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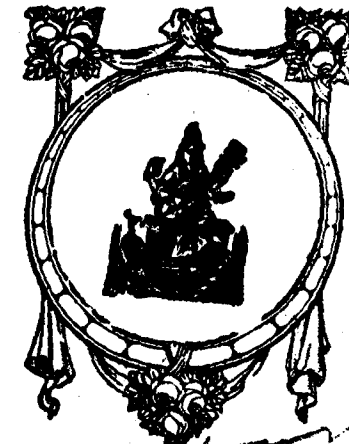
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ANTIQUITY AND EVOLUTION OF ART IN INDIA.

BY
C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B.A. (HONS.),
Madras.

(Continued from page 314, Vol. VIII, Pt. iv.)

In the Upamitibhāvaprapañcakathā prince Nandivardhana is reported to have learnt a number of arts.

तातेनाभिहितम् 'किं परिणताः कश्चिन्नन्दिवर्धनकुमारस्य कलाः?'
कलाचार्येणामिहितम् । सुष्ठु परिणताः । देव ! निष्पन्न एव कलासु
नन्दिवर्धनकुमारः । तथा हि—स्वीकृतमनेन समस्तं लिपिज्ञानम् ।
..... अनुचराणीव नरलक्षणादीनि अधेयविक्रयाणि पत्रच्छेद्यादीनि ।

(The last mentioned and Naralakṣaṇajñāna are closely connected with citra.) Painters were also engaged to prepare the portraits of princes and princesses of marriageable age to be sent round to various kingdoms. This activity of artists is frequently mentioned in literature. In the Kathāsaritsāgara we have many instances of such pictures being brought and one example may be cited.

वृद्धिं गतायास्तस्याश्च स पिता सदृशं वरम् ।

प्रेप्सुरानाययत् पृथ्व्यां पटेषु लिखितान् नृपान् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. XII, Taraṅga xiii, Śl. 14.

In the Tilakamañjarī Meghavāhana is described as spending his time in looking at pictures of suitable princesses brought for his inspection.

कदाचिदङ्गनालोल इति निपुणचित्रकौशित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपायनी-
कृतानि रसातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिबिम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मा
दिवसमलोकयत् । T. M., p. 15.

There also appear to have been special capable women called Śilpinīs preparing and carrying pictures to lovers as given by Paṇḍarīvihvala

तत्तद्रूपगतं भावं पटे रूपं प्रदर्श्य च ।

विजानात्युभयोः प्रीतिं चतुरा शिल्पिनी यथा ॥

Dūtikarmaprakāśa, p. 26.

In all such cases the pictures were real portraits having Sādrśya (likeness to the original) as described in the Kathāsaritsāgara.

तदृष्ट्वा मन्त्रिणस्तस्य जगदुस्तां तपस्विनीम् ।
अर्ये सुन्दरसेनं त्वं देवमत्र पटे लिख ॥
सदृशालेख्यविज्ञानं तावद्वीक्षामहे तव ।
तच्छ्रुत्वैव लिलेखैतं कुमारं सा क्षणात् पदे ॥
तं चातिसदृशं दृष्ट्वा सर्वेऽप्यत्रैवमब्रुवन् ।
नास्त्यालेख्यविसंवादो भगवत्या मनागिति ॥
अयं कुमार एवेति चित्रेऽस्मिञ्जायते हि धीः ।
तन्मन्दारवतीदेवीरूपं नात्र विसंवेदेत् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. XII, Taraṅga xxxiv, Śl. 79, 82.

These are very well known as Viddhacitras in the Śilpa texts and mentioned in the Tilakamañjarī many times specifically by that name.

अतोऽस्याः सकलनिजपरिवारवाराङ्गनाचित्रकौशलदर्शनव्याजेन दर्शय
निसर्गसुन्दराकृतीनामवनिगोचरनरेन्द्रदारकाणां यथास्वमङ्कितानि नामभिर्यथावस्थि-
तानि विद्वरूपाणि । T. M., p. 138.

द्वीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपहार्यमाणचित्रफलकारोपितविद्वरूपः ।
T. M., p. 133.

तत्र च त्वदुपलम्भाशया दिङ्मुखस्यातरूपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विद्व-
रूपाण्यादरप्रवर्तितैश्चित्रकृद्भिरभिलिख्योपनीतान्यजस्रमवलोकयतःमे गताः
कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः । T. M., p. 263.

कदाचिदन्तिकन्यस्तविविधवर्तिकासमुद्रा प्रगुणीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः
पुरोऽवस्थापिते पृथुनि चित्रफले निपुणमालोच्यालोच्य मकरकेतुबाणत्रातविद्धा
देवस्यैव रूपविद्वमभिलिखन्ती । T. M., p. 319.

The name Viddhasālabbhañjikā similarly means 'Portrait Statuette.' That these pictures were done from life is gathered from the description of the prauḍhā drawing from life in the Pādatāḍitaka.

कथमियमतिकन्दुकक्रीडया मध्यमायासत्यल्पमेषां प्रियेणोपविष्टा सहाक्षैः
परिक्रीडति प्रौढया चैनयैतत्स्वयं लिख्यते चित्रमाख्यायिकासौ पुनर्वाच्यते । p. 3.

In the Kathāsaritsāgara it is given that a particular figure is carved on the model of the features of a certain princess noted for her beauty whom the artist had seen and noted.

एतच्छ्रुत्वा स वेतालोऽवादीनैतद्दुरासदम् ।
कलिङ्गसेना नामास्ति कलिङ्गाधिपतेः सुता ॥
तां दृष्ट्वा रूपकारेण तद्रूपघटनेभ्युना ।
वर्धमानपुरीयेण कृतेयं सालभञ्जिका ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. XVIII, Taraṅga iv, Śl. 139-14.

When art was so popular and served such a useful purpose it is no wonder that even womenfolk specialised in it. In fact they so much excelled in beautiful line drawing that we have it given in the Viddhasālabbhañjikā that a woman alone could do exquisite line work.

इदं च पौरन्ध्रमवैमि कर्म रेखानिवेशोऽत्र यदेकधारः ॥ Act. I.

Leisure hours of ladies of gentle birth were spent in the drawing and painting of their lords when they were away from home on journey or on business. This might have been to amuse themselves in the absence of their husbands or for gazing longer and more freely at the faces of their spouses in picture which they could not do in actual life because of the laws of modesty. The Rukmiṇīharaṇa-Īhāmṛga shows this useful purpose of pictures in the lines—

(ततः प्रविशति कृष्णालेख्यव्यग्रहस्ता रुक्मिणी मकरन्दिका च)

रुक्मिणी—नूनं मया जन्मान्तरे चन्द्रशेखरस्य प्रतिबिम्बमेवाराधितं
यदेतस्य सुभगस्यालेख्यमात्रेणैव मां हतविधिर्विप्रतारयति ।तदेतदेवालेख्य-
मवितृष्णं विभावयामि । (Act. III, In Rūpakaṣaṭka of Vatsarāja.)
which seem to echo the speech of Mālāvikā in the Mālāvikā-
gnimitra—

सखि ! तदा ससंभ्रममुत्कण्ठिताहं भर्तु रूपदर्शनेन तथा न वितृष्णास्मि
यथाच विभावितश्चित्रगतदर्शनो भर्ता । Act. IV.

We have instances of ladies painting their lovers in the Neminirvāṇa, the Harivilāsa, the Śṛṅgāradhanadakāvya and the Kathāsaritsāgara.

अनुरागमायतदृशः कृशेतरं

त्वयि न प्रियंवदतया वदामि तम् ।

लिखितत्वदाकृतिरनेकशस्तया

रतिवासभित्तिरपि तेऽभिधास्यति ॥

Neminirvāṇa, IX, 50.

रहसि विलिखितस्य प्राणनाथस्य चित्रे

दृढतरपरिभारम्भरङ्गैकभूमिः ।

चलितचपलचक्षुर्वीक्ष्य वक्त्रं सखीनां

स्मितसुभगमुखश्रीर्लज्जते यत्र योषा ॥ Harivilāsa, V, 12.

आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा बलिव्याकुला वा

मत्सादृश्यं विरहतनु वा भावगम्यं लिखन्ती । Megha, II, Śl. 18.

आकर्णाश्रितधन्वनः करिवरव्यापादनायोद्यतान्

विन्ध्यालेख्यमहाटवीषु मृगयोत्साहे सखीनां पतीन् ।

कोदण्डाञ्चलबद्धनिर्मदशिखिप्रस्फारपिच्छध्वजं

प्राप्तं स्वं पतिमालिलेख सुदती गर्वाज्जहासोच्चकैः ॥

Śṛṅgārādhanaśataka, Śl. 40.

The proficiency of ordinary housewives in painting and other arts was thus very great; in fact it was so great that it was only eclipsed by the cleverness and high artistic skill of the professional adepts in art like the Citrācāryas and other painters and the prostitutes that specialised in all the fine arts—music, dance, painting etc. Of the impetus given to a cultivation of fine arts in the case of Veśyāṅganās the most eloquent authoritative evidence is in the line of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

गीतवाद्यपाठ्यनृत्तनाट्याक्षरचित्रवीणावेणुमृदङ्गपरचित्तज्ञानगन्धमाल्यसं-

यूहनसम्पादनसंवाहनवैशिककलाज्ञानानि गणिका दासीरङ्गोपजीविनीश्च ग्राह्यतो राजमण्डलादाजीवं कुर्यात् । Vol. I., T. S. S., Chap. II, Adh. 17, Prakaraṇa 44, p. 305.

The verse in the Śṛṅgārātilaka of Rudrabhaṭṭa

सत्यं सन्ति गृहे गृहे सुकवयो येषां वचश्चातुरी

स्वे हर्म्ये कुलकन्यकेव लभते जातैर्गुणैर्गौरवम् ।

दुष्प्रापः स तु कोऽपि कोविदपतिर्यद्वाप्रसम्प्राहिणां

पण्यस्त्रीव कलाकलापकुशला चेतांसि हर्तुं क्षमा ॥ Śl. 7.

shows us that the harlots were adepts in all the fine arts. The fine artistic sense of the Veśyāṅganās is seen in the description of the beautiful floor decorations in the *hetaera's* house given in the Pādatāḍitaka.

.....लिप्तलिखितसूक्ष्मस्थूलविविक्तरूपशतनिबद्धानि बन्धसन्धिद्वारगवाक्षवितर्दि-
संजवनवीथीनिर्व्यूहकानि चित्रशालालंकृतानि ... भवनवरावतंसकानि
वारमुख्यानाम् । p. 12.

In the Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda we are told that colours are being prepared (ground) for painting.

आज्ञाप्यमानशिल्पिजनानि संभ्रान्तप्रेष्यवर्गलुलितपुष्पोपहाराणि स्पर्धन्त
ह्वान्योन्यं भवनद्वाराणि ।.....पीनस्तनतटविसर्पिणः पिष्यन्ते वर्णकाः । p. 8.

(These colours were obviously used for floral decorations on breasts of women in the place of Kastūri etc.)

The Mṛcchakaṭika gives us a vivid picture of the artistic taste of Veśyāṅganās. Vasantasenā knows the art of painting. The Viṭas and Ceṭis carry pictures of various persons whom they desire to bring together in the *hetaera's* house. The courtesans showed peculiar fondness to artists and Citrācāryas and we have an instance of this sort of love in the Pādatāḍitaka where Kusu-māvatikā loves the painting master Śivasvāmin.

जानीत एवास्मत्स्वामी—‘यथास्मत्सख्या कुसुमावतिकायाः प्रियवयस्यं
चित्राचार्यं शिवस्वामिनं प्रति महान् मदनोन्मादः’—इति । p. 25.

Kṣemendra echoes this in his verse in the Kalāvilāsa—

नीचस्तुरगारोहो हस्तिपकः खलतरोऽथवा शिल्पी ।

वञ्चितसकलजनानां तासामपि बल्लभो भवति ॥ IV. Śl. 14.

Paintings were done generally on phalaka, paṭa or bhitti. The last mentioned was the most popular. In a passage from the Śṛṅgārāprakāśa it is given that pictures were drawn on banners as well.

अस्यां दृषदि वासुदेवः क्रियताम्, अस्यां भित्तौ कामदेवो लिख्यताम्,

अत्र ध्वजे हनूमान् बध्यताम् । Vol. I, p. 394. Madras Mss.

The Yaśastilakacampū mentions similar pictures (on banners)

अतिसविधसंचरसुरसुन्दरीकरचापलविलुप्तकेतुकाण्डचित्रैः । Vol. I, p. 18.

According to Mr. P. Brown and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy we have lots of these pictures on banners and flags lingering even today in Nepal, Tibet and other places. Even in India proper the dhvajastambhas in Hindu temples containing sculptured representations of the vāhanas of the deities are concrete represent-

ations of these banner pictures. There are also, apart from the dhvajacitras, pictures on the Torapaṭas and flags carried about in Hindu temple processions.

Of the themes of paintings we have it given in the *Silparatna* that anything can be chosen as a subject. Thus the scope is very wide. Representations from contemporary life, landscapes, portraits and mythological incidents were amongst the pictures painted. Of these special mention should be made of two—the *Kāmadevapaṭa* and the *Yamapaṭa*. The former was a very popular one with women and lovers especially and was kept in almost every house and also in royal palaces. The latter was a big canvas showing the horrors of Hell taken through the streets by the *Yamapaṭṭika* (picture show-man) who earned a living by exhibiting it to crowds of eager naughty children who generally surrounded and hounded him wherever he went. Mention of the picture of Cupid is profuse in Sanskrit literature. We have it spoken of in the *Kādambarī*, in the *Pradyumnābhyudaya*, the *Gāthāsaptāśatī* and in the *Ratnavali*.

वासभवने मे शिरोभागनिहितः कामदेवपटः पाटनीयः । Kā., p. 536.

प्रभावती—सखि ! कस्य नाम महाभागस्य प्रतिबिम्बं भवेत् ?

कलहंसिका—एतद्भगवतो मदनस्य नूनं प्रतिबिम्बं भवेत् ।

प्रभावती—सखि ! साधु निरूपितम् । रतिसहचर एव देवः कुसुमायुध आलक्ष्येषु लक्ष्यते ।

कलहंसिका—एवमेतत् । अस्य रूपातिशयस्यान्यत्रासम्भवनया मयैवं भणितम् । Pradyumnābhyudaya, I.

सणिअं सणिअं ललिअङ्गुलीअ मअणवडलाअणमिसेण ।

बन्धेइ धवलवणवट्टअं व वणिआहरे तरुणी ॥

[शनकैः शनकैर्ललिताङ्गुल्या मदनपटलापनमिषेण ।

बध्नाति धवलव्रणपट्टमिव व्रणिताधरे तरुणी ॥]

Gāthāsaptāśatī, V, Śl. 58.

सागरिका—एतदप्यस्ति मे प्रक्षितं कौतूहलम् । किं यथा तातस्य अन्तःपुरे भगवाननङ्गोऽर्च्यते इहापि तथैव किं वान्ययेति । Ratnavali Act I.

The lines of the *Harṣacarita*—

भीषणमहिषाधिरूढप्रेतनाथसनाथे चित्रवति पटे परलोकव्यतिकरमितरकरकलितेन शरकण्डेन कथयन्तं यमपट्टिकं ददर्श । p. 153.

and the passage in the *Mudrārākṣasa*

(ततः प्रविशति यमपटेन चरः ।)

चरः—

पणमह जमस्स चलणे किं कज्जं देवएहि अण्णेहि ।

एसो खु अण्णभत्ताण हरइ जीअं जडपडन्तम् ॥

अवि अ—

पुरिसस्स जीविद्वं विसमाहो होइ भत्तिगहिआदो ।

मारेइ सव्वलोअं जो तेण जमेण जीआमो ॥

जाव एवं गेहं पविसिअ जमपडं दंसअन्तो गीआइं गाआमि । Act I.

are among many that give us some account of the *Yamapaṭa*.

The details of the methods of picture production are also learnt by us through the numerous references to them in literature. Though they have been dealt with by me in detail under various other heads I shall just indicate here the outline of the working process through some typical references. First the *Varṇaka* or cartoon is prepared to be transferred to the regular canvas. The canvas, colours and brushes being ready, the preliminary drawing is sketched with the *vartikā*. In this case the *sūtrapāṭa* is all important since that preliminary rough marking decides the positions, poses and the formations of the figures that compose the picture. Then comes the colouring and the shading (*vartanā*) that gives the effect of modelling or relief to the figures. The final work is the *unmilana* or the revivification of the figure, by opening its eyes (working of pupils etc.), which had lain lifeless so to say all the time for all practical purposes. The reference to the *Varṇaka* in the verse of the *Āryāsaptāśatī*—

कस्तां निन्दति लुम्पति कः स्मरफलकस्य वर्णकं मुग्धः ।

को भवति रत्नकण्टकमृते कस्यारुचिरुदेति ॥ Śl. 189.

is one of the many such found in literature. Similarly we have the *Sūtrapāṭa* process given in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhana, *Suvṛttatilaka* of Kṣemendra, *Śṛṅgārādhana* of Kāvya and the *Kārṇasundarī*.

अव्यक्त्याकृती चित्रसूत्रिताविव तौ स्थितौ ।
वीक्ष्यारिकटके लक्ष्मीं पृष्टाद्विस्मयमीयतुः ॥

Rājatarāṅgī, VIII, 2587.

द्वितीयार्धे समस्तपरा यथा गन्दितकस्य—

करतरलितबन्धं कञ्चुकं कुर्वतीनां
प्रतिफलितमिदानीं दैपमाताम्रमर्चिः ।

स्तनतटपरिणाहे भामिनीनां भविष्य-

नखपदलिपिलीलासूत्रपातं करोति ॥

Suvṛttatilaka, Sl. 41.

मात्रा चित्रविशेषलेखनविधावादिष्टपूर्वा चिरं
विष्णोर्जागरणोत्सवाय सुदती रेखामघादग्रतः ।

कैलासाचलगामिमानससरः स्वच्छं लिखेत्यहता

क्रीडाशैलसरश्चकार विकसजाम्बूनदाम्भोरुहम् ॥

Sṛṅgārādhanaśataka, Sl. 46.

राजा—धातुस्तन्मुखवर्तनाफलहकः श्यामावधूवल्लभ-

स्तल्लेखोद्यततूलिकाग्रगलितास्ताराः सुधाविप्रुषः ।

तल्लावण्यरसस्य शेषममला सा शारदी कौमुदी

तद्भूनिर्मितिमानसूत्रमपि तच्चापं मनोजन्मनः ॥

Karṇasundarī. Act I, Sl.

In the last quoted verse we have vartanā also given. The Gāthā-saptaśatī tells us of the evanescent nature of the Vartikārekḥā preliminary sketch drawn with the vartikā (pencil).

अनुरूपनायकालाभेन निर्विण्णा कापि सोपालम्भं विधिमाह—

जं जं आलिहइ मणो आसावट्टीहिं हिअअफलअम्मि ।

तं तं बालो व्व विही णिहुअं हसिऊण पम्हुसइ ॥ VIII, 56.

[यद्यदालिखति मन आशावर्तिकाभिर्हृदयफलके ।

तत्तद्बाल इव विधिनिर्मृतं हसित्वा प्रोञ्छति ॥]

The process of vartanā is not so easily understood since the use of the word 'Vartanā' is itself ambiguous in literature. The Vartanā that the Viṣṇudharmottara speaks of is obviously shading. But in literature the word is used as meaning 'application' of colour. In the Vikramāṅkadevacarita, in the Karpūramāñjarī and in the Udayasundarikathā we have the word used in this sense.

यशः कूर्चिकया चित्रं दिग्भित्तिषु निविष्टया ।

द्रविडीगण्डफलके तेनावर्त्यत पाण्डिमा ॥

Vikramāṅkadevacarita, IV, Sl. 22.

कवि कसु वणिआओ पट्टए वहेहि

(कापि खलु वर्णिकाः पट्टे वर्तयति) Karpūramāñjarī, p. 6.

त्वया हि बहुशश्चित्रेण वर्तिता दृष्टाश्च त्रिभुवनविवरवर्तिनो युवानः ।

Udayasundarikathā, p. 100.

The meaning of the word in the verses of Ratnākara

शृङ्गणत्वं विरलविलेपनश्रियस्ता विभ्रस्यो रुचिरतराङ्गवर्तनाभिः ॥

सद्गुणाः सललितनाट्यचित्रभितीरालोक्ष्यामिमतजनः पुषेष् तोषम् ॥

विचित्रस्थानकोपेताः सुकुमाराङ्गवर्तनाः ।

वृत्ते चित्रे च दधतीमक्षिसदृशदयाः स्त्रियः ॥

Haravijaya, XXII, 96; XXXIII, 3.

is again ambiguous; but here it might be taken to mean shading also. Of the importance of rekhā in the picture, and in India a perfect outline is the forte of the artist, there is a lot spoken. Ratnākara holds that good line work, a most difficult task, is a rarity.

कल्याणीं गिरमुत्सृष्टुं विरला एव जानते ।

सत्यां रेखां विलिखितुं चित्रकर्मविदो यथा ॥

Haravijaya, XXXII, 70.

Vāmana speaks of the rekhā as almost everything in a picture.

एतासु तिसृषु रीतिषु रेखास्त्रिव चित्रं काव्यं प्रतिष्ठितमिति ।

Kāvyaśālikārasūtravṛtti, I, ii, 13.

But, perfect modelling was also attempted in the pictures. Passages like स्खलतीव मे दृष्टिर्निमोन्नतप्रदेशेषु in the Śākuntala Act VI राजनीतिरेव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया दिनकरप्रभेव प्रकाशितव्यक्तनिमोन्नतविभागा.... चक्रवर्तिकन्यका in the Tilakamāñjarī, p. 135, and निमोन्नतप्रदेशप्रकाशन-शिल्पिनि यौवने सा रूपसंपन्नेदीयसी बुद्धदासी in the Yaśastilakacampū (Vol. II, p. 312) all show a high sense of modelling possessed by our artistic ancestors. Varnasthiti or the proper arrangement of colour in particular appropriate combinations in particular places in a picture has also been stressed in the verse of Śrī Harṣa

स्थितिशालिसमस्तवर्णतां न कथं चित्रमयी विभर्तु या ।
स्वरभेदमुपैतु या कथं कलितानल्पमुखारवा न वा ॥

and the gāthā of Śātavāhana

Naiṣadha, II, 98.

अविच्छिन्नप्रियालिङ्गनामिलाषमात्मनः प्रकाशयन्ती काप्यन्यापदेशेन
बल्लभमाह—

वर्णक्रमरहिअस्स वि एस गुणो णवरि चित्तकम्मस्स ।
णिमिसं पि जं ण मुञ्चइ पिओ जणो गाढमुवऊढो ॥
[वर्णक्रमरहितस्याप्येष गुणः केवलं चित्रकर्मणः ।
निमिषमपि यन्न मुञ्चति प्रियो जनो गाढमुपगूढः ॥]

Gāthāsaptasatī, VII, 12.

The unmilana process is best explained in the verse of Ratnākara
यस्याभियाति भवनेष्वसमाप्तचित्रसंभारभित्तिपुरुषा मलिनीभवन्तः ।
उन्मीलनावसरशून्यदृशः समिद्धां दध्युर्दिवानिशमिव श्रियमव्यवस्थाम् ॥

Haravijaya, XVI, 65.

U nmilana is given by Ratnākara in another verse also

सभूमिलाभं शुभवर्तिरेखया मनोरमं मण्डलकार्यमस्खलत् ।
अशेषमुन्मीलयति क्षमाभृतां विचित्ररूपा ननु नीतितूलिका ॥

Ibid. XII, 30.

wherein we also get the spelling of Bhūlamba (arrangement of
background) of the Viṣṇudharmottara given as Bhūlābha. It is
from the same poet that we get at the importance of Sthānaka in a
picture which connects citra closely with Nāṭya.

विचित्रस्थानकोपेताः सुकुमारङ्गवर्तनाः ।

नृत्ते चित्रे च दधतीरक्षिमहदयाः स्त्रियः ॥ XXXII. 3.

Practice is all important in producing a good picture and
we have exhortations for artists to work hard and gain a perfect
mastery over the brush or chisel as the case may be. The verse
of the Dharmasarmābhyudaya

निर्माय निर्माय पुरीः सुराणां यच्छिक्षितं शिल्पकलासु दाक्ष्यम् ।
तस्यैव धात्रा विहितास्ति तत्र प्रकर्षसीमा नगरी सुसीमा ॥ IV, 13.

and of the Vikramāṅkadevacarita

नित्याभ्यासात् परिणतलिपेः स्रष्टुराश्चर्यलेखं

तद्भाष्यं वपुषि ललिते तस्य भूपालसूनोः ।

यत्र स्फूर्जल्लटभललनालोकलोभैकपात्रे

जागर्ति ज्यानिनदमुखरः संततं पुष्पचापः ॥ XVIII, 69.

are all in this strain. The best artists with an excellent practice
could produce works of art that were eyed with wonder even by
art critics and connoisseurs. Expression of emotion in picture
and such other difficult problems engaged the painter. The
Upamitibhavaprapaṇcākaṭhā says that representation of emotions
in picture is most difficult.

अत्र 'सुविशुद्धा रेखा, संगतानि भूषणानि, उचितक्रमा वर्णविच्छित्तिः,
परिस्फुटो भावातिशयः'—इति । दुष्करं च चित्रे भावाराधनम्, तदेव
चाभिमतमतिविदग्धानाम् । p. 86.

Pictures were drawn with such care and exactitude that they were
suggestive of many things. Just as in the Viddhaśālābhāṇjikā
we have the picture of the princess suggesting to the king that it
was the portrait of an unmarried girl from the arrangement of
the figure, its dress and so on we have a picture described in the
Daśakumāracarita wherein the clever painter suggests a lot about
the painted lady.

स चैकदा कस्यचिदागन्तोश्चित्रकरस्य हस्ते चित्रपटं ददर्श । तत्र
काचिदालेख्यगता युवतिरालोकमात्रेणैव कलहकण्टकस्य कामातुरं चेतश्चकार ।
स च तमब्रवीत्—'भद्र ! विरुद्धमिवैतत् प्रतिभाति ; यतः कुलजादुर्लभं वपुः,
आभिजात्यशंसिनी च नम्रता, पाण्डरा च मुखच्छविः, अनतिपरिमुक्तसुभगा
च तनुः, प्रौढतानुविद्धा च दृष्टिः । न चैषा प्रोषितभर्तृका प्रवासचिह्नस्यैक-
वेण्यादेरदर्शनात् । लक्ष्म चैतदक्षिणपार्श्ववर्ति । तदियं वृद्धस्य कस्यचिद्वणिजो
नातिपुंस्त्वस्य यथार्हसंभोगालाभपीडिता गृहिणी त्वयातिकौशलाद्यद्यदष्टमालिखिता
भवितुमर्हति'—इति । स तमभिप्रशस्याशंसत्—'सत्यामिदम् । अवन्तिपुर्यामुज्जयि-
न्यामनन्तकीर्तिनाम्नः सार्थवाहस्य भार्या यथार्थनामा नितम्बवती नामैषा
सौन्दर्यविस्मितेन मयैवमालिखिता'—इति ।

Uttarapīthikā, Ucchvāsa, VI, p. 167, Kale's edition.

Another feature in a picture very much admired and sought to be
retained permanently by painters in the painting is *aujjvalya*.
Kālidāsa speaks highly of 'pratyagravarnarāga'. The Yaśastilaka-
campū gives that pictures rubbed after being drawn lose their
lustre—

आलिख्य परामृष्टं चित्रमिव गलितच्छायम् । Vol. II, p. 146.

but there also appear to have been pictures drawn in better colours with a greater permanency of lustre that increased when rubbed but was never lost as given in the Pratijñāyāugandharāyaṇa.

विदूषकः—...अविधा आलिखितं खलु मम मोदकमल्लकं संतापतिमिरेण सुष्ठु न प्रेक्षे । भवतु प्रमार्जिष्यामि तावदहम् । ही ही ! साधुरे ! चित्रकर ! भाव ! साधु ! युक्तलेखतया वर्णानां यथा प्रमार्जिं तथा तथोज्ज्वलतरं भवति । भवतु उदकेन प्रमार्जिष्यामि । कुत्र खल्वदकम् । इदं शोभनं शुद्धतटाकम् । अहमिव शिवोऽपि तावत् एतस्मिन् मोदकमल्लके निराशो भवतु । Act II.

Even these pictures could be destroyed by an application of water—since all these were painted in tempera. Vāmana lays very great stress on *aujjvalya* and holds that Purāṇacchāyā in pictures is a distinct blot.

बन्धस्योज्ज्वलत्वं नाम यदसौ कान्तिरिति । यदभावे पुराणच्छायेत्युच्येते ।

औज्ज्वल्यं कान्तिरित्याहुर्गुणं गुणविशारदाः ।

पुराणचित्रस्थानीयं तेन बन्ध्यं कवेर्वचः ॥

Kāvyaṅkāraśūtravṛtti, III, i, 25.

We have also some descriptions in literature of faded pictures on broken walls with the layers crumbling and falling off every moment and cobwebs surrounding them as also of neglected and broken statuettes, etc. The description of deserted Ayodhyā in the Raghuvamśa from which a few lines can be quoted—

चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः कोरेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालमङ्गाः ।

नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरब्धसिंहप्रद्वतं वहन्ति ॥

स्तम्भेषु योषित्प्रतियातनानामुत्क्रान्तवर्णक्रमधूसराणाम् ।

स्तनोत्तरीयाणि भवन्ति सङ्गान्निर्मोकपट्टाः फणिभिर्विमुक्ताः ॥

Raghuvamśa, VII, 16-17.

and of the wasted city of the ogress Tāṭakā in the Jānakīharaṇa contained in the lines

फणिभिः प्रतिबिम्बमातरः शितिभिर्भीन्ति शिरोऽवलम्बिभिः ।

रचितैरिव वेणिबन्धनैर्विरहादस्य पुरस्य शासितुः ॥

प्रतिमा विशदेन ह्यतिकापटलेनावृतदृष्टिरीक्ष्यते ।

रुदितैरिव पुष्पितेक्षणा विपुलत्रासकृतैरनेकशः ॥

श्लयभित्तिविरूढभूरुहस्थिरमूलाप्रविनिर्गमक्षतम् ।

स्फुटतीव भृशं शुचातुरं हृदयं यद्गृहचित्रयोषिताम् ॥

नकुलः परिजीर्णवैबुधप्रतिबिम्बाननमध्यरन्ध्रतः ।

परिकर्षयति क्रुधा यथा स्फुरितं तद्रसनं सरीसृपम् ॥ IV, 54, 56 to 58. are splendid examples.

In spite of exhortations addressed to people to learn the various arts at least as hobbies which would help in some emergency—as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas in Virāṭanagara—embodied in verses like the one of Kṣemendra—

आपत्कालोपयुक्तासु कलासु स्यात् कृतश्रमः ।

नृत्तवृत्तिर्विराटस्य किरिटी भवनेऽभवत् ॥ Cārucaryā, 72.

we have a number of people ignorant of art and art appreciation. A graphic picture of the way hunters—perfect bores in art appreciation—appreciate paintings is found in the humorous verse of the Śṛṅgāratilaka of Rudrabhaṭṭa

त्यक्त्वा गुञ्जफलानि मौक्तिकमयी भूषा स्तनेष्वाहिता

स्त्रीणां कष्टमिदं कृतं सरसिजं कर्णे न बहिच्छदम् ।

इत्थं नाथ तवारिधाम्नि शबैरालोक्य चित्रस्थितिं

बाष्पाद्रीकृतलोचनैः स्फुटरवं दारैः समं हस्यते ॥ p. 145. (K. M.)

As a contrast to these there are the excellent art critics well versed in the science or theory of art and in the practice of it. A study of the Citrasūtra was compulsory in the case of all art students as we see from the verse of the Kuṭṭinimata.

भरतविशाखिलदन्तिलवृक्षायुर्वेदचित्रसूत्रेषु ।

पत्रच्छेदविधाने भ्रमकर्मणि पुस्तसूदशास्त्रेषु ॥

आतोद्यवादनविधौ नृत्ते गीते च कौशलं तस्याः ॥ 124-5.

This Citrasūtra might be the same as the Citrasūtra in the Viṣṇudharmottara. The conception of Tvaṣṭā, that we saw in the Vedas, was ever fresh in the minds of the Śilpina and he was taken as the model for all to copy as seen in the line of the Yaśastilakacampū त्वष्टकिरिव चित्रकर्मसु (Vol. I, p. 237). Though no book on art written by Tvaṣṭā is available, books by Maya and Viśvakarmā are amongst the popular books on art and architecture. The Yaśastilaka quotes from a book on art by Prajāpati—

प्रजापतिप्रोक्ते च चित्रकर्मणि—

श्रमणं तैललिप्ताङ्गं नवभिर्भित्तिभिर्युतम् ।

यो लिखेत् स लिखेत् सर्वां पृथ्वीमपि ससागराम् ॥ Vol. II, p. 112.

but unfortunately like many other books that are lost to us this book lingers in its mere name. The great passion for art was such in the case of the excellent art critics who drank deep at the fountain of art knowledge that we have instances as in the case of Cārudatta where admiration is expressed even for an artistic hole created in the wall by a burglar.

Apart from citras on bhittis, phalakas, paṭas etc. we have had the Bhaumika-citras of a momentary nature drawn everyday with colour powders on the floors, etc. These Kṣaṇika-citras have been dealt with in detail in the Nārada Śilpa. In the Upamitibhavaprapaṇcācathā the verandahs of the Jain temple are described as filled with such patterns and designs of Raṅgoli.

विचित्रभक्तिविन्यासैर्गन्धोदुरसुवर्णकैः ।

आकीर्णं प्राङ्गणं माल्यैः कलालिकुलगीतिभिः ॥ Prastāva, I, 43.

These, the modern Raṅgolis (known by that name in Bombay Presidency), were known as Rangavallis and are frequently mentioned in literature.

अकालक्षेपं दक्षस्य रङ्गवलिप्रदानेषु । Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 350.

विविधमणिविन्यासविहितवद्रूपकृते रङ्गस्यावलोकनाद्भूतभूपालवालका-
कुलितसौविदलम् । Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 371.

रङ्गवलिषु परभागकल्पनम् । Yaśastilaka, Vol. II, p. 247.

मन्त्रिचोलाञ्चलसंमार्जनेन भज्यमानरङ्गवलिः ॥

Udayasundarikathā, p. 39.

In the Mṛcchakaṭīka there is a description of the process of Raṅgoli.

विदूषकः—अहो ! सलिलसिक्तमार्जितकृतहरितोपलेपनस्य, विविधसुगन्धिकुसु-
मोपहारचित्रलिखितभूमिभागस्य....वसन्तसेनाभवनद्वारस्य सश्रीकता ।

Mosaicking the floor was also well-known and it was permanent Raṅgoli. Act, IV.

चरणनखस्फुरितेन रङ्गवलिमणीनिवासहमानया ।

Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 24.

Lettering which today engages the attention of many a commercial artist was also a subject of study with the artists in Ancient India. Their idea of lettering is well borne out by the numerous descriptions of artistic letter forms in literature. In the Vasantavilāsamahākāvya we have the letter ॐ described, as composing an artistic form, on lines similar to Śrī Harṣa's description of the same letter in his Naiṣadhīyacarita.

लिलेखिषुः सृष्टिलिपिं विधाता मूर्तिं निजां कुण्डलिनीं विधाय ।

यन्निर्ममे बिन्दुमिवेन्दुमौलेद्वयारिमूर्ती च तदस्तरेखा ॥

Vasantavilāsa, I, 43.

There is another artistic description of the inverted form of the letter ॐ in the same book.

यद्ब्रूमौलौ कपिशिर्षमाला मन्त्री ठकारालिखोमुखीव । Ibid. II, 43.

The Āryāṣṭaśatī describes flower-like patterns of letters (drawn like leaves patrākṛti).

पूर्वनायिकासखीं प्रति नायको वक्ति—

निहितायामस्यामपि सैवैका मनसि मे स्फुरति ।

रेखान्तरोपधानाद् पत्राक्षराजिरिव दयिता ॥ 337.

Thus we have a rich art spirit pervading and permeating the land. Paintings and drawings were not the only products of the artists' activity. Sculpture was at the zenith of perfection. Architecture was likewise progressing. In fact it is only as handmaids of architecture that painting and sculpture have developed and shone in any part of the world; and the case has not been different in India. Bhuvaneśvara, Ellora, Mahābalipura, Elephanta, Tanjore and Madura are common household words connoting the best of India's art. But that is not all. Allied arts like ivory work, woodcarving and the rest were equally practised with efficiency. A portion of the Sānci tope was in fact carved by the ivory workers of Bhilsa (Vidiśā) as we learn from the inscription there. Vāmana records likewise in his Kāvya-lāṅkārasūtravṛtti that gemwork was cleverly done and figures of gods were cut in them according to the intaglio process.

देवीभावं गमिता परिवारपदं कथं भज्येषा ।

न खलु परिभोगयोग्यं देवतरूपाङ्कितं रत्नम् ॥ IV, iii, 2,

Such has been the interest and activity in art; and it is all the more sorrowful for us at the present day to see the depths of degradation to which art has descended in India—especially when we remember that she held the most commanding and towering place in the sphere of world culture spreading new knowledge in countries far and wide about her as in China and Japan; it is to be hoped that bright and golden days for her glorious art, suffering from a temporary eclipse through lethargy on the part of its custodians, would dawn ere long, free her from her shackles and make stalwarts of her somnolent votaries, great and honoured men in the sphere of world's art.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EASTERN CĀLUKYAS

BY

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In the course of my studies on Cālukyan history¹, I have felt that the system of chronology put forward by Dr. Fleet nearly fifty years ago is susceptible of improvement in the light of fresh data now available. Dr. Fleet worked at this chronology with the aid of the grants mentioned below, which supply some astronomical details for calculation.

- (i) The Satāra grant² of Viṣṇuvardhana I, issued in the 8th year of his brother Pulakēśin II, on the full-moon day of Kārtika (in Śaka 589: A. D. 617, Oct. 20).
- (ii) The Cipurupalli plates,³ also of Viṣṇuvardhana I, issued in his 18th year, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, on the full-moon day.
- (iii) The Rēyūru grant⁴ of Viṣṇuvardhana II, grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana I, which says that the king, in his second year, made a gift, on Wednesday, the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra, when the Moon was in Maghā nakṣatra.
- (iv) The Maṭṭewāḍa plates,⁵ also of Viṣṇuvardhana II, which record a gift, made by the king in his fifth year, on the occasion of a Solar eclipse, on the new-moon day in the month of Phālguna.

1. Bhārati. Vol. II, nos. 3, 4, 7 and 9; Vol. III, no. 12.

2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 309 ff.

3. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 16 ff.

4. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 186 ff.

5. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 191 ff.

- (v) The Maliyāṃpūṇḍi grant¹ of Amma II Vijayāditya. This grant supplies the interesting information that the king was crowned in Śaka 867, on Thursday, the 13th tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa, in Maitra (Anūrādhā)nakṣatra, while the sun was in Dhanus, in Ghaṭa lagna (A. D. 945, Nov. 20th Thursday).

Even though there are thus sufficient data, the above records are not by themselves enough to fix the chronology of this dynasty, unless the period of rule of each king is separately known. Fortunately for us, the Eastern Cālukya grants supply this datum. When Dr. Fleet worked at this problem, the grants that supplied this information were those of Amma I and his successors. The highly incompatible nature of the recorded lengths of the reigns, and the dates of the grants of Viṣṇuvardhana I and Viṣṇuvardhana II, calculated from the data supplied by them, can well be seen when we calculate backwards from the coronation date of Amma II or forwards from A. D. 617, the 8th year of Pulakēśin II, under whom Viṣṇuvardhana I was *Yuvarāja*. Thus, the reader may gain some idea of the difficulty, under which Dr. Fleet had striven to adjust all these incompatibilities and finally settle the chronology. While fixing A. D. 615, as the first year of the rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I, Dr. Fleet had remarked thus : " The historical event, which gave this starting point was the installation of Viṣṇuvardhana I, not as the *Mahārāja* or the independent ruler of a separate kingdom but as *Yuvarāja*, associated in the government, with his elder brother Pulakēśin II "². Thus he was of opinion that the period of 18 years' rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I, should be computed, not from the time he began to rule over Vēṅgi independently, but from the time he was installed as the *Yuvarāja*. Dr. Fleet had to postulate thus for the sake of adjustment. Even then there were many chronological difficulties that confronted him at each and every step in his argument.

Recently, the Attili copper plate grant³ of Cālukya Bhīma I has come to light. The importance of this grant cannot be over-estimated, in as much as it supplies the coronation date of that king, Śaka 814 (Mēṣa, Caitra, badi. 2, Monday, Maitra),

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 147 ff.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 5.
3. C. P. no. 14 of 1917-18.

i.e., 892 A.D., besides giving the duration of the rule of the several previous kings of this dynasty. This is the earliest of the Eastern Cālukya grants that supply the coronation date. The late Mr. K. V. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, M.A., edited this grant in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,¹ in English and in the Journal of the Telugu Academy,² in Telugu. While doing so, he has given the dates of the different kings, calculating back from A.D. 892, the periods of their reigns, as given in this grant. His dates are given below :

(1) Viṣṇuvardhana I	... A.D. 616—634
(2) Jayasīṃha	... 634—667
(3) Indravarma	... —
(4) Viṣṇuvardhana II	... 667—676
(5) Maṅgiyuvarāja	... 676—701
(6) Jayasīṃha II	... 701—714
(7) Kokkili	... 714
(8) Viṣṇuvardhana III	... 714—751
(9) Vijayāditya I	... 751—770
(10) Viṣṇuvardhana IV	... 770—806
(11) Vijayāditya II	... 806—846
(12) Viṣṇuvardhana V	... 846—848
(13) Vijayāditya III	... 848—892
(14) Cālukya Bhīma (crowned in)	... 892

Even though A.D. 616 thus becomes the initial date of Viṣṇuvardhana I, Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao takes 615 as the first year of his rule as an independent sovereign, as against the view of Dr. Fleet. Neither his view nor his dates can be upheld for the reason, that the Satāra grant of Viṣṇuvardhana I clearly tells us that he was still a *Yuvarāja* in the 8th year of Pulakēśin II. Now it is more or less accepted that Pulakēśin II came to the throne in A.D. 610-11.³ Then his 8th year would be 617-18. Even if we accept Dr. Fleet's date for the Satāra grant, either 616 or 617, Viṣṇuvardhana I could not have been an independent king in 615. Besides this, grants Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of the list given above and the Candalūr plates⁴ of Sarvalōkāśraya, *i.e.*, Maṅgi-

1. Vol. VIII, p. 82 ff.
2. Vol. VI, p. 246 ff.
3. G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu's Commemoration Vol., p. 97; Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan, p. 87; C. V. Vaidya's Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. I, p. 265.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 236 ff.

yuvarāja, of his 2nd year, all of which supply some details for calculation, as has been noticed above, should be taken into account. The dates 634, the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I, 669 and 682, the 2nd and 5th years of Viṣṇuvardhana II respectively and finally 678, the 2nd year of Maṅgi-yuvarāja do not at all satisfactorily answer the details, furnished by the above-mentioned grants. Hence this scheme does not work. Similarly, the whole scheme of Eastern Cālukya chronology, laboriously built up by Dr. Fleet so as to accommodate the dates corresponding to the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I, the 2nd and 5th years of Viṣṇuvardhana II gets disturbed and deranged if A.D. 888, the initial date¹ given by him to Cālukya Bhīma I is rejected, in view of his coronation date 892, supplied by the Attili grant. Hence, a fresh attempt at resettlement of the Eastern Cālukya chronology is a necessity.

II

Before proceeding further, let us know the length of each reign, as stated by the Eastern Cālukya grants. This kind of enumeration in years of the length of each reign begins from Vijayāditya III, son of Kali-Viṣṇuvardhana V, the twelfth king of this line. He it was who, after going through the imperial records, made a list of kings that preceded him and noted down their periods of rule in his grants. Thus he states in his Sātalūr grant:²

एवं पञ्च विष्णुवर्धननामानः द्वौ जयसिंहनामानः एको मंगियुवराजः त्रयो विजयादित्यनामानः (II 27—28).

Curiously enough there are discrepancies in the duration of some of the reigns even in his own grants,³ which cannot be accounted for. No wonder such differences are found also

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 12.

2. Bhārati., Vol. I, p. 90 ff.

Jour. Andh. His. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 101 ff.

3. Bhārati., Vol. I, p. 94.

Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 104.

The periods given in the Pāmulapāḍu and Uruṭūru plates (C. P. no. 5 of 1912-13; Jour. Tel. Acad., Vol. 1, p. 140 ff.) tally with one another but differ from those given in the Sātalūr plates. The periods given in the Guṇṭūr plates (C. P. no. 5 of 1911-12) differ from those given in the Sātalūr plates as well as the Pāmulapāḍu and the Uruṭūru plates.

in the grants of his successors, Cālukya Bhīma I, Amma I and others. Such differences exist in the case of six reigns, namely of (1) Jayasīṃha Vallabha I, (2) Viṣṇuvardhana III, (3) Vijayāditya I, (4) Viṣṇuvardhana IV, (5) Vijayāditya II and (6) Kali-Viṣṇuvardhana V. The length of reign of each Cālukya king is noted down below, along with its variations :

(1) Viṣṇuvardhana I	... 18 years	
(2) Jayasīṃhavallabha I ¹	... 33 years	30 years
(3) Indrabhaṭṭāraka	... 7 days	
(4) Viṣṇuvardhana II	... 9 years	
(5) Maṅgi-yuvarāja	... 25 years	
(6) Jayasīṃhavallabha II	... 13 years	
(7) Kokkili	... 6 months	
(8) Viṣṇuvardhana III	... 35 years ²	37 years
(9) Vijayāditya I	... 18 years ³	19 years
(10) Viṣṇuvardhana IV	... 35 years ⁴	36 years
(11) Vijayāditya II	... 40 years ⁵	41 years ⁶ 48 years ⁷

1. All the Eastern Cālukya grants assign 33 years to Jayasīṃha I with the exception of the British Museum plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 15 ff.) of Amma II which give him 30 years of rule.

2. Only Sātalūr plates assign this period to Viṣṇuvardhana III, whereas all other Eastern Cālukya grants give him 37 years of rule.

3. All the grants give him a period of rule of 18 years except the Uruṭūru, Pāmulapāḍu, Guṇṭūru and Pōṇaṅgi plates of Vijayāditya III and the Attili and the Madras Museum plates of Cālukya Bhīma I, which assign him a period of 19 years.

4. The Sātalūr plates alone give him 35 years of rule.

5. The Sātalūr plates and the Guṇṭūr plates of Vijayāditya III; all the copper-plate grants so far discovered of Cālukya Bhīma I; the Masulipatam plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. V, p. 131 ff.) and the Kōlavennu plates of Cālukya Bhīma II (S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 43 ff.); the Nammūru grant of Amma II (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 61 ff.) assign him this period.

6. The Uruṭūru, the Pāmulapāḍu and the Pōṇaṅgi plates of Vijayāditya III.

7. The Digumārū grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213), and the Masulipatam plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 134 ff.) of Cālukya Bhīma II and all other Eastern Cālukya copper plate grants.

- (12) Viṣṇuvardhana V ... $1\frac{1}{2}$ years¹ $1\frac{2}{3}$ years
 (13) Guṇaga Vijayāditya III ... 44 years
 (14) Yuvarāja Vikramāditya I
 (15) Cālukya Bhīma I ... 30 years
 (16) Vijayāditya IV ... 6 months
 (17) Ammarāja I ... 7 years
 (18) Vijayāditya V ... 6 months
 (19) Tāḍapa ... 1 month
 (20) Vikramāditya II ... 1 year² 11 months³ 9 months
 (21) Bhīma ... 8 months⁴
 (22) Yuddhamalla ... 7 years
 (23) Cālukya Bhīma II ... 12 years
 (24) Amma II Vijayāditya VI 25 years
 (25) Dānārṇava ... 3 years
 (26) Bādapa } (Period of 27 years
 (27) Tāḍapa II } anarchy)
 (28) Śaktivarma I ... 12 years
 (29) Vimalāditya ... 7 years
 (30) Rāja Rāja I ... 40 years
 (31) Śaktivarma II ... 1 year
 (32) Vijayāditya VII ... 15 years
 (33) Rājendra Cōḍa alias
 Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa ...

Having thus definitely known the period of rule of different kings — one of the essential factors that helps us in our attempt —, let us now proceed to consider the chronology. There are certain dates which serve as landmarks, in the Eastern Cālukya chronology. They are the coronation dates of Cālukya

1. All grants give him one and a half years of rule except the Guṇṭūr, the Urutūru and the Pōṇangi plates of Vijayāditya III which state that he ruled for one year and eight months.

2. The Kōlavennu plates (S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 43 ff.) of Cālukya Bhīma II, and the Maliyāmpūṇḍi, the Guṇḍugolanu, the Masulipatam, the Vāṇḍram, the Vēmūlūrpāḍu, the Nammūru, and the Madras Museum plates of Amma II.

3. All other grants give him 11 months; but only the Kalucumbarru grant (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 177 ff.) of Amma II states that he ruled for 9 months.

4. The Digumarru grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213) of Cālukya Bhīma II is the only Eastern Cālukya record that mentions this Bhīma and assigns him this period.

Bhīma¹, of Amma II Vijayāditya,² of Vimalāditya³, of Rāja Rāja I,⁴ of Vijayāditya VII⁵ and finally of Śaktivarman II,⁶ son of Vijayāditya VII and the date denoted by the chronogram 'Svādita', supplied by the Madras Museum plates⁷ of Viṣṇuvardhana III.

