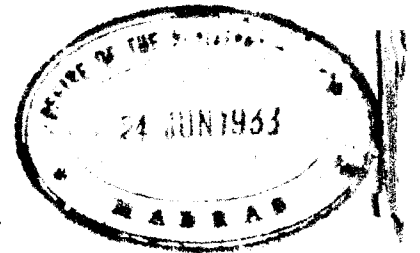


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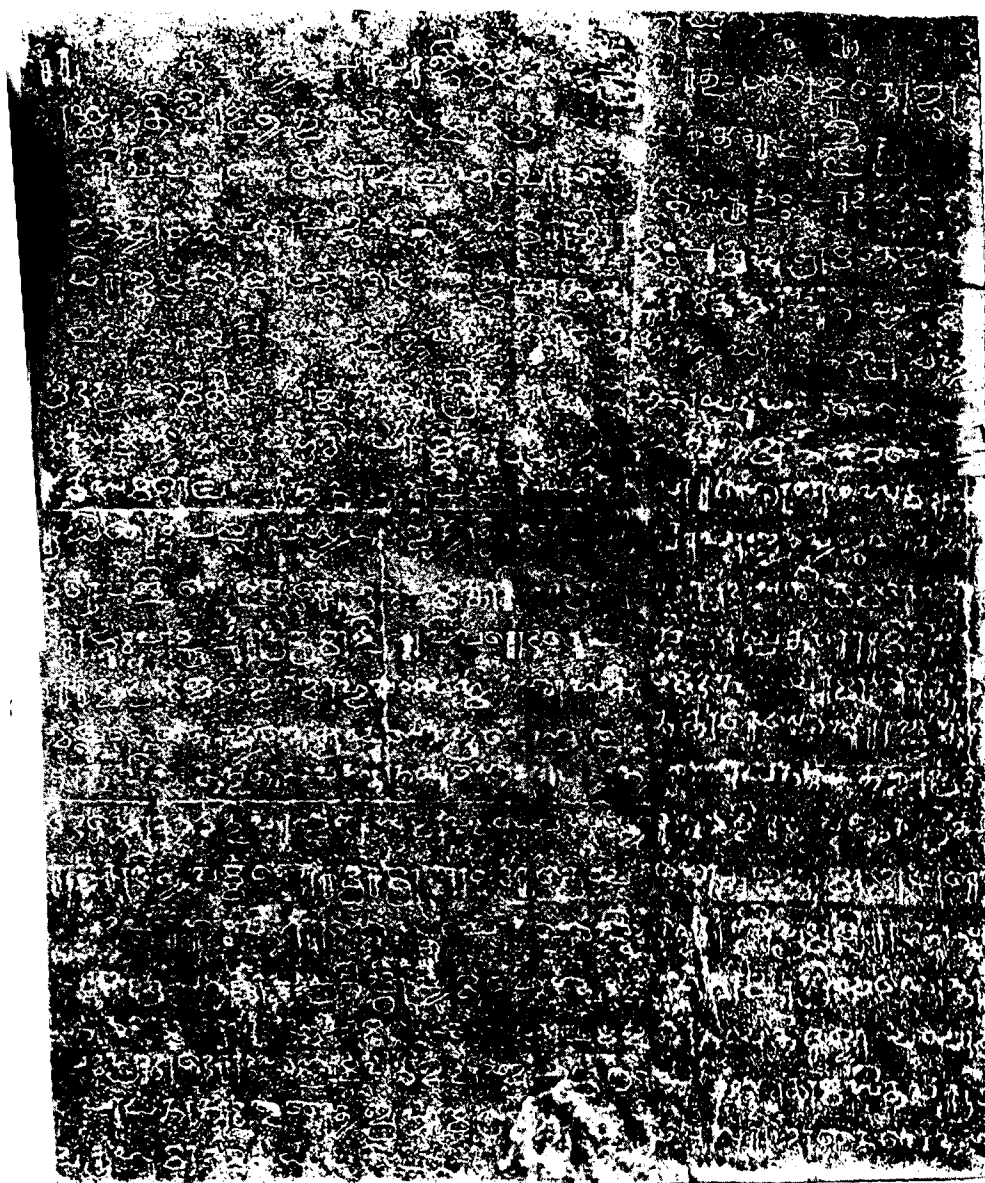
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CONTENTS

VOL. VII,	JANUARY—MARCH, 1933.	PART I.
		Page.
The Koḍumbālūr Inscription of Vikrama-Kesari. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, M.A. ...	...	1
Some Minor Works of Śrī Citsukhācārya, II, Adhikaraṇa-saṅgati. T. R. Chintamani, M.A. ...	...	11
Rājaśekhā, the Dramatist. Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri.		25
The Vṛttis. V. Raghavan, B.A. (Hons.). ...	...	33
The Sources of Tolkāppiyam. Vidvan P. S. Vedachala Iyer.		53
Painting and allied Arts as revealed in Bāṇa's Works. C. Sivaramamurti, B.A. (Hons.). ...	...	59
Extracts from Jayānanda's Commentary. N. Aiyaswami Sastri		83
 <i>Supplement :—</i>		
Tolkāppiyam.		65—72



The Kodumbālūr Inscription of Vikramakēśari.



THE KODUMBĀLŪR INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMA-KĒSARĪ.

BY

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI,
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Kodumbālūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai state is a place of ancient renown. It is said in the *Silappadikāram* to have been situated on the high-road then in use between Uraiyūr, the Cōḷa capital, and Madura, the capital of the Pāṇdyas.¹ The *Periyapurāṇam* calls it the chief city of Kōṇāḍu, *Kōṇāṭṭuk-koḍi-nagaram*, which was the centre of the Vēḷir power represented for a time by Iḍaṅgalināyaṇār, in whose noble family was born Āditya who covered with gold from the Koṅgu country the roof of the Poṇṇambalam (golden hall).² The king Āditya thus mentioned by Śēkkiḷār following Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi was most probably Āditya I Cōḷa, the father of Parāntaka I and conqueror of Koṅgu.

The Mūvar-Kōvil, the 'temple of the three', is an ancient structure of which only two temples survive, though the basement of the third is intact.³ On the south wall of the central one of the three temples, all of them facing west, is engraved an interesting grantha inscription which I edit below from an impression supplied by Miss C. Minakshi, M.A., Research Student in the Department of Indian History of the University of Madras. The inscription has been noticed before by Mr. Venkayya in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1908, and the text has been printed as No. 14 in the *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkōṭṭai State* (1929).

1. Canto XI, l. 71.

2. There seems to be no evidence for the date of Iḍaṅgalī, who is placed by Venkayya in the 9th century A.D. A.R.E. 1908. II 84.

3. Venkayya says no traces of it exist. A.R.E. 1908, II 87.

The inscription is mutilated both at the beginning and the end. The extant portion consists of twenty-four lines comprising eleven full stanzas in Sanskrit in various metres, and fragments of two others, one at the opening and the other at the end. The inscription occupies a wall space 4' 10" in height, and a pilaster on the wall which, though it must have been part of the original structure, bears no letters, divides each line into two parts of the length of 2' 8" to the left of it and about 1' 5" to the right.¹ The size of the letters is well over an inch, the ligatures sometimes even reaching two inches.

The alphabet exhibits all the peculiarities enumerated by Bühler as characterising the third or transitional variety of Grantha, which grew up in 9th and 10th centuries A.D.² The *virāma* is expressed by > placed to the right of the *mātrkā* sometimes below the level of the top-line as in *t* in ll. 2 and 3 and sometimes above the line as in ll. 5, 7 and 12. The letter *ga* shows a projection to its left and perceptibly differs in appearance from its more modern representative. Medial *r* is marked by a slanting stroke on the top of the letter, and the consonants following are invariably doubled—*rgga*, *rdā* (l. 4), *rppu* (l. 13). The length of medial *ā* is expressed by a curve in addition to the *u* sign—see Koḍumbālūr in l. 13. The *anusvāra* and *m* are used indifferently and in *taikṣṇyam* (l. 15) the *anusvāra* dwindles into a slight stroke. Besides the doubling of consonants following a medial *r*, the only peculiarities of orthography are the use of *tbha* for *dbha* in l. 7. and the omission of *Sandhi* in *yasmin śāsati* in l. 14. Examples of peculiarities of vocabulary are furnished by *sāmaja* (elephant) in l. 12, and *māḷikā* (place) in l. 13.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of the three temples (*vimānatrayam*), now known as Mūvar-kōvil, by Vikrama-kēsari, and the presentation to the Kālāmukha ascetic Mallikārjuna of a big *maṭha* attached to the temple with eleven villages set apart for the maintenance of the *maṭha* (monastery). The opening verses give the following genealogy of Vikrama-kēsari's dynasty, the *yadu-vamśa*:—

1. The temple has been recently restored by the State authorities, but we are assured that the original plan has been strictly maintained. In the plate the two parts of each line are shown pieced together.

2. See Indian Palaeography edn. Fleet pp. 72—3.

A king (name lost) who captured the elephants of a lord of some place (name lost).¹

In his family was born

Paravirajit

Vīratuṅga, conqueror of the Maḷava

Ativira Anupama

Saṅghakṛt

Nṛpakēsari

Paradurgamardana, conqueror of Vātāpi

Samarābhirāma: killed the Caḷukki at the battle of Adhirāja-maṅgala; married Anupamā, a Cōḷa princess

Bhūti Vikramakēsari;² conquered the Pallava forces on the banks of the Kāvērī; defeated Vira-Pāṇḍya and killed Vañcivēḷ; had a place at Koḍumbālūr and two wives Karṇaḷi and Varaguṇā.

By Karṇaḷi

Parāntaka

Ādityavarman

With characteristic insight, Venkayya suggested that Vira-Pāṇḍya, who was defeated by Bhūti Vikramakēsari, was the same as the Pāṇḍya with whom Āditya II Karikāla fought in his youth, and this suggestion gains in force from many other considerations besides the palaeography³ of the inscription and the identity of the

1. Venkayya's impression perhaps contained the additional word *Pāṇḍya* at the beginning, of which the present impression shows no trace. He calls the first king; "vanquisher of the Pāṇḍya elephants." (A.R.E. 1908, II 85)

2. *Minūmalā* seems to be another title applied to him in v. 4.

3. Krishna Sastri thinks that palaeographically the inscription is earlier than the time of Āditya II. But as he seems to concede that Vikramakēsari may have been contemporary with Gaṇḍarāditya (S. I. I. iii, p. 249) and as there can be no decisiveness in palaeographical arguments when the interval is so short, I see no reason to depart from Venkayya's position.

name of the Pāṇḍyan opponent of Vikramakēśarī and Āditya. Āditya's father was Parāntaka; and Vikramakēśarī's children are named Parāntaka and Āditya; this may well be a token of Vikramakēśarī's political relation to the Cōḷa power. An inscription from Tillaisthānam,¹ dated in the thirteenth year of a Rājakēśarī, mentions a gift of a lamp by Varaguṇa-perumāṇār, the *dēviyār* of Parāntaka Iṅgōvēlār. Another inscription also of the 13th year of Rājakēśarī from Lālgudi records a gift from Naṅgai-varaguṇa-perumāṇār, the sister of the Cōḷa king.² Yet another Rājakēśarī inscription, from which the regnal year has been lost, mentions Kaṇṇalippirāṭṭi, the wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Iṅgōvēlār *alias* Maṇavaṇ Pūdiyār.³ The presumption arises that Varaguṇā, the sister of the Cōḷa king Rājakēśarī and wife of Parāntaka Iṅgōvēlār, and Kaṇṇali, the wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Iṅgōvēlār, mentioned in these inscriptions may be identical with the two queens of Vikramakēśarī mentioned in the Koḍumbālūr inscription. The three Rājakēśarī inscriptions cited above doubtless belong to about the same period as that of Āditya II to which Venkayya assigned the Koḍumbālūr inscription of Vikramakēśarī. If what has been urged so far is correct, Vikramakēśarī must have had also the surnames Parāntakaṇ Iṅgōvēlār, Teṇṇavaṇ Iṅgōvēlār, and Maṇavaṇ Pūdiyār. Pūdi recalls the name Bhūti which occurs in our Grantha inscription. A certain Vira-cōḷa Iṅgōvēlār is known to have been ruling at Koḍumbālūr in the reign of Parāntaka I Viracōḷa.⁴ It seems quite possible that Parāntaka Iṅgōvēlār was the title of Vikramakēśarī, the contemporary of Parāntaka II.

The contemporaneity of Vikramakēśarī and Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa is borne out in fact by much stronger evidence than the similarity of names or vague palaeographical inferences. There is at Koḍumbālūr an undated fragmentary inscription⁵ of Madhurāntaka Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II. It is well-known that Sundara-cōḷa fought against the Pāṇḍya and "drove him into the forest," and that in this war he was assisted by Parāntakaṇ

1. 287 of 1911 (S.I.I. iii, 113).

2. E. I. xx, p. 53.

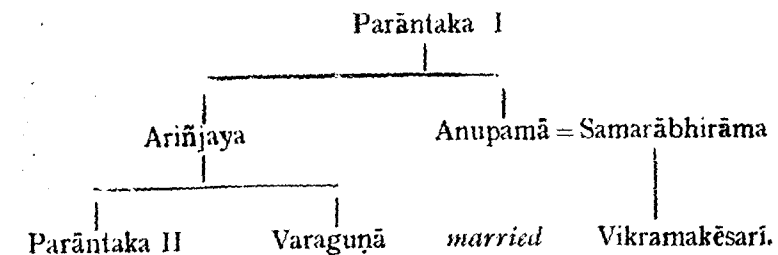
3. 273 of 1903.

4. 470 of 1908 (S. I. I. iii, 98).

5. 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

Śirīya-vēlār of Koḍumbālūr who served as a general of the king's army.¹ It is also clear that Parāntaka II was a Rājakēśarī.²

Thus, the mention of Vikramakēśarī's queens in Rājakēśarī inscriptions and the facts that Sundara Cōḷa is a Rājakēśarī, that an inscription of his is found in Koḍumbālūr, and that a general from Koḍumbālūr fought in Sundara Cōḷa's army in the Pāṇḍya country,—doubtless in the same war with Vira-Pāṇḍya in which Āditya II, the son of Sundara Cōḷa, distinguished himself—furnish conclusive proof of the political subordination of Vikramakēśarī to Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II. Varaguṇā was then the sister of Sundara Cōḷa, and daughter of Ariṇjaya. The period of Sundara Cōḷa's rule may be fixed roughly in the years A. D. 956-70. This must also be the period of Vikramakēśarī's rule. His mother Anupamā, called also a Cōḷa princess, was perhaps an otherwise unknown daughter of Parāntaka I. The relations thus established are seen in the following table :—



It has been said : " Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ, a contemporary of Vikramakēśarī of Koḍumbālūr, published his Malaiyaḍipattī inscription in the 16th year of Dantivarman Pallava, and his Śendalai inscription in the 10th year of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ. The 16th year of Dantivarman Pallava would fall according to our arrangement in 805 A. D. Therefore Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ and his contemporary Vikramakēśarī of Koḍumbālūr should have lived in 800 A. D."³ The Śendalai inscription mentioned is apparently No. 10 of 1899, and the Malaiyaḍipattī record is No. 18 of the Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions (Texts). But no attempt is made to establish the identity of Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ *alias* Kuvāvaṇ Śāttan of the Malaiyaḍipattī inscription with the Muttaraiyaṇ

1. E. I. xii pp. 121-6.

2. S. I. I, iii, 119.

3. A Rangaswami Sarasvati in *Vizianagaram Coll. Mag.* July 1923, pp. 207-8.

raiyāṇ of the Śendalai record which cites the tenth year of Mārañjadaiyaṇ; and what is more important, no evidence is cited in proof of the assumption that this Muttaraiyaṇ was a contemporary of Vikramakēsarī of the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription. Viḍēlviḍugu is a title, and Muttaraiya, a dynastic name, and no chronological deductions can be safely based on their recurrence either separately or together in different inscriptions. We have therefore no reason to accept a date about 800 A. D. for Vikramakēsarī in preference to one, say between 950 and 970 A. D. suggested by the considerations urged in the preceding paragraph.

It may also be observed that a Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi Perumāṇār, daughter of a Muttaraiyar and queen of a Śembiya Irukkuvēḷār, is mentioned in an inscription from Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pd. 45) of the sixth regnal year of a Parakēsarī; this lady is obviously different from her namesake, the Cōḷa princess of the Rājakēsarī inscriptions noticed above. Likewise, Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ alias Ādittāṇ (Āccaṇ) Vikramakēsarī mentioned in two Parakēsarī records of the twenty-first year from Kuḍumiyāmalai¹ must have been different from our Vikramakēsarī, and perhaps a contemporary of Āditya I and his son Parāntaka, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarī. There is a mutilated record from Kīḷūr² of the eleventh year of Vijaya-Nandivikrama-varmaṇ which records a gift of gold by a daughter of Vikrama-pūdi, the *dēvi* (queen) of a Śāttāṇ Maṇavaṇ. The name Viḍēlviḍugu Iḷaṅgō Adiyaraiyaṇ is mentioned in this record perhaps as an *alias* of Vikramapūdi. The identity of this chieftain must also remain doubtful at present. These examples make it clear that the contents of the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsarī should not be taken to be a complete account of the history of the Vēḷs as has sometimes been done.

Much of the history recorded in this inscription is still very obscure. Besides defeating Vīra-Pāṇḍya, Vikramakēsarī claims to have won a victory against Pallava forces on the banks of the Kāvērī and to have put an end to the line of Vañcivēḷs. If the chronology suggested above is correct and Vikramakēsarī lived in the middle of the tenth century, the Pallava forces mentioned could not have been those of the rulers of the Śirṇhaviṣṇu line which had been practically wiped out of existence by the Cōḷas before the beginning of the tenth century A. D. It seems likely

1. Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904 (Madras) and Pd. 63 and 65, 295 of 1902.

therefore that the wars against the Pallavas and Vañcivēḷs were of the nature of local conflicts in which the Koḍumbāḷūr chieftain gained the upper hand as against other local feudatories less enterprising than himself. Late local traditions¹ centering round a certain Śivandelunda Pallavarāyar and his descendants seem to lend support to this view. One wonders, however, if by the expression *pallavasya dhvajinyāḥ*, the composer of the inscription meant *Vallabhasya dhvajinyāḥ* which would be an allusion to the invasion of the Cōḷa country by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III which occurred towards the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and is said to have reached as far as Rāmēśvaram. Samarābhiraṃa, the father of Vikramakēsarī, killed a Caḷukki at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam. Caḷukki need not necessarily be a reference to the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi though the conquest of Vātāpi (Badami) by Paradurgamardana seems to render this probable. The ancient Tamils applied the name *śaḷukki* to local chieftains, *kuṇunila maṇṇar*. If we accept this meaning and treat the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam as another incident in local quarrels, the reference to the conquest of Vātāpi becomes difficult to explain. At the same time, there seems to be no indication in any other records of the early tenth century of a conflict of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi with the Tamils to which the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam may be referred. Though we have as yet no confirmation of the facts from other records, it is not unlikely that the Cāḷukyas² survived at Bādāmi with diminished power after the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and took part in the invasion of the Cōḷa country by Kṛṣṇa III; possibly a fight took place at Adhirājamaṅgalam (Tiruvadigai)³ and a Cāḷukya prince lost his life in it. In any event, the 'conquest of Vātāpi' by Paradurgamardana has nothing to do with the two invasions of Vātāpi in the seventh century, in the reigns of the Pallava kings Narasimhavarmaṇ I and Paramēśvaravarmaṇ I.⁴ The Maḷava conquered by Vīratuṅga, the second name in the genealogy, must have been a local ruler of the tract called Maḷanāḍu between the modern Trichino-

1. Miss Minakshi first drew my attention to these legends, and Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar D. Litt kindly lent me two mss. of an *ulā* and a *Piḷḷuttamiḷ* on Śivandelunda Pallavarāyaṇ.

2. Bom. Gaz. I ii, pp. 378-9.

3. 360 of 1921.

4. Contra A. R. Sarasvati *Vizianagaram Coll. Mag. ibid.*

poly and Tanjore Districts. A Maḷavēndra gave his daughter in marriage to the Pāṇḍya Rājasinha I (c. A. D. 740-65).¹

The father of Vikramakēśarī is called *Yaduvamśakētu*, the banner of the race of Yadu (v. 3) and Vikramakēśarī is himself called *yādava* (v. 11). This recalls the legend preserved in an early Śaṅgam poem preserved in the anthology of the *Puraṇānūru* (No. 201) addressed to an Iruṅḍōvēl by the celebrated Kapilar. The poet says that the *Vēlir* arose from the fire-pit of a northern sage, and counted forty-nine generations ruling at Tuvarai (Dvārakā).

vaḍapāṇ = muṇivaṇ = raḍavinuṭ = ṭōṇric-
ceṁbu puṇain-diyarriya śēṇedum = purisai-
yuvarā = vīgait = tuvarai = yāṇḍu
nārpat-toṇbadu vaḷi-muṇrai vanda
vēliruḷ vēlē.

The late annotator Naccinārkkinīyar adds that eighteen families of these Vēlir chieftains followed Agastya to the south and were established by him in the different parts of the Tamil country. This legend explains to some extent the connections between several local dynasties of South India attested by epigraphy.²

The Kālāmukhas (*asita-vaktras*), to whom Vikramakēśarī gave a big *maṭha* with eleven villages attached to it, were a set of Pāśupata ascetics addicted to many gruesome practices³ and apparently very influential in South India between say the ninth and twelfth centuries, when they are mentioned in several inscriptions of the Tamil country. Vidyārāśī, the spiritual *guru* of Mallikārjuna is mentioned in an early inscription from Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri) engraved on a slab together with a representation of the teacher himself worshipping a liṅga. The slab is in the Madras Museum.⁴

KODUMBALŪR—TEXT.

1. नाथगजयूथहरः
2. (आ) सीत् ॥ तद्वयः परवीरजिन्माळवजिच्छीवीरतुंगोमुतो जा-
3. (तो)स्मादतिवीर इत्यनुपमस्तस्मादभूत्संपकृत् । अस्माच्छीनृप-
4. केसरी विवद्वधे यो बाल एवोरगैस्तत्सुनुः परदुर्गमर्ह-

1. *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 57—8.
2. A. R. E. 1927 II 73.
3. Bhandarkar—*Vaiṣṇavism*, etc. pp. 127—8.
4. E. I. x. p. 64 and n. 5.7.

5. न इति ख्यातस्स वातापिजित्¹ ॥ तस्य समराभिरामः पुत्रः सुत्रामतेजसः ।
6. अधिराजमंगलाजौ यो निजधान च(ळु)किम्² ॥ तस्याच्युतस्य कम-
7. लेव सरस्वतीव पद्मोत्भवस्य गिरिजे(व)हरस्य साक्षात् । प्रेयस्य-
8. भूदनुपमेति यथार्थनाम्न³ श्रीचोळराज(दु)हिता यदुवंशकेतोः⁴ ॥
9. तस्यामस्य बभूव भूतिरपराम्मन्नामळाख्यान्दधन् श्रीमान्विक्रमेकेस-
10. (री)ति समरे लब्धान्यनामा नृपः⁵ ॥ कावेरीवारि शोणं समकृ(त)
11. रुधिरैः पल्लवस्य ध्वजिन्याः यो वीरो वीरपाण्ड्यं व्यजयत स-
12. मेरे वञ्चिवेळन्तकोभूत्⁶ ॥ मत्तारिसामजान्दत्ता वसन्विक्रमेकेसरी ।
13. कोटुम्पाळ्पुर्पुराद्रीन्द्रमाळिकाविवरोदरे⁷ ॥ विद्वत्कल्पतरौ क्षितीश्व-
14. रकरद्वन्द्वाम्बुजेन्दौ भुवं यस्मिन्शासति मेदिनीजयरमाश्रीकीर्त्तिवा-
15. ग्वल्लभे । तैक्ष्ण्यं नेत्रयुगे भुवोश्चलनता केशेषु काण्य(न्त)-
16. नौ तन्वीनान्तनुताभवत्स्तनयुगे चान्योन्यसंपीडनम्⁸ ॥ तस्याभूता-
17. न्देव्यौ क^९ळि वरगुणसमाह्वये सत्यौ । क^{१०}ळिरभवजननी प-
18. रान्तकादित्यवर्मणो कम्पकम्पणाम्^{११} ॥ आत्रेयगोत्रजश्रीमान्माथुरो
19. वेदपारगः । विद्याराशेस्तपोराशेशिष्यो[श्री]भून्मल्लिकार्जुनः ॥^{१२}
20. विमानत्रयसुधाप्य प्रतिष्ठाप्य महेश्वरम् । स्वनाम्ना प्रिययोर्ना-
21. म्ना तस्मै सोदाद्बृहन्मठम्^{१३} ॥ तस्मै कालमुखादानयतिमुख्याय याद-
22. वः । प्रादादेकादशग्रामविनिबद्धं बृहन्मठम्^{१४} ॥ पञ्चाशतामसितवक्रत-
23. पोधनानाम् भुक्त्यै बृहन्मठ...वे स राजा । नैवेद्यग-
24. न्धकुसुमाक्षतधूपदीपताम्बू (ल)

Translation.

There was the capturer of the herd of elephants of the lord. . . .

(1) Of his family was Pravīrajit; the glorious Viratuṅga, the vanquisher of the Maḷava was born of him; from him came Ativīra Anupama who gave birth to Saṅghakṛt; from him (came) the glorious Nṛpakēśari (Lion of kings) who as child grew up with the serpents; his son was the celebrated Parādurgamardana (the destroyer of enemy forts), the conqueror of Vātāpi.

(2) Of him who had a divine splendour, Samarābhīrāma (Delightful in battle) was the son who attacked (or killed ?) the Caḷukki in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. The metre is Śārdūlavikrīḍita. | 7. Anuṣṭubh. |
| 2. Anuṣṭubh. | 8. Śārdūlavikrīḍita. |
| 3. Read नाम्नी. | 9. Āryā. |
| 4. Vasantatilakā. | 10. Anuṣṭubh. |
| 5. Śārdūlavikrīḍita. (half verse) | 11. Anuṣṭubh. |
| 6. Sragdharā. (half verse) | 12. Anuṣṭubh. |

(3) Of him, who was the banner of the Yaduvamśa, Anupamā (peerless) rightly so called, the daughter of the Cōla king, was the beloved (wife), who resembled Lakṣmī (the wife) of Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī of the Lotus-born (Brahmā), and Girijā (Mountain-born) of Hara himself.

(4) Of her was born to him the glorious king Bhūti, who bore the alternative name *minnāmala*¹ (?) and who earned in war the title of Vikramakēśari (the lion of valour).

(5) The water of the Kāvēri was turned red with blood of the Pallava's forces; and this warrior defeated Vira-Pāṇḍya in battle, and became Death to Vaṇcivēl.

(6) After fighting the rutting elephants, *viz.*, his foes, Vikramakēśari was living in the palace on the hill in the city of Koṭumbāḷūr.

(7) While the earth was ruled by him, the Kalpataru to the learned, the moon to the lotuses, *viz.*, the two hands of the (subordinate) kings² and the beloved of the Goddesses of Earth, Victory, Prosperity, Fame and Speech, sharpness was found (only) in the pair of eyes, instability in the two eyelashes and darkness in the hair (of women); weakness in their bodies; and jostling in the pair of (their) breasts.

(8) He had two good wives called Karṇaḷi and Varagupā; (and) Karṇaḷi became the mother of two very beautiful (sons), Parāntaka and Ādityavarman.

(9) There was the glorious Mallikārjuna, born of the Ātrēyagōtra, resident of Mathurā, the master of the Vēda and the pupil of Vidyārāṣi, the abode of austerity.

(10) Having raised three *vimānas* in his name and in the name of his two wives and having enshrined Mahēśvara, he (Vikramakēśari) gave to him (Mallikārjuna) a big *maṭha*.

(11) The Yādava gave to that ascetic chief of the *Kālamukha* persuasion a big *maṭha* together with eleven villages attached to it.

(12) For the enjoyment of fifty Asita-vaktra (*Kālamukha*) ascetics the big *maṭha*. . . that king . . . offerings, sandal flowers, *akṣata*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *tām* (*būla*)

1. Is this a Tamil name—*minnāmala* (the shining mountain)?

2. *i. e.* they closed their palms together in salutation. The moon is in Indian poetry, the foe of the lotus whose petals close in her presence.

SOME MINOR WORKS OF ŚRĪ CITSUKHĀCĀRYA

II

ADHIKARAṆASAṄGATI.

BY

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The Adhikaraṇamañjarī of Citsukha was published in Part IV of Volume V of the Journal of the Oriental Research with a few introductory remarks regarding Citsukha and those immediately associated with him. A few more particulars regarding them are furnished in this paper, and the Adhikaraṇasaṅgati, an edition of which was promised in that part, is issued herewith.

The teacher of Citsukha was stated to be Jñānottama, author of a Vedāntic work known as Nyāyasudhā. Appayya Dikṣita in his Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha¹ refers to this Nyāyasudhā in the following words :—

न्यायसुधाकृतस्त्वाहुः—घटादेरेन्द्रियकत्वेऽपि 'सन् घटः' इत्यादिरधिष्ठान-
सत्तानुबन्ध इति न विरोधः । एवं 'नीलो घटः' इत्यादिः अधिष्ठाननैल्यानुबन्धः
किं न स्यात् इति चेत् न । श्रुत्या सद्रूपस्य वस्तुनो जगदुपादानत्वमुक्त-
मविरोधात् सर्वसंमतमिति तदनुबन्धेनैव 'सन् घटः' इत्यादिप्रतिभासोपपत्तौ
घटादावपि सत्ताकल्पने गौरवम् । तस्य रूपादिहीनत्वात् नैल्यादिकं घटादावेव
कल्पनीयं वैषम्यात् इति ।

It is clear that this Nyāyasudhā is an Advaitic work and is therefore in all likelihood identical with the one attributed to Jñānottama. Of the Jñānasiddhi not a single reference has come to light till now. Among the works of Citsukha now available, the commentary on the Khaṇḍanakhādyā of Śrī Harṣa is very important. Extracts from this commentary have already been published in the edition of the Khaṇḍana in the Chowkhamba

1. See p. 269-270 Ben. Edn.

Press. Śrī Harṣa is generally supposed to have lived in the latter half of the 12th century and very probably in the early half of the 13th century also.

One or two facts have to be considered in this connection. The date of Ānandagiri has been fixed by Mr. Tripathī as 1260-1320. He was the pupil of Sukhaprakāśa, who was in turn a pupil of Citsukha. Now calculating back from this date of Ānandagiri, that of Citsukha will fall between 1180 and 1240. This date for Citsukha will make him a contemporary of Śrī Harṣa of Khaṇḍana. Again, Mr. M. R. Telang, in his preface to the *Mahāvīdyāvidāmbāya*, published in the Gackwad Oriental Series remarks that Amalananda the author of the *Kalapataru* was a pupil of Sukhaprakāśa, pupil of Citsukha. Amalananda had two teachers, Anubhāvānanda and Sukhaprakāśa. The later was his Vidyāguru. Amalananda lived in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Rāja of Devagiri, who ruled between 1247 and 1260. The date of Sukhaprakāśa will therefore have to be fixed between 1200 and 1250 and Citsukha will be much older. It is not likely that Citsukha a *sainyāsīn* as he was, would have cared to comment upon the work of a contemporary, especially when he was not a *sainyāsīn*. In these circumstances, there is yet a tangle in the date of Citsukha and Śrī Harṣa that is to be unravelled.

It was said that Sukhaprakāśa was the pupil of Citsukha and the extant works of Sukhaprakāśa were referred to in the paper referred to above. To that list must be added a commentary on Citsukha's *Nyāyamakaranda*, known as *Vivecanī*. Copies of this commentary are preserved in the Sarasvatī Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore.

