत्येवमादिविचारे परमार्थतोऽजातानिरुद्धस्वभाववतोऽर्वाक् अन्यथाभागीय-जात्यादिमति न स्थानमस्ति । तस्मात्स्वतः परतश्च इत्येवमादिविचारमनवतार्य लोकतः परिदृश्यमानमस्मिन् सति इदम् उत्पद्यत इत्येतन्मात्रमभ्युपगम्यते पराधीनवृत्त्या ॥ यथोक्तमार्थदेवेन¹ ।

(120,18) नान्यभाषया म्लेच्छः शक्यो ग्राहयितुं यथा ।

न लौकिकमृते लोकः शक्यो ग्राहयितुं तथा ॥ इति ।

शास्त्रेऽप्युक्तम्² ।

व्यवहारमनाश्रित्य परमार्थो न देश्यते ।

परमार्थमनाश्रित्य निर्वाणं नाधिगम्यते ॥ इति ।

कृते तु विचारे लोकव्यवहारो हीयते । यथोक्तं सूत्रे³ ।

(121,10) यथ 'तन्त्रप्रतीत्य दारु च हस्तव्यायामत्रयेऽभिसङ्गति ।

तुणवीणसुघोषकादिभिः शब्दो निश्चरते तदुद्भवः⁵ ॥

अथ पण्डितु कश्चिमार्गते कुतोऽयमायाति कुत्र याति वा ।

विदिशो दिशि सर्विमार्गतः शब्दो गमनागमनं न लभते ॥

1. चतुश्शतके (P. L. Vaidya) VIII. 19; cited in म० वृ० p. 370 l. 4.

2. म० शास्त्र XXIV. 10. Our reading : (व्यवहारमसेव्यपरमार्थो नावगम्यते) is manifestly erroneous (L. V. P.).

3. ललितवि० p. 177, l. 13 (L. V. P.) cited in शिक्षास० p. 241 l. 1.

4. शिक्षास० : तन्त्रि.

5. *Ibid* : तदुद्भव.

तथ हेतुभिः प्रत्येयेभिश्च सर्वसंस्कारगतं प्रवर्तते ।
योगी पुनभूतदर्शनाच्छून्यसंस्कारनिरीह पश्यति ॥
स्कन्धायतनानि धातवः शून्य आध्यात्मिकशून्यबाह्यकाः ।
सत्त्वाविविक्तमनालया धर्माकाशस्वभावलक्षणाः ॥

इति विस्तरः ॥

(122,7) यद्यप्येवं ब्रूयात् । भावाभिनिवेशसर्वस्वसमुच्छेदे
भया²मिषनिःसारकव्यवहारसत्याभिनिवेशस्य कस्यचिद्वस्त्वात्मनो जन्म भवितव्यं
योऽयं संक्षेपव्यवदानहेतुः स्यात् । इति । तथापि तथावादिन उक्तिमात्रम्
अवशिष्यते । कस्मात् ।

युक्त्या यया तत्त्वदशासु जन्म
स्वतः परस्मादुपपद्यते न ।
तथैव युक्त्या व्यवहारतोऽपि
न युज्यते ते जनिरस्ति केन ॥ ३६ ॥

यथा परमार्थदशासु यथोक्तयुक्त्या स्वतः परतश्च जन्म न युक्तम् ।
तथा व्यवहारेऽपि तथैव [युक्त्या] जन्मानुपपत्त्या भावानां जन्म केन त्वं
साधयिष्यसि । तस्मात्सत्यद्वयविभागेऽपि³ न स्वलक्षणस्य जन्म विद्यते इत्यनिष्य-
माणमप्यवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यम् । ये हि मन्यन्ते 'न स्वतः' इत्यादिना आर्यनागा-
जुनपादैः परिकल्पितरूपमेव प्रतिषिद्धम् । न तु परतन्त्ररूपं इति । तेषामपीदं
निर्हेतुकं मतं न सिध्यतीति तथा वादिनस्त एव पर्यनुयोज्याः ॥

(123,8) अथ यदि सत्यद्वयविभागेऽपि न स्वलक्षणस्य जन्म विद्यते ।
कथमतस्तेषां स्वरूपमुपलभ्यते लोके । उच्यते ।

सामग्र्यपेक्षा अपि नाप्रसिद्धाः
शून्याः पदार्थाः प्रतिमादयो हि ।

1. *Ibid* : सत्त्वात्मविविक्तमनालयाः ; Tib. reads = सत्त्वात्मविविक्ता अनालया
धर्मलक्षणा आकाशस्वभावाः ॥

2. Tib. bred-sa-thon-pa = भयामिषनिस्सारकः ?

3. Tib. chur-du = विभाग ?

यथैव शून्यात्प्रतिमादितश्च
ज्ञानं तदाकारमुदेति तत्र ॥ ३७ ॥
सर्वे पदार्थाश्च तथैव शून्याः
शून्येभ्य एव ह्यदिता भवन्ति ।

सर्वस्य हि भावस्य हेतुफलाव्यतिरेकेणावस्थितिं निःस्वभावस्य प्रतिबिम्बस्य
हेतुफलव्यवस्थां च जानानः कः पण्डितो निश्चिनुयाद्रूपवेदनादीन्
हेतुफलाभ्यामव्यतिरेकेण स्थितान् सत्तामात्रमुपलभ्य सस्वभावान् । तस्मात्
सत्तोपलम्भेऽपि न स्वभावतो जन्मास्ति ॥ यथोक्तम्¹ ।

आदर्शं सुपरिशुद्धे स्वभावरहितं यथा ।
प्रतिबिम्बं दृष्टमेवं द्रुम धर्मान्निबोधत ॥ इति ।

(124,8) अत एव

सत्यद्वये चापि पुनः स्वभावा-
भावाच्च नित्या न च तेऽपि छिन्नाः ॥ ३८ ॥

यस्मादेवं भावा प्रतिबिम्बाकारवत् स्वभावशून्याः । तस्मादेव परमार्थ-
संबृत्तिसत्यद्वयविभागेऽपि स्वभावस्य स्वरूपस्याभावानैवोच्छिन्ना न च
शाश्वताः ॥ यथोक्तं शास्त्रे²

अस्ति यद्धि स्वभावेन न तच्चास्तीति शाश्वतम् ।
नास्तीदानीमभूत्पूर्वमित्युच्छेदः प्रवर्तते ॥ इति ।

(124,20) तथा³

भावमभ्युपपन्नस्य शाश्वतोच्छेददर्शनम् ।
प्रसज्यते स भावो हि नित्योऽनित्योऽयवा भवेत् ॥

1. Cited in prose form in शिक्षास० p. 261, l. 18 : यत्स्वभाव-
शून्यमादर्शमण्डले सुपरिशुद्धे संदृश्यते प्रतिबिम्बम् । तथैव द्रुम जानीहीमान् धर्मान् ।

2. म० शास्त्र XV. II.

3. *Ibid*. XXI. 14. Our Tib. text (p. 125, l. 1) read dños-po
-med-par. Read yod-par. (L.V.P.).

इत्याद्युक्तम् ॥ तथा¹

यथा निर्मितकं शास्ता निर्मितीतर्द्धिसम्पदा ।
निर्मितो निर्मितीतान्यं स च निर्मितकः पुनः ॥

तथा निर्मितकाकारः कर्ता यत्कर्म तत्कृतम् ।
तद्यथा निर्मितेनान्यो निर्मितो निर्मितस्तथा ॥

केशाः कर्माणि देहाश्च कर्तारश्च फलानि च ।
गन्धर्वनगराकारा मरीचिस्वप्नसन्निभाः ॥

इति निर्मितकदृष्टान्तेन निःस्वभानिःस्वभावानामुत्पादो देशितः ॥

(125,19) तस्मादेवं न केवलं सत्यद्वयेऽपि स्वभावाभावेन शाश्वतो-
च्छेददृष्टिर्दूरात्त्यक्ता । चिरनिरुद्धकर्मभ्योऽपि कर्मणां फलसम्बन्धः ²आलय-
विज्ञानसन्तानाविप्र³णाशप्रा⁴प्यादिकमपरिकल्पयित्वाप्युपपन्नः । कथम् ।

यस्मात्स्वभावेन न तन्निरुद्धं
विनालयं शक्तिरियं हि तस्मात् ।
चिरान्निरुद्धादपि कर्मणश्च
क्वचित्फलं संभवतीति विद्धि ॥ ३९ ॥

यस्य दर्शने कर्म निरुध्यते स निरुद्धात्तत्कर्मणः कथं फलं भविष्यती-
त्याक्षेपपरिहारतया निरुद्धकर्मणः शक्तिं व्यवस्थापयितुं कल्पयत्यालयविज्ञानं
ऋणपत्रसदृशमविप्रणाशं धर्मान्तरं वा प्राप्तिं वा कर्मवासनावासितविज्ञान-

1. Ibid. XVII. 31—33. Tib. reads यः (=gañ-shig) for अन्य
(=gshan-shig).

2. Tib. reads आलयविज्ञानसन्तान as if it is a Tatpuruṣa compound.
Here it must be taken as a Dvandva compound (आलय and विज्ञानसन्तान).

3. See म० वृ० प. 311, l. 6 (L. V. P.).

4. According to Sarvāstivādin Prāpti is one of the Cittavipra-
yuktasamskāradharmas. See Th. Stcherbatsky : Conception of
Buddhism, pp. 26, 105.