Of these, the earliest definite date is that of Viṣṇuvardhana III, known by the chronogram 'Svādita'. What date does this chronogram denote?

There are three systems of notation, by which numerals are expressed by words, one is that used by Āryabhaṭa, in his astronomical works, the second is the chronogram system commonly in use in South India and the third is the letter system.⁸ The system of Āryabhaṭa is confined only to his works. It was never in common use, at least in inscriptions, to express dates. The chronogram system appears to have been popular. Dates in inscriptions also were expressed, though rarely by this method. In this system, each of the thirty three consonants have numerical values as shown below:

1.	ka	ṭa	pa	ya	When double letters are used, the value of the second letter only should be taken into consideration. The third system of numerical notation, with many varieties, is used only to number the pages of a manuscript, and hence it may be left out of consideration.
2.	kha	ṭha	pha	ra	
3.	ga	ḍa	ba	la	
4.	gha	ḍha	bha	va	
5.	ṇa	ṇa	ma	śa	
6.	ca	ta	...	ṣa	
7.	cha	tha	...	sa	
8.	ja	da	...	ha	
9.	jha	dha	...		
0.	ña	na			

1. C. P. no. 14 of 1917-18;
Jour. Bi. Or. Res. Soc. Vol. VIII, p. 82 ff.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 15 ff.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 347 ff.
4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 50 ff.
5. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 277 ff.
6. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 33 ff.
C. P. no. 8 of 1913-14.
7. C. P. no. 9 of 1916-17.
8. The South Indian Paleography, p. 79

Thus, by the second system of notation, 'Svādita' (second letter va = 4, di = 8, ta = 6) denotes Śaka 684.¹ This year should either be the initial or the last year of Viṣṇuvardhana III or at least should fall in between these two years.

The next definite and nearest year known is the coronation date of Cālukya Bhīma I, i.e., Śaka 814. The subject resolves itself into four sections; one from the initial date of Viṣṇuvardhana I to Śaka 684, the date of Viṣṇuvardhana III, the second from Viṣṇuvardhana III to the coronation date of Cālukya Bhīma I; the third from the initial date of Cālukya Bhīma I to the accession of Ammarāja II and the fourth from the initial year of Ammarāja II to the coronation date of Rāja Rāja I.

III

Let us take stock of all the material we have to-day to settle the chronology of this dynasty on a firmer basis. So far nearly 70 or 80 copper plate grants of this dynasty have been discovered — not to speak of stone inscriptions. Almost all these inscriptions record grants, made on the occasion of either a lunar or a solar eclipse or a samkrānti. Most of the grants do not give any details in date, except stating the occasion. Out of these grants, those that furnish us with details for calculation are very few, when compared with the total number, but they are now more numerous than when Dr. Fleet worked at this problem. A list of such copper plate inscriptions, along with the details they supply, is given below, in a tabular form. Those grants that merely state the occasion without giving any details, other than the regnal year are not included in this list.

Serial No.	King's name.	Grant.	Reg. year.	Astronomical details.
1	Pulakēśin II (Viṣṇuvardhana I)	Satāra grt. ²	8th	Kārtika Śu. di. 15
2	Pulakēśin II	Kopparam pts. ³	21st	Kārtika mahānavami
3	Viṣṇuvardhana I	Cipurupalli grt. ⁴	18th	Śrāvaṇa Śu. di. 15, Lunar eclipse

1. The Govt. Ep. Rep. for 1917, p. 116, para 21.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 309 ff.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.
4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 16 ff.

Serial No.	King's name.	Grant.	Reg. year.	Astronomical details.
4	Jayasimha I	Pedavēgi pts. ¹	..	Kārtika paurṇamī, Viṣuvadina
5	Viṣṇuvardhana I	Rēyūru grt. ²	2nd	Caitra Śu. di. 10, Maghā, Wednesday
	" "	Maṭṭewāḍa pts. ³	5th	Phālguna amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse
	" "	Pamiḍimukkalapts. ⁴	..	Kārtika Śu. di. 15, Lunar eclipse
6	Maṅgi yuvarāja	Cendalūr pts. ⁵	2nd	Vaiśākha Śu. di. 15, Lunar eclipse
7	Jayasimha II	Peṇuka-paru grt. ⁶	..	Jyēṣṭha paurṇamī, Samkrānti
8	Viṣṇuvardhana III	Madras Museum pts. ⁷	..	'Svādita', Mārgaśira ba. di. 12
9	Cālukya Bhīma I	Attili grt. ⁸	..	Ś. 814, Caitra ba. di. 2, Monday, Sun in Meṣa and Moon in Maitra (Anūrādhā). — (Coronation date)
10	Amma II Vijayāditya	Br. Museum pts. ⁹	..	Ś. 897, Mārgaśira ba. di. 13. Friday, Maitra Sun in Dhanus, Kumbhalagna (Coronation date)
11	Vimalāditya	Ranastipūṇḍi grt. ¹⁰	..	Ś. 933, Sun in Vṛṣabha Śu. di. 6, Thursday, Puṣya, Simhalagna
12	Rāja Rāja I	Kōrumilli grt. ¹¹	..	Ś. 944, Simhamāsa, ba. di. 2, Thursday, Uttarābhādrā, Tulā-lagna

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 258 ff.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 186 ff.
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 191 ff.
4. C.P. no. 14 of 1916-17.
5. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 236 ff.
6. Bhārati, Vol. I, No. 10, p. 139 ff. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 313 ff.
7. C. P. no. 9 of 1916-17.
8. C. P. no. 14 of 1917-18; Jour. Bi. Or. Res. Soc., Vol. VIII, p. 82 ff.
9. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 15 ff.
10. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 347 ff.
11. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 50 ff.

Serial No.	King's name.	Grant.	Reg. year.	Astronomical details.
13	Vijayāditya VII	Pāmula-vāka pts. ¹	..	S. 952, Sun in Karkātaka. Śu. di. 5, Sunday.
14	Śaktivarma II	Tel. Acad. pts. ²	..	S. 983, Sun in Tulā, Śu. di. 2, Thursday, Anūrādhā Kumbhā-lagna

Now the problem is to fit these data on the duration of the reigns and on particular dates in some of the reigns into a satisfactory scheme.

The Eastern Cālukya chronology begins with the initial year of rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I over Vēṅgi. It is to be borne in mind that at least some of the Eastern Cālukya Copper plate grants³ unequivocally state that Viṣṇuvardhana I ruled over Vēṅgi for 18 years. Taking these into account, the commencement of Viṣṇuvardhana's rule over Vēṅgi is now to be determined.

The first record of Viṣṇuvardhana, known to us, is his Satāra grant, issued in the 8th year of Pulakēśin II, *i.e.*, according to Dr. Fleet, in A. D. 617. At the time of this grant, he was holding a subordinate position under his brother as *Yuvarāja*. Dr. Fleet, when formulating his scheme, could not reconcile the two facts, mentioned above, namely, the 18 years' rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I and the date of his Satāra grant. Hence he tried to cross over the difficulty with the remark that the historical event, which gave this starting point was the installation of Viṣṇuvardhana I, not as the *Mahārāja* or the independent ruler of a separate kingdom but as *Yuvarāja*, associated in the government with his elder brother Pulakēśin II.⁴ Thus in Dr. Fleet's opinion, this period of 18 years' rule should be calculated from the time of Viṣṇuvardhana's anointment as crown prince, which is contrary to what is stated in the Eastern Cālukya grants. The

1. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 277 ff.

2. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 33 ff.
C. P. no. 8 of 1913-14.

3. Digumarru grant of Cālukya Bhīma II (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213 ff.); Pennēru grant of Śaktivarma I (Elliot's collection, No. 15-6-26, p. 348 ff.).

4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 5.

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view of Dr. Fleet cannot be accepted to be correct, as it does not satisfactorily reconcile the two propositions, made in the beginning.

By Dr. Fleet's chronology, it is to be presumed that the conquest of Vēṅgi by Pulakēśin II was effected, neither in 614, nor in 615 but some time after, even though he did not precisely specify the date of that event anywhere. Some scholars hold that it took place in A. D. 609.¹ Some others place it in 615 or sometime before A. D. 615,² without mentioning any reasons for their statements. Hence these dates may be set aside.

Lack of sufficient data, to fix the date of the conquest of Vēṅgi has given rise to many conjectures, all unfounded. The only evidence, that enables us to precisely fix the date of this event is that of the Koppāram plates³ of Pulakēśin II, the second grant in the above-given list. This grant was first edited by Mr. K. V. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute⁴ and recently by Dr. Hultsch, in the Epigraphia Indica.⁵ These two scholars are divided in their opinion as to the identification of Pṛthivīduvarāja, who figures in this grant as its ājñapti (executor). The date of this grant was given, as "Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Saṁvatsara ēkaviṁśati, the ninth day of the month of Kārtika." While Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao's date for this grant is A. D. 611, Hultsch fixes it at A. D. 631. Which of these two dates is correct?

The determination of the date of this grant by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao rested solely upon his identification of the ājñapti — Pṛthivīduvarāja, who was taken to be no other than Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates⁶ of Śaka 532. The reasons that tempted him to identify Pṛthivīduvarāja with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates are (1) the supposed similarity of the name in both the grants. Of the name Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma, he took Dhruvarāja to be the name proper and the remaining words to be appellations. Similarly, of Pṛthivīduvarāja of the Koppāram plates

1. V. A. Smith's Early History of India, p. 384.

2. G. Jouveau Dubreuil's 'Pallavas', p. 37; C. V. Vaidya's 'Mediaeval India', Vol. I, p. 297.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.

4. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, 43 ff.

5. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.

6. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. X, p. 365 ff.

Duvarāja was taken to be the name proper. So, he concludes that both the names, mentioned in the two grants refer to one and the same person; (2). In both the grants, he (Dhruvarāja) was said to be the possessor and seizer of many maṇḍalas and Viṣayas (lord of four Viṣayas and maṇḍalas in the Goa grant and seizer of the neighbouring maṇḍalas in the Koppāraṁ plates).

So on these data, identifying Pṛthivīduvarāja of the Koppāraṁ plates, with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates, Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao comes to the conclusion that the 21st year of the Koppāraṁ plates should be that of Dhruvarāja. As his 20th regnal year is known to be Śaka 532 or A. D. 610 by his Goa plates, so the date of the Koppāraṁ grant should naturally be 611 A. D. or Śaka 533,—the details Kārtika navamī, Thursday, tallying with 21st October, Thursday, in 611.¹

While editing the above inscription in the Epigraphia Indica, Dr. Hultzsch, differing from Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, has identified Pṛthivīduvarāja with Pṛthivīyuvarāja, *i. e.*, the heir-apparent to the throne, viz. Viṣṇuvardhana I, brother of Pulakēśin II. He holds, quite correctly, the term Duvarāja to be the Dravidian *tadbhava* of *yuvarāja*. In accordance with this identification, he corrects "*rājyasya Pṛthivīduvarāja māṇatti*" (line 9) of the very faulty text of the Koppāraṁ plates to "*rājasya Pṛthivīduvarajasyājñaptiḥ*." Then he goes on to say that Pṛthivīduvarāja can safely be identified with Viṣṇuvardhana I, as it was stated of him in line 9, that he had "secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son". Finally, he takes the 21st year to be that of Pulakēśin II, which was calculated, by Sewell, to be equivalent to A. D. 631, on the details, though meagre, furnished by the grant².

With due deference Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao I beg to differ from him, regarding his identification of Duvarāja with Dhruvarāja for the following reasons:

- (i) I hold that the name Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma contains three component parts, (1) Satyāśraya, (2) Dhruvarāja and (3) Indravarma, which might be the names of three different persons. The whole compound may be taken to mean Indravarma, son of

1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Vol. IV, p. 43 ff.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 261.

Dhruvarāja, son of Satyāśraya. Thus in my opinion the Goa grant really belongs, not to Dhruvarāja but to Indravarma. These three generations of chiefs might perhaps be contemporaries of three generations of Cālukya kings, namely Satyāśraya, Kīrtivarma and Maṅgaliśa and lastly Pulakēśin II. Satyāśraya, the grandfather of Indravarma, might have assumed the name of Satyāśraya I, the Cālukya king, being perhaps his subordinate. The Goa grant makes it clear that Indravarma was a feudatory of Pṛthivīvallabha, who should be a Cālukya king, most probably Maṅgaliśa, as has been deemed by Kāśināth Tryambak Telang¹ and the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,² even though his name proper was not given in the grant. Many instances can be cited, from South Indian History, of subordinates, assuming the names of their overlords as a mark of respect and loyalty to them. Thus, the Goa grant cannot be said to belong to Dhruvarāja.

- (ii) The appellation Pṛthivī, mentioned in the Koppāraṁ plates is not found attached to Dhruvarājēndravarma's name in the Goa grant. If both the persons are identical, it is curious that it should be absent in the grant of his 20th year and present in a grant of his 21st regnal year. In this connection, the distinction is worth noting, which Hultzsch draws between the titles "*Pṛthivīyuvarāja*"—"the heir-apparent of the earth," and "*Pṛthivīvallabha*"—"the husband of the earth", the latter being born by Kīrtivarma I and Pulakēśin II. If "Satyāśraya" of the Goa grant, is taken to be a mere appellation just like "Pṛthivī", then it is unintelligible, why it should be omitted in the Koppāraṁ plates, which add much to the renown of "Duvarāja".
- (iii) The Koppāraṁ plates clearly give the name of the executor of the grant as Duvarāja. If this is taken to be the scribe's mistake, he should have written Dhruvarāja, though not Dhruvarāja. 'Da' can never

1. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. X, p. 348.

2. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan, p. 86.

be mistaken for 'dha', as there was much difference between the two letters in the Vēṅgi Telugu-Kanarese Script.

- (iv) The phrase or phrases, denoting the possessor of Viṣayas or maṇḍalas should not be taken as an evidence to support any identification, because any conqueror may be described in such general terms. No preciseness is conveyed by them.
- (v) Pṛthivīduvarāja agrees in its contracted form more with Pṛthivīvallabha Viṣṇuvardhana yuvarāja of the Satāra plates rather than with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates.
- (vi) Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao also admits that Pṛthivīduvarāja "secured a (hereditary) kingdom to continue in the lineage of his son."¹ This carries with it some meaning when it is said that he secured a kingdom by his prowess, only here on the *East Coast*, because the Koppāraṁ plates narrate his conquests in the coastal districts of the Telugu country. If, on the other hand, it is pointed out that by kingdom is meant that tract of country of which Rēvatīdvīpa was the capital, then it is wholly unintelligible why that should be stated here in the Koppāraṁ plates rather than in the Goa grant. Instead, if by kingdom is meant some portion of the Telugu country, then it is to be satisfactorily located and his descendants, who ruled over that kingdom should be identified. So far, neither have we any knowledge of either Dhruvarājēndravarma's or his descendants' rule over any part of, nor have any of their records, either in stone or copper plate, come to light in the Telugu country.
- (vii) Finally, the Koppāraṁ plates were issued by Pulakēśin II himself, as has been admitted by both Messrs. Lakṣmaṇa Rao and Hultzs. The real grantor was the king himself. Pṛthivīduvarāja, as has been observed by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, was only an executor of the grant. As such, the regnal year 21, mentioned therein, should necessarily be that of

1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Vol. IV, p. 43 ff.

Pulakēśin II, but not that of the executor. No subordinate will dare to date in his own regnal year, a grant, given in the presence of the overlord, if not by the overlord himself.

These considerations actuate me to discard the date A. D. 610 in favour of A. D. 631, which I hold along with Dr. Hultzs. to be the date of the conquest of Vēṅgi by Pulakēśin II, and identify "Pṛthivīduvarāja" with Pṛthivīyuvarāja" i.e., Viṣṇuvardhana I. The fact that Sarvalōkāśraya *alias* Maṅgi yuvarāja is mentioned in the Eastern Cālukya grants themselves as Maṅgi dogarāja¹ and Maṅgi duvarāja² strengthens the above contention in as much as the terms duvarāja and yuvarāja are identical. As has been proved by the Koppāraṁ grant, most of the Eastern Telugu Country was conquered by the prowess of Viṣṇuvardhana I himself. Another fact, that he was a subordinate to his brother till A. D. 631 also becomes clear from the Koppāraṁ plates, as was pointed out by Dr. Hultzs.³

IV

Thus, the framework of the scheme of the Eastern Cālukya chronology is securely screwed tight by (1) The Koppāraṁ plates, which supply us with the date A. D. 631 for the conquest of Vēṅgi, (2) the Madras Museum plates of Viṣṇuvardhana III, which give the chronogram "Svādita", answering to Śaka 684, equivalent to A. D. 761 or 762, in accordance with the Śaka year, taken to be either current or expired and the coronation dates of kings already cited. Within this framework, the periods of rule of various Eastern Cālukya kings should be adjusted without losing sight of the other grants, mentioned in the list given above, that furnish us with certain details for calculation.

(1) Now, let us take the Cipurupalli plates into consideration. They record, in the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I, a lunar eclipse on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa. There were lunar eclipses on Śrāvaṇa Śu. di. 15 in the years 622, 623, 641, 650, 651 and 668 — roughly during the period to be assigned to Viṣṇuvardhana I. We are given to understand that he ruled over Vēṅgi for 18 years. As such, the

1. Sātalūr plates of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III (Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 101 ff.).

2. Ipūru plates of Viṣṇuvardhana III (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 58).

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.

first four years 622, 623, 632 and 641 need not be taken into consideration, the first two, because the conquest of Vēṅgi was not effected by that time and the last two, because the 18th year of rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I from the date of the conquest does not coincide with either 632 or 641. Of the last three dates, the last one may safely be set aside as it is too late a date for him. Therefore, the two remaining dates A. D. 650 and 651 are entitled for our consideration.

(2) The gift, recorded in the Pedavēgi plates of Jayasimha Vallabha I was made on Kārtikapaurṇamī, viṣuvadina, *i.e.*, at the time of Vṛścika Saṁkrānti, on Kārtika Śu. di. 15. So a date should be pitched upon, which answers these details, within the period assigned to him by Dr. Fleet and a little later, say between 633 and 680. During this period, Vṛścika Saṁkramaṇa falls on Kārtika Śu. di. 15, in the years 633, 652 and 671 on 22nd, 22nd and 23rd dates of October respectively.¹ 633 may be discarded as it is only two years later in date, than the conquest of Vēṅgi, which should naturally fall during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana I.

- (i) In 652, Śu. di. 15th of Kārtika begins on October 21st, gh. 46, p. 8 after sunrise and ends on the next day *i.e.*, October 22nd, gh. 41, p. 28 after sunrise. The Saṁkrānti moment falls on October 22nd, at 521 of the day or gh. 31, p. 16 after sunrise.
- (ii) In 671. Śu. di. 15th of Kārtika begins on October 22nd, gh. 47, p. 49 after sunrise and ends on the next day, October, 23rd, gh. 41, p. 49 after sunrise. The Saṁkrānti moment falls on October 23rd, at 437 of the day or gh. 26, p. 13 after sunrise.

Anyone of the above two dates may be selected as the date of those plates, as it is impossible to precisely fix it for want of the regnal year of the king.

(3) The next grants that furnish us with some details are those of Viṣṇuvardhana II. All the four grants of his, so far discovered, contain details, with the exception of only one, which admit of verification. They are the Rēyūru, Maṭṭewāḍa and Pamiḍimukkala plates, which are already known to us by the list, given above.

1. All calculations, made in this paper are for mean tithi and for mean sunrise, in accordance with the Sūrya Siddhānta. I have based my calculations on the chronological tables of Mr. V. B. Ketkar.

Dr. Fleet's date¹ for the Rēyūru grant, A.D. 664, may be left out of account, as it does not fall within the probable limits of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana II, if 631 or 632 is taken as the initial year of rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I, over Vēṅgi.

Dr. Fleet himself has pushed on his calculations till 668 A.D. Between 664 and 668, the latter date only satisfies the details, mentioned in the grant, if 664 is discarded. So let us pursue our study from after 668, *i.e.*, from 669 to roughly 685 A. D. During this period of 16 years, the only date which satisfactorily answers the details, mentioned in the Rēyūru grant is 674 A. D. In this year Caitra Śu. di. 10 begins on March 22nd Wednesday, gh. 8, p. 10 after sunrise and ends on 23rd Thursday, gh. 2, p. 13 after sunrise. Similarly Magha nakṣatra begins in the Caitra month in March on 22nd Wednesday, gh. 51, p. 18 after sunrise and ends on 23rd Thursday, gh. 47, p. 2 after sunrise. If 674 be the second year of Viṣṇuvardhana II, then the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana I roughly commences in 621 [674—53) (18+33+6)] or 624. But as has been observed above, as the conquest of Vēṅgi was not achieved by 621 or 624, 674 may be left out of consideration. Then in the remaining years of the period under notice, the Maghā nakṣatra commences on the day on which Caitra Śu. di. 10 ends, in the years 669, 671, 672, 677, 679, 682, 683 and 685, *i.e.*, in all these years Magha is f. d. n. (*i.e.*, the following day's nakṣatra), but not the nakṣatra of the civil day in question, not being current at sunrise on Caitra Śu. di. 10. However, from instances of this kind that occur in numerous well-attested inscriptions, no hesitation can be had to accept any one of these years as satisfying our conditions, had it not been for the difference in the week day. The commencing and ending moments of the *tithi* as well as the commencing moments of the nakṣatra in question along with the week day, in the years mentioned above are as follows:

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 7.
IX—5

Year.	Month.	Caitra			Maghā nakṣatra		
		Su.	di.	10	Commencement		
		Commencement			Ending		
		17th	gh. 5, p. 13.	18th	Sun.	gh. 10, p. 26	18th
669	March.	Satur.	57,	18	Sun.	57, 43	Sun.
671	"	Mon.	25,	5	Tues.	21, 14	Tues.
672	"	Satur.	8,	10	Sun.	2, 13	Sun.
674	"	Wednes.	52,	52	Thurs.	56, 10	Wednes.
677	"	Wednes.	36,	7	Thurs.	39, 47	Thurs.
679	"	Satur.	25,	48	Sun.	19, 55	Sun.
682	"	Sun.	7,	12	Mon.	1, 34	Mon.
683	"	Fri.	33,	25	Satur.	33, 18	Satur.
685	"	Mon.			Tues.		Tues.
		20th		21st			21st
		13th		14th			14th
		23rd		24th			24th
		26th		27th			27th
		18th		19th			19th
		22nd		23rd			22nd
		13th		14th			14th
		24th		25th			25th
		17th		18th			18th
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is scope to decide this point unambiguously. At the outset, it should be noted, that the Eastern Cālukya grants bear testimony to the dictum that both the solar and lunar reckonings were in vogue in the Telugu country, at least during the Cālukyan period. The Raṇastipūṇḍi and the Kōrumilli grants, besides giving the date of coronation of Vimalāditya and Rāja Rāja I, state that the event took place in Vṛṣabhamāsa and Sirmamāsa respectively, in solar reckoning. As such, the coronation dates of either Vimalāditya or Rāja Rāja I do not help us to determine whether the month of Phālguna, mentioned in the Maṭṭewāḍa grant is *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. There are yet the British Museum plates of Amma II and the Attili grant of Cālukya Bhīma I. The British Museum plates of Amma II Vijayāditya state that he was crowned in Śaka 867, and give the details of the date as Mārگاśira ba. di. 13, in lunar reckoning. As the given *tithi* is of the dark fortnight, it helps us to some extent. If Mārگاśira, cited is a *pūrṇimānta* month, then the 13th day of the dark fortnight should be of *amānta* Kārtika. But the details of the date do not work out correctly, if Mārگاśira is taken to be such, i.e., *pūrṇimānta* month, thereby proving that the date cited in lunar reckoning in the Cālukyan inscriptions were most probably of the *amānta* but not of *pūrṇimānta* reckoning. The date of accession to the throne of Cālukya Bhīma I, is, according to the Attili plates, Śaka 814, Caitra ba. di. 2, Monday. Unless the month is Vaiśākha, the details, as Mr. Swamikannu Pillai observes, do not admit of verification.¹ As such, I take Caitra to be a mistake of the scribe for Cittirai, the Tamil solar month corresponding to lunar Vaiśākha. Anyhow this date does not help us owing to this discrepancy. No evidence has come forth, so far, to confirm Dr. Fleet's point of view that the *pūrṇimānta* system alone was in vogue prior to the eighth century. This want is filled up by the Cipurupalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I. These plates, besides recording the gift, made at the time of the lunar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa, furnishes us with a date in numeral figures at the end of the charter, which Dr. Fleet has read as Sam. 18, mā. 4, di. 10 5 (=15). This is the date of the grant. If Śrāvaṇa is taken to be a *pūrṇimānta* month, then the day should be 30 but not 15 and the month 5 but not 4, as given in the charter

1. Govt. Epi. Rep. for 1918, part I. appendix, E., page. 126.
L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's "The Indian Ephemeris", Vol. I, part. II, p. 62.

These discrepancies will vanish if the month in question is taken to be an *amānta* month. In that case, it is to be understood that Viṣṇuvardhana I gave this gift in his 18th regnal year, on the 15th day after four months had elapsed, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, on the 15th day of the bright fortnight, at the time of the lunar eclipse. Thus, the Cipurupalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I, along with the British Museum plates of Amma II Vijayāditya make it absolutely clear that the *amānta* but not the *pūrṇimānta* system was followed during the early Eastern Cālukya period.¹

The above result makes it conclusive that the month of Phālguna, mentioned in the Maṭṭewāḍa grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II was an *amānta*, and not a *pūrṇimānta* month. Therefore, A. D. 686 may be selected as the date of that grant.

(iii) Accordingly, the lunar eclipse, in the month of Kārtika, recorded in the Pamiḍimukkala plates should fall between the dates 681 and 691. In both the years 682 and 683, there were lunar eclipses in the month of Kārtika. As the regnal year of the king was not given in the plates, anyone of these two years may be accepted as satisfying the details of the grant.

(4) Maṅgi Yuvarāja's second year², in which was issued his Cendalūr grant, should be A. D. 692, if the last year of rule of his predecessor Viṣṇuvardhana II is 691 A. D. There were no lunar eclipses in the month of Vaiśākha in A. D. 690, 691 or 692.

(5) The only date between A. D. 689 and 727, that answers well the details mentioned in the Peṇukapaṇu grant of Jayasimha II is A.D. 715. This is the only date assignable to that grant. In this year jyēṣṭha Śu. di. 15 begins on Wednesday, 22nd May, gh. 9, 22 palas after sunrise and ends on Thursday, 23rd May, gh. 11, p. 56 after sunrise. The Mithuna Samkrānti moment falls on 22nd May, Wednesday at -350 of the day or 21 ghaṭikas after sunrise.

(6) As has already been noticed, Śaka 684 falls during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III, which corresponds to either A.D. 761 or 762.

1. Perhaps through the influence of the Cōlas, with whom the Eastern Cālukyas had contracted marriage alliances, the solar reckoning was introduced into the Telugu Country.

2. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 236ff. The English date equivalent here given is 6th May, 673 A.D.

V

Now, with the help of the dates, that answer the details given in the grants, shown in the table, a scheme of chronology may be formulated, in the adjustment of which, three assumptions are involved, namely, (i) The regnal years of each king are to be counted just like current years, *i.e.*, the first regnal year of a king should be counted, not from the expiry of the first year but from the first day of his first year; (ii) The same year has to be counted twice over, as the last year of one king and the first year of the next king; (iii) The Śaka years should be taken to be expired years and not as current ones. With these observations, I put forth my scheme of Eastern Cālukya chronology, as shown below:

	Name of the King.	Period of rule.	Śaka years.		A.D. years.
1	Viṣṇuvardhana I	18 yrs.	555—572	or	633—650
2	Jayasimha I	33 "	572—604	"	650—682
3	Viṣṇuvardhana II	9 "	604—612	"	682—690
4	Maṅgiyavarāja	25 "	612—636	"	690—714
5	Jayasimha II	13 "	636—648	"	714—726
6	Kokkili	1 1/2 "	648—649	"	726—727
7	Viṣṇuvardhana III	37 "	649—685	"	727—763

The next landmark in the Eastern Cālukya chronology is the date Śaka 814 or A.D. 892, the initial year of Cālukya Bhīma I. There are five reigns more to be adjusted before that of Cālukya Bhīma I. Even though the shortest length for each of the above reigns, according to the Sātālūru grant, is taken into account, the sum total (134 years) exceeds by 4 years, the intervening period between the last year of Viṣṇuvardhana III and the initial year of Cālukya Bhīma I (892—762=130 years). No adjustment is possible for this discrepancy but an explanation offers itself. It seems that Cālukya Bhīma I was anointed to the kingdom of Vēṅgi, even during the reign of Vijayāditya III, the necessity for such an event being, perhaps the default of a male heir to the throne, his old age, the untimely and unexpected death of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya I and lastly the political strife imminent with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Mālkheḍ¹. Consecrating Vikramāditya, his brother, as heir to

1. There were wars between the Eastern Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the time of Kṛṣṇa I (Vide, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI,

the throne in itself proves that Vijayāditya III had no male issue, and the term Yuvarāja, applied to Vikramāditya in all the Eastern Cālukya grants, leads us to the conclusion that he died, while he was yet a crown-prince. Owing perhaps to the conjoint rule of Vijayāditya III with Cālukya Bhīma I, even after this event, the Cālukyan grants give the former a reign of 44 years and count the latter's period of rule from the date of his coronation, even though the former was the actual ruler, during the four years in question. Numerous instances of this sort may be cited from Cōḷa history¹ as well as from the history of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi². If the discrepancy of these four years, is thus explained and adjusted, then the length of each of the above-stated five reigns may be given as shown below:

8	Vijayāditya I	18 yrs.	685—702	or	763—780
9	Viṣṇuvardhana IV	35 "	702—736	"	780—814
10	Vijayāditya II	40 "	736—775	"	814—853
11	Viṣṇuvardhana V	1 1/2 "	775—776	"	853—854
12	Vijayāditya III	44 "	776—819	"	854—897
13	Cālukya Bhīma I	Crown- ed in	814	"	892

From the initial year of Cālukya Bhīma I to the accession date of Amma II Vijayāditya, the chronology may be formulated as follows:

13	Cālukya Bhīma I	30 yrs.	814—843	or	892—921
14	Vijayāditya IV	1 1/2 "	843	"	921
15	Amma I	7 "	843—849	"	922—927
16	Bēta Vijayāditya V	15 days	849	"	927
17	Tādapa I	1 m.	849	"	92
18	Vikramāditya II	1 yr.	849—850	or	927—928
19	Bhīma III ³	—	—	"	—
20	Yuddhamalla II	7 yrs.	850—856	"	928—934
21	Cālukya Bhīma II	12 "	866—867	"	934—945
22	Amma II Vijayāditya VI	Crown- ed in	867	"	945

p. 208ff— The Alas plates of Gōvinda II). There are many Rāṣṭrakūṭa as well as the Eastern Cālukya grants that bear evidence to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Cālukya wars.

1. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's, 'The Cōḷas', Vol. I, p. 221.

2. Ind. Ant, Vol. X, p. 165.

3. Since this prince was mentioned only in one grant, his reign was left out of account.

The next guiding factors, namely the length of the succeeding reigns after Amma II and the coronation dates, available from the later Eastern Cālukya grants are already known to us. With the exception of the Ārumbāka plates of Bādapa and the Śrīpūṇḍi grant of Tāḍapa II, all the later Eastern Cālukya grants, which invariably belong to the descendants of Dānārṇava, step-brother of Amma II, state that the former ruled for three years after the latter. But, of the two above-mentioned grants, the Ārumbāka plates, which alone give us the length of reigns, do not admit of Dānārṇava's rule but give us to understand that Bādapa came to the throne immediately after Amma II. By the Madras Museum plates¹ of Amma II it is known that Dānārṇava ruled the country of Vēṅgi, as his brothers' representative, when the latter had been to Kāṭiṅga. Now, if, it is necessary to account for the omission of Dānārṇava's rule in the Ārumbāka plates, then it may be stated, that the later grants perhaps count as his rule those three years of this regency. But, as all the later Eastern Cālukya grants testify to his independent rule after his brother, Amma II, their statements may be safely relied upon and taken to be fairly correct. According to those authorities, there was, after Dānārṇava's rule, anarchy for a period of 27 years in Vēṅgi country, — the country having become devoid of a ruler.

But on the other hand it seems certain, as has been pointed out by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, on the authority of the Ārumbāka and Śrīpūṇḍi grants that, in fact it was not a period of anarchy but a wilful omission of the reigns of Bādapa and Tāḍapa II by their *dāyādis*. Thus, it has now become almost an established and approved fact that the sons of Yuddhamalla II, Bādapa and Tāḍapa II of the collateral branch, ruled over Vēṅgi during that period. As there was no mention of these two kings in the later Eastern Cālukyan grants, it is not possible to know the period of rule of each of these separately. Whether they ruled the kingdom separately or conjointly, it is certain that the period of anarchy is nothing but the total duration of the reign of these two rulers. Order was restored in the country of Vēṅgi, according to the same authorities, with the accession of Śaktivarma I, son of Dānārṇava.

The intervening period between the coronation dates of Amma II and Rāja Rāja I, *i.e.*, 77 years (1022—945=77) does not

1. C. P. no. 1 of 1916—17.

tally with the total duration of the intermediate reigns, including those of Bādapa and Tāḍapa II, *i.e.*, the period of the so called anarchy, but falls short of the above figure by 8 years ($25+3+27+12+7=69$). If, instead of Rāja Rāja's, Vimalāditya's coronation date is taken into account, then the difference dwindles into 3 years [$(1011-945=66; 25+3+27+12=63$ years actually $(66-63=3)$], a period to be made up to coincide with the initial year of Vimalāditya.

Dānārṇava's rule comes to an end with A. D. 971, and if Vimalāditya's initial year is taken to be the basis, then counting backwards, we get A.D. 1000 as the accession date of Śaktivarma, Vimalāditya's brother and predecessor. Then the so-called period of anarchy, *i.e.*, the period of rule of Bādapa and Tāḍapa II is to be assumed to be 30 years¹ as against 27 years of the later grants. Therefore, an explanation seems to be necessary. After a period of 27 years, Śaktivarma should have, perhaps, become the master of the situation and brought the country under his control, even though there were sporadic risings and fights here and there. Finally, perhaps, three years after, in A. D. 1000, he should have ascended the throne.

As an alternative to the above proposition, Dānārṇava may be presumed to have ruled for more than three years — a presumption that goes against the definite statements of all the Cālukyan grants. But I hold that the former view agrees more with the evidence we have, on hand.

Coming next to Vimalāditya, if the period of his rule and his coronation date Śaka 933 are taken into consideration, then his reign should terminate with Śaka 939, which should naturally be the initial year of the reign of his son, Rāja Rāja I. But as we know already, Rāja Rāja's coronation took place in fact in Śaka 944, or A. D. 1022. Therefore, it should be stated that Vimalāditya reigned, not for 7 years, but for 12 years, thus creating a discrepancy of 5 years. But this riddle is not so difficult to solve as it may seem to be at first.

The discrepancy can be explained and adjusted by means of Raṇastipūṇḍi² and Rāmātirtham³ records of Vimalāditya, and the Pāmulavāka plates⁴ and the Kōrumilli grant⁵ of Vijayāditya

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 272.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 347 ff.

3. Ep. Coll., no. 83 of 1917.

4. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 277 ff.

5. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 50 ff.

VIII and Rāja Rāja I respectively, sons of Vimalāditya, by different mothers.

Whether Vimalāditya became an actual convert to Jainism or not, it is evident that he favoured that religion. His Rāmatīrtham record bears testimony to this view. At the time of the gift, recorded in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of the 8th year of his rule, *i.e.*, Śaka 940, Vimalāditya was a Śaivaite, having borne the titles *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Paramabrahmaṇya*¹. But his Rāmatīrtham record, which makes us believe that he was Jain, should be later in time than his Raṇastipūṇḍi grant, *i.e.*, perhaps of his 9th year or Śaka 941. So, these two above records make the following points clear, namely, (i) that Vimalāditya ruled for more than 7 years, though the duration of his reign is stated to be only 7 years by the later grants; (ii) that he became Jain after his 8th year, *i.e.*, Śaka 940, the date of the Raṇastipūṇḍi record², before which he was a Śaivaite; and (iii) that his rule, as a consequence, should have lasted for more than 8 years, *i.e.*, 9 years or even longer.

Vijayāditya is said to have been crowned in Śaka 952, (27th June, 1031 A.D.) after wresting the kingdom of Vēṅgi from his step-brother, Rāja Rāja I, after he had ruled for 12 years.³ Thus we find that Rāja Rāja's 12th year corresponds to Śaka 952, giving us the initial year of his rule as Śaka 941. In fact, Śaka 944 is the coronation date given him by the Kōrumilli grant.

Over against many speculations and conjectures so far made either to adjust or to explain the discrepancy of 5 years, shown above and the coronation dates of Vijayāditya and Rāja Rāja I, I hold that Vimalāditya was duly crowned in Vēṅgi in Śaka 933 and was ruling the country till the accession of Rāja Rāja I, *i.e.*, Śaka 944, without a break. But, at the same time, installing his son Rāja Rāja I, prince-regent, full 8 years after his coronation, *i.e.*, in his 9th year, in Śaka 941, and placing the whole burden of the kingdom upon his shoulders, he did not actively take part in the affairs of the state, having himself become a nominal ruler. Perhaps, he, henceforward, devoted his whole time to religious study, having become an ardent desciple of Trikālayōgimunindra or Trikālayōgi Siddhāntadēva of the Dēsi-gaṇa⁴ School. Thus, it is clear that Rāja Rāja I was actually

ruling the country as a regent of his father, even though his formal coronation was deferred to a later date, till Śaka 944 or A. D. 1022. Vijayāditya VII rebelled against him during his rule and took hold of the kingdom. How long he held the sceptre is not known; but the existence of Rāja Rāja's inscriptions¹ after Śaka 952 and the period 40 years assigned to his rule in the later Cāḷukyan grants clearly prove, that, Vijayāditya VII was driven out very soon, and that Rāja Rāja I, regaining his throne, continued to rule till Śaka 983 or A. D. 1061. It is unnecessary for us here to go into the reasons that led Vijayāditya VII to rebel against his brother or to follow the course of events of this sanguinary war or to note the contending parties.

After the demise of Rāja Rāja I, his son Rājendra Cōḍa should have come to the throne of Vēṅgi. But inscriptions reveal the fact that Vijayāditya VII siezed again Vēṅgi and raised his son Śaktivarma II to the throne. It is not known how he succeeded in his attempt, when Rājendra Cōḍa was the crown-prince. History is silent as to the activities of Rājendra Cōḍa for a decade, *i.e.*, from 1061 to 1070 A. D., after the death of his father. No record of this prince during that period has so far been discovered. All the innumerable inscriptions of his, that have come to light, give A. D. 1070 as the initial year of his rule. But yet this fact is mentioned in some of his early inscriptions² that he captured elephants at Vairāgaram, conquered Cakrakōṭa and took tribute from the king Dhāravarṣa at Cakrakōṭa while he was yet a *yuvārāja*. It is not yet known precisely when and in what connection this expedition was undertaken by him. It may be perhaps when he was away on this expedition, that the death of Rāja Rāja I occurred, and the capture of Vēṅgi by his paternal uncle, Vijayāditya VII was effected.

Śaktivarma II was crowned in Śaka 983 or A. D. 1061.³ But after a rule of one year, he passed away, when his father Vijayāditya "resumed the authority out of regard for Dharma". Hence it is evident that Vēṅgi was under the control, not of Rājendra Cōḍa, but of Vijayāditya VII, immediately after the death of Rāja Rāja I. Vijayāditya's rule over Vēṅgi lasted for 15 years, as is evident from his records,⁴ *i.e.*, till 998 or A. D. 1076.

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 355 f.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 358 f.

3. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 279 f.

4. Ep. Rep. for 1918, p. 133, para 6.

1. Ep. Coll., no. 670 and 671 of 1920.

2. S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 64-7.

3. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 40 f.

4. S. I. I., Vol. IV, no. 1011.

During this period, the illustrious line of Cōḷa rulers of Kāñci, from Rāja Rāja I came to an end with Virarājendra, the third son of Rājendra Cōḷa I. Adhirājendra, the son of the former, being a very feeble prince, his brother-in-law, Vikramāditya VI, the Western Cāḷukya ruler of Kalyāṇ and Rājendra Cōḷa, the Eastern Cāḷukya prince, both, with a view to gain supremacy over South India, intervened in the political affairs of the Cōḷa country. Immediately after the death of Virarājendra, Vikramāditya VI set up Adhirājendra on the Cōḷa throne. But after a rule of two years he was murdered, as a consequence of the political disturbances at the Cōḷa capital, and we find Rājendra Cōḷa, the Cāḷukya prince, in possession of his maternal kingdom, the Cōḷa country. So far, there is no evidence to show that Vijayāditya VII, the then ruler of Vēṅgi was his subordinate and that Vēṅgi had come under his control before A. D. 1076.

It is hard to conjecture the nature of relations that existed between Vijayāditya VII and his nephew Rājendra Cōḷa, during this period. Since no overlord is mentioned in Vijayāditya's records, it is to be presumed that he was ruling the country independently. Even though some records¹ of Viracōḷa, son of Rājendra Cōḷa, bear evidence to the regard the latter had entertained for his uncle, Vijayāditya and give out that Rājendra Cōḷa told his son Vira Cōḷa while sending him as a viceroy to Vēṅgi, after the death of Vijayāditya VII, that he, being desirous of the Cōḷa sovereignty and of subjugating various countries, had transferred the sovereignty of Vēṅgi to his paternal uncle, we are led to believe that he said so out of policy, so as not to create any bad impression regarding his uncle, in the minds of his sons, in the political interests of his paternal kingdom.

In this connection, this fact is worth noting that for the first 5 years of his reign, from A. D. 1070, Rājendra Cōḷa did not assume the honorific title of Kulōttuṅga, (the elevator of his family), which became his confirmed name from after A. D. 1075-76 — the same year, in which Vijayāditya VII breathed his last. If it is a fact that there are no inscriptions of his, with the name Kulōttuṅga, before his 5th year, then the change of name may be taken as indicative of his authority over his paternal as well as his maternal Kingdoms — the Vēṅgi and the Cōḷa countries.

Anyhow, from after A. D. 1076, Rājendra Cōḷa alias Kulōttuṅga I became the lord of the Vēṅgi kingdom also

1. S. I. I., Vol. I. p. 49 ff; and Ind. Ant.. Vol. XIV, p. 55 f.

and nominated his sons, one after another to rule over that country. Besides this, he, by assigning limited tracts of country, on feudal tenure, to some of his trusted commanders, who had been serving him before, created a number of feudatories, perhaps as a check over his sons, lest they should become too powerful and rise against him. Thus, the reign of Kulōttuṅga I forms a definite landmark in the history of the Telugu country, regarding not only the transfer of capital from Rājamundry to Tanjore but also for the beginnings, laid down in that reign, of the feudal kingdoms, which grew very powerful in the succeeding reigns.

Rāja Rāja II, son of Kulōttuṅga I became the first viceroy of Vēṅgi and controlled its fortunes after the death of Vijayāditya in A. D. 1076. He was crowned on 27th July, 1076 at Jananāthanagarī, i.e., Drākṣārām, in the East Godavary district. With Rāja Rāja I and Vijayāditya VII, the Eastern Cāḷukya line founded by Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana I comes to a close, giving rise to another historic line, the Cāḷukya-Cōḷas of Tanjore, the originator of the new line being Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I himself.

From Amma II, the chronological scheme may be continued as shown below, adjusting the dates, having in view the various questions dealt with in the preceding paragraphs:

22	Amma II	25 yrs.	867—891	or	945—969
23	Dānārṇava	3 "	891—893	"	969—971
24	Bādapa	30 "	893—922	"	971—1000
25	Tādapa II				
26	Śaktivarma I	12 "	922—933	"	1000—1011
27	Vimalāditya	7 "	933—944	"	1011—1022
28	Vijayāditya VII	(Crowned in)	952	"	1031
29	Rāja Rāja I	40 yrs.	944—983	"	1022—1061
30	Śaktivarma II	1 yr.	983—984	"	1061—1062
31	Vijayāditya VII	15 yrs.	984—998	"	1062—1076
32	Kulōttuṅga I	(Crowned in)	992	"	1070

Post Script.

Ep. Coll., no. 80 of 1930, giving the Cyclic year Bahudhānya, Kārtika Śu. di 5, Sun. corresponding to the 5th reg. year of a Viṣṇuvardhana has come to my notice too late to be considered in this article. On going through the facsimile of the inscription which I was kindly permitted by the Superintendent of Epigraphy, to consult, I came to the conclusion that the reg. year is 12th, corresponding to 11th Oct., 739 A. D. in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III. I hope to deal with the question fully in a separate paper.

SOME RARE METRES IN SANSKRIT

BY

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The number of metres in Sanskrit and Prākṛt is, as stated in the commentaries on *Piṅgala-Chandas-sūtra*, *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*, *Vṛttaratnākara*, and other similar works, well-nigh incalculable, that of the *Sama-vṛttas* alone exceeding 130 million.¹ The number of those actually described and named in these works, however, is an infinitesimal fraction of the above and does not exceed 300; and of these metres too the great majority are used only rarely. When therefore an author happens to employ a rare metre in his composition, it is quite possible that the reader, copyist or editor of the work may fail to recognise the metrical character of the passage in question and look upon it as prose. The following passage on pp. 15-16 of Vol. I of Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka-campū* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. of 1916) offers an instance in point:

विकचकर्णोत्पलस्पर्धितरलेक्षणाः ।
केलितालकणकनकमयकङ्कणाः ॥
सरसनखराजिविच्छुरितभुजमण्डलाः ।
काञ्चिकोल्लासवशदर्शितोरुस्थलाः ॥
खैरसंजल्पनस्मेरबिम्बाधराः ।
कर्णकण्डूमिषोद्वलितकक्षान्तराः ॥
पृथुनितम्बस्खलल्लटहगतिविक्रमाः ।
सहजशृङ्गारसभरितमुखविभ्रमाः ॥

1. This figure does not take into account the subdivisions of the *Gāhā* (26 in number), *Skandha* (28), *Dohā* (23), *Rasikā* (8), *Rolā* (12), *Kāvya* (45), *Śaṭpadī* (71), *Raddā* (7) and *Upajāti* (14) that are defined and named in the commentary on *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (Bibl. Indica ed.) and on p. 215 of Vecārāma Sārvabhauma's edition (Calcutta, Samvat 1926) of *Piṅgala-Chandas-sūtra* with Halāyudha's scholium.

SOME RARE METRES IN SANSKRIT

47

पीनकुचकुम्भदर्पवृट्कञ्चुकाः ।
शालिवप्रेषु यान्त्यः क्षणं गोपिकाः ॥
पान्थसार्येषु नयनोत्सवं कुर्वते ।
यत्र तापं पुनश्चिरमुपातन्वते ॥

Though printed as prose by the editors (Pandits Śivadatta and Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇṣīkar), it is readily plain to the ear that the passage consists of six rhyming couplets or twelve lines each of which is formed of four feet of five mātrās.

The writers on Sanskrit prosody have no name for this metre, which however is used fairly frequently by Kannaḍa and Telugu writers and is known as *Lalita-ragaḷe* and *Dviradagati-ragaḷa* respectively in these languages.

Raghaṭā (in Kannaḍa *ragaḷe* and *ragaḷa* in Telugu) is the name of a class of metres whose characteristics are: (1) each line consists of a certain number of feet containing a certain number of mātrās; (2) each odd line, generally, rhymes with the line that follows and forms a couplet with it; and (3) there is no limit to the number of lines that may constitute a stanza.²

The Telugu prosodist Appakavi (later than 1600 A. D.) describes nine kinds of *Ragaḷas*—*Hayapracāra*, *Turaga-valgana*, *Dviradagati*, etc., while the Kannaḍa prosodist Nāgavarma (c. 1040 A.D.) mentions in his *Chandombudhi* (Kittel's edition, p. 76) the names of three *Ragaḷes*, *Mandānila*, *Lalita* and *Utsāha* and says that the lines of these *Ragaḷes* contain 16, 20 and 24 moras respectively. In the examples cited by Kittel, the sixteen moras of the *Mandānila-ragaḷe* are contained in four feet of four moras each (cp. *ā vēleyoḷ ati-sambhramam esedire | pū-vaḷi pura-vithigaḷoḷ neredire*), the twenty moras of the *Lalita-ragaḷe* in four feet of five moras each (cp. *alli māmuraḍalli mallikā-lateyalli | yeḷeya-sugemaraḍalli jaḷaruhākaradalli*), and the twenty-four moras of the *Utsāha-ragaḷe* in eight feet of three moras each (cp. *aṭṭa*

1. Thus stanza 55 of the *Samsa-padam* (a poem published recently, in 1928) consists of 242 lines of *Lalita-ragaḷe*.

2. The reading *pṛthu-nitamba-vaśa-skhalat* of the edition is without doubt wrong. The word 'vaśa' is in disaccord, not only with the metre, but with the sense also; and I have no doubt that it is due to a later interpolator.

anna vūṇṇa biḍanu koṭṭa sāla kēḷa-biḍanu | peṭṭiyoliha cinnad
oḍave toṭṭen enalu Yamanu biḍanu).¹

The six couplets cited above from the *Yaśastilaka* are, plainly, composed in the Lalita-ragaḷe, and constitute, in all probability, but one stanza.