A few remarks are necessary regarding the division of *Adhikaraṇas* in the *Mañjarī* and in the *Saṅgati*. It is known that Citsukha has commented upon the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara and he seems to have intended these two pamphlets, which are supplemental to each other, as appendixes to his commentary on the *bhāṣya*. One important point that has to be noticed in this connection is the constitution of twelve *adhikaraṇas* in the first *pāda* of the first *adhyāya*, and fourteen in the third *pāda* of the first *adhyāya*, whereas all the editions of the *bhāṣya* now available give us eleven and thirteen respectively in the *pādas* referred to. The *jyotiś-caraṇādadhikaraṇa* is made up of the following four *sūtras*, in the available editions:—

1. See Burnell Nos. 9780, 9781, 9782 and 9783.

ज्योतिश्चरणाभिधानात् । १. १. २४.

छन्दोऽभिधानानेति चेत् न तथा चेतोऽर्पणनिगदात् तथा हि दर्शनम् । १. १. २५.

भूतादिपादव्यपदेशोपपत्तेश्चैवम् । १. १. २६.

उपदेशभेदानेति चेत् नोभयस्मिन्नप्यविरोधात् । १. १. २७.

In the opinion of Citsukha these four do not form a single *adhikaraṇa* but two. The *sūtra* ज्योतिश्चरणाभिधानात् is an *adhikaraṇa* by itself; the three succeeding *sūtras* form a different *adhikaraṇa* introduced to remove an *adhikāśaṅkā*. Both in the *Adhikaraṇamañjarī* and *Adhikaraṇasaṅgati* they are dealt with as such.

Similarly the *Daharādadhikaraṇa* in the third *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* consists of the following *sūtras*

दहर उत्तरभ्यः १. ३. १४.

गतिशब्दाभ्यां तथा हि दृष्टं लिङ्गं च १. ३. १५.

धृतेश्च महिम्नोऽस्यास्मिन्नुपलब्धेः १. ३. १६.

प्रसिद्धेश्च १. ३. १७.

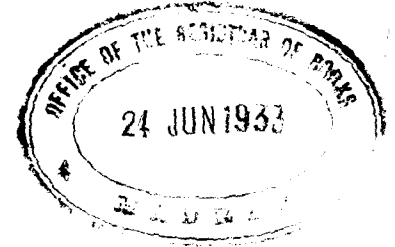
इतरपरामर्शात् स इति चेन्नासंभवात् १. ३. १७.

उत्तराच्चेदविर्भूतस्वरूपस्तु १. ३. १९.

अन्यार्थश्च परामर्शः १. ३. २०.

अल्पश्रुतेरिति चेत्तदुक्तम् १. ३. २१.

according to the various editions of the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* now available. But Citsukha regards these *sūtras* as constituting two *adhikaraṇas*, one ending with the *sūtra* इतरपरामर्शात् and the other beginning with *sūtra* उत्तराच्चेत् etc.



॥ श्रीः ॥

श्रीचित्सुखाचार्यविरचिता

ब्रह्मसूत्राधिकरणसङ्गतिः

प्रथमोऽध्यायः

प्रथमः पादः

“स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः” इति नित्याध्ययनविधिना अर्थात्वेदान्तवाक्येष्वपातदर्शनेनेदमवगच्छति—“न वा अरे पत्युः कामाय” इत्युपक्रम्य “आत्मनस्तु कामाय सर्वं प्रियं भवति” इत्युपसंहारात् सर्वतो विरक्तस्यात्मप्रेप्सोः “एतावत् अरे खल्वमृतत्वम्” इति वचनात् अमृतत्वसाधनमात्मदर्शनम् “दृष्टव्यः” इत्यनूद्य “श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः” इति मनननिदिध्यासनाभ्यां फलोपकार्यज्ञाभ्यां सह श्रवणं नामाङ्गि विधीयत इति ॥

स च कियद्विशेषणविशिष्टोऽधिकारी को वासौ श्रवणविधिविषयः किं वा तदमृतत्वमिति जिज्ञासते । तदिदं जिज्ञासितम् अनुबन्धत्रयं श्रोतमपि न्यायेन निर्णेतुं सूत्रयामास परमकारुणिको भगवान् वादरायणः—“अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा” (१. १. १.) ॥

ननु सिद्धेऽर्थे भवतु शास्त्रं प्रमाणम्, तथापि किलक्षणं पुनस्तद्ब्रह्मेत्यत आह—“जन्माद्यस्य यतः” (१. १. २.) इति ॥

किं तत्र प्रमाणमिति तत्राह “शास्त्रयोनित्वात्” (१. १. ३.) इति ॥

ननु शास्त्रस्य कथं सिद्धेऽर्थे प्रामाण्यमिति तत्राह—“तत्तु समन्वयात्” (१. १. ४.) इति ॥

ननु सिद्धेऽर्थे भवतु शास्त्रं प्रमाणं तथापि न ब्रह्मणि, प्रधानादिपरत्वादिति तत्राह—“ईक्षतेर्नाशब्दम्” (१. १. ५.) इति ॥

भवतु तर्हि वेदान्तानां ब्रह्मणि प्रामाण्यं तथापि कुत्र तन्निर्गुणं प्रतिपाद्यं कुत्र वा सगुणमिति कथं निर्णय इति । तत्र तावन्निर्गुणमित्याह—“आनन्दमयोऽभ्यासात्” (१. १. १२.) इति ॥

कुत्र तर्हि विवक्षितोपाधित्वेन सगुणमुपास्यमिति तदाह—“अन्तस्तद्धर्मोपदेशात्” (१. १. २०.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे विवक्षितोपाधित्वरूपेणोपास्यमित्युक्तम् । कुत्र तर्हि विवक्षितोपाधेः अन्यत्र संपाद्योपासनमिति पूर्वाधिकरणोदाहृतवाक्यानन्तरवाक्य इत्याह—“आकाशस्तल्लिङ्गात्” (१. १. २२.) इति ॥

इमं न्यायं समनन्तरवाक्येऽप्यतिदिशति—“अत एव प्राणः” (१. १. २३.) इति ॥

आकाशवायुविकारवाचकयोर्ब्रह्मपरत्वप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गेन तेजोवाचकस्यापि ब्रह्मपरत्वमाह—“ज्योतिश्चरणाभिधानात्” (१. १. २४.) इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकरणेऽन्यत्र संपाद्योपासनाकथनप्रसङ्गेन कौक्षेये ज्योतिषि संपाद्योपास्यं परं ज्योतिर्ब्रह्मेति निरूपयति—“ज्योतिः” इति ॥

चरणाभिधानं गायत्रीविषयमित्याक्षिप्य समाधत्ते—“च्छन्दोऽभिधाना-
न्नेति चेन्न तथा चेतोऽर्पणनिगदात्तथा हि दर्शयति” (१. १. २५.) ॥

ननु भवत्वेवं अन्यथासिद्धतात्पर्यवद्ब्रह्मलिङ्गवशाद्ब्रह्मपरत्वमुदाहृतवाक्या-
नाम् । यत्र पुनरनेकेषां लिङ्गदर्शनं तत्र कस्यानुसारेण किं निर्णेतव्यमिति तत्राह—“प्राणस्तथानुगमात्” (१. १. २६.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

ननु भवतु स्पष्टलिङ्गवशात् उदाहृतवाक्यानां ब्रह्मपरत्वम् ; अस्पष्टलिङ्गेषु तु कथं निर्णय इत्याकाङ्क्षायां पूर्वाधिकरणवज्जीवल्लिङ्गवाधेन “मनोमयः प्राणशरीरः” इत्यत्र ब्रह्मैवोच्यत इत्याह—“सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धोपदेशात्” (१. २. १.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे वैशिष्ट्यादिति भोक्तृत्वं ब्रह्मणो निरस्तम् । अत एवौदनोपसूचितो भोक्ता न ब्रह्मेत्याशङ्क्याह—अत्ता चराचरग्रहणात्” (१. २. ९.) इति ॥

अतृत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यार्थनिर्णयानन्तरं पातृत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यार्थनिर्णया-
याह—“गुहां प्रविष्टावात्मनौ हि तद्दर्शनात्” (१. २. ११.) इति ॥

ननु “ऋतं पिबन्तौ” इति द्वित्वसंख्याश्रवणाच्चेतनतया समानस्वभावयोः जीवपरयोः प्रथममवगमात् तदनुसारेण चरमश्रुतगुहाप्रवेशादयो व्याख्याता-
श्चेदिहापि दृश्यत इति प्रत्यक्षत्वाभिधानात् प्रथमावगतच्छायापुरुषानुरोधेना-
मृतत्वादयः स्तुत्याः कथञ्चिद्व्याख्यायाह—“अन्तर उपपत्तेः” (१. २. २३.) इति ॥

स्थानादिव्यपदेशादिति ब्रह्मणः पृथिव्यादीनि स्थानानि “यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन्” इत्यादिना निर्दिष्टानीति सूचितं पूर्वाधिकरणे । इदानीं तु “यः पृथिव्याम्” इत्यादिनापि परमात्मनः स्थानानि व्यपदिश्यन्त इत्याशङ्क्याह—
“अन्तर्याम्यधिदैवादिषु तद्धर्मव्यपदेशात्” (१. २. २८.) इति ॥

ननु तर्हि भूतयोनिवाक्ये निर्दिश्यमानानाम् अदृश्यत्वादिधर्माणां प्रधाने संभवात् विरुद्धं द्रष्टृत्वादीनां च धर्माणां पूर्वाधिकरणवाक्य इवानिर्देशात् भूतयोन्यक्षरं प्रधानम् इत्याशङ्क्याह—“अदृश्यत्वादिगुणको धर्मोक्तेः” (१. २. २२.) इति ॥

रूपोपन्यासप्रसङ्गेन त्रैलोक्यशरीरो वैश्वानरः परमात्मेत्याह—“वैश्वानरः” इति ॥ “अग्निर्मूर्धा” इत्यादिरूपोपन्यासं विहाय “पुरुष एवेदं विश्वम्” इति रूपमुपन्यस्यते इत्युक्तम् । तर्हि तेनैव न्यायेन मूर्धाद्यवयवी न परमेश्वर इत्याशङ्क्याह—“वैश्वानरः” इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकरणे वाक्योपक्रमगतं साधारणलिङ्गमप्रमाणं विवक्षितलिङ्गवशादन्यपरं निर्णीतम् ; तत्प्रसङ्गेन वाक्योपक्रमगतं साधारणश्रुतिप्रमाणमसाधारणलिङ्गवशादन्यपरतया निर्णीयते—
“वैश्वानरः साधारणशब्दविशेषात्” (१. २. २४.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

उपक्रमगतश्रुतिप्रमाणस्य वाक्यशेषगतलिङ्गेनान्यथा निर्णयप्रसङ्गेन जगदायतनत्वस्य प्रधानब्रह्मादिसाधारणलिङ्गस्य वाक्यशेषगतात्मश्रुत्या ब्रह्मपरता निर्णेतव्येत्याह—“द्युभ्वाद्यायतनम्” इति ॥ अथवा त्रैलोक्यात्मा वैश्वानरः परमात्मा चेत्तर्हि त्रैलोक्यायतनत्वेन निर्दिश्यमानमर्थान्तरं न परमात्मेति शङ्कायामाह—“द्युभ्वाद्यायतनं स्वशब्दात्” (१. ३. १.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे वाक्यशेषगतात्मवाक्योपक्रमगतायतनार्थो निर्णीतः ; तत्प्रसङ्गादिदानीं वाक्योपक्रमगतात्मसत्यश्रुतिभ्यां वाक्यशेषगतभूमशब्दार्थो निर्णीयते—“भूमा” इति ॥ अथवा त्रैलोक्यायतनत्वकथनेनार्थप्राप्तं श्रुतिमुखेनोपपादयितुमाह—“भूमा संप्रसादादध्युपदेशात्” (१. ३. ८.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणयोः श्रुतिवशान्निर्णय उक्तः । तत्प्रसङ्गादिदानीं विधरणाख्य-
लिङ्गेनाम्बरान्तविधारकमक्षरं ब्रह्मेत्याह—“अक्षरम्” इति ॥ अथवा अती-

तानन्तरसूत्रे “सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेः” इति दर्शनाद्यभावाः ब्रह्मधर्मत्वेन निर्दिष्टाः । तत्प्रसङ्गेन स्थूलाद्यभावानां ब्रह्मधर्मत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यमनुस्मृत्य तद्व्याख्यातक्षर-
शब्दस्यार्थमाह—अक्षरमिति ॥ अथवा सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेः ब्रह्माभिधानाद्यस्मि-
न्नक्षरे स्थूलादयः सर्वे धर्माः प्रतिषिध्यन्ते तस्याब्रह्मत्वाशङ्कायामाह—
“अक्षरमम्बरान्तधृतेः” (१. ३. १०.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे अक्षरमोङ्कार इति पूर्वपक्षत्वात् तत्प्रसङ्गादोङ्काराक्षरेणाभि-
ध्यातव्यः पुरुषोऽत्र निर्णीयते परमात्मेति—“ईक्षतिकर्मव्यपदेशात् सः”
(१. ३. १३.) ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे “परात्परं पुरुषमीक्षते” इत्येतद्व्याख्यावशादभिध्यातव्यपुरुष-
निर्णयमकरोत्, अत्र परमेश्वरस्य पुरि शयनमिति पूर्वसंबन्धाधिगमादयमपि
पूर्वसंबन्धी दहराकाशो ब्रह्मेति प्रतिपादयति—“दहर उत्तरेभ्यः”
(१. ३. १४.) इति ॥

अपहतपाप्मत्वादीनां जीवेऽसंभवाच्च दहराकाशो जीव इत्युक्तम् ।
इदानीम् असंभवोऽसिद्ध इत्याशङ्क्य परिहरति—“उत्तराच्चेदाविर्भूतस्वरूपस्तु”
(१. ३. १९.) इति ॥

“परं ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणामिनिष्पद्यते” इति वाक्यार्थविचार-
प्रसङ्गेन “तच्छुक्रं ज्योतिषां ज्योतिः” इति वाक्येन निर्दिष्टपरंज्योतिरुप-
पादनपरम् “न तत्र सूर्यो भाति” इति वाक्यं विमृशति—“अनुकृतेस्तस्य
च” (१. ३. २२.) इति ॥

ननु पूर्वाधिकरणे परमात्मनो ज्योतिरुपप्रतिपादनाज्ज्योतिरिवेति ज्योतिषोप-
मीयमानः पुरुषो न परमात्मेति शङ्कायामाह—“शब्दादेव प्रमितः”
(१. ३. २४.) इति ॥

मनुष्याधिकारत्वादिति मनुष्याणामधिकारकथनादमनुष्याणां देवाना-
मधिकारमांशङ्क्याह—“तदुपर्यपि बादरायणः संभवात्” (१. ३. २६.)
इति ॥ मन्त्रार्थवादादिवाक्यानां देवताविग्रहादौ समन्वयस्य प्रतिपाद्यमानत्वादस्यैव
समन्वयाध्यायेनापि सङ्गतिः ।

ननु यथा मनुष्याधिकारनियमापवादेन देवादीनामधिकारः तथा द्विजात्यधिकारनियमापवादेन शूद्रस्याप्यधिकारोऽस्तु, संवर्गविधायाम् “अह हारे त्वा शूद्र” इति विद्याधिकारिणः शूद्रशब्देन परामर्शादित्याशङ्क्य शूद्रस्याधिकारं निराकरोति—“शुगस्य तदनादरश्रवणात्तदाद्रवणात् सूच्यते हि” (१. ३. ३४.) ॥

पूर्वाधिकारणे बहुलिङ्गविरोधाच्छूद्रशब्दस्यैकस्य बाधो दर्शितः । इदानीं तत्प्रसङ्गादेकस्याः प्राणशब्दश्रुतेः सवायुकजगत्कम्पनाश्रयामृतत्वसाधनलिङ्गैः बहुभिः विरोधान्मुख्यार्थबाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“कम्पनात्” (१. ३. ३९.) इति ॥

बहुलिङ्गविरोधात् श्रुतिबाधो दर्शितः । संप्रति तु तत्प्रसङ्गात् प्रकरणानुगृहीतोत्तमपुरुषश्रुत्या ज्योतिःश्रुतेः मुख्यार्थबाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“ज्योतिर्दर्शनात्” (१. ३. ४०.) इति ॥

“अथ य एष संप्रसादः” इत्यस्यार्थनिर्णयमकरोत् पूर्वाधिकारणे । तत्प्रसङ्गात् अनन्तरपठितवाक्यस्यार्थनिर्णयमाह — “आकाशोऽर्थान्तरत्वादिव्यपदेशात्” (१. ३. ४१.) इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकारणे प्रकरणानुगृहीतोत्तमपुरुषश्रुत्या पूर्वपठितज्योतिःश्रुतेः बाधो दर्शितः । संप्रति तु लिङ्गानुगृहीतश्रुतिप्रमाणाद्वाक्योपक्रमपठिताकाशश्रुतेः मुख्यार्थबाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“आकाशः” इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकारणे लिङ्गवशात् श्रुत्या सहितात् श्रुतेः बाधो दर्शितः ; इह तु लिङ्गवशात् लिङ्गस्यैव बाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“सुषुप्त्युत्क्रान्त्योः भेदेन” (१. ३. ४२.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ प्रथमस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

वेदान्तानां ब्रह्मण्यवगतिसामान्यं प्रधानस्याशब्दत्वं च सूचितम् । तत्रावगतिसामान्यं प्रपञ्चितं गतेन ग्रन्थेन । संप्रति प्रधानस्याशब्दत्वं प्रपञ्च्यते चतुर्थपादेन । पूर्वाधिकारणे प्रसिद्धगोचरलिङ्गप्रमाणस्य बलवत्त्वमुक्तम् । इदानीं तु प्रकरणानुगृहीतस्थानप्रमाणात् तत्सजातीयस्यैव स्थानप्रमाणस्य बाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“आनुमानिकमप्येकेषाम् इति चेन्न शरीररूपकविन्यस्तगृहीतेः दर्शयति च” (१. ४. १.) ॥

पूर्वाधिकारणे कारणवाचिना अव्यक्तपदेन कार्यं शरीरं लक्ष्यत इत्युक्तम् । इदानीं धर्मवाचकरोहितादिवर्णैः तेजोऽवयवानि लक्ष्यन्त इत्यङ्गीकृत्य मानान्तरस्यापि प्रधानविषयत्वं निराचष्टे—“चमसवदविशेषात्” (१. ४. ८.) इति ॥

अथवा रथादिरूपकल्पनोपदेशप्रसङ्गेनाजारूपकल्पनोपदेशवाक्यस्य प्रधानविषयत्वं निराचष्टे—“चमसवत्” इति ॥ पूर्वाधिकारणेऽजाशब्दस्य योगवृत्तिं निराकृत्य रूढिपरिग्रहेण प्रधानविषयत्वमजामन्त्रस्य निराकृतम् । इदानीं तु पञ्चजनशब्दस्य योगवृत्तिं निराकृत्य रूढिपरिग्रहेण प्रधानादितत्त्वविषयत्वं मन्त्रान्तरस्य निराकरोति—“न संख्योपसङ्गहादपि नानाभावादतिरेकाच्च” (१. ४. ११.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकारणेषु वेदान्तवाक्यानां केषांचित् प्रधानादिपरत्वमाशङ्क्य निराकृतम् । इदानीं तु सर्वेषां वेदान्तानां कारणविषयाणां परस्परव्याहतानां स्वतो-निश्चायकत्वासंभवात् प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धप्रधानकारणपरत्वमाशङ्क्य निराकरोति—“कारणत्वेन चाकाशादिषु यथाव्यपदिष्टोक्तेः” (१. ४. १४.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकारणे बहूनां परस्परविरुद्धानां अविरोधेनैककारणविषयत्वं दर्शितम् । इदानीमेकस्य शब्दस्यानेकार्थविषयस्यार्थविशेषविषयत्वेन कारणविषयत्वं वाक्यस्य निर्णयते—“जगद्वाचित्वात्” (१. ४. १६.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकारणे जीवव्यतिरिक्तपरमात्मविषयत्वं प्रश्नव्याख्यानसामर्थ्याद्वाक्यस्य दर्शितम् । अतो जीवपरमात्मनोः भेदोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः इत्याशङ्क्य मैत्रेयीब्राह्मणे आत्मशब्दोपक्रमात् तस्य जीवस्य ब्रह्मधर्मविशिष्टतया प्रतिपादनादौपाधिको भेदः न वास्तव इति प्रतिपादयति—“वाक्यान्वयात्” (१. ४. २९.) इति ॥

अतीतग्रन्थसन्दर्भेण ब्रह्मणो जगत्कारणत्वमतिव्यापकं न भवति प्रधानादीनां जगदुपादानत्वप्रतिपादकशब्दाभावादित्युक्तम् । इदानीं ब्रह्मणोऽपि जगदुपादानत्वप्रतिपादकशब्दाभावः समानः कारणत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यानां निमित्तकारणत्वप्रतिपादनपरत्वादित्याशङ्क्योपादानकारणत्वं ब्रह्मणः श्रुतिप्रमितमिति साधयति—“प्रकृतिश्च प्रतिज्ञादृष्टान्तानुपरोधात्” (१. ४. २३.) इति ॥ अथवा यत्प्रतिज्ञाबलात्पूर्वाधिकारणे मैत्रेयीब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मपरत्वं निर्णीतम् इदानीं तत्प्रतिज्ञाबलादेव ब्रह्मण उपादानत्वं साधयति—“प्रकृतिश्च” इति ॥

पूर्वोक्तन्यायेन प्रधानकारणवादस्याशब्दत्वेऽपि परमाणवादिकारणवादानाम्
“अणुः पन्थाः” “अणोरणीयान्” “असदेवेदमग्र आसीत्” इत्यादिशब्दवद्ब्रह्मणो
जगत्प्रकृतित्वलक्षणमतिव्यापकमित्याशङ्क्यातिदेशेन निराचष्टे—“एतेन सर्वे
व्याख्याता व्याख्याताः” (१. ४. २८.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

प्रथमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः

॥ अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

प्रथमः पादः

ननु वैदिकशब्दाभावेऽपि स्मृतिलक्षणशब्दवत्त्वमस्तीति प्रधानवादिनः
शङ्कामुपन्यस्य निराकरोति—“स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्न अन्य-
स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्गात्” (२. १. १.) इति ॥

सांख्यस्मृतेः मन्वादिस्मृतिविरोधेऽपि योगस्मृतेः स नास्ति, मन्वादि-
स्मृतिष्वपि योगस्य प्रतिपादनादित्याशङ्क्य तथापि प्रधानविषये योगस्मृतिः न
प्रमाणमित्याह—“एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः” (२. १. ३.) इति ॥

पराभिमतशब्दानामाभासतां प्रसाध्य तदभिमतन्यायानां स्वपक्षविरोधि-
नाम् आभासतां दर्शयति—“न विलक्षणत्वादस्य तथात्वं च शब्दात्”
(२. १. ४.) इति ॥

यद्यपि सांख्ययोगन्यायविरोधः समन्वयस्य निराकृतः तथापि समन्वयो
न सिध्यति’ अणवादिकारणवादिभिः उद्भाषितन्यायविरोधात्, तेषां च तार्किकत्वेन
प्रसिद्धत्वात् तदीयन्यायानामवाध्यत्वादित्याशङ्क्य तन्निराकरणायोक्तन्यायमतिदि-
शति—“एतेन शिष्टपरिग्रहा अपि व्याख्याताः” (२. १. १२.) इति ॥

एवं तर्कविरोधं परिहृत्य समन्वयस्य प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणविरोधमाशङ्क्य
परिहरति—“भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागश्चेत् स्याल्लोकवत्” (२. १. १३.) इति ॥

भेदाभेदमवलम्ब्य मानान्तरविरोधः परिहृतः ; संप्रति स्वसिद्धान्तेन
पारहरति—“तदनन्यत्वमारम्भणशब्दादिभ्यः” (२. १. १४.) इति ॥

एकविज्ञानेन सर्वविज्ञानप्रतिज्ञासिद्धये कारणानन्यत्वं कार्यस्य प्रति-
पादितम् । तेनैव न्यायेन जीवस्यापि कारणानन्यत्वात् जीवधर्माहिताकरणा-
दयो ब्रह्मणि प्रसज्यन्त इत्याशङ्क्य परिहरति—“इतरव्यपदेशाद्विताकरणादि-
दोषप्रसक्तिः” (२. १. २१.) इति ॥

सजातीयात् चेतनादभिन्नत्वावलम्बनेन ब्रह्मणः कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य पूर्वाधि-
करणेन परिहृतम् । इदानीं विजातीयभेदावष्टम्भेन कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य परिहरति—
“उपसंहारदर्शनान्नेति चेत् न क्षीरवद्धि” (२. १. २४ इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे क्षीरादिपरिणामिद्रव्याणां दृष्टान्तत्वेनाभिधानाद्ब्रह्म परिणामीति
शङ्का स्यात् ; तन्निराकरणेन विवर्तस्यैव श्रुत्यर्थातां दर्शयितुमाह—“कृत्स्न-
प्रसक्तिर्निरवयवत्वशब्दकोपो वा” (२. १. २६.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे अवयवाभावात् कारणत्वाक्षेपे सति सर्वशक्तियुक्तत्वात् कारण-
त्वमुपपन्नमित्युक्तम् । इदानीं सर्वशक्तित्वे प्रमाणाभावात् करणाभावाच्च कारण-
त्वमाक्षिप्य परिहरति—“सर्वोपेता च तद्दर्शनात्” (२. १. ३०.) इति ॥

शक्तिमतोऽपि प्रयोजनाभावे प्रेक्षावत्प्रवृत्त्यदर्शनात् ब्रह्मणः प्रयोजन-
शून्यजगद्विरचनमनुपपन्नमिति पुनः कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य समाधत्ते—“न प्रयोजन-
वत्त्वात्” (२. १. ३२.) इति ॥

संप्रति जगद्विलयसर्गे प्रयोजनाभावे तद्विषयरागद्वेषाभावात् परमेश्वरस्य
विषमजगद्वेतुत्वमनुपपन्नमित्याशङ्क्य समाधत्ते—“वैषम्यनैर्घृण्ये न सापेक्ष-
त्वात् तथा हि दर्शयति” (२. १. ३४.) इति ॥

पूर्वं ब्रह्मणः कारणत्वविधातिनः परैः उद्भाषितान् दोषान् परिहृत्य
संप्रति निर्विशेषत्वेऽपि मायाविशिष्टे कारणत्वानुगुणानां सर्वगुणानामपि संभवा-
दुपपन्नं कारणत्वमित्युपसंहरति—“सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेश्च” (२. १. ३७.) इति ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे ब्रह्मणि कारणत्वानुगुणा गुणाः संभवन्तीत्यभिधाय संप्रति
प्रधाने तदसंभवमाह—“रचनानुपपत्तेश्च नानुमानम्” (२. २. १.) इति ॥



ननु ब्रह्मणोऽपि कारणानुगुणा गुणा न संभवन्ति तन्निशिष्टगुण-
चैतन्यस्य तत्कार्ये जगति समानजातीयगुणानामारम्भकत्वादिति वैशेषिक-
मतमाशङ्क्य तत्प्रक्रियैव व्यभिचारयति—“महर्दीर्घवद्वा ह्रस्वपरिमण्डला-
भ्याम्” (२. २. ११.) इति ॥

इदानीं स्वपक्षे तदुक्तं दूषणं परिहृत्य तदभिप्रेतपरमाणूनां कारणत्वं
निराचष्टे—“उभयथापि न कर्मातस्तदभावः” (२. २. १२.) इति ॥

एवमर्धवैनाशिकमतनिराकरणानन्तरं सर्ववैनाशिकस्य ब्रौह्मस्य बुद्धिस्थ-
त्वात्तन्मतं निराकरोति—“समुदाय उभयहेतुकेऽपि तदप्राप्तिः”
(२. २. १८.) इति ॥

एवं विज्ञानस्य सालम्बनवादं निराकृत्य निरालम्बनवादनिराकरणायाह—
“नाभाव उपलब्धेः” (२. २. २८.) इति ॥

एवं मुक्तकच्छमतनिराकरणानन्तरं मुक्ताम्बरस्य धीस्थत्वात्तन्मतं दूषयति
—“नैकस्मिन्नसंभवात्” (२. २. ३३.) इति ॥

एवं लुप्तकेशमतं निराकृत्य जटाधारिमाहेश्वरमतं निराकरोति—
“पत्युरसामञ्जस्यात्” (२. २. ३७.) इति ॥ अथवा सप्तपदार्थवादिनि
निरस्ते पञ्चपदार्थवादितप्रस्तावाह—“पत्युः” इति ॥

माहेश्वरमतनिराकरणानन्तरं वैष्णवमतं निराकरोति—“उत्पत्त्यसंभवात्”
(२. २. ४२.) इति ॥ अथवा पञ्चपदार्थवादिते अपास्ते चतुर्व्यूहपदार्थ-
पक्षमपाकरोति—“उत्पत्त्यसंभवात्” इति ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

परपक्षाणां परस्परविप्रतिषेधादनपेक्षत्वे प्रदर्शिते श्रुतीनामपि परस्पर-
विप्रतिषेधादुपेक्ष्यतामाशङ्क्य परिहरति—“न वियदश्रुतेः” (२. ३. १.) इति ॥

वियदुत्पत्तिं प्रसाध्य पवनोत्पत्तिं प्रसाधयति—“एतेन मातरिश्वा
व्याख्यातः” (२. ३. ८.) इति ॥

असंभाव्यमानजन्मनोः वियत्पवनयोः उत्पत्तिमाकर्ण्य कारणत्वाद्ब्रह्मणोऽ-
प्युत्पत्तिः स्यादिति संभावनायामाह—“असंभवस्तु सतोऽनुपपत्तेः”
(२. ३. ९.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रसङ्गात् कार्यत्वं सतो निराकृतम् । संप्रति तस्यैव
सतः “तत्तेजोऽसृजत” इति तेजःकारणतावगमात् “वायोरग्निः” इति
विप्रतिषेधमाशङ्क्याह—“तेजोऽतस्तथा ह्याह” (२. ३. १०.) इति ॥

संप्रत्यनन्तरनिर्दिष्टतेजःसंभवमम्भसामाह—“आपः” (२. ३. ११.)
इति ॥

इदानीं तु “ता अन्नमसृजन्त” इत्यप्यकार्यत्वेनावगम्यमानान्नस्य पृथिवीत्वं
साधयति—“पृथिव्यधिकाररूपशब्दान्तरेभ्यः” (२. ३. १२.) इति ॥

एवं पूर्वपूर्वकार्यत्वश्रवणादुत्तरोत्तरभूतानां न ब्रह्मकारणत्वमित्याशङ्क्या-
माह—“तदभिधानादेव तु तल्लिङ्गात् सः” (२. ३. १३.) इति ॥

एवं सृष्टिक्रममभिधाय लयक्रममाह—“विपर्ययेण तु क्रमोऽत उप-
पद्यते च” (२. ३. १४.) इति ॥

इदानीमभिहितभूतोद्भवप्रलयक्रमस्य कारणसृष्ट्या बाधमाशङ्क्य परिहरति
—“अन्तरा विज्ञानमनसी क्रमेण तल्लिङ्गादिति चेन्नाविशेषात्”
(२. ३. १५.) इति ॥

इत्थं भोग्यवर्गस्योद्भवमभिधाय संप्रति भोक्तुः संभवसंभावनायामाह—
“चराचरव्यपाश्रयस्तु स्यात्तद्व्यपदेशो भाक्तः तद्भावभाषित्वात्”
(२. ३. १६.) इति ॥

देहोत्पत्तौ जीवोत्पत्तिं निराकृत्य महासर्गेऽपि तस्योत्पत्तिं निराचष्टे—
“नात्माश्रुतेः नित्यत्वाच्च ताभ्यः” (२. ३. १७.) इति ॥

एवमात्मनो नित्यत्वमभिधाय चैतन्यस्यापि तत्स्वरूपतया नित्यतामाह—
“ज्ञोऽत एव” (२. ३. १८.) इति ॥

एवं कालतः परिच्छेदं निराकृत्याधुना देशतः परिच्छेदं निराचष्टे—
“उत्क्रान्तिगत्यागतीनाम्” (२. ३. १९.) ॥

एवं नित्यत्वज्ञत्वादिजीवचिन्ताप्रसङ्गेन तस्यैव धर्मान्तरं चिन्तयति—
“कर्ता शास्त्रार्थवत्त्वात्” (२. ३. ३३.) इति ॥

उक्तस्य कर्तृत्वस्य स्वाभाविकत्वमाशङ्क्याह—“यथा च तक्षोभयथा”
(२. ३. ४०.) इति ॥

औपाधिकमपि पूर्वोक्तं कर्तृत्वम् ईश्वरायत्तमेवेत्याह—“परात्तु तच्छ्रुतेः”
(२. ३. ४१.) इति ॥

एवं जीवेश्वरयोः कर्तृप्रयोजककर्तृत्वभावेनाभिहितयोः संबन्धाकाङ्क्षायाम् अंशशिभावलक्षणं संबन्धं दर्शयति—“अंशो नानाव्यपदेशादन्यथा चापि दाशकित्वादित्वमधीयत एके” (२. ३. ४३.) इति ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

एवं कर्तृस्वरूपनिरूपणानन्तरं करणादिर्वर्गनिरूपणाय पादमारभमाणः करणानामुत्पत्तिं तावदाह—“तथा प्राणाः” (२. ४. १.) इति ॥

करणानामेव संख्यानिर्णयार्थमाह—“सप्त गतेः विशेषितत्वाच्च” (२. ४. ५.) इति ॥

एवं कालतः परिच्छेदमभिधाय अधुना तेषामेव देशपरिच्छेदमणुतां चाह—“अणवश्च” (२. ४. ७.) इति ॥

एवम् इतरप्राणनिरूपणानन्तरं मुख्यप्राणस्योत्पत्तिम् आह—“श्रेष्ठश्च” (२. ४. ८.) इति ॥

इदानीं तस्यैव स्वभावविशेषमाह—“न वायुक्रिये पृथगुपदेशात्” (२. ४. ९.) इति ॥

तस्यापि करणानामिवाणुतां दर्शयति—“अणुश्च” (२. ४. १३.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे प्राणस्याध्यात्माधिदैवाविभागेनाणुत्वविभुत्वे निर्णीते । तत्प्रसङ्गे-नाध्यात्मिकानां प्राणानामधिदैवापेक्षां चेष्टामाचष्टे—“ज्योतिराद्यधिष्ठानं तु तदामननात्” (२. ४. १४.) इति ॥

तेषामेव मुख्यप्राणातिरिक्तत्वमाह—“त इन्द्रियाणि तद्व्यपदेशादन्यत्र श्रेष्ठात्” (२. ४. १७.) इति ॥

एवं भूतभौतिककारणनिरूपणानन्तरं तन्नामरूपव्याकरणस्य परमेश्वर-कर्तृकतामाह—“संज्ञामूर्तिक्लृप्तिस्तु” (२. ४. २०.) इति ॥ अथवा अनन्तराधिकरणे नामरूपभेदात्करणानां प्राणभेदप्रस्तावनाप्रसङ्गेन नामरूपव्याकरणं किंकर्तृकमिति निरूपयति—“संज्ञामूर्तिक्लृप्तिः”

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

RĀJAŚEKHARA THE DRAMATIST.