सन्ततिं वा । यस्यतु दर्शने नैवोत्पद्यते स्वभावेन । न हि तदर्शने तन्निरुध्यते ।
नाप्यनिरुद्धात्फलोद्भवासंभवोऽपीति कर्मविनाशे कर्मफलसम्बन्धः सुत¹रामुपप-
द्यते ॥ यथोक्तं शास्त्रे² ।

कर्म नोत्पद्यते कस्मान्निःस्वभावं यतस्ततः ।
यस्माच्च तदनुत्पन्नं न तस्माद्विप्रणश्यति ॥ इति ।

सूत्रेऽपि³ ।

नरायुर्मा वर्षशतं जीविन् तावद्धि भाषसे ।
वर्षपुञ्जी सञ्चिता न सिद्धिरेषापि तत्समा ॥
अक्षीणमिति यत्प्रोक्तं क्षीणं कर्मेति यत्सृष्टम् ।
शून्यनीत्याऽक्षीणमुक्तं क्षीणं व्यवहृतेनयात् ॥ इति ।

(127,12) यथोक्तमेवार्थं दृष्टान्तमुखेनाह ।

स्वप्नोपलब्धान् विषयान् समीक्ष्य
प्रबुद्धमूढस्य रतिर्बुद्धेति ।
असत्स्वभावाच्च तथा निरुद्धात्
फलं भवत्येव हि कर्मणोऽपि ॥ ४० ॥

(127,17) यथोक्तं भवसङ्क्रान्तिसूत्रे⁴ । तद्यथा महाराज पुरुषः सुतः
स्वप्ने जनपदकल्याण्यां स्त्रिया सार्थं परिचरेत् । स शयितविबुद्धो जनपदकल्याणीं

1. Tib. ches. sin. tu : सुतराम् ?

2. म० शास्त्र XVII, 21. (L. V. P.).

3. Non identifie (L. V. P.). The first of these two verses is cited
in prose form with a slight modification in the Śikṣāsamuccaya p. 262.
l. 10 यथा भणसि मनुष्याणामायुः परिमाणं वर्षशतं जीविन् । नचास्ति वर्षपुञ्जी ।
अयमपि समुदागमस्तद्वत् ।

4. Kandjour, Mdo, XVII, Csoma feer. The Sanskrit text of this
Sūtra has been restored from the Tib. version and published in the
J. O. R. M. Vol. V. Dr. Poussin compares this extract with that

स्त्रियमनुस्मरेत् । तत्किं मन्यसे महाराज¹ स पुरुषः पाण्डितजातीयो भवेत् । यः² स्वप्ने जनपदकल्याण्या स्त्रिया सार्धं परिचरेत् । तच्छ्रुयितविबुद्धस्तां जन-
पदकल्याणीं स्त्रियमनुस्मरेत् । नो हीदं भगवन् । तत्कस्य हेतोः ।³ स्वप्ने जन-
पदकल्याणी स्त्री हि भगवन् न संविद्यते । नोपलभ्यते । कुतः पुनरनया[सार्धं]
परिचरणा ।⁴ एवं स पुरुषो विघातस्य क्लमयस्य भागी स्यात् । भगवानाह ।
एवमेव महाराज बालोऽश्रुतवान् पृथग्जनश्चक्षुषा रूपाणि दृष्ट्वा सौमनस्य-
स्थानीयानि रूपाण्यभिनिविशेत् ।⁵ अभिनिविष्टः⁶ संरज्यते । संरक्तो रागजं
द्वेषजं मोहजं कर्म कायवाङ्मनोभिरभिसंस्करोति । तच्चाभिसंस्कृतं कर्म
निरुध्यते । निरुद्धं न पूर्वा दिशं निश्चित्य तिष्ठति । यावन्न विदिशमिति ।
कदाचित्कालान्तरेण मरणकाल⁷ उपस्थिते⁸ तत्स⁹ भागस्य कर्मणः क्षयात्
चरमविज्ञाने निरुद्धे तस्यैव कर्मणो¹⁰ मनोऽभिमुखी भवति तद्यथापि नाम सुप्त-
शयितविबुद्धस्य जनपदकल्याणी स्त्री । एवं हि महाराज चरमविज्ञानं
निरुध्यते । औपपत्त्यशिकं प्रथमविज्ञानमुत्पद्यते यदि वा देवेषु । यावद्यदि वा
प्रेतेष्विति । तस्य च महाराज प्रथमविज्ञानस्य समनन्तरनिरुद्धस्य

of the Pitāputrasamāgama Sūtra cited in the Śikṣāsamuccaya p. 252, l. 3. The same corresponding passages of the Pitā. Sūtra are also found in the Bodhicaryāvatārapañcika p. 477, l. 3.

1. The restored Sanskrit text of the Bhavasaṅkrānti Sūtra (= भ०सं०) add संविद्यते सा जनपदकल्याणी । आह । नो हीदं भगवन् । भगवानाह । तत्किं मन्यसे महाराज ।

2. भ०सं० : यः स्वप्ने जन.....णींस्त्रियमाभिनिविशेत् ।

3. भ०सं० and शि०सं० add अत्यन्ततया तु

4. भ०सं० : स पुरुषः omitted. शि०सं० : अन्यत्र यावदेव for एवं

5. शि०सं० and बो०प० : सोऽभि०

6. भ०सं० add अनुरज्यते । अनुरक्तः, शि०सं० सन्ननुनीयते । अनुनीतः

7. भ०सं० and शि०सं० add समय.

8. शि०सं० add जीवितेन्द्रियनिरोध आयुषः परिक्षयात्

9. सभागकर्मन्—see the article 'Death (Buddhist)', in Encyclopaedia of Hastings and compendium (P. T. S. 1910), p. 72, (L. V. P.)

10. भ०सं० : तत्कर्म कदाचित्मनसोऽभिमुखी भवति । शि०सं० : तत् (कर्म) पुनः काला०.....चरमविज्ञानस्य निरुध्यमानस्य मनस आरम्भणी भवति ।

तत्स¹ भागा चित्तसन्ततिः प्रवर्तते यत्र विपाकस्य प्रतिसंवेदना प्रज्ञायते । तत्र महाराज न कश्चिद्धर्मोऽस्मादलोकात्परलोके संक्रामति । च्युत्युपपत्ती प्रज्ञायते । तत्र महाराज यश्चरमविज्ञानस्य निरोधः सा च्युतिरिति संज्ञा । यः प्रथमविज्ञानस्य प्रादुर्भावः सोपपत्तिरिति संज्ञा । चरमविज्ञानं महाराज निरोधेऽपि न कश्चिद्गच्छति । औपपत्त्यशिकं² विज्ञानं प्रादुर्भावेऽपि न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । तत्कस्य हेतोः । स्वभावरहितत्वात् । तत्र महाराज चरमविज्ञानं चरमविज्ञानेन शून्यम् । च्युतिश्च्युत्या शून्या । कर्म कर्मणा शून्यम् । प्रथमविज्ञानं प्रथम-
विज्ञानेन शून्यम् । उपपत्तिरुपपत्त्या शून्या ।³ कर्मणामविप्रणाशश्च प्रज्ञायते । इति ॥

(129,18) अथ यदि स्वभावेनानुत्पन्नस्य क्षयाभावाद्विपाक इष्यते । तथा च सति यथा अनिरुद्धत्वाद्विपाकप्रादुर्भावः । तथा कृतविपाकस्यापि कर्मणो विपाकः । तत्र कर्मण अक्षयाद्विपकमपि कर्म पुनर्विपक्ष्यतीत्यनवस्था-
दोषः स्यात् इति । नैष विद्यते ।

असत्त्वतुल्यो विषयो यथापि

केशाकृतित्तैमिरिकेन दृष्टः ।

न ह्यन्यवस्त्वाकृतिरेवमेव

पाकान्न पाकोऽस्ति पुनश्च वेत्ति ॥ ४१ ॥

यथा अविद्यमानसदृशो विषयस्तैमिरिकेनाविद्यमानकेशादिरूपं दृश्यते । न तु तदन्यवस्त्वाकाराः खरशृङ्गवन्म्यासुतादयः । तथा कर्मणः स्वभावोऽनि-
रुद्धसमो विपाकं नियमयति ॥

(130,13) दृष्टान्तेनानेन न केवलं कर्मणामनियमो नास्ति । विपाक-
नियमोऽप्यस्तीत्याह ।

तस्मादशुभविपाकं कृष्णकर्म

शुभविपाकं शुभकर्म दृष्टम् ।

1. शि०सं० : अनन्तरसभागा. बो०प० : अनन्तरं सभा०

2. भ०सं० and शि०सं० add प्रथम.

3. शि०सं० : अवन्ध्यता.

4. These two lines do not admit of being put into metre.

शुभाशुभाभावमतिविमुक्तः

न्यषेधि वै कर्मफलेषु चिन्ता ॥ ४२ ॥

यद्यपि शुभाशुभकर्मद्वयस्वभावो नास्ति । तथापि केशादिदर्शनस्य नियततत्त्वान्नेष्टो विपाकोऽशुभकर्मकः । नानिष्टः शुभकर्मकः । शुभाशुभकर्मानालम्बनेन हि विमुच्यते । अत एव भगवता पृथग्जना अत्यन्तमेकान्त-चारिणः कर्मफलापवादसंवृतिनाशका भवेयुः¹ इति मत्वा कर्मणां फल-विपाकोऽचिन्त्य इति कर्मफलाश्रिता चिन्ता प्रतिषिद्धा ॥

यद्येवं कर्मणां फलसम्बन्धो व्यवस्थाप्यते । तर्हि² आर्यलङ्कावतारसूत्रा-दिषु यदालयविज्ञानमनन्तधर्मशक्तिविशेषालयं सर्वजीवं तरङ्गाणामुदधिरिव सर्वभावजन्महेतुरुक्तम् । तर्हि सर्वथा नास्ति । मैवम् । तथोपदेष्टुं विनेयेभ्यस्तदस्तितायां देशितत्वात् । सर्वभावस्वभावानुग³ माय शून्यतैवालय-विज्ञानशब्देन देशिता वेदितव्या । न केवलमालयविज्ञानमस्ति । किन्तु पुद्गलोऽप्यस्ति । स हि तदस्तितां विनेयजनानामनुग्रहार्थं दिदेश । 'यथोक्तम् । भारो हि भिक्षवः पञ्चस्कन्धाः । भारहारः पुद्गल इति । केषाञ्चित्स्कन्धमात्रं दिदेश । यदुच्यते ।⁵ चित्तमिति वा मन इति वा विज्ञानमिति वा । तद्वि दीर्घकालं शीलादिपरिभाषितमूर्ध्वगाम्यायत्यां स्वर्गं गमिष्यति इति ॥

सर्वमेतत्प्रयोजनवशेनोक्तम् । किं तत्प्रयोजनम् । उच्यते ।

1. Tib. hgyur. du. hon. no = भवेत्. compare the forms like ma ... bsad. du hon. no = मा. वपरोपयेम् in म० वृ० p. 464, n. 2 and hgyur. du. hon. ba = भवेत् instead of Skt. माभूत्. Ibid. p. 319, n. 3.