2. Another instance of a verse being regarded as prose is met with on p. 270 of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*. The verse *jitam abhikṣam eva Jāmbavatī-vadanāravindorjjitālinā | dānavāṅganā-mukhāmbhoja-lakṣmī-tuṣārcṇa Viṣṇunā* which is contained in lines 1, 2 of the Tusām rock inscription edited there, was taken for prose by Dr. Fleet.² Similarly, the verse [arit] *narendra-mauḷi-vinyasta-maṇi-kiraṇa-līḍha-kramāmbujah | Pravarasenas tasya putro 'bhūd vikasan-navendīvarekṣaṇah* that occurs in a Vākātaka inscription at Ajaṇṭā (*Archaeological Survey of Western India, IV, p. 125*) was not at first

1. In some Kannaḍa works however the lines of the Utsāha-ragaḷe consist of four feet only of three moras each (cp. *kulirva pū-golaṃgaḷalli | taḷira kāvaṇaṃgaḷali*) or are formed of three such feet and a *guru* (e. g. *māvinadiyoḷ āḍutum | pāḍan eyde kēḷutum*). The lines of the Mandānila-ragaḷe too are sometimes formed of four feet of 3, 5, 3, 5 moras respectively (cp. *nandanamgaḷoḷ suḷiva birayiyim | kaṃpu kaṇmaleya pūta surayiyim*).

2. It is less comprehensible why Fleet, on p. 9 *op. cit.* gives as prose the following verse that is contained in lines 30-31 of Inscription No. 1:

pradāna-bhuja-vikrama-prasāma-śāstra-vākyodayair
upary-upari saṃcayocchritam aneka-mārggaṃ yaśaḥ |
punāti bhuvana-trayaṃ Paśupater jaṭāntar-guhā-
nirodha-parimokṣa-śīghram iva pāṇḍu Gāṅgaṃ payaḥ ||

Not only is the metre in which the verse is composed, namely, Pṛthvī, a well-known one, but the writer of the inscription has interposed a *d a ṇ ḍ a* after the last word of the prose passage that precedes this verse to indicate that what follows is a verse. Dr. Fleet did not understand the purpose of this *d a ṇ ḍ a*, but has said (n. 1, l. c.) that 'this mark of punctuation is unnecessary'.

The editors of the *Divyāvadāna* too (Cambridge University Press. 1886), have printed as prose a great number of verses composed in different well-known metres. See for instance pages 354-59.

recognised as verse, but was regarded as prose. It was only after the Tālgunda pillar inscription of Kākustha-varman¹, which contains 24 verses composed in the same metre, was discovered by Mr. Rice, that the similarity of these two verses with them was noticed and their metrical character recognised.

This Tālgunda inscription has been edited by the late Mr. Rice on p. 200ff. of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII and by the late Prof. Kielhorn on p. 24ff. of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII; and the latter scholar has reproduced on p. 27 l. c. the observations regarding the metre of the last-mentioned 24 verses which he made in German in a paper entitled 'Ein unbekanntes indisches Metrum' (*Nachrichten der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen*, 1899, p. 182ff.) The metre in which these verses are composed is, according to him, a species of *m ā t r ā s a m a k a* with four pādas whose general scheme is:

pādas 1 and 3: — — — — — — — — — — (15 mātrās),
pādas 2 and 4: — — — — — — — — — — (15 mātrās);

but 18 of the odd pādas, out of 48, he points out, do not conform to this scheme, fourteen having 16 mātrās and four 17 mātrās, instead of 15.

Now the name *m ā t r ā s a m a k a* can be applied with propriety to denote the metre of such verses only as have the same number of mātrās in all the four pādas. There are only fifteen verses in the Tālgunda inscription which this description suits; and there still remain nine verses (Nos. 2, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 21, 24) with unequal number of mātrās in the pādas whose metre requires explanation. In two only of these verses (Nos. 14, 15) is the number of *akṣaras* the same in both halves; but in both verses the sequence of *gurus* and *laghus* in the first half differs from that in the second half. It hence becomes obvious that the metre in which these nine verses are composed is neither a *varṇa* metre nor a *mātrā* metre; and since these verses resemble so closely the other fifteen verses to which the description *m ā t r ā s a m a k a* fits, it also becomes plain that these latter verses are not in reality *mātrāsamakās*, but that they are composed in a metre which is neither a *varṇa* metre nor a *mātrā*-metre. In other words, it becomes plain that the *gaṇas* or feet

1. More correctly, of Śāntivarman, son of Kākustha-varman.

that make up the pādas of these twenty-four verses are neither varṇa-gaṇas nor mātrā-gaṇas.

Now there is a third class of gaṇas, differing from the above two, which I shall call miśra-gaṇas : in these gaṇas, there is constant, neither the number of akṣaras as in the varṇa-gaṇas (ma, ya, ra, sa, ta, ja, bha, na), nor that of mātrās as in the mātrā-gaṇas (ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa).¹ On the other hand, however, they resemble the mātrā-gaṇas in having more than one form, and the varṇa-gaṇas in that the number of mātrās contained in them is not anywhere taken into consideration.²

Such miśra-gaṇas have not, so far as I know, been described by any writer on Sanskrit prosody. They are known however to writers on Telugu prosody who describe three classes of such gaṇas under the name of Sūrya-gaṇa, Indra-gaṇa and Candra-gaṇa. The Kannaḍa prosodist Nāgavarma too describes three kinds of such gaṇas in vv. 297-298 (pp. 95, 96), saying that they are peculiar to Kannaḍa poetry. The three kinds are named by him Brahma-gaṇa, Viṣṇu-gaṇa and Rudra-gaṇa and consist respectively of gaṇas of two, three and four gurus and their transformations according to the process described in v. 298.³

There are thus, according to Nāgavarma, 4 kinds of Brahma-gaṇas, 8 kinds of Viṣṇu-gaṇas and 16 kinds of Rudra-gaṇas⁴ as shown below:

1. Regarding the mātrā-gaṇas ṭa, ṭha, etc., see *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*. I, 12 ff. The ṭa-gaṇa which contains six mātrās has thirteen forms; the ṭha-gaṇa, containing five mātrās, has eight forms, etc.

2. That is, the miśra-gaṇas are not mātrā-gaṇas.

The varṇa-gaṇas, it will be borne in mind, have only one form each. The gaṇa ra, for instance, has the form— $\cup$ —and no other, the gaṇa na the form $\cup \cup \cup$ and no other.

3. This process is the same as the *prastāra-vidhi* described by writers on Sanskrit prosody; only, in respect of the first place, Nāgavarma enjoins that two *laghus* should be substituted, and not one *laghu* as is usual, for the *guru*.

4. Nāgavarma has given different names to each one of these twenty-eight gaṇas, in the same way as the author of the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* has given different names to the different forms of the ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha and ṇa gaṇas in I. 15 ff.

Brahma-gaṇas		Viṣṇu-gaṇas		Rudra-gaṇas	
1. — —	1. — — —	1. — — — —	9. — — — —		
2. ∪ ∪ —	2. ∪ ∪ — —	2. ∪ ∪ — — —	10. ∪ ∪ — — ∪		
3. — ∪	3. — ∪ —	3. — ∪ — —	11. — ∪ — ∪		
5. ∪ ∪ ∪	4. ∪ ∪ ∪ —	4. ∪ ∪ ∪ — —	12. ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪		
	5. — — ∪	5. — — ∪ —	13. — — ∪ ∪		
	6. ∪ ∪ — ∪	6. ∪ ∪ — ∪ —	14. ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪		
	7. — ∪ ∪	7. — ∪ ∪ —	15. — ∪ ∪ ∪		
	8. ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	8. ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ —	16. ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪		

It will be observed that none of the twenty-eight gaṇas mentioned above begins with an iambus ($\cup$ —), because, as observed by Kittel (p. 98 *op. cit.*; compare also his observations on pp. 24, 26) such feet are foreign to Kannaḍa metres. Since such feet are in use in Sanskrit metres, we must add to the injunctions given in v. 298 by Nāgavarma, that a single *laghu* can be substituted in the place of the first *guru* too, when such *guru* is followed by another *guru*.¹ We thus get $\cup$ — as an additional Brahmā foot, $\cup$ — $\cup$; $\cup$ — — as additional Viṣṇu feet, and $\cup$ — — —; $\cup$ — — $\cup$; $\cup$ — $\cup \cup$; $\cup$ — — $\cup$ — as additional Rudra feet.

There are thus 5 B(rahmā) feet, 10 V(iṣṇu) feet, and 20 R(udra) feet. The B feet contain 2-3 akṣaras and 3-4 mātrās, the V feet, 3-4 akṣaras and 4-6 mātrās, and the R feet, 4-5 akṣaras and 5-8 mātrās. That is to say, there is a slight variation in the number of akṣaras and also in the number of mātrās² of these miśra-gaṇas.

1. This proviso is necessary to prevent confusion; without it, for instance, $\cup \cup \cup$ (which is a Brahmā foot; see above) would have to be regarded as a Viṣṇu foot also.

2. As observed above, the miśra feet are not mātrā-gaṇas, and the number of mātrās contained in them is of no account so far as the metre is concerned. It is nevertheless useful to take note of them since the variation of the number of mātrās, conjoined with that of the number of akṣaras, is an almost certain indication of the presence of miśra-gaṇas.

In varṇa feet, the number of akṣaras and of mātrās are both constant; in mātrā feet, the number of mātrās alone is constant while that of the akṣaras varies; in miśra feet, both these numbers vary.

Now one of the characteristics that strikes the reader of the above-mentioned verses of the Tālgunda inscription is the variation in the number of akṣaras and of mātrās in their pādas. As already observed by Kielhorn, the number of mātrās in these pādas varies between 15 and 17, and that of the akṣaras between 9 and 12. This variation is so similar to that which we have noticed above in connection with the miśra-gaṇas that the question obtrudes itself on our attention, "Are these pādas made up of miśra feet?"

In order to answer this, let us examine the following typical pādas chosen from these verses:

- V. 3 a: अनुपदंसु रेन्द्रतुल्य वपुः (11 akṣaras; 15 mātrās)
 b: काकुस्थव मविशा लघीः (9 " " 15 ")
 10 c: अधिजिगांसुः प्रवचनं निखिलम् (12 " 16 ")
 14 a: या न्तपालान् पल्लवे न्द्राणाम् (9 " 16 ")
 b: सहस्रविनि जित्यसं युगे (10 " 15 ")
 19 a: पल्लवेन्द्रा यस्यशक्तिमिमाम् (10 " 16 ")
 b: लब्धवाप्रता पान्वया वपि (9 " 15 ")

All these seven pādas, containing 9, 10, 11 or 12 akṣaras and 15 or 16 mātrās, consist of a Rudra foot, followed by a Viṣṇu foot and a Brahmā foot.

This is the case with the other pādas also of these twenty-four verses, with the exception of the following four:

- 11 c: कलियुगेस्मि न्होवतक्षत्रात्
 17 e: विषमदेश प्रयाणसर्वशे-
 21 c: प्रेहरान्तामनन्य सञ्चरण-
 24 c: सगरमुख्यः स्वयं कदंबकुले

These four pādas have the scheme RRB instead of RVB.

Thus, of the above-mentioned twenty-four verses of the Tālgunda inscription, all except nos. 11, 17, 21 and 24, have pādas following the scheme RVB and are therefore *sama-vṛttas* belonging to the class of miśra-gaṇa metres; nos. 11, 17, 21 and

24, on the other hand, are *upajāti*¹ verses belonging to the same class of metres, with three pādas of the type RVB and one pāda (pāda c in all four cases) of the type RRB.

The verses cited above from the Tuṣām and Ajaṇṭā inscriptions too are *upajāti* verses; in both, pāda a follows the scheme RRB and the other three, the scheme RVB. The two verses cited by Kielhorn (p. 27 l. c.) from the *Bower Manuscript*, on the other hand, are *sama-vṛttas* with all pādas following the type RVB.

The *Rāvaṇārjunīya* of Bhaṭṭa-Bhīma (on Bhaṭṭa-Bhauma) contains more than seventy verses composed in a similar metre. There are however lacunae in some of them; and in others, the editors have, with justice, suggested emendations which have the effect of altering, either the number of akṣaras or their quantity. Excluding then all such verses, there remain sixty,² the number

1. The word *upajāti* is used by Sanskrit prosodists in three different senses. (1) It denotes stanzas in which pādas of the *Indravajrā-vṛtta* and *Upeṇḍravajrā-vṛtta* are mixed up. There are fourteen varieties of this *upajāti*, and they are all named and defined in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* (II, 121). (2) It denotes stanzas in which pādas of other different *vṛttas* belonging to the same *chandas* (*Triṣṭubh*, *Jagatī*, etc.) are mixed up. Thus, a stanza in which *Vamśasthā* and *Indravamśā-pādas* occur is such an *upajāti*. (3) It is used comprehensively to denote stanzas in which pādas of different *vṛttas*, whether belonging to the same *chandas* or different *chandases*, are mixed up. Such stanzas are called *viṣama-vṛttas* or *gāthās* also. The following stanza at the beginning of Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad* is an *upajāti* of this type:

yo viśvātmā vidhija-viṣayān prāśya bhogān sthaviṣṭhān
 paścāc cānyān svamati-vibhavān jyotiṣā svena sūkṣmān|
 sarvān etān punar api śanaiḥ svātmani sthāpayitvā
 hitvā sarvān viśeṣān vigata-guṇa-gaṇaḥ pātv asau nas
 turīyah||

It is in this third sense that the word *upajāti* has been used above.

In Telugu prosody, the word *upajāti*, it is interesting to note, is used to denote miśra-gaṇa verses.

2. Namely 5|35; 16|70; 19|26; 21|39; 33|23; 49|7, 8, 9; 53|37, 44; 55|60; 60|31; 64|5; 65|18; 68|43, 44; 69|49; 30|61; 33|26; 83|54; 84|55, 62; 85|63; 94|58; 97|10; 168|7; 169|15; 170|20; 22; 171|25-28, 30-33; 172|34-37, 39-42; 173|48-53; 174|54, 58; 176|68, 70; 177|80; 179|6, 8; 192|60; 203|53. Of these numbers, the first is that of the page of the *Kāvyamālā* edition of 1900, and the second, of the verse printed on that page.

and quantity of whose *akṣaras* are certain and whose *gaṇas* can therefore be determined. In these sixty verses too, *pādas* of the type RVB greatly predominate; but the number of *sama-vṛttas* is only 22, and of *ardha-sama-vṛttas* (RRB, RVB; RRB; RVB) ten. The remaining verses are *upajātis*, there occurring in each verse, beside *pādas* of the type RVB, usually one *pāda* of the type RRB, and less frequently, one *pāda* of the type RVR, RRV, BVB, RR, RV or RB. Very rarely, there are two RVB *pādas* in an *upajāti* verse, and two *pādas* of the other types mentioned.

I cite here from this book some examples of *upajāti* verses, and one of an *ardha-sama* verse :

5|35 क्षेत्रभूमिः पञ्चगोनिरपि शतगोनिरासीन्महाफला ।
तत्र पाति पार्थिवे कृतवीर्यसूनौ कृतात्मनि ॥

Cp. also 16|70.

19|26 यमार्धशिश्ये मृगकुलं विभयमध्यास्त यं भूपतिः स्वयम् ।
नाध्यतिष्ठत्तं वनोद्देशमन्यो नृपाप्रतीक्षया ॥

83|54 यदवरमाग्रहायण्या योयं नृपायातिवत्सरः ।
उत्सवं करिष्यते तत्र स्वामी त्वयेक्ष्यताम् ॥

172|40 तात शीघ्रं गत्वा तत्र धौता वनस्येव मारुतः ।
विधवितास्य भव विपक्षस्य पौत्रस्य मोक्षेण शुष्यतः ॥

Ch. 173|52; 171|26; 27, 30, 32, 33; 172|52; 179|8,

172|39 मास्मृषतास्य मान्यदोषांश्च स्मर्याः परं केवलं गुणाः ।
पौत्रस्य भवताद्यमास्मरिषत स्मर्याः परं केवलं गुणाः ॥

84|62 अस्ति नाम त्वद्विरोधो राजा यत्तरिष्यति त्वं सरिजले ।
किं किलेदं पीडितं क्रीडां न करिष्यते वारिजन्मनाम् ॥

The last-cited verse (84/62) is an *ardha-sama* verse whose odd and even *pādas* are of the type RVR and RVB respectively. The others are *upajāti* verses; and in the first three of those cited above, *pādas* abd are of the type RVB while *pāda* c is of the type RV, RR and RB respectively¹. In 172|40, *pāda* a is the type RR and the rest of the type RVB, while in 172|39, the four *pādas* are respectively of the type RRB, RVB, RRV, RVB.

Pandits Śivadatta and K. P. Parab have given at the beginning of the above-mentioned edition of the *Rāvaṇārjunīya* two pages containing what they call a *Chando-nidarśana-patra*, in which they have given an explanation of the metre employed in

1. These *pādas* thus consist of two *gaṇas* only and not three.

twenty, out of the sixty, verses that I have referred to above. They make no mention of *miśra-gaṇas*, but regard these verses as *viśama-vṛttas* with *pādas* composed in different *varṇa-gaṇa* metres. Thus 5/35, for instance, contains according to them four *pādas* composed respectively in Paṅkti-931,¹ Paṅkti-332 Uṣṇīḥ-75 and Paṅkti-931; and 19|26, of four *pādas* composed in Br̥hātī-232, Jagatī-1320, Br̥hātī-299, Anuṣṭubh-165. All this is merely a description in technical language of the sequence of *laghus* and *gurus* in the two halves of the verse: the two pandits seem to have made no effort to find out if there is any characteristic common to all these verses, but regard each verse as *sui generis*. Such an explanation can be given of any verse whatsoever, of verses of the *mātrā* metre as of the *varṇa* and *miśra-gaṇa* metres, and it hardly deserves serious consideration.

Before leaving the subject of *miśra-gaṇa* metres, I would like to make an observation about their relation to the metres known as *jāti* and *vṛtta*. *Jāti* is the name applied to the metres in which the moras of the syllables are taken into consideration. There are two classes of such metres, (1) *gaṇa-chandas* or *mātrā-gaṇa* metres comprising Āryā, Gīti, etc. in which the metre-units are *mātrā-gaṇas*; and (2) *mātrā-chandas* or *mātrā* metres in the narrower sense, comprising Vaitālīya, Aupacchandāsika, Mātrā-samaka, etc., in which the units are, not *mātrā-gaṇas*, but single *mātrās*. Similarly, the *vṛtta* metres too consist of two classes,² (1) *varṇa-gaṇa* metres comprising the metres in the chandas Uktā, Atyuktā, etc., and Daṇḍakas whose units are *varṇa-gaṇas*; and (2) *varṇa* metres in the narrower sense, comprising Vaktra, Aparavaktra, etc. in which the units are, not *varṇa-gaṇas*, but single *varṇas*. The word *vṛtta* signifies literally 'turning', i.e., the path pursued by the *pāda* (or *ardha*) among *laghus* and *gurus*, and denotes therefore a unique arrangement or sequence of a definite number of *laghus* and *gurus*. The name is thus apposite in connection with *varṇa-gaṇa* metres, since expressions like Śālinī-vṛtta, Mālinī-vṛtta, etc., can denote one arrangement only of a definite number of *laghus* and *gurus*. *Jāti*, on the other hand, signifies 'class, species, genus'; and it is

1. That is, the 931st, out of the 1024 forms of the Paṅkti *pāda* of 10 syllables; and similarly in the other cases.

2. But in practice, the word *vṛtta* is laxly used in connection with the *mora* metres also.

appropriate in connection with the mora metres Āryā, Vaitāliya etc.; for these expressions denote, not one, but many¹ arrangements of a definite number of *laghus* and *gurus*.²

Since, as we have seen above, the *miśra-gaṇas* R, V and B have, like the *mātrā-gaṇas* (ṭa, ṭha, etc.) many forms, the combination RVB denotes in fact $20 \times 10 \times 5$ or 1000 different arrangements of *laghus* and *gurus*; and hence the *miśra-gaṇa* metres too fall under the division of *jāti* metres.

3. On pp. 177, 182 of the *Yasastilaka* (Vol. I) are found the following two stanzas which Somadeva himself calls *mātrā*:—

सकलमङ्गलधाम जयकाम कमलालय
निखिलनय शौर्यनिगद कदनैकदोहद ।
आनिगममसमानबल वैरिकाल
जय जीवकामद ॥
कुबलयोत्सवचन्द्र नृपतीन्द्र लक्ष्मीवर
कीर्तिसरदमृतवृष्टिपल्लवितबुधवन ।
आभुवनमभिमानधन धैर्यसदन
जय विहितसदवन ॥

In Śrutasāgara's explanation of the first verse, his words describing the nature of its metre are lost; on p. 182. he merely writes *mātrā-chanda idam*. It is difficult to determine from the verses themselves whether they are *dvipadīs* with 40 (41) and 78 (79) moras in each half, or *catuspadīs* containing in the four

1. As stated by Halāyudha (p. 83 of above-cited edition), there are 80 varieties of the *Āryā*; that is, the term *āryā* can be used in connection with 80 different arrangements of *laghus* and *gurus*.

2. But the inclusion of *varṇa* metres proper, that is, of *Vaktra*, etc., in the *ṛtta* class is not correct, as *Vaktra*, for instance, can denote several different arrangements of *laghus* and *gurus*. Similarly, the inclusion of the mora metres *Gītyāryā*, *Jyotis*, and *Saumya* (regarding the description of these metres, see *Piṅgala-chandas-sūtra*, 4-47, 49, 50) under *jāti* too, is incorrect as these expressions can denote but one arrangement of *gurus* (all, and *laghus*. The *Āryā* varieties *Lakṣmī*, *Rddhi*, *Buddhi*, etc. that are described in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (I, 58 ff.) are all, properly speaking, *ṛttas* and not *jātis*; for these terms can denote but one arrangement of *laghus* and *gurus*.

pādas 21 (22), 20 (21), 18 (19) and 9 (10) moras, or a different number of moras. This metre is not described in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*; nor, so far as I know, are instances of its use met with elsewhere.

4. On pp. 178, 183, *op. cit.*, are found the following two verses which Somadeva calls *Catuspadī*:

इति महति भवति किंचिद्वदामि निःशेषस्तु नो पारयामि ।
वक्तुं त्वदीयगुणगरिमधाम सर्वज्ञवचनविषयं हि नाम ॥
नृप महति भवति किंचिद्रिरामि वक्तुं गुणमखिलं नोत्तरामि ।
दीप्तिर्धुमणेरवनीश यत्र का शक्तिः काचमणेर्हि तत्र ॥

The *Catuspadī* described in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (I, 67-69) consists of four *pādas* of 30 moras each or 120 moras each, while another described on p. 112 of the above-mentioned edition of *Piṅgala-chandas-sūtra* contains 24 moras only in each *pāda*. The *pādas* of the above two verses, however, consist of four feet of four moras each. The *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (I, 126) calls this metre by the name of *Pajjhalīyā* (*Pajjhalīyā*) which is differently rendered into Sanskrit as *Paryāṭikā*, *Pajjhaṭikā* and *Projjhaṭikā* (*yathendur amṛtaṃ projjhati evaṃ projjhaṭika-śabdo 'pyamṛtaṃ kṣaratītyarthaḥ*) by the commentators; and this seems to show that the correct Sanskrit term had gone out of use at the time when these commentaries were written. Now, on pp. 178-180 and 183-188 *op. cit.*, Somadeva gives 28 verses which he calls *Paddhalikā* and whose *pādas* consist of four feet of four moras each; but the last foot is not invariably ॐ—ॐ. Thus, for instance, *pādas* *ab* of verse 178 end in ॐ—ॐ; and so do *pādas* *ab* of verse 211. According to the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (I, 129), the metre of these two verses is *Pādākulaka* and not *Pajjhalīyā*.

Similarly Somadeva gives on pp. 181, 189 *op. cit.*, the following two verses which he calls *Ghattā*:

इति बुधजनकामः क्रीडितरामः सकलभुवनपतिपूजित ।
कृतबुधजनकामः क्षितिपतिरामस्त्वमिह चिरं जय विश्रुत ॥
नृप नृपतीश्वर भूरमणीश्वर यदिदमखिलगुणसंश्रय ।
उक्तं किंचित्त्वस्तुतिकृतिचित्तचित्रं न महोदय ॥

According to the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (I, 99), the *Ghattā* consists of two halves with 31 moras each. The first only of

the above two verses satisfies this definition; the second, on the other hand, has only 29 moras in each half, and is an example of Culiyaḷā, defined in *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa*, I, 167.

This difference in nomenclature between Somadeva and the author of the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* is indeed remarkable; and it is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the latter lived at least 300 years later than the former. It is however difficult to understand why Somadeva himself has called two verses Catuspadī and twenty-six other verses, that are exactly similar to them, Paddhatikā¹.

1. On p. 161 of the Kannaḍa *Pañcatantra* of Durgasiṃha is found the catuspadī stanza: jaya divija-gaṇārcita-cāru-carāṇa duritogra-tamaḥ-paṭaloṣṇa-kiraṇa|tāpiṇcha-sama-cchavi-nīla-varṇa vidyādhara-kāntāgīta-varṇa|| which is followed by six similar stanzas on pp. 162-3 and are called Paddaḷi by Durgasiṃha. Each pāda of these stanzas consists of four feet of four moras each; and since *paddaḷi* seems to be a *tadbhava* of *paddhati*, the use of the name Paddhatikā for stanzas of this type is attested by Durgasiṃha also.

As we have seen above, the lines of the Mandānīla-ragaḷe too consist of four feet of four moras each; but while the Paddhatikā is a catuspadī, there is no limit to the number of lines that may constitute a Mandānīla stanza.

It is therefore interesting to note in this connection that the editors of the *Pañcatantra* in question have looked on the seven Paddaḷi verses referred to above as forming but one stanza. That is to say, while the author calls the verses Paddaḷi and therefore regards them as catuspadīs, the editors (unconsciously?) look on them as Mandānīla-ragaḷe.

THE NĀMPALI GRANT OF YUVARĀJA RĀJENDRA VARMA, GAṅGA YEAR 314.*

BY

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The plates now edited belong to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library; when my attention was drawn to them some time ago, I found on a cursory examination, that they contained an interesting early Gaṅga record, and I at once applied to the curator of the library for a loan of the plates; he readily placed them at my disposal, and I edit the record from the original plates.

The record comprises three rectangular plates 8" x 3½", the first and last plates being engraved only on the inner side; the plates are thick and the engraving is fairly clear though not deep. The ring fastening the plates is cut and is about 4½" in diameter and 4|10" thick; the seal has disappeared.

The alphabet resembles that of other early Gaṅga records and shows a slight admixture of *nāgarī*, and the language of the record is Sanskrit with many mistakes and perhaps an admixture of the local dialect. The record shares the usual features of Gaṅga records in its orthography as will be seen by a perusal of the notes to the text. The bulk of the inscription is in prose; the two usual imprecatory verses said to be cited from Vyāsa are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre (ll. 24-27), and verse in *Vasantatilakā* that follows is defective in the latter half.

Opening with the usual Kalinga Gaṅga *prastāvi* (ll. 1-12), the record mentions Yuvarāja Śrī Rājendra-Varma, the son of Ana (nta) varma. It should be noted that this is the first record of the Early Kalinga Gaṅgas to mention a Yuvarāja by the side of the ruling sovereign. The object of the grant is to record the

*This paper formed the subject of a communication made to the Archaeological society of South India at its meeting held on 13-2-35.

gift, in perpetuity, by the Yuvarāja, of the village of Nāmpali in the Nidijeru-viṣaya, freed from all taxes and imposts, for the spiritual merit of the donor and his parents. The donee is called Sāmirāja, the son of Śrī Guṇamarāja, an ornament of the Ayana-kula (ll. 13-18). The boundaries of the village are then described (ll. 19-23). Then follow two verses from Vyāsa, the usual imprecation (ll. 23-27); a third verse, rather corrupt in the latter half, announces the donor's wish that his successors, whether they be kings of his own line or another, should protect this charity (ll. 27-30). The date follows, only the year in the Gaṅga era being given in the words: *Samvachara Śatataye Caturdasotare*. (ll. 30-31). The grant was composed by Mahā-sandhivigrahi Raha Śrī Sāmanta and engraved by Śrī Dāmacandra. (ll. 31-32).

The date *śatataye caturdasotare* is in itself somewhat confusing; because *śatataye* lends itself to two emendations, *śatatame* and *śatatraye*. The latter is, however, the correct form; because we have another grant,¹ dated in the Gaṅga year 342 in which Rājēndravarma figures as the ruling king, which makes it probable that he was *Yuvarāja* twenty-eight years earlier, 314—the date of the present record. Further in 304 (Gaṅga era) we have a grant of Anantavarman². Moreover 114 will be too early a date for our record judging from its paleography. Again, a son of Sāmirāja, the donee of our grant, is also mentioned in the grant of 342 just mentioned. If these identifications of the persons mentioned in the two sets of plates are correct, we may correct the name of Rājēndra's father given as Anavarma (l. 13) in our record into Ana (nta) varma. The initial year of the Gaṅga era is now generally taken to be 495-6 A. D.,³ and our record will therefore be of 809-10 A. D.

TEXT.

PLATE I.

1. [ओं] स्वस्तिमैरपुराणकारिणं सर्वतुष्टुखरमणीया-
2. द्विजयवर्त कलिङ्गनगरवासकान्महेन्द्राचलाम-

1. No. 13 of 1917-18; ARE. 1918, II 15.
2. EI. iii, p. 17.
3. *Indian Antiquary*, 1932 p. 237.
1. Spiral at the beginning of the line.
2. Read स्वस्त्य.
3. Read पुराणकारिणः.
4. Read वर्तः

3. लशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरासकलभुर्व-
4. ननिर्माणकसुत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचुडामणे-
5. भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनश्चरणयुगलप्र-
6. णामाद्विगतकलिकलङ्कानकाहवसन्क्षार्भजानत-
7. जयशब्दप्रतापावनतसमस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडाम-
8. णिप्रभामञ्जरिपुञ्जरश्चितवरचरणसितकुमुद-

PLATE II (a).

9. कुन्देन्द्रवदातदिदिशविनिगतयसं ध्वस्तारातिकुला-
10. चलो नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिन्यसौर्यौर्दयिसत्य-
11. त्यागादिगुणसम्पदाधारभूतो गङ्गा[म]लकुलतिल-
12. कमहाराजश्री अन[न्त]वर्मसुनयुवराजश्रीराजे-

The estampages of the inscription will appear in the next part of the Journal.

5. Read गुरोस्सकल
6. भ has been engraved twice over and the उ sign overlaps the following व.
7. Read स्र and चूडा.
8. Read गोकर्ण.
9. Read संक्षोभ.
10. Read शब्द.
11. Read चरणः The letter ण has been engraved twice, the first time in continuation of र.
12. Read दिग्देशविनिर्गतयशः
13. Read दाक्षिण्यसौर्यौ-
14. Read सुनयुव.
15. Read वर्मा.
16. Read जनपदान्.
- 16a. Read यं ग्रामः
17. Read पुण्या.

PLATE II (b).

17. द्वये अयनकुलतिलकश्रीगुणमराजसूनुश्रीसा-
18. मिराजस्य सलिलधारापुरस्वरेण¹⁸ प्रतिपादित¹ अ-
19. त्र च सामालिङ्गानि लिख्यन्ते²⁰ पूर्वस्थि²¹ देशि नथा ततो पू-
20. र्वदक्षिणमध्ये उसरतिन्त ततो दक्षिणस्य²² दिशि अ
21. पि खण्डिवनराजिक ततो पश्चिमस्य दिशि तडा-
22. कस्यर्द्धगुण्डेरिवापि तृकूटवुरजखण्डिख ततो उत्तर-²⁴
23. स्य²⁵ दिशि वनराजिका²⁶ वटवृक्षकदम्बवृक्ष²⁷ अस्य च व्यास
24. गिता शिलोका²⁷ भ[व]न्ति बहुभि²⁸ वसुधा दत्ता²⁹ राजभि³⁰ सगरादि-

PLATE III.

25. भि³¹ यस्य यस्य यदा भुमि³² तस्य तस्य तदा फलं
26. स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेति³³ वसुन्धरा³⁴ स विष्ठा-

18. Read पुरस्सरेण.
19. Read प्रतिपादितः.
20. Read लिख्यन्ते.
21. Letters पूर्व written over an erasure. Read पूर्वस्थां.
22. Read दीक्षणास्यां.
23. पश्चि and दि written over an erasure. Read पश्चिमायां.
24. Read उत्तर .
25. Read स्यां.
26. Read राजिका.
27. Read गीताः श्लोका.
28. Read बहुभि.
29. Read दत्ता.
30. Read राजभिस्स-
31. Read भिः.
32. Read भूमिः.
33. Read हरेत.
34. Read वसुन्धरां.

27. यां कुमिभूत्वा³⁵ पितृभि³⁶ सह पच्यते मद्रंशजा³⁷ पर-
28. महीपतिवञ्शजावा पापादपेत्य³⁸ मनसो भुवि भा-
29. व³⁹ भूपा ये पालयन्ति मम धर्मवरं असेसतश्च
30. मया विरचिताञ्जलिमे समुद्यगाङ्गेयवञ्शप्रवर्द्धमानविजय-
31. राज्यसम्बद्धर शततये⁴¹ चतुर्दशोत्तरे⁴² लिखितमिदं माहासन्धि-
32. विग्रहि⁴³ रह श्रीसामन्तेन उत्कीर्ण⁴⁴ न चाक्षसालिना श्रीदाम-
चन्द्रेन⁴⁵

35. Read कुमिभूत्वा.
36. Read पितृभिस्सह.
37. Read मद्रंशजाः.
38. Read पेत.
39. Read भावि.
40. Read somewhat like: ये पालयन्ति मम धर्मवरं विशेषात्तेभ्यो मया
विरचिताञ्जलिरेवमद्य.
41. Read शतत्रये.
42. Read दशोत्तरे.
43. Read माहासन्धिविग्रहिक.
44. Read उत्कीर्ण.
45. Read चन्द्रेण.

SEMANTIC DIVERGENCIES IN INDO-ĀRYAN LOAN WORDS IN SOUTH DRAVIDIAN.

BY

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Continued from Vol. VIII, Part iii, page 266.

23. *daṇḍam* 'fine' 'punishment'.

Mal. usage shows new meanings for the adaptation *daṇṇam*.¹

(i) 'pain' 'suffering'.—

*ēdume daṇṇam-illōda karmam mama mādāv-inikku vidhiccadu naṇṇallō*² (it was well that my mother decreed for me a duty so free from suffering)—ER, Ayodhyākāṇḍam.

rātri-y-il kaṇṇu kāmān daṇṇamill-avarkaḷku (they have no difficulty in exercising their power of vision at night)—PT, III, 18.

(ii) *dēha daṇṇam* which originally meant 'bodily labour' is restricted in many Mal.-speaking areas to 'the labour of cooks while making preparations for an extensive feast'. The compound is often contracted to *dēhaṇṇam*; and the idea of 'labour' is sometimes lost sight of, the phrase then being equated to 'the service of cooks in connection with a feast'.

(iii) A unique development, met with only in the mass-colloquial, is the meaning 'disease' 'scourge' (< 'bodily suffering'). Cf. *dīnam* (discussed below) for a similar evolution of meaning.

daṇṇavum dīnavum piḍiccu, vaḷarē āḷugaḷ āṇāṭṭil marikkunṇu (many people are dying in that land, stricken with diseases)—colloquial.

24. *dāhaḥ* 'burning' 'feverish heat' 'conflagration'.

'Thirst' is a signification appearing for this word in Tam., Mal., Kann. and Tel. The word appears in literary texts with this meaning.

1. *ṇṇ*-of Mal. *daṇṇam* is due to nasal assimilation characteristic of Mal., as in *khannam* (piece) adapted from OIA *khaṇḍa*.

2. I have used the symbol *ṇ* with a dash below to denote the dental variety of this consonant. Dental *ṇ* is an independent phoneme in Mal. In the previous instalment of my paper, the alveolar nasal of some Tam. and Mal. illustrations has been wrongly printed with a dash mark below.

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Tam. *ḥaci tāham*—Tāyumāṇavar's songs
[University Selections, p. 434.]

Mal. *veḷḷam kōri kuḍicc-avar dāhatte tirttu* (quenched their thirst by drinking water)—KG, Kāl., l. 46.

Kann. *dāha gol!*-(to become thirsty)—only in north Mysore.

Tel. *dāhāniki ḥōyāḍu* (he went to take liquid refreshments).

Tam. *tāham* (sometimes appearing in the speech of the lowest classes as *tāvam*) and Mal. *dāham* are indispensable words of daily use signifying 'thirst' in the colloquials of these speeches. The adaptation does not appear to be quite so commonly used for 'thirst' in the other south Dravidian colloquials; Kann.¹ has *nīr-aḍikke*, Tel. *nīru vaṭṭu* or *dappi* and Tuḷu has *liruṣe* (OIA *ṭṛṣā* 'thirst').

25. *dīna* 'wretched' 'distressed'.

This is another word for which unique meanings appear in Mal., beside the older OIA significations.

(i) The word as used in the following citations has to be evaluated as 'pity':

dīnam-eṇṇiyē koṇṇu (killed without pity)—EBh.

dīnam-illūdavaṛḥku dīnaril kṛḥpayuṇḍāmō (would those who have no sense of pity feel for the lowly and the wretched?)

(ii) *dīnam* means 'disease' in the modern colloquial of Mal. Though this meaning does not occur commonly² in the old classical texts, I have found an instance of the use of *dīnam* with the meaning 'bodily illness or weakness' in the fourteenth century (?) Rāmakathā-p-pāṭṭu:

tāymār mūvaṛḥkum dīnam-aṛa auṣadaṅgaḷ ceydu uḍalai tēttuvarām (they tended the bodies of the three wives of

1. Kann. *dāvura*, means 'thirst', 'desire', 'need'; *dāvura* means 'burning' also besides these significations. These forms appear to be borrowings from MIA or NIA speeches. Whether the OIA source-form is *tāpa* or *dāha*, I cannot say. Indo-aryanists could probably shed light on this point.

2. The following from eighteenth-century Kuṇjan's works would perhaps illustrate the stage of transition from 'lowly, wretched' to 'sick, diseased' in Mal:—

mēniyum meliṇṇāti-dīnan-āyidu (his body became shrunk, and he looked wretched)—OT, p. 215.

dīnanmārum kālinu mudakkullōr kaṇṇu kāmāḍē-y-ullōr (weak-bodied men, the lame and the blind)—PT, III, lines 53, 54,

Daśaratha, by giving them medicines calculated to remedy their bodily weakness or illness)—RP, Bāl., 6.

This meaning, however, is essentially a colloquial one, not usually found introduced even in late texts like PT and OT; VP, however, has *atyantam dīna-v-um kaimaḥkallō* (the *kaima* is stricken with dire disease)—I, p. 64.

26. *dveṣyam* 'hatred' 'enmity'.

The adaptation *dēṣyam* in modern Mal. colloquial means only 'anger' without any idea of 'enmity' being necessarily involved: *yajamānan vēlakkūranōḍu dēṣya-p-peṭṭu* (the master got angry with his servant). The older texts use the word only in the OIA sense: cf. Bh.G, IX, 4.

Cf. colloquial Tam. *āṅgāram* 'anger' from OIA *aham-kāra*.

27. *nirvāṇa* 'liberation'.

This word means 'nakedness', 'nudity' (< liberation from the bonds of dress) in the colloquials of Tam., Kann., Tel. and Tuḷu. The OIA meaning is of course also current in literature. The 16th century Tam. ŚN gives recognition to the meaning 'nakedness' in as much as it equates *nirvāṇi* to *nakkaṇ* [from IA *nagna*] 'a nude person'.

Cf. Tam. *ammaṇam* 'nakedness', ultimately traceable to IA *śramaṇaḥ*.

In Tamil colloquial, one also hears the form *nirmāṇam* used with the meaning 'nakedness'. I think that there is some "confusion" here, both structural and semantic, between *nirvāṇam* and *nirmāṇam* (dishonourable, disgraceful).

28. *pāpam* 'sin' 'evil'.

(i) The association of the idea of 'pity' with this word when used in contexts like *ayyō pāvam* [Tam.] and *ayyo pāpa* [Kann.] does not appear to be strictly sanctioned by OIA usage. In Mal. the word *pāvam* denotes 'luckless' 'pitiable' 'destitute of good fortune' in literary texts and in the colloquial. A recent translation of Victor Hugo's novel *Les Misérables* is entitled *pāva-ṇṇaḥ*.

Colloquial *ayāl-oru pāvam āṇu* would mean 'he is a harmless, innocent fellow.'

(ii) In the Mal. colloquial of the present day, *pāvam* has also come to signify 'poor in worldly possessions' 'not rich', as in *dhanavānmārum pāva-p-peṭṭavarum* (the rich and the poor).

29. *pramāda* 'intoxication' 'carelessness'.

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In Tamil colloquial the word means 'excess', while in Kann. colloquial it signifies 'misfortune', 'distress' 'danger'. Marāṭhi *pramāda* signifies 'misfortune' 'distress'.

30. *prasādaḥ* 'offering of food, etc. sanctified by being offered to the gods'.

Tam. *śādam* (boiled rice. taken as daily food)—ŚN, XI and NN, S. 400.

Tel. *sādam*.

„ *pasādamu* (food)—Āndhranāmasaṅgraham, II, 27.

These forms are adapted from a MIA representative of OIA *prasāda* 'sanctified offering'. Tam. *śādam* is common enough in the colloquial; Tel. *pasādamu* is literary, while *sādam* (I am told) is used only by Vaiṣṇavas in certain localities of Āndhra deśa, the more common and popular colloquial Tel. form for 'boiled rice, taken as daily food' being OIA *annam*.

Cf. Tam. *śāppid-* (to have a meal), literary Tel. *sāpaḍ-* and *pasāpaḍ-*, all of which I derive from original *prasāda-paḍ-* (see my "Dravidic 'Eating' and 'Drinking'" in IHQ).

The use of *śādam* and *sādam* in the language particularly of Brahmins is perhaps traceable to the practice (more common formerly than now) of sanctifying the most important item of their daily dietary by offering it to the household gods before being used.

For the structural peculiarities of the adaptations in Tam. and Tel., one may compare Kann. *sāda* signifying 'clearness, purity' [OIA *prasāda*] and Kann. *pasāda* 'gracious present of clothes' [OIA *prasāda*].

31. *baddha* 'bound' 'tied'.

The Mal. compound *baddha-p-peḍ-*, compounded of the loan *baddha* and the help-verb *peḍ-*, means 'to hurry'; there is also the noun *baddha-p-pāḍu* (hurry). Eluttaccan (16th century) used *baddha-p-peḍukk-* with the meaning 'to bind as a captive' in ER; but Kuṇṇjan (18th century) has used it in several contexts with the more modern meaning 'to hurry':

adi vēgam baddha-p-peṭṭu bhramiccu naḍaṇṇu (walked perplexed in hot haste)—OT, p. 379.

baddha-p-peṭṭ-inṇane pōṇṇad-endu (why have you come in such haste?)—VP, I, p. 1.

In the modern colloquial, *baddha-p-peḍ* means only 'to hurry', and *baddha-p-pāḍu*, the noun corresponding to it, signifies 'hurry' or 'urgent business'.

32. *bauddha* 'a buddhist'.

This word has come to mean 'a non-Hindu (who is a bitter antagonist of Hinduism)' in modern Malayalam. In British Malabar, it denotes a 'Mopla Moslem', while Gundert cites VD (compiled by Portugese missionaries in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries from materials gathered in the southern part of Cochin state) as equating *bauddhan* to 'a christian'.

The old work *Kēraḷōlpatti* describes in the second chapter (Mangalore edition, p. 15) the legend of a Malabar *Perumāl* (an early King of Kēraḷa) having embraced *bauddhamatam* and gone to Macca (Mecca?). This work refers to *bauddhanmār* always with extreme contempt. In the sixth chapter it equates *bauddhanmār* to *jōnakar* (cf. OIA *yavanaka*), and as *jōnakar* in modern Mal. means generally Moslems, the story of the *Perumāl*'s change of faith (recorded in the second chapter of this work) is usually interpreted as conversion to Mahommedanism.

In modern usage, *bauddhan* in Mal. generally denotes (except in British Malabar) 'a non-Hindu' or 'an opponent of Hinduism'. There seems to be little doubt that the contempt underlying the use of the word in Mal. primarily reflected the animosity felt by orthodox Hindus towards Buddhism. One may in this connection remember that the Malayalam country was the native land of Śaṅkara, the great Hindu philosopher, who many a time tilted his lance against the exponents of Buddhism.¹

The following are other illustrations of the use of the word in the sense of 'a non-Hindu' or 'an antagonist of Hinduism':

Kṣētrasthānāṇṇaḷku adhikāram bauddhanu koḍukkuṇṇa mannan mahāmūḍhan (the king who allows a 'Bauddha' to be a temple dignitary is a great fool)—PT, I, l. 212.

nīcanmārām bauddha jāṭiyanmārku (to the 'Bauddhas' who are *nīcas*)—PT, I, l. 217.

1. These unique semantic developments illustrate the strong influence of IA on Mal. Adaptations current in common Mal., like the following, are noteworthy:—

puccham 'contempt' < 'what is insignificant' [OIA 'tail']

matī 'sufficiency' [from a very early period; cf. KR, I, 36].—OIA 'understanding', etc.

kaṣṭi 'insufficiency' [OIA *kaṣṭa* 'difficult'.]

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bauddhanmāre-k-kaṇḍāl dēham-aśuddham - adenṇu kuḷiccē pōrū (he would never fail to take a bath for removing the pollution of the sight of 'Bauddhas')—Pātracaritam, p. 192.
(University Inter. Selections.)

bauddhane sēviccu jīvikkayekkāṭṭil, ūrdhvam valiccu marikka tanne śubham (better far to die than to serve a *bauddha*)—PT, II, 204, 205.

33. *bhaṅgī* 'bending' 'undulation' 'wavy'.

Modern Mal. *bhaṅṇi* [-ṅṅ- < ṅg by nasal assimilation; cf. *aṅṇam* 'limb' < OIA *aṅga*] is 'beauty'.

The word is used commonly in the fifteenth and sixteenth century texts with reference to the curve-like features or movements of the bodies of beautiful women: *aṅṇana tannuḍe-y-aṅṇaṇṇaḷellāme bhaṅṇi-y-il kāṇēṇam-eṇṇu ṇaṇṇi* (desirous of seeing the beautiful curves of the woman's body)—KG, Rugm., l. 965.

aṅṇanā maṇi-y-uḍe aṅṇa-bhaṅṇi (the wavy comeliness of the jewel among women) KG.

aṅṇanamārum-āy-aṅṇane bhaṅṇi-y-il ṇiṇṇu viḷaṅṇum-aṇṇāl (that day when he was radiant with beauty with the women standing thus by his side)—KG, Vals., l. 157.

From this association of the word with the undulatory comeliness of feminine features, the general sense¹ of 'beauty' should gradually have arisen:

bhaṅṇi-y-il-aṅṇu naḍaṇṇu-toḍaṅṇi (began to walk beautifully)—Pradoṣamāhātmyam, l. 1438.

aṅṇanamāruḍe saṅṇita bhaṅṇi-y-um (the charm of women's songs)—Dhruvacaritam (University Inter. Selections, p. 202.)

bhaṅṇi-y-il kuṇi-y-iṭṭu (put the caste mark in a fine way)—EBH, Sambhava.

bhaṅṇi kalaṇṇuḷḷa vāṭṭakaḷ (nice words), Ceruśśēri Bhāratam.

34. *bhrānti* 'perplexity'.

Modern Mal. *bhrāntu* or *pirantu* is 'madness' 'demented state of mind'.

pēyūm pīrāntum—PT, II, l. 288.

bhrāntu piḍiccō ? (struck with madness ?)—Pradoṣa-māhātmyam, l. 467.

1. Even today, *bhaṅṇi* in Mal. is used by scholars only in contexts which imply some kind of 'symmetrical beauty'.

35. *māṭṭkā* 'source' 'original'.

Māḍiri in all south Dravidian speeches means 'sample', 'specimen', 'sort'. It appears to be a very early loan (from MIA?). While OIA *māṭṭkā* is the 'mother-source' *māḍiri* is but a 'daughter specimen'.

36. *moṣaḥ* 'theft'.

Tam., Mal. *mōṣam*, Tel. *mōsa*, *mōsamu*, Kann., Tulu *mōsa* signify 'trick', 'deceit', 'loss', 'fault' and even 'danger'. These are very common words in the south Dravidian speeches:

Tam. *mōṣam paṇṇādē* (do not thou employ thy tricks).

„ *kaimōṣam vandadu* (there was a loss from one's hand or possession).

Mal. *mōṣam ninnuḍe kāryam aśēṣam* (your affairs are all in a flounder)—OT, p. 227.

Mal. *buddhi-mōṣattāl* (on account of a mistake of judgment)—OT, p. 258.

Kann. *avana prāṇakke mōsa-v-illa* (there is no danger to his life).

Kann. *kōmaṭi mōsa hōguvadilla, mōsa hōdare hēḷuvadilla* (the *kōmaṭi* is never deceived; if by chance he is, then he keeps silent about it)—Kann. Proverb.

Tel. *mōsa-pucc*-(to deceive)—SN, 42.

„ *mōsa-pō* (to be deceived).

37. *vad-* 'to speak'.

vādaḥ 'speech'.

ōd-, an ancient borrowing from IA, exists in all south Dravidian speeches with the following meanings:

'to recite *mantras*', 'to chant sacred hymns';

'to read scriptures', 'to read' (in a general sense);

'to utter' 'to speak'.

Tam. *ācāryar mantram ōdi, paṭṭuvastraṅḡalai koḍuttār* (the priest presented the silk cloths to the accompaniment of the chanting of *mantras*)—Brahmins' colloquial.

kādalāgi-k-kaṣindu kaṇṇīr malgi-y-ōduvār (those who recite or repeat the word *namaṣivaya* in love and in tears).. Sambandar's Hymns.