BY

SIR C. V. KUMARASWAMI SASTRIAR.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in the July-October Number of the Journal deals with the question of the identity of Mahipāla the patron of Kṣemeśvara with the Gurjara ruler of Kanoj and inclines strongly against the view that the Mahipāla referred to by Kṣemeśvara in the prelude to the Caṇḍakauśikam (Dor-darpādhyah sa punar abhavat Śrī Mahipāladevaḥ) was Mahipāla I of Bengal who reigned between 794-1026. A. D.

As Kṣemeśvara and Rājaśekhara were contemporaries and as Rājaśekhara in his plays refers with pride to his having been the Guru of Mahendrapāla and his having been patronised by his son Mahipāla, I think the date of Rājaśekhara, and the identity of the two kings referred to by him, will not only be interesting, but will throw light on the controversy dealt with, by Professor Sastri. On the questions with which I propose to deal in this article, eminent scholars are in disagreement, and if I enter the lists, it is not in the role of a vanquisher of heroes but in the more humble role of a supplier of ammunition.

Rājaśekhara gives more information of himself than most other authors. There can be little doubt from what he states, that he was the Guru of King Mahendrapāla and was patronised by his son Mahipāla. In the Bāla Rāmāyaṇam he describes his grandfather Akālaśalada as Mahārāṣṭra Cūḍāmaṇi. He says his father was a minister of Nirbhaya who has been identified with Mahendrapāla. In his plays he uses the Maharāṣṭric Prākṛt and in the Karpūramañjarī he speaks of “the campak blossoms blooming in spring like a Maharāṣṭra girl’s cheeks rubbed with saffron paste”. Both the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa and the Bāla Bhārata were acted according to him at Mahodaya which is another name for Kanoj. Though a Brahmin, he married Avanti Sundarī described by him in the Karpūramañjarī as ‘crest garland of the Chauhan family’, and the Karpūramañjarī was he says, acted at her request. He described himself as “having risen to lofty dignity by the successive steps of poet, chief poet, and teacher of king Nirbhaya”. It is unfortunate that, amidst all his proximity

and self adulation he gives no indication as to the date when he lived or wrote his works.

As to the period when he flourished the opinions of eminent scholars are divided and range from the 8th to as late as the 14th centuries. Doctor Peterson in his introduction to the *Subhāṣitāvalī* observes—"The Dramatist has been supposed to date from as late as the 14th century but his real date is the middle of the 8th Century. This is established by the fact that Kṣīrasvāmin who wrote a commentary on the *Amarakośa*, and who was the teacher of Jaysimha (correctly Jayāpīḍa) of Kashmir 750 A. D. quotes from a verse in the *Viddhasāla-bhañjikā* in his note on *Amara* 1. 8. 4., and that King Mahendrapāla whom Rājāśekhara himself refers to as a pupil was reigning in 761 A.D." If Kṣīrasvāmin, the commentator of *Amarakośa* can be identified with the teacher of Jayāpīḍa, this would clearly fix Rājāśekhara's date. We find, from the 4th book of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa that between 700 and 750 A. D., the following kings of the Kārkoṭa Dynasty reigned in Kashmir—Muktāpīḍa; Lalitāiditya, the conqueror of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja; Kūvalayāpīḍa; Vajrāditya; Pṛthivyāpīḍa; Saṅgrāmāpīḍa; and Jayāpīḍa; who is said to have reigned for 31 years from 3828 to 3859 *Laukika* or *Saptarṣi* era which began in 3076 B. C. (755 to 786 A. D.). Verse 489 of the 4th *Taraṅgiṇī* is as follows 'Receiving instruction from a master of grammatical science called Kṣīra the learned Jayāpīḍa gained distinction with the wise.' With reference to the śloka Stein in his note observes "Kṣīra, Jayāpīḍa's teacher in grammar, is identified by the tradition of the Kashmirian Pandits with Kṣīrasvāmin, son of Īśvara Svāmin, the author of a well known commentary on the *Amarakośa* and several other grammatical treatises still extant." Professor Max Muller in his notes and illustrations to "India, what it can teach us" (p. 334) observes that Kṣīra, the commentator of *Amara* quotes from *Kālidāsa*. Professor Aufrecht, however, places the commentator Kṣīra between the 11th and the 12th centuries chiefly because he quotes from the *Śabdānuśāsana* ascribed to Bhoja. Professor Buhler mentions a Kṣīra as the author of *Avyayavṛtti* and *Dhātutaraṅgiṇī* and he calls him Jayāpīḍa's teacher.

Professor Buhler¹ referring to Peterson's view above quoted observes "I think it hazardous to maintain that the

1. *Indian Antiquary* vol. xv, p. 242.

identity of Kṣīrasvāmin the commentator of *Amarakośa* with Kṣīra the teacher of Jayāpīḍa (not Jaysimha as the editor says) is established. If the second argument that King Mahendrapāla who was reigning in 761 was Rājāśekhara's pupil is based on the Dighwa Dabuli plate published by Mr. Fleet¹ I think it requires further consideration. A Mahendrapāla may have reigned in Kanoj in 761 A. D. but it has not been shown that this king was Rājāśekhara's Nirbhaya Mahendrapāla, the father of Mahīpāla. According to this inscription the sons of Mahendrapāla were Bhoja II and Vinayapāla. Professor Aufrecht thinks that Kṣīrasvāmin must be placed in the 11th Century as he quotes the *Śabdārṇava* of Bhoja, but it is not at all clear that King Bhoja was the author of this book.

The Dighwa Dubuli grant dated Harṣa Samvat 155 (A. D. 761-762) is found copied on page 105 of the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XV) and is translated by Mr. Fleet. It purports to be issued from the camp (*Skandhāvāra*) at Mahodaya. Dr. Fleet thinks it establishes the fact that Bhoja I was the father of Mahendrapāla who reigned in 761-2 and that by his first wife he had a son Bhoja II and by his second wife a son Vinayapāla who reigned in 794-795. He deals with the age of Rājāśekhara in Vol. XVI of the *Indian Antiquary* and refers to the Asni inscription dated Vikrama Samvat 774 (A. D. 917-18) found in the village of Asni about 90 miles from Konouj which is a grant by Mahīpāla who is said to be the successor of Mahendrapāla. He places Rājāśekhara in the first quarter of the 10th century.

The Sayadoni Inscription which is set out and dealt with by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*² is an important piece of evidence. It records several donations made by different persons to the worship of Viṣṇu in the village of Sayadoni. The learned Professor observes—"The names of the four sovereigns of Mahodaya or Kānyakubja presented to us in the inscription with their known dates would be as follows :—Bhoja 862-876-882; Mahendrapāla or Nirbhaya Narendra or Mahīpāla 903-907 pupil of Rājāśekhara; his son Kṣitipāla or Mahīpāla or Herambapāla 917 patron of Rājāśekhara; his son Devapāla 948".

The Bilhari Chedi Inscription³ which Hall, with some hesitation, ascribes to the 12th century and which

1. *I. A.* Vol. 15, p. 107,

2. Vol. I, p. 162.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 268.

Kielhorn says should be fixed at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century refers, in verse 85 to Rājasekhara as follows "May this composition the several parts of which are well joined and which would deserve praise even from the wonderstruck poet Rājasekhara, endure to the end of the world." Speaking of the verse, Hall observes—"The first three kings of our inscription are panegyrised in it, we are told, by Śrīnivāsa son of Sthiramanda and, in the remaining three by Sajjana son of Sthira. The compiler and supplementor of their labour seems to have been Rājasekhara." If this were the dramatist, a matter of some curiosity from a literary point of view now approaches solution." He follows the matter up in Vol. XXXI, p. 13 and observes—"One poet now remains, whose connection with Kanoj may be counted a certainty, I mean, Rājasekhara the author of Viddhasālabhañjikā, the Pracāṇḍa Pāṇḍava or Bāla Bhārata, the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa and of the Karpūramañjarī. In all these works, he speaks of his patron as being Mahendrapāla of the city of Mahodaya. Mahendrapāla is also called Mahīpāla and his father Nirbhaya Narendra. To the first the poet was preceptor. If Nirbhaya Narendra was the title of Bhoja I of the Kanoj copper plate, whose son was Mahendrapāla it cannot be that this Rājasekhara compiled and supplemented the Bilhari inscription which I have ascribed with much hesitation, to the early part of the 12th century." Hall is entirely mistaken when he says that Bhoja was called Nirbhaya Narendra and there is nothing in the Cedi inscription which can be taken to mean that Rājasekhara "compiled and supplemented" the inscription. All that verse 85 says is that it would excite the admiration of Rājasekhara.

H. H. Wilson thinks that Rājasekhara's date is the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. Professor Tauney thinks he flourished under Mahendrapāla of Kanoj 903-907 and Mahīpāla 917 A. D. Professor Peterson places him in the first quarter of the 10th Century on the strength of the Asni Inscription. Professor Bhandarkar in his report of the Sanskrit Manuscripts 1882-3 thinks he should be placed about the 10th century. V. S. Apte is more guarded and thinks that he should be placed between the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th, and the middle of the 10th century. Professor Sten Konow in his essay on Rājasekhara prefixed to the drama Karpūramañjarī

1. Vol. XXX, J. R. B. A. S. 330.

translated by Lanman places him about 900 A. D. Professor Max Muller who places him as late as the 14th century seems to confound the poet Rājasekhara with the Rājasekhara who wrote the Prabandhakośa about 1347 A. D. Professor Keith places him about A. D. 900 and at page 232, Sanskrit Drama, he observes that Karpūramañjarī was his first drama, and that Nirbhaya whose teacher he says he was is "clearly the Pratihāra king of Mahodaya or Kānya Kubja of whom we have records in A. D. 893 and 907." He thinks that the Viddhasālabhañjikā was produced for the Kalacuri King Yuvarāya Keyūravārṣa of Tripuri and that Rājasekhara must have visited his Court and observes. "But as the unfinished Bāla Bhārata was written for Mahīpāla the successor of Mahendrapāla whose records begin in 914 we may assume he returned to the Court of the Pratihāras and died there".

Rājasekhara refers to the Dramatist Bhavabhūti and the poet Meṇṭha in scene I verse 16 of the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa in which he says "of yore there was the poet sprung from an anthill, then he became Bharatmeṇṭha; again he existed as Bhavabhūti. He now is "Rājasekhara." Of Bhavabhūti it may be safely asserted that he lived in the closing years of the 7th century. Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī refers to Vākpati and Bhavabhūti as the court poets of Yaśovarman who, according to the Rājatarāṅgiṇī was conquered by Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa, the limits of whose reign appear to be 669 to 775 A. D. Vākpati himself in the Gauḍavadhā refers to Bhavabhūti and speaks of his own work "flashing with excellence like drops of the nectar of poetry from the ocean of Bhavabhūti". The date of Meṇṭha or Bharatmeṇṭha, the author of Hayagrīvavadhā, cannot be fixed with certainty. In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī III verses 260, 261 and 262 he is said to have been patronised by Mātṛgupta who was succeeded by Pravara-sena. Professor Max Muller places Mātṛgupta who he says was the patron of Bharatmeṇṭha as reigning from 544 to 550 A. D. Professor Keith places Meṇṭha in the latter part of the 6th century.

Mañkha, the author of Śrī Kaṇṭha Caritra who lived in the reign of Jayasimha (1129—1150) also refers to Rājasekhara thus :—The verse runs as follows :—

प्रक्रमैः हठवक्रिणो मुगरिमनु धावतः ।

श्रीराजशेखरगिरे नीवी यस्योक्तिसंपदाम् ॥ ¹

Rājaśekhara is quoted by Somadeva in the third *Aśvāsa* of *Yaśastilakacampū* written about 954-960. Dhanika in his commentary of the *Daśarūpa* quotes from Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* and *Viddhasālābhāñjikā*. Both Dhanāñjaya the author of *Daśarūpa* and Dhanika the commentator lived in the reign of Vākpatirāja II also known as Muñja (the predecessor of the celebrated Bhoja) who reigned from 974 to 995 and who is referred to in *Padmaguptas Navasāhasānka Caritra*. The *Cālukya* King Tailapa who conquered and put to death Muñja reigned from 930 to 997 A. D. In the concluding śloka of the *Daśarūpa*, Dhanāñjaya says that "the work was given to this world by Dhanāñjaya son of Viṣṇu whose learning was derived from Muñja Mahārāja." The *Sarasvatikanthā-bharaṇa* attributed to Bhoja the successor of Muñja, and Kṣemendra who lived between 1037 and 1066, also quotes from Rājaśekhara's *Dramas*.

The Jain Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* which was composed about the year 1360 of the Vikrama Era says that Rājaśekhara was at the Court of king Bhoja. The story he relates is as follows:—When Bhoja was going on an elephant through the city he found a beggar picking up grains and when questioned he said—"I am Rājaśekhara who, having been prevented by the chief men of the city from obtaining in any other way an entrance into your court of various learned men have striven by this trick to enjoy an interview with you. The king after knowing his ability showered gifts on him and Rājaśekhara well pleased thanked the king in his śloka "Bhekaiḥ Koṭara-śāyibhiḥ" & etc., which śloka was known as the "Akālajalada" (cloud out of season). Curiously enough this very śloka is also to be found in the *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballāladeva (śloka 199) but in connection with the story of a poor brahmin to whom a thief presented a bracelet given to him by king Bhoja and who on being arrested and brought before the king explained his possession in this śloka. The Śāṅkara Digvijaya also refers to Rājaśekhara as having met the great Śāṅkarācārya, but the work has little historical value. Some confusion has been caused by identifying Rājaśekhara with the author of *Prabandhakośa*

1. Canto 25, Verse 74.

written about 1348 who amongst other things gives the life of Śrī Harṣa, the author of *Naiṣadha*.

The grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govinda IV dated Śaka Samvat 852 found in Cambay transcribed and translated with an introduction by Professor Bhandarkar in Vol. VII of the *Ephigraphia Indica* pages 26 to 46 is valuable and instructive when read with the inscriptions already referred to by me. In verse 19 of the inscription, king Indra is said to have "completely devastated that hostile city of Mahodaya which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of Kuśasthala." The Professor is of opinion that the complete destruction of Mahodaya is an exaggeration as the Gwalior Pehora and Sayadonī inscriptions show that Bhoja, Mahendrapāla Kṣitipāla, or Mahipāla and Devapāla reigned in Kanoj between 862 and 948. He observes at page 30 "Now as for Indra III we have dates 915 to 917 and these can hardly be any doubt that they were contemporaries. And it is almost certain that this is the Kṣitipāla whom Indra III conquered". He refers to a Kharuraho inscription set out in Vol. I *Epigraphia Indica* p. 121 as showing that King Kṣitipāla was replaced on his throne by the Candella King Harṣadēva who flourished in the beginning of the 10th century. He refers to the Bhalagpur grant of Nārāyaṇa set out in the *Indian Antiquary*¹ which shows that Dharmapāla the second Prince of the Pāla Dynasty in turn conquered Indra III, acquired the sovereignty of Mahodhya, and bestowed it on Cakrayuddha. This event is also referred to in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla². The conclusion the learned Doctor draws from the various grants are that Indra III conquered Kanoj and ousted Kṣitipāla also called Mahipāla, that Indra was defeated by Harṣadeva who restored Kṣitipāla to his lost dominion of Kanoj. He thinks that Kṣitipāla bore the epithet Cakrayuddha.³

There can, therefore, be little doubt that Mahipāla succeeded Mahendrapāla after probably a short reign by Bhoja II.

As Rājaśekhara refers to Bhavabhūti he cannot be earlier than the eighth Century A. D. and as he is quoted by Dhanika

1. Vol. xv, p. 304 and Vol. xx, p. 187.

2. Vol. IV of the *E. Indica* p. 243.

3. See also V. Smith *Oxford History of India*, p. 189.

who flourished in the reign of Muñja (974-995) he cannot be later and it must have taken some years for his fame to have spread. Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla referred to by Rājaśekhara as the Rulers in whose Courts he flourished have been shown by the inscriptions referred to above to have reigned between 903 to 917. Rājaśekhara whose unfinished drama *Bāla Bhārata* was according to him written for Mahipāla must have died during his reign. Putting together all these and other facts referred by me I think it can safely be asserted that Rājaśekhara's period can be put between 850 and 920 A. D. As Mahipāla I of Bengal reigned between 974-1026, it is impossible that Rājaśekhara can have been his contemporary and if Kṣemeśvara was a contemporary of Rājaśekhara as is the generally accepted opinion, his reference to Mahipāla in the *Caṇḍakauśika* must refer to the Mahipāla of Kanoj.

THE VṚTTIS.

BY

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(Continued from page 370 of Volume VI.)

Coming to the three other Vṛttis, Kaiśikī, Ārabhaṭī and Sāttvatī, these are first distinguished from Bhārati as Artha-Vṛttis, Vṛttis explaining action as contrasted with speech. There is great confusion on the correct meaning of these names. Abhinava thus defines the Vṛttis in the Vṛttyadhyāya :—

‘पाठ्यप्रधाना भारती, अभिनयप्रधाना सात्त्वती, अनुभावाद्यावेशसमय-
रसप्रधाना आरभटी, तवाद्यो (ततवाद्यो) परञ्जकप्रधाना कैशिकीति ।’

Abbi. Bhā. Mad. Ms. Vol. III, p. 5.

He gives a fuller exposition of the four in chapter one.

‘धर्मादिपुरुषार्थचतुष्टये साध्ये वागङ्गसत्त्वचेष्टासामान्यम् । तच्च संक्षिप्तेन
अवान्तरभेदेन चतुर्धा । यद्यत् किल कर्मारभ्यते, तत्र वाङ्मनःकायव्यापार-
स्तावदस्ति । तत्र कस्यचित् लालित्यवैचित्र्यक्रमस्यानुप्रवेशः, यत उत्तम-
प्रकृतीनां सौष्टवमय एव सर्वो व्यापारः, तदेव तद्वृत्तिचतुष्टयम् । भारती
वाग्वृत्तिः । मनोव्यापाररूपा सात्त्विकी सात्त्वती । सदिति प्रख्यावरूपं संवेदनं
तद्यत्रास्ति तत्सत्त्वं मनः, तस्येयमिति । ‘इयति’ इत्यरा भटाः सोत्साहा अनलसाः,
तेषामारभटी, कायवृत्तिः¹ । केशाः किञ्चिदप्यर्थक्रियाजातम् अकुर्वन्तो देह-
शोभोपयोगिनः, तद्वत् सौन्दर्योपयोगिव्यापारः कैशिकीवृत्तिरिति तावन्मुख्यः
क्रमः । * * * एवं यत्किञ्चित् लालित्यं तत्सर्वं कैशिकीविजृम्भितम् ।

pp. 20-21 Gaek. edn.

Thus according to Abhinava speech is Bhārati, mental mood is Sāttvatī, both of these respectively referring to or comprehend-

1. Bhoja also says similarly that the four Vṛttis are the activities of mind, body and speech.

‘मनोवाक्कायकर्मनिबन्धनाः पञ्च वृत्तयो भवन्ति ।’

Śr. Pra. Vol. II, p. 459.

ing realms of Vācīkābhīnaya and Sāttvikābhīnaya, physical action or movements of the body are Ārabhaṭī and whatever action is beautiful is called Kaiśikī. We can at once see in this explanation how Kaiśikī stands apart from the rest as the name of a manner of doing or acting (*i.e.*) the beautiful and graceful way of doing or as the name of those situations that are characterised mainly by such beauty and grace. The other three Vṛttis are names of the things themselves (*i.e.*) speech or action, which is either mental or physical. To make the point clear, even speech and action, Bhārati, Sāttvati and Ārabhaṭī can be again qualified by Kaiśikī when they are graceful. Thus we can have graceful speech and graceful action. In the history of the Vṛttis, just as no writer has missed the essential idea of Bhārati as speech, so also no writer has missed the essential idea that Kaiśikī is the name of the atmosphere of Śṛṅgāra, of graceful pleasantries, of scenes with many women, of music and dance. The idea in the legend of the Vedic origin of the Vṛttis that Kaiśikī was derived from the Sāmaveda is very significant. For from Sāmaveda was music derived. It is not denied that music can also be wild and helpful to Raudra even as it cannot be denied that women also get into furious moods. Though essentially Kaiśikī is the name of grace and delicacy wherever they are, it is pre-eminently present in the Śṛṅgāra Rasa, in songs of love and dances¹. Thus speech or Bhārati also may be graceful or terrible and there can be a कैशिकी-भारती in the exchange of sweet words between the lover and his beloved. The Sāttvati, mental action, can be such emotions as are graceful in nature whereby we can have a कैशिकी-सात्वती. So also, taking for the present that Ārabhaṭī as Abhinava says is Kāya-Vṛtti (*i. e.*) physical action, it can be divided into the graceful and the terrible and the former can be called the कैशिकी-आरभटी. For as Abhinava says, wherever there is grace, wherever we have लालित्य and सौकुमार्य, we have the Kaiśikī.

We remarked in the beginning section of the paper that some held Pārvatī as the exponent of this Vṛtti. Bharata says

1. The Śabdakalpadrūma says that, according to Śabdaratnāvalī and Jaṭādhara, Kaiśika (mas. gen.) means Śṛṅgāra Rasa. The case is similar to that of the words 'Ujjvala' and 'Śuci' which are given by Bharata as descriptive of Śṛṅgāra but which in later times, in the Kośas, have become synonyms of Śṛṅgāra. (Amara. I. vii. 17).

that originally there were only three Vṛttis, there being only male-actors (N. S. I. 41-56). The Kaiśikī could not be done by males. When there was a demand for it, the Apsaras-actresses were created as the exponents of it. Kaiśikī cannot be presented successfully by men alone. अशक्या पुरुषैः साधु प्रयोक्तुं स्त्रीजनादते । Woman is all grace and through her beauty revealed itself. All her movements are by nature characteristically graceful. Man is characterised by vigour and force, and neither in his actions of male-parts nor of female-parts can Kaiśikī be enjoyed. So some interpreters of the legend of Brahmā having seen the Kaiśikī during Śiva's dance say that the real person who presented the Kaiśikī was Pārvatī and not Śiva. Between Śiva and Pārvatī, dance distinguishes itself into Tāṇḍava and Lāsya, the violent and the graceful types. Lāsya is Kaiśikī. But this does not mean that males could not present Kaiśikī at all. Abhinava refutes such an extreme position. He holds that Śiva himself presented the graceful Kaiśikī also¹. It is in accordance with this, *viz.*, the possibility of perfect masters of the art being capable of the fine rendering of Kaiśikī also, that in the Vṛtti chapter Bharata makes Viṣṇu himself the author of the Kaiśikī also. And it is a well-known fact that our male Bharatācāryas, like the Chinese male-actors, are exquisite actors of feminine moods also. When this exception is granted we can safely emphasise that Kaiśikī is essentially the Vṛtti of women. Therefore it is that Bharata says in defining it—

या श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्यविशेषचित्रा स्त्रीसंयुता या बहुवृत्तगीता ।
कामोपभोगप्रभवोपचारा तां कैशिकीं वृत्तिमुदाहरन्ति ॥ XXII. 47.

Now how did the graceful aspect come to be called Kaiśikī? The explanation given by Bharata as an organic part of his legend is that the word Kaiśikī must be derived from Keśa or hair. How does that derivation explain the concept? The story says

1. Rājaśekhara's opinion agrees with Abhinava's. In the Prastāvanā to the Garbhānāṭaka called Sītāsvayamvara in Act III of the Bālarāmāyaṇa, Kohala is made to say that Śiva himself depicted both Tāṇḍava and Lāsya to please Rāvaṇa at whose valour Śiva was pleased. “—स्वपौरुषपरितोषितखण्डपरशुदर्शितलास्यताण्डवप्रपञ्चचतुरेण—”

But generally the view is as expressed by Kālidāsa,

‘हृद्रेणेदमुमाकृतव्यतिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं द्विधा’,

that Śiva dances the Tāṇḍava while Pārvatī presents the Lāsya,

that the Kaiśikī was born when with graceful movements of his hands Viṣṇu either tied his loosened locks or caught the demons by their hair. The former seems better. Abhinava, in the passage quoted above, adds that hair, though not doing any useful activity in man or woman, is yet necessary as that which gives beauty; and Kaiśikī is called so by adopting the name of hair-Keśa—as the Vṛtti of grace and beauty. Rāmacandra's ingenuity goes further. He says that those that have an abundance of hair are called Kaiśikas (i.e.) the women and the Vṛtti that has women prominently is called the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti.

‘अतिशायिनः केशाः सन्यास्विति केशिकाः स्त्रियः । स्तनकेशवतीत्वं हि स्त्रीणां लक्षणम् । तद्व्यपन्नत्वात् तासामियं कैशिकी । N. D. p. 157.

Kallinātha adds that the tresses are soft and are made more beautiful by flowers that deck them. So the Vṛtti that is soft and beautiful, मृदु and विचित्र, is called as Kaiśikī after the the tresses—कैशिकम् ।

‘यद्वा केशानां समूहः कैशिकम् । कैशिकवन्मृदुत्वात् सुमनोभिः विचित्रत्वाच्च कैशिकीयोगोऽपि द्रष्टव्यः ।’ S. R. Vyā. VI.

But it is plain that to derive Kaiśikī from Keśa is as trifling and funny as deriving Bhāratī from Bhāra, both adopting the principle of अक्षरवर्णसाम्यः.¹ The fact shows that Bharata himself did not know what that name meant or how the graceful situations came to be called by that name. Words like Kaiśikī became Rūḍhis and even while Bharata wrote many things were forgotten. Kallinātha quietly accepts Kaiśikī, at first, as a Rūḍhi, considering its derivations as not being good. ‘अत्र कैशिकीशब्दो रूढो द्रष्टव्यः ।’ I think some other derivation can be suggested for Kaiśikī. Bharata while speaking of the Dākṣiṇātya Pravṛtti, in the section on Pravṛtti in chapter XIV, says that the Dākṣiṇātyas are characterised in their habits by the Kaiśikī, being given to dance and music very much.

1. The word occurs in music also. We have the Kaiśikī Nīṣāda but here also the word is explained by Keśa or hair.

साधारणे कैशिकी ते केशाग्रवद् अणुत्वतः । S. R. I. p. 65.

There is also a Rāga called Kaiśika which Kālidāsa mentions in K. S. VIII, 85 and the Padmaprābhṛtaka Bhāṣa on p. 20.

‘तत्र दाक्षिणात्यास्तावत् बहुवृत्तगीतवाद्याः कैशिकीप्रायाः चतुरमधुर-ललिताङ्गाभिनयाश्च ।’ p. 165. Kāśi. edn.

The chief people referred to as Dākṣiṇātyas are the Vaidarbhas. We know that in Dramaturgy and Poetics, the Vidarbha country was held to be the home of Mādhurya, Saukumārya etc.¹ We hear of a place called Krathakaiśika or a race of kings so called in the Mahābhārata, the Raghuvamśa and the Mālavikāgni-mitra. Krathakaiśika is the ancient capital of the Vidarbha country which is the home of grace and beauty. So I think the name of the graceful Vṛtti Kaiśikī is derived from Kaiśika or Krathakaiśika in Vidarbha.

What is Ārabhaṭī? Ārabhaṭa is ‘an enterprising and courageous’ man, a dare-devil. Accordingly Abhinava suggests that the Ārabhaṭī is the Vṛtti of such men and their action. So far he is correct. Bharata defines it thus—

अत ऊर्ध्वमुद्धतरसामारभटीं संप्रवक्ष्यामि ।

आरभटप्रायगुणा तथैव बहुवचनकपटा च ॥

दम्भानृतवचनवती त्वारभटी नाम विज्ञेया ।

प्रस्तावपातप्लुतलङ्घितानि चान्यानि मायाकृतमिन्द्रजालम् ।

चित्राणि युद्धानि च यत्र नित्यं तां तादृशीमारभटीं वदन्ति ॥

XXII. 55-57.

From this description of the Arabhaṭī as also of its Aṅgas,² we clearly see that it is the Vṛtti of force and violence, of the scenes of anger, fight etc., and of persons who belong to the type called Dhīroddhata. So it is that Bharata laterly also says that it is the Vṛtti of the Raudra, the Bibhatsa and the Bhayānaka Rasas.