2. See लङ्कावतारसूत्र p. 220 and the following.

3. We may also read अनुग्रवेश here.

4. Compare the extract cited in the तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहपञ्जिका (Gaekwads Oriental Series No. 30, 31.) p. 130.

5. Dr. poussin draws attention to two passages in Samyutta, II. p. 94 and the following : यच्च खो एतं भिक्षवे बुद्धिं चित्तमिति पि मनो इति पि विज्ञानमिति पि... and Ibid. V, p. 370. यच्चरव्वस्स तं चित्तं दीपरत्तं सद्वापरिभाषितं शीलसुतचागपञ्जापरिभाषितं तं उद्धं गामी होति विसेसगामी. He also suggests the reading dad. dan. tshal = श्रद्धाशील in page 132, l. 5.

एवं हि गम्भीरतरान् पदार्थान्

न वेत्ति यस्तं प्रतिदेशनेयम् ।

अस्त्यालयः पुद्गल एव चास्ति

स्कन्धा इमे वा खलु धातवश्च¹ ॥ ४३ ॥

ये खलु विनेयास्तार्थिकदृष्टौ चिरमभ्यासं कृत्वा गाभीरायां धर्मतायामव-
तर्तुमक्षमाः 'नास्त्यात्मा' 'नास्त्युत्पादः' इति यथादेशितधर्मतां श्रुत्वा त्रस्ता
आदावेव शून्यतोपदेशं प्रपातसदृशं मन्यन्ते । ते तद्विमुखा न महान्तमर्थं
साधयिष्यन्ति । प्रथमतरमालयविज्ञानादिदेशनया तु तीर्थिकमतं प्रत्याख्याय
²तन्महार्थमावक्ष्यन्ति । पश्चात्प्रवचनाविपरीतार्थवेदिनः स्वयमेव तानि
त्यक्ष्यन्ति । इति गुण एव भवेत् । न दोषः । यथोक्तमार्थदेवेन³

(133,3) यद्यस्य प्रियं पूर्वं तत्तत्तस्य समाचरेत् ।

न हि प्रतिहतः पातं सद्धर्मस्य कथंचन ॥

(133,8) न केवलमालयविज्ञानादिकं देशित प्रथममवतारणाय । किन्तु

सत्कायदृष्ट्या रहितोऽपि बुद्ध
आभाषतेऽहं च यथा ममेति ।

तथापि भावप्रकृतावसत्या-
मस्तीति नेयार्थतया प्रवक्ति ॥ ४४ ॥

सकलसत्कायदृष्टिप्रहाणात् अहंकारममकारप्रहाणेऽपि लोकेनावगन्त-
व्योपायार्थं 'अहं' 'मम' इति व्यपदिशति । भगवान् 'अहं' 'मम' इत्येवं
यथा भाषते । तथा भावानां स्वभावेऽसत्यपि तदस्तितायोपादिशति ।
लोकेनावगन्तव्योपायार्थमस्तितायां कथयति ।

1. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 25. Tib. reads खलु केवलं च ।

2. Cf. लङ्का० सूत्र p. 79.

3. Cited in म० वृ० p. 370 l. 2, and सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 9. (with हित replacing प्रिय) (L. V. P.). Compare लङ्का० सूत्र p. 149. यद्येनाधिमुच्यते तत्तस्य देशयेत्.

(134,¹) यथोक्तं पूर्वशैलगाथासु

यदि लोकविनेतृणां न हि लोकानुवर्तना ।
का बुद्धधर्मता स्याच्च बुद्धं कश्चिन्न वेत्स्यति ॥

स्कन्धान् धातूनायतनमेकरूपाणि भाषते ।
धातुत्रयं च देशेति एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

¹धर्माननामकानेव अचिन्त्यैः किल नामभिः ।
सत्त्वान् हि पारिभाषेति एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

अभावमुपदेशेति बुद्धप्रकृतिनिष्ठया ।
अभावः कोऽपि नास्तीह एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

अर्थानर्थादर्शनं च निरोधः पारमार्थिकः ।
वदतां वच उत्कृष्टं एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

अविनाशमनुत्पन्नं धर्मधातुसमं जगत् ।
²सत्त्वधातुं च देशेति एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

त्रिषु अध्वसु सत्त्वानां प्रकृतिं नोपलभ्यति ।
सत्त्वधातुं च देशेति एषा लोकानुवर्तना³ ॥

इति विस्तरः ।

(135,¹³) तस्मादेवं विज्ञानवादी यथाप्रदर्शितं मध्यमकमतमसहमानः
स्वविकल्पेन ⁴प्रयोगसमयाभिधानद्वारा ⁵अर्थस्थापकैः यथोक्तमतं निराकर्तुमाह ।

प्रज्ञाविहारी स हि बोधिसत्त्वः

विज्ञानमात्रप्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वः ।

1. Tib. chos, kyi, rnam. See Fucuax : Tib. Grammar, p. 33.
2. Tib. तेजः कल्पं च.
3. The last two verses are cited in म०बृ० p. 548, l. 6 (L.V.P.).
4. =Sbyar. baḥi. lugs. Cf. p. 174, l. 14 above.
5. =Don. dag. ḥjog. par. byed. pa

Though there are three complete sentences here, yet they may be taken in sense as one sentence, Viṭar-c-cilai poritta vēntaṇ, Pūn-taṇ-poruṇai-p-poraiyaṇ Māntaraṇ cēral maṇṇavaṇ vāli.

Note 2.—If different actions of the same person or object have to be mentioned and also different epithets denoting the same, the predicates should be mentioned at the end, of which all but the last one should be indeclinable past participles and the last should be a finite verb.

Ex. Maṇṇaṇ Iṭantiraiyaṇ venṇū tirumpiṇṇaṇ.

(King Iṭantiraiyaṇ returned after victory.)

43. தன்மைச் சொல்லே யகிறிணைக் கிளவியென்று
எண்ணுவழி மருங்கின் விரவுதல் வரையார்.
Taṇmai-c collē y-aṣṟiṇai-k kiḷavi-y-enṇū
Enṇu-vāḷi maruṅkiṇ viravutal varaiyār.

It is not prevented to count an aṣṟiṇai noun along with the first personal pronoun.

Ex. Yāṇum eṇ eṣkamum cārum.

(My weapon and myself are sufficient.)

Note 1.—The above meaning is given by Iṭampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār; Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar give a different meaning (i.e.) when the subject is a first personal pronoun and an aṣṟiṇai noun, the predicate is in the first person plural. If the latter interpretation is correct, the sūtra

Avarṇu!

Paṇmai y-uraikkun taṇmai-k kiḷavi

Enṇiyaṇ maruṅkiṇ riripavai y-uḷavē

(Tol. Col. 209.)

is unnecessary since it conveys the same meaning. Besides sanction is necessary to count aṣṟiṇai nouns along with first personal pronoun, since one is generally inclined to count like objects. Hence the interpretation given by Iṭampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār is, in my opinion, correct.

Note. 2.—Cēṇāvaraiyar's interpretation of this sūtra is clearly seen from his commentary under the sūtra 'Viyaṅkō I-enṇu-p-peyar tiṇai-viravu varaiyār.' (Tol. Col. 45.)

Note 3.—It is worthy of notice that sanction is not accorded anywhere in Tolkāppiyam to count an aṣṟiṇai noun and a second personal pronoun, nor for using the predicate in the second person plural (i. e.) such expressions as "nīyum niṇ-paṭai-k-kala-

mum cārīr (your army and yourself are sufficient) have not received sanction at the hands of Tolkāppiyāṇār. Iḷampūraṇār states that the use of the word 'maruṅkū' which serves no purpose in this sūtra suggests the sanction of such usage. Cēṇāvaraiyar says in his commentary under Tol. Col. 45. that such expressions are sanctioned in the last sūtra of Collatikāram in Tolkāppiyam.

44. ஒருமை யெண்ணின் பொதுப்பிரி பாற்சொல்
ஒருமைக் கல்ல தெண்ணுமுறை நில்லாது.
Orumai y-eṇṇiṇ potu-p-piri pūr-col
Orumai-k k-alla t-eṇṇumurai nillātu.

The words (*oruvan* and *orutti*) which respectively mean one man and one woman and have each a suffix denoting the *pāl* or gender-number are not used in counting.

Note 1.—*Orumai-y-eṇṇiṇ potu-c-col* or the word which denotes a single object and is common to both *āṇpāl* and *peṇpāl* is *oruvan*. *Orumai-y-eṇṇiṇ potu-p-piri-pūr-col* or the words which separately denote one man and one woman are respectively *oruvan* and *orutti*. In counting, one has to say *oruvan*, *iruvan*, *mūvar*, *nālvār* etc., and not *oruvan*, *iruvan*, *mūvar* etc., nor *orutti*, *iruvan*, *mūvar* etc.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇār and Teyvaccilaiyār have given the above meaning to the sūtra. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, on the other hand, have taken the sūtra to mean that the words *oruvan* and *orutti* which are *orumai-y-eṇṇiṇ-potu-p-piri-pūr-col* are used only in connection with the number denoting *orumai* and not with the numbers denoting *irumai*, *mummai* etc. (i.e.) the suffixes *u* denoting *āṇpāl* and *i* denoting *peṇpāl* are used only in connection with the number denoting single object as *oruvan* and *orutti* and not with those denoting more than one; hence the words *iruvan*, *irutti*, *mūvar*, *mutti* etc., cannot be used. There are six defects in this interpretation:—(1) They take the expression *orumai-y-eṇṇiṇ potu-p-piri-pūr-col* to denote the suffixes *u* and *i* instead of the words *oruvan* and *orutti*. (2) They take the expression *eṇṇumurai* to mean in respect of the numbers *irumai*, *mummai* etc., instead of the natural meaning 'while counting'. (3) Such an interpretation of the word *eṇṇumurai* is not suited to the context; for both the sūtras that precede and follow this sūtra deal with the use of expressions while counting. (Cf. the words *eṇṇu-vali* in Tol. Col. 43 and *eṇṇu-p-*

peyar in Tol. Col. 45.) (4) They have to take that this sūtra suggests that *oruvan* is used in counting and not *oruvan* or *orutti*, which, Iḷampūraṇār and Teyvaccilaiyār think, is the direct meaning of the sūtra. (5) Besides Cēṇāvaraiyar has to find an explanation for the use of the singular verb *nillātu* as the predicate of the word *potu-p-piri-pūr-col*, which, according to his interpretation, is plural in number since it denotes the two suffixes *u* and *i*. (6) Lastly their statement that the words *iruvan*, *irutti*, *mūvar*, *mutti* etc., cannot be used is against the ordinary rules of science; for the use of a suffix or suffixes may be prohibited in certain places only if there is a chance of its or their being used in those places on the authority of another sūtra (cf. *Prāptasyaiva niṣēdhaḥ*). Here, there is no possibility for the suffixes *u* and *i* which denote singular number to be used in words *iruvan*, *irutti*, *mūvar*, *mutti* etc. since their bases denote objects more than one.