Tam. 'to read scriptures'—*ōdiyum-uṇara māṭṭēṇ* (though I read the Vedas, I fail to understand)—Tirunāvukkaraṣu's Songs.

Tam. 'to speak'—*ōdariya śugarpōla*.

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Mal. 'to recite mantras'—*vēdam ōduṇṇa nambūrimār* (the Nambūdiri Brahmins who recite *vedas*)—Common in this context in the colloquial.

ōdikkan paṇayunṇad-okke ōttalla (all that the religious preceptor says is not gospel truth)—Proverb.

Mal. 'to read'—*bālagarai paḷa kavinūḷ paḷḷitanniḷ ōda vaittu* (having initiated his children's education by making them read the works of many poets in the school)—RP, Bāl., VI.

ōdi-y-ellām uṇarndanarām (they understood everything)—RP, Bāl., VI.

'to utter'—*vāṭṭagaḷ-inṇine taṇṇaḷil-anyonyam-ōduṇṇēram* (while engaged in this mutual exchange of words)—Ceruśṣeri Bhāratam (University Inter. Selections, p. 295).

iaṇ vēdanai-y-ōdināl (she gave expression to her pain by saying . . .)—KG, I, l. 60.

Kann. 'to recite scriptures'—*ellā vēdavan ōdidātanu anū-cānan embudu* (*anūcānan* is he who recites all Vedas)—cited by Kittel.

Kann. 'to read'—*ā pustaka ōdarē, bāḷa prajojana-v-illa* (there is not much use in reading that book)—common colloquial.

ōd- has gone out of use in the modern Tam. colloquial except in two contexts: 'reciting of *mantras* by priests on ceremonial occasions' in the Brahmins' dialect, and 'whispering a secret into another's ears'.

Mal. *ōd-* is used in the colloquial only in connection with the 'recitation of scriptures, as by Nambūdris'. Mal. *ōttu* is 'recitation of Vedas' to-day, and *ōdikkan* is a 'religious preceptor'.

In Kann. and Tuḷu colloquials, *ōd-* is an indispensable form for 'to read'.

38. *vyākhyāna* 'explanation' 'commentary'.

vakkūṇam adapted (though, MIA) means in Mal. 'contentious argument', 'quarrel'. Tam. *vakkāṇai* 'idle talk' also appears to be connected. Rājendra Cōḷa inscriptions use *vakkūṇippāṇ* only in the older sense "for explaining".

39. *vah-* 'to carry'.

Mal. uses the OIA verb-base for constructing certain formations of its own in the generalised sense of 'being able' 'being proper'.

Older *vah-i-y-ā* [*vah-*, the OIA base; *-i-*, the suffix of the denominative verb; *y*, the glide; and *ā*, the negative affix of

Dravidian] and its contraction *vayyā* have come to denote the aoristic idea of 'not-able':

avann-ōḍuvān vayyā ('to-him for-running not-able' i.e., he is unable to run.)

A relative participle *vayyāḷla* or *vayyāda* is current, as in *vayyāda kāryaṇṇal ceyyarudu* (things that one cannot fulfil should not be undertaken).

In the colloquial, *vayyā* also implies 'impropriety' 'prohibition, as in *iviḍe naḍakkuvān vayyā* (walking is prohibited here).

A future form *vayyū* [with the affix -ū] is also heard in expressions like *ayāḷkē vayyū* (he alone can do it).

vahiyā, the full negative form, and *vayyā*, its contraction, are both found in the literary texts of the modern period (i. e., from the sixteenth century downwards); the modern colloquial uses only the contracted forms. *vayyād-uḷḷa* occurs in OT, p. 372; and VP, III, p. 75 has *talakuttum paṇiyum koṇḍu vahiyē enikk-aviḍe kiḍaṇṇ-uḷḷāṇṇān* (on account of headache and fever I cannot sleep there).

40. *vācana* 'reading'.

Tam. *vāṣi-* and Mal. *vāyi* are forms which have replaced older *ōd-* signifying 'to read'.

Tam. *vāṣittal*, *paḍiṭṭ-ōdal* [*paryāyas* for 'reading']—NN, 672.

Mal. *oru bhaṭṭācāryaṇḍu kūḍē vaṇṇu vāyiccu* (read with a learned *bhaṭṭācārya*) K, III, p. 20 (Mangalore edition).

The forms denote not only the 'reading of a book' but also the 'sounding of a musical instrument' both in Tam. and in Mal.

Tam. *vāṣittalai valla pāṇaṇ* (the songster who could sound his instrument)—Nacciṇārkiṇiyar's commentary on lines 36 and 37 of *Śirupāṇāruppāḍai* of PP.

Tam. *uḍukkai vāṣippāṇ oruvaṇum, mattaḷam vāṣippāṇ oruvaṇum* (one person for sounding *uḍukkai* and another for playing on the *mattaḷa*)—SII, II, Part II, p. 253.

Mal. *vīṇa vāyikkuka, hārmōṇiam vāyikkuka* (to play on the *vīṇa* and on the harmonium).

Mal. *vīṇayum vāyiccu* (played on the *vīṇa*)—EBh, Sabhā.

This use of the forms leads me to query whether there may not have been some influence here of MIA *vāj* (OIA *vādyā*). I may also observe that Mal. has the noun *vāyana* which means 'reading' or 'playing on a musical instrument'.

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MIA appears to have had both *vācana* 'reading' and *vājana* 'sounding of musical instruments'.

41. *śakārah* 'a character in the Sanskrit drama *Mṛcchakaṭika*'.

Mal. *śākāram* (abuse) and *śākāri-* (to rebuke, abuse) are very common forms in the modern colloquial. I do not know when and in what circumstances these forms were coined and popularised. None of the other Dravidian speeches possess cognates or similar forms. These are certainly not native.

The Mal. forms are probably connected with *śakārah*, the name of a vulgar-minded *śyāla* of the king in the Sanskrit drama *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

42. *Śikṣā* 'study' 'instruction'.

(i) All the south Dravidian speeches show the meaning 'punishment' for the adaptations. This meaning occurs in ancient literary texts, beside the OIA meaning; in the colloquials, however, the adaptations mean only 'punishment.' It is noteworthy that among the NIA speeches Marāṭhi shows this semantic development.

(ii) In Mal., *śikṣa* (and *ikṣa* in Nambūdiri Mal.) mean 'excellence' 'goodness' 'propriety'¹ (<'proper instruction or study'):

śikṣayōḍ-aṇṇu dharikka manassil (understand the thing well)—OT, p. 261.

śikṣayil keṭṭidēṇam (should be built properly)—Kēraḷa-varma Rāmāyaṇam (University Selections, p. 93).

śikṣayil-aṇṇ-aṇṇiccoru samayē (when it was communicated in the proper way)—OT, p. 205.

bhikṣakkuḷḷa pātram-aśēsam śikṣayil vaṭṭam kūṭṭidēṇam (the arrangements for the *bhikṣā* should be made in the proper way)—Pātracaritam (University Selections, p. 196).

śikṣayāy paṭhikkuga (to learn well)—VD cited by Gundert in his Dictionary.

ūṇ-ikṣa-y-āy (the meal was an excellent one) in the language of the Nambūdiris.

1. The transition of meaning is illustrated by instances like *kūśalavanmār śikṣayil Rāmāyaṇam colliyār* (Kūśa and Lava recited the story of Rāmāyaṇa in a well-taught way)—EBh. Āraṇya.

43. *Ṣuṇṭhi* 'dry ginger'.

From the time of Kuṇṇjan (18th century), *ṣuṇṭhi kaḍi*, *ṣuṇṭhikk*- (to fall into a temper) and *ṣuṇṭhi* (violent temper) have been very common forms in Mal.

Ṣuṇṭhi kaḍi- literally means 'to bite dry ginger'; by a process of semantic transference, the meaning 'to show violent temper' appears to have been evolved already in Kuṇṇjan's time (18th century). The same writer uses *ṣuṇṭh-i-kk*- as a denominative verb with the developed meaning, and *ṣuṇṭhi* (violent temper) as a noun.

Ṣuṇṭhiccu vaṇṇoru samayē (at the time when he came in a fit of temper)—OT, p. 134.

Ṣuṇṭhiccu purappettu ṣaṇṭhakk-aṇṇ-orumbettu (having, prepared for a fight in a fit of temper)—OT, 116.

Ṣuṇṭhi kaḍikkum (will fall into a temper)—Pradoṣa-māhātmyam, l. 1469.

43. *śramaṇaḥ* 'ascetic'.

The Tamil colloquial forms *ammaṇam* (nakedness, obscenity), *ammaṇa-t-tonṭi*, *ammaṇa-k-kattai*, *ammaṇa-k-kunṭi* (naked fellow) are cases of popular semantic evolution from the meaning 'Jaina ascetics (who are often nude)' which *ammaṇa-t-tār* has in literary Tamil. The form *ammaṇa* appears to have been borrowed from a MIA representative of OIA *śramaṇaḥ*.

44. *sandhiḥ* 'union' 'joint' 'peace'

The adaptations of this word in the south Dravidian speeches evidence the following chief developments of meaning:

In the colloquials of Tam., Kann. and Tuḷu, the adaptations [Tam. *śandu* and Kann., Tuḷu *sandu*] mean 'hips' and 'narrow street or lane'. The latter meaning exists for colloquial Tel. *sandu*. West coast Tam. *candi* is 'the region of the buttocks' and Kann. *sandi* is used sometimes for 'the vagina'.

Further, Tam. *candu* stands for 'message', 'messenger', and 'reconciliation' in the literary dialect.

45. *samaya*.

The following appear to be connected with this IA word.

Tam. *camai*- (to be prepared, made suitable, to come to maturity, to be finished)—a literary form which appears in Medieval Tamil with these meanings all of which are evolved from the OIA significations.

„ *camai-kk*- (to make ready; perform, etc.)—This is the transitive form corresponding to *camai*- above; the only meaning now current in the colloquial is that of 'preparing food' or 'cooking', as in *camayaḷ āccā* (is the preparation of the daily food over ?)

Mal. *camai*- (to be made ready, etc.) and *camai-kk*- (to make ready) literary forms—RC. l. 157; KR, Ār. 37, l. 1; OT, p. 168—In literary Mal., expressions like *vaṇṇu camaṇṇu* (managed to join or eventually joined), *camai*- performs the very generalised function of a help-verb. The only context in which the verb occurs in Mal. colloquial is in the phrase *keṭṭi-c-camaikk*- (to prepare elaborately). *Camayam*¹ the noun, means in the colloquial 'garden produce'.

Kann. *same*-, *save*- (to be made ready, to make ready)—are purely literary forms.

46. *samsāraḥ* 'worldly life'

(i) Mal. usage evidences a unique semantic development in that the adaptation *samsāram* and the denominative verb *samsārikk*- have come to mean 'conversing, conversation' alike in the modern literary texts and in the colloquial. The idea of 'conversing' is expressed in modern Mal. only by these forms:

eṇṇuḷḷa samsāram pōḷ vaṇṇu kāryaṇṇaḷ-cilām (things came about as in the talk)—OT, p. 359.

pōḍi, ninnuḍe samsāram madi (get away, you hussy! I've had enough of your talk!)—OT, p. 360.

orālku vēṇḍi samsārikkunṇavan (patron who speaks for another)—VD, II, cited by Gundert.

(ii) In certain communal colloquials of Tam., Kann. and Tel., *samsāram* means 'family' or even 'wife'. For instance, in the language of the Tamil Brahmin, *avaṇ ṭeriyā samsāri* would mean 'he is a man with a large family' and *oṇḡa samsāram eṇḡe-y-irukkāl* ? would signify 'where is your wife ?'

47. *sūkṣma* 'minute' 'subtle'.

1. *Camayam* in the sense of 'equipment of dress' 'ornaments, etc.' occurs in the language of the Kathakali (Malabar drama) actors. It is also used very frequently in VP with the meaning 'ornaments and dress?'—cf. VP, III, p. 14; VP, I, p. 11, etc.

Mal. *sūkṣi-*, a denominative verb formed from the IA base has developed the meanings 'to look attentively to', 'to watch over' and 'to guard': KG, Pūt., l. 157; KG, Sītā., l. 527.

These meanings should have been evolved from contexts like *sūkṣma buddhi* (subtle intellect), *sūkṣma dṛṣṭi* (careful power of vision), *sūkṣma-k-kuravu* (want of carefulness), etc.

Tam. *cūṭcumam* occurs in certain regional colloquials with the meanings 'cunning', 'thrif', and even 'brevity'; these meanings however are not common¹.

1. The list of IA loans (showing semantic divergencies in Dravidian usage), adduced in the preceding pages, is not exhaustive. The intensive examination of each of the south Dravidian speeches would reveal many others of this kind showing varying degrees of divergence in meaning. I give below a few further instances:—

IA	Dravidian.
<i>anyonya</i> 'mutual'	'Friendship'—Mal. [V,]; Tel.
<i>asahya</i> 'unbearable'	'Loathesome'—Tam. <i>aśingyam</i> ; Tel.
<i>agraha</i> 'persistence' 'favour'	'Desire'—Mal. 'Anger'—Tel.
<i>ucita</i> 'proper'	'Free, gratis'—Tel.
<i>pūjya</i> 'venerable'	'Cipher, nought'—Mal., Tel.—In astrologers' calculations in Malabar, the shells representing 'cipher' are worshipped [Gundert]; cf. also the use of the word <i>bhadram</i> in Mal. for representing 'cipher' in astrological calculation.
<i>bhāgavata</i> 'devotee of Viṣṇu'	'Songster'—Tam.;—'religious men, actors'—Tel. <i>bhāgavatulu</i> .
'the name of a <i>purāṇa</i> '	
<i>sādhu</i> 'fit' 'strong' 'saintly'	'Lacking riches'—Mal.

Two things stand out prominently from the above lists:

(a) In quite a large number of instances, the semantic developments are common to two or more among the Dravidian speeches. How far this was due to the cultural intercourse among Sanskrit scholars of the different Dravidian areas and how far one may have to postulate the influence of the southern Prākṛts are questions that have yet to be taken up for discussion. It is quite possible that in some instances at least, the semantic changes had already occurred in the MIA speeches once current

in the south of India. The discussion of the relationships of IA loans in Dravidian to Prākṛt forms should not be confined exclusively to the structural side; the semantic aspects are equally important, and until the semantics of the southern Prākṛts are fully cleared up, it would be difficult to say how far the meaning-changes that I have recorded in the above lists were developed in Dravidian itself.

(b) Among all the Dravidian speeches of the south, Mal. shows certain unique meaning-changes: cf. *tāmasam* (residence stay), *daṇṇam* (disease), *dīnam* (disease), *bhañṇi* (beauty) *baud-*, *dhan* (an antagonist of Hinduism), *śakāram* (abuse) *ṣuṇṭhi* (violent temper), *samsāram* (conversation).

A NOTE ON
THE HARAHĀ INSCRIPTION AND KĀLIDĀSA.

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The date of Kālidāsa is even now an unsolved problem of Indian literary history. Many Indian writers, relying on ancient Indian tradition, argue that he flourished at the court of Vikrama, the ruler of Ujjayinī in 57 B. C. Keith, Macdonell and host of other distinguished writers assign him to the beginning of the 5th century, A. D. Dr. Hoernle assigned him to the first half of the sixth century, and his theory after being regarded as erroneous for some time, has now found a stout defendant in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who makes Kālidāsa a court poet of Yaśodharman. The purpose of our note is not to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of these theories, but merely to show by putting side by side the parallel passages from the works of Kālidāsa and the Harahā inscription of 555 A. D. that the poet had become fairly famous by that date, and that his works were intensively studied and copied by people aspiring to poetic fame in the middle of the sixth century. Harahā inscription may thus prove as important for the date of Kālidāsa as the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. which mentions Kālidāsa and Bhāravi as great poets. The parallel passages are:—

(a) तस्मात् पयोधेरिव शीतरश्मिरादित्यवर्मा नृपतिर्बभूव ॥
(Harahā inscription, v. 6.)

तदन्वये....प्रसूतः.....

दिलीप इति राजेन्दुरिन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव ॥ (Raghuvamśa, 1, 12.)

The similarity between the two is clear enough.

(b) यस्य.....आचारमार्गं नृपाः
यत्नेनापि ययातितुल्ययशसो नान्येऽनुगन्तुं क्षमाः ॥
(Harahā inscription, v. 8.)

न किलानुययुस्तस्य राजानो रक्षितुर्यशः (Raghuvamśa, 1, 27.)

Here too the identity of ideas and language is obvious.

(c) ध्वस्तध्वान्तचयाः परास्तरजसो ध्यायन्ति यं योगिनः

यस्यार्धस्थितयोषितोऽपि हृदये नास्थायि चेतोभुवा ॥

(Harahā inscription, v. 1.)

कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽप्यविषयमनसां यः परस्ताद्यतीनाम् ॥

(Mālavikāgnimitra, 1, 1.)

Here the phrase ध्वस्तध्वान्तचयाः परास्तरजसो योगिनः of the inscription carries the same sense as the words अविषयमनसां यतीनाम् of the Mālavikāgnimitra. The words यस्यार्धस्थितयोषितोऽपि and कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽपि can be similarly compared, and the phrase हृदये नास्थायि चेतोभुवा makes merely explicit an idea suggested by the line from Kālidāsa's drama.

(d) लोकस्थितीनां स्थितये स्थितस्य (Harahā inscription, v. 5.)

स्थित्यै दण्डयतो दण्ड्यान् (Raghuvamśa, 1, 25.)

Here the comparison between the two is merely verbal.

The above similarities are shown even by a cursory glance at this inscription of 23 verses. But one studying it carefully will find other evidences of Kālidāsa being imitated by the writer of the Harahā *prāśasti*. The verse नीत्या शौर्ये has been probably suggested by a similar verse शाने मौनं in the Raghuvamśa and the phrase क्षितिपतेः क्षत्रप्रभावाप्तये जन्माकारि has somehow a suspicious resemblance to आत्मकर्मक्षमं देहः क्षात्रो धर्म इवाश्रितः. Other passages like these are:—

(a) यं प्राप्य साफल्यमियाय धाता (Harahā inscription, v. 6.)

तं वेधा विदधे नूनं महाभूतसमाधिना । (Raghuvamśa, 1, 29.)

(b) यस्येज्यास्वनिशं यथाविधि हुतज्योतिर्ज्वलज्जन्मना.

.... ..

आयाता नववारिभिर्विनमने मेघावली प्रावृडि

(Harahā inscription, v. 10.)

(1) यथाविधि हुताग्नीनां (Raghuvamśa, 1, 6.)

(2) दुदोह गां स यज्ञाय सत्याय मधवा दिवम् (Raghuvamśa, 1, 26.)

c) यस्मिन् कालेऽम्बुवाहा नवगवलरुचः प्रान्तलम्बेन्दुचापा-

स्तन्वन्त्याशावितानं स्फुरदुस्तडितः सान्द्रधीरं कणन्तः ।

(Harahā inscription, v. 23.)

विद्युत्स्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः

संगीताय प्रहतमुरजाः स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम् । (Meghadūta, 2, 1.)

In (d) the words printed in thick type should be compared.

Other passages too may be given here. But these, perhaps, would suffice to show that Raviśānti, the author of the *Harahā praśasti*, had the description of the Raghu family and Dilipa before himself, and that he utilised them fully along with some verses from the *Meghadūta* and *Mālavikāgnimitra* in composing the panegyric of the Mukhara dynasty.

A NOTE ON MAYŪRA AS A WRITER ON PROSODY

BY

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The knowledge that we possess about Mayūra and his works is very meagre. The current belief that he was a court-poet of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (A.D. 606-647) and the brother-in-law or father-in-law of Bāṇa is based on a commentary on Mānatuṅga's *Bhaktāmara-stotra* and the verse *aho prabhāvo vāgdevyā yan Mātāṅga-dirākaraḥ | Śrīharṣasyābhavat sabhyaḥ samo Bāṇa-Mayūrayoḥ* of the (younger) Rājaśekhara, that is, on sources both of which seem to me to be untrustworthy. Peterson's opinion, too (Introd. to his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitā-valī*, p. 86), that Mayūra is referred to by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* seems to be likewise erroneous; for the Mayūra who is mentioned as Bāṇa's contemporary and friend in that book was a *jāṅgulika* (curer of snake-bites), and to identify him with the poet Mayūra is as illegitimate as to identify the singer (*gāyana*) Somila mentioned in the same connection in that book with the poet of that name whom we know as the collaborator of Rāmila.

Of the works of Mayūra, two, namely, the *Mayūrāṣṭaka* and the *Sūrya-śataka* are fairly well-known and are printed; a *Khaṇḍa-praśasti* of his is cited by Ruyyaka in his *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (Winternitz, *Ges. d. Ind. Litteratur*, 3, 121, n. 3) and a *kośa* attributed to him is mentioned by Burnell in his *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore* (Winternitz, *op. cit.* 3, 409, n. 1).

It is therefore of interest to note that a work on prosody by Mayūra is alluded to by the Kannaḍa author Nāgavarma (c. 1040 A.D.) in the following stanza which occurs in his *Chandōmbudhi* and also in his *Abhidhāna-vastu-kośa*:

jita-Bāṇaṃ Hari-yant adhaḥ-kṛta-Mayūraṃ Tāra-kārāti-
yan-
t ati-Māghaṃ śiśirāntyaḍ ante surapa-prōccaṇḍa-
kōḍaṇḍaḍ an-|

te tirōbhūta-Guṇāḍhyaṇ abja-vanaḍ ant-āvirbhavad-
 Daṇḍi Bhā-
 ratad ant ātta-Dhanaṃjayaika-vibhavaṃ vāg-
 gumphadoḷ Nākigaṃ||

This stanza may be rendered in Sanskrit as: *vāg-gumphe Nāgavarmā Harir iva jīta-Bāṇaḥ, Tārakūrātir iva adhaḥ-kṛta-Mayūraḥ, śiśirāntyaṃ ivāti-Māghaḥ, suraḥ-ḥ-proccaṇḍa-kodaṇḍam iva tirobhūta-Guṇāḍhyaḥ, abja-vanam iva āvirbhavad-Daṇḍi, Bhāratam iva ātta-Dhanaṃjayaika-vibhavaś* [ca]. It can be seen that Nāgavarma applies to himself six epithets in this stanza. Now there are six books written by Nāgavarma, and each one of these epithets alludes to one of these six books. Thus the epithet *jīta-Bāṇa* refers to the Kannaḍa *Kādambarī* (an adaptation of Bāṇa's work) written by him, the epithet *āvirbhavad-Daṇḍi* to *Kāvyaḷōkana* (which is, like Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḷadarśa*, a treatise on *Kāvyaḷaṃkāra*), the epithet *ātta-Dhanaṃjayaika-vibhava* to his *Abhidhānavastu-kośa* (which, like the *Nighaṇṭu* of Dhanamjaya, is a collection of synonyms) and the epithet *tirobhūta-Guṇāḍhya* (= Śarvavarman; for the story of Śarvavarman's vanquishing Guṇāḍhya, see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 6-7) to his *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* (which, like Śarvavarman's *Kātantra*, is a small and simple treatise on Grammar, and by writing which Nāgavarma became known as *Abhinava-Śarvavarman*), while the epithet *ati-Māgha* alludes to a *campū-kāvya* of Nāgavarma consisting mostly of verses, that has not come down to us but was known to and mentioned by the poet Janna (A. D. 1227). The only remaining epithet *adhaḥ-kṛta-Mayūra* must, of necessity, contain an allusion to *Chandōmbudhi*, the remaining work of Nāgavarma. This book, as indicated by the title, is an exhaustive treatise on Prosody; and it hence follows that the work of Mayūra which (in Nāgavarma's opinion) it threw into the shade, must also have been a book on Prosody. In other words, it becomes plain from the above stanza that Mayūra was the author of a work on Prosody.

A NOTE ON THE FRESCO-PAINTING AT ŚITTANNAVĀŚAL

BY

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., L.T.

Śittannavāśal, a village about 9 miles north-west of the town of Pudukotah, was once a flourishing centre of Jain influence. There are, in a natural cavern, difficult of access, in the rock on its north-eastern face, 17 beds with stone pillows of Jain ascetics who have starved themselves to death; and their names are inscribed on them in Brāhmī and archaic Tamil scripts (2nd century B. C. to the early centuries of the Christian era.) On the western side of the hill there is facing north-west, a Jaina rock-cut cave temple after the style of Mahendravarman's caves. The *Garbhagṛha* (central shrine) has three Tirthaṅkaras, *Mahāvīra* being in the centre, and its ceiling is painted with various Jain symbols. The *Mukhamanḍapa* (front pillared-hall) has two Tirthaṅkaras on the northern and the southern sides; the figure on the southern side is that of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tirthaṅkara. Its pillars and the ceiling are also painted in good style. The two main pillars supporting the roof of the manḍapa have on each face the figure of an 'Apsaras' and that of a king (—perhaps Mahendravarman?) and some fine scroll work.

The subject of study in this note is the scene of the Lotus-pool painted in the ceiling of this manḍapa which is a rare specimen of Pallava painting. The lotus-pool covers the whole extent of the ceiling of the Mukhamanḍapa in front of the shrine-chamber. There are a number of lotus flowers, buds and leaves. In their midst are found some matsyas (fish), haṃsas (geese), cranes, a makara, 3 bulls (M. J. Dubreuil calls them buffaloes) 3 elephants and three men each holding a lotus in his hand.¹

1. Mr. Longhust Kern Inst., Bibl., 1920, p. 11, says that they are *bathing*. This does not seem to be a correct description as will presently be seen. Matsya and Svastika are two of the Aṣṭamaṅgalas (eight auspicious objects) of the Jains. The elephant, the bull and the lotus-pool are three of the fourteen dreams dreamt by Trisālā, the mother of Mahāvīra.

The earliest attempt to study the Jain cave at Śittannavāśal and its paintings was made as early as 1910 by Mr. K. Venkat-ranga Naidu, the curator of Pudukotah museum.

At the request of M. J. Dubreuil, the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao paid a visit to the cave and wrote to him thus, "These paintings are perhaps as old as the shrine and are in fairly good state of preservation and need being copied fully." Unfortunately he did not live up to complete the work.

On the 3rd January, 1920, M. J. Dubreuil made a careful study of the cave and its paintings and published an account of it in the state Gazette.¹ This was later re-issued by him as an article in the Indian Antiquary.² He opined that the rock-cut shrine at Śittannavāśal is identical in design with that at Māmaṇḍūr, that the cave was at one time fully painted but only the paintings in the upper part of the edifice are intact; that "the principal subject that is preserved is a grand fresco which adorns the whole extent of the ceiling of the verandah. This fresco represents a tank covered with lotus." Further he added, "this subject of a lotus tank was probably a scene from the religious history of the Jains, which I do not know."

At the request of the then Dewan of Pudukotah, Mr. A. H. Longhurst, former superintendent of the Archæological Survey of India, Southern circle visited the state and wrote an account of the cave in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1930.

What the lotus-pool symbolises remains a mystery; and in this connection it may be well to bear in mind that "Jaina Art bears a close superficial resemblance to that of Buddhism but maintains a more rigid uniformity."³ The figure of a lotus-pool with growing lotus plants and birds standing in the water is found in a sculptured panel of the outer railings of the Amarāvati stūpa.⁴

In spite of this feature in Buddhist mythology and art, the Śittannavāśal cave is distinctly a Jain cave and the paintings refer to a Jain motif.

1. *Vide* notification dated 13th November, 1920.

2. Vol. LII, 1923, pp. 45-47.

3. Dr. A. K. Kumaraswamy, p. 27, *Sculpture—Catalogue of the Boston Museum*.

4. *See* figure 1, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Archaeological Survey, New Imperial Series, Vol. 15.

The lotus tank is a sacred object of the Jainas. When the embryo of Mahāvīra was transferred by Harināgameṣa, Indra's messenger, from the womb of the Brahmin lady to that of the Kṣatriya-Rāṇi Triśalā, she saw fourteen auspicious dreams (Śakuna). One of them was the lotus-pool, *Mānasarovara*, which was "a lake of lotuses resorted to by swans, cranes and ducks" and pleasing to the eye.

But the lotus-pool depicted in the cave seems to be, in my opinion, an attempt at the representation of the parable of the lotus-pool graphically described in the first lecture of the 2nd book of Sūtrakṛt Anga, one of the eleven Angas which comprise the chief sacred books of the Jains.¹ The discourse of the venerable Mahāvīra was reported by Sudharman—a disciple of Mahāvīra and one to whom the world is indebted for the Jain scriptures—to Jambusvāmin, a disciple of Sudharman. The sermon is as follows:—"There is a lotus-pool containing much water and mud, very full and complete, full of white lotuses, delightful, conspicuous, magnificent and splendid. And everywhere all over the lotus-pool there grew many white lotuses the best of Nymphæas, in beautiful array tall, brilliant, of fine colour, smell, taste, touch, ... splendid. And in the very middle of this lotus-pool, there grew one big white lotus, the best of Nymphæas.

"Now there came a man from the eastern quarter to the lotus-pool, and standing on the bank of it, he saw that one big white lotus. Now this man spoke thus, "I am a knowing, clever, well-informed, discerning, wise, not foolish man, who keeps the way, knows the way, and is acquainted with the direction and bent of the way. I shall fetch that white lotus, the best of all Nymphæas. Having said this the man entered the lotus-pool. And the more he proceeded, the more the water and the mud (seemed to) extend. He had left the shore, and he did not come up to the white lotus, the best of Nymphæas, he could not get back to this bank, nor to the opposite one, but in the middle of the lotus-pool he stuck in the mud."

Then there came another man from the southern quarter to the lotus-pool. The second man thought that the first man was not a knowing man but that he alone was knowing. But when he entered the pool, he also stuck in the mud. The same thing happened to a third and a fourth man who came from the western and northern quarters respectively.

1. *See* Jacobi *Jaina Sūtras*, part II.

There was a monk living on low food and desiring to get to the shore of *saṃsāra*. Standing on the bank of the lotus-pool, he saw the one big white lotus. He did not enter the lotus pool; but standing on the bank of it, he raised his voice. "Fly up on, white lotus, best of Nymphæas!" and lo! the white lotus flew up.

Then Mahāvīra asked the Nigrantha monks and nuns to comprehend the meaning of the simile. They failed to understand it; so Mahāvīra explained the simile thus:—"Oh long lived Śramaṇas! meaning the world, I spoke of the lotus-pool; meaning Karman I spoke of the water; meaning pleasure and amusements I spoke of the mud; meaning people in general I spoke of those many white lotuses, the best of Nymphæas; meaning heretical teachers I spoke of those four men; meaning the law I spoke of the monk; meaning the church I spoke of the bank; meaning one preaching of the law I spoke of the (monk's) voice; meaning Nirvāṇa I spoke of the lotus flying up; meaning these things Oh long lived Śramaṇas, I told this simile".

The story here described differs from the scene painted in the ceiling of the cave in some particulars: (1) If the lotus-pool is depicted in the ceiling of the Mukhamaṇḍapa, the best white lotus is found not in the centre of the pool but in the centre of the ceiling of the shrine chamber and in front of Mahāvīra. (2) Another point of difference is that instead of four men coming from the four directions, we have only three men of whom two are very near the centre of the tank. (3) The lotuses drawn in the pool of the ceiling are red, while those described in the parable are said to be white.

In spite of these differences it appears to me that this parable is the best solution of the scene depicted in the ceiling of the Mukhamaṇḍapa of the Jain cave at Śittannavāsāl.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE RĠVEDANUKRAMANI OF MADHAVABHATTA—MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 2—EDITED BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHIL. (OXON.), READER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price Rs. 3-8-0; Foreign 7s.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras has placed the Sanskrit world under a deep debt of gratitude by editing the *RĠvedānukramanī* by Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

As mentioned by the Doctor, the work under review throws light on many interesting points. The author, Mādhavabhaṭṭa, clearly states that the mantras of RĠveda were revealed to Ṛṣis before they were redacted into Samhitā, cf:—

मण्डलान्युषयो दृष्ट्वा सर्व एव समागताः ।

विन्यासं ददृशुः पश्चादिति वृद्धेभ्य आगमः ॥ V, 6, 21.

He also accounts for the chronological order of the ten maṇḍalas of RĠveda. The different readings in the same mantra are accounted for by the fact that they were revealed at different times to ṛṣis who had different aims, cf.:—

एवमैक्ये रूपभेदः पाठभेदश्च किंकृतः ।

भूयो भूयस्तपस्तप्त्वा वेदान्नानाविधानिति ।

ऋषयो ददृशुः पूर्वे तं तमर्थमभीप्सवः ॥ V, 7, 26.

पश्यन्ति तांस्तानुद्दिश्य कामानिह महर्षयः ।

ये ये सूक्तेषु दृश्यन्ते ते च भेदस्य हेतवः ॥ V, 6, 29.

तथा दर्शनकालस्य भेदश्चैषां विभेदकः । V, 6, 30.

Patañjali is referred to as the author of a work, *Nidāna* by name, where Vedic prosody should have been dealt with and Vedic mantras should have been commented upon (VI, 1, 14; 6, 8; VII, 6, 10), and also as a grammarian. Mention is made of *Piṅgala*, *Skandhogriṇī*, *Krauṣṭhuti* and *Yāska* as writers on Vedic *chandas* and they were called *kavayaḥ* (VI, 5, 8). Yāska is referred to as *Yaska-kulodbhava* (VI, 1, 26; VII, 5, 9). The author also

suggests by his statement शाक्यः पाणिनिर्यास्कि इत्युगार्थपरास्तयः (VIII, 1, 7) that Pāṇini commented upon Vedic mantras and he may have been anterior to Yāska. His regard to Pāṇini is clear from his discussion on his sūtras on the use of लकार's (II, 3, 16-20) and he also seems to suggest by his statement स्पष्टमेव लकारार्थान् पद्यामो ब्राह्मणेषु च (II, 3, 19) that the word *chandās* in the sūtra बहुलं छन्दसि refers only to Saṃhitā and not to Brāhmaṇas.

As regards upasargas, he does not seem to agree with the author of ऋग्वेदप्रातिशाख्य that they are *vācakas* (cf. उपसर्गो विंशतिरर्थ-वाचकाः) but agrees with Mahābhāṣyakāra that they are *dyotakas* (III, 7, 3).

It is also worthy of notice that the introductory stanza in each adhyāya of the eight aṣṭakas in this work, except the first in each aṣṭaka, begins with a phrase with which the respective adhyāya of the Ṛg-veda begins.

According to him, a *vāidika* is one who officiates as priest and a *lāukika* is one other than he (III, 3, 9; V, 1, 13; V, 7, 25, etc.). From the statement प्रयाजदेवयाजादौ (VII 5, introductory stanza), it seems that the word देवयाज was used in the sense of अनूयाज. His treatment of accent—his assertion that there should be difference in meaning if there is difference in accent in the same word, and the high and the low tones depend upon the meaning and it is better appreciated by lāukikas (I, 6, 6; I, 8, 1), and his statement that context decides the time of action if the tenses used do not conform to the rules of grammar (II, 2, 9) and his emphatic protest against the previous writers with whom he does not agree—are points to prove that he is a critical commentator, full of knowledge.

Dr. Raja has taken great pains in proving that this Mādhava is different from Mādhava (A), in giving reference to all Ṛks in Appendix II-A, in noting different readings in Appendix I and in preparing the index of stanzas in Appendix III. He may have given an index of the names of authors and works. The Sanskrit public will be eagerly waiting for more information regarding Mādhava and others, for his publication of Ṛg-vedabhāṣya by Skandasvāmin and for further publications by him which will throw new light on the history of Vedic exegesis.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

THE UNADISUTRAS WITH THE PRAKRIYASAVASVA OF NARAYANA, MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 7 PT. 2.—EDITED BY DR. T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D., SENIOR LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price. Rs. 2-8-0. Foreign 4 s.

Dr. T. R. Chintamani makes, by his publications in quick succession, the world of Sanskrit scholars really indebted to him. He has shown to the world that many a scholar devoted his energies to write commentaries on Uṇādisūtras. One of them is Nārāyaṇa and his commentary is named Prakriyāsarvasva. His date is mentioned by the editor to be 1586 A. D.

The need for Uṇādisūtras seems to be this:—The great grammarian Śakaṭāyana expounded the theory that *all* words are derived from *verbs* and Gārgya and Nairuktas differed from him and said that not *all* are derived from them. But the latter took into their heads that some derivation or other should be given. Ācārya Pāṇini is said to agree with Gārgya. Hence it will be an interesting study to go into the different kinds of derivations of words given by the commentators. When many scholars have derived सिंहः from हिस्, this author derives it from सिच्—

Cf. सिञ्चति रुधिरैणाङ्गं मुचं वा सिंहः ।

This author clearly sees that, in the derivation of certain words, he is not satisfied: but he states that he is forced to abide by the decision of टीकासर्वस्वकार.

Cf. अस्माद्धातोरियं संज्ञा साध्येति मुनिशासने ।

किं कुर्मोऽर्थान्वयः कश्चित् लब्धश्चेत् कृतिनो वयम् ॥

सदसद्वापि यत्किञ्चिदुक्त्वा व्युत्पाद्यमित्यदः ।

टीकासर्वस्वकारादिवचनं शरणं हि नः ॥

He might have mentioned that the view of टीकासर्वस्वकार is the same as that of Yāska, the author of Nirukta.

The derivation of certain words is worth investigation:—

तालुः—प्लवते अस्मिन्नास्यजलम् ; शुक्रः—शोचति देवगुणैः ;

कपोलः—छादयति दन्तादीन् ; मीनः—मीयते हिंस्यते ; कलत्रम्—गलति

मुङ्गे भर्तुः स्वम् ; श्रोणिः—श्रूयते न तु दृश्यते वस्त्रच्छन्नत्वात् ; अम्बलः—

अम्बते रोहिति क्रौर्यात् ; पुत्रः—पुनाति ऋणापाकरणात् ॥

The author seems to have a keen critical acumen from his statement प्राङ्निपातितत्वादिदं हेयम् under the sūtra लज्जो मनिन्. His

derivation of विधुरः from व्यध् deserves notice and suggests that the word विषवा also may be derived from the same root as is done by the Western scholars.

Dr. Chintamani has taken great pains in editing the text neatly and critically and in having carefully prepared indexes of works and authors referred to, of sūtras and of words at the end. He is critical and scholarly in his introduction and also promises that 'Details regarding the text of Nārāyaṇa and a comparison of this text with that of others will be set forth in the General Introduction in Part VII.' The get-up is nice and the price is cheap. We wish that the University of Madras will enable the Doctor to give the Sanskrit scholars similar intellectual treats by his publication.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

THE UNADISUTRAS OF BHOJA WITH THE VRTTI OF DANDANATHA NARAYANA AND THE UNADISUTRAS OF THE KATANTRA SCHOOL WITH THE VRTTI OF DURGASIMHA, MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 7, PT. 6.—EDITED BY DR. T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D., SENIOR LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price Rs. 3. Foreign 6 s.

The Unādisūtras of Bhoja and of the Kātantra school have seen the light of day through the efforts of Dr. T. R. Chintamani. He has explained in his introduction the reasons why Bhoja's work is named सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम् though it has another name शब्दानुशासनम्; he has also dealt with the date and identity of the commentator Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa.

The Unādisūtras of Bhoja contain 795 sūtras on the whole. In his desire to explain the derivation of all words, he suggests the following which deserve careful consideration:—

स्वसा—अस्यते: सुन्युपपदे ऋन्प्रत्ययो भवति ; जामाता—जः इत्येतस्मिन्नुपपदे मित्रः तृच्प्रत्ययो भवति ; द्वौ त्रयः—उभेरिप्रत्ययो भवति, दत्र इत्येतौ चादेशौ भवतः ;

Daṇḍanātha in his commentary takes अन्धः to be a क्षत्रियजाति and आभीरः, a शूद्रजाति.

The manuscripts for the first part seem to have much taxed the patience of the editor and hence some errors seem to have escaped his notice which need revision in the second edition.

The Kātantra school differ from the Bhoja school in certain derivations. The former derive इन्दुः from इदि परमैश्वर्ये, while the latter from उदि. The former takes the form स्वशुरः while the latter श्वशुरः.

Durgasiniha equates चण्डाल with निषाद. His vṛtti is scholarly and deserves to be studied by all Sanskrit grammarians.

The editor has taken pains to give the indices of sūtras and words in each part and a short Introduction. It will be a great help to Sanskrit scholars if he kindly takes the trouble of publishing the differences of opinion in the derivation of words by different scholars and examines them in the light of Indo-European Philology. The get-up is good and the price is low. The Sanskrit world will feel grateful to the University of Madras for having enabled the Doctor to bring out his publications in quick succession.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

BULLETINS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY NO. 4. VIJAYANAGARA, ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE—BY N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH. D., READER IN INDIAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price Rs. 2. Foreign 3 s.

The present work of Dr. Venkataramanayya is in many ways a supplement to his previous work, 'Kampil and Vijayanagara'. He has tried to meet much of the criticism that was levelled against him, when he first advanced his views. He has subjected the theory of the Karnāṭaka origin to a searching analysis and has exposed the hollowness of some of the sweeping assumptions connected with that theory.

The work is more of the nature of notes on several of the problems relating to the origin of the city and the founders of the Empire, rather than a comprehensive study of the beginnings of Vijayanagara history.

One or two conclusions of Dr. Venkataramanayya are based on very slender sources. The most noteworthy of these is the statement that Harihara I embraced Islam, and that Bukka I had a Muslim son. Another is the statement that there was 'a conscious effort to overhaul the administrative machinery of the kingdom', on the part of the Kākatīya rulers, Rudrama and Pratāparudra.

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It is impossible in a short review like this to do anything more than merely indicate a few of the outstanding dates and facts that are highly controversial, which Dr. Venkataramanayya has done little to back up by substantial evidence. He assigns A. D. 1330 as the last date of Pratāparudra, but points out no authority except the inscription commemorating the grant of land to the temple of Bhramarāmēśvara of Ārumūrugulla. But this inscription has no connection with Pratāparudra, and in no way helps his argument. His last date of Kāpaya Nāyaka, namely A. D. 1360 is open to similar objection. The inscription cited in support of it does not refer to Kāpaya Nāyaka at all.

A few details about Rācakonḍa are worth our scrutiny. The incident relating to Śrinātha's visit to the Court of Rācakonḍa is based on a *cūṭu padya*, and we know what value we have to assign to the majority of them unless corroborated by other evidence. On chronological grounds Dr. Venkataramanayya's position in this respect is untenable. He gives A. D. 1420 as the initial date of Siṅgama's reign but states in the next page that Śrinātha's visit to Rācakonḍa should have taken place a little earlier. According to tradition the Koṇḍaviḍu ruler who is mentioned in this story is Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, who had previously fought with the rulers of Rācakonḍa. Now, Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma's reign must have come to an end some time before Śaka 1337 expired, i. e., A. D. 1415-16, long before Siṅgama came to the throne.

It is also doubtful whether Siṅgama had the title of Sarvajña at all. We have inscriptional evidence to show that Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma had that title. According to Velugōṭi-vāri-varṇśa-caritra, Siṅgama also had this title. But the Report on Epigraphy for 1913 assigns this title to Siṅgama, brother of Mummūḍi Redḍi of the Korukonḍa branch of the Redḍis. This Siṅgama is also associated with the famous Vaiṣṇavite scholar and philosopher Vēdānta Dēśika, and was also a great patron of Śrī-vaiṣṇavism. Tradition assigning this title to Siṅgama of Rācakonḍa cites as evidence Bammera Pōtana's Bhōginī Daṇḍakam. There are many points against making Pōtana the author of this work, and the whole question needs to be thoroughly discussed.

The identification of Sanaba in EC V Cn 167 is wrong. It is most probably the modern village of Sanapa in Anantapur. Ātakur is perhaps the present Ātmakur in the same taluk, as

proved by a fragment of an inscription found at that place some time back. Both of them were in the Ghanagiri kingdom.

In spite of minor inaccuracies like these, the book is replete with interesting and original thought and is indeed a valuable contribution to the study of the Vijayanagara history. The sources for the early period are somewhat scanty and unless a systematic search for sources is carried out in the country around the ancient city of Vijayanagara, our knowledge of this period is likely to remain scrappy and doubtful.

D. SRINIVASACHARI.

Kāl.

Ūr-k-kāl cēy.
(Land near the end of the village.)

Puṛam.

Ūr-k-kaṇ maram.
(The tree outside the village.)

Akam.

Eyir-kaṭ pukkāṇ.
(He entered into the fort.)

Uḷ.

Iḷ-kaṇ iruntāṇ.
(He was within the house.)

Uḷai.

Aracaṇ-kaṇ iruntāṇ.
(He was near the king.)

Kīl.

Ā āliṇ-kaṭ kiṭantatū.
(Cow lay at the foot of the banyan tree.)

Mēl.

Kuraṅku maratṭiṇ-kaṇ iruntatū.
(Monkey was at the top of the tree.)

Piṇ.

Ēr-k-kaṭ ceṇṇār.
(He went behind the plough.)

Cār.

Kāṭṭiṇ-kaṇ ōṭum.
(He runs through the land adjoining the forest.)

Ayal.

Cirāppaḷḷi-k-kunru uraiyūr-k-kaṇ uḷatū.
(The hill at Trichinopoly is near Uṛaiyūr.)

Puṭai.

Eyir-kaṇ niṇṇār.
(They stood away from the fort.)

Tēvakai.

Vaṭakkaṇ Vēṇkaṭam.
(Veṇkaṭam on the north.)

Muṇ.

Puli-k-kaṭ paṭṭāṇ.
(He happened to stand before a tiger.)

K

Talai, Iṭai, Kaṭai.

Nūr-kaṇ maṅkalam.

(The auspicious ornaments at the beginning, middle or end.)

Valam.

Āciriyaṇ māṇākkariṇ-kaṇ niṇṇār.

(Teacher stood to the right of pupils.)

Iṭam.

Māṇākkar āciriyaṇ-kaṇ niṇṇār.

(Pupils stood to the left of the teacher.)

Note 1.—Cēṇāvaraiyar has taken this sūtra to deal with the specialised meanings of the locative in the same way as the sūtras 72, 74, 76, 78 and 80 which respectively deal with the specialised meanings of the accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative and genitive cases. Iṭampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar think that this sūtra deals with the different words like *kaṇ*, *kāl* etc. which serve as locative case-suffixes. Teyvaccilaiyār's opinion is that both are dealt with here. The defects in the interpretation of Iṭampūraṇar are:—(1) If this sūtra deals with case-suffixes, the word *kaṇ* which has been mentioned in the previous sūtra is unnecessary here; (2) the word *tēvakai* is not used as case-suffix and hence it should be taken to mean the meaning of the locative suffix; (3) since Tolkāppiyaṇār deals with the meanings of the different case-suffixes in the sūtras 72, 74, 76, 78 and 80, it is fair that he deals with the meaning of the locative suffix here; (4) in expressions like *ūr-p-purattu iruntāṇ*, if *puram* is taken as a locative suffix, the *cāriyai* 'attu' cannot come after it since it is enjoined in the sūtra.

Avaṇṇuvali maruṅkiṇ cāriyai varumē. (Tol. Eḷut. 118.) that it comes only between the noun and the case-suffix; (5) Tolkāppiyaṇār has not stated the *collurupū* in other cases. Of these the defects (1) and (4) have been mentioned by Cēṇāvaraiyar. Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar condemns Cēṇāvaraiyar thus—(1) If *kaṇ* in this sūtra denotes place, it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra; (2) There is no usage like 'marattukkaṭ kurāṅki' etc.; (3) Instead of the expression '*kaṇ-ṇ-akaṇ-ṇālam* (wide place) one should use '*kaṇ-kaṇ akaṇ-ṇālam*.' The first argument is baseless since '*kaṇ*' in the previous sūtra is the case-suffix and '*kaṇ*' in this sūtra is its meaning. The second argument falls to the ground since Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar himself has given '*marattu-k-kaṭ kurāṅki*' as an example under the sūtra

Peyarun tolilum pirintoruṅ k-icaip̄pa

Uṭaimaiyu m-iṇmaiṇu m-oṭuvayi ṇ-okkum. (Tol. Eḷut. 132.)

In the expression *kaṇ-ṇ-akaṇ-ṇālam*, the word *kaṇ* may be taken as a noun meaning place or centre so that the expression may mean *iṭam akaṇṇa pūmi*, though Cēṇāvaraiyar takes *kaṇ* as an *iṭai-c-col*. Expressions where *kaṇ* is used as a noun are plenty. cf. '*parṇarṇa kaṇṇum*' (Kurāl, 521) (in places or persons deprived of wealth). If so the third objection also cannot stand. Hence the interpretation given by Cēṇāvaraiyar seems to be the correct one. The author of the Ilakkāṇa-viḷakkam agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar.

Note 2.—The words *kaṇ*, *talai*, etc. are all nouns denoting place. cf. '*parṇarṇa kaṇṇum*' (Kurāl, 521); '*Nāṇan-talai-nal-l-eyil*' (Pura. 15) (the five fort with its head wide or a very wide and fine fort). In many cases when words compounded with them were used after the verbs, the seventh case-suffix was dropped on the strength of the sūtra

Aiyuṅ kaṇṇu m-allā-p poruḷvayin

Meyyuruḷu tokā v-iṇuti y-āṇa. (Tol. Col. 105.)

Ex. *alaṅ-kaṭai-ē* (Tol. Eḷut. 1, 30, 62, 72, 434). for (*alaṅ-kaṭai-k-kaṇ-ṇ-ē*); *Poruḷ vayin* for *poruḷ-vayin-kaṇ* (Tol. Col. 051.) etc. Even in the absence of the locative case-suffix, since the locative meaning was present and the words *kaṇ*, *kāl*, *kaṭai*, *vayin*, etc. denoted place, they were mistook for the case-suffixes in later period.