मयानके च बीभत्से रौद्रे चारभटी भवेत् ।

It is also the Vṛtti of such characters as Hanumān and of their actions like the jumping over the sea. It is the Vṛtti pre-eminently of the Rākṣasas and Asuras who are by nature Uddhata, violent, haughty and wild. They indulge in cunning and deceitful warfare creating Māyā. Though Bharata mentions

1. cf. Daṇḍin's Vaidarbhi-Rīti and the Dākṣiṇātyas. Vide Rājaśekhara, K. M. I. 3, p. 10.

2. Vide N. S. XXII. 59-63.

Adbhuta as a Bhārati-Rasa, his mention of Māyā and Indrajāla here point out that such scenes as in the end of the Ratnāvalī having Indrajāla are really Ārabhaṭī.

From the foregoing, we clearly see how Ārabhaṭī is exactly the opposite of Kaiśikī. The essential characteristic of Ārabhaṭī in all the given instances of it seems to be औद्धत्य whereas that of Kaiśikī, as pointed out previously, is ललित्य. We already saw how Kaiśikī is the name of a manner and not of a thing. Bhārati is the name of a thing. In a classification only one principle can operate at a time. Thus the realm of Nāṭya has first to be distinguished into the two things called speech and action. Both of them have again to be classified from another point of view. If they are graceful, they belong to the Kaiśikī class and if they are forceful, wonderful, awful or terrible they are called Ārabhaṭī. Therefore Ārabhaṭī must be placed on a par with Kaiśikī as a manner of either speaking or acting. Therefore to call it as कायवृत्ति is not to explain it correctly. By calling it as कायवृत्ति or physical action Abhinava forgets that within a classification no two different principles can operate, that the essential nature of Ārabhaṭī is Auddhatya and that it is not exactly all physical action, but only all cases of Auddhatya applicable to Kāya or Manas or Vāk. If this is fully grasped as the exact nature of Ārabhaṭī one can lay the emphasis on those cases of violent action as are clearly perceptible, viz., the bodily actions कायचेष्ट—only. Thus Ārabhaṭī is the Vṛtti of Śiva or Rudra and his Tāṇḍava as distinguished from the Lāsya of Pārvatī, the exponent of Kaiśikī.

उद्धतैः करणैरङ्गहारैर्निर्वर्तितं यदा ।

वृत्तिरारभटी गीतकाले तत्ताण्डवं त्रिधा ॥

ललितैरङ्गहारैश्च निर्वर्त्यं ललितैर्लयेः ।

वृत्तिः स्यात् कैशिकी गीते यत्र तलास्यमुच्यते ॥

Śāradātanaya, Bhā. Pra. II, pp. 45 and 46.

It is also significant in this connection to derive, as the legend does, the Ārabhaṭī from the Atharva-Veda which contains Magic, Ābhicāra etc.

The nature of Sāttvatī is not very clear. Sattva means Manas and has been so interpreted in explaining the name Sāttvikābhi-

naya also. To this word Sattva meaning Manas or mind is the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti related by Abhinava.

‘मनोव्यापाररूपा सात्त्विकी सात्त्वती ।’

That it is intelligible to some extent to call all situations having subtle emotional acting as Sāttvatī-Vṛtti was already shown by me. In that case there will be little meaning in mentioning as its Rasas only the Vīra, the Raudra and the Adbhuta.

सात्त्वती नाम सा ज्ञेया वीरौद्राद्भुताश्रया । XXII. 65.

What are the ideas about this Vṛtti which we gather from the description of it as given by Bharata ?

या सात्त्वतेनेह गुणेन युक्ता न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च ।

हर्षोत्किटा संद्वतशोकभावा सा सात्त्वती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः ॥

वागङ्गाभिनयवती सत्त्वोत्थानवचनप्रकरणेषु ।

सत्त्वाधिकारयुक्तो (क्ता) विज्ञेया सात्त्वती वृत्तिः ॥

वीराद्भुतौद्रसा विज्ञेया ह्यल्पकरुणशृङ्गारा ।

उद्धतपुरुषप्राया परस्परार्धर्षणकृता च ॥ XXII. 38-40.

It has been already shown that drama falls into speech and action and that the former is Bhārati. It has also been pointed out that, from another point of view drama falls into the graceful and the forceful, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. The scope of Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī exactly correspond to that of the two Guṇas, Mādhurya and Ojas respectively. The realm of action must then be taken as the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti. This will agree with the legendary origin of the Sāttvatī from the Yajur-Veda from which is derived all action, Abhinaya. In such a case Sattva which means exactly only the Sāttvikābhinaya must be taken as Upalakṣaṇa or indication for all action in general, including the Āṅgika. This is the simple and scientific reconstruction of the significance of the Sāttvatī. But Bharata's description of it presents problems. Its description gives us the idea that it is also a Vṛtti of fight and forceful action. Bharata actually says that it is उद्धतपुरुषप्राया and gives Vīra, Raudra and Adbhuta as its Rasas. Further he says that it comprises of not only physical action but also speech—वागङ्गाभिनयवती. Then wherein does its difference from Ārabhaṭī lie? Perhaps in the bit—न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च । Sāttvatī refers only to the lawful fight done on straightforward lines whereas Ārabhaṭī is

the same fight done deceitfully — अन्यायवृत्तेन.¹ For in the definition of the Ārabhaṭī we find the mention of कपट, दम्भ, अनृतवचन, माया and such methods of wrong warfare. This idea of Nyāya or righteousness characterising the activities coming under Sāttvatī perhaps suggested another derivation for that name to Bharata, and led him to describe the Sāttvatī further thus: हर्षोत्कटा संहृतशोकभावा, 'full of bliss and devoid of all sorrow.' This idea of Sāttvatī as being the Vṛtti of bliss and absence of sorrow is due to the word Sattva, originally taken as Manas, being again taken to mean the concept of Sativa-guṇa in philosophy. Therefore it is that Abhinava finds it possible to say that Sāttvatī is the Vṛtti of the first type of hero called Dhīrodātta, whose heroism is righteous (i.e.) who is a धर्मयुद्धवीर or a सत्यपराक्रम like Rāma. (Vide Locana, p. 138.) So it is again that Abhinava finds it easy to say that the Vṛtti of the Sānta-Rasa is Sāttvatī. 'शास्ते तु सात्त्वत्येव वृत्तिरिति * * 1' Abhi. Bhā. Gaek. edn. p. 343.

Thus as indicating either Sāttvikābhinaya or sorrowless states of joy, Sāttvatī must be derived from the word Sattva meaning Manas or mind or the Sattva-guṇa. In both cases what we must have is not Sāttvatī but Sāttvikī, which form later writers like Bhoja in his Śr. Pra. conveniently adopt. Both derivations seem far-fetched. An examination of Sāttvatī and its varieties as shown by Bharata leads us to the conclusion that it is also a Vṛtti of fight. It is said to have many forms, उत्थापकः, परिवर्तकः, सल्लापकः, and सङ्घातः. All these four are names of the actions in a pugilistic duel, a Mallayuddha. Utthāpaka² is the words of one Malla to another 'I will rise up; you also rise up again and we shall again fight' or 'I am ready; rise and show your strength.' Parivartaka is not clearly defined by Bharata. Perhaps it is the two fighters coming round and round or moving about in their fight. Salla-pāka is said to be the mutual exchange of taunting words. The last which is not also clear in Bharata's definition is perhaps the fall of one fighter and the blow the other gives him. These show clearly that to begin with Sāttvatī was the Vṛtti in a Malla-

1. Perhaps it is from here, from this bit in Bharata—न्यायेन वृत्तेन etc. that Udbhaṭa takes the suggestion and develops the idea of two main classes of Vṛtti as Nyāya and Anyāya referring to success and failure in the hero and villain respectively. This shall be further dealt with ahead.

2. Vide N. S. XXII, 41-45.

yuddha. Or it may have been a duel with some weapon. For we are led to infer so from the word Nyāya, which must not in this connection be taken as righteousness but as the technical Paribhāṣā of the dramatic world meaning the 'wielding of arms', शस्त्रमोक्षः. There are many points of evidence helping us in an enquiry in this direction. Drama must have risen originally as part of festivals. We are told by Bharata that the first drama, Asuravijaya, was staged during the festival of Indra's flag, the Indradhvaja.¹ The drama, a Samavakāra, was full of fight: सफेटविद्रवकृता छेद्यमेयाहवात्मिका. It was thus both in the Sāttvatī and the Ārabhaṭī Vṛttis. In chapters one to five we find that the Indradhvaja called Jarjara and its worship form part of the Pūrvaraṅga to be done before the beginning of all dramas. This shows that originally drama started as an item in the flag-festival of Indra and when it outgrew it, the flag-festival itself stuck to drama as necessary for warding off obstacles etc. The festival of Indra's flag² was perhaps simply an installation of the beautiful

1. N. S. I, 54-59.

2. The Indradhvaja is heard of in the Rāmāyaṇa often. It appears in Aśvaghoṣa's B. C. and occurs once in Kālidāsa, R. V. IV. The Indradhvaja or Jarjara seems to live in ancient Tamil dance. Is it that which is associated there with Indra's son Jayanta and is called Talaikkōl (தலக்கோல்)? Indra's festival also is seen in Tamil. Vide Śilappadikāram, V. Some interesting item in the festival is mentioned in the Mṛcchakaṭika, V, p. 20. 'अरे, त्वमपि इदानीम् इन्द्रमहकासुक इव सुष्ठु काकायसे 'काका' इति ।'

Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, Chap. 64 gives the story of how this Śakra-maha or Indra-festival originated. King Uparicara is given by Indra a Vaijayanti Mālā and a Yaṣṭi, pole, which pole represented Indra. The pole of Indra is planted and worshipped in the Mārgaśīrṣa month. Its height is given as 32 Kīṣkus or Hastas, that is, 48 ft. (द्वात्रिंशत्किष्कुसंमितां) but to suit the stage perhaps Bharata makes its height into 103 inches or 9 ft. (प्रमाणतोऽङ्गुलानां तु शतमष्टोत्तरं भवेत् । N. S. XXIII, 167.) Among many things enjoyed during this festival, the M. Bhā. mentions recitals, songs and performances by Naṭas and Nartakas.

इतिभिः सजलैः सर्वैः क्रीडित्वा नृपशासनात् ।

सभाजयित्वा राजानं कृत्वा नर्माश्रयाः कथाः ॥

रमन्ते नागराः सर्वे तदा जानपदैः सह ।

सूताश्च मागधाश्चैव रमन्ते नटनर्तकाः ॥

× × × × एवं जानपदाः सर्वे चक्रुरिन्द्रमहं तथा ॥

flag of Indra, its propitiation, feast and rejoicings, and a large programme of pugilistic and other shows of fight perhaps terminating in a simple acting of the fight between Indra and his followers with the Asuras. The whole of this Indradhvaja festival laterly became attached to drama as its Pūrvaraṅga, not only the Indradhvaja and its worship but also fight. Says Bharata in chapter three that the Pūrvaraṅga consists of fights also.

क्षेडितैः स्फोटितैश्चैव वलितैश्च प्रधावितैः ।
 रङ्गमध्ये तु तां दीप्तां सशब्दां संप्रयोजयेत् ॥
 शङ्खदुन्दुभिनिर्वोपैः मृदङ्गपणवैस्तथा ।
 सर्वातोद्यैः प्रणदितैः रङ्गयुद्धानि कारयेत् ॥
 तत्र च्छिन्नं च भिन्नं च दारितं च सशोणितम् ।
 क्षतं प्रदीप्तमायस्तं निमित्तं सिद्धिलक्षणम् ॥ III. 93-95.

The Sāttvatī and Ārabhaṭī arose here. The latter is the name of the actions of the dare-devil fighters—Ārabhaṭas and the former the name of a race of fighters called the Sāttvatas. Additional support for such a conjecture comes from the legend in chapter XXII, which derives all the four Vṛttis from a fight. There we are told that Brahmā said on seeing Viṣṇu's vanquishing of the demons, that such fight as Viṣṇu did should hence forward be known as Nyāya. It was to refer not only to ordinary fight but more especially to fight with arms also.

उक्तवांस्तु तदा ब्रह्मा नारायणमरिन्दमम् ॥
 अहो विचित्रैर्विशदैः स्फुटैः सुललितैरपि ।
 अङ्गहारैः कृतं देव त्वया दानवनाशनम् ॥
 तस्मादयं सर्वलोके नियुद्धसमयक्रमः ।
 सर्वशस्त्रविमोक्षेषु न्यायसंज्ञो भविष्यति ॥
 न्यायाश्रितैरङ्गहारैः न्यायाच्चैव समुत्थितैः ।
 यस्माद्युद्धं कृतं ह्येतत् तस्मान्न्यायः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ XXII. 16-19.

Thus fight with and without arms but more especially with arms was being called Nyāya. This Nyāya was perhaps an entertainment in the ancient festival of Indra's flag. From it, as depicting the fight between Devas and Asuras, Drama might

have grown¹. It is to this Nyāya that Bharata refers to in his definition of the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti: न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च. In this Nyāya or fight-shows of the ancient Indian Indradhvaja festival many people from many parts of the country took part, many people such as the Bhāratas, the Kaiśikas and the Sāttvatas and also another class of very brave fighters called the Ārabhaṭas. Evidence for this conclusion is available in Bharata's text itself. We suggested before that Bharatas may refer to the Vedic tribe of that name and Kaiśiki to the inhabitants of Krathakaiśika. The name Sāttvata also similarly refers to a race of people whom we know. It is Śrī Kṛṣṇa's race. In chapter eleven called Cārividhāna Bharata says that in respect of acting with or using arms by the actors on the stage, there are four methods. He says :—

नानाशस्त्रविमोक्षो हि कार्योऽनेन प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
 न्यायाश्चैव हि विज्ञेयाश्चत्वारः शस्त्रमोक्षणे ॥
 भारतः सात्त्वतश्चैव वार्षगण्योऽथ कैशिकः ।
 भरते तु कटीच्छेदं पादच्छेदं तु सात्त्वते ॥
 वक्षसो वार्षगण्ये तु शिरश्छेद्यं तु कैशिके ।
 एभिः प्रयोक्तृभिर्न्यायैर्नानाचारीममुत्थितैः ॥
 प्रविचार्य प्रयोक्तव्यो नानाशस्त्रविमोक्षणे ।
 न्यायाश्रितैरङ्गहारैः न्यायाच्चैव समुत्थितैः ।
 यस्माद्युद्धानि नीयन्ते तस्मान्न्यायाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ XI. 70-74.

Here we are given four Nyāyas or methods of throwing or wielding weapons, the Bhārata, the Sāttvata, the Kaiśika and Vārṣaganya. The last perhaps corresponds to the Ārabhaṭas. The Bhāratas wielded their weapons in a certain method with a certain characteristic bodily movement and others in other methods. The Nyāya applicable narrowly or rather originally to methods of wielding weapon might have developed into the more comprehensive methods or manners or ways of acting called Vṛttis and the names Bhārata, Kaiśika and Sāttvata might have been taken from Nyāya to Vṛtti. It is the Sāttvata style that

1. The name of Stage, Raṅga points to the same conclusion. For Raṅga and Prekṣāgrha mean not only Stage and Theatre but also Arena and Amphitheatre where shows of fight etc., are shown. See M. Bhārata, A. p. Chap. 144, Śls. 8—12 for the construction of the Raṅgabhūmi and Prekṣāgrha.

is meant when Bharata says in his definition of the Sāttvati-Vṛtti, 'या सात्त्वतेनेह गुणेन युक्ता'. The Kaiśika way of Nyāya was perhaps graceful and from such ideas the concept of Vṛtti might have developed.¹

The Vṛtṭyaṅgas

The Vṛtṭyaṅgas are not to be taken as Aṅgas but as Bhedas (i.e.) varieties of the Vṛttis. That is, by the Aṅgas of the Vṛttis given by him, Bharata means to show some instances of the Vṛttis through which the Vṛttis must exhibit or elaborate themselves. Therefore their number as given by Bharata is not final and is only indicative of similar possible varieties. In this respect

1. a. Arjunavarmadeva refers to these Nyāyas, numbered as five Kaiśika, etc., as treated of in the science of the bow, while commenting on Amaruśataka, Śl. 1:—

“कैशिकप्रमुखपञ्चन्यायेषु कश्चायं न्यायः इत्यादिशरामनशान्त्रचर्चा क्रियते ।”

Hariharacaturāṅga, a treatise on the four units of an army, on missiles and war, written by Godāvara miśra, minister and court poet of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa, describes five Nyāyas in the fifth chap. on Dhanus.

कैशिकः पार्पितश्चैव भरतश्छत्र एव च ।

सार्विकश्चेति निर्दिष्टः पञ्च व्या(न्या)याः समासतः ॥

etc., pp. 213—214. Ms. of the Madras Oriental Mss. Library. This work calls the Sāttvata as Sāttvika, leaves out the Vāṛṣaganyā mentioned by Bharata and has two new Nyāyas, Pārṣata and Channa. The descriptions of these also differ. They are said to be, in general, five different ways of drawing the bowstring and shooting an arrow. The Śivatattvaratnākara of Basavappa, perhaps indebted to the Hariharacaturāṅga also, gives the five Nyāyas as Kaiśika, Sāttvika, Bharata, Vatsakarṇa which is a corruption of Bharata's Vāṛṣaganyā and Skandha which is perhaps the same as the Channa of H. H. C.

कैशिकः केशमूले च शिरः शृङ्गे च सार्विकः ।

श्रवणे वत्सकर्णश्च ग्रीवायां भरतो भवेत् ॥

अंश(स)के स्कन्धनामा च व्या(न्या)याः पञ्च प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ etc.

S. T. R. VIII, ii, 97—99.

b. Sāhitya Sāra of Sarveśvara (a MS in the Mad. oriental Mss. library) easily solves the problem of the names of the four Vṛttis by creating four sons of Brahmā named Bharata etc., after whom the 4 Vṛttis are named !

चत्वारो ब्रह्मणः पुत्राः नटास्तु भरतादयः ।

येषां नामभिरेवैताः चतस्रो वृत्तयः स्मृताः ॥ Śls. 22-23.

the Vṛtṭyaṅgas resemble the Sandhyaṅgas which indicate so many possible points in the unfoldment of a story or action. It is said that the Kaiśikī's Aṅgas are Narma, Narmasphīṇja, Narmasphoṭa and Narmagarbha. It is not that Kaiśikī is only of these four varieties. It is foolish to stick to either the Vṛtṭyaṅgas or Sandhyaṅgas as exactly given by Bharata, and try to illustrate them in a few cherished examples like the Mudrārākṣasa, etc. The subject of Sandhi-Sandhyaṅgas emphasises the need for a well-knit plot, in which each detail will be quite necessary for the development of the plot and Rasa and no wayward detail, futile for Rasa, will intrude. The essential and live principle of Aucitya underlying the analysis of Bharata of Sandhis and Vṛttis into Aṅgas must be grasped. Taking a Śṛṅgāra story one knows how it has some never-changing and fundamental aspects which must appear in whatever plot one invents. One cannot but avoid those points along which only the plot must develop. So also the Vṛtti which is the very temper of the Rasa or action cannot change. The atmosphere of love-drama has certain never changing features. A Śṛṅgāra story is always delicate and graceful and is always in the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. Certain kinds of delicate and graceful situations cannot be avoided and through them the story and its Vṛtti must unfold themselves. The Vṛtti cannot present itself except through the varieties of it called its Aṅgas. The Vṛtti is an embodiment of its Aṅgas. The essential nature of Śṛṅgāra is Narma and Bharata gives four examples of it. Similarly the Ārabhaṭī unfolds itself in the shape of a number of incidents like Saṅkṣiptaka, Avaghāta, Vastūthāpana and Samphoṭa. So it is that Bharata says that the Aṅgas are the 'Bhedas' of the Vṛttis.

The Vṛttis in relation to the Rasas and types of Drama.

As we have seen to some extent above, Bharata distributes the eight Rasas among the four Vṛttis. He gives (XXII, 64-68) that Śṛṅgāra and Hāsyā are Kaiśikī, Vīra, Raudra and Adbhuta are Sāttvati, Bhayānaka, Bibhatsa and Raudra are Ārabhaṭī and Karuṇa and Adbhuta are Bhāratī. In this distribution we have to bear in mind firstly that it is not proper to say that the poet should add a certain Vṛtti if the Rasa is such and such. It must be said that a certain Rasa is a certain Vṛtti or is in a certain Vṛtti or has that Vṛtti. That is, Śṛṅgāra is of a soft, delicate and graceful nature (i.e.) is Kaiśikī; Raudra is wild and ferocious (i.e.) is Ārabhaṭī. Another point to be noted is that the distribution of Rasas among the Vṛttis is not quite scientific as

given by Bharata. Everybody has recognised that Bhāratī which is speech is present everywhere. So there is no meaning in mentioning it as the Vṛtti of Karuṇa and Adbhuta. It is the Vṛtti of all Rasas. Without it we have only a dumb show. Having thus separated Bhāratī, action in all the Rasas must again be called by the common name of Sāttvatī. Sāttvatī is the Vṛtti of action of not only Sāttvika-Bhāvas but of all Bhāvas. Thus, as in the case of the Bhāratī, there can be no drama without Sāttvatī. Without it we have only a reading or recital. Then the eight Rasas and action or speech in them must be classified into Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. The division will be like that of all dance into Lāsya and Tāṇḍava and like that of Guṇa into Mādhurya and Ojas. The qualities of ललित्य, delicateness and grace and औद्धत्य force and violent nature separate the Rasas into two sets. At the extremities stand the Śṛṅgāra and the Raudra Rasas as the culmination of Lālitya or Mādhurya and Auddhatya or Ojas respectively. The other Rasas according to the circumstances will have, in a less marked degree, the preponderance of Kaiśikī or Ārabhaṭī. Thus, Vīra, Adbhuta, Bibhatsa and Bhayānaka may tend to class themselves with the Uddhata-Rasa called Raudra. Hāsyā may move towards Śṛṅgāra, the Lalita-Rasa. Karuṇa, as extremely delicate and approaching the nature of the Vipralambha-Śṛṅgāra will only be a Kaiśikī-Rasa. Just as dance on the same basis of Lālitya and Auddhatya gets differentiated into Lāsya and Tāṇḍava, so also the Rūpakas numbering ten get distinguished into the Lalita and the Uddhata. Bharata, as we saw above, gave the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa as the perfect and full dramas which alone can have Kaiśikī as the predominant Vṛtti. That is, a full and sufficiently big love story can only be handled in the form of either a Nāṭaka or Prakaraṇa. This does not rule out, as Abhinava has said, the presence of the love-element in the other eight minor dramas. Even as the largest amount of Kaiśikī can be seen only in a Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa the largest amount of Ārabhaṭī can be seen only in the types, Dīma, Vyāyoga and Samavakāra. Elsewhere Bharata gives a distinction of the Daśarūpa into two such classes on the basis of this Kaiśikī or Lālitya and Ārabhaṭī or Auddhatya. The two classes of dramas are called Sukumāra and Uddhata or Aviddha.

प्रयोगो द्विविधश्चैव विज्ञेयो नाटकाश्रयः ।

सुकुमारस्तथाविद्धो नाट्ययुक्तिसमाश्रयः ॥

यत्त्वाविद्धाङ्गहारं तत् छेदमेवाहवात्मकम् ।
मायेन्द्रजालबहुलं पुंसो (पुस्त) नेपथ्यसंयुतम् ॥
पुरुषैर्वहुभिर्युक्तम् अल्पस्त्रीकं¹ तथैव च ।
सात्त्वत्यारभटीयुक्तं नाट्यमाविद्धसंज्ञितम् ॥
डिमः समवकारश्च व्यायोगेहामृगौ तथा ।
एतान्याविद्धसंज्ञानि विज्ञेयानि प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥
उद्धता ये च पुरुषाः शौर्यवीर्यबलान्विताः ॥
नाटकं सप्रकरणं भाणो वीथ्यङ्कनाटिके(काः) ।

कुसुमारप्रयोगानि मानुषेष्वश्रितानि तु ॥ XIV. 57-62.

Thus the Kaiśikī and the Ārabhaṭī on the one hand and the Bhāratī and the Sāttvatī on the other, are two sets of two Vṛttis. The latter set need not be held. For without either speech or action there can be no drama. Rāmacandra realises this as regards at least the Bhāratī. He says of the Bhāratī that it is 'सर्वरूपकगामिनी'. N. D. II. 104. He adds:

‘सर्वरूपकभावित्वात्, रसानां च वागज्यत्वात् सर्वरसात्मकत्वम् ।

* * * भारतीरूपत्वात् व्यापारस्य भारतीति ।’²

Similarly there can also be no drama without action or Sāttvatī. So we can leave these two apart which are involved in the very idea of drama. The other two are two essential manners of speaking or acting. There is always a possibility of dividing drama, both speech as well as action, as shown above, into two Vṛttis, the Sukumāra or Lalita or Kaiśikī and the Uddhata, Āviddha or Ārabhaṭī. When this is accepted, it will be seen

1. ‘अल्पस्त्रीकम्’ shows that these dramas of the Āviddha type have few women (*i.e.*) a minimum of Kaiśikī. Abhinava says while commenting upon a corresponding idea ‘स्त्रीवर्जिता’ in the definition of Bhāratī: ‘स्त्रीवर्जितेति कैशिकीप्राधान्यं शमयति ।’ Abhi. Bhā. Vol. III, p. 6.

2. No writer, in later times also, has missed the idea that Bhāratī is speech. So Rājaśekhara, is entirely wrong in associating it with dance and instrumental music: ‘यदपरं नृत्तवाद्यादिकं सा चक्रे सा भारतीवृत्तिः’ । K. M. p. 8. Rājaśekhara, as also all later writers, had no clear grasp of the Sāttvatī. Though we have no access to the section on Vṛtti in his work, he treats of it in I.3 to some extent, clubbing it together with प्रवृत्ति and रीति. From here we also see how the concept of Rīti must have had its origin in Pravṛtti.

that there is Kaiśikī in Bhāratī and Sāttvatī and that Ārabhaṭī also is in them. This is sufficiently realised by Kallinātha who says that Kaiśikī appears in all the Abhinayas, वाचिक, सार्विक and कायिक or आङ्गिक. Śārṅgadeva also realises this and says that Kaiśikī is the very essence of beauty and grace and as such appears in speech, in mind and in body. He adds also that it can be in the fourth, Ahārya Abhinaya also, viz., dress and ornament. For there is a delicate and beautiful dress as contrasted with the dress of warfare and fight. In the definition of the Kaiśikī, Bharata himself includes the dress: या शृङ्गणनेपथ्या etc. and कैशिकी शृङ्गणनेपथ्या । Śārṅgadeva says :—

वागङ्गाभरणानां या सौकुमार्येण निर्मिता ।

उल्लसद्गीतवृत्ताढ्या शृङ्गाररसनिर्भरा ॥

निःशङ्कः कैशिकीं ब्रूते तां सौन्दर्यैकजीविताम् ।

So it is perfectly logical for Kallātha to say, as we have said above, that this Saukumārya of Kaiśikī exists in Karuṇa-Rasa also. Though Bharata did not say so, Kallātha is scientific when he says so; but Abhinava says that he himself has to follow Bharata.

“यत्तु ‘शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणैरिह(णैर्विह) कैशिकी स्यात् ।’ इति कोहलेनोक्तं तन्मुनिमतविरोधादुपेक्ष्यमेव । तस्य तु यत्र यत्र अनुलब्धता चित्त-वृत्तिः सा सा कैशिकी’ इत्यादयः ।” Abhi. Bhā. Vol. II, p. 481.

Therefore, really speaking, the Vṛttis are only two, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. Perhaps some discerning writer held such a view of Vṛttis being only two in number. For Abhinava refutes a view holding only two Vṛttis, as will be seen in a further section of this paper.

Though Bharata ruled that certain Vṛttis are in certain Rasas and in certain dramas, he was aware of the fact that dramatic action was complex. Even as he could not prohibit any Rasa coming up in a subsidiary theme in a drama which he has given as one of Śrṅgāra or Vira, so also he could not prohibit in a drama of Kaiśikī the appearance of all other Vṛttis also or in the dramas not having the Kaiśikī as their main Vṛtti, its appearance in a small measure. He says that he knows this and that if he lays down any rule it is on the basis of the law of prominence.

न ह्येकरसजं काव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोगतः ।

भावो वापि रसो वापि प्रवृत्तिवृत्तिरेव वा ॥

सर्वेषां समवेतानां रूपं यस्य भवेद्बहु ।

स मन्तव्यो रसः स्थायी शेषाः सञ्चारिणो मताः ॥ XXII. 67-68.

Says Abhinava also—

‘अथासां परस्परं सङ्कीर्णतया लक्ष्ये वहन्तीनां यत्र यत् प्राधान्येन
* * * * * इत्यन्योऽयं संवलितवृत्तयः, केवलं कचित्
किञ्चिदधिकम् इति प्राधान्येन व्यपदेशः ।’

Abhi. Bhā. Vol. III, pp. 5 and 6.

Therefore it is that to name the Vṛtti of the complex texture of the drama as a whole, Bhoja, as will be seen presently, creates in his Śrṅgāra-Prakāśa a fifth Vṛtti of the mixture of all the four called the Miśra-Vṛtti. And Śiṅgabhaṭṭa refutes this fifth Miśra-Vṛtti of Bhoja as unnecessary because, we can always find out the one predominant Vṛtti of a drama and name the drama after that Vṛtti even as we find out the dominant Rasa of the play in a world of Bhāvas and minor Rasas. Rāmacandra also realises like Abhinava that dramatic action as a whole is complex and is of the nature of all the Vṛttis.

“चतस्र इति चतुर्भेदत्वम् अन्यतमचेष्टांशप्राधान्यविवक्षया । अपरथा अनेकव्यापारसंवलितमेव वृत्तितत्त्वम् । न नाम प्रबन्धेषु व्यापारान्तरासंवलितः कोऽप्येकाकी कायिको वाचिको मानसो वा व्यापारो लक्ष्यते ॥”¹

N. D. p. 152.

The Vṛttis and the Pravṛttis.

Pravṛtti is the concept in Bharata standing for provincial manners, a study of which is necessary for the perfection of imitation which is Nāṭya. It is the habits, peculiar attributes, characteristic dress etc. of the people of various places.

अत्राह प्रवृत्तिरिति कस्मादिति ? उच्यते ; पृथिव्यां नानादेशवेषभाषा-चारवार्ताः व्यापयतीति प्रवृत्तिः । N. S. XIV. Kāśī. edn. p. 165.

The concept of Vṛtti is closely allied with this Pravṛtti. For Vṛtti is a certain mode of behaviour, and it also varies with places. Thus the inhabitants of one place may be always given to

1. It is perhaps realising this complex nature of Dramatic texture and the possibility of any Bhāva coming up as accessory, that Śārṅgadeva says that what is called Kaiśikī, the Vṛtti of Saukumārya and Saundarya can also appear in Raudra: सौन्दर्यसौकुमार्याभ्यां रौद्रादावप्यसौ भवेत् । One however need not go so far as to confuse.

pleasure, to singing, dancing, gaiety etc., while those of an other place may always be, in whatever they do, violent and ferocious. The mountain tribes, the Rākṣasas etc. may belong to the latter class, to ārabhaṭī. Bharata says that the southerners, the Dākṣiṇātyas, belong to the former class, to Kaiśikī.