Hence the interpretation given by Iḷampūraṇār and Teyvaccilaiyār is direct, unlaboured and sound.

45. வியங்கோ ளெண்ணப்பெயர் திணைவிரு வரையார்.
Viyaṅkō ḷ-eṇṇu-p-peyar tiṇai-viravu varaiyār.

It is not prohibited to connect *uyar-tiṇai* nouns and *aṣṟiṇai* nouns by 'and' if both of them have a verb in the potential mood as the common predicate.

Ex. Ā-v-um āyaṇ-um celka.

(Let the cows and the shepherd go.)

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇār and Teyvaccilaiyār have given the above interpretation; while Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, on the other hand, state that this sūtra sanctions the use of one verb in the potential mood when the subject consists of both *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṟiṇai* nouns. Since no other sūtra sanctions the counting of *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṟiṇai* and since *viyaṅkōḷ-viṇai* or verb in the potential mood has the same form whether it denotes *uyartiṇai* or *aṣṟiṇai* (cf. Tol. Col. 222), the interpretation of Iḷampūraṇār and Teyvaccilaiyār is sound.

Note 2.—Cēṇāvaraiyar condemns Iḷampūraṇār's interpretation of this sūtra on four grounds:—(1) Even though in expressions like *ā-v-um āyaṇ-um celka*, *ā* (cows) and *āyaṇ* (shepherd) are respectively *āṣṟiṇai* and *uyartiṇai*, still they may be connected by 'and' on account of their having the relation of 'the grazer and the grazed'. Similarly in other expressions such rela-

tions may be found. (2) Iḷampūraṇar himself quotes 'yāṇai, tēr, kutirai, kālāl erintān (he routed elephants, chariots, cavalry and foot-soldiers) under Tol. Col. 291 as an example where *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai* nouns qualify the same predicate *erintān* which is not in the potential mood. There is no sūtra which sanctions that *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai* nouns may be connected by the word 'and' when they take a common predicate in the indicative mood. (3) Tolkāppiyāṇār himself states that *eṇṇu-t-tiṇai-viravu-p-peyar* or nouns belonging to *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai* counted together take the *aṣṛiṇai* verb in Tol. Col. 51. Hence he may have thought, in this sūtra, of the predicate and not of the subject. (4) Since expressions are found in plenty where *uyartiṇai* nouns in third person are counted together with *aṣṛiṇai* nouns, Tolkāppiyāṇār could have said '*uyartiṇai-c-collē y-aṣṛiṇai-k kiḷavi*' instead of '*taṇmai-c-collē y-aṣṛiṇai-k kiḷavi*' in Tol. Col. 43, so that the use of all *uyartiṇai* nouns and pronouns whether they are in the first person, second person or third person with *aṣṛiṇai* nouns taking the common predicate might have been sanctioned.

As regards the first objection, we may ascribe some relation or other between two objects. When the sūtra may be taken to sanction directly that the *uyartiṇai* nouns and *aṣṛiṇai* nouns may be connected by 'and', why should we resort to ascribe some relation between them to sanction such a usage? The second objection is not a serious one. Cēṇāvaraiyar himself says that the use of *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai* nouns taking a common predicate which is not in the potential mood is to be taken by *taṇṇi-na-muṭittal*. What harm is there if Iḷampūraṇar takes such expressions by the same principle *taṇṇi-na-muṭittal*. The third objection does not seem to be sound. Even though in Tol. Col. 51 Tolkāppiyāṇār says about the predicate in this sūtra; for the mentioned anything about the predicate in this sūtra; for the previous sūtra decidedly deals with the counting of objects. Hence there is no harm by taking that this sūtra deals with the subject of the verb in the potential mood. (4) The fourth objection may be met thus:—It must be clearly noted that according to Tolkāppiyāṇār a verb in the first person is always *uyartiṇai* and hence can never be used along with *aṣṛiṇai* subject. Hence there came the necessity for the sūtra Tol. Col. 209 which says that a verb in the first person plural may be used if the subject is made up of a pronoun of the first person connected with an

aṣṛiṇai noun. The sanction of such a use of the verb in the first person plural arises only when the counting of a first personal pronoun and an *aṣṛiṇai* noun is sanctioned. Hence is the need of the expression *taṇmai-c-collē* in the sūtra Tol. Col. 43.

46. வேறுவினைப் பொதுச்சொல் லொருவினை கிளவார்.
Vēru-viṇai-p potu-c-co l-oru-viṇai kiḷavār.

A predicate denoting the species of an action is not used along with a noun connected with its genus, (i.e.) the predicate denoting the genus of the action itself should be used.

For instance the word *aṭicil* means an eatable which is *uṇṇatū* or that is swallowed without the action of the teeth, *tiṇṇatū* or that is masticated, *paṇṇatū* or that is drunk like water and *nakkuvatū* or that is licked like viscous fluid. Hence one should not use expressions like *aṭicil uṇṇān*, *aṭicil tiṇṇān*, *aṭicil paṇṇān* and *aṭicil nakkivān*; but one should use *aṭicil ayiṇṇān*, *cōrū* (rice) *uṇṇān*, *ūṇ* (flesh) *tiṇṇān*, *nīr* (water) *paṇṇatū* and *tēṇ* (honey) *nakkivān*. Similarly the word *aṇi* means an ornament which is *kaviṇṇatū* or that is placed over like the crown, *kaṭṭuvatū* or that is tied like flowers to the hair, *ceṇṇip-patū* or that is put on like bracelets and *pūṇuvatū* or that is hung like garlands, necklaces etc. Hence one should not use expressions like *aṇi kavittān*, *aṇi kaṭṭivān*, *aṇi ceṇṇittān*, *aṇi pūṇittān*, but should use *aṇi aṇittān*, *muṭi* (crown) *kavittān*, *pūṇvai* (flowers) *kuḷalir* (tuft) *kaṭṭivān*, *tōḷvaḷai* (armlets) *ceṇṇittān*, and *mālai* (garlands) *pūṇittān*.

Similarly the word *iyam* means a musical instrument which is *koṭṭuvatū* or that is beaten, *ūḷuvatū* or that which is blown and *eḷuṇṇuvatū* or that which is provided with strings. Hence one should use *iyam iyampiṇṇār* etc.

Note 1.—Cēṇāvaraiyar takes the word '*micaintār*' in the same category as '*ayiṇṇār*'. Naccinārkkinīyar remarks that both of them cannot be taken to denote the action of eating in a general sense and '*uṇṇār*' should be used in their place. This shows that such restrictions were not carefully observed in later literature.

Note 2.—It is learnt from the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar that *orūu-viṇai* is another reading in the place of *oru-viṇai* in the sūtra.

47. எண்ணுந் காலு மதுவதன் மாபே.
Eṇṇuṇ kālu m-alu-v-atan marapē.

The same rule (as is mentioned in the previous sūtra) should be observed when eatables of different nature are counted, (i.e.) the verb giving the general sense should be used.

Ex. Cōṛuṇ kaṛiyum ayiṇṛār.
(They ate rice and meat.)
Yāluṇ kuḷalum iyampiṇār.
(They played upon yāl and pipe.)

Note 1.—This rule, too, gradually fell into disuse. For the verb *uṇ* is used as one giving general sense in *Puṇāṇūṇū*. cf. *Ūṇ-ruvai kaṛi cōṛu uṇṭū*. (Having taken in meat, chutney, vegetables and rice.) (*Puṇā*. 14, 14.)

Note 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār reads *eṇṇuṇ-kālai* in place of *eṇṇuṇ-kālum*. The latter reading seems to be better since the use of the particle 'um' is appropriate.

48. இரட்டைக் கிளவி யிரட்டிற் பிரிந் திசையா.
Iraṭṭai-k kiḷavi y-iraṭṭir-pirin t-icaiyā.

There are certain words whose roots are always reduplicated.

Ex. Carukū eriyuṇkālai curu-curu-t-t-atū.
(Dried leaves produced a hissing sound when being burnt.)
Pakaivar koṛu-koṛu-t-t-ār.
(Enemies bubbled with anger.)
Aracaṇ mukam kaṛu-kaṛu-t-t-atū.
(The king's face became very black.)

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar reads '*Iraṭṭu-p-pirinticaiyā*' in place of '*Iraṭṭir-pirinticaiyā*'.

Note 2.—It is worthy of note that the *iraṭṭai-k-kiḷavi* referred to in this sūtra is a word denoting noise, feeling or quality.

Note 3.—The difference between *iraṭṭai-k-kiḷavi* mentioned here and *aṭukkū* mentioned in Tol. Col. 411, 424, 425 etc. is that, in the former, the root is doubled like *curu-curu-t-t-atū*, *kaṛu-kaṛu-t-t-atū* etc. and in the latter the whole word is doubled like *kaṇṭirē kaṇṭirē*, *pōyirru pōyirru* etc.

49. ஒருபெயர்ப் பொதுச்சொ லுள்பொரு ளொழியத்
தெரிபுவேறு கிளத்த றலைமையும் பன்மையும்
உயர்திணை மருங்கினு மஃறிணை மருங்கினும்.
Oru-peyar-p potu-c-co l-ul-poru l-oḷiya-t

Teripu-vēṛū kiḷatta ṛalaimai-y-um paṇmai-y-um
Uyartiṇai maruṇkiṇu m-aṣṛiṇai maruṇkiṇum.