Note 3.—The expression *aṇṇa pira* in the sūtra may refer to words like *kaṭai*, *kayin*, *mukam*, *il*, *maruṅku*, *vali*, etc.

Note 4.—In Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary the following passage is found:—'*Muṇ iraṇṭāvalu mutaliya urupukaḷai muṭit-tarṅku eṭuttōtiya kāppu-mutaliya poruḷkaḷai-p-pōla urupai-muṭittu nillātu iṇṭu-k-kūriya poruḷkaḷ kaṇ-ṇ-ēṇṇum urupaiyē uṇartti ninraṇa eṇṇalir cēṇāvaraiyarum i-p-poruḷkaḷai urupenrē kūriṇār āyirru. Aṇ-ṇāṇāṇ kūri attu-c-cariyai koṭuttu utāraṇāṇ kāṭṭavē urupin pinṇarum attu-c-cāriyai varutal tāmum nērntār-āyirru.*' (Since Cēṇāvaraiyar says that this sūtra deals with the meanings of the suffix *kaṇ* as the sūtras commencing with *kāppu* etc. deal with those of other cases, he too thinks these meanings as case-suffixes. If so the *cariyai* 'attu' comes after case-suffixes.) Here the statement 'he too thinks these meanings as case-suffixes' conveys no meaning. Hence this passage seems to me to be an

interpolation. Another reason that may be cited in favour of it is that his condemnation of Cēṇāvaraiyar seems to have ended before the commencement of this passage.

83. வேற்றுமைப் பொருளை விரிக்குங் கால
ஈற்றுநின் றியலுந் தொகையிற் பிரிந்து
பல்லா ருகப் பொருள்புணர்ந் திசைக்கும்
எல்லாச் சொல்லு முரிய வென்ப.
Vērrumai-p porulai virikkun kālai
Irū-niṇ riyalun tokai-vayir pirintu
Pallā r-āka-p poruḷ-puṇarn t-icaikkum
Ellā-c collu m-uriya v-eṇṇa.

When one wants to expatiate the meanings of the cases mentioned above, it is said that all words which are synonomous with the words found (in sūtras 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82) have to be added to the list of words found in each of them.

Note 1.—The meaning given above is that given by *Civañāṇamuṇivar*. I have preferred that meaning since it is the only one that fits in here. The meaning given by each of the other commentators is defective.

Ḫampūraṇar splits the sūtra into two sūtras the first two lines forming one with the difference that *pirintē* is substituted for *pirintu* and the last two lines forming the second. The meaning is that if a *vērrumai-t-tokai* or a *tatpuruṣa* compound is split a number of words may have to be inserted in addition to the case-suffix. For instance when the word *porroṭi* (golden bracelet) is split, it has to be split as *ponnāl ākiya loṭi*, where the word *ākiya* is inserted and so on. The same is the meaning given by Teyvacilaiyār though he takes all the four lines into one sūtra with the word *pirintu* at the end of the second line.

Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkiniyar, on the other hand, state that when a *vērrumai-t-tokai* (*tatpuruṣa* compound) and an *aṇmoli-t-tokai* (*bahuvrīhi* compound) are split, a number of words has to be inserted. The difference between Ḫampūraṇar and Cēṇāvaraiyar is that the former thinks that this sūtra deals how the *vērrumai-t-tokai* alone is split and the latter how both *vērrumai-t-tokai* and *aṇmoli-t-tokai* are split.

One important defect in these two meanings is that they are out of place. This *iyal* has been dealing with case-suffixes and the meanings of cases and never with the splitting of compounds. Other defects are:—(1) the word *vērrumai-p-poruḷ* is taken to

mean *vērrumai-t-tokai* and the word *irru-niṇriyalun-tokai* to mean *aṇmoli-t-tokai*. (2) The word *tokai* is taken to mean compound, though it may be taken here to mean collection. (3) Cēṇāvaraiyar feeling that, according to his interpretation, this sūtra is out of place says that because Tolkāppiyaṇār deals with *tokai-viri* in the following *vērrumai-mayaṇkiyal*, he has written this sūtra here. But in the next section which contains 34 sūtras, only 7 sūtras from 94th to 100th deal with compounds; but even they do not seem to deal with *tokai-viri*; nor has Cēṇāvaraiyar brought in other words splitting the compounds.

Civañāṇamuṇivar condemns Cēṇāvaraiyar thus: (1) If the author meant *vērrumai-t-tokai* he would have said so instead of *vērrumai-p-poruḷ*. (2) The compounds are dealt with in *ecca-v-iyal* and hence *vērrumai-y-iyal* is not the proper place to deal with *tokai-viri* since it has to deal only with case-suffixes and the meanings of the cases; the *tokai-viri* of *vērrumai-t-tokai* is learnt from the word *vērrumai-y-iyala* in the sūtra '*vērrumai-t tokaiyē vērrumai-y-iyala*' (Tol. Col. 413); if it is said that the *tokai-viri* has to be definitely explained, there is no sūtra to explain the *tokai-viri* of *uvama-t-tokai*.

VĒRRUMAI-Y-IYAL ENDS.

COLLATIKĀRAM.

Vērrumai-mayaṇkiyal.

(Chapter on contamination etc.)

84. கரும மல்லாச் சார்பென் கிளவிக்கு
உரிமையு முடைத்தே கண்ணென் வேற்றுமை.
Karuma m-allā-c cārpen kiḷavikkū
Urimai-y-u m-uṭaittē kaṇ-ṇ-eṇ vērrumai.

The seventh case also may be used to denote close relationship except direct impact.

Ex. *Aracar-kaṭ cārntāṇ* (He sided the King).

Note. 1.—This chapter deals primarily with the use of one case-suffix for another, (*i. e.*) with contamination. It is called *urupu-mayakkam* from the standpoint that one case-suffix is used for another and *poruḷ-mayakkam* from the standpoint that a case-suffix is used in a meaning other than its own. Since some of the cases are not dropped in Tamil as in Greek and Latin, there is no room for syncretism here.

Note. 2.—*Cārṣū* is of two kinds:—*Karuma-c-cārṣū* or impact and *karumam-il-cārṣū* or close relation other than impact. This sūtra sanctions the use of the seventh case in addition to the second case sanctioned by 72nd sūtra in the case of the latter *cārṣū*. Hence expressions like '*tūṇiṇ-kaṭ cārnlāṇ*' (he came in contact with the pillar) is of later date.

Note. 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār says that *karumam* in this sūtra is a *tadbhava* of Skt. *karma* which means object of a transitive verb. But the word *karumam* means, in the opinion of others, *impact*.

Note. 4.—The particle *um* in this sūtra suggests that the use of the second case is more popular than that of the seventh case.

Note. 5.—This sūtra is a *viśeṣa-vidhi* to the general *vidhi* denoted by *cārtal* in the 72nd sūtra.

85. சினைநிலைக் கிளவிக் கையுங் கண்ணும்
வினைநிலை யொக்கு மென்மனார் புலவர்.
Cinai-nilai-k kiḷavi-k k-aiyuṇ kaṇṇum
Viṇai-nilai y-okku m-enmanār pulavar.

Learned men say that the seventh case is used in the same way as the second after words denoting parts when they qualify verbs other than appellative verbs.

Ex. *kōṭṭai-k-kuraittāṇ* (He cut off the tusk).

Kōṭṭin-kaṭ kuraittāṇ (He cut off the tusk).

Note. 1.—The word *viṇai-nilai* means *teri-nilai-viṇai* and is the seventh case here with the suffix dropped; hence the above rule cannot operate if the word denoting part qualifies an appellative verb.

Note. 2.—Since this sūtra sanctions the use of the seventh case in place of the second in the same way as the previous one, one may think that this sūtra may be made one with the previous one. But the particle *um* in the previous sūtra suggests that the use of the seventh case in the previous instance is very rare and the use of *okkum* in this sūtra suggests that the use of the seventh case is as free as that of the second.

86. கன்றலுஞ் செலவு மொன்றுமார் வினையே.
Kaṇṇaluṇ celavu m-onṇumār viṇaiyē.

Both the seventh and the second cases are used with verbs derived from roots *kaṇṇu-* and *cel*.

Ex. *Cūṭinai-k-kaṇṇiṇṇ; cūṭinkaṭ kaṇṇiṇṇ.*

(He has got a mastery over playing at dice.)

Ūrai-c-cellum; ūriṇkaṭ cellum.
(He goes to the village.)

Note. 1.—The words ஐயுங் கண்ணும் are taken over to this sūtra; they form the subject of *onṇumār*; the words *kaṇṇalum* and *celavum* are taken along with *viṇai* which is a word in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped.

Note. 2.—This sūtra sanctions the use of the seventh case-suffix also.

Note. 3.—This sūtra is not made one with the previous sūtra since that deals with the case-suffix affixed to words denoting parts irrespective of the verbs they qualify and this deals with the case-suffixes of the nouns which qualify the verbs derived from the roots *kaṇṇu-* and *cel*.

Note. 4.—Since the use of the second case-suffix was already sanctioned by the 72nd sūtra, it may be sufficient if the use of the seventh case-suffix is sanctioned by this sūtra. But the author has not done so lest one should consider the use of the former to be more frequent than that of the latter.

Note. 5.—In the Śaiva-siddhānta edition, the expression 'ஒரு தொழில்' should be corrected as 'ஒரு தொழில.'

87. முதற்கினைக் கிளவிக் கதுவென் வேற்றுமை
முதற்கண் வரினே சினைக்கை வருமே.
Mutar-cinai-k kiḷavi-k k-atu-ven vēṇṇumai
Mutarkaṇ varinē cinai-k-k-ai varumē.

If, in a sentence, there is mention denoting whole and part and the sixth case-suffix is used along with the word denoting the whole, the second case-suffix alone is used along with the word denoting the part.

Ex. *Yāṇaiyatu kōṭṭai-k kuraittāṇ.*

(He cut off the tusk of the elephant.)

Ilampūraṇar says that this sūtra is a *puranaṭai* (exception) to the 85th sūtra. But Cēṇāvaraiyar says that this sūtra is a *niyama-vidhi* (i. e.) it restricts the application of the 85th sūtra. The opinion of the latter is the correct one.

88. முதன்முனைவாரிற் கண்ணென் வேற்றுமை
சினைமுன் வருத நெள்ளி தென்ப.
Mulan-mu n-ai-varir kaṇ-n-en vēṇṇumai
Cinai-muṇ varuta reḷḷi t-enṇa.

If the second case-suffix is used along with the word denoting the whole, the seventh case is used along with the word denoting the part.

Ex. *Yānaiyai-k kōṭṭiṇkaṭ kuraittān.*

(He cut off the elephant at the tusk.)

Note. 1.—This sūtra also is a *niyamavidhi*.

Note. 2.—This sūtra and the previous one are taken as one sūtra by Teyvaccilaiyār. But since it gives room to sentence-split, it is not correct to do so.

Note. 3.—Since sūtras 85, 87 and 88 deal with words denoting whole and part, the sūtra 86 though it does not deal with whole part is read in the middle so that the words ஐயுக் கண்ணும் may follow in the 86th sūtra from the 85th sūtra.

Note. 4.—Since expressions like '*yānai-k kōṭṭai-k kuraittān*' also began to be used before the time of Ḹampūraṇar, he states it as being suggested by the word *teḷḷitū*. But it is clear that such a usage was not current at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār.

Note. 5.—Naccinārkkinīyar takes the previous sūtra as mentioning *urupu-mayakkam* and this sūtra as *poruḷ-mayakkam*. I am unable to understand why a differentiation should be done.

89. முதலுஞ் சினையும் பொருள்வேறு படாஅ
துவலுங் காலைச் சொற்குறிப் பினவே.
Mutaluñ cinaiyum poruḷ-vēru paṭāa
Nuvaluñ kōlai-c coṟ-kuriṭ piṇavē.

An object cannot, by itself, be taken either as a whole or as a part. It should be suggested by the expression of the speaker.

For instance *yānai* is a whole in the sentence *yānaiyatu kōṭṭai-k kuraittān*, but it is a part in the sentence '*paṭaiyatu yānaiyai akarrinān*' (he drove away the elephants of the army). Similarly in the former sentence *kōṭṭu* is a part; but in the sentence '*kōṭṭatu nuniyai-k kuraittān*' (he cut off the tip of the tusk), *kōṭṭu* is a whole and not a part.

Note. 1.—The expression பொருள் வேறுபடாஅ means 'they cannot be differentiated by their meaning'; hence பொருள் is a third case with the case-suffix dropped. The verb வேறுபடாஅ is active in form, but passive in meaning.

Note. 2.—This sūtra is intended to understand correctly that the whole and the part are only relative terms.

90. பிண்டப் பெயரு மாயிய நிரியா
பண்டியன் மருங்கின் மரீஇய மாபே.

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

सुरावाजिनयोरिष्टिः सान्नाय्यं प्रकृतिः पशोः ।

तत्रापि ^१श्रुतमामिक्षा ^२श्रुतैकप्रकृतिर्मता ॥ २१६ ॥

अहीनसत्रप्रकृतिर्द्वादशाहो व्यवस्थया ।

सपञ्चदशरात्रं तु सत्रं स्यात् कौण्डपायिनाम् ॥ २१७ ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

हविर्गणे^३ देवतायाः^४ साम्येन प्रकृतिस्थितिः ।

सप्तरात्रे तु नानाहानां प्रवृत्तिः सङ्गसाम्यतः ॥ २१८ ॥

षडहावृत्तिरेव स्याच्चत्वारः षडहा इति ।

^५संस्थागणशतोकध्यादौ धर्माः स्युर्द्वादशाहिकाः ॥ २१९ ॥

शतोकध्यादिगतोकध्यादिष्वेकाहाद्धर्मसंक्रमः ।

ग्राह्या उत्पत्तिगायत्र्यो^७ बृहस्पतिसवे मताः ॥ २२० ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

दर्विहोमः कर्मनाम वैदिकानामपीष्यते ।

जुहोतिचोदनानां स्यादपूर्वा एव ते मताः ॥ २२१ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

1. A, T and G. श्रुत-

LV. श्रुत-

2. A, A¹ and LV. श्रुतैक-

T and G. श्रुतै-

3. A and LV. हविर्मेदे

4. A. देवतयोः

5. T. षडहाविति

6. A¹. संस्थागवा-

G. संस्थागणे

7. A. गायत्र्या

॥ अथ नवमोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

प्रयोक्तृपूर्व^१ धर्माणां स्याच्चैतत् सन्निपातिनाम् ।
निमित्तं चापि तेषां तदित्येवं वर्णकत्रयम् ॥ २२२ ॥
प्रोक्षणं हन्तिषिष्टिभ्यां^२ सोमापूर्वैश्च^३ वाग्यमः ।
देवताफलसंबन्धस्ताभ्यां वा न प्रयुज्यते ॥ २२३ ॥
न देवतातिथिन्यायाद्यज्ञे^४ प्राधान्यमश्नुते^५ ।
ब्रह्माद्यैर्न^६ प्रयुज्यन्ते प्रोक्षणप्रमुखान्यपि ॥ २२४ ॥
सोमोद्भवेनापूर्वेण नोपांशुत्वं प्रयुज्यते ।
प्रणीतावाग्यमोऽप्येवं नैष्टिकेन प्रयुज्यते ॥ २२५ ॥
प्रतीष्टकं नाग्निधर्मः पत्न्यन्तत्वं विनोत्तमम्^{१०} ।
अभ्यासः सामिधेनीनां स्थानधर्मत्वमृच्छति ॥ २२६ ॥
आरम्भणीया नावृत्ताविष्टेरावृत्तिमश्नुते^{११} ।
नान्वाधानाङ्गमेषेतीमौ न्यायौ वृत्तिभाष्ययोः ॥ २२७ ॥
न निर्वापे सवित्रश्चिपूष्णामूहः प्रवर्तते ।
तस्मिन्नाग्निपदं तूह्यं समवेताभिधानतः ॥ २२८ ॥
तथा मांसपुरोडाशे चोह्यं धान्यपदं भवेत् ।
इडामन्त्रे यज्ञपतेर्नोहः सत्रेषु^{१४} विद्यते ॥ २२९ ॥

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. G. प्रयोक्तृपूर्व | G. प्रतीष्टकं नास्ति |
| 2. A. पीप्तिभ्यां | 10. G. तमे |
| 3. A. पूर्वश्च | 11. T, A, A ¹ and LV. |
| 4. A ¹ . अग्ने | विष्ट्योरावृत्तिमश्नुते |
| 5. A. मित्यते | 12. T. नान्वाधानाङ्गमारम्भ- |
| 6. T and A ¹ . चैश्च | णीया पुंसस्तु संस्कृतिः । |
| 7. T. न प्रोक्षणमुखानपि | G omits this ardha. |
| 8. A ¹ omits this ardha. | 13. LV omits this and the |
| 9. T. प्रोक्षकं | next ardha. |
| A. प्रताष्टकं | 14. A, A ¹ , G and LV. सर्वेषु |
| A ¹ . प्रतिष्टकं | |

विद्यते यजमानस्य सूक्तवाके फलित्वतः ।
आग्नेयसुब्रह्मण्यायां नोह्या हरिवदादयः ॥ २३० ॥
न तस्यै^१ श्रुतमित्यादि वत्से चोहं प्रपद्यते^२ ।
पशुसामानविध्यं चेन्मेष्ट्यां^३ लुप्तोऽग्निगुर्भवेत् ॥ २३१ ॥
नियतः स्यादिराशब्दः प्रगीतः स प्रयुज्यते ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

गीतयः सामशब्दोक्ताः स्यादूहश्च सकर्तृकः ॥ २३२ ॥
साम संस्कारकर्म स्यात्तद्भवेत् प्रत्युचं तृचे ।
प्रगेयं^४ तत्समास्वेव^५ रूढमुत्तरयोरिति ॥ २३३ ॥
त्रैशोकं^६ विषमत्वेऽपि बृहत्सोर्भवतीति च ।
बृहद्रथन्तरे गेये प्रगाथककुभोर्मते ॥ २३४ ॥
प्रागाथिकबृहत्स्योश्च स्याद्यौधाजयरौरवम् ।
प्रागाथिकानुष्टुभोश्च श्यावाश्चान्धीगवे मते ॥ २३५ ॥
द्वयोर्द्वयोः^८ प्रमथनान्तृचत्वं बार्हतेषु च ।
गीतिभेदा विकल्परन् न^९ चर्कसामे उभे स्मृते^{१०} ॥ २३६ ॥
प्रगीतया^{११} चोपस्थानं तानश्च^{१२} क्रतुषु स्मृतः ।
साम्नां स्यादुत्तरासूह^{१३} १४ आर्याभावविकारतः ॥ २३७ ॥

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. T. कृतं | 8. G. प्रकथ- |
| A and A ¹ . श्रुतं | A. प्रगाथत्रिष्टुभश्च स्याच्छावा- |
| LV. भृतं | 9. T, A ¹ and LV omit च |
| 2. A. चोहः प्रवर्तते | 10. G. स्तुतौ |
| 3. A, A ¹ and LV. लुप्तो मनु | 11. LV. वोप- |
| 4. LV. प्रयोगं | 12. LV. ऋतुषु |
| 5. G. रूढिस्तर | 13. LV. उत्तरामूह |
| 6. T and A ¹ . विषयत्वे | A. उत्तरादूह |
| 7. LV omits this ardha. | 14. LV. आपिभाव |
| | A, A ¹ and T. अधि- |

स्तोभा अप्यतिदिश्येरन् विवर्णमधिकं तु ते ।
 ब्रीह्यादिस्थानमापन्नाः स्युर्नीवारनखादयः ॥ २३८ ॥
 परिधौ यूपधर्माग्निः स्यान्नियोजनसाधने ।
 शृतदध्नोर्भ्युदये प्रणीताकार्यमिष्यते ॥ २३९ ॥
 रथन्तरबृहद्धर्मा यथाशब्द^१ व्यवस्थिताः ।
^२कण्वे ^३समुच्चितास्ते वासंवादेन व्यवस्थिताः ॥ २४० ॥
^४गोसवे तु व्यवस्थैव धर्माणां सामगत्यतः ।
 विकृतावतिदेशोऽस्ति नैव पार्वणहोमयोः ॥ २४१ ॥
 विभज्यैव प्रयोक्तव्यौ पर्वणोस्तौ यथायथम् ।
 समिदाद्याः प्रयाजास्तु स्युरारादुपकारकाः ॥ २४२ ॥
 ॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

द्रव्यदेवतमूहं स्यात्तथा ^५द्रव्यविशेषणम् ।
 यूपस्य लौकिके^६ स्पर्शे प्रायश्चित्तमुदीरितम् ॥ २४३ ॥
 द्वावप्यूहौ द्विपशुके प्रयोगे ^७पाशमन्त्रकौ ।
 पाशानित्येष मन्त्रोऽपि निवेशं प्रकृतौ भजेत्^८ ॥ २४४ ॥
 प्रकृतौ पत्न्यनेकत्वे पत्नीमित्यस्य नोह्यता ।
^९विकृतौ तदनेकत्वेऽप्युह्यतास्य न विद्यते ॥ २४५ ॥
^{१०}तथोक्त्यादौरेकविध्ये प्रास्मा इत्यस्य नोह्यता ।
 ब्रीहेः प्रतिनिधावूहो नीवारादौ न विद्यते ॥ २४६ ॥

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. G. यथावस्थं | 7. A, A ¹ and G. पाश |
| 2. A ¹ . अण्वे | 8. A. भवेत् |
| 3. LV and G. समुदिता- | A ¹ . व्रजेत् |
| 4. T and A omit this ardha. | 9. A ¹ omits this and the next |
| 5. A ¹ . द्रव्ये | ardha. |
| 6. A. लौकिक- | 10. G. omits this ardha. |

नोह्यताः स्युः पञ्चनेकत्वे संसर्गिद्रव्यवाचकाः ।
^१तत्र त्वभ्यसितव्यत्वमेकधेति पदं व्रजेत् ॥ २४७ ॥
 देवताद्वयमेव^२ स्यात् पशौ मेधपतिद्वयम् ।
 तत्रैकवचनान्तस्य नास्त्यूहो बहुदैवते ॥ २४८ ॥
 देवतारूपभेदे तु तत्राप्यूहः प्रवर्तते ॥
 ॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

^३वङ्क्रीणां पञ्चनेकत्वे समस्य वचनं मतम् ॥ २४९ ॥
 न्यायद्वयं वक्ष्यमाणं दुष्टीकायामुदीरितम् ।
 निषिद्धोऽपि चतुर्विंशन्मन्त्रः पक्षे प्रवर्तते ॥ २५० ॥
^४प्राकृतेऽश्वादिबङ्क्रीणां समस्यैव वचो भवेत् ।
^५प्राकृतस्यापि करणं समस्तप्रतिषेधतः ॥ २५१ ॥
 उरुकेति वपायां स्यात् ^६प्रशसेति प्रशस्तयोः ।
 इयेनमित्यादिकं तत्तत्कात्स्न्यस्य ^७प्रतिपादकम्^८ ॥ २५२ ॥
 दर्शार्थे^९ नामिहोत्रस्य^{१०} कालोद्धाननिमित्तकम् ।
 तद्वद्रतश्रियो ^{११}धार्ये न दर्शान्युद्धृतौ^{१२} मनुः ॥ २५३ ॥
 प्रदेयधर्मः पयसि श्रपणार्थं न विद्यते ।
^{१३}कर्तव्योऽभ्युदये स स्यात् ^{१४}पशुकामेष्टिगो न सः ॥ २५४ ॥

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. A. तत्राप्यभ्यसि- | 10. T. होत्रार्थकालौ द्वौ न |
| 2. G. परमेव | 11. G. धार्ये |
| 3. A. क्रियाणां | 12. G. दर्शान्युद्धृते |
| 4. G. This ardha is read after
मतम् in verse 241. | A and A ¹ . दर्शार्थं धृतौ |
| 5. T and A ¹ omit this ardha. | 13. G. कर्तव्योऽभ्युदयेऽस्तु शृतदध्ना
सुधिष्णतः । पशुकामेष्टिगतयोः
न कर्तव्यस्तयोस्तु सः ॥ स्यात्
पर्यभिद्धते सगं [कृतोत्सर्गे]
तदन्ताङ्गाकृतोर्विधिः [ततो-
विधिः] ॥ |
| 6. LV. प्रशसेति | 14. LV omits this pāda. |
| 7. LV. कर्मास्य | |
| 8. G. प्रतिपादनम् | |
| 9. T. दर्शार्थं
A and A ¹ . दर्शार्थं | |

निर्वापः पवमानेष्टौ गुणलोपान्न^१ लुप्यते ।
 संख्यामुष्टिविरोधे स्यान्ननिर्वापे मुष्टिलोपनम् ॥ २७१ ॥
 गोरसाधारणैर्धेनुत्वाद्यैश्छागो निवर्तते ।
 साधारणैस्तु श्वेतादिगुणैर्नासौ निवर्तते ॥ २७२ ॥
 निवृत्ति^२ ऋदिरत्वादि खलेवाल्यादिषु व्रजेत् ।
 तस्यां न स्युश्छेदनाद्याः स्युस्तु^३ पर्यूहणादयः ॥ २७३ ॥
 प्राकृतक्रमभेदेऽपि^४ न पदार्थो निवर्तते ।
 न प्राकृतक्रमान्यत्वात्^५ पदार्थोऽप्राकृतो भवेत्^६ ॥ २७४ ॥
 ॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥
 ॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥
 एकादशप्रयाजादौ गुणमात्रविधिर्मतः ।
 हिरण्यगर्भमन्त्रः स्यादुत्तराधारसंश्रयः^७ ॥ २७५ ॥
^८उत्तरादेर्गुणस्यैव विधिरासादनादिके ।
^९अग्नौ दीक्षार्थमन्त्राणां प्राकृतैः स्यात् समुच्चयः ॥ २७६ ॥
 प्राकृत्या न समुच्चया पुनराधेयदक्षिणा ।
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 नापि^{११} वाससि पाकः स्यान्न तयोरभिघारणम् ॥ २७८ ॥
 द्वादशं शतमित्येषा संख्या गोमात्रसंश्रया^{१२} ।
 विभज्य दक्षिणा देया विभागः स्यात् समाख्यया ॥ २७९ ॥

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. T and A ¹ . लभ्यते | प्रकृते यूपकार्यादौ परिध्यादि- |
| 2. A. विवृतिः | विधीयते । |
| 3. A and A ¹ . स्तूप | 8. T. उत्तरादौ |
| 4. A. हि | 9. G. आदौ[अग्नौ] दीक्षाहुतीनां |
| 5. T. पदार्थोऽपकृतेष्वपि | स्यात् प्राकृतीनां समुच्चयः |
| A ¹ . पदार्थोऽपकृतिः पिपि : | 10. G. न विद्यते |
| 6. G. प्रकृतेष्वपि | 11. T and A. वासोऽभि |
| 7. T adds the following ardha. | 12. G. संख्यया |

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THE ADVAITAVIDYĀMUKURA*

BY

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Nilakantha Dikṣita, the famous litterateur, and minister of Tirumala Nāyak, refers in his *Nala-caritra-nāṭaka*¹ to one of his ancestors, Raṅga Rāja, as the author of several works, such as the *Advaitavidyāmukura* and the *Vivaraṇadarpaṇa*. This Raṅga Rāja is none other than the son of Ācāṇ Dikṣita and the father of the celebrated Appayya Dikṣita. From the latter's acknowledgment of indebtedness to his father's instruction, it is evident that Raṅga Rāja was a scholar of no mean order; but the only reference to his works seems to be in the *nāṭaka* above-mentioned, and there is little direct knowledge of the works themselves. The Oriental Manuscripts Library at Mysore has the proud distinction of owning a fragmentary copy of the *Mukura*, under the title *Advaitamukura*²; and this shorter name would seem to have been applied to the same work as is evident from some manuscripts of the *Nala-caritra-nāṭaka*. The *Vivaraṇadarpaṇa* of which there is a single manuscript in Nandināgarī script—again fragmentary—in the Tanjore Palace Library,³ is probably the work of Raṅga Rāja. It is here sought to give an account of the contents of the manuscript of the *Advaitamukura* as now available to us in the Mysore Library.

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The manuscript extends only to the end of the first pariccheda.⁴ The first pages are wanting. In spite of what is

* A paper presented to the All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, December, 1935.

1. See edition in the Bālaṃanorāma Series, p. 3.

2. No. 3353.

3. No. 7064, in the *Descriptive Catalogue* by P. P. S. Sastri. The present paper owes much to the information supplied by this scholar and by Mr. M. Hiriyanna.

4. It is called "pramāṇa-(bhāva)-pratiphalana."

thus missed, what is left forms a fairly self-contained whole. Like the *Advaitasiddhi* of Madhusūdana, it is an attempt to re-establish advaita by answering dualist attacks. The topics covered are almost the same as those treated in the *Siddhi*, in the first hundred pages (of the Kumbakonam edition). The arguments met are the same; and the similarity very often extends to the replies too. Such differences as there are belong to the order of treatment. The refutation of the superiority of perception, the application of the apaccheda-nyāya etc., thus occur at the very end of Raṅga Rāja's exposition, while Madhusūdana finds a place for them early in his discussion. The pūrvapakṣin's position is stated in one lot by Raṅga Rāja, while Madhusūdana lets it develop gradually in answer to various replies of the Siddhāntin. But the nerve of the argument is the same in both writers. It is impossible to judge conclusively on the material before us, which of these is indebted to the other; while the agreement not merely in the pūrvapakṣa but also in the siddhānta precludes the position that each was absolutely independent of the other. It would appear necessary to postulate at least a common source of inspiration for both writers, a source we have so far not discovered.

Another tantalising problem set by the manuscript is that of Raṅga Rāja's identity with the Advaitavidyācārya mentioned so frequently by Appayya in the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*. The name might have been applied to Raṅga Rāja, either because of his authorship of the *Advaitavidyāmukura* or because Appayya got his Advaita-vidyā from his father.¹ The matter could be settled if one could trace to the *Mukura* any of the doctrines attributed distinctively to the Advaitavidyācārya. But the fragment we have of the *Mukura* does not treat any such topic and we are still left in the region of conjecture. The view of reflection propounded by the Advaitavidyācārya, as expounded in the second pariccheda of the *Siddhāntaleśa*, is said to conform to the position of Vidyāraṇya; it is that the reflection is a superimposition and not identical with the prototype, as the author of the *Vivaraṇa* holds. The position of Raṅga Rāja on this topic would be conclusive; but unfortunately all that we have is an exposition and adoption of the *Pañcadaśī* view of Īśvara and the Jīva as

1. The former alternative is more likely because of the use of the appellation "advaitavidyā-kṛtaḥ" in some places; see *Siddhāntaleśa* (Kumbakonam edition), p. 272.

both reflections.¹ This amount of concurrence with Bhāratīlīrtha may be significant of the further concurrence needed for the Advaitavidyācārya's doctrine of reflection. What we have may be treated as upalakṣaṇa; but it is hazardous to guess the nature of the upalakṣita.

Among the authors and works mentioned are Ānandabodha, the *Brahmasiddhi*, Citsukha and his *Tattvaṇṇāṣikā*, the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava* (of Śaṅkara, referred to as the Ācārya), the *Dṛgdyśya-viveka*, the *Iṣṭasiddhi*,² the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā*, the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikās*,³ the *Pratyaktattvaviveka*, Rāmānanda, Vācaspati,⁴ and the *Vivaraṇaparakāśa*.⁵ There is no reference to any writer who could have been closely related in time to both Madhusūdana and Raṅga Rāja. Rāmānanda⁶ is probably identical with the preceptor of Advaitānanda, the author of the *Brahmavidyābharaṇa*. Readers of the *Kalpataru* will have noticed several remarkable verbal similarities to the *Brahmavidyābharaṇa*. If Rāmānanda was old enough for Raṅga Rāja

1. See pp. 152, 153 of the ms. (copy supplied to the Department of Indian Philosophy, University of Madras).

2. The tag "yāvanti jñānāni tāvanti ajñānāni" is attributed to the Iṣṭasiddhikāra by both Madhusūdana and Raṅga Rāja. Though this doctrine is expounded in that work, it does not find expression in that particular form; see *Iṣṭasiddhi*, p. 63.

3. Curiously enough, the Kārikās cited, beginning with "prapañco yadi vidyeta" are referred to as Śruti: "prapañco yadi vidyeta nivarteta na saṁśayaḥ, māyā-mātram idam dvaitam advaitam parmārthataḥ," 'Indro māyābhiḥ puru-rūpa iyate' ityādeḥ spaṣṭam eva prapañca-mithyātva-bodhikāyāḥ śruteḥ" (p. 58). Being a statement of siddhānta there is little likelihood of this being a mere anuvāda of the Madhva view that the āgamaprakaraṇa of the *Kārikā* is Śruti. The point is intriguing and requires explanation.

4. The reference to Vācaspati is made by both Madhusūdana and Raṅga Rāja in the same context and to the same statement about advaita texts being non-subsidary and hence purportful.

5. This appears to be another work of Raṅga Rāja's, presumably identical with the *Vivaraṇadarpaṇa*. The references to it are to be found on p. 74 and p. 135 of the manuscript.

6. The following quotation occurs on p. 140 of the manuscript.

"satye vastuni sarve'yam doṣā-'doṣanirūpaṇā |
nā'tmā-'śrayādidōṣāḥ syuḥ mithyā-bhūte'tra vastuni ||"

to cite, it is likely that Rāmānanda's pupil's work was old enough to be taken over here and there by Raṅga Rāja's son Appayya. An interesting reference is to what is called bhāvādvaita. As Prof. Hiriyanna has pointed out,¹ this view is attributed to Maṇḍana by Brahmānanda. It appears to consist in holding that the absoluteness of abhāva is not inconsistent with non-dualism, since this is interested in maintaining the unity only of positive entities. The available portion of the *Mukura* contains no ascription of the view to any particular writer. It does make it clear, however, that the view is different from that which would look upon abhāva as adhikaraṇa-svarūpa. The former is good enough as a preliminary answer to the objector, but the final position is sarvādvaita, according to which the true being of everything—positive or negative—is the Absolute Spirit, Brahman.² The second position is just what is expounded by Maṇḍana in the *Brahmasiddhi*. It is so recognised by Appayya in the *Siddhāntaleśa*.³ It would be very interesting to know why and by whom the other doctrine was ascribed to Maṇḍana in the first instance. Brahmānanda, who is known to make the ascription⁴, cites no authority.

II

What we have of the first pariccheda is roughly divided into eleven sections. The first of these deals with the interpretation of scripture as favouring non-dualism. The well-known six marks of purport are mentioned and their consilience shown in respect of non-dualism. Duality though perceived is not ultimate. Scriptural affirmation of what is in the scope of perception would

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1923, p. 261.

2. Cp. the following passage from p. 75: "na hi trikāla-niṣedhasya pāramārthikatva-svikāre advaita-hāniḥ, brahmā-tirekeṇa tāttvika-bhāvā-naṅgikārāt. vastutas tv asya trikāla-niṣedhasya, tārkikamate prāgabhāvā-bhāvasya pratiyogi-svarūpā-vyatikravat, gurumate arthā-bhāvasya adhikaraṇa-svarūpā-vyatikravac ca, brahma-svarūpād avyatikravah. tad uktam 'nirvṛtir ātmā mohasya' iti."

3. "atha ke'yam avidyā-nirvṛtīḥ? ātmai ve 'ti brahmasiddhi-kārāḥ" 4th pariccheda, p. 434.

4. See p. 112, *Laghucandrikā* (Kumbakonam edition).

Even the reference to bhāvādvaita in the *Siddhi*, p. 81, distinguishes it from sarvādvaita which goes with the doctrine of avidyā-nirvṛti as brahma-rūpa.

be repetitive and purposeless. It is not as though a new duality is affirmed; for there is no novelty about this duality; and the cognition of duality is fraught with evil besides, as made clear in more than one unambiguous scriptural text. Non-dualist texts may be distorted by the opponents as in the notorious case of "Tat tvam asi" rendered as "Atat tvam asi".¹ But there is no point in reiterating this perceptually established difference; and if this difference be ultimate, how could the knowledge of *that* alone (tam eva) lead to release? Surely the consistent dualist must insist on full knowledge of both terms in the relation of difference, not of one term alone. And the dvaitin's *tour de force* of construction can be easily paralleled by us too; the text "satyam bhidā satyam bhidā satyam bhidā" which according to him is scriptural authority for the absoluteness of difference, really teaches non-dualism; for it says that satyam, i.e., the world of sat and tyat, which is the world of difference, is unreal (on the construction bhidā + asatyam); the subsequent words "bhidā 'satyam bhidā" emphasise this teaching by repetition; the word "asatyam" in this relates both forwards and backwards. While the dvaitin's cleverness is thus not unparalleled there is little to be said in favour of the interpretation he seeks to put on scriptural texts. Ātmyam (in aitadātmyam idam sarvam) he would take to mean "belonging to that self;" but ātmyam in the text is really analogous to traividya, trailokyam etc., where no possessive sense is intended or conveyed. To say that "secondless" means without a superior is unnecessarily to restrict the sense of that term; should it mean "not second" why should that be taken as equivalent to "first" and not "third"? To say that the words like "this" and "in the beginning" should be taken to imply the reality of time and the unity of God, not of the world, is to stress certain words unduly; when it is said "This man has no horns" it is not implied that other men have horns. And the denial of a superior or equal does by no means involve the reality of the inferior for an only son has neither elder nor younger.

Nor has the dvaitin's explanation of the vācārambhaṇa text anything to be said in its favour. It is not true that all other languages are derivatives of Sanskrit. Even if they were, they

1. For the discussion of this topic by Madhusūdana, see *Advaitasiddhi* (hereafter referred to as *AS*), pp. 293-299 (Kumbakonam edition).

too would be illusory; for on the opponent's admission, Sanskrit alone is true, eternal. The *Māṇḍūkya-Kārikās* are quite clear in stating the illusoriness of the world. The form of the verse "prapañco yadi vidyeta" etc. has misled the opponent into taking it for a tarka; but in truth it is no more a tarka than words like "Vedāḥ pramāṇam yadi". If it were a tarka, then the consequent "nivarteta na saṁśayaḥ" should be capable of being denied. But there is no justification for denying it, inasmuch as even the opponent has to admit sublation, though not its implications.

Nor may it be said that, if the illusoriness taught be real, there would be failure of non-dualism, while if it be illusory, scripture would have illusory content and so be non-authoritative. For illusoriness is equivalent to absolute non-existence and the absoluteness of non-existence does not conflict with or detract from the absoluteness of Brahman. Should the opponent, however, say that scripture teaches Brahman to be the self of all, whether positive or negative, with that he should give up his case that scripture has an illusory content; for Brahman is in that case the content.¹

III

The pluralist seeks to establish the reality of the world on the ground of its being known, on the analogy of Brahman. The difficulty in all such arguments is that the *probans* "being known by a pramāṇa that apprehends absolute reality" is not established. Perception which apprehends the here and now cannot apprehend such reality as is unsublatable in all three times. That inference can apprehend it is yet to be proved. Scripture does apprehend it, but not as belonging to the world; further, it sublates any inferred absoluteness of the world. It is not as though Īśvara's immediate cognition of the world guarantees its reality; for His immediacy need be no more than that experienced by the juggler in respect of his tricks; knowing the

1. This section covers almost the same ground as *AS*, p. 10 and pp. 56-65. Remarkable similarities are found in several places, especially on pp. 60 and 61. The former says that apparent repetitiveness, as in dhārā-vāhika-jñāna, does not make for invalidity; the latter deals with the contention that when there is re-statement for the sake of refutation there should be such marks as "yat tan na." What is attempted in this paper is the barest outline of the main argument.

illusory as illusory, He is not deluded.¹ Nor does practical efficiency imply pāramārthikatva. On the contrary it implies indeterminability; for the absolutely real has nothing to realise and cannot be efficient, while the absolutely unreal cannot be efficient even because of not existing at all; arthakriyā-kāritva is unintelligible apart from anirvacanīyatva. It is true that Brahman as witness cognises the world; but since the witness is nescience-conditioned, his cognition does not involve the absolute reality of the cognised. This world again is cognised even when there is immediate presentation of the underlying intelligence, which is said to be the sole reality; but the presentation of the real substrate is not inconsistent with the illusoriness of the world-manifestation; rather does the latter demand the former, just as darkness and its colour have to be manifested by light. What removes the darkness of primal nescience is vṛtti-jñāna, not svarūpa-jñāna.

IV

The next task attempted is the establishment of illusoriness by inference grounded on cognisability, inertness and finitude. The five definitions of illusoriness are mentioned and explained in much the same way as in the *Advaitasiddhi*.² The discussion owes much to the *Tattvapradīpikā* and is much in the same style as the *Siddhi*. The following points are of some interest.

(a) In treating the definition "pratipanno-'pādhau traikālika-niṣedha-pratīyogitvam", reference is made to the bhāvādvaita view, since the definition seems to imply the absolute reality of negation. This, however, is not the final position, since in truth the negation is not real as different from the locus of negation, Brahman.

(b) The difference of the non-real from the unreal is sought to be explained in this way: in nacre-silver etc. (which are non-real), because of similarity to the substrate and relation to it, the ignorance which is located in the substrate and has taken a visual form is transformed into the form of silver; and simultaneously the cogniser's nescience is transformed into the cognition of that silver; but there is no reality other than that of the substrate. In *kha-ṇa* &c., however, there are only the defect, viz., the proximity of the two words, and a mediate

1. Cp. *AS*, p. 101.

2. *AS*, pp. 2-9.

psychosis of the intellect in the form of the two words taken together; there is no objective content and hence no immediacy.

(c) The advaitin, so far as intellectual inquiry goes, is a sceptic, not a dogmatist. It is not our business to demonstrate illusoriness or anything else. When we have demonstrated that every other position is untenable, we are left with the witness of the condemnation. The mention of definitions and proofs is only in order to conform to this intellect of our opponents. We do not base our final conclusion on the intellect, since non-dualist realisation can come only through the grace of the Lord. In this position our author closely follows the Khaṇḍanakāra.²

V

The illusoriness of illusoriness is treated at some length. The sublatter need not always be real, as, in the case of a rope, the snake-delusion is sublata by a stick-delusion. The self too is the substrate of illusory illusoriness inasmuch as the Bauddhas and others have the delusion that it is illusory. But with this the self is not reduced to the same level as the world, since the reality of the former is due to self-hood and self-manifestation, not to sublated illusoriness. Illusoriness is on a par with knowability etc., in its capacity to cover both itself and that of which it is predicated. Illusoriness is part of the world; when the world is

1. "na hy asmābhir mithyātvam anyad vā kiñcin nirūpaṇīyam asti. param nirūpyamāṇa-prapañca-khaṇḍanenaiva vayam iha caritārthāḥ. tatra tatra lakṣaṇā- bhidhānam tu para-buddhy-anurañjanāya . . sati caivam sarva-khaṇḍane asmād-abhimata-cid-advaita-siddhiḥ. na cā 'trā'pi khaṇḍana-yukty-avakāśaḥ, antatas tatsākṣitayā'pi tatsiddhy-upapatteḥ. advaita-siddhau cā'smākam nā'tiva lakṣaṇa-pramāṇa-'daraḥ, Īśvarā-nūgrahai-'ka-labhyatvāt tasya" (p. 78 of the ms.).

Such a position must be labelled scepticism, but it is scepticism of an even more rational type than what Bradley subscribes to. "I mean by scepticism the mere denial of any known satisfactory doctrine, together with the personal despair of any future attainment. . . Such a scepticism . . . may serve at least as a deliverance from spiritual oppression. . . For such a scepticism all our truths without exception are mere working ideas" (Bradley: *Essays in Truth and Reality*, p. 445). Where the advaitin does better is in re-affirming "asmād-abhimata-cid-advaita-siddhiḥ."

2. See *Khaṇḍana*, para 163, verse 251.

shown to be illusory because of cognisability etc., illusoriness which is a part of the world is also shown to be illusory. The principle of excluded middle is of no service, since we do not seek to maintain that the illusoriness of illusoriness is real. Nor does the other alternative involve an infinite regress of mithyātva, since mithyātva, we have said, is analogous to prameyatva.

VI

The three *probans*—cognisability, inertness and finitude—are examined in some detail. The discussion is not very different from that of the *Siddhi*. A point of some interest relates to yogic perception. The pūrvapakṣin says that cognisability cannot mean pervasion by fruit, since this cannot apply to the past or to nityānumeyas, like merit etc. The reply to this is that there may be pervasion by fruit even in these cases when there is yogic perception. The dualist is fond of exploiting this type of perception to cover cases of impossibility like the perception of the tuccha; our author is willing to concede this; yogins may perceive the tuccha, but they would perceive it as tuccha, i.e., as not practically efficient, unlike nacre-silver etc.; in this there is no detriment to advaita. It is true Ātsukācārya seems to deny yogic perception, but that is only an abhyupetya-vāda; for we must admit an omniscient Īśvara to whom everything is immediate. His omniscience as the author of the Veda does not necessarily involve its pauruṣeyatva; for, as in our case, when we have learnt it, knowledge of the sense may co-exist with utterance, without preceding and determining the latter. Even pauruṣeyatva is not unacceptable; it does not follow either that validity is extrinsic, since it is known through the same causal aggregate that apprehends the cognition. Nor is there reciprocal dependence in that the validity of the Vedas depends on Īśvara's trustworthiness while the latter has to be known from the Veda; for, the latter is known even from outside the Veda, from the words of well-wishers like one's parents.

VII

The next section relates to the refutation of the allegation that the advaitin's *probans* is affected by an adjunct. The matter covered is the same as that treated by the *Siddhi*, in the two sections on sopādhikatva-bhaṅgaḥ and ābhāsa-sāmya-bhaṅgaḥ.¹ The

1. *AS*, pp. 19-20.

arguments are almost identical, the only notable distinction being that the *Siddhi* mentions the *dr̥ṣṭi-sr̥ṣṭi-vāda*, which finds no mention in the available fragment of the *Mukura*. Further in refuting the two upādhis suggested,¹ the *Siddhi* urges two objections—that in the case of *dehātmaikya*, sublata by Brahman-knowledge alone, the upādhi² is not pervasive of the *probandum*, and that the qualification, as tending to exclude only *sapakṣa*, is on a par with *pakṣetara*; the *Mukura* mentions the latter objection in some detail, but not the former.³

VIII

Are these *probans* themselves illusory or not? If not, there is failure of non-dualism. If they too are illusory, how can they establish anything? This discussion covers the same ground as two sections of the *Siddhi*⁴ and employs nearly the same arguments. The similarity is very great indeed in the statement of the *pūrvapakṣa*, especially in the mention of instances to show that the practical efficiency of delusive cognition is due to the element of cognition which is real, not to the content which is unreal, and that though the latter defines the former, it is intelligible that it is passive and does not contribute to the causality of the cognition; to exhibit this passivity of the defining element, the *pūrvapakṣin* in the *Siddhi* cites eleven instances; the *Mukura* mentions only six of these: “Now, it would be an undue extension to say that the cause is what is undefined by a content; and if the cause is what is so defined, the content too would be a cause.” If this be said, no; for though there is causality (1) for the prior non-existence of the pot in respect of the pot, (2) the non-existence of specific cognition in respect of delusion, (3) the non-observance of what is obligatorily enjoined in respect of sin, (4) the desire for heaven in respect of sacrifice, (5) the knowledge of the past etc. in respect of misery etc., and (6) the mediate knowledge of the unreal content in respect of the empirical usage about

1. In the *Siddhi*; in the *Mukura* enumeration there are five upādhis; this is because its treatment includes matter that appears in the immediately subsequent section of the *Siddhi*.

2. *Svabādhakā-*’ *bhimatā-*’ *bādhya-doṣa-prayukta-bhānatvam*.

3. Can this be taken along with others as an indication of the *Mukura* being anterior to the *Siddhi*?

4. *AS*, pp. 65-73; the sections are on *asatas sādhatvopapattiḥ* and *asatas sādhatvā-*’ *bhāva-bādhakam*.

that, yet that which defines in each case—the pot, the cognition of difference, the observance of what is enjoined, heaven, the past etc., or the unreal—is not so (the cause). In all these cases it is intelligible that the thing which defines is indifferent and non-causal, like the qualifications ‘of the Kurus’ in ‘the land of the Kurus is real’.”

IX

The advaitin seeks to strengthen his position by setting forth indirect arguments (*tarkas*) in favour of the illusoriness of the world. One such argument is that if the world were independently real there would be no possibility of the cognition thereof, since no real relation is intelligible between knowledge on the one side and an inert reality standing over against it on the other. This criticism of a real relation between *dr̥k* and *dr̥śya* occurs as a separate section in the *Siddhi*¹, but is treated with perhaps more justification as part of the *anukūla-tarka-prati-phalana* in the *Mukura*. The *pūrvapakṣin* attempts every time to derive reality for the world on the analogy of Brahman, and *per contra* the unreality of the latter on the analogy of the world. Our author is never tired of pointing out that Brahman’s reality is self-manifest; it does not depend on the illusoriness or non-illusoriness of relation to anything else; and the illusoriness of the world follows not because its relation to knowledge is illusory, but because it is cognisable, inert and so on. This is the basic ground. Hence it is that no parity can be made out between Brahman and the world even on the ground of indeterminability. It is true that we cannot define Brahman as thus or thus, yet it is real, since it is self-luminous and is not cognisable, inert or finite; the world, however is not thus. The rest of the treatment is almost identical with that of the *Siddhi*.