‘तत्र दाक्षिणात्यास्तावत् बहुवृत्तगीतवाद्याः कैशिकीप्रायाः चतुरमधुर-
ललिताभिनयाश्च ।’ N. S. XIV. p. 165.

The Pravṛtti of the southerners¹ is called Dākṣiṇātyā and it is distinguished by the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. The next Pravṛtti is Āvantī and the people of that Pravṛtti spread over a certain number of provinces have not the Kaiśikī as their prominent Vṛtti but have it along with Sāttvatī. The third Pravṛtti is Auḍhra Māgadhī and the fourth, the Pāñcālī. The Pāñcālī is characterised by Sāttvatī and Ārabhaṭī Vṛttis. The Vṛtti of the third is not given by Bharata. According to Bharata, the Dākṣiṇātyas comprise of almost all southern provinces, the Āvantī-people, of almost all western provinces, the Auḍhramāgadhī, of almost all eastern provinces and the Pāñcālī, of almost all northern provinces. Pravṛtti is mainly dress or the Āhāryābhinaya and as pointed out earlier, Vṛtti itself comprehends dress, etc.

या श्लक्ष्णनैपथ्य etc., and कैशिकी श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्या ।

The Viṣṇudharmottara puts it well when it says, (III Kha. 20):

वेषभाषानुकरणं तथाचारप्रवर्तनम् ।

प्रवृत्तिरिति विख्याता वृत्तीनामाश्रयास्तु ताः ॥

The principle of Aucitya underlying Pravṛtti is of great importance for Nāṭya. The details however, which might have had reality when Bharata wrote, do not exist to-day but one must accept that the dramatist and the actor must be conversant with the complete nature of the characters in their play. Says Bharata generally—

वर्षं च देशं चाप्यर्थयुक्तिं कालमवेक्ष्य च ॥

येषु देशेषु या पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिः परिकीर्तिता ।

तद्वृत्तिकानि रूपाणि तेषु तज्ज्ञः प्रयोजयेत् ॥ XIV. 53-54.

Rājaśekhara restricts Pravṛtti to the manner involved in dress only. He unites the three concepts of Pravṛtti, Vṛtti and

1. Vide N. S. XIV. Śis. 37-49. for the several provinces distributed among these four Pravṛttis and Vṛttis.

Rīti and speaks of the provincial varieties of these three. Pravṛtti is the manner of dress, Vṛtti of behaviour or other details of habit etc., and Rīti is the manner of speech.

‘तत्र वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, विलासविन्यासक्रमः वृत्तिः, वचन-
विन्यासक्रमः रीतिः ।’ K. M. I. 3.

The Vṛttis and the nature of the character (i.e.) type of hero.

In Bharata's definitions of the Kaiśikī, we found that it was given as the Vṛtti pre-eminently of women. It is not that there are not men of noble make whose actions are by nature graceful but it means that by nature all women are, as a rule, graceful in whatever they say or do. So their main Vṛtti is Kaiśikī. Therefore, even if they are angry, as in Raudra Rasa, their anger will be modified by Kaiśikī (i.e.) will not be so ferocious as that of men or of those who are by nature Uddhata or violent and forceful like the Rākṣasas. Similarly the Vṛtti of love, viz., the Kaiśikī, when it appears in such characters as Rākṣasas, will be modified by their main characteristic of Ārabhaṭī.¹ Thus between these two, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī, characters can be separated. Women and Dhīrodatta Nāyakas like Rāma are characters of Kaiśikī. The Rākṣasa men and women and the Dhīroddhata Nāyakas like Bhīma are characters of Ārabhaṭī. The Dhīralalita hero who is a king leading a pleasant life with song, dance and his queens—कलावत्सुखी मृदु, is essentially a character of the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. The Dhīraśānta, who is a Brahmin generally, will mostly lean towards the Kaiśikī rather than to the other.

As regards the other two Vṛttis, Bhāratī and Sāttvatī, if we take them to mean speech and action, which alone they ought to mean, there can be no differentiation of characters on the basis of these two. Therefore, it is because Abhinava does not take these two scientifically as speech and action, that, in spite of what he has to say in future in his Abhinavabhāratī, says in his Locana that the four types of heroes belong respectively to the four Vṛttis.

“—इति चत्वारो नायकाः (धीरोदात्तधीरोद्धतधीरलितधीरशान्ताः)
क्रमेण सात्त्वत्यारभटीकैशिकीभारतीलक्षणवृत्तिप्रधानाः ।” p. 138.

1. This subject in Bharata is called प्रकृति or प्रकृत्यौचित्यम्. cf. Ānandavardhana's Dhva. Ā. III. pp. 138 and 145-147.

Abhinava would not have made (and he does not make) this naive equation of the four types of heroes with the four Vṛttis in his commentary on the N. S. where his study of the Nāṭyaśāstra has become profound. In this above equation, that between Kaiśikī and Dhīrodātā and the Ārabhaṭī and the Dhīroddhātā is correct. We cannot understand how the Dhīraśānta is connected with the Dhīratī or the Dhīrodātā with the Sāttvatī. Perhaps, if we accept the traditional derivation of Sāttvatī from Sattva, we can accept to some extent the equation between Sāttvatī and Dhīrodātā. But then, the Dhīraśānta must also have only Sāttvatī and in the Abhinavabhāratī, as noticed above, Abhinava gives the Vṛtti of the Śānta Rasa as the Sāttvatī.

Bhoja, in his Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, in chs-13 and 18-21 gives the following scheme :

Puruṣārtha	Nāyaka	Nāyikā	Vṛtti	Pravṛtti	Rīti
धर्मः	धीरोदत्तः	स्वीया	भारती	पौरस्त्या	पाञ्चाली
अर्थः	धीरोद्धतः	सर्वा स्त्री	आरभटी	उद्गमगर्भी	गौडी
कामः	धीरललितः	सर्वा स्त्री	कैशिकी	दाक्षिणात्या	वैदर्भी
मोक्षः	धीरप्रशान्तः	स्वीया	सारत्त्वकी	आवन्त्या	लाटीया

Much verbal ingenuity is of course employed by Bhoja in the explanation of this scheme.

THE SOURCES OF TOLKĀPPIYAM.

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Though it is accepted by everybody that the Tolkāppiyam is the most ancient work now existing in Tamil, there are divergent opinions among scholars as to the grammarians who preceded Tolkāppiyāṇār. One view is that there was only one grammar before Tolkāppiyāṇār, viz., the Akattiyam and that Tolkāppiyāṇār was indebted to its author, the sage Agastya. This view is based upon the authority of the Pēṛācīriyam, a commentary on the Tolkāppiyam. The author of the Pēṛācīriyam himself cites in his favour the opinion of the Kaḷaviyalurai.¹ The Kaḷaviyalurai says that the grammar in the first Caṅkam was the Akattiyam and that in the second were the Akattiyam, the Tolkāppiyam, the Icaṇuṇukkam, the Māpurāṇam and the Pūtapurāṇam. The above mentioned school of thought takes the stand on this passage in the Kaḷaviyalurai and says that since, among the grammars of the second Caṅkam, the Akattiyam alone is mentioned before the Tolkāppiyam, it should have been the only work which preceded the Tolkāppiyam. But it must be pointed out that the Kaḷaviyalurai does not seem to contemplate in this enumeration any chronological order and that it might have mentioned the works in the order of prominence or merit. The Kaḷaviyalurai does not definitely say that the Akattiyam is the only source of the Tolkāppiyam. Pēṛācīriyar's view that the Akattiyam is the only predecessor and source of the Tolkāppiyam seems to be untenable, for there are evidences to show that many works, grammatical and otherwise, Tamil and Sanskrit,

1. T.K. Bhavanandam Pillai pp. 591 3 I.A.P. Bhavanandam Pillai Edn. pp. 6 and 7. The Kaḷaviyal Sūtras are said to be written by Irāiyaṇār (Lord Śiva) and the commentary on them by Nakkīrar in the last Caṅkam. But there are reasons to doubt the authenticity of the authorship of these too. It seems that both the Sūtras and the commentary were written at a later date.

preceded *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, and to which the *Tolkāppiyam* is indebted.

In the preface (*pāyiram*) to the *Tolkāppiyam* by *Paṇampāraṇār* we find the following line :—

முத்து நூல் சண்டு முறைபட்ட எண்ணி

Ṭampūraṇār in his commentary which is the earliest we have explains the above line that *Tolkāppiyāṇār* studied the earlier grammars and summarised them in his work. He also refers to *Nallācīriyār*, viz., *Akattiyār* and others who preceded *Tolkāppiyār*, but unfortunately he does not give the names of the grammarians.

Nacciṇārkkīṇiyār commenting on the above line says¹ that the grammars that preceded the *Tolkāppiyam* were the *Akattiyam*, the *Māpurāṇam*, the *Pūtapurāṇam* and the *Icainuṇukkam* and the subjects dealt with in these pre-*Tolkāppiyam* works were *Eluttu* (எழுத்து), *Col* (சொல்), *Peruḷ* (பொருள்), *Yāppu* (யாப்பு), *Cantam* (சந்தம்), *Vaḷakkiyal* (வழக்கியல்), *Araciyal* (அரசியல்), *Amaicciyal* (அமைச்சியல்), *Pārppaṇaviyal* (பாற்ப்பனவியல்), *Cōṭiṭam* (சோதிடம்), *Kāntaruvam* (கந்தருவம்), *Kūttu* (கூத்து) etc., subjects which belong to grammar, Social, Political and Dharma Śāstras, Astrology, Music, Dance, and such varied branches of knowledge. *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyār* also cites an instance in the *Eluttatikāram* where a *Tolkāppiyasūtra* is based on a *sūtra* in the *Māpurāṇam*.

ரீட்டம் கேண்டி னவ்வளவு புடைப

கூட்டி பொழுத சென்மனு புலவர். (Tol. clu. 6.)

செய்யுட்க லோசை சிதைபுங்கு ல்லாபு

மையாபு டின்று யிணையுய மைசீரொந்

றன்றி யும் செய்யுட் கெடிநெற்றை புண்ட க்கு

குன்றுமேல் ஒற்றளபுங் கென்.²

The *Māpurāṇa sūtra* allows the lengthening of sound for enphonic purposes to the extent of four mātras. *Tolkāppiyam* means the same by using the plural 'அவ்வளவுபுடைய.'

This evidence of *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyār* proves that the view of *Pērācīriyār* is untenable and that the list of the grammars of the

1. Ed. by Śaiva Siddhānta Works Publishing society p. 13 vide also *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyār* on *Poruḷatikāram poruḷiyal Sūtras* 3 and 23 pp. 783 and 812. Bavanandam Pillai Edn.

2. See also *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyār* on Tol. Elū. 6. (p. 20, Madura Tamil Caṅkam Edn.).

second *Caṅkam* given in the *Kaḷaviyalurai* are not in chronological order. Further if the *Akattiyam* had been the only grammar before *Tolkāppiyam*, *Paṇampāraṇār* in his preface might have said 'முத்துநூல்கண்டு' (*Matanūlkaṇṭu*) or 'அகத்தியம் கண்டு' (*Akattiyāṇkaṇṭu*.)

Paṇampāraṇār again says—

‘ஐந்திரம் நிறைந்த தொல்காப்பியன்’

From this it is clear that besides the works mentioned by *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyār*, the work known as *Aintiram* was also one of the grammars that preceded the *Tolkāppiyam*. It also seems that the *Tolkāppiyam* follows only the school of the *Aindra* grammar. The *Aindra* is accepted as a sanskrit grammar and *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyār* says (*poruḷ-purattiṇai*, 20) that as a contrast to the *Nirukta* which is a treatise on vedic grammar, the *Aindra* and works of its class are grammars for both *Veda* and *Loka* (*aitikaccol* and *ulakiyaṇcol*). Though most writers say that the *Tolkāppiyam* follows the *Aintiram*, we do not have a regular indication in the commentaries of the points on which the *Tolkāppiyam* follows the *Aintiram*. There is however one solitary instance pointed out by *Cēṇāvaraiyār* in his commentary on the *Collatikāram*. In his commentary on the section on the instrumental case (pp. 84-85 Ed. of the *Śaiva Siddhānta Works Pub. Soc.*) *Cēṇāvaraiyār* has an interesting discussion on the two suffixes of the instrumental case. Some argue that if there are two suffixes there must also be too corresponding cases. *Cēṇāvaraiyār* replies that this view is wrong, that however many the suffixes may be, the case is only one, if all the suffixes have the same meaning and that the same is the considered opinion of the sanskrit grammarians. The objector now says that *Tolkāppiyam* need not follow the sanskrit grammarians and as a matter of fact does not; for, while sanskrit grammar includes the vocative case in the nominative and recognises on the whole only seven cases, *Tolkāppiyam* counts the cases as eight, holding the vocative to be a separate case. Replying to this criticism *Cēṇāvaraiyār* points out that there is no denying the fact that *Tolkāppiyam* follows the sanskrit grammars, that all the schools of sanskrit grammar do not hold the cases as seven, and that even among them there was *Indra* who held the cases as eight in number, separately mentioning the vocative. He cites here a *sūtra* from the *Akattiyam* to show how *Indra* held the cases to be eight.

எழியன் முதலாக அஃகுரு வெற்றுமை
கேடுறன் விசம்பன் பெயராக விகாரியன்
சேரிய புலவர் அஃகுரு வெற்றுமை
இந் தான் எட்டாம் வெற்றுமை என்றனர்.

Explaining so the quotation from the Akattiyam, Cēṇāvaraiyar says that Tolkāppiyāṇār follows the Aindra with which the never disagrees. He adds that therefore the pāyirām says, 'Aintiram niranta Tolkāppiyar.'

Interpreting the above sūtra from the Akattiyam, the author of the Tamil Pirayōkavivēkam says that the Pulavaṇ referred to by Akattiyar as holding cases to be seven is Pāṇini. He also views that the Akattiyam follows the Pāṇiniyan School. Thus it is certain that the Tamil Grammarians followed the Sanskrit Grammarians and that according to the Pirayōkavivēka, not only was there before the Tolkāppiyāṇār, the Aindra-vyākaraṇa but also Pāṇiniya. In this connection, Civañāṇamuniyar, though he accepts that both Akattiyar and Tolkāppiyar had read the Sanskrit Grammarians, says that the Sanskrit Grammarians cannot be held to be the source of Tamil Grammar. He points out that, as regards Sandhu Tīṇai, Kuṇṇi, Veṇṇi, etc., Tamil Grammar has rules which are all its own and cannot be derived from any Sanskrit Grammar. But commentators have pointed out that Tīṇai etc. are Paribhāṣās invented by Akattiyar himself. The point must be further investigated. Though Tamil Grammar has certainly its own individuality and special features, it cannot be refuted that the Tamil Grammar was to some extent indebted to Sanskrit works, Grammatical and otherwise, as can also be seen further in the following paragraph.¹

Coming to internal evidences in the Tolkāppiyam, the work refers in plural to earlier writers as புலவர் (6, 478, 483, 967). என்ப (643, 1010, 13, 84, 511) மொழிய (902, 1054) கிளவார் (523) அறிந்திடு குறோ (158) கையார் (43, 45) உணர்ந்தோர் (7).

The plural numbers in the above words in the Tolkāppiyam point to the existence of many writers before that work. It may be argued that the work refers not to many writers but to one

1. Civañāṇamuniyar requotes Pēṇācīriyam and following him holds the Akattiyam to be the only pre-Tolkāppiya Grammar. This cannot be accepted. Aracan Saṇmukaṇār in his Pāyiravirutti criticizes this view of Pēṇācīriyar and Civañāṇamuniyar and agrees with our view which follows Naecinārkiṇiyar. Vide pp. 310 etc. of that work.

only, viz., Akattiyar and that the plural is used out of respect to Akattiyar. There is however a rule laid down by Tolkāppiyar himself that the honorific plural referring to one person or one object is allowed only in speech and not in poetry.

ஒருவரைக்கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்
ஒன்றனைக் கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்
வழக்கி ஓடுகிய உயர்ச்சொற் கிளவி
இலக்கண மருந்திற் சொல்லா தல்ல.

Therefore Tolkāppiyar who would not have deviated from his own rule must mean by the above plurals a number of writers that preceded him. Aracan Saṇmukaṇār also expresses this opinion in his Pāyirā-virutti.

(ii) Again as regards the number of cases, Tolkāppiyāṇār has two sūtras giving the two opinions referred to already.

வெற்றுமை தாமே வெழுண் மொழிய. (Tol. Col. 62.)
வினிகொள் முதன்கண் வினியோ டெட்டே. (Tol. Col. 63.)

Here it appears that Tolkāppiyāṇār first speaks of the theory of others and then gives his own, as has been pointed out by Cēṇāvaraiyar. Teyvaccilaiyār also, though he takes the two Sūtras as one, points out that there is reference here to two different views. We have noted above, from evidence of Cēṇāvaraiyar that the two views here referred to are those of Akattiyar following Pāṇini and of the Aintiram followed by the Tolkāppiyam.

(iii) Thirdly, Tolkāppiyar refers in his sūtras to the following works :—

1. அந்தணர் மறை. (Tol. Eḷu. 102.)

This is evidently the Sanskrit Vēdas.

2. கரம்பின் மறைய. (Tol. Eḷu. 33.)

This is perhaps the Sanskrit Gāndharva Vēda dealing with music.

3. அறுவகைப் பட்டப் பார்ப்பணப் பக்கம். (Tol. Poruḷ 57.)

This is a reference to Sanskrit Dharma Śāstras.

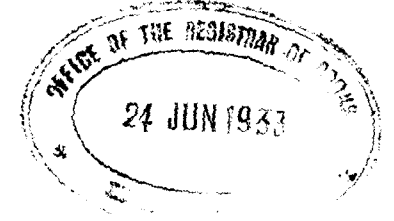
Fourthly the following sūtras from Tolkāppiyam, Piṇappiyal and Moḷimarapu, clearly indicate that Tolkāppiyar was a Sanskrit scholar and that he translated or summarised in his work some of the ideas in the ancient Sanskrit grammatical literature like the Prātisākhya.¹

1. The following quotations are reproduced from Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastriyar's preface to his Collatikāra-k-kuṇippu. Dr. P. S. S. Sastri has also pointed out that the Tolkāppiyam draws upon Yāska's Nirukta also.

ககரா ககரா புதுவது ககரா	(Tol. pira. 7.)
हनुमूले जिह्मूलेन कवर्गे स्पर्शयति	(Tol. pira. 2, 35.)
சகரா சுகரா மகரா ககரா	(Tol. pira. 8.)
तालु जिह्मूलेन चवर्गे	(Tol. pira. 2, 36.)
அண்ணா நன்னாமிட பன்னமுதல் மருந்தி மருந்து பரந்த ககரா	(Tol. pira. 11.)
जिह्वेण तवर्गे दन्तमूलेषु	(Tol. pira. 2, 38.)
दन्त्यानां जिह्वे प्रस्तीर्णम्	(Ātharvapa. prā. 1-24.)
இதழியைந்து பகராமகாரம்	(Tol. pira. 15.)
ओष्ठान्ताभ्यां पवर्गे	(Tol. pira. 2, 39.)
பல்லித ழியைய ககரம் பிறக்கும்	(Tol. pira. 61.)
ओष्ठान्ताभ्यां दन्तर्वकारे	(Tol. pira. 2, 43.)
சார்த்தவரி ணவந்து	(Tol. pira. 19.)
चकपौ चापि पराश्रितौ.	(Tol. pira. 2, 44.)

In this connection attention may be drawn to a sūtra in the *Tolkāppiyam* which says that one of the ways of writing a derivative treatise (*avaiyār*) is to translate from a work of another language (Tol. Porul, Marappiyal, 167).

In conclusion, as Naccinārkkinīyar has pointed out, there existed before the *Tolkāppiyam*, the *Akattiyam*, the *Teaṇṇuṇṇikam*, the *Māpurāṇam* and the *Pūṭapurāṇam*. From the *Pāyiram* and *Cēṇāvaraiyar* we learn that besides drawing from the above said predecessors, the *Tolkāppiyam* followed also the Sanskrit grammar of the school of Indra. If we are to accept the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, Pāṇini is also one of *Tolkāppiyar*'s predecessors and sources. From the text of the *Tolkāppiyam* itself we know of the existence of many earlier works and definite references are given to the Sanskrit Vēdas, Gāndhārva-Vēda and the Dharma Śāstra literature, upon which also *Tolkāppiyam* drew. In addition to these *Tolkāppiyar* embodied into his text translation of the ideas of the Sanskrit *Prātiśākhya*s and *Nirukta*. Therefore the contention that sage Agastya is the only predecessor and his work is the only source of the *Tolkāppiyam* cannot stand.



PAINTING AND ALLIED ARTS AS REVEALED IN BĀṆA'S WORKS

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(Continued from page 414 of Vol. VI, pt. iv.)

Important amongst the various tints stated by Bāṇa are green, grey and brown. The varieties of each colour and their subtle differences are noteworthy. The peculiar *Haritālāsaila* white¹ is different from swan-white and lotus-white². The colours of the *Sinduvāra*³, *Karnikāra*⁴ and *Campaka*⁵ are different patterns of white. Ivory-white is another⁶. Foam-white is a colour different from all these in a subtle shade and is identical with milk-white and conch-white⁷. The yellowish-white of the petals of the full-blown *Ketaki* is another variety.⁸

Red is of many types. Red like the *Bandhūka* flower,⁹ the *Kuṅkumapiñjara* type of red¹⁰, *Kusumbharāgapātala*,¹¹ blood-red like a bunch of *Ghāṭakī* flowers,¹² *Sindūra* (red) colour of the

1. हरितालशैलावदातदेहः H. C. p. 188.
2. हंसधवला धरण्यामपतज्जयोत्स्ना Kā. p. 90.
हिमकरसरसि विकचपुण्डरीकसिते Kā. p. 90.
3. अभिनवसितसिन्दुवारकुसुमपाण्डुरैः Kā. p. 96.
4. कर्णिकारगौरेण व्याधामव्यायतवपुषा H. C. p. 69.
कर्णिकारगौरेण वीधकञ्जुकञ्चन्नवपुषा H. C. p. 61.
5. चकुलसुरभिनिःश्रसितया चम्पकावदातया H. C. 33.
6. दन्तपाण्डुरपादे शशिमय इव H. C. p. 70.
7. पीयूषफेनपटलपाण्डरम् H. C. p. 10.
शङ्खक्षीरफेनपाण्डरेण क्षीरोदेनेव H. C. p. 21.
8. विकचकेतकीमर्मपत्रपाण्डरं रजःसङ्घातम् H. C. p. 20.
9. तस्य चाधरमणेदीधितयो विकसितबन्धूकवनराजयः H. C. p. 29.
10. कुङ्कुमपिञ्जरितपुष्पस्य चरणयुगलस्य H. C. p. 31.
11. कुसुम्भरागपाटले पुलकबन्धचित्रम् H. C. p. 32.
12. रुधिरकुतूहलिकसरिकिशोरकलिह्यमानकडोरघातकीस्तवके H. C. p. 47.

Mandāra flowers,¹ Māñjīṣṭha red,² Piñjara (red) like the morning sunshine,³ are all subtle varieties. The rosy colour of the dove's leg⁴ is a noteworthy tint.

There are many varieties of green such as parrot-green of the colour of the plantain leaf⁵, emerald-green,⁶ and dark-green of the Tamāla type.⁷

There are different types of grey like the smoke colour⁸, the colour of the ass's skin,⁹ the grey of the dove¹⁰, the grey of a pigeon's neck¹¹ and the colour of the Śaphara's belly.¹²

Varieties of brown are equally numerous. We have the Gorocanā brown,¹³ yellowish brown,¹⁴ brown of the red palm fruit,¹⁵ of the camel's hair,¹⁶ and of the Godhūma (wheat).¹⁷

Black is of various degrees and grades. There is the light black colour of the buffalo,¹⁸ the darker shade on the face of the Golāṅgūla monkey,¹⁹ and the pitch-dark night resembling the wing of the bird Cāṣa.²⁰

1. लोहितायमानमन्दारसिन्दूरसीमि H. C. p. 47.
2. माञ्जिष्टरागलोहिते किरणजले Kā. p. 53.
3. बालातपपिञ्जरा इव रज्ज्वः Kā. p. 105.
4. पारावतपादपाटलरागः Kā. p. 91.
5. शुकरवर्तश्च कदलीवनेः Kā. p. 42. हारीतहरिता H. C. p. 22.
6. मरकतहरितानां कदलीवनानाम् Kā. p. 379.
7. तरुणतरुमालश्यामले H. C. p. 28.
8. कृष्णाजिनेन नीलपाण्डुभासा.....भूमपटलेनेव Kā. p. 72.
9. रासभरोमभूमगामु Kā. p. 52.
10. वनदेवताप्रासादनां तरुणां शिखरेषु पारावतमालायमानासु धर्मपताकास्विव समुन्मिषन्तीषु तपोवनानामिहोत्रभूमलेखासु Kā. p. 52.
11. कपोतकण्ठकबुरे...तिमिरे H. C. p. 145.
12. शफरोदरभूसरे रजमि H. C. p. 21.
13. गोरोचनाकपिलवृत्तिः Kā. p. 126.
14. हरितालकपिलपङ्कवेणुविटपरचितवृत्तिभिः Kā. p. 393.
15. संध्यानुबन्धताम्रे परिणततालफलत्वक्त्वपि कालमेघमेदुरे H. C. p. 15.
16. धूसरीचक्रुः क्रमेलककचकपिलाः पांसुवृष्टयः H. C. p. 162.
17. गोधूमधामभिः स्थलीपृष्ठैरधिष्ठितः H. C. p. 94.
18. जरन्महिषमपीमलीमसि तमसि H. C. p. 81.
19. गोलाङ्गूलकपोलकालकायलोमि नीलसिन्धुवारवर्णे वाजिनि H. C. p. 23.
20. चाषपक्षत्वपि तमस्युदिते H. C. p. 16.

The versicoloured hue of flowers¹ made up of innumerable tints is one type of the variegated colour. A limited number of colours variegates the rainbow². It is the same case with the mottled colour of the bean-seed³. Two tints, yellow and black account for the variegation in the tiger's skin;⁴ and white and blue for that in the eyes.⁵

Bāṇa's knowledge of the infinite variety of colour in nature and his singling out the beautiful natural tints of flowers and fruits so often chosen with great delicacy by expert artists for the execution of excellent still-life compositions is remarkable. The parrot's beautiful description of the purple Jambū fruit with its bluish-red tinge resembling the eye of a ruddy cuckoo, of the pomegranate seed looking like a pearl dabbled in blood with its intermixture of red and white, and of the Āmalakī fruit green like the lotus leaf is quite pleasing.⁶ There are some noteworthy paragraphs in Bāṇa's works wherein, colours, all from nature, play an important part. In one description he actually brings in the names of colours—yellowish-white, tawny (deep brown), brown, white etc., and though attempting pun by their use nevertheless gives the reader an idea of the multicoloured nature of the forest-fires⁷. In actual painting of flames an artist cannot but use these colours which are ample and exhaustive. Thus it is not mere pun but a deliberate use to give out the nature of the flame.

Elsewhere he gives us a picture of the colorific nature of the forest, not by the use of colour-names, but by a towering description of the myriad trees and creepers loaded with sprouts and

1. आचमनशुचिशचीपतिमुच्यमानार्चनकुसुमनिकरशाराम् H. C. p. 19.
2. आमरणप्रभाजालजायमानानीन्द्रधनुःसहस्राणि H. C. p. 71.
3. पाकविशारकराजमाषनिकरकिमीरितैश्च H. C. p. 94.
4. शबलशार्दूलचर्मपटपीडितेन H. C. p. 232.
5. तिर्यङ्नीलधवलांशुकशाराम् H. C. p. 79.
6. आमत्तकोकिललोचनच्छविनीलपाटलः कषायमधुरः प्रकाममापीतो जम्बू-फलरसः, हरिखरभिन्नमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भयुक्तरक्ताद्रसुक्ताफलत्वपि खण्डितानि दाडिमी-बीजानि, नलिनीदलहरिन्ति द्राक्षाफलस्वादूनि च चूर्णितानि स्वेच्छया प्राचीनामलकी-फलानि Kā. p. 36.
7. क्वचित् स्वच्छन्दतृणचारिणो हरिणाः, क्वचित् रुतलविवरविवर्तिनो बभ्रवः, क्वचिजटावलम्बिनः कपिलाः, क्वचिच्छकुनकुलकुलायपातिनः श्येनाः H. C. p. 50.

blossoms.¹ The Karpūkāra flowers with an excellent yellowish colour (though lacking scent), the Campaka with its fragrant yellow flowers, the Nānarn with its whitish flowers, the Kurabaka with its red flowers, the Kesara (Bakula) with its tawny flowers, the Aśoka with its vermilion flowers, the Tilaka tree with its peculiarly beautiful flowers, the lovely yellow Priyaṅgu creeper, the Mucukunda tree with its bark darkened with elephant's rut, the green verdure of the ground charmingly broken here and there by the spotted skin of the skipping deer, the yellow lamshine hidden by the dark shade of the Tāmāli tree, the green betel and the blue Jambū, the whole atmosphere whitened by flower-pollen, form nature's colour-picture of the forest quite transcending the meagre and artificial portraiture of the same by the human hand.

Bāṇa gives another colour-picture of a country (Janapada) using colour names, this time with no purpose of punning.² The

1. अथ क्रमेण गच्छन् एव तस्य कुञ्जालितकणिकाराः, प्रचुरचम्पकाः स्फीतफलेग्रहयः, फलभरितनमेषाः नीलदलनलदनागिकलनिकराः, हरिकेशसरसलपरिकराः कोरकनिकुम्भगेमाञ्चितकुम्भकात्रयः, रक्ताशोकपल्लवलावण्यालप्यमानदशदिशः, प्राविकसितकेशरजोविमलव्यमानाचामधूमरिमाणः स्वरजःमिकतिलकतलाः, प्रविचलितहिङ्गवः, प्रचुरपूगफलाः, प्रसवपूगविह्वलप्रियङ्गवः, परमाविह्वलितमङ्गरीपुञ्जायमानमधुपमञ्जुशिञ्जाजनितजनमुदः, मदमलमंचकितमुचुकुन्दस्वन्धकाण्डकथ्यमाननिःशङ्करिकरटकण्डितयः, उर्ध्वीयमाननिःशङ्कचटुलकुण्ठाशवसकलशादलसुभगभूमयः, तमःकातमतमालमाल्यार्मीलितानपाः, स्वयंकदन्तुरितदेवदारवः, तरलताम्बूलीस्तम्भजालकितजम्बूजम्बीरवीथयः, कुमुमजोषवल्गुलीकदम्बचक्रचुम्बितव्योमानः H. C. p. 234.