If in certain expressions *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai* words have to be used to denote a group made up of different kinds of persons or objects, those that denote the pre-eminent or the majority are used. For instance one uses the word *pārppaṇa-c-cēri* (the residence of Brahmins) to denote a place where Brahmins and members of other communities reside, of whom the Brahmins are considered superior. Similarly the word *kamukan-tōṭṭam* to denote a garden containing *kamukū* (areca-palm) and other trees. Since *kamukū* is considered to be superior to other trees in the garden, the word *kamukan-tōṭṭam* is chosen. The word *eyiṇar-nāṭū* (the land of hunters) is used to denote a country where *eyiṇar* are in majority. Similarly the word *oṭu-v-aṇ-kāṭū* (forest containing *oṭu* trees) is used to denote a forest which abounds in round-leaved-discous feather-foil trees.

Note 1.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes the line '*uyartiṇai maruṇkiṇu m-aṣṛiṇai maruṇkiṇum*' found in this sūtra to the following sūtra.

50. பெயரினும் தொழிலினும் பிரிபவை யெல்லாம்
மயங்கல் கூடா வழக்குவழிப் பட்டன.
Peyariṇun toḷilīṇum piripavai y-ellām
Mayaṇkal kūṭā valakku-vali-p paṭṭaṇa.

Nouns and verbs (belonging both to *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai*) denoting different objects or actions should be counted together only according to usage.

Ex. Pāṇarun kūttarum viṛaliyarum vantaṇar.
(Pāṇars, kūttars and viṛaliyars came.)
Poṇṇun tukiru muttum.
(Gold, corals and pearls.)
(*Puṇā*. 218.)

Āṭuvārum, pāṭuvārum, nakuvārum kūṭiṇar.
(Dancers, songsters and those that are merry assembled.)
Uṇpaṇavum, tiṇpaṇavum, parukuvaṇavum, nakku-vaṇavum eṇakku-kkoṭuttāṇ.
(He gave me eatables that can be swallowed, masticated, drunk and licked.)

Note 1.—Teyvaccilaiyār, instead of taking the line *uyartiṇai maruṇkiṇum- aṣṛiṇai maruṇkiṇum* to this sūtra might have read it in the previous sūtra and taken its idea here also by the

principle of *anuvṛtti*. He takes the word *enṇuñkāl* here from the following sūtra. Instead of doing so he might have taken *enṇuñ-kālum* from Tol. Col. 47.

Note 2.—The above meaning belongs to Teyvaccilaiyār. Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkiniyar, on the other hand, have given a different meaning. (*i.e.*) It is no mistake if nouns common to men and women and verbs denoting action common to them both are used to denote either of them. Such expressions should have been sanctioned by usage. For example in the expression '*vaṭukar-aracar āyiravar makkaḷai y-uṭaiyar*' (hundred *vaṭuka* kings have children), the word *vaṭukar* which generally means men and women of *vaṭuka* caste here refers to only *vaṭuka* men by the association of the word *aracar*. Hence the word *vaṭukar* is here named *peṇ-ṇ-oli-miku-col* (word which applies to men alone to the exclusion of women). Similarly in the expression '*toṭiyōr koy-kulai y-arumpiya kumari ṇāḷal*' (young jasmine sprouting on account of its being plucked by those who wear bracelets), the word *toṭiyōr* which should generally mean men or women wearing bracelets here refers to only women wearing bracelets since men are not generally used to wear them. Hence the word *toṭiyōr* is here named *āṇ-oli-mikucol* (word which applies to women alone to the exclusion of men). In the sentence '*ivar vāḷkkai-p-paṭṭār*' (these persons have become house-holders), the word *ivar* refers to only women since the expression *vāḷkkai-p-paṭṭal* is generally applied to women. Similarly in the sentence '*ivar kaṭṭil ēriṇār*' (this person ascended the throne), the word *ivar* refers to a man since women were not generally used to ascend the throne in Tamil land. •

Teyvaccilaiyār thinks that the above examples may come under *cārpū* mentioned in the sūtra

Avarṛul,
Vinai-vērū paṭūum pala-poru ḷ-oru-col
Vēru-paṭu vinaiyinu m-inattinuñ cārpinum
Tēra-t tōṇṇum poruṭeri nilaiyē. (Tol. Col. 53.)

Teyvaccilaiyār's meaning to this sūtra seems to be better for two reasons:—(1) There is no other sūtra sanctioning the counting of like objects. (2) The following sūtra best fits in after this, since it deals with the nature of the verb which stands as the common predicate of *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai* nouns.

Note 3.—The examples given by Iḷampūraṇar to this sūtra are '*inru i-v-vūr-p perṛam-ellām pāl kaṛakkum*' (To-day all the cattle of this village give milk); '*inru i-v-v-ūr-p perṛam ellām ulavu oḷintaṇa*' (To-day all the cattle of this village are relieved of ploughing). Cēṇāvaraiyar remarks that those examples are incorrect; for, the word *perṛam* in the former example cannot but refer to cows on account of its association with the word *kaṛakkum*, since the power of giving milk always rests only with cows, and the same word in the latter example cannot but refer to bulls on account of its association with the words *ulavu oḷintaṇa*, since the task of ploughing always rested only with bulls. In case cows also are sometimes used for ploughing fields Cēṇāvaraiyar's condemnation as regards the second example may not be accurate.

51. பலவயி என்னு மெண்ணுத்தினை விரவுப்பெயர்
அஃறினை முடிபின் செய்யுளுள்ளே.
Pala-vayi ṇ-āṇu m-enṇu-t-tiṇai viravu-p-peyar
Aṣṛiṇai muṭiṭiṇa ceyyu ḷ-ul-ḷ-ē.

If *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai* nouns are connected by 'and' and take a common predicate, the *aṣṛiṇai* predicate is generally used in poetry.

Ex. *Kaṭuñ-cinatta kol-kaliṇum*
Kaṭal-pariya kali-māvum
Neṭuñ-koṭiya nimir-tērum
Neñcuṭaiya pukaṇ-maṇavarum-eṇa
Nāṇkuṭaṇ māṇṭa tāyinuṇ.

(Though the four parts (of the army) consisting of fiery war elephants, swift and daring horses, lofty chariots with long flags and bold and willing warriors were great).

Here the predicate *māṇṭalū* is *aṣṛiṇai* while the subject consists of *uyartiṇai* noun *maṇavar* and *aṣṛiṇai* nouns *kaḷirū*, *mā* and *tēr*.

Note 1.—The word *pala-vayin-āṇum* (in many places) in the sūtra suggests that there may be a few places where the *uyartiṇai* predicate may be used.

Ex. *Pārppār tavarē cumantār piṇippaṭṭār*
Mūttā r-iḷaiyār pacu-p-peṇṭi r-eṇṇivarkaṭkū
Āṇṇa vaḷi-vilaṅki nārē piṇappiṭai-p
Pōṇṇi y-eṇa-p-paṭu vār. (Ācārakkōvai, 64.)

E

(Great are they among human beings who give way to the brahmins, ascetics, load-bearers, the sickly, the elders, the youngsters, cows and women if they meet them on their way).

Here though the word *pacu* which is *aṣṛiṇai* is one of the nouns forming the subject, yet the predicate *eṇa-p-paṭuvār* is in *uyartiṇai*.

Note 2.—This sūtra also suggests that the demonstrative pronoun which refers to *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai* nouns mentioned before may, in many places, be *aṣṛiṇai* one and in some places *uyartiṇai*.

- (1) Ex. *Vaṭuka r-aruvāḷar vāṇ-karu nāṭar*
Cuṭu-kāṭu pēy-erumai y-eṇṇivai y-āṇum
Kuṭu-kā r-aṇivutai y-ār.

(Wise persons do not approach these six:—*vaṭukar* (Telugu people), *aruvāḷar* (a Tamil tribe) *karunāṭar* (Canarese people), cremation ground, goblins and buffaloes).

Here the word *ivai* which is *aṣṛiṇai* refers to *vaṭukar*, *aruvāḷar*, *vāṇ-karu-nāṭar*, *cuṭu-kāṭu*, *pēy* and *erumai* of which *cuṭu-kāṭu* and *erumai* are *aṣṛiṇai*, and *vaṭukar*, *aruvāḷar* etc. are *uyartiṇai*.

- (2) Ex. *Pārppā r-aṇavōr pacu-p-pat tiṇi-p-peṇṭir*
Mūttōr kuḷavi y-eṇum ivarai-k kai-viṭṭū.
 (Cilap. *Vaṇciṇa-mālai*).

(Having deserted brahmins, righteous persons, cows, married women, old persons and children).

Here the word *ivarai* refers to *pārppār*, *aṇavōr*, *patṭiṇi-p-peṇṭir*, *mūttōr* which are *uyartiṇai* and *pacu* and *kuḷavi* which are *aṣṛiṇai*.

Note 3.—The word '*pala-vayin-āṇum*' in the sūtra modifies the predicate *aṣṛiṇai-muṭipina*, in the meaning given above. The same is the opinion of Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār. Iḷampūraṇar, on the other hand takes it as an adjunct to the subject *eṇṇu-i-tiṇai-viravu-p-peyar*. Hence he says that the predicate is *aṣṛiṇai* when the subject is, in most cases, made up of *uyartiṇai* and *aṣṛiṇai* nouns and in a few cases made up of *uyartiṇai* nouns alone. The example which he gives for the latter case is:—

Tuṭiyaṇ pāṇaṇ paraiyaṇ kaṭampaṇ-eṇṇū
I-n-nāṇ k-allatū kuṭi-y-u m-illai. (Puṇa. 335)

Here the *aṣṛiṇai* noun *nāṇkū* refers to *uyartiṇai* nouns *tuṭiyaṇ*, *pāṇaṇ*, *paraiyaṇ* and *kaṭampaṇ*, each of which refers to a low caste among Dravidians of Ancient India. Cēṇāvaraiyar is of opinion that Iḷampūraṇar's example is not happy since the *aṣṛiṇai* word *nāṇkū* was used in consideration of the *aṣṛiṇai* noun *kuṭi* which follows it.

Naccinārkkiniyar takes the word *pala-vayin-āṇum* as an adjunct to both the subject and the predicate. Since his purpose is reached by taking it as the adjunct to the predicate alone, the opinion held by Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be the correct one.