X

The manifestation of particular objects at stated times and through specific means is held by the opponent to be a difficulty the advaitin cannot lightly get over. The advaitin replies that since self-manifest intelligence is beginninglessly obscured by nescience, whose existence is not inconsistent with *svarūpa-jñāna*, it is necessary for defined intelligence to go forth through sense-

1. *AS*, pp. 73-77; *anukūla-tarka-nirūpaṇa* in this work covers, pp. 77-86.

channels in the form of a long ray of light as it were, in order to pervade and take on the form of each object so that the ignorance enveloping it may be destroyed. Since the generation, going forth and pervasion of the psychosis is spatially and temporally determined, there may be pratikarma-vyavasthā. But the position is not free from difficulties. The relation between knowledge and the known is said to be one of super-imposition; but the object is not super-imposed on the psychosis-defined intelligence; and in any case if this destroys ignorance, why postulate an object-defined intelligence? And is the ignorance destroyed one or many? If the former, why does not every one see the pot, when Caitra sees it? If the latter, how can even Caitra see the pot at any time since the other ignorances will always obscure? In the statement and refutation of these objections, there is great similarity between the *Siddhi*¹ and the *Mukura*. The treatment in the former is a trifle more elaborate, discussing in some detail the nature of the psychosis, the analogues to the removal of ignorance etc. The *Mukura* undertakes a justification in some detail of the position that darkness is positive and not the mere absence of light. The discussion comes in appropriately since the advaitin has to use the analogies of physical light dispelling darkness by reaching up to the object, and of physical darkness re-obscuring when a lamp etc. is withdrawn. The argument proceeds on the possession of colour by darkness; it is not even that it does not possess touch, since as in the case of smoke, touch may exist without being perceptible (the eye alone can sense the touch in smoke). The reasoning is reminiscent of the *Tattvaṇṇaprādīpikā*; for a fuller discussion the author refers us to his *Vivaraṇāprakāśa*.

XI

The pluralist too has recourse to tarka to disprove non-dualism. What he considers to be *reductio ad absurdum* is not really so. The consideration of these pratikūla-tarkas² constitutes the next section. The objections mainly relate to (1) the non-existence of similarity between Brahman and the world, while similarity is a cause of super-imposition, (2) the partlessness of Brahman, making it impossible for it to function as a substrate, which has to be partially manifest, (3) the non-existence of memory impressions as a cause of the super-imposition, there

1. AS, pp. 86-94.

2. Cp. AS, pp. 94-102.

being no other real world to produce such impressions, (4) the negation of the world relating to an absolutely real world, on the analogy of the *Vivaraṇa* statement that the negation of silver relates to the absolutely real silver, (5) the need for the reality of cogniser, body, organs, defects, etc., (6) the reality of the subsuming cognition, as otherwise there would be infinite regress, (7) the absolute non-existence of bondage calling for no effort for its removal, (8) the impossibility of what is removed by Brahman-intuition being super-imposed thereon, on the analogy of sin removable by *Setudarśana* not being super-imposed on the *Setu*, and so on. The reply consists in showing that all that the objector requires as real may be assumptive and yet discharge the functions required. Brahman has no parts; but nescience presents it as having parts. Nescience is itself a super-imposition; the how of it is unintelligible and the unintelligibility is constitutive of its very nature; self-dependence etc., are not defects in the case of what is illusory. Nor is it that when Brahman is manifest ignorance is impossible; there may be presentation of illusory ignorance just as for owl etc., there is presentation of intense darkness even in the mid-day sun. It is not possible to argue that on the analogy of the unreality of causes like memory-impression, the substrate too may be unreal; for Brahman's reality (to repeat) is established by scripture, not by inference or presumption. The rest of the discussion is identical with that in the *Siddhi*.¹ The reply of the *Mukura* to the analogy of sin and *Setudarśana* is interesting. It is apparently conceded that the world is removable by Brahman-knowledge, obtained through contemplation. But this removability by knowledge itself constitutes illusoriness. How then can there be established reality which is its opposite? And if the *probans* itself be not conceded, the *probandum* would still be non-established.

The *pūrvapakṣin* also mentions conflict with scriptural texts about creation of the world etc., by *Īśvara*. This is met, in the same way as in the *Siddhi*, by the analogy of the juggler, who resolves on and creates his magic world in a certain order and so on. The author of the *Mukura* brings in here a discussion of the relation of *Īśvara* and *Jiva*, adopting the view of the first section of the *Pañcadaśī*, which treats both as reflections. This is consistent with the possibility of *Raṅga Rāja* and the *Advaita-*

1. AS, pp. 94-102.

vidyācārya being identical; for we are told in the *Siddhāntaleśa* that the Advaitavidyācārya set forth the view of reflection consistent with the position of Vidyāraṇya.¹

XII

The final section of the first pariccheda is concerned with the refutation of the validity of perception etc., in regard to absolute reality. Where there is perception of finites as real, it is the reality of Brahman that is manifest therein. Unsublatability in all three times cannot be known by perception which can tell us at best that sublation has not arisen so far, not that it does not exist. Practical efficiency, as has been often said, is no warrant for absolute reality, as even the rope-snake causes fear and trembling. The difference between the empirically real and the merely apparent consists in sublatability by Brahman-knowledge alone or anything short of that. It cannot be made out that perception as a class is a superior pramāṇa; for if perception alone is effective in certain ways as in removing confusion of directions (dīnmoha), inference alone can apprehend primal atoms. Nor can perception claim superiority on the ground of being first in the field; for the upakramanyāya would apply only where there is conflict; but since perception and scripture have different contents, the former relating to empirical and the latter to absolute reality there is no conflict at all. For the same reason there is no upajīvyā-virodha either. Even if conflict be admitted, it is the earlier that should be sublated on the apaccheda-nyāya.² We do not subscribe to the view that all scripture is superior to perception, but only that purportful scripture is so

1. advaitavidyā-kṛtas tu pratibimbasya mithyātvam abhyupagacchatām trividha-jīva-vādinām vidyāraṇya-guru-prabhṛtinām abhiprāyam evam āhuḥ (*Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, pp. 272-273).

2. In this connection both the *Siddhi* and the *Mukura* cite Ānandabodha's verse

“tatparatvāt paratvāc ca nirdoṣatvāc ca vaidikam |
pūrvasya bādhakam nā'yam sarpa ityādivākyavat ||”

and the *Nyāyāmṛta* criticism thereof:

“tatparatvam asiddhatvāt paratvam vyabhicārataḥ |
nirdoṣatā' nyathā-siddheḥ prābalyam nai'va sādhyat ||”

But while the *Siddhi* gives them in this, the chronological order, the *Mukura* cites them in what is for the advaitin the logical order, the latter appearing first as the pūrvapakṣa.

superior; purportfulness is determined by non-subsidiariness to any other purpose.¹ The realist cannot but admit that certain perceptions are delusive. This he sets down not to their sublatability, but to the ascertainment of defect. But the presence of defect is by no means patent; its existence has to be ascertained from the fact of sublation. Ether is really colourless, though perceived as blue; the perception is not to be set aside on the ground that the defect of distance accounts for it; for it may well be that proximity too is a defect and that this accounts for the non-perception of blueness near by.² The invalidity of the perception has therefore to be ascertained through its sublation by revelation which teaches that ether is colourless. It is on the ground of this sublation that the perception is understood to be tainted by the defect of distance. Further his argument is not really helpful to the realist; “in your unholy anxiety to see that its sublatability by verbal testimony is remedied, you fall into the jaws of the sublatability of perception by inference; this conforms to the maxim of fearing the scorpion and falling into the mouth of the snake.”³

XIII

Though the manuscript is fragmentary and the present account is but a meagre outline, enough has been said, it is hoped, to show the great interest of the work both from the

1. The treatment of the injunction to cook the golden grains (kṛṣṇaṇam śrapayet) is interesting. It is usual to say that the primary sense of cooking is abandoned here, because of the impossibility of performance (See *Siddhāntaleśa*, pp. 246). But according to our author, there is no such abandonment since the word “cook” has different senses in different contexts; if it means mere heating in the case of golden grains, that is no other than its legitimate sense; see p. 161 of the ms: na khalu vikṛtiḥ śrapaṇa-śabdā-’ rthah, aikarūpyā-’ bhāvāt. na hi śyāmāka-taṇḍulādau tāvat-kāla-śrāpyamāṇe ’pi tathā vikṛtiḥ tāvatā kālena yathā vrihi-taṇḍulānaśrapitān śrapayati. kṛṣṇaṇe tu tāvaty api yadi vikṛtir na syād auṣṇyam eva tu param tāvatā śrapaṇa-śabdā-’ rtho ’nuṣṭhita eve ’ti na tātparyavad-veda-bodhita-svārthatyāga-śaṅkā.”

2. Cp. *AS*, p. 43.

3. On the whole topic of this section, cp. *AS*. pp. 27-36, and 39-43.

historical and the doctrinal sides. It is not improbable that other fragments at least exist elsewhere. Though much of the dialectic survives in the monumental work of Madhusūdana, Raṅga Rāja's treatment has a directness and charm which make it worthy of being resuscitated and made better known. On the assumption that both derived from a common source of inspiration,¹ the *Mukura* is likely to throw light on points that are obscure in the *Siddhi* despite Brahmānanda's voluminous comment. For this and other reasons, it is hoped that experts in the collection of manuscripts will bestir themselves to find a complete version of the *Advaitavidyāmukura*.

1. Tradition and the *Catalogus Catalogorum* assign to Madhusūdana a commentary on Appayya's *Siddhāntaleśa*. This would make him a junior contemporary of Appayya's in which case he probably was familiar with and drew on the *Advaitavidyāmukura*. For this view of Madhusūdana's date, see *JORM*, II, pp. 97-104. The learned editor of the *Siddhāntabindu* in Gaekwad's Oriental Series holds Madhusūdana's date to have been roughly 1540-1633 A.D.; he arrives at this conclusion by a review of the evidence so far adduced, confirmed by Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, a lineal descendant of an elder brother of Madhusūdana. The period of Appayya is variously fixed at 72 years from 1522 or 1552 or 1558 (see P. P. S. Sastri's Introduction to the Vani Vilas edition of the *Siddhāntaleśa*). None of these data is inconsistent with Madhusūdana having been indebted to Raṅga Rāja's work. Mr. Divanji's opinion, that the *Siddhāntaleśa* probably mentions some of Madhusūdana's views, though not by name, is not very convincing; for there is no clear evidence of Appayya having been so much Madhusūdana's junior, if he was the latter's junior at all; and the *Siddhāntaleśa* must be taken to have been a very early work of Appayya's.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SĀMAVEDA¹

W. Caland.

TRANSLATED BY

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It is a fact that the Vedas in the main have come down to us in the condition of redactions wherein they were arranged by generation after generation from the earliest times of which we know. We know the Ṛg Veda (the Ṛk saṁhitā) only as divided into ten books, as *dāśtayya ṛcaḥ*. The description, 'of ten existing', clearly referring to the above-mentioned division, occurs not only in the brāhmaṇas and sūtras belonging to the Ṛg Veda (Kauṣ. br., Śākh. Śrs.), but also in the sūtras of the Sāmaveda (Lāṭy., Nidānasūtra) and of the Yajur Veda (Baudh., Āpast.). Again the division of the Sāma Veda and the Yajur Veda known to us is also known to the brāhmaṇas and the oldest sūtrakāras. Lāṭyāyana-Drāhyāyana, e.g., cite a sāmān from the 'dvandvas', and it is known how one of the divisions (parvans) of the āraṇyagāna bore the name dvandvaparvan, because the sāmāns were here given in pairs. From the Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa (II. 6. 2.) it even appears that not only was the division in three parvans known at the time of the redaction of this text, but also that the sāmāns therein were arranged in the manner that obtains in the gāna known to us. In the sūtras belonging to the Yajur Veda, we find quite a number of references to chapters (anuvākas); so the prescription often occurs that in this or that operation this or that mantra must be spoken beginning with such and such words from the saṁhitā and going 'to the end of the anuvāka.' Yes, from Baudhāyana (Śrs. X. 48) it is clear that even the numbering of the anuvākas was precisely the same as is known to us. Yet another proof

P. 2.

1. Verslagen en Mededeelingen Der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letter Kunde. Vierde Reeks, Negende Deel. Amsterdam. Johannes Muller, (1909) pp. 1-15, XI—39

that the Vedas have in course of time remained remarkably the same. In the tradition in which they have come down to us, the Vedas are properly speaking *disjecta membra* of one great whole. A Vedic sacrifice cannot be performed singlehanded by a follower of the Ṛg Veda or of the Yajur Veda or of the Sāma Veda. For that all the three Vedas are indispensable. Though each of the Vedas, spread over the whole extent of Hindustan, has had a more or less independent existence, it is yet the most remarkable thing to perceive how, if we join together the *disjecta membra*, a completely rounded off whole is obtained. This is clear from the reconstruction of the soma sacrifice in its simplest form, the jyotiṣṭoma. The texts of the Ṛg, Yajur and Sāma Veda related to this fit into each other like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. We are only very rarely in uncertainty as to where this or that operation must be inserted in the whole.

As now the Veda forms, from the time that it is known to us, a fairly closed and rounded whole, it is difficult to follow its earlier history and development. My studies of the texts belonging to the Sāma Veda will, I flatter myself, throw some light on the development of this Veda and clear up some points in its history that have so far remained obscure or unintelligible not only to me but to all students of this Veda. A summary of these researches, which will appear in another form elsewhere, may now follow.

The texts of the Sāma Veda, taken in the narrower sense, are:

- P. 3. 1. The Samhitā, which contains a collection of verses mostly from the present Ṛg Veda, though at many points it presents variant readings. This Samhitā falls into three parts:

- (a) α the pūrvārcika
- β the āraṇyakasamhitā.
- (b) the uttarārcika.

2. The gānas or song-books, of which four have come down to us:

- (a) the grāmageyagāna
- (b) the āraṇyagāna
- (c) the ūhagāna
- (d) the ūhyagāna.

To the songs preserved in the gānas, the verses collected in the Samhitā serve as the foundation. Thus from a ṛk

(strophe) a sāman (song) is made by the introduction of the musical notation, by certain alterations (drawing out, repetition) of the words and finally by all sorts of insertions, sometimes of more or less meaningless sounds and syllables, sometimes of entire sentences or lays (stobhas). If a Vedic student destined for a Sāma-singer wants to master his material, then he must, in addition to the songs set to music, naturally also memorise the strophes, which are as it were the 'mother's lap' (yoni) of the Sāmans.

Now the drift of the pūrvārcika (with āraṇyaka samhitā) and the uttarārcika and of the first two song-books has so far been understood, though not on some points (cf. Winternitz, *Gesch. der Ind. Liter.* p. 143 ff.). Next to each strophe of the pūrvārcika (and the āraṇyakasamhitā) stands a song consisting of one part; each Sāman carries a particular name, mostly derived from the name of the ṛṣi who had 'seen' it; the Sāmans are preserved for us in the first two gānas. The arrangement of the yonis in the pūrvārcika is systematic; first come those dedicated to Agni, then to Indra and thirdly to Soma pavamāna; all are again grouped according to metre. The division and purport of the uttarārcika is on the other hand quite otherwise. In this part of the Samhitā we come across a great many stanzas of three verses (tṛcas), a fairly large number of stanzas of two verses (pragāthas), though also of more (four, six, seven, nine, ten and also of one). The purport of this collection of verses is purely practical: it is employed for singing in the many soma-sacrifices and in the melodies taught in the first two song-books. It has been observed that of most stanzas from the uttarārcika the first verse is also found in the pūrvārcika, and it is thence directly concluded that thereby it refers not only to the verse from this ārcika but also to the melody belonging to it as given in the first two song-books. To give one example: the first verse of the pragātha sv. II. 1.1.13 reads: *taṃ vo dasmaṃ ṛtīṣaḥam*; with this agrees a strophe (I.3.1.5.4) from the pūrvārcika; on this strophe are given in the grāmageyagāna five Sāmans, of which the last is called the Naudhasa Sāma (grāmageya VI. 1. 37). Now, on the melody of this *Naudhasa Sāma* must the three¹ verses, indicated in the uttarārcika as third pṛṣṭhastotra, be sung² in the jyotiṣṭoma.

P. 4.

1. By partial repetition two verses have been made three.

2. Cf. Caland-Henry, *l'agniṣṭoma* sec. 207, and cf. the Sāmans in the Calcutta edition, pt. I, p. 487 with pt. III, p. 93.

P. 5. If it is thus meant that the pūrvārcika contains some verses after whose sāmāns (in grāmageyagāna and āraṇyagāna) some verse stanzas (contained in the uttarārcika) must be sung in the holy service, then we must expect: (i) that of all the stanzas (pragāthas, ṛcas, sūktas, etc.) set forth in the uttarārcika, the first verse must also occur in the pūrvārcika (or āraṇyakasamhitā), so that by this indication will be decided by what melody that verse in question should be sung in the holy service, and (ii) that all song-modes, mentioned in the pūrvārcika grāmageya and āraṇyakasamhitā-āraṇyagāna shall also find application in the great soma-sacrifices. This, however, is decidedly not the case. Winternitz expresses himself about this as follows: "We usually assume that the uttarārcika is of later origin than the Ārcika. In favour of this supposition is the circumstance that the Ārcika knows of many 'yonis' as well as many song-modes, which do not occur in the songs of the uttarārcika, and that the uttarārcika contains many a song for which the Ārcika does not teach any song-mode. On the other hand the uttarārcika is yet a necessary complement of Ārcika: *this* is as it were the first, *that* the second course in the education of the Udgātar." The facts as stated by Winternitz being correct, the conclusion which we should draw therefrom according to him and others, *viz.*, that for the reasons stated the uttarārcika is later than the pūrvārcika, is altogether wrong as will appear presently. When I worked on the agniṣṭoma along with Victor Henry, now alas! no more, and came across the songs of the Sāma-Veda, I saw that the sāmāns of the morning service (the prātaḥsavana) were found only in very late texts, the so-called prayogas, while all the songs of the midday and afternoon service (*mādhyamīnasavana*, *tṛtīyāsavana*), except one, were found in the third song-book, the ūhagāna, and that one in the fourth song-book, the ūhyagāna. What may be the reason for this? Why was it unnecessary to gather up the sāmāns of the morning service in the ūhagāna, which yet seems to contain the songs as they were applied in practice? Simply because, as it seems to me after prolonged research, all the sāmāns of the morning service were to be sung in the gāyatra-melody, and this melody might be supposed to be well-known. The Vedic student begins with this melody, composed in the sāvitṛi metre (*taṭ svitṛ varenṇyam* etc.), and it is imparted in the Devatā-dhyāyabrāhmaṇa, while it is found as appendix to the edition of the grāmageyagāna (among the Jaiminīyas after the āraṇyagāna).

Everywhere then where in the uttarārcika stanzas or groups of strophes occur, of which the first is not mentioned in the pūrvārcika, the stanzas belong to the morning service, and no further indication of melody was necessary. Consequently, that 'the uttarārcika contains many songs (surely yonis is meant), for which the Ārcika (*viz.* the pūrvārcika) teaches no song-mode' is no ground for presuming a discord between the two texts.¹ That on the other side in the pūrvārcika-grāmageya (and āraṇyakasamhitā-āraṇyagāna) many yonis and melodies occur which have no connection with any in the uttarārcika is entirely correct. This is how matters stand. Besides the songs which are sung on the yonis of the uttarārcika, there were sung on numerous occasions,—*viz.*, in the placing of the sacred fire (the agnyādheya), in the pravargya ceremonial, in the mahāvratā and on other occasions—by the udgātar alone or by some of his acolytes some sāmāns, and these (*i.e.* the yonis thereof) need not naturally be included in the uttarārcika, because they were all cut and dried and ready for the musical recitation. So also the mahānāmniṣ which often as sung do service in the prṣṭhastotras. The evidence is thus lacking for our supposing that the uttarārcika is later than the pūrvārcika. And *a priori* we must expect that the uttarārcika is older than the pūrvārcika. Certainly the collected stanzas, which contain the yonis of the songs which are employed as a matter of fact in the rite, must be older than the collection which only serves to register the melodies, according to which the abovementioned songs were sung.

In the considerations urged so far, the last two song-books, the ūha and ūhyagāna, were only mentioned incidentally. Whoever desires to know something more of these turns in vain to the histories of literature. Weber alone states that they are connected with the second part of the Saṁhitā, but says: 'their reciprocal connection needs a still closer study' (Vorles. Zur. Ind. Litt. gesch.,² p. 70). Winternitz does not even mention the

1. If Winternitz himself might have expressed himself inaccurately and meant that ūhagāna and ūhyagāna contain different songs which, according to their denomination, do not occur in the first two gānas, even then he is wrong. Superficially judged he seems to be right, yet the denomination of the Sāmāns of the ūha—and ūhyagāna, as given in the Calcutta edition, is sometimes wrong, sometimes jumbled.

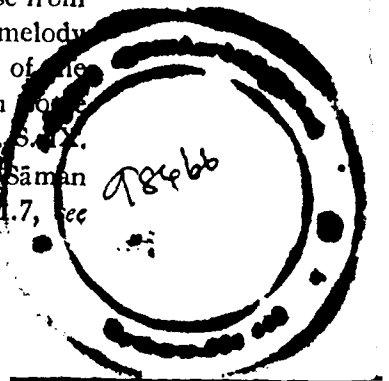
names in his abovementioned work. Weber's remark that they are connected with the *uttarārcika* is partly correct. Before however proceeding to consider the nature of these *gānas* and their relation to the other *Sāma* Veda texts, I must say something on the *sūtras* of this Veda.

The *Śrautasūtra* of *Lāṭyāyana* is known and published, and now also a part of the *Drāhyāyana*¹ which almost agrees with the first. The *Sāma*-Vedins possess yet a number of *sūtras*; for us only the *Maśakakalpasūtra*, the *Kṣudrasūtra* and the *Puṣpasūtra* are important. The *Maśaka-* *kalpasūtra* or *Ārṣeya-* *kalpa* has not been so far studied: we are indebted to Weber for a detailed summary of its contents (*Verz. der Berl. Hss. deel I* under No. 297). A thorough study has taught me that this text deals with the *Soma*-sacrifices which are partly described in the *Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa* and the *Ṣadvimśa-* *brāhmaṇa*, partly only mentioned, dealing in succession with the *gavāmayana*, the *ekāhas*, the *ahīnas* and the *sattras*. Now it is known that the different parts (*parvans*) into which the *ūha* as well as *ūhyagāna* are divided bear in succession, according to its contents, the names: *daśarātra*, *saṃvatsara*, *ekāha*, *ahīna*, *sattra*, *prāyaścitta* and *kṣudra*. Now the *Maśakakalpasūtra* is the driest without any digression, the initial words of the couplets, on which this or that *sāman* is to be sung. All the *sāmans* mentioned in this *sūtra* occur precisely in the same order in the *ūha-* and *ūhyagāna*, now some from the first, and here and there some from the second *gāna*. As the *sāmans* mentioned in the *Maśakakalpasūtra* do not seem to contain each of the *parvans* of the two last *gānas* (but only reaching up to the *Sattra*), and thus do not comprise the so-called *prāyaścitta* and *kṣudraparvans*, I began to suspect whether the so-called *Kṣudrasūtra* of which Weber in his *Vorlesungen zur indischen Literaturgeschichte* (2nd ed. p. 92) only mentions the name and which he considers one of the latest offshoots of the *Sāma*-Veda, cannot perhaps be a text of the same kind as the *Maśakakalpasūtra*, and whether thus in this text should not be expected the practice of the *Sāmans* contained in the *prāyaścitta* and *kṣudra* books of the two last *gānas*. From the ms. of Colebrooke preserved in the India

1. This refers to *Paṭalas* 1-10 and 4 *sūtras* of 11 published by Dr. J. N. Reuter of Helsinfors in 1904. *Paṭalas* 11-15 have since been edited by Raghuvīra in the *Journal of Vedic Studies*, Vol. I. i. Jan. 1934, pp. 13-80.—Tr.

office it appeared that my surmise was correct, though I found at the same time that the style of this text differed in a remarkable manner from that of the *Maśakakalpasūtra*. Yet this text the old Hindu commentators held, as the citations show, to be an *Ārṣeyakalpa*.

As now the *Maśakakalpasūtra* and the *Kṣudrasūtra*, mutually connected, teach the application of the *sāmans* of the *ūha-* and *ūhyagāna*, pretty nearly in the order in which they are given in the two *gānas*, the conclusion is easily reached that these two song-books must have been known to the authors of these old *sūtras*, and that these *gānas*, wherein the *sāmans* were preserved which of old were applied in the rite, must be held to be the oldest, at least as older than the first two, which may be considered as a sort of index of melodies. In this opinion I am strengthened by the observation that in two places in the *Maśakakalpasūtra* the citations were of a peculiar style; thus all the *sāmans* mentioned were not indicated by their names, but by 'the *śarūpa*-song and the three following', 'the *āśubhārgava*-song and the five following.' This manner of indication was possible only when the author had this song-book before him. Yet now there arises another question: when the *grāmageya-* and *āraṇya-* *gāna* aim at being a register of melodies arranged with the object that the *sāmans* therefrom were to be so sung in the holy service that the first verse of a stanza in the *uttarārcika* agreed with a verse of the *pūrvārcika* and a corresponding melody in the *grāmageya* or *āraṇyagāna*, where was the necessity for the *ūha-* and the *ūhyagāna* being put together? And on the other side: If of old the *ūha-* and the *ūhyagāna* had existed, preserving the songs for the holy service in a cut and dried manner, why then this fuss of the *pūrvārcika-āraṇyakasaṃhitā* with *grāmageya-* and *āraṇyagāna*? These last named texts were then to some extent superfluous. A solution of this difficulty, satisfactory in every way, has been found by a detailed study of the manner in which the *sāmans* are indicated in the *Ārṣeyakalpa*. In most cases the initial words of one or other stanza or of a verse from the *uttarārcika* are given, after which the name of the melody follows; without fail one finds the *sāman* on all verses of the stanza in question in the *ūha-* or the *ūhyagāna*. On some occasions a detailed specification is given, as e.g. *Maś. K. 8. 12. 9: auśanasyarkṣu vaiśvajyotiṣam yat pra gāyate*. The *sāman* here mentioned is naturally found in our *ūhagāna* (XIX, 1.7, see



Sāma Veda Cal. Edn. Part III. p. 82). The words of the sūtra mean clearly: "(he sings) on the verses of the auśana sāman the melody Vaiśvajyotiṣa, indicated by the initial words *pra gāyata*." The verse indicated by these initial words is found only in the pūrvārcika (I. 6. 1. 5. 3), and the melody belonging to it is really the vaiśvajyotiṣa, to be found in grāmageyagāna XV. 2. 20 (B.I. part II, p. 132). The addition 'indicated by the first words: *pra gāyata*' was here necessary, because there are two other Sāmans called vaiśvajyotiṣa, belonging to other yonis. If one compares the Sāman from the ūhagāna with that from the grāmageyagāna, one finds that, excepting for some trifles, there is complete agreement between the two.

And Kṣudrasūtra I. 6 supplies a still clearer indication: P. 10. 'whoever wishes to find abundant means of subsistence, must sing the Kāleya Sāman on the middle verse of the three existing verses, the stanza beginning with *indrā yāhi dhiyeṣitaḥ* being taken as first.' The prescription leaves nothing to be desired by way of clarity, and one finds the song also with the prescribed order of verses in the ūhagāna: XXI. 2. 4. But, if this song-book had been known to the authors of the Ārṣeyakalpa, they would surely have given the prescriptions whereby they indicate the Sāmans in another and shorter manner, and particularly would they have omitted from the last prescription the definition of the transposition of the verses. These are only two indications out of many on the basis of which we should conclude that the last two gānas are of a later time than the sūtras considered here. Also the names (prāyaścitta and kṣudra) of the last two parvans in the ūha- and ūhyagāna can be only explained on the supposition that the Kṣudrasūtra is older; the Kṣudrasūtra may have received its name in contrast with the more extensive Maśaka-kalpasūtra, and in the Kṣudrasūtra are also considered the prāyaścittas.

Decidedly the last two gānas are also later than the Śrautasūtras. That is self-evident. First these names do not occur in them even once. This nevertheless is no proof. Let us proceed. In the Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa (V. 4. 5, 6) it is prescribed that the singer in the Mahāvratā must sing the Sāman called Vasiṣṭhasya nihava on the Cātavāla, and that he must sing this on a verse directed to the Viśve devāḥ. Which verse is meant here does not appear from the words of the brāhmaṇa. The sūtra of Lāṭyāyana-Drāhyāyana therefore fills this gap (Lāṭy. III. 9. 12=

Drāhy. X, 1.11) by the provision: *viśve devā iti vasiṣṭhasya nihavam ūhet*, i.e., "he must change the vasiṣṭhasya nihava to (make ready to fit in, ūhet) the verse that begins with *viśve devāḥ*". The melody Vasiṣṭhasya nihava is composed on the verse *asāvi devaṃ gor ṛjīkam* (Sv. I. 4.1.3.1) and is found in grāmageyagāna VIII. 1.36 (Sv. Bibl. Ind. Part I, p. 629); the melody fitted on the verse *viśve devāḥ* etc. (ār. Sam. III. 9) P. 11. is given in ūhagāna IX. 3.12. (Part V p. 602). Between the two sāmans there is full agreement except in the words. This passage alone is enough—one can mention still clearer proofs—to prove that the author of the Śrautasūtra did not know of the ūhagāna. The commentary at this point reads: "the words 'he must adapt (ūhet)' is aimless, because the reading (of this sāman, is known (Dhanvin naturally knew the ūhagāna !). That is indeed true, they say, but the ūha (gāna) is of a later age than this prescription." The text of the commentary, which surely has not been handed down quite correctly, must have had something like this sentence.

Over the question whether the ūha (by which term apparently was meant the song book known as ūh(arahas)yaḡāna as well as the ūhagāna known to us) was made by men or 'seen' by Ṛṣis, the old Hindus were already divided. The first chapter of the second prapāṭhaka in the Nidānasūtra, a text which from its style must be counted among the older works, is devoted to a discussion of this question. After the introductory words: *ṛṣikṛtaḥ sva ūhā 3 auṛṣikṛta iti vai khalu āhuḥ*, reasons are first set forth for the view that ūha does not have its origin from the seers, and then, apparently, all the grounds are refuted. From a metrical discourse on the Sāmaveda the following śloka is cited in the introduction to the Bibliotheca Indica edn. (Part I, p. 18):

*ūhagrantho' pauruṣeyaḥ pauruṣeyo' thavāgrimaḥ |
vedasāmasamānatvād vidhisārthatvato' ntimah ||*

If I am not mistaken, the meaning of these words is: 'Is the ūha(gāna) (and the ūhyagāna) not of human origin or is it? It is the first, in so far as it is in a similar case with the Sāma-Veda (the first two gānas, seen by the Ṛṣis and thus of divine origin); the second, in so far as it is meant for the rite (and the Kalpasūtras are made by men)'.

With the remark made above, that ūha- and ūhyagāna date from later times, agrees the finding of Konow on the Sāma-

vidhāna-brāhmaṇa. He has pointed out that in this old text no songs from the last two song-books are quoted.

But one may, with propriety ask, how now with this argument (above p. 8) which just now seemed to have such conclusive force exactly for the greater antiquity of the ūha? This ground need not be abandoned as against the conclusive evidence that the last two gānas as such were unknown to the older authors, because there may be found an explanation by which the contradiction may be cleared away. Thus it is probable that originally the text of the Maśakakalpasūtra enumerated successively all the Sāmans (which should be sung on one melody), but that later authors, who knew the ūhagāna have curtailed these passages.

Yet another question awaits an answer. Why (have) two song-books, ūha and ūhya, with precisely the same divisions next to each other? Their songs were in practice employed next to and by each other. Careful reflection has furnished the solution of this problem also. All the melodies which occur in the ūhyagāna as also their names one finds in the āraṇyagāna, while the melodies and names of the ūhagāna correspond with those of the grāmageyagāna. Besides ūhyagāna, the last song-book is also called rahasyagāna. In his day Burnell maintained that the designation ūhya(gāna) was an abridgement of ūharahasya(gāna); Konow, on the other hand (Sāmavidhāna Intro. p. 14) thought that the name rahasya only applied to the āraṇyagāna and not to the ūhya as well. Now it seems that the opinions of Burnell and of Konow are reconcileable; for rahasya is the same as āraṇya(gāna), and what we understand by ūhyagāna is simply the collection of songs changed and adapted to the melodies of the āraṇyagāna: rahasyagāna and ūhyagāna are really one and the same: the words differ, not the melodies.

P. 13. To turn finally to the name: the term ūha is clear; it means 'shifting, adaptation', and postulates a model to which the adaptation takes place. Well then, the prakṛti of ūha and ūh-(arahas)ya are, as we saw, the grāmageya- and the āraṇyagāna. As regards the names of these last books, there is not a single reason to adduce in favour of the modern theory (of v. Schroeder, Winternitz and others), that they are so called because the first named gāna contains songs sung in the sacrifices in the village, the second in sacrifices performed in the forest or the wilderness. That is a mere play of words with no single

reason given. For we have seen that the melodies of both the gānas are used by each other in all soma-sacrifices. Rather may the gānas be so called because one of them was studied in the village by the Sāma Veda student while the other (the āraṇyagāna) was studied in the wood, outside the parish. The introduction to this study was also a particularly severe observance.¹ The reason why this gāna should be studied outside the parish lies certainly in the greater holiness or danger of its melodies. I recall only the highly sacred Mahānāmnīs and the rudrasūkta employed in imprecations.

For all the reasons stated above one might visualise the origin of the Sāmaveda texts thus:

The holy service, the Soma sacrifice in its many forms, existed from of old. Since the beginning of human memory different songs were sung by the singer with his acolytes at particular moments in such sacrifices (in the gāyatra melody in the morning service), mostly based on stanzas of three verses. The words on which the songs used to be sung (their yonis) were collected early and compiled into one whole (Sāṁhitā): the P. 14. uttarārcika. In order that the study and memorising of the melodies may be rendered easy, likewise at a very early period, a double register was made up, the first one of the melodies; this was so arranged that one had only to take the first verse of a stanza and this became the carrier of the melody; then they added the Sāmans, which should be recited by some singers in some song-verses (stotriyas) in other ceremonies. So began the grāmageyagāna and āraṇyagāna, which were so divided that the more sacred and dangerous melodies were put together in a separate register (ār. gāna). Also the yonis of the song-books were brought together and so began the pūrvārcika and āraṇyaka-sāṁhitā. Thereupon the traditional rite was fixed in the Ārṣeya-kalpa, in connection with the brāhmaṇa, of which it is difficult to indicate the time of origin in this series. The Śrautasūtras began in connection with the extant literature (of the Sāmaveda). If now a chandoga knows his two gānas by heart and also knows which yonis he must use at one or other ceremony, it should be easy for him to make all the changes, to apply the ūha in all the

1. The Mahānāmnīkavrata of the Chandogas (cf. Jaim. Gr. Sū. I. 17), that is almost the same as the Śukriyavrata of the other Vedic schools.

cases as prescribed in the sūtras. But perhaps all kinds of *finesse* were quickly resorted to in order to prolong the ritual or make it more complicated, and so the chandoga needed to have in his head a great many rules in order to apply the ūha. All these rules were, if I am not mistaken, collected in one text ascribed to Puṣpa, the so-called Phullasūtra. I say 'perhaps'. For though indeed there is in existence an edition of the text of this sūtra, yet this work is so truly algebraical in arrangement and so full of all sorts of abbreviations and technical terms, that only a thorough study with a commentary at hand could give us the certainty whether my surmise regarding the purport of the

P. 15. Puṣpasūtra is correct.¹ Again, they have later on combined all the rules of the Puṣpasūtra with the prescriptions of the sūtras and applied them, and produced two song-books, which may now be directly consulted by the chandoga in the holy service. The content of the ūha- and ūhyagānas forms thus the oldest part of the Samāveda, according to their form these two books belong to the youngest.

1. By the researches of Prof. R. Simon at Munchen, who is preparing an edition and elucidation of the Puṣpasūtra, it will become clear later if my hypothesis on the purpose of this text is correct. Questioned about this by me, Prof. R. Simon cannot give me a conclusive answer though he considers 'the basic idea thoroughly sound.' (Simon's edition has appeared in Abhandlungen der K. Bayer Akademie der Wiss. 1. Kl. XXIII Band. III Abt.—Tr.).

ACCENTUAL VARIATION IN RELATION TO SEMANTIC VARIATION

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[In a paper published in Volume VIII Part IV of this Journal, I pointed out how a semantic differentiation is involved in the shift of accent or to put it in other words, the same sound combination referentially differs in accordance with the shift of accent. This is exemplified by Pāṇini's sūtra

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्तः (P. VI. 1, 37.)

which reminds us that in the stem *Vṛṣākāpāy* to which is tacked on the feminine suffix *-ī*, in strict conformity to the importance associated with the semantic content of the suffixal element, there is also an accentual shift to the very last syllable of the whole word.¹ In this paper I propose to examine this principle in greater detail with special reference to a study of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa's *Ṛgvedānukramaṇi*.²

Mādhavabhaṭṭa opens his first section (*Ṛgvedānukramaṇi* Part I. i. i. 1) with the statement

यावदर्थं तथास्वरम् ॥

[Cf. अर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत. Nirukta II. 1, cf. also

प्रधानमर्थः शब्दो हि तद्गुणायत्त इष्यते ।

तस्मान्नानान्वयोपायैः शब्दानर्थवशं नयेत् ॥

1. However the word *Vṛṣākāpāyī*—(Rv.) 'wife of *Vṛṣākāpi*' occurring in the vocative only, is unaccented *Vide* A. A. Macdonell. Vedic Grammar, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde I. Band. 4. Heft. 1910, p. 87.

2. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Pt. I.

Brhaddevatā II. 99.

See also

बहुव्रीहेः स्वरं पश्यन्नर्थं तत्पुरुषस्य च ।

अर्थे स्पष्टे स्वरं जह्याद्वरुणं वो रिशादसम् ॥

वरुणं वो रिशादसम् (Rv. V. 64, 1.)^{1]} Rgvedānukramanī i. v. 7.

In a volume of the Indo-germanis che jahrbuch (VI. 1918), Karl Buhler brought together several definitions of sentence and subjected them all to a critical examination. One thing that clearly strikes us in these definitions is that language should be looked upon in its setting of real life, for sentences are obviously social facts, being familiar from daily intercourse.

Therefore the right method of approach is not to investigate speech as we find in books or grammars, but as the most vital social phenomena, the indispensable instrument of social existence, since sentences are used at every moment to give or to ask information, to express wishes or give orders, or in some way to exert influence upon the minds of our fellows.²

Doubtless most writers on language, have been more or less alive to this stand point. But Marty seems to be entirely saturated with it. His statement of the purpose of language³ very closely agrees with the definition given by A. H. Gardiner⁴ that runs thus:—

“Language is the name given to any system of articulate symbols having reference to the facts of experience, whereby speakers seek to influence the minds of listeners in question”.

The above definition brings a new dimension to language as usually viewed, namely the relation of the speaker to the listener.

1. Sāyaṇa's comment on the compound रिशादसम् is as follows: रिशंति हिंसन्तीति रिशाः शत्रवः तेषां प्रेरकम् ।

2. Cf. मन्यन्ते पण्डितास्त्वन्ये यथाव्याकरणं स्वरम् ।
व्यवस्थितो व्यवस्थायां हेतुस्तत्र न विद्यते ॥
माधवस्य त्वयं पक्षः स्वरेणैव व्यवस्थितिः ॥

Rgvedānukramanī i. i. 24 and 25.
3. A. Marty, Untersuchungen Zur Grundlegung der allgemeinen Grammatik und Sprachphilosophie 1908. 1, 22.

4. The British Journal of Psychology Volume XII. 1921-22. pp. 353-354.

It should not however be understood that nearly three decades ago, the relation of the speaker to the listener (with its converse relation) was entirely ignored by linguists. Undoubtedly it crept up, now and then, in Paul, in von der Gabelentz, in Jespersen and in many other writers. But only it was not brought to the forefront.

In this connection it has to be clearly borne in mind that linguistic development follows not one tendency, but two opposing ones, and they are distinctness and economy. Each one of these poles is alternately preponderant. The fundamental dualism speaker-hearer is at the basis of this polarity, which producing a tension, constitutes the principle of life in language.

Language is looked at from these two poles by formal and functional grammar.¹ This hypothesis provides two bases on which can be safely built a bridge between the violently antagonistic views of Wundt (Volker psychologie², Die Sprache) and Marty.

Marty's teleological explanation of linguistic creation² opens the way for the return of the two tendencies—distinctness and economy in the interpretation of the linguistic development.³

“It is the basic dualism speaker-hearer which causes the existence of a polarity between subjectivity and objectivity. The tendency towards economy is the subjective factor as it serves the inclination of the speaker. Distinctness is usually the objective factor, enforced by the reaction of the hearer.”⁴

1. Cf. “I firmly believe that a grammar built on function, its proper realm, with leanings towards meaning rather than towards form, but of course without disregarding the latter, must be more life-like and fascinating than one built on form. The closer we stay to the human mind, the more vital will be our results. Form is remotest from the ever young activity of the mind. It shows its reflections only in dim outlines and is most subject to fossilization. Function is much more stable and reveals much more readily the processes of casting thought and feeling into accepted patterns.” W. F. Leopold's article, “Form or Function as the basis of grammar”, p. 431. The Journal of English and Germanic Philology. Volume XXXIV. No. 3, July, 1935.

2. Werner Leopold, “Inner form” in Language. Volume V 254-60.

3. Untersuchungen, pp. 629-30.

4. Cf. Polarity in Language” by W. Leopold. Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies, pp. 102-103.

The two tendencies are adequately discussed with masterly lucidity by G. V. D. Gabelentz.¹ Wundt however denies their very existence as he mistakes tendency for intention and since in his system² practically no room is given for intention. Marty's unmistakably clear demonstration of Wundt's error carries conviction (622).

Thus it is clear that "two opposed interests wrestle with each other and are both active and effective at the same time and alternate in predominance. A horizontal cut through the structure of language and a vertical one through its development might be imagined to show the form of an ellipse; two foci which can never coincide are both essential to define the course of the circumference."³

The rules pertaining to Sanskrit accent show clear traces of this principle of polarity at work and indicate the two fundamental forces which work in opposite direction and yet collaborate, namely, the manifestations of the tendency towards facility against the conservative principle of intelligibility.

This is not a bit surprising, since the Sanskrit accent, like the accentuation-marks, did not hover over words in a careless apathy, but as a living and life-imparting soul lived in and with the word, exerting an influence on the structure of the whole language, such as we seem to have only had the faintest conception of.⁴

Accent, producing the unity of the word and therefore called the soul of speech being of a more spiritual nature than the sounds, not only from one point of view is the real element which carries intelligibility into speech, but also more than other, factors in speech, is the immediate expression of feeling.

1. Die Sprachwissenschaft,² 181, 1901.

2. Die Sprache,³ 1. 28, 2. 492.

3. W. Leopold, "Polarity in Language", p. 104. Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies, Language Monographs No. 7, 1930.

4. Jespersen, Linguistica p. 16. "Rules as to the accent of words, as to the precise intonations of questions or commands, as to forms when shouting to people at a distance could have no sense if applied to a dead language." Vide E. Rapson, "In what degree was Sanskrit a spoken language?" The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1904, p. 443.

(Cf. W. V. Humboldt's view cited by Gottling, Accent der griechischen Sprache, p. 8).¹

The interrelation between accent and the meaning-content has been engaging the attention of scholars almost from the rise of the linguistic science. Benfey (Gott. Gel. Anz. 1846, p. 842. Kl. Schr. 2, 69) believed that the accent originally did not rest on the stem syllable but on that element which modified the meaning of the word (cf. below. Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 21).

Soon after him, L. Benloew subscribed to a similar view in his book (Del' accentuation dans les langues indoeuropéennes tant anciennes que modernes. Paris, 1847). According to this scholar, the summit accent was originally an accent purely of pitch, a musical accent without stress or *ictus*. [The term *ictus* for a metrical stress also seems to be post classical, and in Quintilian usually implies the beating of time *pedum et digitorum ictu*]. (The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian. 9, 4, 51. Volume III, P. 534, with an English Translation by H. E. Butler. The Loeb Classical Library.) Mark H. Liddell believes that the *ictus* as a metrical stress was really as theoretical in classic Latin verse as it is in modern European music, being employed to mark the time when syllable-lengths were no longer *communibus in fixa sensibus* but had to be taught to the young by beating with the hand or foot, just as musical time is now taught to one who is learning to play a musical instrument.² In each word which consisted of more than one syllable, some one syllable was pronounced musically higher than all the others; the syllable which was thus distinguished from others was, according to Benloew, chronologically the last defining element in the word (le dernier déterminant).

According to the theory of word-construction which prevailed in his days and which even to-day is accepted to a large extent without much opposition, a word is made up of different constituents, root, suffix, personal inflection, case-ending, augment, reduplication and so forth, and of these

1. Vide Maurice Bloomfield, "Historical and critical remarks, introductory to a study of Greek Accent." The American Journal of Philology, Vol. IV, (1883), p. 21.

2. Cf. Mark H. Liddell, "Stress Pronunciation in Latin," Language Volume II, 1926, p. 110, f.n.

elements in the word whatever be the last joined to the word, that was entitled to this higher pitch, for example in an augment-tense the augment, in a noun in the genitive, the genitive ending and when a word was compounded with a preposition, the preposition.

Benloew was convinced that the unity of the word in our sense had not as yet developed so long as this principle was still in existence, the marked emphasis of the 'dernier determinant' directed the attention of both the speaker and the hearer so strongly to some part of the whole, to some special element in what afterwards became a unit, that it must be supposed that this accentuation was in force in a period previous to that of word-formation in its strictest sense.

The cementing of the word as we have it now, is produced by an additional force. By the side of the principle of the last determinant there was developed slowly and gradually a logical principle of accentuation whose purpose it was to act without reference and in fact in opposition to the specialising tendency of the 'last determinant.' This logical accent, Benloew assumes, affected the root-syllable, which in the word as a whole, is the ruling syllable. The further history of accentuation in the separate Indo-European languages exhibits, then a gradual process, by which the logical accentuation gains the ascendancy in the word.

Benfey took Benloew's principle of the last determinant as his speciality¹. This theory based upon a large number of correct observations was an important one in linguistics to determine a general principle of accentuation.

In the light of the foregoing remarks, a study of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa's favourite theory will be highly interesting.

The book opens with a discussion about the problem of accent of the finite verb. To him the accentlessness of the finite verb in the principal clause (unless the verb stands at the commencement of the clause or of a pāda) is due to the fact that the meaning-content of the verb is determined by the meaning of the clause taken in entirety.

1. Kl. Schr. I, 112. Cf. also H. Hirt, *Der Akzent*. Idg. Gram. Teil V. Heidelberg. 1929, pp. 21-22. Vide also M. Bloomfield, *Am. Jour. Phil.* Vol. IV, p. 34.

निघाततिङ्पदस्यार्थे वाक्यार्थः पर्यवस्यति ।

(R̥gvedānukramanī, i. i. 3.)

In other words, here a tendency towards economy is preponderant.

This explanation partially agrees with Delbruck's (although the latter does not seem to be as satisfactory as the former). He says—"The accentlessness of the finite verb in the principal clause is merely the external sign of the fact that the verb appears as a relatively dependent member of the sentence attaching itself to a noun, a pronoun, a preposition in such a way as to limit these ideas."¹ I have examined Professor Whitney's criticism of this theory at length in my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds."²

Yet a striking parallel to Delbruck's view that the sentence is naturally a diminuendo, beginning strong, to attract the attention of the listener and then toning gradually down, we find in Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

निघाततिङ्पदस्यार्थं वाक्यान्ते दर्शयेच्छनैः ।

उदात्ततिङ्पदस्यार्थम् उच्चैरादौ प्रदर्शयेत् ॥

उदात्तकारकपदैस्तत्र पूर्वं समाहते ।

पदं सर्वानुदात्तं स्यान्मध्येऽन्ते वाय यद्ववेत् ॥

(R̥gvedānukramanī, i. i. 4 and 8.)

Even though preceded by a vocative, the finite verb which begins a sentence is accented being necessitated for arresting the attention of the listener, that is, here the tendency towards distinctness takes the upper hand.

Applying the same principle, it is indeed no matter for surprise that a finite verb even at the beginning of a pāda is accented, since it can be assumed that the intention of the vedic bards was to make each pāda a complete unit in itself as would a sentence.

.....श्रोतारमिह तिङ्पदम् ।

उदात्तवत् समाहन्ति स यथाभिमुखो भवेत् ॥

तत्र संबोधनपदैर्नरः संबोधितोऽपि सन् ।

वाक्यार्थोद्बोधनं कर्तुं पुनराहन्यते तिङ् ॥

1. Delbruck, "Vedic Syntax" 50.

2. To be shortly published in the *Madras University Journal*.

अनुपादं विरम्यार्थमृषयः कथयन्त्यतः ।

पुनश्चोद्धोधनं कर्तुं पादादौ तिङ्गुदात्तवत् ॥¹

(Rgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 7, 12 and 9.)

Mādhavabhaṭṭa explicitly adheres to the view that it is the principle of intelligibility which is to be held responsible for making the finite verb accented.

यद्यदीत्यादिभिर्युक्तं तिङ्गुदन्तं च स्फुटं वदेत् ।

अवान्तराणां वाक्यानामन्तेऽर्थं तं च दर्शयेत् ॥

(Ibid. i. i. 5.)

Another close parallel too to Delbruck's paradoxical standpoint that the finite verb which is itself a dependent member, when it belongs to a dependent clause attains its independency and gets an accent² is noticeable in Mādhavabhaṭṭa. But Mādhavabhaṭṭa's presentation seems to me more satisfactory.

Mādhavabhaṭṭa pushes also the subjective element to its logical conclusion. Thus if in an apparently single sentence, there are two unaccented finite verbs, then the whole sentence has to be split into two.

अनुदात्ते पदे यत्र तत्र संस्थापयेत् द्विधा ॥

(Rgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 10.)