2. पार्कविशगङ्गात्रमापानिकरकिर्मीरिन्ध्र स्फुटितमुद्गफलकोशीकपिशितैर्गोधूमधामभिः स्थलीपृष्ठप्रविष्टितः, शीरोदामिव शीरं श्वरद्विर्वापच्छेद्यनृणतृप्तैर्गोधनैर्धवलितविपिनः, विविधमखदोमधूमन्धशतमन्युमुक्तल्योचनैरिव सहस्रसंख्यैः कृष्णशरैः शारीकृतोद्देशः, धवलधूलीमुचां केतकीविमानां रजोभिः पाण्डरीकृतैः प्रमथोद्गलनधूसरैः शिवपुरस्थैव प्रवेशैः प्रदेशैरुपशोभितः, शाककन्दलश्यामलितग्रामोपकण्ठकाश्यपीपृष्ठः, पदे पदे करभपालीभिः पीलुपल्लवप्रस्फोटितैः करपुटपीडितमातुलुङ्गीदल्यसोपलिप्तैः स्वेच्छाविचितकुङ्कुमकेशमरकतपुष्पप्रकरैः प्रत्यग्रफलरसपानसुखमुमर्षार्थैर्कर्वनदेवतादीयमानामृतरसप्रपाणैरिव द्राक्षामण्डपैः स्फुरत्फलानां च बीजलक्ष्मशुकचञ्चुरागामिव समारूढकपिकुलकपोलसंदिह्यमानकुसुमानां दाडिमीनां वनैर्विलोभनीयोपनिर्गमः..... श्रीकण्ठो नाम जनपदः H. C. p. 95

natural ground (that of the forest) mottled with bean-seeds, made tawny by the seed-vessels of kidney-beans splitting and falling from them, the forest-land whitened by herds of cows, variegated by the spotted deer, made dusky-white by the pollen of Ketakī flowers, the lands about villages dark-green with pot-herb plantations and plantain groves, with flowers and Kuṅkumakesaras scattered in pomegranate groves having flowers red like the parrot's beak and creating a doubt whether they were monkeys' faces, is a beautiful colour study.

Never was the multicoloured nature of the ground given out more vividly than in the passage in the Kādambarī where Bāṇa compares the divers colours of the earth spread here and there helter skelter with the grey of the old Śaphara's belly, the brown of the camel's hair, the dull colour of the Rallaka deer, the light white of the cobweb, the brighter white of a full-grown lotus-stalk, the brown of an old monkey's hair, and the pure white of the foam (froth) in the mouth of Śivas bull.¹ None but an artist in the true sense can conceive the rich colour imagery found in the description of the elephant Gandhamādana, who with his dark body tinged rosy by a free use of Sindūra (red powder) and ornamented with garlands of white flowers on his crown and the long pearl trappings hanging from the ears appears like the Meru mountain at sunset with the last lingering rays of the sun, the stars preping at its crest and the white waters of the ganges flowing down the slopes.²

The texts on painting like the Citrasūtra in the Viṣṇudharmottara, the chapters on painting in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi

1. शनैः शनैश्च बलसंक्षोभजन्मा क्षितिरनेकवर्णतया कचिज्जीर्णशफरकोडधूम्रः, कचित् क्रमेलकसटासनिभः, कचित् पीरणतरलकरोमपल्लवमलिनः, कचिदुत्पन्नोर्णातन्तुपाण्डरः, कचिज्जरठमृणालदण्डधवलः, कचिज्जरत्नकपिकेशकपिलः, कचिद्धरवृषभरोमन्धफेनपिण्डपाण्डरः.....रेणुरूपपात Kā. p. 218.

2. बहलसिन्दूरेणुपाटलेन क्षितितलडोलायमानमुक्ताकलापावचूलेन सितसुममालाजालशबलशिरसा संलग्नसंश्रयातपेन तिर्यगावर्जितश्चेतगङ्गाप्रवाहेण तारागणदन्तुरितशिलातलेन मेरुगिरिणेव गन्धमादनेनानुगम्यमानः Kā. p. 214

and the Śivatattvaratnākara and the Citralakṣaṇa chapter of the Śilparatna etc., give a list of the various tints got by mixing primary colours. It is remarkable that Bāṇa has set at naught the limited colour variety of these texts and given out in his catalogue of innumerable tints that deep and close study of nature which had enabled him to grasp the extreme subtlety of difference between tint and tint. In spite of the limited number of colours stated the texts on painting are not unacquainted with subtle differences in the same colour. The Śilparatna gives three gradations of red—Sindūra for light red, Gairika (mountain-born) red (mineral chalks) for a middle tint and Lākṣā(lac) juice for a deep colour.¹ The Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and the Śivatattvaratnākara tell us that vermilion is for reddish brown, and red lac or sap, red sanders and mountain-born chalks are for crimson tint.² They echo Bāṇa's statements. White and black give the grey of smoke;³ blue and white the colour of the pigeon similar to the Rājāvarta* and the hemp-flower.⁴ Red mountain chalk and conch powder give a peculiar pale red (Dhūmracchāya).⁵ Daradaḥ (vermilion) mixed with white gives the pale red of the red-lily while Alaktaka (red lac or sap) combined with white gives the colour of the sun's horses.⁶ The difference is very slight here.

1. मृदुरक्ते तु सिन्दूरं गैरिकं मध्यरक्ते ॥

अतिरक्ते तु संयोज्यं वर्णं लाक्षारसं विदुः ।

Śilparatna, p. 255, Śl. 117, 118.

2.शोणेषु दरदं तथा ।

रक्तेष्वलक्तशकलं लोहितं गैरिकं तथा ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

3. कजलं शङ्खसंमिश्रं धूमच्छायं निरूपितम् ।

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

* An inferior diamond of the Virāṭa country.

4. निर्विशङ्गेन संमिश्रं कपोताभं प्रजायते ।

(नीली शङ्खेन संयुक्ता कपोताभा विराजते a better reading.)

राजावर्तः स एव स्यादतसीपुष्पसंनिभः ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

5. गैरिकं शङ्खसंमिश्रं धूमच्छायं निरूपितम् ।

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

ϕ Vermilion or Cinnabar, a red mercuric sulphide of oriental source.

6. दरदं शङ्खसंमिश्रं सौराश्वसदृशप्रभम् ।

or भवेत् कोकनदच्छवि

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

Pure indigo (Nīli) of the colour of the blue lily gives a green tint when mixed with yellow pigment.¹ Red lac with lamp-black gives a dark brown and with blue the colour of the Jambū fruit.² The tints got by mixing primary colours—like smoke grey, pigeon colour, the different varieties of red, brown, green and the colour of the Jambū fruit are clearly given by Bāṇa. The variegated hue to which he refers is given by the Śilparatna as a convenient colour for artists; but according to Śrīkumāra it is got by mixing red, black and yellow in equal proportions.³ Red and yellow give the colour of Bakula flowers which Bāṇa describes as Dhūsara (tawny).⁴ This is the same as flame colour.⁵ There are also other varieties of red given in the Śilparatna. The green of the parrot's wing described by Bāṇa as not dissimilar from that of the plantain leaf is got by a mixture of Haritāla (yellow) and blue;⁶ and the purple of the Jambū fruit so cleverly described by the parrot in the Kādambarī is the result of the union of red lac and blue.⁷ The yellowish white of the inner petals of the Ketakī flower noted by Bāṇa is the type of white got by mixing Haritāla and conch-powder as laid down in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.⁸ The rosy

1. केवलैव च या नीली भवेदिन्दीवरप्रभा ।

हरितालेन संमिश्रा जायते हरितच्छविः ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

2. अलक्तकेन संमिश्रं कजलं पाटले भवेत् ।

अलक्तं नीलिकायुक्तं जम्बूवर्णं स्फुटं भवेत् ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

3. श्वेतं कृष्णं च पीतं च समभागविमिश्रितम् ।

शारच्छवीति विख्यातं वर्णकारसुखप्रदम् ॥ Śilparatna, p. 256.

4. रक्तं पीतं समं मिश्रं वकुलस्य फलाकृतिः ।

Śilparatna, p. 257.
The colour of the Bakula fruit is not essentially different from that of the flower.

5. ज्वलनाभमिदं ख्यातमग्निवर्णनिभं परम् ।

Śilparatna, p. 257.

6. हरितालं श्यामयुतं शुक्लपक्षनिभं भवेत् ।

Śilparatna, p. 257.

7. लाक्षारसेन संमिश्रं कृष्णं जम्बूफलाकृतिः ।

Śilparatna, p. 257.

8. गैरिकं हरितालेन मिश्रितं गौरतां व्रजेत् ।

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

हरितालं शङ्खयुतं घोरात्व(?)सदृशप्रभम् ।

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.
घोरात्व can have no meaning. It might be गौरात्रासदृशप्रभम् which would mean that it is not very different from the colour 'Gaura' (got by mixing red and white—a pale rosy white.)

colour of the pigeon's leg in the *Kādambarī* is the 'Gaura' type of rosy white in the *Silparatna*,¹ which is the same as the *Saurāśva-sadrśaprabha* (colour of the sun's horses) of the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* and the *Śivatattvaratnākara*, though the 'Gaura' of these books is slightly different from that of the *Silparatna* being got by mixing red and yellow instead of red and white. The *Piṅga* type of yellow that Bāṇa states as the colour of honey² is not the result of a mixture of white and yellow in the proportion of one is to two³ that the *Silparatna* gives. It is a tawny colour—more red than yellow—something like *Piṅga* which is defined by the *Haimakośa* as *Pitarakta*.⁴ Bāṇa gives the *Piṅga* type of reddish brown as the colour of ripe paddy fields—a really true observation; and this colour is lighter than that of honey which has a greater proportion of red. This might be the same as the *Atirakta* of the *Silparatna* with yellow and red in the proportion of one is to two.⁵ The variegated colour of deer, tigers, peacocks, tittiris etc. as given by Bāṇa is quite in accordance with the rule of the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* and the *Śivatattvaratnākara* that holds the use of different colours for the effect of the animals absolutely necessary.⁶ It might be two colours or three or more.

Bāṇa's colour-scheme is never complete without a reference to certain of his minute observations that go to prove his artistic insight. The pale pink of *Śakragopas*,⁷ the pale green on the back of the lotus leaf,⁸ the brown of the peeping moustaches⁹, the green colour of fresh cow-dung smeared on the floor¹⁰—which idea is

1. मितं रक्तेन संयुक्तं शौरच्छवि हि दृश्यते । *Silparatna*, p. 256.
2. कमलकवलीतं मधुरसमिव स्वभावपिङ्गलेन वमन्तम् । H. C. p. 66.
3. श्वेतस्य द्विगुणं पीतं मिश्रं ख्यातं तु पिङ्गलम् । *Silparatna*, p. 257.
4. पीतरक्तस्तु पिङ्गरः इति हेमः ।
5. पीतस्य द्विगुणं रक्तं मिश्रितं त्वतिरक्तकम् । *Silparatna*, p. 257.
6. एणसारङ्गशार्दूलशिवितित्तिरिकादियु ।
मिन्नवर्णेषु सत्त्वेषु पृथग्वर्णः प्रयुज्यते ॥
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and *Śivatattvaratnākara*.
7. शाक्रगोपकालोहितरागेणांशुकेन रचितावगुण्टनया *Kā.* p. 192.
पाटलितशाद्वलैः शक्रगोपकैरपि पाण्डुतां प्रत्यपश्यत *Kā.* p. 517.
8. म्लानाविन्दनीलपद्माशपृष्ठपाण्ड्रेण *Kā.* p. 540.
9. वित्रुममाणश्मश्रुसशोभा *Kā.* p. 466.
10. बहुलभोग्योपल्लवर्हर्षणे *Kā.* p. 488.
हरितगोमयोपल्लवधितितलवितं H. C. p. 103.
हरितगोमयोपल्लवधितितलवितं H. C. p. 57.

echoed by Māgha¹ are only a few. The picture of dawn with the pale moonlight slowly disappearing with the moon, and the forests rising as it were, from the waters, a dark mass with the general outline faintly visible across the rosy sky, is a perfect silhouette.² The comparison of the pale moon to a polishless silver pot is apt.³ The rosy colour of the morning rays not unmixed with white in union with black (blue) is a faithful picture.⁴ Bāṇa gives the colour of the peacock's plume with great accuracy. It is *Śabala* and has blue predominant but appears green when the sun's light falls on it.⁵ This observation is really striking. The *Śabala* colour of the peacock is further explained by Māgha who gives it out as violet and gold.⁶ Amusing, indeed, is the quaint but highly realistic description of the canary of the royal household approaching *Kādambarī*, being followed by her mate, to lodge a complaint with the princess against her dissipative husband.⁷ The

1. शुकाङ्गनीलोपलनिर्मितानां लिप्तेषु भासा गृहेदेहलीनाम् ।
यस्यामलिन्देषु न चक्रुर्वे सुग्धाङ्गना गोमयगोमुखानि ॥

Śiṣupālavadha, Can. III, Śl. 48.

2. गलदवश्यायश्चालनादिव शनैः शनैर्दलितमुक्तागौरज्योत्स्नानुभावमुत्सृजन्ती-
ष्वशासु, पुनर्विभाव्यमानसहजश्यामकान्तिषु सलिलादिवोन्मज्जत्सु तरुलताविटपेषु
Kā. p. 471.

3. प्रभाविरहादनुमृष्टरजतकुम्भाभमिदमपरान्तावलम्ब्य वर्तते रजनिकर-
बिम्बम् *Kā.* p. 581.

4. यथायथोद्गमविस्तारिणी जरत्तामरसपत्रारुणा पाण्डुच्छविरुलसति
सीमन्तयन्ती तमः केशसंघातमिव पूर्वस्याः ककुभोऽरुणाग्रकरालोकततिः *Kā.* p. 581.

5. एष विकचोत्पलवनरचनानुकारिणमुत्पत्तचारुचन्द्रकशतं हरिणलो-
चनद्युतिशवलमभिनवशाद्वलमिव विशति शिखिनः कलापमातपाहतो निःशङ्कमहिः
Kā. p. 90.

6. श्यामारुणैर्वारणदानतयैरालोडिताः काञ्चनभूपरागाः ।
आनेमिमग्नैः शितिकण्ठपिच्छश्लोदद्युतश्चुक्षुदिरे रथौघैः ॥

Śiṣupālavadha, Can. III, Śl. 27.

7. अथ सहसैव त्वरितगतिः, त्रिवर्णरागमिन्द्रायुधमिव कुण्डलीकृतं कण्ठेन
वहता विद्रुमाङ्कुरानुकारिणा चञ्चुपुटेन मरकतद्युतिपक्षतिना मन्थरगतेन शुकेनानुबध्य-
माना, कुमुदकेसरपिञ्जरतया चरणयुगलस्य चम्पककलिकाकारतया च मुखस्य
कुवलयदलनीलतया च पक्षद्युतीनां कुसुममयीवागत्य सारिका सक्रोधमवादीत्
Kā. p. 351.

parrot's neck, tricoloured and bent, resembles the rainbow in its curvature and hue; the canary with its feet rosy-gold as the lily-pollen, its face of the form of the Campaka petal (golden), its plume of the tinge of the blue lotus, is delicately feminine and flower-like.

Anatomy. It is not mere conventional comparisons to various flowers, trees and animals that satisfies the spirit of so keen an observer as Bāṇa. He has his own way in everything: not that he is unaware of the conventional comparisons or that they are defective—they are apt though oft repeated—but because he wants to be more original and forceful. As an instance we have his comparison of the limbs of a strong and sinewy man like Mādhavagupta to those of various animals.¹ His strength compared to a lion's, his gait to an elephant's are not to our point. His forearm is likened to that of a tiger's. A



FIG. 1.

close study of the particular brawny limb of a human being and that of the mighty Bengal tiger would reveal the force of this comparison attempted to be shown in the picture (fig. 1). His eyes, wide and round, are like a deer's. It would not be without gain perusing the leaves of 'Some notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy' where Dr. Abanindranath Tagore has tried to show the similarity of the deer's eye to the rather wide one of a human being by means of a picture; but any day it would be a feast of the eye to observe from nature the beauty of God's creation albeit only in a small limb or organ of a comparatively insignificant but yet a lovely creature—the deer. His nose is like the snout of a boar. This is a rather exaggerated way of giving out that his nose was prominent. But yet it is forceful and striking. The picture (fig. 2) might give some



FIG. 2.

1. चक्षुः कुरङ्गकैशोणावंशं वराहैः स्कन्धपीठं महिषैः प्रकोष्ठबन्धं व्याघ्रैः पराक्रमं केसरिभिर्गमनं मातङ्गजैर्मृगयाक्षपितशेषैर्भित्तिस्तोचमिव दत्तं दर्शयन्तं माधवगुप्तं ददृशुः H. C. p. 140.

idea of the comparison. Lastly his lusty shoulders are compared to the mighty humpy back of the buffalo. This is a vigorous stroke in the annals of comparison. It is not that Bāṇa is not conversant with the hackneyed phrase वृषस्कन्ध; he actually uses it elsewhere describing the man who followed Mekhalaka.¹ Both the comparisons, and the force of the use of ककुद् which gives strength to the comparison, are attempted to be shown in the picture (fig. 3).

As a contrast to the description of sturdy Mādhavagupta, a man in the service of a master and with a hardened body, is the



FIG. 3.

delicate delineation of the beautiful limbs of Candrāpīḍa. His forehead is like the crescent moon, eyes long and like the half closed blue lotus, lips like tender leaves, nails, palms and soles coral-red, and withal his body symmetrical and full of lāvaṇya.²

1. हरवृषककुदकूटविकटांसतटेन H. C. p. 61.

2. तथैवेयमिन्दुशकलानुकारिणः कान्तिर्ललाटस्य । तादृशमेवेदमाकुलित-नीलोत्पलद्युतिहारि कर्णान्तायतं लोचनद्वयम् । तादृश एवाभिनवकिसलयञ्छविरधरः ।

Elsewhere Bāṇa gives in a general way that the chest should be broad, the arms sinewy, the waist slim and the thighs well developed in the case of a youth.¹

We shall now turn to the fairer sex. Lāvanya² is the beautifying factor according to Bāṇa and there is not a description of beauty but we find it there. In describing Patralekhā the daughter of Kulūteśvara, *i.e.*, Kulūta King, he gives out that her lips were thin and looked a streak—not coarse or thick;* that her nose was symmetrical, well rounded and elevated—the force of this is well understood if we note, of course, only occasionally by chance (since ugliness is not the law of the universe), a rather deformed snub nose where one nostril is smaller than the other and the *ala nasi* are not well rounded; that her eyes were like the full-blown lotus; that her body was slender like a creeper, her heel and ankle well developed;† that her waist was slim and that above all she had Mahānubhāvākāra.³ This is the same as the Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa of heroes and the high-born. It is essential in depicting high class women—Uttamastrī. In the description of Kādambarī Bāṇa gives free play to his poetic genius and gives us a grand picture of typical feminine beauty. His Utprekṣās ('Poetic fancy')

तथैव चेदं विद्रुमलोहितनखाङ्गुलीतलं पाणिपादम् । तदेवेदमविमलितमहजलावण्य-
सौकुमार्योणां सौष्ठवमङ्गलानाम् Kā. p. 519.

1. वक्षसैव सह विस्तीर्यते वाञ्छा । दोर्दयेनैव सह स्थूलतामापद्यते धीः । मध्ये-
नैव सह कार्यमुपयाति श्रुतम् । ऊरुयुगलेनैव महोपचीयतेऽविनयः । Kā. p. 496.

2. Cf. रूपभेदः प्रमाणानि भावलावण्ययोजनम्

सादृश्यं वर्णिका भङ्ग इति चित्रं पङ्क्तकम् ॥

Jayamaṅgalā on Vātsyāyana.

* It is surprising that almost all the Ajanta pictures have thick lips when such a delineation is considered a *doṣa* ;

Cf. दौर्बल्यविन्दुरेखात्वमविभक्तत्वमेव च ।

बृहद्रण्डोष्ठनेत्रत्वं.....चित्रदोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

Viṣṇudharmottara.

† Her feet resting firmly on the ground, devoid of the ugly gait caused by an upraised heel, suggest the well-developed nature of her heel and ankle.

3. बहलताम्बूलकृष्णिकान्धकारिताधरलेखया सममुवृत्ततुङ्गनसिकया, विकसित-
पुण्डरीकलोचनया.....नववनलेखयेव कोमलतनुलतया...महानुभावाकारयानु-
गम्यमानं कन्यकया Kā. p. 193.

regarding her weighty hips, slender waist, rounded thighs, high breasts, deep naval, tender arms, rosy nails and red lips are best studied in the text itself. Her nose (Nāsāvamśa) is shaped like the bow of Rati's lute.¹ The comparison would not be clear without seeing the fiddlestick; and we are at a loss to know what sort of a thing it was in the days of Bāṇa. The word Vamśa is invariably found used in his descriptions of the nose. What he means is that a marked nose should be divided into two equal parts by the nasal bone, thus elevating it and giving the contour of the side view an undulation rather than a flat straight line. The bone would thus be something like the node of a bamboo. The rounded nature of the nose and its symmetry would be clear from the picture (fig. 4). Her eyes are long and tinged red at the tip, her eyebrows creeper-like and her ears like the Pāśa.



Fig. 4.

This last comparison is noteworthy and is easily seen in the pictures at Ajanta and the ears of the Mūrtis of Gods in temples. A better idea of the ear is got by the description of the limb in the case of Bhairavācāya.² But Karṇapāśa has an air of delicacy and is generally used in the case of women. Finally, her hair is long and of a luxuriant growth.³

Now, beauty alone is not the rule in this mundane world. There is ugliness; and it has also a right in the sphere of Art. Portrayal of the horrid is as essential in art as portrayal of the lovely. 'It is only by the habit of representing faithfully all things,' says Ruskin, 'that we can truly learn what is beautiful, and what is not. The ugliest objects contain some element of beauty; and in all it is an element peculiar to themselves, which cannot be separated from their ugliness, but must either be enjoyed together with it or not at all.'⁴ Oscar Wilde voices forth the same opinion⁵ when he says 'Nothing so ignoble that Art cannot

1. रतिपरिवादिनीरत्नकोणचारुणा नासावंशेन च विराजमानाम् Kā. p. 140.

2. लोमशकर्णशङ्कुलीप्रदेशम् H. C. p. 103.

3. दीर्घकेशकलापाम् Kā. p. 341.

4. Modern Painters, Vol. III, part IV, Chap. iii, para. 15.

5. Essays and Lectures—House Decoration, p. 171.

sanctify it'. It is this same idea of his that Bāṇa reveals through his descriptions of the Draviḍa-dhārmika, the Śabarās in the Kādambarī, Bhairavācārya and his disciple. The brown shaggy eyebrows and the blood-shot eyes of the old hunter,¹ the ugly protuberant blue veins and small-pox scars enhancing the original ugliness of the Draviḍa-dhārmika² are specially to be noted in their description. Bhairavācārya has a bald pate with the few remaining matted hairs tied up. His ears all overgrown with hairs and rudely modelled like a Śaṣkuli,* his forehead full of wrinkles and marked by the brown shaggy eyebrows united and running in one continuous line, his long eyes emitting divers lights, his nose resembling in its curvature an eagle's beak, his cheeks diminished in their size by the extending corners of his wide mouth possessing long projecting teeth and hanging lip, with his belly slightly formed by a decrease of folds and his hips putting on flesh, Bhairavācārya is a veritable model for an artist to study features.³ The description of his pupil is not less impressive.⁴ Though emaciated in body he has well-developed bones. His forehead is broad; and the cheeks void of flesh appear hollow. The phrase 'Nirmāṇisagaṇḍakūpa' is pregnant with meaning. His eyes

1. रुधिरविन्दुपाटलया कपिलभ्रूलतापरिवेपभीषणया दृष्टया Kā. p. 65.

2. स्थूलस्थूलैः शिराजालकैर्गोधागोलिकाकृकलासकुलैरिव दग्धस्थान्वाशङ्कया समारूढैर्वाक्षितेन, अलक्ष्मीसमुत्खातलक्षणस्थानैरिव विस्फोटकव्रणविन्दुभिः कल्माषित-सकलक्षरीरेण Kā. p. 398.

* Called *శ్రుంగ* in Tamil and *శ్రुङ्ग* in Telugu.

3. स्वालित्यक्षीयमाणशङ्खलामलेखम् ; लोमशकर्णशङ्कुलीप्रदेशं पृथुललाट-तटम्, सहजललाटवलिभङ्गसंकोचितकूर्चभागां बभ्रूभासं भ्रूसंगत्या निरन्तरामायामिनी-मेकामिव भ्रूलेखां विभ्राणम्, अतिदीर्घेण लोचनयुगलेन परितो महामण्डल-मिवानेकवर्णरागमालिखन्तम्, तार्क्ष्यतुण्डकोटिकुञ्जाग्रघोणम्, दूरविदीर्ण-सूक्ष्मसंक्षिप्तकपोलम्, किञ्चिदन्तुरतया सदा हृदयसंनिहितहरमौलिचन्द्रातपेनेव निर्गच्छता दन्तालोकैर्न धवलयन्तं दिशां जालकम्, ईषत्प्रशिथिलवलिवलयवध्यमानतुन्दम्, उपचीयमानस्फिङ्मांसपिण्डकम् भैरवाचार्यं ददर्श H. C. p. 103.

4. भैक्षशाममपि स्थूलास्थिभिरवयवैः पीवरमिवोपलक्ष्यमाणम्, पृथुलमाङ्ग-मुत्तुङ्गबलिमङ्गस्थपुटललाटम्, निर्मोसगण्डकूपम्, मधुविन्दुपिङ्गलपरिमण्डलाक्षम्, ईषदावक्रघोणम्, अतिप्रलम्बैककर्णपाशम्, अलाबुवीजविकटोन्नतदन्तपङ्क्तिम्, तुरगानूकश्लथाधरलेखम्, लम्बचिबुकायततरलपनम् मस्करिणमद्राक्षीत् ।

H. C. p. 101.

are globular, the nose slightly curved and the ears drooping; his teeth shaped like the seeds of the bottlegourd and the hanging lower lip resembling that of the horse. His face appears lengthened by the drooping chin. The description of the teeth and lip is highly realistic.

Bāṇa gives us Lakṣaṇas of some demigods also. The Vidyādhara has curled hair, wears crowns on their heads, Kuṇḍalas on their ears, garlands by their neck, Keyūras on the hand, girdles on their waist and carry clubs and swords.¹ The Kinnaras are horse-faced beings generally going in pairs.²

Of the so-called less important of God's creation, animals, Bāṇa gives us a detailed account of two important ones—the elephant and the horse. The Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi also singles out these two and deals with their anatomy;³ with this difference, that the one deals with their characteristic features while the other gives measurements for drawing their figures.

We have but to read the description of Darpaśāta to get an accurate idea of a noble elephant. Its streaky trunk gives us an idea of its furrowed skin.⁴ The red lower lip of the elephant is a minute observation.⁵ Its ears are like big fans, the tail like a chowrie.⁶ With polished nails, shaggy hairs, ponderous head,

1. सद्य एव कुन्तली किरीटी कुण्डली हारी केयूरी मेखली मुद्री खड्गी च भूत्वावाप विद्याधरत्वम् H. C. p. 115.

2. मृगयानिर्गतः विचरन् कानने शैलशिखरादवतीर्णो यदृच्छया किन्नर-मिथुनमद्राक्षीत् Kā. p. 226.

अहो निष्फलमपि मे तुरङ्गमुखमिथुनानुसरणमेतदालोकयतः सरः सफलता-मुपगतम् Kā. p. 234.

3. एतल्लक्षणमुद्दिष्टं वाजिनां सोमभूभुजा ।.....

... अनेनैव प्रकारेण लेखनीया गजाकृतिः ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

4. वलिवलयराजिभिस्तनीयसीभिस्तरङ्गितोदरेणातिस्थवीयसा हस्तार्गलदण्डेन H. C. p. 65.

5. रक्तांशुकसुकुमारतलेन तालुना कबलितानि रक्तपद्मवनानीव वर्षन्तम् H. C. p. 66.

6. ... कर्णतालतालवृन्ताभ्यां वीजयन्तमिव... H. C. p. 66.

गजाधिपत्यचिह्नेन चामरेणेव चलता बालधिना विराजमानम्

H. C. p. 67.

tender pate, short neck, and small belly (of course only proportionately)¹, he stands in a beautiful Tripadi pose quite characteristic of him. Something of this import is attempted in the picture (fig. 5).

Of the horse we have a fine account in the description of Indrāyudha. Its thighs are thin (as it scraped), chest is wide, the face narrow and long—a sign of good breed, an elongated neck, the flanks reduced (*i. e.*) small girth at the loins—

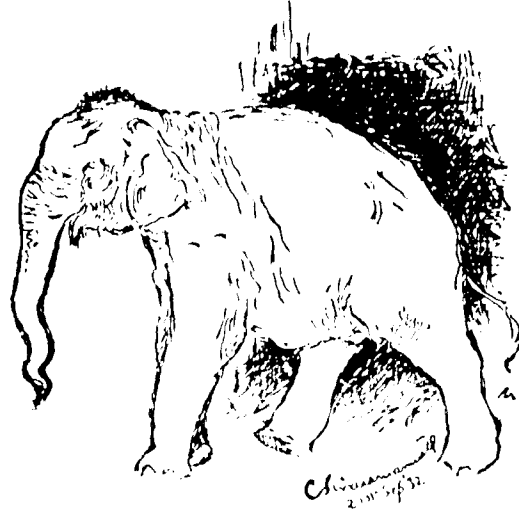


Fig. 5.

another sign of good breed, and the hind parts well-developed.² The Harṣacarita gives us something more. The horses before the palace gates of Emperor Harṣa are fine breeds with small ears, long necks, powerful shoulders, curved chests, hard hoofs (neatly shod with horse-shoes), thin waists, broad rounded hips, and long stately bodies.³ They are of various shades, brown, black, white, reddish yellow, yellow, mottled;⁴ and are from various countries and different in their build. Thus, for instance, the Kāmbhoja horses have very long manes.⁵ Bāṇa's proficiency in Aśva and

1. स्निग्धं नखेषु, परुषं रोमाविपये, गुरुं मुखे, ... मृदुं शिरसि, ... ह्रस्वं स्कन्ध-बन्धे, ... द्रिद्रमुदरे... H. C. p. 67.

2. उत्कीर्णमिव जङ्घासु, विस्तारितमिवोर्गमि, श्लक्ष्णीकृतमिव मुखे, प्रसारितमिव कंधरायाम्, उल्लिखितमिव पार्श्वयोः, द्विगुणीकृतमिव जघनभागे Kā. p. 156.

3. आयतनिर्मोममुखैः, अनुकटकणकोशैः, ... यूपानुपूर्वीवक्रायतोदग्रग्रीवैः, उपचयश्चस्कन्धसन्धिभिः, निर्भुमोरःस्थलैः, अस्थूलप्रगुणप्रसृतैर्लोदपीठकटिनखुरमण्डलैः, अतिजववृटनभयादनिर्मितान्त्राणीवोदराणि वृत्तानि धारयद्भिः, उग्रद्रोणीविभज्यमानपृथुजघनैः... आयतैरपि पश्चात्पाशबन्धप्रसारितैकाङ्ग्रिभिरायततैरिवोपलक्ष्यमाणैः H. C. p. 62, 63.

4. शोणैश्च, श्यामैश्च, श्वेतैश्च, पिङ्गरैश्च, हरिद्रैश्च, तित्तिरिक्त्वपैश्च H. C. p. 62.

5. स्कन्धावलम्बमानकेसरमालाः काम्बोजवाजिन इव H. C. p. 131.

Gaja Lakṣaṇas would be clear by going through Śaṅkara's commentary on the Harṣacarita wherein he quotes authoritative Lakṣaṇa texts.

Bāṇa is quite aware of the tremendous potentialities of pose. In fact, in every description of his, posture is given an important place and its power of enhancing or detracting beauty is recognised. Kādambarī, gone up the terrace of the palace to watch Candrāpīḍa on the Kṛīḍāparvata, stands, motionless (see fig. 6) with one hand on her waist, the other running after the loosely



Fig. 6.

fluttering upper garment.¹ Elsewhere she is described in a reclining posture, her forepart a bit raised, adjusting her braid over her shoulder before a mirror.² The picture here given (fig. 7) would give some idea of the beauty of the posture; but one would do well to see that striking picture of Velasquez

1. मुहुर्मुहुर्नितम्बविभ्रन्त्यस्तवामहस्तपल्लवा प्रावृतांशुकानुसारप्रसारितदक्षिण-करा निश्चलतारका लिखितेव... Kā. p. 365.