52. *வினவேறு படுஉம் பலபொரு ளொருசொல்*
வினவேறு படாஅப் பலபொரு ளொருசொலென்று
ஆயிரு வகைய பலபொரு ளொருசொல்.
Viṇai-vēru paṭūum pala-poru ḷ-oru-col
Viṇai-vēru paṭūa-p pala-poru ḷ-oru-col-eṇṇū
Ā-y-iru vakaiya pala-poru ḷ-oru-col.

Pala-poruḷ-oru-col or words having different meanings are of two kinds:—(1) those which take different verbs after them and (2) those which take the same verb after them.

- Ex. *Mā pūttatū.*
 (The mango tree put forth flowers.)
Mā ṭiṭṭū.
 (Horse ran.)
Mā niṇratū.
 (Mango tree stood or Horse stood.)

Note.—If the verb is such that can be used with all such words, it is not possible for us to determine the particular meaning in which it is used.

53. *அவற்றுள்,*
வினவேறு படுஉம் பலபொரு ளொருசொல்
வேறுபடு வினையினு மினத்தினுஞ் சார்பினும்
தேறத் தோன்றும் பொருடெரி நிலையே.
Avarruḷ,
Viṇai-vēru paṭūum pala-poru ḷ-oru-col
Vēru-paṭu viṇaiyinu m-inaittinuṇ cārpiṇum
Tēra-i lōṇṇum poruṭeri nilaiyē.

Of them the meaning of *viṇai-vēru-paṭūum-pala-poruḷ-oru-col* is clearly determined by *vēru-paṭu-viṇai* or distinguishing

verbs, *inam* or the words of its class used along with it or *cārpu* or context.

(1) Ex. *Mā pūttatū.*

The word *mā* which means mango tree, horse, beetle, goddess Lakṣmī etc., denotes in this example the mango tree on account of its association with the verb *pūttatū* which means 'put forth flowers.' It is only the mango tree that can put forth flowers.

(2) Ex. *Mā-v-um marutam-um ōṅkiṇa.*

The word *mā* here cannot but refer to the mango tree since it is connected with the word *marutam* which denotes a kind of tree by the copula 'um'.

(3) Ex. *Mā-marutta malar-mārpiṇ (Puṛa. 7).*

(By having wide chest (which enables) the goddess Lakṣmī to forsake others).

That the word *mā* here refers to Lakṣmī is learnt from *cārpu* or context.

Note 1.—The word *viṇai* in the sūtra refers to not only the verbs that stand as predicates, but also to nouns that stand as such.

Ex. *I-m-mā vayiram.* (This mango tree is of strong-fibre.)

Note 2.—The word *cārpu* in the sūtra which means context will do; the mention of *vērupaṭu-viṇai* and *inam* have been added in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness.

54. ஒன்றுவினை மருங்கி னென்றித் தோன்றும்
வினைவேறு படாஅப் பலபொரு ளொருசொல்
நினையுந் காலிக் கிளந்தாந் கியலும்.
Oṇṇu-viṇai maruṅki ṇ-oṇṇi-t tōṇṇum
Viṇai-vēru paṭā-p-pala-poru l-oru-col
Niṇaiyuṅ kālai-k kiṭant-āṅ k-iyalum.

Words having different meanings should be clearly mentioned with proper adjuncts to enable the reader to understand its exact meaning, if they are followed by non-distinguishing verbs.

Ex. *Mā-maram viṇtatū.*

(The tree *mā* fell down.)

Mā-vilaṅku viṇtatū.

(The animal *mā* fell down.)

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar, Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār take the first line in this sūtra (i.e.) *oṇṇu-viṇai maruṅki ṇ-oṇṇi-t-*

tōṇṇum as a separate sūtra and the other two lines as one sūtra. Iḷampūraṇar's meaning for the former is that words having different meanings cannot definitely denote one object if they are followed by non-distinguishing verbs. For example if one says '*mā viṇtatū*' which means *mā* fell, the hearer cannot understand whether the speaker intends by the word *mā*, the tree *mā*, the beast *mā*, the beetle *mā* or the goddess Lakṣmī. If we take this interpretation, it is evident that there is no need for this sūtra.

Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on the other hand, says that this sūtra means that, if words having different meanings are followed by non-distinguishing verbs they, in association with certain other factors, denote specific objects. For instance if one says '*mā viṇtatū*', the hearer may understand what the word *mā* denotes if he takes into consideration the place and the time of stating that sentence. If so, it is evident that, since this idea is conveyed by the word *cārpu* in the previous sūtra, this sūtra is not necessary. Teyvaccilaiyār interprets this sūtra more or less in the same way as Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar. The only point of difference between them is that, according to the former the word '*piṇa-colloṭū*' is understood before the word '*oṇṇi*' and according to the latter '*kālam iṭam mutaliyavarroṭū*' is understood before it.

According to Iḷampūraṇar '*oṇṇi-t-tōṇṇum*' means 'appear without being distinguished' and according to the other two it means 'exist distinguished by being associated with other words or the time and place of speaking. All the three take '*tōṇṇum*' to be a finite verb. Cēṇāvaraiyar on the contrary takes it to be a relative present participle qualifying the word '*viṇai-vēru-paṭā-p-pala-poru-l-oru-col*' in the next line.

The meaning given to the second and the third lines by Iḷampūraṇar, Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār is the same as that given by Cēṇāvaraiyar for all the three lines.

From the foregoing reasons it may be evident that Cēṇāvaraiyar's view that the three lines should be taken as one sūtra is sound.

55. குறித்தோன் கூற்றந் தெரித்துமொழி கிளவி.
Kuṇittōṇ kūṇṇan terittu-moḷi kiṭavi.

The idea of the speaker or writer should be definitely expressed.

Note 1.—'*Kuṇittōṇ kūṇṇam*' is the subject in the sūtra; the predicate is *ātal-vēṇṇum*, which is understood; and '*terittu-moḷi-*

kiḷavi is the subjective compliment of the predicate and it may be taken as a *viṇai-t-tokai* formed of the words *terittu-moliṇta* and *kiḷavi*.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar have given the above interpretation to the sūtra. But Iḷampūraṇar seems to take *kūṛram* to mean 'idea', while Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar take it to mean 'difference'. Besides '*kūṛram*' seems to be in the nominative case according to Iḷampūraṇar, while it is, in the opinion of the other two, objective case governing *kuṛittōṇ*. And according to them both *kuṛittōṇ* seems to be the subject and *terittu-moli* the predicate. In that case *terittu-moli* should be considered the contracted form of *terittu-moliṇta*, which is rare and the word *kiḷavi* means words.

Note 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes *terittumoli-kiḷavi* as the subject and *kuṛittōṇ-kūṛram* as logical predicate and *kūṛram* to mean 'intention not expressed'. He adds that '*um*' and '*ūm*' are understood in the sūtra. The example he gives is 'Cēval-aṇ-koṭiyōṇ kāppa' (may the cēvalbannered protect) (*Kuṟuntokai*, 1.) where, he says, the word *cēval*-which is applied to male horse, cock etc., here means cock since the author wants to describe the God *Murukan* who is cock-bannered. But it seems to me that it is the context that determines that the word *cēval* refers to cock. Hence this example may come under the sūtra 53. Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation seems to be the best if we consider why this sūtra is placed after the previous three sūtras.

56. குடிமை யாண்மை யிளமை மூப்பே
அடிமை வன்மை விருந்தே குழுவே
பெண்மை யரசே மகவே குழவி
தன்மை திரிபெய ருறுப்பின் இளவி
காதல் சிறப்பே செறற்சொல் விறற்சொலென்று
ஆவறு மூன்று முளப்படத் தொகைது
அன்ன பிறவு மவற்றொடு சிவணி
முன்னத்தி னுணருங் கிளவி யெல்லாம்
உயர்நிலை மருங்கி னிலையின வாயினும்
அகிலிணை மருங்கிற் கிளந்தாங் கியலும்.
Kuṭimai y-āṇmai y-iḷamai mūppē
Aṭimai vaṇmai viruntē kuḷuvē
Peṇmai y-aracē makavē kuḷavi
Taṇmai tiri-peya r-uruppin kiḷavi
Kātal ciṛappē cerar-col viṛar-col-eṇṇū

Ā-v-arū mūṇru m-uḷappata-t tokaii
Aṇṇa piṇavu m-avarroṭū civani
Muṇṇatti ṇ-uṇaruṇ kiḷavi y-ellām
Uyar-tiṇai maruṇki ṇilaiyiṇa v-āyiṇum
Aṣṛiṇai maruṇkiṇ kiḷantān k-iyalum.

The eighteen words *kuṭimai* (status of a family, family), *āṇmai* (manliness, man), *iḷamai* (youth, young man or woman), *mūppū* (old age, old person), *aṭimai* (slavery, slave), *vaṇmai* (strength, strong ally), *viruntū* (feast, guest), *kuḷū* (collection, crowd), *peṇmai* (feminine quality, woman), *aracū* (kingship, king), *makavu* (son-hood, daughter-hood, son, daughter), *kuḷavi* (childhood, child), *taṇmai-tiri-peyar* (noun denoting the change of quality), *uruppin-kiḷavi* (words pertaining to organs like *kurutū* blindness, blind person), *muṭam* (lameness, lame person etc.), *kālar-col* (terms of endearment), *ciṛappu-c-col* (terms of honour), *cerar-col* (terms of hatred, anger etc.) *viṛar-col* (terms of valour) and similar ones take *aṣṛiṇai* verbs even when they denote *uyartiṇai* objects.

Note 1.—The particle '*um*' in the word *ṇilaiyiṇa-v-āyiṇum* suggests that the above words are *aṣṛiṇai* when they denote abstract qualities and that they are *uyartiṇai* when they denote the objects having those qualities.

Note 2.—Cēṇāvaraiyar says that the words *kuṭimai*, *āṇmai*, *iḷamai*, *mūppū*, *aṭimai*, *vaṇmai*, *peṇmai*, *uruppin-kiḷavi*, *ciṛappu-c-col*, *viṛar-col* are only *aṣṛiṇai* and can denote *uyartiṇai* only when they are *ākupeyar*. *Ākupeyar* is the name given to a noun which means in a sentence an object related its ordinary meaning in the figure metonymy or synecdoche. *Ākupeyar* has its place only when the meaning of a word does not suit with the predicate which follows it. Before the predicate is used, it is not right to say that a word denotes something connected with its original meaning. Hence Cēṇāvaraiyar's view is not correct.