Example:

वायविन्द्रश्च चेतयः सुतानां वाजिनीवसू ।

तावायातमुपद्रवत् ॥ (Rv. I, 2, 5.)

As both the finite verbs चेतयः and यातम् are unaccented in this passage, it has to be assumed that here there are two separate sentences.

Of great interest is the unique explanation of Mādhavabhaṭṭa on the ground of the tendency towards distinctness for accenting the finite verb in a few cases (which does not begin a sentence or a pāda) but which apparently is in a principal sentence. For example.

मा नः शंसो अरुषो धूर्तिः प्रणङ्मर्त्यस्य ।

रक्षां णो ब्रह्मणस्पते ॥

(Rv. I. 18. 3.)

1. A Vedic Grammar for students by A. A. Macdonell, page 443. f.n. 2 and page 437.

2. Vide my article, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds."

इन्द्र सोमं पिबे ऋतुना त्वा विशन्विन्देवः ॥ (Rv. I. 15. 1.)

The problematic accent of प्रणक् and पिबे in the above two passages Mādhavabhaṭṭa seeks to explain.

The meaning of the first passage is, "Protect us, Brahmanaspati, so that no calumnious censure of a malevolent man may reach us." And the meaning of the second passage is, "Indra, drink with Ṛtu, the Soma juice. Let the drops enter into thee and abide."¹

The first passage is an earnest prayer to Brahmanaspati for protection in such a manner as the calumnious censure of a malevolent person may not reach the suppliant. In a similar way, the main intention of the speaker in the second passage is the entry of the drops of Soma juice into Indra. In such a way the god is requested to drink the juice. Hence it is that both प्रणक् and पिबे are accented.

ननुदात्तं पदं दृष्टं वाक्यमध्येऽपि तद्यथा ।

मानःशंसो अरुष इन्द्र सोमं पिबेति च ॥

अत्र ब्रूमोऽर्थसंस्थानमिह यस्मिन् भवेत्तिङि ।

तत्तु सर्वानुदात्तं स्यादसंस्थितउदात्तवत् ॥

मा प्राप्नोतु कदर्यस्य शंसोऽस्मान् ब्रह्मणस्पते ।

रक्षेत्रमिति मन्त्रार्थः पाने चावेशनं फलम् ॥

(Rgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 13, 14 and 15.)²

Sāyaṇa's comment on प्रणक् is as follows:—

"पृची संपर्के" लङ्स्तिप् । "इतश्च" इतीकारलोपः । हल्ङ्यादिलोपः । कुत्वम् । "रुधादिभ्यः श्रम्" । तस्य "व्यत्ययो बहुलम्" (P. III. 1, 85.) इति अडागमः । यणादेशः । अकारस्यागमानुदात्तत्वं बाधित्वा व्यत्ययेनोदात्तत्वम् । "चादिलोपे विभाषा" (P. VIII. 1, 63.) इति निघाताभावः ॥

Sāyaṇa's derivation of *pranak* from the root *prc* of the infixing nasal class (seventh or *rudh* class) where the syllable

1. See Wilson's Translation.

2. पाने चावेशनं फलम् may also be taken to mean that the meaning of the finite verb रक्ष comes to be determined by the semantic content of the sentence in its entirety (आवेशनं being used in the sense of अभिनिवेश). I owe this suggestion to my revered

'na' precedes the final consonant of the root in the strong forms and ingeniously arguing that the augment 'a' comes immediately after the syllable *pr* of the root is in no way satisfactory.

It is to be remembered that *pranā* is the unaugmented root aorist of *naś* (to attain) formed with the preposition *pra*.¹

Skandasvāmin very nearly hit at the mark, for he says

प्रपूर्वस्य नशेर्व्याप्तिकर्मण एतद्रूपम् ।

But unhappily he soon abandons this explanation.

अथवानवग्रहैकपदत्वात् पृचेः सम्पर्कार्थस्येदं रूपम्, न प्रपूर्वस्य

नशोः ।

[Skandasvāmin's bhāṣya on Rv. 1, 18, 3. Trivandrum Sanskrit series. Also Madras University Sanskrit series No. 8, p. 48.]

Veṅkaṭamādhava's bhāṣya on Rv. 1, 18, 3 reads thus:—

“मास्माकम् आदातुर्मर्त्यस्य कदर्यस्य शंसो न दातुं युष्मभ्यम् इच्छामीति वादो (?) हिंसकः प्राप्नोतु धनाभावात् तथास्मांस्त्वं रक्ष ॥²

From this it can be reasonably inferred that he also was of opinion that *प्रणक्* is the aorist form of *नश्* with the preposition *प्र*.

According to Pāṇini's sūtra न लुट् (P. 8. 1. 29) the verb in the periphrastic future is not accented.³ Example: *śva kartā* [The *Sārvadhātuka* affixes डा, रौ, रस् are *anudatta* after the affix तसि by the sūtra तास्यनुदात्तेऽङिदुपदेशल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमङिङोः (P. VI. 1. 186). the whole affix तास् becomes *udatta* (अनुदात्तौ सुप्तिौ P. III. 1. 3.) and where the टि portion of तास् i.e. the syllable आस्, is elided before the affix डा, there also the आ of डा

Prof. MM. Kuppuswami Śastry. The other meaning of the line is apparent, i.e., the drinking leads to the entry which means that the request to drink is subordinated to the wish for the entry of the Soma juice into Indra.

1. See Vedic Grammar A. A. Macdonell, Section 499, p. 366.

2. Veṅkaṭamādhava's Bhāṣya. Paper manuscript, Aydar Library Volume I, page 12.

3. This formation is common in the later language. But there seems to be only an incipient example in VS. XVIII, 59

becomes *udatta* because the *udatta* has been elided. See P. VI. 1. 161.

(अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः)

Why is the finite verb here accented? As we say 'he will do it' using the periphrastic future in common speech, through intonation it comes to mean some such thing "as, will he do it? . . . he will do it" when therefore the tendency towards distinctness naturally comes into prominence, laying in its turn special emphasis on the finite verb. This is Mādhava-bhaṭṭa's explanation.

लुडर्थे ननु वाक्यार्थः स्पष्टं सन्तिष्ठते तव ।

सत्यमाह भवानेतत् काकुस्तत्र नु विद्यते ॥

यथा तिङ्क्षु हि युक्तेषु द्वर्थे वाक्यस्य संस्थितिः ।

एवं लुड्यपि संस्थानं तस्मिन् काकाविति स्थितिः ॥

(Rgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 16 and 17.)

Mādhavabhaṭṭa then proceeds to illustrate his analogy.

परा हि मे विमन्यवः पतन्ति वस्य इष्टये ।

वयो न वसतीरुपे ॥ (Rv. 1, 25, 4.)

आ हि ष्मा सूनवे पितापिर्यजत्यापये ।

सखा सख्ये वरेण्यः ॥ (Rv. I, 26, 3.)

न हि वामस्ति दूरके यत्रा रथेन गच्छथः ।

अश्विना सोमिनो गृहम् ॥ (Rv. I, 22, 4.)

=TS. 5.7.7.1 *anvāgantā yajñāpatir vo atra* which Macdonell (See Vedic Grammar, section 540, p. 387) translates, "the sacrificer is following after you here." This passage is obviously a modification of Av. 6, 123, 1; 2. *anvāgantā yajamānah svasti* which according to Whitney means, "the sacrificer follows after well-being" (Cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, Section 946).

1. This question is pertinent for according to Pāṇini's sūtra 3, 3, 15 (अनद्यतने लुट्) लुट् or the periphrastic future denotes an act that is yet to come (मविष्यत्यनद्यतनेऽर्थे चातोर्लुट् स्यात् is the comment of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his Siddhānta Kaumudī.). Hence logically it can never occur in a subordinate clause. Therefore strictly speaking it should be accentless.

आयजी वाजसातमा ताहु १ चारिजर्भृतः ।
 हरी इवान्धांसि बप्सता ॥ (Rv. I. 28, 7.)¹
 सं यन्मदाय शुष्मिण एनाहस्योदरे ।
 समुद्रो न व्यचो दधे ॥ (Rv. I. 30, 3.)

Pāṇini brings these instances under the sūtra हि च (P. VIII. 1. 34). The accenting of the finite verb, according to Mādhava-bhaṭṭa, in the above passages is due to a distinct tendency towards intelligibility whose operation is necessary to bring the element of marvel that looms large in them.

आश्चर्य एषु मन्त्रेषु तिङर्थः पर्यवस्यति ।
 हेतौ संयन्मादयेति तेष्वतस्तिङ्मुदात्तवत् ॥

(Rgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 19)

Mādhavabhaṭṭa lays special emphasis on the standpoint he adopts that whatever be the place where an accent is found, it is certain that there a characteristic intonation is indicated, being necessitated through the preponderance of the tendency towards distinctness. Those gifted with keen powers of observation alone can perceive this. The great grammarian Pāṇini was one such gifted seer.

एवं येनेह युक्तं यत् तिङन्तं न निहन्यते ।
 तदर्थे तत्र संस्थानं न तिङर्थ इति स्थितिः ॥
 एवं पदे समासे च यत्रोदात्तो व्यवस्थितः ।
 वर्णे पदे वा तत्रापि काकुरस्तीति निश्चयः ॥
 तत्रैतस्मिन् पदे काकुर्देवैरेवावगम्यते ।
 सूक्ष्मविद्भिः समासस्थः प्राकृतैरपि तिङ्स्वरः ॥
 भगवान् पाणिनिर्वेत्ति वाक्यवृत्तीः समञ्जसम् ।
 प्रतिषेधो निघातस्य बोद्धव्यो विहितैरतः ॥

(Rgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 20, 21, 22 and 11.)

(To be continued.)

1. See also Nirukta, IX. 36.

PŪRVAMĪMĀMSĀVIŚAYASAṄGRAHADĪPIKĀ

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In some of the former issues of this Journal one of us edited the Citrapaṭa of Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita. Reference was made in the introduction to that work to the Pūrvamīmāṃsāviśayasaṅgrahadīpikā of Appayya Dīkṣita. The latter is a short work, summarising in a brief and terse manner the contents of the twelve adhyāyas of Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras, drawing particular attention to some of the fundamental doctrines of the system.

One may very well doubt the ascription of such a short work as this to the famous Dīkṣita, especially after seeing the Citrapaṭa, which itself is a short summary of the contents of the system. But the authenticity of this ascription cannot be doubted, for, in the body of the work itself we find the following statement:—

तथा प्रपञ्चेन प्रसाधितमस्माभिः विधिरसायने (p. 331.)

and most of us are familiar with his Vidhīrasāyana. There is, therefore, no doubt as to the genuineness of Appayya Dīkṣita's authorship of the work.

The edition of this short work is based on two mss. of the work, one deposited in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras (R. 1321), and the other in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library. In the colophon of the copy of this work found in the G. O. Mss. Library we find the following:—

इति धर्ममीमांसासारसङ्ग्रहव्याख्या परिभाषा पूर्वमीमांसाविषयसंग्रहदीपिका
 अप्पय्यदीक्षितकृता.

Obviously there is some confusion regarding the name of this work. On the other hand the copy in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore is styled द्वादशलक्षण्या अर्थसङ्क्षेपः both in the colophon of the work and on the fly leaf of the Ms.; and the work has been so described in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Sarasvati Mahal. In addition this copy does not give the name of the author. Since the work is generally included in the list of works of Appayya Dīkṣita under the name of Pūrvamīmāṃsāviśayasaṅgrahadīpikā, we thought it proper to designate it so. What ever be the name of the work, nobody can doubt that it is by Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita.

N. B.:—

The ms. in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras is designated G.

The ms. in the Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore is designated T.

श्रीः

॥ पूर्वमीमांसाविषयसङ्ग्रहदीपिका ॥

॥ श्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितकृता ॥

“अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा” इति सूत्रेण प्रमाणस्वरूपसाधनफलैः धर्मस्य विचारं प्रतिज्ञाय प्रथमेऽध्याये तस्मिन् प्रमाणं निरूपितम् । तत्र प्रथमे पादे साक्षाद्धर्मे प्रमाणभूतायाश्चोदनायाः पौरुषेयत्वाद्यप्रामाण्यहेतुशङ्कानिराकरणपूर्वकं तत्र प्रामाण्यमुपपादितम् । द्वितीयपादे अर्थवादमन्त्रयोर्विध्यपेक्षितद्रव्यदेवतादि-स्तुत्यानुष्ठेयार्थस्मृतिसमर्पकतया ; तृतीयपादे मन्वाद्याप्तप्रणीतवेदाविरुद्धस्मृत्यादीनां मूलवेदानुमापकतया ; चतुर्थपादे “अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति” “श्येनेनाभिचरन् यजेत” इत्यादिविधिवाक्यगतानामग्निहोत्रादिपदानां नाम्ना कर्मभेदः, नाम्ना धर्मातिदेशः, नाम्ना दूरस्थस्यानुवाद इत्यादिप्रयोजनवत्तया^१ कर्मनामतया^२ च तत्र प्रामाण्यमुपपादितम् ॥

एवं प्रमाणसिद्धस्य धर्मस्य परस्परभिन्नं स्वरूपं द्वितीयाध्याये निरूपितम् । तत्र यजति, ददाति, जुहोति इति चोदनासु यज्यादिधातुभेदरूपेण शब्दान्तरेण यागदानहोमानां भेदः । “समिधो यजति” “तनूनपातं यजति” इत्यादिविधिषु यजतीति पञ्चकृत्वोऽभ्यासेनाविशेषपुनःश्रुतिरूपेणाभ्यासानां [यागानां] भेदः । “सप्तदश प्राजापत्यान् पशूनालभेत” इत्यत्र द्रव्यदेवतासम्बन्धभेदिन्या सप्तदशसंख्यया तदनुमेययागानां भेदः । “अथैष ज्योतिः” इत्यादि-वाक्येषु ज्योतिरादिनामधेयच^३[धेयैः] तन्नामकयागानां प्रकृतज्योतिष्टोमात् भेदः । “तप्ते पयसि दध्यानयति सा वैश्वदेव्यामिक्षा वाजिभ्यो वाजिनम्” इत्यत्र

१. T adds कर्ममीमांसायां

२. G. प्रयोजनवाक्यं

३. G. नामगताया

४. T. ज्योतिरादीनां धेयैः

५. G. Space is left out for writing प्रकृतज्योतिष्टोमात् and adds लिङ्गादिलक्षणं

आमिक्षारूपगुणान्तरावरुद्धे^१ यागे^२ निवेशमलभमानेन वाजिनगुणेन वाजिन-
यागस्यामिक्षायागाद्भेदः । प्रकरणान्तरेणानुपादेयगुणसहितासन्निधिलक्षणेन
नित्याग्निहोत्रान्मासाग्निहोत्रस्य भेद इत्येवं द्वितीयाध्याये कर्मभेदः सापवादः
प्रपञ्चितः ॥

तृतीयाध्याये भिन्नानां^३ कर्मणां श्रुतिलिङ्गादिभिः प्रमाणैः शेषशेषिभावो
निरूपितः । तत्र निरपेक्षः शब्दः श्रुतिः । सा च त्रिधा—विधात्री, अभिधात्री,
विनियोक्त्री च । लिङादिश्रुतिर्विधात्री । “इन्द्रादिश्रुतिरभिधात्री । विनियोक्त्री
तु एकप्रत्ययरूपा, एकपदरूपा, “विभक्तिरूपा चेति त्रिविधा । तत्राद्या
“पशुना यजेत” इति^४ ; सा हि स्वोक्तकरणकारकं प्रति स्वोक्तैकत्वसंख्यायाः
शेषत्वमर्पयति । द्वितीया तु यजेतेति पदम् ; तेन प्रत्ययोक्तभावनां प्रति
प्रकृत्युक्तयागस्य शेषतोपनीयते । तृतीया च शेषत्वबोधिका शेषत्वबोधिका
चेति द्विविधा । “व्रीहीन् प्रोक्षति” इत्यादिषु द्वितीया व्रीह्यादीनां
प्रोक्षणादिक्रियां प्रति ईप्सिततमत्वरूपशेषत्वबोधिका^५ । “क्रीते सोमे
मैत्रावरुणाय दण्डं प्रयच्छति” इत्यादिषु चतुर्थीश्रुतिः मैत्रावरुणस्य
प्रदानक्रियेप्सिततमत्वेन कर्मणाभिप्रेयमाणत्वरूपशेषत्वबोधिका^६ । “अरुणया
क्रीणाति” इत्यत्र क्रयभावनां प्रत्यारुण्यस्य, “चात्वालांमृदमाहरति”
इत्याहरणक्रियां प्रति चात्वालस्य^७, “वेद्यां हवींष्यासादयति” इत्यत्र
हविरासादनक्रियां प्रति वेद्याश्च तृतीयापञ्चमीसप्तम्यः शेषत्वबोधिकाः ।
षष्ठी तु क्वचित्^८ “दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य जुहुयात्” इत्यादौ शेषत्वबोधिका,
“यजमानस्य याज्या” इत्यादौ शेषत्वबोधिका च, सम्बन्धमात्रानु-
शिष्टायाः षष्ठ्या योग्यताद्यनुसारेण उभयथापि पर्यवसानसम्भवात् ॥

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| १. T. गुणावरुद्धे | ८. G adds तृतीया |
| २. T omits यागे | ९. T. शेषत्वबोधिका |
| ३. T omits अनु...क्षणेन | १०. T. शेषत्वबोधिका |
| ४. T omits भिन्नानां | ११. T omits क्वचित् |
| ५. G. त्वाश्रुतिः | १२. T. इत्यत्र क्रयभावकारणस्य क्रियां |
| ६. G omits तु | प्रति चोद्याश्चस्य |
| ७. T. विभक्तिप्रत्ययरूपा | |

वस्तुसामर्थ्यं लिङ्गम् । तत् द्विविधम्—शब्दसामर्थ्यम्, अर्थसामर्थ्यं च ।
तत्र “बर्हिर्देवसदनं दामि” इति^१ मन्त्रस्य लवनप्रकाशनसामर्थ्यरूपात्
लिङ्गात् लवनशेषता । “स्वधितिनावद्यति”, “सुवेणावद्यति”, “हस्ते-
नावद्यति” इत्यवदानसामान्यसाधनत्वेन श्रुतानां स्वधित्यादीनां सामर्थ्यरूप-
लिङ्गाद्विशिष्य मांसद्रवद्रव्यपुरोडाशाद्यवदानेषु शेषता ॥

शेषत्वस्य शेषत्वस्य वा बोधिकया श्रुत्या रहितः पदसम-
भिव्याहारो वाक्यम् । यथा “ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत”
“अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् स्वर्गकामः” इत्यादि^२ । यथा वा “मैत्रावरुणः”
प्रेष्यति चान्वाह च” इति । न हि “यागहोमभावनां प्रति स्वर्गस्य
भाव्यत्वेन शेषत्वबोधिका द्वितीयादिश्रुतिः” प्रैषानुवचनं प्रति मैत्रावरुणस्य
कर्तृत्वेन शेषत्वबोधिका “तृतीयादिश्रुतिर्वास्ति । प्रथमा तु प्रातिपदिक[कार्य]-
मात्रेऽनुशिष्टा अतः पदसमभिव्याहाररूपेण वाक्येनात्र शेषशेषिभावबोधः ॥

“विधिवाक्यतः कर्तव्यत्वेनावगतस्य केन प्रकारेण कर्तव्यमिति
विशिष्याज्ञायमानस्येतिकर्तव्यताकाङ्क्षा प्रकरणम् । तत् द्विविधम्—
महाप्रकरणम्, अवान्तरप्रकरणं चेति । तत्राद्येन दर्शपूर्णमासादिकं प्रति
प्रयाजादीनाम्, द्वितीयेन प्रयाजादिकं प्रत्यभिक्रमणादीनां च—तत्तत्सम्बन्धि-
सामान्नातानां शेषता ॥

[देशसामान्यं] स्थानम् । तत्^३ द्विविधम्—यथासंख्यम्,
सन्निधिश्च । तत्राद्येन “दब्धिरस्यदब्धो भूयासम्” इति मन्त्रस्याग्नेयाग्नी-
षोमीयमन्त्रद्वयमध्यान्नातस्य आग्नेयाग्नीषोमीययागद्वयमध्यानुष्ठेयोपांशुयाजशेषता ।

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| १. G adds अत्र | ५. G. मैत्रावरुणं |
| २. T. स्वधितिना...शेषता is read
thus:—“सुवेणावद्यति” इत्यत्र | ६. T. यागभावानां |
| सुवस्य विलत्वलिङ्गा इवावदान-
शेषता ॥ | ७. T. द्वितीयाश्रुतिः |
| ३. T omits “ज्योति
यजेत” | ८. T. तृतीयाश्रुतिः |
| ४. T. omits आदि. | ९. T. भावः बोधकः |
| | १०. T omits तत् |
| | ११. G omits मध्य |

सन्निधिस्तु—आम्नानसन्निधिः, अनुष्ठानसन्निधिरिति द्विविधः । 'आद्येन
“शुन्ध्वं देव्याय कर्मणे देवयज्यायै” इति मन्त्रस्य महाप्रकरणावान्तरप्रकरण-
रहितस्य सान्नाय्यपात्रप्रोक्षणशेषता । द्वितीयेन पशुधर्माणामग्नीषोमीयशेषता ॥

समाख्या यौगिकी संज्ञा । सा लौकिकी वैदिकी चेति द्विविधा ।
होतृचमस इति वैदिकसमाख्यया होतृश्चमसभक्षणं प्रति, आध्वर्यवमिति
याज्ञिकप्रसिद्धलौकिकसमाख्यया अध्वर्योः अन्वाधानादिकं प्रति च कर्तृत्वेन
शेषता—इत्येवं शेषशेषिभावः सापवादः तृतीयाध्याये प्रपञ्चिता ॥

एवं सिद्धशेषशेषिभावानां कर्मणामनुष्ठानशक्तिरूपा प्रयुक्तिश्चतुर्थे
निरूपिता । शेष्येऽत्र शेषः प्रयुङ्क्ते स्वसिद्धयर्थमनुष्ठापयति, न त्वनुनिष्ठापयति ;
नापि शेषः शेषिणं प्रयुङ्क्ते । अनेकशेषिसङ्गावेऽपि यत्रान्यप्रयुक्तस्यैवान्यत्र
विनियोगः, तत्र यत्रप्रयुक्तस्यान्यत्र विनियोगः स एव शेषः प्रयुङ्क्ते, न तु
शेष्यपि सन्नन्योऽपि । एवं च “तप्ते पयसि दध्यानयति” इत्यादिवाक्ये
विधीयमानस्य दध्यानयनस्य द्विकर्मकस्य कर्मान्तराकाङ्क्षायां समभिव्याहृतं पयः
कर्मान्तरत्वेनान्वीयमानं सप्तम्याधिकरणत्वेन निर्दिष्टात् प्रधानकर्मतया पर्यवस्य-
तीति प्रकृतप्रधानभूतपयःपरामर्शना तत्पदेन सामानाधिकरण्येन निर्दिष्टतया
पयोरूपत्वेनावगतामिक्षैव शेषित्वात् स्वशेषभूतदध्यानयनमनुष्ठापयति । न तु
तदनुनिष्ठादि वाजिनमपीति आमिक्षाचचार एव ‘पयोऽन्तरे दध्यानयनस्य
प्रयुक्तिः, न वाजिनापचारे । “कृष्णविषाणया कण्डूयते” “चात्वाले
कृष्णविषाणां प्रासयति” इति कृष्णविषाणायाः कण्डूयनप्रासनरूपक्रियाद्वयान्वये
सत्यपि कृष्णविषाणा तृतीयया कण्डूयनं प्रति शेषः, प्रासनं प्रति तु

१. T omits अनुष्ठानसन्निधिः

६. G. विधेयं

२. T adds तत्र

७. T. यत्प्रयुक्त्यान्यत्र

३. G. वान्तरप्रकरणाभिहित

८. G. प्रयोगान्तरे दध्यानयनेन तस्य

४. T omits द्वितीयेन ... शेषता

९. G. कृष्णविषाणयेति

५. G. अवघातादिकं

१०. T omits तृतीयया

द्वितीयया शेषिणीति' निर्वृत्तकण्डूयनप्रयोजनार्थाः तस्याः प्रासनाद्यौगपचारे
प्रासनार्थं न पुनः कृष्णविषाणान्तरोपादानप्रयुक्तिः । “पुरोडाशकपालेन
तुषानुपवपति” इत्यत्र पुरोडाशप्रयुक्तस्यैव कपालस्य तुषोपवापं प्रत्यपि शेषत्वेन
विनियोगात् यत्र पुरोडाशो नास्ति न तत्र तुषोपवापार्थं कपालप्रयुक्तिः—इत्येवं
सापवादा प्रयुक्तिश्चतुर्थाध्याये प्रपञ्चिता ॥

एकप्रयोगान्तर्गतानामङ्गप्रधानानामनुष्ठानक्रमः पञ्चमाध्याये^१ श्रुत्यर्थादिभि-
र्निरूपितः । तत्र “अध्वर्युर्गृहपतिं दीक्षयित्वा ब्रह्माणं दीक्षयति” इत्यादि-
श्रुत्या गृहपत्यादीनामुन्नेत्रन्तानां सप्तदशानां सत्रे यजमानानां दीक्षाक्रमः ।
“अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति” “यवागूं पचति” इत्यत्र होमद्रव्यनिष्पत्त्यर्थयवागू-
पाकप्रयोजनरूपेणार्थेन पाकहोमयोः क्रमः । “समिधो यजति” इत्यादि-
विधिविहितानां प्रयाजादीनां विधिवाक्यपाठक्रमेण क्रमः । वाजपेये प्राजापत्यानां
पशूनां प्रतिपञ्चावर्तनीयेषूपकरणनियोजनादिषु उपाकरणे यतः कुतश्चित् पशो-
रारभ्य यत्र कश्चित् पशौ समापिते तेनैव प्रवृत्तिक्रमेण नियोजनादिक्रमः । सायस्के
क्रतौ “सह पशूनालभते” इति श्रुत्या सवनीयस्थान एवाग्नीषोमीयसवनीयानू-
बन्ध्यपशुत्रयस्यापि सह कर्तव्यतया प्राप्तौ सवनीयस्थानत्वेनैव प्रथमं सवनीयपशो-
रुपाकरणम्, अनन्तरमग्नीषोमीयानूबन्ध्ययोरिति क्रमः । दर्शे पुरोडाशसान्नाय्ययोः
मुख्यक्रमेण प्रयाजशेषाभिवारणक्रमः—इत्येवं^२ श्रुत्यादिभिः क्रमः सापवादः
प्रपञ्चितः ॥

एवं द्वितीये उत्पत्तिविधिप्रमेयस्य कर्मभेदस्य, तृतीये विनियोगविधि-
प्रमेयस्य शेषशेषिभावस्य, चतुर्थपञ्चमयोः प्रयोगविधिप्रमेययोः प्रयुक्तिक्रमयोश्च
निरूपणानन्तरं षष्ठेऽधिकारविधिप्रमेयः फलसम्बन्धो निरूपितः । तत्र स्वर्ग-

१. T. शेषीति

६. T omits श्रुत्यादिभिः

२. T. निर्वृत्त

७. T. स्थानेन

३. G. प्रयोजनकायाः

८. T. क्रमं श्रुत्यादिभिः सापवादः

४. T. पूर्वमपचारे

९. G. कार्यभेदस्य

५. G. तत्पुनः

कामादिपदं विधिप्रयोजनभूतपुरुषप्रवृत्त्यपेक्षितफलविशेषान्वयपरम्, न तु चन्द-
नौदिरूपयागादिद्रव्यसमर्पकम् । तच्च फलं स्वर्गकाम इत्याद्युद्देश्यगतलिङ्ग-
विशेषस्याविवक्षितत्वात् स्त्रीणामप्यविशिष्टम् । “ऋद्धिकामाः सत्र-
मासीरन्” इत्यत्रैकैकस्य कृत्स्नं फलम्, न तु परिषद्गतं फलमित्येकैकस्य
फलान्वयः—इत्येवमादिरूपेणाधिकारार्थः षष्ठे सापवादः प्रपञ्चितः ॥

एवं विधिचतुष्टयात्मकोपदेशविचारे पूर्वषट्केन कृते ततः परमध्याय-
चतुष्टयेनातिदेशविचारः क्रियते । ‘इत्थं कर्तव्यम्’ इति प्रतिपादनमुपदेशः ।
‘तद्वत्कर्तव्यम्’ इत्यतिदेशः । तत्र सप्तमाष्टमयोर्वचननामधेयचोदकैरतिदेशो निरू-
पितः । इषुनामके क्रतौ कांश्चिद्वैशेषिकान् धर्मान् विधायाम्नातेन “समानमितरच्छे-
नेन” इति प्रत्यक्षवचनेन ‘इयेनवैशेषिकाङ्गानामिषावतिदेशः ; “मासमग्निहोत्रं
जुहोति” इत्यत्र नित्याग्निहोत्रेऽग्निदेवताकत्वात् तावत्कलशशक्तिकेन तत्सादृश्य-
विधित्वाया कौण्डपायिनामयने कर्मणि प्रयुक्तेनाग्निहोत्रनामधेयेन तस्मिन्नित्याग्नि-
होत्रधर्माणामतिदेशश्च सापवादः सप्तमे पादत्रयेण निरूपितः ॥

चतुर्थपादेन “सौम्यं चरुं निर्वपेत्” इत्यादिष्वनुपदिष्टधर्मेषु प्रत्यक्ष-
वचनस्य नाम्नश्चातिदेशकस्याभावेऽपि कुतश्चिद्वैदिकात् कर्मणो धर्मप्राप्तिकं वचन-
मस्तीत्यानुमानिकवचनरूपेण चोदकेनातिदेशः सामान्यतो निरूपितः ॥

अष्टमे तु कस्य कुतो धर्मप्राप्तिरित्याकाङ्क्षायां शब्दार्थगतसादृश्यविशेष-
लिङ्गादिष्टीनां दर्शपूर्णमासतो धर्मप्राप्तिः, अग्नीषोमीयपशुतः पशूनाम्,
सवनीयादैकादशिनानाम्, ज्योतिष्टोमात् सोमानाम्, द्वादशाहादहर्गणानाम्,
गवामयनात् संवत्सरसत्राणाम्—इत्येवंरूपेण विशिष्टं चोदकातिदेशः सापवादः
प्रपञ्चितः ॥

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|--|---------------------------|
| १. G. प्रयोगभूत | ९. T omits क्रियते |
| २. T. पुरुषविशेष | १०. T omits प्रतिपादनं |
| ३. T. चन्दनरूपयागादि | ११. T omits इयेन |
| ४. T. ततश्च | १२. T. देवतासद्भावात् कलस |
| ५. T. इत्यादावेकैकस्य | १३. G. धर्मप्रापकं |
| ६. T. सापवादः षष्ठे | १४. T omits पशु |
| ७. G. चतुष्टयप्रमेयात्मचतुष्टयेनातिदेशविचारे | १५. G. omits विशिष्य |
| ८. T. चतुर्थेन | |

अतिदिष्टानां मन्त्रसामसंस्काराणां प्राकृतपदार्थकार्यापन्नवैकृतपदार्थान्तर-
सम्बन्धेनान्यथाभावरूप ऊहो नवमे चिन्तितः । प्राकृतपदार्थकार्यापत्तिः प्रत्यक्षेण
अनुमानेन[न, प्रत्यक्षवचनेन,] प्रत्यक्षवचनावगतप्राकृतनिवृत्त्यनुमितशब्देन,
प्रत्यक्षवचनावगतलिङ्गोन्नीतनिवृत्त्यनुमितशब्देन वावसीयते । “नैवारश्चरुः” इत्यत्र
प्राकृतव्रीहिकार्यहविर्निष्पादकत्वं प्रत्यक्षेणावसीयते, न तु नैवार इति तद्धितेन,
“तस्येदम्” इति सम्बन्धसामान्येऽण्प्रत्ययविधानात् तस्य प्रकृतिविकारभावै-
रूपसम्बन्धविशेषपर्यवासायित्वकल्पनायाः प्रत्यक्षाधीनत्वात् । नैर्ऋतं चरुं प्रकृत्त्यै
“कृष्णानां व्रीहीणां नखनिर्मिन्नम्” इत्यत्र श्रुतस्य नखस्य प्राकृतोद्धखलमुसलकार्या-
पत्तिः न प्रत्यक्षेणावसीयते । उद्धखलमुसलाम्यां व्रीहीणामवहननं निष्पद्यते, नखेन
‘निर्भेदनमिति प्रत्यक्षेण कार्यभेदस्यैव दर्शनात् ; किन्तु अवहननेनैव निर्भेदनेनापि
तुषविमोकात् तण्डुलनिष्पत्तिदर्शनेन प्राकृतावघातस्योद्धखलमुसलकार्यतायां यद्रूपं
विवक्षितं तण्डुलनिष्पत्तिद्वारेणापूर्वोपयोगिक्रियात्वं तन्निर्भेदनेऽपि समानमिति
तेन रूपेणावहनननिर्भेदनयोरैक्यस्थानेयत्वात् कार्यपत्तिरनुमानेनावसीयते ।
“परिधौ पशुं नियुञ्जीत” इत्यत्र प्राकृतपशुकार्ये पशुनियोजने परिधेर्विनियोगः
प्रत्यक्षवचनेनाभिधीयते । “न गिरा गिरेति ब्रूयादैरं कृत्वोद्वेयम्” इत्यत्र गिरा-
पदोक्तिप्रतिषेधावगतया गिरापदनिवृत्त्या तत्कार्यस्य साधनापेक्षत्वावगमात्तत्कार्य-
वाचिपदमनुमाय ‘गिरापदकार्यार्थमैरं कृत्वोद्वेयम्’ इत्येवंरूपेण श्रुतानुमितैकदेश-
निष्पादितेन वाक्येन गिरापदकार्यपत्तिरिरापदस्यावसीयते । “यस्योभयं हविरार्ति-
माच्छेदैर्द्रं पञ्चशरावमोदनं निर्वपेत्” इत्यत्र पञ्चशरावद्रव्यकस्य यागस्यैव दर्शकार्या-
पत्तौ दर्शनिवृत्तिर्न प्रत्यक्षवचनादवगम्यते ; किन्तु द्रव्यनाशादवगम्यते[दुर्नीयते] ।

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|---|-----------------------------------|
| १. G omits प्रकृत...पत्तिः and
adds तत्र | ६. T adds तेषां |
| २. T omits न तु | ७. T omits तण्डुल...विवक्षितम् |
| ३. G. भावसम्बन्ध | ८. T. प्राग्यूपकार्ये |
| ४. G omits प्रकृत्य and reads
in its place निर्वृत्यै चरुं | ९. T omits इत्यत्र...कृत्वोद्वेयं |
| ५. G. निष्पद्यते | १०. G omits वाक्येन |
| | ११. T adds च |
| | १२. G. दनुष्ठीयते |

तन्निवृत्तौ तत्कार्यस्य साधनापेक्षतया तद्वाचिपदमनुमाय 'दर्शकार्यार्थमैन्द्रं पञ्चशरावमोदनं निर्वपेत्' इति श्रुतानुमितैकदेशनिष्पाद्येन वाक्येन पञ्चशरावयागस्य दर्शकार्यापत्तिरवसीयते । "स प्रत्यामनेत्स्थानात्" इति षष्ठाध्यायाधिकरणपूर्वपक्ष-रीत्येदमुदाहरणम् । सिद्धान्ते^१ द्रव्यापचारे द्रव्यान्तरानयनेन दर्शनिष्पत्तेर्न तन्निवृत्त्युत्पन्नमस्तीत्युदाहरणान्तरमन्वेषणीयम् ॥

एवं कार्यापत्त्या ब्रीहिधर्माणामवघातादीनां नीवारेषु, उद्धखलमुसलधर्माणां प्रोक्षणादीनां नखेषु, यूपधर्माणां परिव्याणादीनां परिधौ चोहः संस्कारोहः, दर्शधर्माणां सिद्धान्ते नास्त्यूहः पञ्चशरावयागे । गिरापदगतगीतिक्रियार्यो इरापदे ऊहः सामोहः । मन्त्रोहस्त्वष्ट्रविधः—कचित् प्रकृतिमात्रमूह्यते, यथा "अग्नये जुष्टम्" इति मन्त्रे सौर्यं चरुं प्राप्ते "सूर्याय जुष्टम्" इति ; क्वचिल्लिङ्गमात्रमूह्यते, यथा "वस्यसि रुद्रासि" इत्येकहायनीमन्त्रे विकृतिविशेषविहितं सोमक्रयणं वत्सं प्राप्ते "वसुरसि रुद्रोऽसि" इति ; क्वचिद्वचनमात्रमूह्यते, यथा "छागस्य वपाया मेदसः" इति मन्त्रे प्राजापत्यान् पशून् प्राप्ते "छागानाम्" इति ; क्वचित् प्रकृतिर्लिङ्गं चोह्यते, यथा तस्मिन्नेव "अग्नये जुष्टं निर्वपामि" इति मन्त्रे आदित्यं चरुं प्राप्ते "अदित्यै जुष्टम्" इति ; क्वचित् प्रकृतिः वचनं चोह्यते, यथा तस्मिन्नेव मन्त्रे वैश्वदेवं चरुं प्राप्ते "विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः" इति ; क्वचिल्लिङ्गं वचनं चोह्यते, यथा "प्रास्मा अग्निं भरत" इति मन्त्रे "मल्हा आलभेत" इति विहितान् पशून् प्राप्ते "प्राभ्योऽग्निम्" इति ; क्वचित् त्रीण्यप्यूह्यन्ते, यथा "आपो देवीः" इति मन्त्रे "आज्यं प्रोक्षणम्" इति सोमारौद्रचरौ विहितं घृतं प्राप्ते "घृतं देव" इति ; क्वचित् सकलस्य पदस्याभ्यासरूप ऊहः, यथा "एकधास्य त्वचमाच्छ्व-

१. T. पेक्षया

२. T. प्रत्यमाने

३. T. adds तु

४. G. क्रियायामिरापदे

५. Both G and T read दर्श...यागे

after समोहः G दर्शधर्माणां तु

६. G. "अग्नये जुष्टं निर्वपामि" इत्यत्राग्नि-

स्थाने सौर्यचरौ "सूर्याय" इति

७. T. omits तस्मिन्नेव

८. T. omits निर्वपामीति मन्त्रे

९. T. adds मन्त्रे

१०. T. विहितं पशुं

११. G. मन्त्रेण

१२. G. घृतं देवं

तात्" इति मन्त्रे पशुगणं प्राप्ते "एकधैकधा" इति । एवमूहः सापवादो नवमे प्रपञ्चितः ॥

एवमातिदेशिकपदार्थगतरूपान्तरात्मकोहनिरूपणानन्तरं तन्निवृत्त्यात्मको बाधो दशमे निरूपितः । निवृत्तिश्च कस्यचित् कचिदतिदेशवाक्यप्रवृत्तिकाले प्रकृतावविज्ञातत्वेन तद्वाह्यत्वासंभवात्, यथा दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गभूताया आरम्भणीयायाः[याः आम्भणीयायाम्] । न ह्यारम्भणीयाविधानसमये दर्शपूर्णमासयोरारम्भणीयाङ्गमिति विज्ञातम्, येन सापि प्रयाजादिवदतिदेशवाक्येन^१ गुह्येत ; कस्यचिदतिदेशवाक्यप्रवृत्तिकाले प्रकृतौ विज्ञातस्याप्य-सम्भवान्निवृत्तिः, यथा पवमानेष्टावग्निहोत्रहवण्याः । यथाग्निहोत्रं हुतं साग्निहोत्रहवणी प्रकृतौ "अग्निहोत्रहवण्या हवींषि निर्वपति" इति निर्वापकरणत्वेन ग्राह्येति स्थितम् । न च पवमानेष्टिसमयेऽग्निहोत्रं हुतम् । क्वचित् द्वारलोपान्निवृत्तिः तत्र द्वारलोपः क्वचित् द्वारस्याभिमतस्य स्वतः सिद्धतया, यथा कृष्णलेष्ववघातद्वारस्य वैतुष्यस्य स्वतः सिद्धतयाव-घातस्य निवृत्तिः ; क्वचित् पूर्वसिद्धतया, यथा "खलेवाली यूपो भवति" इत्यत्र खलेवाल्याः प्रागेव च्छित्वा तक्षणेन श्लक्ष्णीकृत्य निखातायाः छेदन-तक्षणेच्छूर्णणादीनां निवृत्तिः ; क्वचित् द्वारसंपादनाशक्त्या । यथा—प्राशिन्नेडा-भक्षणार्थेषु कृष्णलेषु अभिघारणजन्योपकारस्य स्वादिन्नः संपादयितुमशक्यत्वात् अभिघारेणस्य ; क्वचित् सिद्धशेषिविरोधान्निवृत्तिः, यथा—आग्रयणदक्षिणा-रूपे वत्सेऽन्वाहार्यधर्मस्य पाकस्य । पाके हि कृते वत्सो नश्येत् ; तन्मांसमेव दक्षिणा स्यात् । क्वचित् साध्यशेषिविरोधात् तन्निवृत्तिः, यथा "बार्हस्पत्यो नैवारः

१. T. विचिन्तितः

२. T. विधिसमये

३. T. देशवाक्येन

४. T. प्रवृत्तौ

५. T. अत्र निर्वापे करणत्वेन

६. G. Space is left out for writing द्वारस्य

७. T. प्रागेव खलेवाल्याः

८. T. उच्छूर्णणातां

९. G. अभिघारणनिवृत्तिः

१०. G. Space is left out for writing णदक्षि

११. T. omits तत्

सप्तदशशरावः चरुर्भवति” इत्यत्र निर्वाप्येषु “चतुरो मुष्टीनिर्वपति” इत्यति-
देशप्राप्तस्य चतुर्मुष्टिपरिमाणस्य सप्तदशपरिमाणचरुरूपसाध्यशेषविरोधित्वात्
संख्यामुष्ट्योरन्यतरबाधावश्यभावे जघन्यत्वान्मुष्टिनिवृत्तिः ; कचिद्विरोधाभावेऽपि
प्रयोजनभावाविनवृत्तिः, यथा आप्रयणदक्षिणारूपे वाससि पाकस्य । प्रकृतौ
हि अन्वाहार्यरूपदक्षिणाद्रव्यनिष्पत्त्यर्थम् “दक्षिणाम्रावपरिमितं महान्तमोदनं
पचति” इति पाको विहितः । इह दक्षिणाद्रव्ये वाससि प्रागेव निष्पन्ने स्थिते
तन्निष्पत्त्यनुपयोगिना किं पाकेन ॥

द्वारलोपानिवृत्तिरित्यत्र द्वारशब्देन यद्द्वारतया फलतया वा प्रयोजनं
तत्सर्वं विवक्षितम् । तेन मृते यजमाने क्रियमाणायामिष्टौ “आयुराशास्ते”
इत्यादिमन्त्राणां विवक्षितफलानां मृतयजमानस्यायुरादिफललोपानिवृत्तिरप्यु-
दाहरणमित्यादि द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

कचित् प्रत्याम्नानात् प्राकृतपदार्थानां निवृत्तिः । साप्यनेकविधा । कचि-
दुपदिष्टपदार्थविरोधानिवृत्तिः, यथा—“औदुम्बरो यूपो भवति” इति वैकृतैपशौ
अतिदेशप्राप्तयूपोद्देशेन उदुम्बररूपप्रकृतिद्रव्यविधानात् उदुम्बरप्रकृतिके यूपे
प्राकृतस्य बिल्वपलाशादेः विरोधेन प्रकृतित्वासम्भवानिवृत्तिः ; कचिदुपदिष्ट-
पदार्थगतश्रुतनैरपेक्ष्यविरोधानिवृत्तिः, यथा—“नैवारश्चरुर्भवति” इत्यत्र
नीवारप्रकृतिके चरौ त्रैहतण्डुलानामपि मिश्रणेन प्रकृतित्वसम्भवेऽपि नीवारशब्दपर-

१. T. निर्वापेषु

२. T. देशप्राप्तसप्तदशशरावपरिमाण-

३. T. मुष्टेः

४. G. Space is left out for
writing योजनाभावात्

५. T. प्रवृत्तौ

६. G. Space is left out for
writing पच...दक्षिणा

७. G. adds यदा

८. G. तत्सर्वमपि वि...तमनेन

९. G. इति

१०. T. द्रव्येष्टौ

११. T. पदार्थनिवृत्तिः

१२. G. दैक्षपशौ

१३. T. औदुम्बरयूप

१४. T. विधौ

१५. T. omits पदार्थ

तद्वितोत्पत्त्यवगतनैरपेक्ष्यविरोधात् ब्रीहीणां निवृत्तिः । नीवाराणां ब्रीहिसापेक्षाणां
चरुप्रकृतित्वे हि सापेक्षमसमर्थमिति असमर्थात् तद्वितोत्पत्तिः न स्यात् । कचि-
दविरोधेऽपि नैरपेक्ष्यानिवृत्तिः, यथा—आप्रयणे “वासो दक्षिणा” “वत्सः
प्रथमजो दक्षिणा” इति श्रुताभ्यां वासोवत्साभ्याम् ऋत्विजामानतौ तयोरन्वा-
हार्यनिरपेक्षकारणत्वात् प्राकृतान्वाहार्यदक्षिणाया निवृत्तिः ; कचिनैरपेक्ष्या-
भावेऽपि नियमवशात् निवृत्तिः, यथा—ऋतपेये “औदुम्बरसोमचमसो दक्षिणा
सप्रियाय सगोत्राय ब्रह्मणे देयः” इति श्रुतेन सोमचमसेन केवलं ब्रह्मणे
दत्तेन लौकिकोपायान्तरमनपेक्ष्य ऋत्विजामानतैरसम्भवेऽपि श्रुतनियमविधिवशात्
प्राकृतद्वादशशतदक्षिणाया निवृत्तिरित्युदाहरणीयम् ॥

कचित् प्रतिषेधात् प्राकृतपदार्थनिवृत्तिः । प्रतिषेधशब्देनात्र यः
कश्चित् प्राकृतपदार्थनिवृत्तिर्परो विधिः स सर्वोऽपि विवक्षितः । तेन महापितृयज्ञे
“नार्षेयं वृणते” इत्यनेन आर्षेयवरणवर्जं प्रकृतिवत् कुर्यात् इति पर्युदासेन या
तस्मिन्नार्षेयवरणनिवृत्तिः “न तौ पशौ करोति” इति आज्यभागनिषेधार्था पशा-
वाज्यभागनिवृत्तिः, “आज्यभागौ यजति” इति अपूर्वतापरविधिना आज्यभागयोः
या गृहमेधीये निवृत्तिः सा सर्वप्यत्रोदाहरणम् । एवं च दर्शपूर्णमासयोः “कपालेषु
श्रपयति” इति वाक्यस्य तण्डुलहविष्केषु चित्रादिषु ब्रीह्युपादाननिवृत्तेरेव
फलत्वात् साप्यत्रोदाहरणम् । यथा च “कपालेषु श्रपयति” इति विधेः तण्डुल-
हविष्कासु विकृतिषु प्रकृतिद्रव्योपादाननिवृत्तिरेव फलम्, तथा प्रपञ्चेन प्रसाधि-
तमस्माभिः विधिरसायने ॥

१. G. तद्वितानुत्पादात्

२. T. प्राकृतान्वाहार्ये

३. G. नतेः

४. T. प्राकृत्या

५. T. उदाहार्यम्

६. T. निवृत्तिफलको

७. G. Space is left out for
writing नार्षे...वृत्तिः

८. T. निषेधात्

९. G. करोति

१०. T. भागानां

११. T. omits सर्वा

१२. G. omits एवं च

१३. G. Space is left out for
writing लेषु...विधेः

१४. T. omits प्रपञ्चेन

एवमुपदेशविषये अतिदेशविषये च पृथङ्निरूपणीयेषु निरूपितेषु तदुभयसाधारणयोः तन्त्रप्रसङ्गयोः निरूपणीययोः एकादशे तन्त्रं निरूपितम् । तत्त्रिविधम्—फलतन्त्रम्, पदार्थतन्त्रम्, अनुष्ठानतन्त्रम् चेति । “दर्शपूर्ण-मासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत” इत्यत्रै फलमुद्दिश्योपादीयमानानां आग्नेयादीनां षण्णां द्वन्द्वावगतम्, “राजसूयेन स्वराज्यकामो यजेत” इत्यत्र बहूनामिष्टि-पशुसोमानामेकेन नाम्नोपादानात् तन्त्राभिधानावगतं च साहित्यं विवक्षितमिति सहितानां फलान्वयात् आग्नेयादीनां षण्णां फलं राजसूयनामगृहीतानां च फलं साधारणम् । तदेतत् फलतन्त्रम् ॥

“समे दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत” “पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमास्या यजेत” “दर्शपूर्णमासयोः चत्वार ऋत्विजः” इति विहिता देशकालकर्तार एकफल-साधनानां कर्मणां यथायोगं साधारणा इत्येतत्पदार्थतन्त्रम् ॥

एकफलानामेकदेशकालकर्तृकाणां यदङ्गभूतप्रयाजाद्यनुष्ठानं साधारणं तदनुष्ठानतन्त्रम् । फलैक्येऽपि यत्र देशकालकर्तृणामन्यतमस्यापि भेदः तत्र प्रति-प्रधानमङ्गानुष्ठानावृत्तिलक्षणः आवापः । तत्र द्वादशाहे द्वादशानां सोमयागानां द्वादशस्वहस्तु कर्तव्यानां कालभेदात् सुत्याकालकर्तव्यसवनीयपशुप्रभृत्यङ्गानुष्ठानावृत्तिः, वरुणप्रघासेषु नवहविष्कायामिष्टौ विहारद्वयं विधाय “अष्टाव-ध्वर्युरुत्तरे विहारे हवींष्यासादयति मारुतीमेव प्रतिप्रस्थाता दक्षिणस्मिन्” इति देशभेदविधानात् तत्र तत्र देशेऽष्टानां हविषां मारुत्याश्चाङ्गानुष्ठानं भिद्यत इति देशभेदेन तदावृत्तिः ; तत्रैव “गार्हपत्ये पत्नीसंयाजान् जुहोति” इति विहितानाम् आपराग्निकहोमानां देशकालैक्येऽपि अध्वर्युप्रतिप्रस्थातृरूप-

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| १. G. विषयेष्वतिदेशविषयेषु च | after आग्नेयादीनां षण्णां |
| २. G. अनुष्ठानतन्त्रं पदार्थतन्त्रं चेति | ५. T. नाम्ना तन्त्रा |
| ३. T. adds बहूनाम् एकं | ६. G. आपराह्निक |
| ४. T. राज...नावगतं is written | |

कर्तृभेदात् भेदः । यत्र कर्तृत्वाधिष्ठानाभेदेऽपि कर्तृकारकभेदः तत्रापि प्रयोगभेदेन अङ्गानुष्ठानावृत्तिरेव, यथा “अग्नावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं निर्वपति वामनो वही दक्षिणा” “सोमापौष्णं चरुं निर्वपति श्यामो दक्षिणा” इत्यादिवाक्यविहितेषु राजसूयान्तर्गतयागेषु देशकालफलभेदाप्रतीतावपि वामनानतैः आग्नावैष्णवयागः कर्तव्यः ; श्यामानतैः सोमापौष्णः चरुः कर्तव्य इत्येवं दक्षिणाव्यवस्थया तद्भेदात् कर्तृरूपं भिद्यत इति तर्तः [इत्यतः] प्रतियागप्रयोग-भेदात् अङ्गानुष्ठानावृत्तिः । यानि तु कालभेदेन कर्तव्यानामपि प्रधानानां कर्मकालाद्यङ्गानि तान्यगृह्यमाणविशेषत्वात् सर्वेषां तन्त्रं भजन्ति, यथा ज्योतिष्टोमे अग्नीषोमीयसवनीयानूबन्ध्यपशूनाम् “दीक्षासु यूपं छिनत्ति” इति दीक्षाकालकर्तव्यत्वेन विहितो यूपः ; यथा द्वादशाहे द्वादशानां सोम-यागानामहर्भेदेन कर्तव्यानां दीक्षोपसदादय इत्येवं सापवादं तन्त्रमेकादशे निरूपितम् ॥

द्वादशे प्रसङ्गो निरूपितः । अन्यार्थेनान्यस्य तत्प्रयुक्तिशक्त्युपकारः प्रसङ्गः—यथा भोजनाय प्रथममागतस्याचार्यस्य कृतेन सूपापूपादिना पश्चादागतस्य स्वयमाचार्यनैरपेक्षेयापि सूपापूपादिप्रयुक्तिशक्तस्य जामातुरूपकारः । यत्तु अन्या-र्थेन स्वयं तत्प्रयुक्तिशक्तिरहितमुपक्रियते तन्न प्रसङ्गः ; किन्तु आचार्यार्थकृत-सूपाद्युपक्रियमाणपरिचारकादिवत् तदुपजीव्यप्रयोजकम्, यथा ध्यानयनेन उपक्रियमाणं वाजिनम् । पुरोडाशकपालं प्रति तुषोपवापस्य शेषित्वे सत्यपि न तत्प्रयुक्तिशक्तिः पुरोडाशकपालेनेति सविशेषणोपादानेनान्यप्रयुक्त्युप-जीवित्वाविष्करणात् । स च प्रसङ्गः त्रिविधः—अनुष्ठानप्रसङ्गः पदार्थप्रसङ्गः

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| १. T. प्रयोगभेदादङ्गानामावृत्तिरेव | writing सर्वेषां तन्त्रं |
| २. G. वाक्येषु | ७. T. इत्येवं रूपेण |
| ३. G. व्यवस्थितया | ८. T. शक्तिकस्य |
| ४. G. Space is left out for writing ततः... अङ्गा | ९. T. शक्तिकस्य |
| ५. T. प्रधानकर्मणा कर्म- | १०. T. प्रयोजनं |
| ६. G. Space is left out for writing नान्य... प्रसङ्गः | ११. G. Space is left out for writing नान्य... प्रसङ्गः |

शास्त्रप्रसङ्गश्चेति । तत्र पञ्चम्यप्रयाजाद्यनुष्ठानेन पशुपुरोडाशाद्युपकारोऽनुष्ठान-
प्रसङ्गः ; सौमिक्या वेद्या सोमान्तर्गतेष्टिपशूनामुपकारः पदार्थप्रसङ्गः ;
“याजनादिभिः ब्राह्मणो धनमार्जयेत्” इति द्रव्यार्जनशास्त्रेण ज्योति-
ष्टोमादिशास्त्रस्य ऋत्विगपेक्षस्याविशेषेण त्रैवर्णिकानामार्थिज्यमाक्षेप्तुं प्रवृत्तस्योप-
कारः शास्त्रप्रसङ्गः—इत्येवमादिरूपेण द्वादशे सापवादः प्रसङ्गो निरूपितः ॥

इति धर्ममीमांसासारसङ्ग्रहव्याख्या परिभाषा
पूर्वमीमांसाविषयसङ्ग्रहदीपिका
अप्ययदीक्षितकृता
॥ समाप्ता ॥

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GUṆA VIṢṆU AND SĀYAṆA¹

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH,
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Guṇaviṣṇu is the author of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*, a good edition of which has been brought out recently (in 1930) at Calcutta (Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad Series, No. 19) by Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya. It is said by the editor, on p. xxxv of his *Introduction*, that two other works also, a commentary on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa* and another on the mantras occurring in the *Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra*, have been written by Guṇaviṣṇu; but of the last-named work no copy has yet come to light, and it is therefore very doubtful if Guṇaviṣṇu ever wrote such a work.