2. कपोलसङ्गिनी च मणिदर्पणे विलोकयायथास्थितां करेण कवरीमंसदेशे निवेशयन्तीम्... Kā. p. 512.

'Venus and Cupid' which, in my opinion, satisfies this description to a great extent (of course the figure must be draped before we institute comparisons), and than which I cannot conceive a more sublime picture in delicacy of treatment. In the Harṣacarita we have the palace of Rājyaśrī with Cupid painted in a peculiarly beautiful posture (see fig. 8), the charm lying in the half-closed eyes.¹ As an expert in pose Bāṇa knows enough of Aṅgabhaṅga.² There is a variety of Aṅgabhaṅga in the limbs of the Vāravilāsinīs surrounding Harṣa. With a definite knowledge of Aṅgas and Pratyāṅgas³ he gives out names of separate Bhaṅgas like the Grīvābhaṅga mentioned by Kālidāsa. One such is the Madhyabhaṅga.⁴ A great aesthete conversant with the principles of Nāṭya (dance), Bāṇa informs us of a charming pose—Kara-veṇikā—in which two women stand with their hands interlocked.⁵

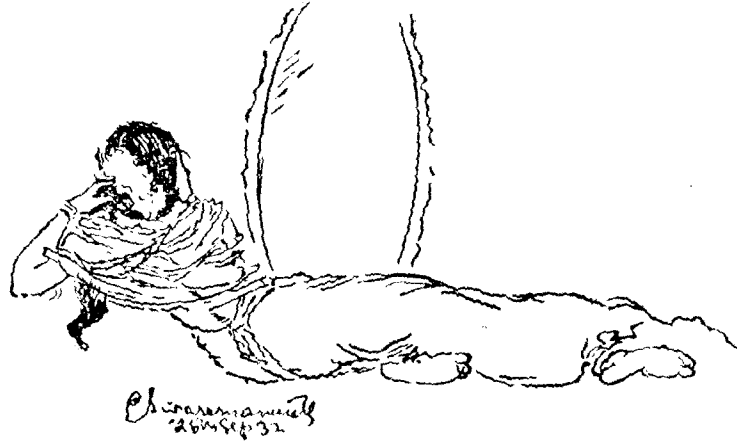


Fig. 7.

Sculpture:

Of the allied arts, Sculpture demands some attention. Bāṇa refers to Pustakṛts, i. e., modellers or sculptors as doing some work in connection with the festivities of the marriage of

1. एकदेशलिखितस्तवकितरकाशोकतरुतलभाजाधिप्यचापेन तिर्यक्कृणितनेत्र-
विभागेन शरसृज्जु कुर्वता कामदेवेनाधिष्ठितम् H. C. p. 148.
2. अभिलाषलानिर्निमित्तस्मितैश्चन्द्रोदयानिव मदनसहायकाय संपादय-
न्तीभिरङ्गमङ्गवलनान्योन्यघटितोत्तानकरवेणिकाभिः H. C. p. 75.
3. सुचिरमालोक्यास्थोपासुदयौवनभराभिरामतराण्यङ्गप्रत्यङ्गानि Kā. p. 464.
4. देवताप्रणामेषु मध्यभागभङ्गो नातिविस्मयकरः Kā. p. 335.
5. अङ्गमङ्गवलनान्योन्यघटितोत्तानकरवेणिकाभिः Kā. p. 75.

Rājyaśrī. But their work is restricted to the making of such trivial things as the models of fishes, tortoises, crocodiles, and coconut, plantain and areca-nut trees.¹ It does not mean they do not know more elegant work. The occasion requires those models. Citraputrikās, i. e., statuettes of beauty, were great favourites with the royal house; and we have queen Yaśovati taking leave of even the statuettes, which she loved, before consuming herself in the fire.² We have references to Sālabhaṅjikās carved on pillars to beautify them.³ Candrasālās* were especially provided with adornments in the shape of carved Sālabhaṅjikās.⁴ In the Kautukagrha (pleasure house) of Rājyaśrī we have peculiar statuettes going by the name of Añjalikārikās.⁵ These are made of clay, and as their very name suggests, have their hands joined in respect or adoration. We might then suppose them to be the forerunners of the later statues in that posture like that of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and his queens in Tirupati. But the Añjalikārikās hold fruits in their hand. Hence the Añjali should be in the form of an opening lotus—as when Arghya is offered in Sandhyā. This has some similarity with the Dīpapratiṃās



Fig. 8.

1. लेप्यकारकदम्बकक्रियमाणमृण्मयमीनकुर्ममकरनारिकेलकदलीपूगवृक्षकम्
H. C. p. 143.
2. चित्रपुत्रिका अप्यामन्त्रयमाणाम् H. C. p. 165.
3. सुभटभुजस्तम्भविलाससालभञ्जिकाम् H. C. p. 115.
- विश्राम्यन्ती सालभञ्जिकेव समीपगतस्तम्भमितिध्वलक्षयत H.C. p. 125.
- *. The room on the topmost terrace.
4. प्रतिबुध्यमानायाश्च चन्द्रशालिकासालभञ्जिकपरिजनो जयशब्दमसकृदज-
नयन् H. C. p. 127.
5. सेकसुकुमारयवाङ्कुरदन्तुरैः पञ्चास्यैः कलशैः कोमलवर्णिकाविचित्रैरामित्र-
मुखैश्च मङ्गल्यफलहस्ताभिरञ्जलिकारिकाभिरुन्नासितपर्यन्ताम् H. C. p. 147.

(figures holding lamp) in temples though the hands are a bit apart in this case. Pillars are decorated with carvings of peacocks;¹ and these are executed in costly stone. There are temporary dolls of camphor², and others of moon-stone.³ All these and the quaint ornamentation of water channels in the form of Makaramukhas⁴, not to speak of the numerous other architectural ornamentations, are done by stone-masons and specialists in the field. That the stone-masons were specialists is no wonder when a lay man like the general Simhanāda is a Marmajña of Mahāvīgrahas.⁵ Of course, Bāṇa uses a pun on the word but that does not disprove his knowledge of the subject. Having actually observed the sculptors at work, he gives us a vivid picture of the material just after the chiselling work is done—the rosy layers becoming visible.⁶ Perhaps red stone was mostly used in his days. The workmen seem to have been engaged in raising temples and chiselling ornamentations and letters on stone about the time of the poet.⁷

Ornamentation is an essential feature of Art and it is but proper that some attention is paid to what Bāṇa has to say on this point. We have ear ornaments like Dantapatras,⁸ Trikaṇṭakas⁹—a conical jewel with three stones inset, Dantapatras coloured

1. स्तनकलशभारावनम्यमानमूर्तिर्मणिस्तम्भमयूरात्तन्मये Kā. p. 336.
2. मुहुः कपोलफलकेन कर्पूरपुत्रिकामाश्रित्यन्तीम् Kā. p. 385.
3. मुहुर्मुहुर्भुजलतया तुषारशिलासालभञ्जिकामाश्रित्यन्तीम् Kā. p. 385.
4. मरकतशिलामकरिकाप्रणालप्रस्रवणमिच्यमानलतामण्डपे Kā. p. 378.
5. दन्तमयमकरमुखमहाप्रणाल इव H. C. p. 16.
6. गन्धोदकवादि मकरमुखप्रणालीपूर्यमाणक्रीडावापिमृदम् H. C. p. 142.
7. मर्मज्ञो महाधिग्रहाणाम् H. C. p. 190.
8. स च प्रत्यग्रत्वं पट्टकृतपुतनुगिव वृद्धदलस्थिरमसामञ्जलिपरपारावारपयमि ममज मञ्जिष्टारुणोऽरुणसारथिः H. C. p. 178.

There is also a reference to the popular anecdote of how Sūrya was put in the furnace by Tvastā.

7. मुरालयशिलावट्टनटङ्कनिकर्णिकृता इव व्यतीर्यन्त विपदः H. C. p. 96.
- निशितशस्त्रटङ्ककोटिकुट्टितवहुवृद्धदण्डिगण्डुनिरन्तरया H. C. p. 189.
8. धवलदन्तपत्रिकाशुनिदमितकपोलमिच्छिता H. C. p. 21.
9. त्रिकण्टककर्णभरणस्य प्रेङ्खतः प्रभया H. C. p. 22.
- काश्चिदुद्भूयमानधवलचामरमण्डलमत्रिकण्टकवलितविकटकटाक्षाः H. C. p. 133.

blue¹, Bālikās with three pearls inset², Taraṅgakas effulgent with Padmarāga stones,³ and Maṇikarṇikas made of brown glassy stones.⁴ Of these the Dantapatras are worn on only one ear⁵ while the others are worn in pairs; sometimes a Trikaṇṭaka is worn on one ear with another jewel of blue stone to match it on the other.⁶ Of the different bracelets refined and unrefined in material and workmanship, the golden one with emeralds inset and ornamented with Makara design,⁷ the Padmarāgavalaya⁸ and the Keyūra⁹ belong to the former class, while the one with the gems of the Godanta serpent inset in a frame work of lead is typical of the second class¹⁰ being generally worn by primitive people like the hunters. Of the necklaces, the one of tiger's claws mounted on gold ornamentations,¹¹ the string of coral beads¹² and the Ekavālī deserve mention. Of the other ornaments, Caṭulātīlaka¹³ and Cūḍāmaṇimakarikā¹⁴ are worthy of note. The former is a kind of ornamentation for the head going right up the parting line of the hair and running down the forehead to

1. नीलीरागनिहितनीलिम्बा शितिगलाशतिना वामश्रवणश्रयिणा दन्तपत्रेण H. C. p. 32.
2. वकुलफलानुकारिणीभिस्तिष्ठभिर्मुक्ताभिः कल्पितेन बालिकायुगलेन H. C. p. 32.
3. तरङ्गकं नाम कर्णभरणम् H. C. p. 218.
4. पिनद्धकाचरकाचमणिकर्णिकेन श्रवणेन शोभमानम् H. C. p. 231.
5. वामश्रवणश्रयिणा दन्तपत्रेण H. C. p. 32.
6. एकेनेन्द्रनीलकुण्डलांशुश्यामलितेन शरीराधेतरेण च त्रिकण्टकमुक्ताफला-
लोकधवलितेन H. C. p. 135.
7. प्रकोष्ठनिविष्टस्यैकस्य हाटककटकस्य मरकतमकरवेदिकासनाथस्य H. C. p. 32.
8. पीनप्रकोष्ठप्रतिष्ठितपुष्पलोहवलयम् H. C. p. 135.
9. केयूरलक्रिणदण्डैः H. C. p. 73.
10. प्रकोष्ठे प्रतिष्ठां गतं गोदन्तमणिचित्रं त्रापुपं वलयं विभ्राणम् H. C. p. 32.
11. हाटकवद्विकटव्याघ्रनखपङ्क्तिमण्डितग्रीवके H. C. p. 134.
12. यथा द्वयोः सुतयोस्परि स्तनयोरिवैकावलीलतया नितरामराजत H. C. p. 135.
13. ललाटलासकस्य सीमन्तचुम्बिनश्चटुलातिलकमणेरुदञ्चता चटुलेनांशुजालेन
रक्तांशुकेनेव कृतशिरोऽवगुण्ठता H. C. p. 32.
14. नीलचामरावचूलिनीव चूडामणिमकरिकासनाथा H. C. p. 33.

the ear on both sides, thus forming a trident shape;¹ while the latter is a type of of jewel for the top of the braid.² Bāṇa is aware of other minor ornamentations like the Lalāṭikā³ effected with the help of sandal paste, the Pulakabandha⁴—a dexterous dotting of different colour drops on the body, the Tilakabindumudrā⁵—a kind of circular mark on the forehead.

These are, indeed, a few of the many arts known to Bāṇa and do not exhaust the list. For instance, he refers in one place to a Carnaputrikā⁶ thus hinting the high order of craftsmanship in leather work⁷; elsewhere to fine artistic execution of drinking vessels out of such materials as shell and Galvarka gem;⁸ to beautiful skins from the country, Kārdaraṅga, all embroidered in gold and preserved in excellent covers;⁹ to thin delicate garments all decorated with drawings and pictures.¹⁰ As a born artist he had the curiosity to note all these divers arts and he has recorded his observations for posterity. His peculiar pride in his Art

1. Called పులకబంధము (పల్క. బంధము) in Tamil and పులకబంధము in Telugu.
2. Called పులకము in Tamil and పులకము in Telugu.
3. లిఖితలతాపిండికాపుండ్రకై: H. C. p. 46.
4. కుసుమగపాటల పులకవస్త్రచిత్రమ్ H. C. p. 32.
5. తమిళనామయేన మృగమదామోదనిభ్యన్దిना तिलकविन्दुना मुद्रितमिव मनो-भयसर्वस्वं वदनमुद्रहन्ती H. C. p. 32.
6. न निजकलत्रच पुत्रिकामु H. C. p. 55.
7. The Carnaputrikā is known as పులకపుత్రికా in Tamil and పులకపుత్రికా in Telugu and its very popular nature accounts for its being preserved to this day as a distinct art in the Bommalāṭṭam (పొమ్మలొట్టము) of the Tamils and the Bommalāṭa (పొమ్మలాట) of the Telugus. Specimens of flat figures made of leather used in Jāvanese shadow plays (Chāyā Nāṭaka) are to be seen in the Adyar library.
8. कुशलशिल्पिलोकोल्लिखितानां शुक्तिशङ्खगल्बर्कप्रभुत्वानां पानभाजनानां निचयम् H. C. p. 217.
9. निचोलकरक्षितरुचां च रुचिरकाञ्चनपत्रभङ्गुगणामतिबन्धुरपरिवेशानां कार्दरङ्गचर्मणां संभारम् H. C. p. 217.
10. भूर्जत्वक्कोमलाः स्पर्शवतीः जातीपट्टिकाः चित्रपटानां च म्रदीयसां समूहकोपधानादीन् विकारान् H. C. p. 217.

(Śilpa) is clear in his styling artists Vijnānins and the Citraśālā Viśvakarmagṛha.¹

As a man of restraint he does not lose himself in the quagmire of over-enthusiasm. While fully appreciating art he is alive to its limitations. He knows that pictures are easily destroyed by smoke,² that as shadows of originals they could at best please the ocular sense alone.³ That pictures are mere representations and never possess an atom of real life or vigour is readily given out by Bāṇa when he says that a Citradhanus is after all a Citradhanus (a picture) and never of any real use.⁴ Though fully aware of the stolid state of pictures, which is no doubt a weakness unavoidable, he does not, like the modern Futurists, attempt representation of fantastic repetition of form, an amusing example of which is 'A lady and her dog' by Giacomo Balla. Thus this short note attempts to show Bāṇa's strong artistic leanings and genius. It would not, I hope, be too preposterous a claim if I hold him to be at least as great an artist as he is a literati.

1. विश्वकर्ममन्दिरमिति विज्ञानिभिः H. C. p. 97.

2. परामर्शधूमलेखा सञ्चरितचित्राणाम् Kā. p. 201.

Compare Rājaśekhara's version of the same thing—

निर्यद्वासरजीवपिण्डकरणां विभ्रक्तवोष्णैः करै-
मोज्झिष्ठं रविविम्बमम्बरतलादस्ताचलं चुम्बति ।

किञ्च स्तोकतमःकलापकलनाश्यामायमानं मना-
भूमश्यामपुराणचित्ररचनारूपं जगज्जायते ॥

Viddhaśālābhāṅjikā, Act II, 22 and Bālabhārata, Act I, 22.

3. आलेख्यगतामिव दर्शनमात्रफलाम् Kā. p. 23.

दर्शनीयस्याप्यालेख्यकुसुमस्येव निष्फलजन्मनः H. C. p. 23.

4. चित्रधनुष इवालीकगुणाध्यारोपणैकक्रियानित्यनम्रस्य निर्वाणतेजसः
H. C. p. 223.

EXTRACTS FROM JAYĀNANDA'S COMMENTARY.

(Continued from page 183, Vol. VI, J. O. R. M.)

BY

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI,

Mylapore.

=एवमनुमानविषयाणां परोक्षाणां भावानामनुमानेन तथैव साधनमविसंवादि । यथा अनित्यत्वादीनाम् । अननुमेयस्य अननुमेयत्वं सिद्धमित्यतः अनुमानेनाप्राधितमविसंवादि । यथा प्रधानेश्वरादीनाम् ।

de. rnams. kyi. rañ. bshin. du. gyur. pai. chos. ni. rtag. pa. ma. yin. te| dei. rañ. bshin. ñid. bsgrub. par. bya. ba. yin. pas. so|| lbras. bur. gyur. pa. yañ. ma. yin. te| rtag. pa. la. lbras. bur. yod. pa. ma. yin. pas. so|| de. ltar. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. dños. po. la. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pas. mi. bslu. ba. yin. no||

=न हि तेषां स्वभावभूतो धर्मः सिद्धः । तत्स्वभावत्वस्य साध्यत्वात् । नापि कार्यभूतः । सिद्धस्य कार्यभावाभावात् । एवं परोक्षस्य वस्तुनः अनुमानेन अत्राधनमविसंवादि ।

de. bshin. du. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. dños. po. la. luñ. gi. stobs. kyi. hjug. pai. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pa. ni. bslu. ba. [ma.] yin. te| hdi. ltar. dños. po. stobs. kyi. hjug. pai. thsad. ma. gñis. kyi. yul. nam. par. dag. pa. phyis. kyi. phyis. thsad. mar. khas. blañs. bai. bstan. beos. kyi. nam. par. bshag. pai. chos. can. la. sñā. phyi. hgal. ba. yod. med. dpyad. pas. gañ. gi. thse. bsam. pa. khyad. par. can. hjug. na. dei. thse. luñ. la. brten. pai. rjes. su. dpag. pas. gnod. par. hgyur. pa. yin. no||

=तथा परोक्षस्य वस्तुनः आगमबलप्रवृत्तानुमानेन अत्राधनमविसंवादि । यतः वस्तुबलप्रवृत्तविशुद्धविषयकप्रमाणद्वयबाह्यप्रमाणाङ्गीकर्तृशास्त्रव्यवस्थितधर्मिणि पूर्वापरविरुद्धसदसद्विचारेण यदाशयविशेषयुक्तः प्रवर्तते तदागमाश्रितानुमानेन बाध्यते ? ।

de. lta. bui. rjes. su. dpag. pa. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. (f. 134a) pai. dños. po. la. gnod. pa. med. na. mi. bslu. ba. ste| dper. na. hdod. chags. la. sog. pai. rañ. bshin. can. dañ| de. las. byuñ.

EXTRACTS FROM JAYĀNANDA'S COMMENTARY 83

bai. chos. ma. yin. pa. khas. blañs. na. de. spañ. bai. don. du. sbyin. sdig. la. sog. pa. mi. ston. pa. gañ yin. pa. de. ni. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pa. yin. te| hdi. ltar. mu. (xyl.: lu.) stegs pas. hdod. chags. dañ| she. sdañ. dañ| gti. mug. dañ| de. las. byuñ. bai. lus. dañ. nag. gi. las. chos. ma. yin. par. brjod. la| de. spañ. bai. phyir. rten. la. khru. byas. pa. dañ| sbyin. sreg. dañ| smyuñ. bar. gnas. pa. la. sog. pa. byed. pa. yin. no|| de. ltar. mi. brjod. pa. gañ. yin. pa. de. ni. mi. bslu. ba. ste| hdi. ltar. khru. byed. pa. la. sog. pas. sdig. pa. sel. bar. mi. hgyur. te| hdod. chags. la. sog. pai. sdig. pa. dañ. hgal. ba. med. pas. so| gañ. dañ. gañ. rgyu. la. gnod. par. mi. hgyur. te| dei. gnod. par. byed. pa. ma. yin. te| dper. na. mñar. ba. dañ| bsil. ba. dañ| snum. pai. rdsas. rnams. bad. kan. gyi. nad. la. mi. gnod. pa. bshin. du. khru. byed. pa. la. sog. pas. kyañ. sdig. pai. rgyu. rnams. la. gnod. pa. ma. yin. te| des. phyi. dri. ma. kho. na. dag. par. hgyur. gyi| nañ (xyl.: nad) gi. hdod. chags. la. sog. pa. ma. yin. no||

=एवंविधानुमानमत्यन्तपरोक्षस्य वस्तुनः अत्राधनमविसंवादि । यथा रागादिस्वभावकतत्प्रभवधर्मोपादातुः तत्प्रहाणार्थं यत् दानं पापाद्यकथनं तत् अनुमानेन अत्राधितम् । तथा तीर्थिकेन रागद्वेषमोहाः तत्प्रभवं कायिकं वाचिकं च कर्म अधर्म उक्तम् । तत्प्रहाणाय तीर्थ (?) (=rten.) स्नानहोमोपोषथादिकरणं च इत्येवमनभिधायकं यत् तत् अत्रिसंवादि । तथा हि । स्नानादिना पापशोधनं न भवति । रागादिपापेन विरोधाभावात् । यत् यत्कारणबाधकं न भवति[तत्] तद्बाधकं न भवति । यथा मधुरशीतस्निग्धद्रव्याणि श्लेष्मरोगं न बाधन्ते । तथा स्नानाद्यपि पापहेतूनामत्राधनम् । तत् बाह्यमेव मलं शोधयति । नान्तरं रागादि ।

de. ltar. luñ. gañ. la. yul. yoñs. su. dag. pa. yod. pa. de. ni. mi. slu. ba. yin. pas. hjug. rten. pai. rjes. su. hbrañs. nas. thsad. ma. yin. te| hjug. rten. pas. yul. yoñs. su. dag. pai. thsig. kho. na. thsad. mar. hdod. pas. so|| de. ltar. luñ. thsad. mar. khas. blañs. pas. hphags. pa. klu. sgrub. shabs. luñ. bstan. pa. bden. pa. ñid. du. ñes. pas. des. mdsad. pai. bstan. beos. luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. hchad. pa. mthoñ. bai. sgo. nas. de. kho. na. ñid. ñes. pa. ni. rigs. pa. ñid. yin. no||

=एवं यस्यागमस्य विषयः परिशुद्धो भवति स ह्यविसंवादीति लोकानुरोधात् प्रमाणम् । लोकेन परिशुद्धविषयकवाक्यस्यैव प्रमाणतया इष्टत्वात् । एतादृशागमप्रामाण्याभ्युपगमेन आर्यनागार्जुनपादव्याकरणं सत्यतया निश्चितमिति तत्प्रणीतस्य शास्त्रस्याविपरीतागमव्याख्यातुर्दर्शनद्वारा तत्त्वनिश्चयो युज्यत एव ।

de. ñid. kyī. phyir. nam. hgrēl. las|
 hgrēl. dañ. nī. rjes. su. mthun. thab-|
 skyes. bui. don. nī. rjod. par. byed|
 ñag. de. dpyad. par. hos. pa. yin|
 de. las. gshan. pa. dpyad. hos. min||
 mñon (f. 134b) sum. dañ. nī. rjes. su. dpag|
 nam. pa. gñis. kyī. mī. gnod. pa|
 mthoñ. dañ. ma. mthoñ. don. dag. ka|
 don. de. la. nī. shu. ma. yin|| shes. gsuñs. to||

=अत एवोक्तं वार्तिके ।

संमोक्षानुगुणोपायं पुरुषार्थमिधायकम् ।

परीक्षायोग्यं वाक्यं तत् न परीक्ष्यमतः परम् ॥

प्रत्यक्षानुमितिभ्यां च द्विविधाम्यामवाधितम् ।

दृष्टादृष्टार्थयोरर्थे विसंवदति तत्र न ॥ इति ।

ci. ltar. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. yon. su. geod. par. nus. pa.
 mñon. sum. dañ. rjes. su. dpag. par. bya. bai. don. la. mī. bshu.
 ba. de. bshin. du. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. don. la. yañ. ñes.
 pa. zad. pai. thsig. mī. bshu. ba. yin. no|| des. na. ñes. pa. zad.
 pai. mthsan. ñid. can. kyī. rtags. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. don.
 la. yañ. skye. bai. bles. yañ. rjes. su. dpag. pa. ñid. yin. no|| hjiḡ.
 rten. pai. thsad. mas. rnam. pa. de. lla. bu. yin. te| hdi. ltar. gañ.
 ci. ltar. bstan. pai. luñ. gi. khyad. par. la. brten. nas. rtogs. pa.
 de. nī. mī. bshu. ba. yin. te| dper. na. mñon. sum. dañ. rjes. su.
 dpag. pas. rtogs. par. bya. bai. don. rtogs. pa. bshin. no|| śin. tu.
 lkog. tu. gyur. pai. don. la. yañ. ci. ltar. bstan. pai. luñ. gi. khyad.
 par. la. brten. pai. rtogs. pa. yin. no|| shes. pai. rigs. pas. śin. tu.
 [lkog. tu.] gyur. pai. don. la. luñ. thsad. ma. yin. no||

=यथा क्षीणदोषस्य वाक्यं परिच्छेत्तुं शक्ये प्रत्यक्षे अनुमेये चार्थे
 अविसंवादि तथा अत्यन्तपरोक्षेऽर्थेऽपि क्षीणदोषस्य वाक्यमविसंवादि ।
 तेन क्षीणदोषलक्षणलिङ्ग[त्] । अत्यन्तपरोक्षमर्थमपि उत्पन्नमितिः अनुमिनोत्येव ।
 लौकिकप्रमाणेन एवंविधम् । तथा हि । यत् यथोक्तागमविशेषमाश्रित्य ज्ञायते
 तदविसंवादि यथा प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यामधिगन्तव्योऽर्थोऽधिगम्यते । अत्यन्त-
 परोक्षेऽर्थेऽपि यथोक्तागमविशेषाश्रया बुद्धिः इति न्यायेन अत्यन्तपरोक्षेऽर्थे आगमः
 प्रमाणम् ।

mñon. sum. dañ. rjes. su. dpag. pas. rtogs. par. bya. bai.
 gnas. gñis. gañ. gis. gsuñs. pa. de. ñid. kyis. gnas. gsum. pa.

gsuñs. so. shes. pa. de. la. ñes. pa. ga. la. yod| des. na. ci. skad.
 gsuñs. pai. luñ. gi. khyad. par. la. brten. nas. shes. pai. gtan. thsig.
 de. la. ñes. pa. [ma.] yin. no. she. na| skyon. hdi. yod. pa. ma.
 yin. te| gañ. ston. pa. dañ. ñe. bai. ñan. pa. po. de. rnam. kyis.
 gnas. gsum. ka. ston. pa. po. gcig. gis. bstan. pas. mñon. sum.
 kho. nas. rtogs. par. hgyur. gyi| de. rnam. la. the. thsom. yod.
 pa. nī. ma. yin. no|| da. ltar. gyi. ñan. pa. po. rnam. kyis. nī.
 bcom. ldan. hdas. kyis. gsuñs. pai. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. gi.
 mthsan. ñid. kyis. so||

=प्रत्यक्षानुमानाधिगन्तव्यं स्थानद्वयं येन उक्तम् । तेनैव तृतीयं स्थानमुक्त-
 मित्यत्र निश्चयः कुतः । तेन यथोक्तागमविशेषमाश्रित्य इत्यस्य हेतोः [न] निश्चयः
 इति चेत् । नैष दोषः । ये शास्त्ररूपासीनाः श्रोतारः तैः स्थानत्रयमेकेनैव
 शास्त्रा देशितमिति प्रत्यक्षेणैवावबुध्यते । न तु तेषां संशयोऽस्ति । अद्यतनश्रोतृ-
 मिश्र भगवतोक्तस्य क्षीणदोषवाक्यलक्षणात् ।

de. ltar. yañ. bcom. ldan. hdas. kyī[s]gañ. mdo. sde. la. sogs.
 pa. la. hjug. pa. dañ| hdu. byed. thams. cad. skad. cig. ma| chos.
 thams. cad. bdag. med. pa| mya. ñan. las. hdas. pa. thams. cad.
 shi. bao|| shes. chos. ñid. nam. pa. gsum. dañ [f. 135a] hgal.
 bar. mī. byed. pa. ste| myañ (xyl.; ñas) hdas. kyañ. khyed. rnam.
 kyis. sañs. rgyas. gyis. gsuñs. pa. yin. no. shes. gzun. bar. byao||
 gnas. gsum. pa. yañ. chos. ñid. dañ. mī. hgal. bar. gnas. pa. yin.
 no|| kun. rdog. tu. skad. cig. ma. dañ. bdag. med. pa. dañ. ldan.
 par. gnas. gsum. bstan. pa. yin. pas. so|| chos. ñid. dañ. hgal. ba nī.
 ñes. pa. zad. pas. gsuñs. pa. ñid. du. khas. mī. len. pas. so|| gal.
 te. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. gi. mthsan. ñid. hdi. ñes. pa. zad. pas.
 gsuñs. yod. pa. shes. gañ. las. ñes. she. na| rigs. pa. yin. pas. so||
 gañ. thams. cad. du. rigs. pa. brjod. pa. de. ñid. ñes. pa. zad. pa.
 yin. no. shes. pa. nī. shar. la. hoñs. pas. chog. go||

=एवं च यत् भगवता सूत्रान्तादौ अवतारितम् । क्षणिकारसर्वसंस्काराः
 सर्वधर्मा निरात्मकाः । निर्वाणं सर्वोपशमम् । इति त्रिविधा धर्मता [तत्] अवि-
 रूढम् । निर्वाणमपि बुद्धोक्तमिति गुप्ताभिः ग्रहीतव्यम् । तृतीयं स्थानमपि धर्मता-
 विरुद्धं स्थानम् । सर्वत्र क्षणिकनिरात्मवैशिष्ट्येन स्थानत्रयदेशनात् । धर्मताविरो-
 धस्य क्षीणदोषोक्तत्वेन अनभ्युपगमात् । क्षीणदोषवाक्यलक्षणमिदं क्षीण-
 दोषोक्तमिति कुतो निश्चय इति चेत् । न्यायसत्त्वात् । यः सर्वत्र युक्तं वदति स एव
 क्षीणदोष इत्यलं प्रसङ्गागतेन ।

de. (xyl.: da.) ltar. luñ. thsad. ma. ñid. du. grub. pas. hphags.
 klu. sgrub. shabs. luñ. bstan. pa. bden. pa. ñid. du. ñes. par. des.

gsuñs. pa. luñ. bheñd. pa. phyin. ci. ma. log. pa. bstan. beos.
kyi. sgo. nas. de. bañ. ñid. fies. par. rig. pa. yin. no. yañ. ma.
giso. boñ. don. stoñ. pa. ñid. la. mñon. sam. dañ. rjes. su. dpag.
pas. mi. gñed. shes. mñon. ñid. can. mi. bñu. bar. ñu. tu. lkog.
tu. gyur. pa. gñau. la. yañ. mi. bñu. bañ. phyin. luñ. thad. ma.
ñid. yin. no. de. ñid. kyi. phyin. gt. o. boñ. don. la. mi. bñu. bar.
rjes. su. dpag. pa. g. bañ. lhañ. shes. gsuñs. pa. yin. te. luñ. mi.
bñu. ba. ñid. du. grub. pa. rñu. ci. gsuñs. pa. de. yañ. thad. ma.
ñid. du. grub. pa. yin. no.