Note 3.—The need for this sūtra is this:—The words *kuṭimai*, *āṇmai* etc., are *aṣṛiṇai* in form but denote *uyartiṇai* objects in certain cases. In such cases the sūtra:—

Viṇaiyiṇ rōṇṇum pāl-aṇi kiḷaviyum
Peyariṇ rōṇṇum pāl-aṇi kiḷaviyum
Mayaṅkal kūtā tam-mara piṇavē. (Tol. Col. 11.)

demands that *uyartiṇai* verbs should be used. But this sūtra says that *aṣṛiṇai* verbs also may be used,

They (the words *kālam* etc.) may take *āṇṇōl*, *penṇal* or *paḷarṇal* verbs in other places.

Ex. *Kāḷaṇ uyirai-k koṇṇāṇ*.
(Yama took away life.)
Ulakar pacittār.
(People felt hungry.)

Note 1.—The word *vēṇṇam* (other places) refers to change in their form like *kāḷaṇ* for *kālam* etc.

Note 2.—*Vēṇṇam* is taken by Teyvaccilaiyār to refer to *āṇṇai*. It has already been mentioned under Tol. Col. 57 that it is not a satisfactory interpretation.

60. எடுத்த மொழியினது செப்பலு முறிந்தே.
Eṭutta moḷi-y-ināṇ ceppalu m-urittē.

A sentence which is expressed may suggest related ideas.

Ex. '*Kiḷai-c-cēri-k-kōḷi veṇṇatū*' eṇṇi '*mēlai-c-cēri-k-kōḷi viṇṇatū*' eṇṇatū *peṇa-p-paṭum*.

(If it is said that the cock of the eastern side of the village came out victorious, it is suggested that the cock of the western side was defeated.)

Note 1.—It is worthy of note that it is not obligatory that the expression should always suggest related ideas. If one says '*antaṇar vālka*' (may the brahmins live), it does not suggest that *aracar* (kings) and *vaṇikar* (merchants) should not live long.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar states under this *sūtra* that, if one says that the cock of the western side of the village came out victorious, it is evidently suggested that the cock of the eastern side was defeated and that, if one says that the man carrying a pot fell down, it is evidently suggested that the pot also fell down. He also adds that, if one says that cows and brahmins should live, it is not suggested that others should die. Cēṇāvaraiyar criticises him thus:—In the first two examples the suggested fact is *ananyathāsiddha* or the invariable concomitant to the expressed fact. The suggested meaning comes only by *poruḷ-āṇṇal* or the suggestive power of the meaning of the sentence and not by *col-l-āṇṇal* or the suggestive power of the sentence. This objection cannot stand since he himself says that, if one says that virtuous man goes to heaven, it is suggested that the sinner goes to hell. The suggested meaning here is only from *poruḷ-āṇṇal*. In the

third example he seems to have mistaken that Iḷampūraṇar meant that the words *ā* (cows) and *antaṇar* (brahmins) never meant related objects.

Iḷampūraṇar's example '*ā vālka, antaṇar vālka*' is exactly similar to Cēṇāvaraiyar's example '*Iḷivu aṇintū uṇṇāṇkaṇ iṇṇam eytum*'.

61. கண்ணுந் தோளு முலையும் பிறவும்
பன்மை சுட்டிய சினைநிலைக் கிளவி
பன்மை கூறுந் கடப்பா டிலவே
தம்வினைக் கியலு மெழுத்தலங் கடையே.
Kaṇṇun tōḷu mulaiyum piṇavum
Paṇmai cuṭṭiya ciṇai-nilai-k kiḷavi
Paṇmai kūṇuṇ kaṭappā ṭ-ilavē
Tam-viṇai-k k-iyalu m-eluttalaṇ kaṭaiyē.

The words denoting limbs in plural number like *kaṇ*, (eyes), *tōḷ* (shoulders), *mulai* (breasts) etc., need not denote the plural number unless they are followed by *paḷaviṇṇal* verbs.

Ex. *Avaḷ kaṇ-ṇallaḷ*.
(She is fair-eyed.)
Avaḷ kaṇṇār kottai.
(She is blind.)

Note 1.—The following point is worthy of note here. The words *kaṇ*, *tōḷ* etc., may denote singular or plural since the addition of the particle *kaḷ* to denote plural was only optional (cf. Tol. Col. 169). In the sentences like '*kaṇ nontaṇa*' (eyes ached), the word *kaṇ* is evidently plural since it is followed by the plural verb *nontaṇa*. Similarly in sentences like '*kaṇ nontatū*' *kaṇ* is evidently singular since it is followed by the singular verb *nontatū*. But in expressions like '*kaṇṇār kottai*', there is no element to ascertain whether *kaṇ* is singular or plural. Hence it may be singular or plural. Even if a man or a woman is blind by one eye, he or she is said to be blind by common people. Similarly in the example '*avaḷ kaṇ-ṇallaḷ*' where *avaḷ* is the subject and *kaṇ-ṇallaḷ* is the predicate, there is no element to determine whether *kaṇ* is singular or plural. It may be singular or plural. If a woman has one of her eyes very fine, it may be said that she is fair-eyed. Among Tamils the expression '*Kaṇṇaki mulai-y-ilāḷ*' is frequently heard. It means that *Kaṇṇaki* is devoid of a breast since there were statues of *Kaṇṇaki* with one breast.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar interpret this sūtra thus:—The words *kaṇ*, *tōḷ* etc., which denote limbs and are plural in number need not be followed by a plural verb if they are not followed by verbs denoting their action; they may be followed by such verbs as suit the object or objects of which they are limbs. For example the word *kaṇ* may be followed by the singular predicate *nallaḷ* if the subject is *avaḷ* or *ivaḷ* and may be followed by the *palarpāl* predicate *nallar* if the subject is *avar* or *ivar* etc. In examples like *avaḷ kaṇ-nallaḷ*, the subject is *avaḷ* and the predicate is evidently the compound noun *kaṇ-nallaḷ*. Here what is the need for saying that *kaṇ* may not be followed by the verb *nallāṇa*. The intention of the speaker is to say something about the lady with respect to the fineness of her eyes and not to say anything about the eyes. Besides the word *kūrum* which means 'denoting' in the sentence *paṇmaikūrum kaṭappāṭila* does not convey any sense according to their interpretation. If their interpretation was correct, it should have been replaced by '*koḷḷum*'.

Note 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār's interpretation is this:—If the words *kaṇ*, *tōḷ* etc. are not followed by *palaviṇpāl* verbs, they may be followed by *onṇaṇpāl* verbs like '*kaṇ nontatū*' though such a sentence may mean 'eyes ached'. *Kaṇ* etc., in such cases may be taken as *jātyēkavacana*. Since the use of *jātyēkavacana* is sanctioned by the sūtra

Orumai cuṭṭiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi
Paṇmai-k kaku m-iṭaṇumā r-unṭē (Tol. Col. 46.)

and the sentence '*paṇmai-kūrum kaṭappāṭilavē*' found in this sūtra does not fit in with his interpretation, his interpretation also does not seem to be sound.

2. *Vērrumai-y-iyal*.

62. வேற்றமை தாமே வேறென மொழிப.
Vērrumai tāmē y-ēḷ-eṇa molīpa.

It is said that cases are seven in number.

Note 1.—The word *tām* in the sūtra may be said to have been used either for the sake of euphony or to make up the number of syllables in the line.

Note 2.—*Ēḷ* is the old form of the modern *ēḷu*. cf. Tol. Eḷut. 389.

Note 3.—Case is called *vērrumai* since it brings the object denoted by the noun in some relation to the action denoted by

the verb. The nominative case is included under *vērrumai*, since the object denoted by the noun is also made the subject of the action denoted by the verb. This point is clearly mentioned by Teyvaccilaiyār. Cēṇāvaraiyar seems to have missed to note this point. Hence he says, at first, that the nominative case is included under *vērrumai* since it is differentiated from other cases—accusative, instrumental etc. Being possibly not satisfied with this explanation he suggests an alternative reason that it is done so by the *chattri-nyāya* or the rule of the majority.

The vocative case is not included under the seven cases since it does not directly denote any relation of the noun to the verb which follows it. Hence it is mentioned separately in the next sūtra.

Note 4.—It is worth nothing that Tolkāppiyaṇār has mentioned in the sūtra

Ai-oḷu ku-iṇ alu-kaṇ ṇ-eṇṇum
A-v-v-ā r-eṇṇa vērrumai y-urupē. (Tol. Eḷut. 114.)

that the *vērrumai-y-urupū* or *case-suffixes* are *six* in number and here the cases are *seven* in number. Hence it is evident that the nominative case has no suffix.

Note 5.—What is the *iyaiṇṇi* (*saṅgati*) or the relationship of this chapter *vērrumai-y-iyal* to the previous one *kiḷavi-y-ākkam*? The answer is found in *Note 5* to the first sūtra in *kiḷavi-y-ākkam*. That is the opinion of Teyvaccilaiyār. But the other commentators:—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar have given different opinions on the point, which deserve a careful examination here.

Iḷampūraṇar says that *kiḷavi-y-ākkam* deals with the four kinds of *col* or word (*i.e.*) *peyar-c-col* or noun, *viṇai-c-col* or verb, *iṭai-c-col* and *uri-c-col* and the following chapter *vērrumai-y-iyal* deals with *peyar-c-col*.

Cēṇāvaraiyar condemns him for the following reasons:—

(1) If *vērrumai-y-iyal* deals with nous, the sūtras

Ellā-c collum poruḷ-kuril taṇa-v-ē. (Tol. Col. 155.)
Poruṇmai terital-uṇ coṇmai teritalum
Colli ṇ-āku m-eṇṇaṇār pulavar. (ibid. 156.)
Teriṇu-vēru nilaiyal-uṇ kuṇṇiṇ rōṇṇal-um
Iru-pār r-eṇṇa poruṇmai nilai-y-ē. (ibid. 157.)
Col-l-eṇa-p paṭuṇa peyar-ē viṇai-y-eṇṇū

Ā-y-iraṇ t-enṇa v-aṇintici n-ōr-ē. (ibid. 158.)
Itai-c-cor kiḷavi-y-u m-uri-c-cor kiḷavi-y-um
Avayru-vali maruṇkiṇ rōṇru m-enṇa. (ibid. 159.)

which deal with the definition and the classification of *col* or word and which are now found at the commencement of *peyar-iyal*, the fourth chapter, should have been mentioned at the commencement of this chapter. (2) The sūtras

Kūriya muraṇ-y-i n-uruṇu-nilai tiriyātū
Īru-peyar-k k-āku m-iyarṇaiya v-enṇa. (Tol. Col. 69.)

Poruṇmai cuṭṭal viyaṇkoḷa varuṭal... (ibid. 66).
Peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi kālan tōṇṛā. (ibid. 70).

which, in his opinion, deal with the definition of *peyar-c-col*—that it takes case-suffixes after it or it is followed by a predicate and that it does not denote tense unless it is a *tolir-peyar* or verbal noun, should have preceded the sūtra

Vērrumai tāmē y-ēl-ēṇa molipa (Tol. Col. 62).

Having thus condemned ḷampūraṇar he states his own reasons which are as follows:—(1) The *kiḷavi-y-ākkam* deals with the four kinds of words:—*peyar*, *viṇai*, *iṭai-c-col* and *uri-c-col* and this with *peyar* and *iṭai-c-col* since the case-suffixes are *iṭai-c-col* and they have to be suffixed to *peyar*. (2) Since *peyar-c-col* is that which takes case-suffixes after it, the cases should be dealt with before nouns. (3) No other context is more befitting than this.

As regards the first reason, it may be noted that all the sūtras in *kiḷavi-y-ākkam* except the first ten deal only with sentences and not with words. Hence it cannot stand. If the second reason holds good, the sūtras Tol. Col. 66, 69 and 70 should have been mentioned at the commencement of this chapter as he himself says in his condemnation of ḷampūraṇar. The third reason needs no answer.

Naccinārkkinīyar thinks that this chapter deals with all the four kinds of *col* as *kiḷavi-y-ākkam* does since *vērrumai* has to deal sometimes with a *peyar*, sometimes with a *viṇai*, sometimes with an *iṭai-c-col* and sometimes with an *uri-c-col*. Since *uri-c-col* has nothing to do with case, his reason also cannot stand.

Hence the opinion of Teyvaccilaiyār appears to be sound.

63. வினிகொள் வதன்கண் வினியோ டெட்டே.
Vili-kol vatan-kaṇ vili-y-ō t-eṭṭ-ē.

The cases are eight when vocative, which is used when one is addressed, is included among them.

Note 1.—The subject here is *vērrumai* mentioned in the previous sūtra.

Note 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes this sūtra and the previous one as one sūtra. This seems to be unsound since Tolkāppiyanār deals with the first seven cases in two chapters (i.e.) *vērrumai-y-iyal* and *vērrumai-mayaṇkiyal* and the vocative in a separate chapter *vili-maraṇṇu* and uses the two endings *molipa* and *eṭṭē* in the two lines. Besides the vocative case may be given a subordinate position relative to the other cases only if the two lines are taken as different sūtras.

64. அவைதம்,
 பெயர் ஐ ஒடு கு
 இன் அது கண்விளி பென்னு மீற்ற.
Availām,
Peyar ai oṭu ku
in-atu kaṇ-viḷi y-enṇu m-īrra.

They are *peyar-vērrumai* (nominative), *ai-vērrumai* (accusative), *oṭu-vērrumai* (instrumental), *ku-vērrumai* (dative), *in-vērrumai* (ablative), *atu-vērrumai* (genitive), *kaṇ-vērrumai* (locative) along with *vili-vērrumai*.

Note 1.—The subject in the sūtra is *avai* which refers to *vērrumai* mentioned above in the sūtra. The predicate is the compound word *peyar-ai-oṭu-ku-in-atu-kaṇ* and the compound word *vili-y-enṇu-m-īrra* is a *viṇai-y-āl-aṇai-y-ūm-peyar* or verbal noun which stands in adjectival relation to the compound word *peyar-ai-oṭu-ku-in-atu-kaṇ*.

Note 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār says that this sūtra deals with case-suffixes. But since the case-suffixes have already been mentioned in Tol. Elut. 114, this sūtra would become unnecessary. Besides there would have been no sanction for Tolkāppiyanār to name the second case, the third case etc. as *ai-y-ēṇa-p-peyar-iyā-vērrumai*, *oṭu-v-ēṇa-p-peyariyā-vērrumai* etc. in the succeeding sūtras of this chapter.

Note 3.—Cēṇāvaraiyār says under this sūtra that though Tolkāppiyanār has named the third, and the sixth cases as *oṭu-vērrumai* and *atu-vērrumai*, yet the suffixes *āṇ* and *ā* also may respectively be used in the third and the sixth cases. So far as

āṇ is concerned, he may be right since Tolkāppiyāṇār himself makes mention of it in the sūtra

Ku-ai āṇ-ēṇa varāu m-iṇuti. (Tol. Col. 108.)

But Tolkāppiyāṇār does not seem to have mentioned 'a' as a case-suffix, nor has he made use of it as a genitive suffix. Nannūlār, on the other hand, says so. How 'a' began to be used as the genitive suffix will be discussed later. This statement of Cēṇāvaraiyar makes me infer that he may have been later than Nannūlār.

65. அவற்றை,

எழுவாய் வேற்றமை பெயர்-தொன்று நிலையே.

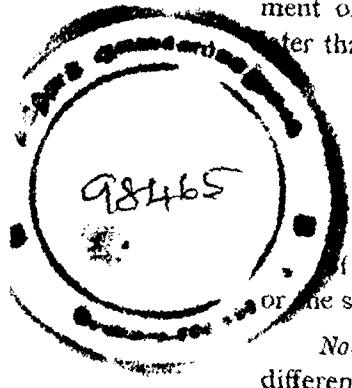
Avarruḷ,

Eluvāy vēṇṇumai peyar-tōṇṇu nilai-y-ē.

Of them the *peyar-vēṇṇumai* is used to denote the doer or the subject of the active verb.

Note 1.—In the interpretation of this sūtra there is much difference of opinion. Iḥampūraṇar, Naccinārkkinīyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seem to agree in the point that this sūtra deals with the meaning of the nominative case though they differ in the method of arriving at it. Iḥampūraṇar seems to take *eluvāy-vēṇṇumai-p-peyar* as the subject and *peyar-tilōṇṇu-nilai* as the predicate. The word *peyar-tilōṇṇu-nilai* is taken here from the following sūtra. *Eluvāy-vēṇṇumai-p-peyar*, according to him means the *vēṇṇumai-p-peyar* which is mentioned first (in the previous sūtra); *peyar-tilōṇṇu-nilai* means the state of the predicate following it. Naccinārkkinīyar seems to take *eluvāy-vēṇṇumai* as the subject and *peyar-(peyar-tilōṇṇu)-nilai* as the predicate. He too takes the word *peyar-tilōṇṇu-nilai* from the next sūtra; but he introduces it in the middle of the compound word *peyar-tilōṇṇu-nilai*, which does not seem to be appropriate. Teyvaccilaiyār, on the other hand takes *eluvāy-vēṇṇumai* as the subject and *peyar-tilōṇṇu-nilai* as the predicate, but seems to take *peyar-tilōṇṇu-k-ku-muṇi* as being understood before *peyar-tilōṇṇu-nilai*.

Since the sūtras 71, 73, 75, 77, 79 and 81 respectively deal directly with the meaning of the accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative, it may be better if this sūtra also is interpreted in such a way that it may be said to deal directly with the meaning of the nominative case. Hence I venture to suggest that the word *eluvāy* would have been used before the time



words *kālam*, *ulakam* etc., mentioned in this sūtra never take *āṇṇpāl*, *ṇṇpāl* or *ṇṇpāl* verbs unless there is a change in the form of words like *kālaṇ* for *kālam* etc.

Note 3.—The meaning given above is that accepted by Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar.

Note 4.—Teyvaccilaiyār, on the other hand, differs from them. He splits the sūtra into 2 sentences:—‘*kālam...kiḷavi-y-ellām uyartiṇai mēṇa; (avai) pāl pīrinticaiyā.*’ (The words *kālam* etc., belong to *uyartiṇai*; but they do not take *āṇṇpāl* *ṇṇpāl* or *ṇṇpāl* verbs.) That they take *aṣṇiṇai* verbs is sanctioned, according to him, by the sūtra ‘*Icattalu m-uriya vēṇṇiṇat t-āṇa*’ (Tol. Col. 59).

There are three objections against Teyvaccilaiyār’s interpretation. (1) That the words *kālam*, *teyvam* which denote gods are *uyartiṇai* is already learnt from the statement

Teyvañ cuṭṭiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi
Uyartiṇai maṇṇkiṇ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum.

in the fourth sūtra of *kiḷavi-y-ākkam*. Hence it need not be repeated here. That the word *ulakam* when it means people is *uyartiṇai* has already been mentioned in Tol. Col. 2. (2) If the sūtra is split into two sentences, it gives room to *vākyabhēda* or sentence-split. (3) If the sūtra ‘*Icattalu m-uriya vēṇṇiṇat t-āṇa*’ is taken to mention that *aṣṇiṇai* verbs follow the words *kālam*, *ulakam* etc., there will then be no sūtra to sanction the usage ‘*kālaṇ vantāṇ*’.

Note 5.—This sūtra has to be taken as an *āpavāda* or exception to the second part of Tol. Col. 4 and ‘*Icattalum.....*’ (Tol. Col. 59) has to be taken as an *āpavāda* to this sūtra and *prati-prasava* or exception of the exception to the second part of Tol. Col. 4.

58. நின்னாங் கிசைத்த விவணியல் பின்னே.

Ninṇ-āṇ k-icaitta l-ivaṇ-iyal p-inṇē.

It is not in their nature to take *uyartiṇai* verbs without modification in their form.

Note 1.—This sūtra suggests that the words *kuṭimai*, *āṇmai* etc., mentioned in Tol. Col. 56 may take *uyartiṇai* verbs without having any change in their form.

59. இசைத்தலு முரிய வேறிடத் தான.

Icattal-u m-uriya vēṇṇiṇat t-āṇa.