एवमागमग्रामाध्यमिद्धया अर्थनामाहुनपादयत्तत्त्वं तथ्यत्वेन निश्चि-
तमिति तदुक्तेनागमाविपरीतव्याख्यातृशास्त्रेण तदर्थता (1-म-अर्थः ?) निश्चयो
युज्यते । अथवा प्रधानार्थशून्यतायां प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यामवाधक्यणाविमंवादेन
अत्यन्तपरोक्षेऽन्यस्मिन्नपि अविमंवादित्वात् आगमः प्रमाणमेव । अत एवोक्तम् ।
'प्रधानार्थेऽविमंवादादनुमानान्तेरपि च' इति । आगमः अविमंवादितया मिद्ध
इति यस्त्वोक्तिः सापि प्रमाणतया सिद्धा ।

de. lta. thab. guñ. gis. śes. rab. kye. ba. de. bstan. zin. to||
da. ni. stoñ. pa. ñid. stoñ. pa. snod. bstan. pa. bya. phyir. rten.
ciñ. hñel. bar. hñyñ. ba. shes. bya. ba. la. sog. pa. gsuñs. te|
hñas. bu. can. gyi. shes. bya. ba. ni. rten. ciñ. hñel. bar. hñyñ.
ba. yañ. dag. pa. ci. lta. ba. ni. skye. ba. med. pa. yin. pas. stoñ.
pa. ni. khoñ. du. chud. pa. byed. pa. hñas. bu. gañ. la. yod. pa.
de. skad. ces. hñau||

एवं येन उपायेन प्रज्ञा उत्पद्यते स उक्तः । अधुना शून्यतादेशना-
भाजनप्रतिपादनायाह । प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादेत्यादि । फलं कति । यथाभूतः प्रतीत्य-
समुत्पादः अनुत्पाद इति देशना व्युत्पादनं फलं यस्मिन्नस्ति तत्तथोक्तम् ।

(f. 135b, L. 5) de. [la] log. par. shugs. pa. bsam. pa. dañ.
ldan. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. dmigs. par. gyur. pa. dños. po. rñams.
stoñ. pa. ñid. ci. lta. yin. sñam. du. dños. po. la. dmigs. pa. sgo.
nas. stoñ. pa. ñid. la. gñe. bañ. bsam. pa. yod. pas. so|| yañ. na.
dños. po. chad. pa. rñu. bñin. can. stoñ. pa. ñid. yin. par. rtogs.
nas. gdod. nas. skye. ba. med. pa. stoñ. pa. ñid. la. gñe. bañ.
bsam. pa. yod. pas. so|| don. ma. yin. pa. chen. po. dañ. ldan.
pa. phyir. ro|| shes. bya. ba. ni. dños. po. med. pa. stoñ. pa. ñid.
kyi. don. ma. śes. pas. dam. pa. chos. kyi. hñhoñs. pa. lam. gyis.
ñes. par. rñan. soñ. du. hñro. bar. hgyur. ba. yin. pas. so|| de. ñid.
rgyas. par. bstan. par. bya. bañ. phyir|| res. hñah. ni. shes. bya. ba.
la. sog. pa. gsuñs. te| mi. mkhas. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. stoñ. pa.

ñid. yañ. dag. pa. ji. lta. ba. bñin. du. mi. śes. pas. so|| stoñ. pa.
ñid. spañs. nas. shes. bya. ba. ni. dños. po. la. mñon. par. shen.
pai. sgo. nas. so|| stoñ. pa. ñid. kyi. don. ni. med. pa. yin. no.
shes. bya. ba. ni. rgyu. dañ. hñas. bu. la. skur. ba. hñebs. pa. ni.
stoñ. pa. ñid. kyi. don. yin. no. sñam. nas. phyin. ci. log. tu. ñes.
pas. so|| dños. po. thams. cad. la. skur. ba. hñebs. pa. shes. bya.
ba. ni. rgyu. dañ. hñas. bu. la. sog. pa. la. skur. ba. hñebs. pas.
so|| de. ñid. kyi. (f. 136a) phyir. rtsa. bañ. śes. rab. las.

bzuñ. bar. dkañ. bañ. sprul. dañ. ni|
legs. par. ma. bzuñ. rig. sñags. bñin|
stoñ. pa. ñid. log. par. rtogs. pa. yis|
blo. gros. dman. pa. rñag. par. byed||
chos. hñi. blo. gros. dman. pa. yis|
rtogs. par. dkañ. ba. mkhyen. nas. su|
de. bas. thub. pas. chos. . . . |
thugs. ni. bñu. sñoms. mñad. pa. yin|| shes. gsuñs. so||

lhag. par. mos. pai. khyad. par. ñes. par. byas. te. shes. bya.
ba. ni. stoñ. pa. ñid. la. mos. pai. khyad. par. ñes. mñsad. de.
shes. pai. don. to||

तत्र प्रतिपन्नविपरीताशयशालित्वेति । उपलब्धानां भावानां शून्यता
कथम् इति भावोपलम्भनद्वारा शून्यतायां दुष्टाशयसत्त्वात् । अथवा भावोच्छेद-
स्वभावा शून्यता इत्यधिगमेन आदित उत्पत्तिरहितशून्यतायां दुष्टाशयसत्त्वात् ।
महानर्थयोगादिति । भावाभावशून्यतार्थाज्ञानात् सद्धर्मविपन्नमार्गेण नूनं दुर्गतिं
गमिष्यतीति । तदेव विस्तरेण प्रतिपादयितुमाह । कदाचिदित्यादि । अपण्डित इति ।
यथाभूतशून्यताज्ञानात् । शून्यतां विहायेति । भावाभिनिवेशद्वारा । शून्यतार्थ
अभाव इति । हेतुफलापवादः शून्यतार्थ इति विपरीतनिश्चयात् । सर्वभावाप-
वादेति । हेतुफलापवादात् । अत एवेक्तं प्रज्ञामूले

विनाशयति दुर्दृष्टा शून्यता मन्दमेधसम् ।

सर्पो यथा दुर्गृहीतो विद्या वा दुष्प्रसाधिता ॥

अतश्च प्रत्युदावृत्तं चित्तं देशयितुं मुनेः ।

धर्मं सत्त्वास्य धर्मस्य मन्दैर्दुरवगाहताम् ॥ इति ।

(Madhyamaka Śāstra, XXIV, 11, 12.)

अधिमुक्तिविशेषं निश्चित्येति । शून्यतायामधिमुक्तिविशेषनिश्चयं
कृत्वेत्यर्थः ॥ ३ ॥

(f. 136a, L. 5) de. le. shes. bya. ba. ni. rab. tu. dgah. ba.
kdan. pa. lao]

=तस्येति । प्रमोदविशिष्टस्य ।

(L. 6) rjes. su. hgro. ba. shes. bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid.
ñe. bar. bstan. pai. rgyu. yin. no] yon. tan. lbyun. shes. bya. ba.
ni. tbsul. khrims. la. sog. pa.]]

=अन्वयेति । तत्त्वोपदेशकारणाः ।

गुणा भवन्तीति । शीलादयः ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥

(f. 136b, L. 2) lbras. bu. dpag. tu. med. pa. rnam. pa[r].
chud. pa. med. par. shes. bya. ba. ni. sañs. rgyas. ñid. du. bños.
pa. shyin. pai. shyin. pa. la. sog. pa. rnam. mi. zad. pa. phyir]]
ci. phyir. byañ. chub. ñid. du. bño. bar. bya. she. na] dei. phyir.
hgro. ba. dgrol. bar. bya. bai. phyir. shes. bya. ba. smos. te]
sañs. rgyas. su. gyur. nas. hgro. ba. rnam. dgrol. bar. byao.
shes. pai. don. to]

=अमेयाविच्छिन्नफलेति । बुद्धत्वपरिणामदत्तदानार्दानामविनाशात् । किमर्थं
बोधित्वपरिणामना कार्या । अत आह जगद्विमुक्तय इति । बुद्धो भूत्वा जगन्ति
विमोक्तव्यानीत्यर्थः ॥ ६ ॥

da. (xyl.; de.) ni. de. kho. na. ñid. bstan. pai. lbras. bu.
khyad. par. brjod. par. bya. bai. phyir] de. lta. shes. bya. ba. la.
sog. pa. gsuñs. te]

=इदानीं तत्त्वोपदेशफलविशेषकथनायाह । एवमित्यादि ।

(L. 6.) lam. hdi. shes. bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid. ston.
pai. rañ. bshin. can. no]] de. la. de. kho. na. ñid. ni. gañ. zag. gi.
bdag. med. pa. dañ] chos. kyi. bdag. med. pa. la. byao]] de. yañ.
hdi. la. luñ. dañ. rigs. pas. bsgrub. par. bstan. pa. yin. pas. de. la.
luñ. gis. bsgrub. pa. bstan. par. byai. phyir] de. la. chos. kyi. shes.
bya. ba. la. sog. pa. smos. te] yañ. dag. pa. ji. lta. ba. ñid. ces.
bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid. (f. 137a) ces. pai. don. to]]

=इदं वर्त्मकमिति । तत्त्वदेशनास्वभावकम् । तत्र तत्त्वं पुद्गलनैरात्म्यं
धर्मनैरात्म्यं च । तस्य चात्र युक्त्वागमाभ्यां सिद्धिप्रतिपादनात् तत्रागमेन सिद्धि-
प्रतिपादनायाह । तत्र धर्माणामित्यादि । यथाभूतत्वेति । तत्त्वमित्यर्थः ।

lña. pa. la. lam. śin. tu. yon. su. rdsogs. pa. shes. bya. ba.
ni. sa. drug. pa. la. ljug. pai. bsam. gtan. gyi. pha. rol. tu. phyin.
pai. mthsan. ñid. can. gyi. lam. yon. su. rdsogs. pas. so]] hdi.

don. ni. sa. drug. par. śes. rab. śin. tu. lhag. par. hgyur. ba.
yin. la] de. yañ. bsam. gtan. gyi. stobs. kyi. yin. te] sems.
mñam. dañ. bshag. pas. yañ. dag. pa. ci. lta. ba. bshin. du. rab.
tu. śes. so. shes. gsuñs. pas. so]] chos. mñam. pa. ñid. ces.
bya. ba. ni. chos. te] phuñ. po. dañ] khams. dañ] skye. mched.
rnam. mthsan. ma. med. la. sog. pai. no. bo. ñid. yin. pas.
mñam. pa. ñid. yin. no. shes. pai. don. to]]

=१३३३३३ [बोधिसत्त्वभूमौ] सुपरिपूर्णमार्ग इति । षष्ठी भूमिमवतीर्णस्य
ध्यानपारमितालक्षणमार्गपरिशुद्ध्या । अस्यार्थः । षष्ठभूमौ प्रज्ञा अत्यधिका भवति ।
सा च ध्यानबलेन । सामहितचित्तो यथाभूतं प्रजानाति इत्युक्तत्वात् । धर्मसमतेति ।
धर्माः स्कन्धधात्वायतनानि अनिमित्तादिस्वभावतया समा एवेत्यर्थः ।

mthsan. ma. med. pa. mñam. pa. ñid. dañ. shes. bya. ba.
ni. gañ. kun. tu. brtags. pai. rtog. pa. dañ. bra]. bslus. pa. med.
pa. chos. kyi. dbyiñs. de. mthsan. ma. med. pa. ste] rnam.
par. rtog. pai. śes. pa. thams. cad. kyi. yul. ma. yin. pas. so]]
des. na. chos. thams. cad. mthsan. ma. med. pa. shes. brjod.
pa. ñid. yin. no]] dei. phyir. chos. thams. cad. yon. su. grub.
pai. bdag. ñid. can. yin. pas. mthsan. ma. med. pa. mñam. pa.
ñid. yin. no]] mthsan. ñid. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. dañ. shes.
bya. ba. ni. gañ. kun. tu. brtags. pai. brjod. par. bya. ba. dañ]
brjod. par. byed. pai. bdag. ñid. gzuñ. ba. dañ] hdsin. pai. rnam.
pa. can. gyi. chos. de. thams. cad. śin. tu. med. pa. ñid. yin.
pai. phyir. kun. tu. brtag. pai. mthsan. ñid. des. [na] mthsan.
ñid. med. pa. yin. pas. mthsan. ñid. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do]]

=अनिमित्तसमतयेति । यः परिकलितः (कल्पनारहितः अमोषः) धर्मा धातुः
स अनिमित्तः । सर्वविकल्पज्ञानविषयत्वाभावात् । तेन सर्वधर्म अनिमित्त इत्युक्तम् ।
तस्मात् सर्वधर्मः परिनिष्पन्नात्मक इत्यनिमित्तसमता । अलक्षणसमतयेति ।
यः परिकल्पितः अभिधेयाभिधानात्मग्राह्यग्राहकाकारो धर्मः स सर्व अत्यन्तमसत्त्वात्
परिकल्पितलक्षणः । तेन लक्षणाभावात् अलक्षणसमता ।

Ex. *Ataṇṇi-iyaral.*

Ponṇāṇ iyaṇṇa paṭṭam. (Pura. 3, Comm.)
(Frontlet [of an elephant] made of gold.)

Atarṇaku-kilavi.

Pal-yāṇai-y-um ampoṭu tuḷaṅki. (Pura. 63.)
(Many elephants having been shattered with arrows.)
Kūrṇattai-k-kaiyāl viḷittarṇū, (Kuraḷ, 894.)
(It is similar to inviting the God of Death with hands.)

Ataṇ-viṇai-p-paṭṭal.

Neyyoṭu tuṇanta mai-y-irun-kūntal. (Pura. 147.)
(The black flowing tresses of a woman deprived of oil.)
Pacalaiyāl unappattāl. (Kalit. 48.)
(She is filled with beauty-spots on her skin.)

Ataṇṇi-ātal.

Kaḷaviṇāl ākiya v-ākkam. (Kuraḷ, 283.)
(Property made through theft.)

Ataṇṇi-kōḷal.

Ilaṅkutā laṇuvi y-ōṭ aṇi-koṇṭa niṇ-malai. (Kalit. 46.)
(Your mountain beautified by the shining and flowing stream.)

Ataṇṇi-mayaṅkal.

Vēmpī ṇ-ōṇṭalir.

Neṭuṅ-koṭi y-ṇḷiṇai-p pavaroṭu milaintu. (Pura. 77.)
(Having worn the shining sprouts of margosa tree with a piece of the long creeper named *ṇḷiṇai*.)
Pāloṭu kalanta nīr.
(Water mixed with milk.)

Naṇ-poṇ.

Paṇ-maṇi-k kuvai-y-oṭum viraii-k koṇṇi. (Pura. 152.)
(Take the fine gold along with many heaps of gems.)

Ataṇṇiyainta oruvinai-k-kilavi.

Kuṭa-ticai-t

Taṇ-katir matiyam pōlavum.
Niṇṇu nilaiya r- ulakamō ṭ-uṭaṇē. (Pura. 56.)
(May you live long with all the people like the cool-rayed moon shining in the west.)

Irum-pē r- okkalōṭu tiṇṇi. (Pura. 150.)
(Eat with a wide circle of relatives.)

Pāvaṭiyāṇ cerāṇōkkin.

66 JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

Oḷiru-maruppiṛ kaḷṇavara.

Kāppuḷaiya kayam-paṭiyinai. (Puga. 15.)

(You have allowed to bathe in the ponds well attended
to by them the elephants which have shining tusks
and fierce look along with broad feet.)

Ataṇḍiṇṇai vērū-viṇai-k-kilavi.

Toḷiyeṭu tol-kaviṇ vāṭiya tōl. (Kuraḷ, 1235.)

(The shoulder which was once bright, but has now
faded with the armlets.)

Malai-y-oḷu poruṭa māl-yānai.

(The big elephant which fought with the mountain.)

Ataṇḍiṇṇai oppal-oḷḷurai.

Kolaiyir koṭiyārai vētoruttal painkūl.

Kalāi-kaṭ i-ataṇḍiṇṇai nēr. (Kuraḷ, 550.)

(The King slaughtering the wicked is similar to the
weeding of plants grown near green crops.)

Iṇṇāṇ.

Kaṇṇār kottai.

(He is blind by his eye.)

Kālāl muṭavan.

(He is lame by his leg.)

Note.—The expressions *kaṇṇār kottai* and *kālāl muṭavan*
are respectively parallel to the Sanskrit sentences *akṣaḥ kaṇaḥ*
and *ṭadēna khaṇjaḥ*.

Ēṭu.

Vali-miku vekuṭiyai vaḷ-urra maṇṇarai. (Kalit. 46.)

(The kings who had taken their swords on account of
their anger increased with their might.)

Maṇattāṇā māntark k-uṇarcci. (Kuraḷ, 453.)

(Feeling is produced in men through mind.)

Nalliya-k kōṭanai nayanta koḷkaiyoṭu.

Muṇṇāṭ ceṇṇaṇam. (Cīrupāṇ. 126.9.)

(We went to see Nalliyakkoṭan sometime before.)

Note 1.—Sometimes a verbal participle (viṇai-y-eccam with
a noun in the objective case is used instead of a noun in the
instrumental case.

Ex. Oru-kaṇai koṇṭu mū-v-eyil l-uṭarri.

(Having destroyed three forts with one arrow.)

Here the word *koṇṭu* is used to signify that *kaṇai* is the instru-
ment of *uṭarri*. Here *kaṇai* is in the objective case governing

the transitive verb *koṇṭu*. But later on words like *kaṇai-koṇṭu*
were taken as one word under the misapprehension that the word
kaṇai was the base of the noun instead of a noun in the objec-
tive case with the case-suffix dropped. Then the word *koṇṭu* was
taken as a *collurnpū* (a word used as a case-suffix). cf. the com-
mentary on the line 'Nallār-uṇṇepelāṇ koṇṭ iyaṇṇiyāḷ kol'. (Kalit.
56.)

Note 2.—From the statement '*ataṇḍiṇṇai v-oru-viṇai-k
kilavi*' in the sūtra one may think that the expressions '*ācīriya-
ṇotū māṇākkai vāntāṇ*' (pupil came with the teacher) and
'*māṇākkai vāntāṇ ācīriyaṇ vāntāṇ*' (teacher came with the pupil)
were grammatically correct. But the sūtra '*Oru-viṇai y-oḷu-c-col
l-uṇar-piṇ aḷḷiṭē*' (Col. 91) restricts the use of the suffix *oḷu* only
to be used along with the noun denoting the superior. This is
one of the points where ancient Tamil differed from Sanskrit,
where the third case-suffix is used along with the noun denoting
the inferior cf. *saha-yuktē apradhāne* (Pāṇini Aṣṭ. II, iii, 19).
But in later Tamil the ancient restriction was not attended to and
hence we see the sentence '*vānta nampiyai-t tampi taṇṇotū*'
(the lord who came with his brother) in *Kamparāmāyaṇam*
where *nampī* refers to *Rāma* and *tampi* refers to *Lakṣmaṇa*.

Note 3.—The expression '*iṇṇāṇ-ēṭu*' is split by Ḥampūraṇar
into two parts '*iṇṇāṇ*' and '*ēṭu*' which respectively mean 'one of
such description' and 'cause'. The examples given by him
under '*iṇṇāṇ*' are '*kaṇṇār kottai*' and '*kālāl muṭavan*'. Cēṇā-
varaiyar, on the other hand takes '*iṇṇāṇ-ēṭu*' as a compound
word to mean *ēṭu* which is denoted both by the suffixes *iṇ* and *āṇ*
(i.e.) the *jñāpaka-hēṭu* and condemns Ḥampūraṇar that the word
'*iṇṇāṇ*' cannot denote a person who is to be described with
reference to his limbs. Such examples in his opinion come
under *aṇṇa-piṇṇam* in the sūtra. Nacciṇārkkinīyar seems to
agree with him. But the interpretation of Ḥampūraṇar, seems to
be better since the word *ēṭu* here can mean only *jñāpaka-hēṭu*,
the *kāraka-hēṭu* having been mentioned by *ataṇṇaku-kilavi*.

Teyvaccilaiyār takes *iṇṇāṇ-ēṭu* as three suffixes *iṇ*, *āṇ* and *ēṭu*
and states '*pukai-y-uṇṇaiyāṇ neruṇṇuṇṇai-y-aṇika*' (learn the
presence of fire on account of the presence of smoke), '*pukai-y-
uṇṇaiyāṇ neruṇṇuṇṇai-y-aṇika*' and '*pukai-y-ēṭu-v-āka-neruṇ-
ṇuṇṇai-y-aṇika*' as examples. Since this sūtra deals with the
specialised meanings of the third case-suffix whose general mean-
ing was mentioned in the previous sūtra, such an interpretation

of Teyvaccilūyār seems to be far from satisfactory. Besides he states that the word *anṇa-pīṇarum* in the sūtra refers to the words *kāraṇam*, *nimittam*, *hetu* and *māra*. This clearly shows that he mistook the words *etū* and *anṇa-pīṇarum* refer to *col-lurupū*. But Tolkāppiyāṇār has not made mention of *col-lurupū* in any of the sūtras found in *verṇumai-y-iyal*, nor *etū* and *anṇa-pīṇarum* can refer to *case-suffix* when the remaining portion deals with the meaning of the *case-suffix*.

Note 4.—Under '*atanin-iyaral*' Ṭampūraṇār gives '*taccay ceylu cū-mā vaiyam* (Kūṇu. 64). (Small *vaiyam* made by carpenter). Cēṇāvaraiyār condemns this since such sentences form examples for *vīnai-mūtal* found in the previous sūtra. This seems to be fair.

Note 5.—The word *atu* in *atanin-iyaral*, *ataṇṇaku kiḷavi* etc. refers to the object denoted by the word which takes the third-case-suffix.

Note 6.—Such examples as '*maṭi-veṇ okkum mūkam*' (the face compares itself with moon) where *veṇ* denotes comparison, '*cūloṭu kaḷutai pūraṇ emmanlatū*' (ass carried the burden with the child in the womb) where *veṇ* is used with a word which denotes an object that is not visible, are taken under '*anṇa-pīṇarum*' by Cēṇāvaraiyār and Naccinārkkīyār. Naccinārkkīyār in addition to them gives '*uṇal-maṇiyāṇ uyar-maruppiṇa*' (they have their superior tusks with gems on them) etc. *maṇal-ṭoṭu vāymai mōṭiyiṇāṇ* (straight forward expression with mind) and states that in the former *āṇ* is used in the sense of *veṇ* and in the latter *veṇ* in the sense of *āṇ*. This seems to be against the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār. Cēṇāvaraiyār clearly states that both *veṇ* and *āṇ* were used in all the senses mentioned above.

Note 7.—Cēṇāvaraiyār anticipates the objection made by Dr. Caldwell stated under the previous sūtra that, since there are two suffixes *veṇ* and *āṇ*, they should come under two different cases and gives two reasons for not having done so:—(1) both of them are used in all the meanings mentioned above; and (2) in Sanskrit different case-suffixes are taken to belong to one case if they have the same meaning. An objection was raised against the second. Since the vocative case is not taken as a separate case in Sanskrit and it is taken as a case by Tolkāppiyāṇār, it is not safe to bring in the analogy of Sanskrit. Cēṇāvaraiyār answers this point by the statement that eight cases were mentioned in Aindra-Vyākaraṇa and Tolkāppiyāṇār has followed

it. The latter point is supported by the statement '*aintiram niṇainta tolkāppiyam*' made in the *pāyiram* by Paṇampāraṇār.

Note 8.—Some read *innēṇa* for *inṇēṇa* in the seventh line of the sūtra.

Note 9.—In the Cēṇāvaraiyam (Dāmōdaram Pillai Edn.) the sentence '*vaṭanūluṭ poruḷ-veṇṇumai-y-allatu uruṇu-veṇṇumaiyiṇ oru-veṇṇumai-y-āka* ṭappaṭṭamaiyāṇum' is found. It means 'since, in Sanskrit, it is taken as one case where there are different suffixes without difference in meaning'. In the Śaiva-siddhānta edition the reading is '*vaṭanūluṭ poruḷ-veṇṇumaiyiṇ oru-veṇṇumaiyāṇ oru-veṇṇumaiyāka* ṭappaṭṭamai-y-allatu uruṇu-veṇṇumaiyiṇ' and in the former the *yāṇum*'. This also means the same. But in the former the expression '*poruḷ-veṇṇumai-y-allatū*' should be taken as an adjunct to *uruṇu* in *uruṇu-veṇṇumaiyiṇ*, and in the latter it should be taken as a verbal participle modifying *ṭappaṭṭamai-yāṇum*.

75. நான்கா குவதே
குணப் பெயரிய வேற்றமைக் கிளவி
எப்பொரு ளாயினும் கொள்ளு மதுவே.
Nāṇkā kuvatē
Ku-ṇa-p peyariya vēṇṇumai-k kiḷavi
Ep-poru ḷ-āyinuṇ kolḷu matu-v-ē.

The fourth called *ku-veṇṇumai* denotes recipient, whatever substance it may be.

Ex. Nelli-t tiṇkaṇi . . . emakku itṭanai-y-ē. (Pura. 91.)
(You gave me the sweet nelli fruit.)

Āraṇi y-antaṇark k-arumaṇai pala-pakarntu. (Kalit. 3.)
(Having taught Vēdas to brahmans who had studied six āṅgas.)

Note 1.—The significance of the expression '*ep-poruḷ-āyinuṇ*' in the sūtra is, according to Ṭampūraṇār, that the recipient may be in the first person, second person or the third person. Cēṇāvaraiyār, on the other hand, states two points:—(1) Even though the word meaning 'to give' is not found in such examples as '*Māṇākkarkkū nūṭ-poruḷ uraittāṇ*' (he explained the work to his pupils), the fourth case-suffix is used after the word *māṇākkar*. (2) There are two elements in gift:—one is *svatva-nivṛtti* or the abandonment of the right of one's ownership and the other is *para-svatva-āpādana* or the transferring of the right of ownership to another. But in examples like '*māṇākkarkkū aṇivu koṭuttāṇ*' (he gave knowledge to pupils),

arīu or knowledge, though it goes to pupils, does not leave the teacher. Still in such cases the fourth case-affix may be used. That such usages are sanctioned by Tolkāppiyar is inferred by the expression '*a-p-poruḷ-ayiyum*' in the *sūtra*. Naccinārkkinīyar repeats what has been said by Cēṇāvaraiyar.

Note. 2.—It is worthy of note that Cēṇāvaraiyar's statement '*māyākkarkkū arīu kotuttōn*' and the explanation under it has its parallel in the statement of the commentator of Vākyapadiya — '*Tyāgō dānam, dīyamāna ya srata-cāṇṭhyā aparasratvāpā-dānam*' ['*Śāṇḍāya matim dadāti*' *ity. tīrthi mātsarlanasve ca ēkadēśas-tyaīyamāna ili srata-narītya para-sratvāpādāna-lakṣaṇē mukhya ēva dadātyarthah*] *Anv. In matēh dāna-sambandhā-naḥagamāt gaṇṇa ityāhuḥ* (Vākyapadiya, Kāṇḍa 3, Kārikā 262). Cēṇāvaraiyar seems to have adopted the *gaṇṇārtha* of the fourth case-suffix.

76. அசற்குநீரை புடைமையி எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்
அதற்குநீரை புடைமையி எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்
அதற்குநீரை புடைமையி எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்
புடம் புகழிண் எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்
அசற்குநீரை புடைமையி எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்
அசற்குநீரை புடைமையி எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்
அசற்குநீரை புடைமையி எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்
அசற்குநீரை புடைமையி எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்
அசற்குநீரை புடைமையி எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்
அசற்குநீரை புடைமையி எசுர்ப்புடம் புகழிண்

They say that the dative case denotes the object for which an action is done, the object to which one subjects himself, the object to which another is apportioned, the object of transformation, the object which is suited to another, the aim of an action, the object of friendship, enmity, love, superiority etc.

Atarku-viṇai-y-ṇṭaimai.

Ex. Piṇikku maruntū piṇa. (Kuraḷ, 1102.)

(Others serve as medicine to diseases.)

Vari-maṇar puṇai-pāvaikkū-k kuḷavi-e-ṇṭaiṇ pū-k-
koytu. (Pura, 11.)

(Having plucked flowers from bent branches for the
image made in sand-heap.)

Atarkuḷam-paṭṭal.

Cāṇṇōr kolaikku ṇṭampattār.

(The great fell victims to slaughter.)

Atarku-p-paṭu-poruḷ.

Peru-mita-p pakattukku-t tuṇai-y-u m-ṇṭō. (Pura, 90.)

(Is there any landing place (not suited to) a fat bull?)

Oru-nī y-āyinaī...nīr perriṇṇōrk-kē. (Pura, 125.)

(You have become the only resort for those who came
to you.)

Porumarkku...cēy. (Pura, 14.)

(You are God Murukan to those who attack you.)

Atu-v-āku-kūḷavi.

Vaḷaikkū-p poṇ vāṅku.

(Purchase gold for bracelet.)

Atarku-yāḥ-puṭaimai.

Pāṭiṇi pāṭum vaṇcikkū

Nāṭal cāṇṇa maintiṇōy. (Pura, 15.)

(Oh King! who possesses valour which fits with the
song sung by the lady-minstrel.)

Atarku-ṇṭal.

Kūḷirku-k kurrēval ceyyum.

(He does menial service for his food.)

Naṭṭu.

Viḷmark kiṇaici. (Kalit, 8.)

(The desired object to those who desire.)

Kettārkku naṭṭār il. (Kuraḷ, 1293.)

(There are no friends to bad men.)

Pakai.

Cemmai-y-i ṇ-ikantorī-p poruḷ-ceyōrk k-a-p-poruḷ

Immai-yu maṇumaiyum pakai-y-āva t-aṇiyāyō.

(Kalit, 14.)

(Do you not know that the wealth acquired by
unrighteous means serves as the source of enmity to
him both in this world and in the next?)

Kāḷal.

Nummoṭu

Tuṇpan tuṇai-y-āka nāṭṇ ṇ-allatu

ṇṇam-u m-ṇṭō v-emakkū.

(How can there be happiness for me unless I follow
you though we would be attended upon by misery?)

Tantaiyar-k-ku

Aruḷ-van taṇa-v-ār putalvar-tam maḷalai. (Pura. 92.)
(The indistinct words of children gave pleasure to their
parents.)

Cirappu.

Yām numakku-e cirantaṇam. (Kalit. 5.)
(We are superior to you.)

Note.—‘*in*’ in words like *ataṅku-ṇṇai-y-utaimaiyṇ* is
explitive.

77. ஐந்தா குவதே

இன்னென்ப பெயரிய செற்றுமைக் கிளவி
இதனி னிற்றிது வென்னு மருவெ.

Aintā kuvatē

In-ṇ-ṇa-ṭ peyariya vērṇumai-k kiḷavi

Iṇṇi ṇ-irritu v-ṇṇu m-aru-v-ē.

The fifth case called ‘*in-vērṇumai*’ denotes the nature of
an object in its relation to another. Comparison, contrast,
separation, limit, cause etc. form the meanings of this case.

Comparison.

Ex. Kuḷavi kolpavari ṇ-ṇumpumati. (Pura. 5.)
(Protect like those who tend children.)

Contrast.

Payan-ṛūkkār ceyta v-utavi nayan-ṛukkin
Naṇmai kaṭaliṇ peritū. (Kuraḷ, 103.)
(The good deeds of those who do them without expect-
ing any return are bigger than sea.)

Separation.

Niṇṇiṇ viṭāa nīlar-pōl. (Kalit. 61.)
(Like the shadow which is never separated from you.)

Limit.

Kumariyṇ terkū. (Pura. 6.)
(That which is south of cape comorin.)

Cause.

Aru-viṭar-e ciṇu-neri y-ēraliṇ varunti. (Pura. 135.)
(Having suffered on account of the ascent though the
narrow path of the steep valley.)

78. வண்ணம் வடிவே யளவே கூவையே
தன்மை வெம்மை யச்ச மென்ற
கண்மை தீமை சிறுமை பெருமை

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