One remarkable fact in connection with the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* is the close verbal agreement that is observable between the explanations given by Guṇaviṣṇu of some mantras and those given by Sāyaṇa, in respect of the same mantras, in his commentary on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*. Prof. Bhattacharya has drawn attention to this matter on p. xxvii ff. of the above-mentioned *Introduction*, and has given on p. xxviii three examples of such agreement. I give here three other examples²:

1. Paper read at the 8th All-India Oriental Conference, (Vedic section) at Mysore, on 31st December 1935.

2. That there is close verbal agreement between Sāyaṇa's and Guṇaviṣṇu's explanations of these three mantras, has already been mentioned by Joergensen on p. viii of the introduction to his edition of the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda*; see p. xxix of Prof. Bhattacharya's introduction to his edition of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*.

Sāyaṇa's bhāṣya¹ on
SM Br., 2, 4, 2-4:

इमं स्तोममित्यनेन जागतेन कौत्सोऽग्नि-
मस्तौत् । पृष्ठस्य षडहस्य षष्ठेऽहनि
आग्निमास्ते शस्त्रे विनियोगः ।

इमं स्तोमं वयं सम्महेम । मह
पूजायाम् । सम्यक् पूजोपकरणयुक्तं कुर्मः ।
जातवेदसे जातवियो वा जातधनो वा
जातप्रज्ञो वा जातवेदाः तदर्थम् । किं-
भूताय । अर्हते स्तुतियोग्याय । कया ।
मनीषया प्रज्ञया रथमिव सारथिः ।
हि यस्मात् कारणात् नः अस्माकम्
अस्य अग्नेः सकाशात् प्रसादा-
द्वा भद्रा कल्याणी सुखा वा प्रमत्तिः
प्रकृष्टा बुद्धिः संसदि जनसमाजे जायते
यथा वयमपि स्तोत्रं जानीमः । तस्माद्धे
अग्ने यस्त्वमेवंभूतः तस्य तव सख्ये
मित्रत्वे स्थिता वयं केनचिद् दुरात्मना
मा रिषाम मा हिंसिष्येत्येतादशास्यम् ।

Guṇaviṣṇu's bhāṣya on Chāndo-
gyamantra-pāṭha², 1, 7-9:

जगतीत्रयमिदम्, कौत्स ऋषिः, अग्नि-
देवता, पृष्ठस्य षडहस्य षष्ठेऽहनि आग्नि-
मास्ते शस्त्रे परिसमूहने च विनियोगः
तथा च गृह्यम् (गो. ४, ४, ५) “इमं
भराम शक्नेमेति परिसमूहेत्” । इमं स्तोमं
स्तवं वयं सम्महेम, मह पूजायाम्, सम्यक्
पूजोपकरणयुक्तं कुर्याम । कस्मै ।
जातवेदसे जातवियो वा जातधनो वा
जातविज्ञानो वा जातवेदाः तस्मै ।
किंभूताय । अर्हते स्तुतियोग्याय ।
कया । मनीषया प्रज्ञया । रथमिव
सारथिरित्यध्याहार्यम् । हि यस्मात्
नः अस्माकम् अस्य अग्नेः सकाशात् भद्रा
कल्याणी मुख्या वा³ प्रमत्तिः प्रकृष्टा बुद्धिः
संसदि जनसमाजे जायते यथा वयमपि
स्तोत्रं जानीमः । तस्मात् हे अग्ने यस्त्व-
मेवंभूतस्तस्य तव सख्ये मित्रत्वे स्थिता

1. As the editions of Stoenner and Joergensen of Chaps. I and II of the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* of the Sāmaveda are not accessible to me, I have here reproduced the text of Sāyaṇa's commentary that is contained in a ms. of the Mysore Oriental Library. This ms. (no. B 827) is written on paper, and is a copy made for the library by a copyist. As the reading of this ms. agrees essentially with that found in two other palm-leaf mss. of the same library, one can assume that it is a faithful representative of the commentary written by Sāyaṇa. There are many corruptions and omissions in all the three mss. In the passages reproduced by me, obvious corruptions have been emended whenever it has been possible to do so.

2. I shall make use of this name when referring to the collection of mantras that have been explained by Guṇaviṣṇu in his *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*.

3. This is without doubt a corruption for *sukha*; compare Sāyaṇa's explanation.

सम्महेमा रिषामेति च मकाररेफयोः
लघ्वोः परतः “एकादशिद्वादशिनो-
र्लघावष्टममक्षरम्¹”, इति शौनकवचनात्
[ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य, 8, 21; sūtra 523
in Max Muller's edition]
दीर्घत्वम् । पाणिनिनापि “अन्येषामपि
दृश्यते” इति दीर्घः ॥ 2.

भरामेधमम् । हे अग्ने त्वदर्थ-
मिधमम् । अग्निसमिन्धनं काष्ठमिध-
मित्युच्यते । तमिधमं भराम आह-
राम । हवींषि च चर्वादीनि
पर्वणा पर्वणा पर्वणि पर्वणि चितयन्तः
जनयन्तः वयं कृणवाम सम्पादयाम इति
यावत् । तथा च श्रुतिः “अमावास्याया-
ममावास्यायेन यजेत पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमासेन
यजेत” इति । किमर्थम् । प्रतराम्
अत्यन्तं दीर्घकालं जीवातवे जीवनाय
“तुमर्थे सेसेन्” इति जीवतेस्तवेन्-
प्रत्ययः । किं च हे अग्ने साधयधियः ।
धीरिति कर्मनामगणे पठ्यते । तेनेद-
मुक्तं भवति । अस्माभिः क्रियमाणानि
कर्माणि साधय निष्पादय सफलानि
कुर्वित्यर्थः । साधयेति यकारस्य शौनक-
वचनात्² दीर्घत्वम् । कृणवामेति च
मकारस्य हकारे परतः³ पूर्वदीर्घत्वम् ॥ 3.

वयं केनचिद् दुरात्मना मा रिषाम
मा हिंसिष्यहि तदाशास्यते । सम्महेमेति ।
रिषामेति चात्र “अन्येषामपि दृश्यते”
इति दीर्घः ॥ 7.

हे अग्ने त्वदर्थम् इधमं यज्ञदाह भराम
आहराम । हवींषि चरुप्रभृतीनि पर्वणा
पर्वणा पर्वणि पर्वणि वयं कृणवाम
संपादयाम निर्वपामेति यावत् । तथा च
श्रुतिः “अमावास्यायाममावास्यायेन यजेत
पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमासेन” इति । किमर्थम् ।
प्रतराम् अतिशयेन प्रकृष्टं सुदीर्घकालं
जीवातवे जीवनाय । किं च । साधय
धियः । धीरिति कर्मणो नाम । तेनैत-
दुक्तं भवति । अस्माभिः क्रियमाणानि
कर्माणि साधय सफलानि कुरु इत्यर्थः ।
भरामेति “दृष्टहोर्भस्त्रन्दसि” इति
हकारस्य भकारः । पर्वणा पर्वणेति
“सुपां सुलुक्” इत्यादिना सप्तम्या
आल् । कृणवाम इति साधया इति
“अन्येषामपि दृश्यते” इति
दीर्घः ॥ 8.

हे अग्ने त्वम् अस्माकं धियः कर्माणि
बुद्धीर्वा साधय त्वदाराधनयोग्या
निष्पादय, यथा वयं त्वा त्वां समिधं
शक्नेम परिचरितुं शक्नुयाम । ते त्वयि
आहुतं हविः देवाः इन्द्रादयः अदन्ति

1. The ms. has here the corrupt reading *etau dvādaśa-
dvādaśino lyabdhō nāvāṣṭamam akārākṣaram*.

2. Śaunaka's rule that is referred to here is sūtra 525 (8,22) of the *Rk-prātiśākhya*: *daśamam caitayor evam*, and not sūtra 523 which has been cited above. It is probable, therefore, that the text here is corrupt and that Sāyaṇa actually cited this sūtra too here.

3. There is no rule in the *Rk-prātiśākhya* that enjoins the lengthening of a short *a* (or other short vowel) when *ha* follows, and I do not know to what rule, of that or other similar work, Sāyaṇa is here referring.

शकेम त्वा । हे भगवन् हे अग्ने त्वं भक्षयन्ति, त्वन्मुखत्वात्तेषाम् । अतस्त्वं धियः कर्माणि बुद्धीर्वा साधय त्वदारा-धनयोग्यानि निष्पादय । येन त्वा त्वां वाहय, हि यस्मात् तान् आदित्यान् वयम् उश्मसि कामयामहे उद्देश्यत्वेन इच्छामः । अग्ने सख्ये मा रिषाम वयं तव इति सर्वत्र तुल्यम् । शकेम इति “लिङ्ग्याशि-ष्यङ्” । समिधमिति तुमर्थे “शक्ति णमुल्कमुलौ” इति कमुल् । साधया इति “अन्येषामपि” इति दीर्घः । ते इति सप्तम्यर्थे षष्ठी । आदित्यौ, तौ इति “दीर्घा-दटि समानपादे” इति इत्वं यलोपः । “आतोऽटि नित्यम्” इत्यनुनासिकः । उश्मसि इति वश कान्तौ, “ग्रहि” इत्यादिसूत्रेण सम्प्रसारणम्, “इदन्तो मसि” इति इकारान्तता ॥ 9.

These examples make it plain that the verbal agreement observable in them is due, not to mere accident, but to conscious borrowing; that is to say, they make it clear that either Guṇaviṣṇu has borrowed his explanations from Sāyaṇa, or Sāyaṇa has borrowed his from Guṇaviṣṇu. It is the opinion of Prof. Bhattacharya (*op. cit.*, Intr., p. xxx) that the latter is the case, that the borrower is Sāyaṇa, and that Guṇaviṣṇu lived about two hundred years before Sāyaṇa;¹ and he has given the following reasons in support of that opinion:

(a) The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Parameśvara Jha, in the introduction (p. 174) to the edition of Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* published by him in Śaka 1828 at Darbhanga, has referred to a tradition which connects Guṇaviṣṇu with the court of King Ballālasena and his son Lakṣmaṇasena. According to this tradition, Guṇaviṣṇu flourished in the first half

1. This opinion (*viz.*, that Guṇaviṣṇu is anterior to Sāyaṇa) has been repeated, on the one hand, by Pandit Bhagavad Datta in his *Vaidika Vālmayakā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, Part I, and by others also; on the other hand, Pandit Dakṣiṇācaraṇa Bhattacharya has anticipated Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya by giving expression to the same opinion on p. iv of the introduction to his edition of Aniruddha's *Pitṛdayitā* (no. 6 of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad Series, Calcutta).

of the 12th century A. D. and was about 200 years earlier than Sāyaṇa.

(b) Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, who lived in the first half of the 17th century A. D., has referred more than once to Guṇaviṣṇu and Aniruddha in such a manner as to suggest that the *Pitṛdayitā* of Aniruddha and the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu were written by them in execution of a common plan, the former dealing with the ritualistic application of mantras, and the latter with the explanation of their meaning. Compare for instance the passages *Aniruddha-likhitā Guṇaviṣṇu-dhṛtaḥ*; *Aniruddha-likhitam Guṇaviṣṇunā vyākhyātam* and *tena likhitam vyākhyātam ca Guṇaviṣṇunā* that occur in his *Dhārmika-karma-rahasya*. Aniruddha was the *guru* of King Ballālasena, and Guṇaviṣṇu adorned the court of that king as also that of his son Lakṣmaṇasena. Hence Guṇaviṣṇu must have been a junior contemporary of Aniruddha, and must have flourished in the first half of the 12th century A. D.

(c) Halāyudha, author of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, has said of himself in that work that he was a Mahādharmaśāstra in the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena. Many of the mantras that he cites and explains in that work are explained in the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu also; and in the case of more than a hundred mantras, the explanations of Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu are identical or nearly so. Now although Halāyudha does not anywhere mention the name of Guṇaviṣṇu, it is shown by the following considerations that he has borrowed his explanations from the latter:

i. While commenting on a mantra in the section on *Garbhādhāna*, Halāyudha has said that it is omitted by some (*kaiś cin nādriyate*; p. 185 of T. Vidyānanda's edition of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*). Now this mantra does not, in fact, occur in the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* commented on by Guṇaviṣṇu, and it is, therefore, very probable that the reference is to him.

ii. In connection with the particular reading of a mantra, Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati has said in his *Sāmaga-mantra-vyākhyāna*: *kva cil tu Guṇaviṣṇu-pustake chāndasaḥ aster ādi-lopa iti pāṭhaḥ; na tu Halāyudhādi-śiṣṭa-parigrhītaḥ*. “This reading of Guṇaviṣṇu has not been adopted by scholars like Halāyudha”; and this shows that he regards Guṇaviṣṇu as earlier than Halāyudha.

(d) There are references, implicit, however, and not explicit, to Guṇaviṣṇu in Sāyaṇa's commentary itself on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*. In his explanation of 1, 2, 18 and 2, 6, 1 of that work, Sāyaṇa has referred to the opinion of 'other commentator (s)' in the following words: *ke cid adur maṅgalir iti pada-dvayaṃ kṛtvā yatas tvāṃ maṅgalavatyo yoṣitaḥ prādur iti yojayanti* and *ke cij juhōtīti paṭhanti | tasmin pakṣe laukikoktiḥ | yasmāj juhomi ato varam vṛṇe*. If one compares them with Guṇaviṣṇu's explanations of the same mantras (*Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* 3, 46 and 2, 25): *yataḥ maṅgalīḥ maṅgalavatyo devatāḥ tvām mahyam aduḥ dattavatyaḥ* and *ahaṃ hotā juhomi | yaḥ kaścid asmai...juhoti... asmai dadāti | yasmād evam ato 'haṃ varam vṛṇe*, it becomes evident that it is Guṇaviṣṇu who is referred to by Sāyaṇa in these passages as *ke cit*.

These reasons, opines Prof. Bhattacharya, show conclusively that Guṇaviṣṇu was earlier than Sāyaṇa.

This opinion seems to me to be untenable since, as shown below, none of the above-mentioned reasons can bear examination:

(1) The tradition referred to by Pandit Parameśvara Jha is, by its very nature, incapable of proof or disproof; and one can give credence to it only if it is in accord with known facts. If it is in disaccord with such facts, it has to be rejected.

(2) The passages cited above from Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati's *Dhārmika-karma-rahasya* do not indicate that Guṇaviṣṇu and Aniruddha wrote their works in execution of a common plan. On the other hand, it is evident that Rāmanātha is citing Aniruddha and Guṇaviṣṇu as authorities in support of the particular reading that he adopted of some mantras. This reading, he says, is that adopted by Aniruddha when citing the mantras, and by Guṇaviṣṇu in his *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*. The question of chronology is far from Rāmanātha's mind, and he would have employed the same words even if Aniruddha had lived later than Guṇaviṣṇu. What concerns him solely here is the fact that the reading adopted by him of certain mantras is identical with that adopted by Aniruddha when he cited them in his work and by Guṇaviṣṇu when he explained them in his.

Hence it is not right to infer from his above-cited words that he believed that 'Aniruddha and Guṇaviṣṇu wrote their respective works in execution of a common plan' and were

contemporaries. Such an inference, moreover, would be quite wide of the mark. The sections of Aniruddha's *Pitṛ-dayitā*, according to the *sūcī-pātram* given in the Calcutta Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad edition of that work, deal respectively with *prātaḥ-kṛtya*, *ācamana-vidhi*, *danta-kāṣṭha-bhākṣaṇa-vidhi*, *sandhyā-vidhi*, *snānānuṣṭhāna-krama*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva-vidhi*, *pūrvaṇa-śrāddhānuṣṭhāna-krama*, *dāna-māhātmya*, *pretā-śrāddha*, *ambughāṭa-śrāddha*, *saṃpīṇḍikarāṇa*, *sāṃvatsarika-śrāddha*, *nāndīmukha-śrāddha*, *śara-puttalaka-dāha*, *asthi-saṅcayana*, *daśūha-kṛtya* and *vṛṣotsarga*. The mantras contained in the eight sections of the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*, on the other hand, are intended to be employed in *kuśaṇḍika*, *udīcya-karman*, *navagrahahoma*, *vivāha*, *garbhādhāna*, *pūṃsavana-simantonnayana*, *śoṣyanti-homa*, *jūlakarman*, *niṣkramaṇa*, *nāma-karaṇa*, *puruṣādhipatya-karman*, *anna-prāśana*, *putra-mūrdhōpagrahaṇa*, *cūdākaraṇa*, *samāvartana*, *upanayana*, *nava-grha-praveśa*, *sandhyā*, *snāna-prakarāṇa*, *brahma-yajña*, *sūryārghya*, *bhagavat-pūjā*, *ādityopasthāna*, *vaiśvadeva-karman*, *śrāddha*, *antyeṣṭi*, *asthidāna* and *anna-bhojana* respectively.

It can be seen from the above list of contents that the two works have only about a third of their matter in common; and in fact, of the mantras that are contained in the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*, less than one third only have been cited by Aniruddha in his work. On the other hand, there are about twenty mantras in the latter work that are not found in the former. Further, it must be noted that even in the parts that are common to both works there are slight differences discernible occasionally; thus, for instance, the mantra *mṛttike brahma-dattāsi*...cited by Aniruddha (p. 11) in the section on *snānānuṣṭhāna-krama* is not found in the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*.¹

The statement that Aniruddha's *Pitṛ-dayitā* and Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* have been written on the same plan is thus nothing short of grotesque; and it is very improbable that

1. For the rest, it is certainly true that, in the sections that are common, both works follow the same plan. This however is due to the fact that both works, Aniruddha's *Pitṛ-dayitā* and the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*, are based on Gobhila's *Grhya-sūtra* and the *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa*. There is no need therefore to assume that Aniruddha and Guṇaviṣṇu evolved a common plan and wrote their works in accordance therewith.

Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, who was well-acquainted with both works, held such an opinion. Even if one grants that he did do so, this opinion would be of interest from a historical standpoint only, and cannot be regarded as proof that these authors were contemporaries.

(3) It is indeed true that, as Prof. Bhattacharya has said, the explanations given by Halāyudha, in the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, of more than a hundred mantras agree very closely with those given by Guṇaviṣṇu in the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*. How close this agreement is, will become evident from the following four examples.¹

Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya.

5. 9: हे आपः हि यस्मात् यूयं मयोभुवः स्थ मयः सुखं तस्य भावयि-
च्यः भवथ ता तस्मात् नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे
अन्नाय दधातन स्थापयत । किं च
महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे
दर्शनीयाय अभिधातुं दधातन । अय-
मर्थः—हे आपः यतो यूयं सुखं प्रापयथ
तस्मात् अस्मान् ऐहिकेन अन्नाद्येन
आमुष्मिकेण च महारमणीयदर्शनेन पर-
ब्रह्मणा संयोजय न इत्यप्सु प्रार्थना । हिष्ठा
इति अस्तेर्लट्, मध्यमपुरुषबहु-
वचनम् । ‘पूर्वपदात्’ इति षत्वम् ।
‘अन्येषामपि दृश्यते’ इति दीर्घः ।
ता इति तच्छब्दात् ङसेः ‘सुपां
सुलुक्’ इत्यादिना डादेशः । दधातन इति
‘तत्तनत्तनथनाश्च’ इति तनवादेशः ।
रणाय इति रमणीयशब्दस्य रणादेशः ।

Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva

h. 7. a: हे आपः हि यस्माद्यूयं
मयोभुवः मयः सुखं तस्य भुवः
भावयिच्यः स्थ भवथ सुखदायिन्यो भव-
येत्यर्थः । ता तस्मात् नो अस्मान् ऊर्जे
अन्नाय दधातन स्थापयत । किं च महे
महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे दर्शनीयाय
दधातनेति पूर्वैर्णैव सम्बन्धः । अयं
वाक्यार्थः—हे आपः यस्माद्यूयं सुखं प्राप-
यथ तस्मात् कारणादस्मान् ऐहिकेनार्थेन
आमुष्मिकेण महारमणीयदर्शनेन परम-
ब्रह्मणा संयोजयतेति अप्सु प्रार्थना । अत्र
ष्ठा इति कृतमूर्धन्यस्यास्तेः लोडादेशः ।
मध्यमपुरुषबहुवचने तस्य प्रयोगः ।
दधातनेति दधातेर्लोङि मध्यमपुरुषबहु-
वचनस्य स्थाने ‘तत्तनत्तनथनाश्च’ इति ।
तनादेशः । ता इति तच्छब्दात् ङसेः
‘सुपां सुलुक्’ इति सूत्रेण आदादेशः । महते

1. Not having at hand T. Vidyānanda's edition of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, I have in this paper made use of the Benares edition of that work published in Samvat 1941 and printed at the Vrajacandra Yantrālaya. This is not a critical edition; and there is no doubt, that, were one to be brought out, the agreement between the explanations of Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu would be found to be still more close than it is now.

पृषोदरादित्वाच्छन्दसि । चक्षुसे इति
चक्षिङः तुमर्थे असेन् ॥

इत्यस्य पदस्य छान्दसत्वादकारतकारयो-
लोपे सति महे इति भवति । रमणीया-
येत्यस्य मकार-ईकार-यकाराणां लोपा-
द्रणायेति भवति । आपो हि ष्ठा इत्याकारः
संहितायां पठ्यमानः पदे इति पठ्यमान-
त्वात् न व्याकृतः ॥

1. 5: विष्णुः व्यापकः स भगवान्
इदं जगत् विचक्रमे आक्रान्तवान् ।
कथमाक्रान्तवान् । त्रेधा निदधे पदम् ।
पृथिव्याम् आकाशे स्वर्गे च पदत्रयम्
अर्पितवान् इत्यर्थः । अस्य पांशुले
पांशुयुक्तायां भूमौ पदं समूढं सम्यङ्
निविष्टम् । अयमर्थः—विष्णुर्भूम्याकाश-
स्वर्गात्मकं जगत् पादेनाक्रान्तवान् ।
तस्य पदं भूम्यां सम्यङ् निविष्टम् । एतेन
विष्णुपदसम्बन्धेन भूमिरतीव शुद्धेति सा
भूमिरस्मिन् सदने दुरुक्तादिकं समाधा-
स्यतीति ॥

p. 24. a: विष्णुः भगवान् इदं
जगत् विचक्रमे विक्रान्तवानाक्रान्तवा-
नित्यर्थः । कथमाक्रान्तवान् । त्रेधा त्रिः
प्रकारं पदं निदधे निहितवान् । पृथि-
व्यामाकाशे स्वर्गे च पदत्रयमर्पितवा-
नित्यर्थः । अस्य विष्णोस्तत्पदं पांसुरे
समूढं पांसुरे पांसुयुक्ते अर्थवशात् पृथि-
व्यामित्यर्थः । समूढं सम्यङ् निविष्टम् ।
अयमत्र वाक्यार्थः । विष्णुर्भूम्याकाश-
स्वर्गात्मकं जगत् पदेन विक्रान्तवान् । तस्य
पदं भूम्यां सम्यक् संबद्धम् । एतेन विष्णु-
पादसम्बन्धेन । भूमिरतीव शुद्धेति भूमेः
स्तुतिः ॥

2. 16: आपः नः अस्माकं शं
कल्याण्यो भवन्तु । किम्भूताः । देवीः
देव्यः स्तुत्यादिविषयाः । किमर्थम् ।
अभिष्टये उपचयार्थं पीतये पानाय च ।
किं च नः अस्मान् अभिस्त्रवन्तु ।
किमर्थम् । शंयोः कल्याणयोगाय । आपः
अस्माकम् उपचयाय पानाय कल्याण-
संयोगाय च भवन्तु इत्याशंसावाक्यार्थः ।
शनिरनेन पूर्वं ग्रहत्वेऽभिषिक्त इति
तन्मन्त्रोऽयम् । देवीरिति “वाछन्दसि”
इति पूर्वसवर्णः । अभिष्टये इति ‘ष्ठ्यै-
स्त्यै शब्दसङ्घातयोः’ अभिपूर्वः क्तिप् ।
‘स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य’ इति योगविभागात् सम्प्र-
सारणम्, तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी । शंयोः इति
शंशब्दात् ‘कंशंभ्याम्’ इत्यादिना युस् ।
चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी ॥

p. 25. b: हे आपः नोऽस्माकं शं
कल्याण्यो भवन्तु । किम्भूताः । देवीः ।
देव्यः स्तुत्यादिविषयाः । किमर्थम् ।
अभिष्टये उपचयार्थम् पीतये पानाय ।
किं च नः अभिस्त्रवन्तु अस्मदभिमुखं
स्त्रवन्तु । किमर्थम् । शंयोः कल्याणसंयो-
गाय । अयं वाक्यार्थः । आपोऽस्माकम्
उपचयाय पानाय कल्याणसंयोगाय च
भवन्तु इत्याशंसा । तत्र देवीरिति प्रथमा-
बहुवचने ‘वा छन्दसि’ इति विकल्पेन पूर्व-
सवर्णादेशः । अभिष्टय इति ‘ष्ठ्यै स्त्यै
शब्दसंघातयोः’ इति अस्माद्धातोः ‘अभि-
पूर्वात् क्तिप् कृते ‘आदे च उपदेशेऽशिति’
इत्यात्वम् । ‘स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य’ इति योगवि-
भागात् सम्प्रसारणम् । तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी ।

शंयोरिति शंशब्दात् 'कंशंभ्यां वभयुस्ति-
तुतयसः' इति मत्वर्थीययुसप्रत्यये कृते
शंयोरिति पदम् । ततः 'बहुलं छन्दसि'
इति चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठ्येकवचनम् । यदा तु
शनेश्वरपूजायामस्य विनियोगस्तदा अभिष्टये
अपेक्षितफलावाप्तये । यदा श्राद्धे तदा
पीतये पितॄणां पानायेति विशेषो बोद्धव्यः ॥

5. 12: एताः तिस्रः अनुष्टुभः अध-
मर्षणर्षिदृष्टाः भाववृत्तदैवताः अश्वमेधाव-
भृथे विनियुक्ताः । ऋतं सत्यम् इति परं
ब्रह्म उच्यते । तथा च श्रुतिः—'ऋत-
मेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म' 'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म'
इति । आसीत् इत्यध्याहार्यम् । तदय-
मर्थः—ऋतं च सत्यं च आसीत्
परब्रह्ममात्रमासीत् । एतेन महाप्रलया-
वस्था प्रतिपादिता । महाप्रलयसमये केवलं
ब्रह्ममात्रमासीत् इत्यर्थः । ततः महा-
प्रलयावस्थायामेव राज्यजायत रात्रिः
समुत्पन्ना । सकलम् अन्धकारमयमासी-
दित्यर्थः । तथा च स्मृतिः—'आसीदिदं
तमोभूतमप्रज्ञातमलक्षणम्' इति । ततः प्रल-
यावसाने सृष्ट्यारम्भसमये तपसः अदृष्ट-
बलात् समुद्रः अध्यजायत । किम्भूतः ।
अर्णवः पानीययुक्तः, सकलजगदुत्पत्ति-
निमित्तं जलराशिः उत्पन्न इत्यर्थः । तथा
च स्मृतिः—'अप एव ससर्जदौ तासु
बीजमवासृजत्' इति । किम्भूतात्तपसः ।
अभीद्धात् । अभि सर्वतोभावेन समृद्धात्
लब्धवृत्तेः । प्रलयसमये निरुद्धवृत्तिः अदृष्टं
भवति ॥

p. 27. b: अत्र अधमर्षणर्षिर्भाव-
वृत्तो देवतानुष्टुप् छन्दः । अश्वमेधा-
वभृथे विनियोगः । अस्य अधमर्षण-
मन्त्रस्य व्याख्यायां द्विदि प्रकम्पो जायते ।
यतः सर्ववेदसारभूतोऽत्यन्तगुप्तश्चायं मन्त्रः ।
अस्य पदपाठमात्रं च नास्ति । ब्राह्मण-
निरुक्तादिकमप्यस्य नास्ति । इत्यमेत-
दीयव्याख्यानुगुणं कमप्युपायमप्राप्य यदे-
तस्य स्वकपोलमात्रेण व्याख्यानमाचरणीयं
तदतिसाहसम् । योगियाज्ञवल्क्येन तु—
'तत्त्वभूताश्च पिण्डस्थित्युत्पत्तिप्रलयं तथा ।
सृक्तेऽस्मिन् व्याहृतमेतत्तत्त्वमन्त्रार्थ एष
वै॥' इति वचनात् सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयार्थतास्य
प्रतिपादिता । पुराणमहाभारतादिष्वपि तु
सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयप्रतिपादकार्यकग्रन्थभागाः
समासते । तेषां च भ्रवणेनोत्कीर्तनेन
महाफललाभः प्रतिपादितः । तदेतत्
सकलं वेदसारभूतस्य सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयप्रति-
पादकाधमर्षणमन्त्रस्य । स्नानादिना
तत्र प्राग्लिखितं नानामुनिवचनप्रति-
पादितं फलभूयस्त्वमुपपन्नमेव । किं चा-
स्मिन् ग्रन्थे सकलकर्मकाण्डोचितमन्त्रव्या-
ख्यानस्यैव मुख्यत्वात् यद्यस्य सारभूतम-
न्त्रस्यैव व्याख्यानं न क्रियते तदास्य ग्रन्थस्य
साङ्गता न भवेदित्येतादृशदोषभयमात्रेण
स्वप्रतिभानुरूपम् एतन्मन्त्रव्याख्यानमेतत्

क्रियते । यथा । ऋतं च सत्यं चेति
परमं ब्रह्म उच्यते । तथा च श्रुतिः
स्मृतिश्च । 'ऋतमेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म'
'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म' इति ।
अत्रासीदित्यध्याहार्यम् । तेनायमर्थः । ऋतं
च सत्यं च परं ब्रह्म आसीत् । एतेन महा-
प्रलयावस्था प्रतिपादिता । महाप्रलयसमये
केवलं परं ब्रह्ममात्रमासीदित्यर्थः । ततः
तदनन्तरं महाप्रलयावस्थायामेव रात्रि-
रजायत रात्रिः समुत्पन्ना सकलमन्धकार-
मयमासीदित्यर्थः । तथा च स्मृतिः—
'आसीदिदं तमोभूतमप्रज्ञातमलक्षणम्'
इति । ततस्तदनन्तरं महाप्रलयावसाने
सृष्ट्यारम्भसमये तपसः अदृष्टात् ।
किम्भूतात् । अभीद्धात् सर्वतोभावेन
दीप्तत्वात् सर्वतोगतवृत्तिलब्धादित्यर्थः ।
एवं भूताददृष्टात् पुनः समुद्रो अजायत ।
किम्भूतः समुद्रः । अर्णवः अर्णः पानीयं
तदस्यास्तीति अर्णवः पानीययुक्तः समुद्रः
संजात इत्यर्थः । प्रथमतः सकलसृष्टि-
निमित्तं जलराशिरुत्पन्न इत्यर्थः । तथा च
स्मृतिः 'अप एव ससर्जदौ तासु वीर्य-
मवासृजत्' इति ॥

These examples make it plain that here too there can be no question of accident, but that one of the two authors, Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu, has borrowed from the other.

Prof. Bhattacharya, relying on the abovementioned tradi-
tion that Guṇaviṣṇu flourished in the reigns of Ballālasena and
Lakṣmaṇasena, opines that Guṇaviṣṇu was earlier and that
Halāyudha borrowed from him. Halāyudha's preliminary
observations, however, cited in the fourth example given above,
show clearly that his explanation of the mantra *ṛtaṁ ca satyaṁ
ca...* is quite original, and that he had nothing at hand that could
serve to guide him to its meaning except the śloka from Yogi-
yājñavalkya cited by him. Since this explanation of Halāyudha
is found in Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* also, it

follows that Guṇaviṣṇu has borrowed from Halāyudha the explanation of that mantra, and likewise of the hundred and odd mantras referred to above.¹ That is to say, it becomes clear that any connection which Guṇaviṣṇu may have had with the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena must have been subsequent to the time when Halāyudha wrote his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*.

It must be mentioned here that Prof. Bhattacharyya seems to think that the preliminary observations referred to above of Halāyudha are mere claptrap, and that though he made use of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu, he did not, 'for some reason or other, acknowledge his indebtedness'. This latter, however, is not a correct statement; not only has Halāyudha not acknowledged any indebtedness to Guṇaviṣṇu, but he has definitely claimed that his explanation of the verse *ītam ca satyam ca...* is quite original, and that he is putting it forward with considerable diffidence. There are no grounds to brush aside all these definite statements as untruthful; at least, Prof. Bhattacharyya has not advanced any, and, to my mind, it seems very improbable that a person like Halāyudha, who

1. This is made plain, moreover, by Guṇaviṣṇu's commentary on the verse *śam no devīr abhiṣṭaye...* (*Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* 2, 16). The second pāda of this verse reads as *āpo bhavantu pīṭaye* in the VS, and hence in Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* also; and his explanation beginning with *he āpaḥ* is therefore, quite natural and unexceptionable. On the other hand, in the *Sāmaveda-saṃhitā* and hence in Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*, this pāda reads as *śam no bhavantu pīṭaye*. As the word *āpaḥ* is thus lacking in this reading, it is necessary for the commentator to point out in some manner that the verse is addressed to the Waters. Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation contains no observation regarding this matter; he has not even mentioned, as is usual with him, the *chandas*, *devatā* and *vinīyoga* of the mantra but begins his explanation with the word *āpaḥ*. This abrupt beginning which is apt to bewilder the reader is shown, by a comparison with Halāyudha's explanation, to be merely a blind copy of it.

On instituting such a comparison, one will find that there is nothing in the commentary of Guṇaviṣṇu to indicate that the mantra he is explaining reads *śam no bhavantu pīṭaye* and not *āpo bhavantu pīṭaye* in pāda b; and this fact too shows plainly that Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation is borrowed and that of Halāyudha, original. Contrast in this connection the *Sāmaveda-saṃhitā-bhāṣya* of Sāyaṇa on this mantra (I, 1, 3, 13), where he has duly explained the words *śam naḥ* that occur in pāda b,

held the position of Mahādharmaśāstra in the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena, could utter untruths. Further, in stanzas 20, 21 of his introduction:

आसन् वा कति सन्ति वा कति कति क्षमामण्डले पण्डिता
व्याख्याता मतिशालिनाथ मुगुडाचार्येण वेदाः परम् ।
स्पष्टं तत्तदपीत्यनेन विदुषा विश्वप्रसिद्धैः पदैः
सन्ध्यादिद्विजकर्ममन्त्रवचसो व्याख्यानमेतत् कृतम् ॥
आस्ते वाक्पतिसन्निभोऽपि न पुमांस्तस्मात् परः साहसी
यो वेदार्थविवेचनाय कुरुते सज्जं रसज्ञाननम् ।
किं त्वस्मिन् मुगुडेन वर्त्म रचितं प्रागेव चेद्विद्यते
व्याख्यानं कियदेकवेदवचसां तेनेदमारभ्यते ॥

we find Halāyudha acknowledging his indebtedness to Muṇḍa's commentary on the Veda (*i. e.*, the White Yajurveda), and there is no reason to doubt that, in case he had made use of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu, in connection with more than a hundred mantras, he would likewise have acknowledged his indebtedness to that author. Prof. Bhattacharyya, it seems to me, has allowed himself to be influenced too much by the belief that the above-mentioned tradition is true, and has, therefore, failed to estimate justly the value of the preliminary observations referred to above.

i. It is not legitimate to infer from the passage cited above by Prof. Bhattacharyya from the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* that Halāyudha is there referring to Guṇaviṣṇu. This passage, in the first place, is not found in the Benares edition of that work, and there is therefore reason to doubt its genuineness. Assuming, however, that it was written by Halāyudha, the reference there is, clearly, to other authors that had written *paddhatis* on the *gṛhya* ceremonies of White Yajurvedins. For, the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* is (though this is not mentioned by Halāyudha) intended for the use of White Yajurvedins, as becomes evident from the sūtras of Pāraskara and the mantras that are cited in it; and the epithet *kaiś cit* used by Halāyudha in it refers naturally to other writers on the same subject, that is, to other writers belonging to the school of Pāraskara.¹ It is not

1. This is recognised by Prof. Bhattacharyya also; see p. ix of his Introduction.

The mantra *ऋतं च सत्यं च* does not occur in the VS, Sata. Br., or the Nirukta; and Halāyudha's complaint that the commentaries

proper to refer the epithet to writers on *grhya* ceremonies who, like Guṇaviṣṇu, belong to other schools like that of Āśvalāyana (R̥gveda), Gobhila (Sāmaveda) or Āpastamba (Black Yajurveda). The mantra in question is not mentioned in the section on *garbhādhāna* by Śiṅgaṇārya, Boppana-bhaṭṭa and other writers of comparatively recent times on *grhya* ceremonies belonging to the school of Āpastamba, and if one were to employ Prof. Bhattacharya's argument in their case, one would have to infer that all these writers lived before about 1200 A. D.!

ii. The passage cited by Prof. Bhattacharya from the *Sāmaga-mantra-vyākhyāna* is corrupt. It speaks of the reading *chāndasaḥ aster ādi-lopaḥ* being found in Guṇaviṣṇu's work and not being found in Halāyudha's work, while it is evident that there is a difference in the reading of the mantra,¹ between Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha,² Guṇaviṣṇu reading the verb with

on these texts could give no help to him in the interpretation of that mantra, is well-founded. Similarly his statement too that there is no pada-pāṭha on it is correct as Śākalya, in his padapāṭha of the R̥k-saṃhitā has not given the *pada-pāṭha* of that hymn. The RV. commentaries of Skandasvāmin or Udgītha on the Tenth Maṇḍala (at the end of which this hymn occurs) were, apparently unknown or inaccessible to Halāyudha.

1. This is shown by the use of the word *śiṣṭa*. What *śiṣṭas* care for is not the reading of explanatory comments on mantras, but the reading of the mantras themselves.

2. That is, between the *Mantra-pāṭha* commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*. It must always be borne in mind that the *Mantra-pāṭha* on which Guṇaviṣṇu has written a commentary was not compiled by him, but came into existence long before and was held in great repute at his time; see p. xvii of the above-mentioned introduction of Prof. Bhattacharya, who has also pointed out on p. xix that there existed, in fact, not one but many different *mantra-pāṭhas* for the use of Sāmavedins. If therefore, one wanted to refer to the particular reading of a mantra found in the *mantra-pāṭha* commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu, the most convenient way of doing so would be by using the words *Guṇaviṣṇu-pustaka-dhṛtaḥ pāṭhaḥ*, *Guṇaviṣṇunā dhṛtaḥ pāṭhaḥ* or other similar words. The use therefore, by Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati of the words *kvacit tu Guṇaviṣṇu-pustake . . . pāṭhaḥ na tu Halāyudhādi-śiṣṭa-parigrhitāḥ* should not,

elision of the initial *a*, and Halāyudha without such elision. And hence, it is not right, it seems to me, to base any conclusions on this passage. Prof. Bhattacharya, it will be noted, does not tell us in connection with what mantra this observation is made by Rāmanātha, and how that mantra is read by Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha; and one wonders if this is due to other corruptions or inconsistencies contained in that passage. I may mention here that I have made a diligent search in the published edition of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* and have failed to discover in it the passage *chāndasaḥ aster ādi-lopaḥ* cited by Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati. Further, even if one grants that this writer believed that Halāyudha was later than Guṇaviṣṇu, that is no reason why we should not use our own judgment in the matter, but blindly follow him in that opinion.

(4) Prof. Bhattacharya's opinion that Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*, implicitly refers to Guṇaviṣṇu by the words *ke cit* is likewise erroneous. The commentator referred to by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on 1, 2, 18 of that work interprets the expression *adurmanḡgalīḥ* as *maṅgalavatyo yoṣitaḥ prāduḥ*; Guṇaviṣṇu, on the other hand, though he splits up that word into two, *aduḥ* and *maṅgalīḥ*, explains the latter as *maṅgalavatyo devatāḥ*; and it is thus clear that he is not the commentator referred to by Sāyaṇa. This is shown by the following instance also. Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on 2, 6, 13-14 of the above-mentioned work (=Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha, 4, 29-30]: *annam vā eka-cchandasyam . . .*, which two mantras are, according to him, *annadeva-tāka*, refers to the explanation of others in the following words: *ke cana anayor ādityo'pi devateṭi bruvate | tasmin pakṣe cchacchandasyam ity asyāyam arthaḥ | ekas tejasā ācchādaka eka-cchandās tatra bhavam eka-cchandasyam annam iti | tathā dvīliya-mantre virocana-śabdena rocāmāna āditya ucyate śiṣṭam samānam*. According to Guṇaviṣṇu, the devatās of these two mantras are respectively Āditya and Virocana, and not *anna* and *Āditya*; and this too shows clearly that the commentator referred to as *ke cit* by Sāyaṇa is not Guṇaviṣṇu but some other writer.

even when one assumes that he is speaking of chronological sequence, be taken to indicate that he believed that Guṇaviṣṇu was earlier than Halāyudha, but that, in his belief, the *mantra-pāṭha* commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu was anterior to Halāyudha.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that the reasons advanced by Prof. Bhattacharya in support of his opinion that Guṇaviṣṇu was anterior to Sāyaṇa are all unsatisfactory and fail to establish that point; and the problem, did Sāyaṇa borrow his explanations from Guṇaviṣṇu or *vice versa*, remains still unsolved.

In order to find a solution, let us first take stock of the facts known to us in connection with these two writers. (i) Guṇaviṣṇu, we know, is mentioned by the Bengali writer Raghunandana who lived in the sixteenth century A. D. (see Prof. Bhattacharya's *Introduction*, p. xviii), and is, as shown above, posterior to Halāyudha who lived during the reign of King Lakṣmaṇasena. He lived, therefore, roughly speaking, between 1200 and 1500 A. D. (ii) He has written commentaries on the collections of mantras known as *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* and *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*, that is to say, on about 500 mantras; and (iii) he has borrowed from Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* the explanations of more than a hundred mantras without even once mentioning Halāyudha's name.

II (i) Of Sāyaṇa, we know that he was the minister of Bukka I, Harihara I, and other Vijayanagara kings who ruled in the 14th century A. D.; and he is believed to have died in about 1386 A. D. (ii) He is the author of commentaries on many Vedic texts including the *R̥gveda-saṃhitā*, *Sāmaveda-saṃhitā*, *Atharvaveda-saṃhitā*¹, the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*, the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* and *Sātapatha-brāhmaṇa* of the Kāṇva recension, the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Sāmaveda*, the *Āitareya-brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*, and of other works also. Of the Vedic texts, those belonging to the Yajurveda were first explained by him, and then, in order, those belonging to the *R̥gveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda*. I cite here the explanations of two mantras, *idaṃ viṣṇur vi cakrame...* and *āpo hi śṭhā mayobhuvah...* given by Sāyaṇa in these commentaries and also those given by other commentators earlier than and known to Sāyaṇa in their works:

1. There is room for serious doubt if the commentary on the *Atharvaveda-saṃhitā* was written by Sāyaṇa; see Lanman's introduction to Whitney's *Translation of the Atharvaveda*, p. xviii, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 7.

(a) इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम् ।

समूढं (लृह)मस्य पांसुरे ॥

Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on Ts. 1, 2, 13, 1: इदं विश्वं विष्णुः व्यापी भगवान् विचक्रमे विभज्य क्रमते स्म । 'वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः' इति वृत्ता-वात्मनेपदम् । 'वेः पादविहरणे' इति वा । कतिधा विचक्रम इत्यत आह— त्रेधा त्रिधा पदं पादं निदधे स्थापयामास पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवि चेत्या-धारभेदेन पदस्य त्रैविध्यम् । त्रीणि पदानीति यावत् । यथा 'त्रीणि पदा विचक्रमे' इति । 'एधाच्च' इत्येधाप्रत्ययः । यस्मादेवं तस्मात् अस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे पांसुमति पादे । रः मत्वर्थीयः । यद्वा, सिध्मादिलक्षणो लः । रलयोरैकत्वं स्मर्यते । पांसवो रजांसि लोका उच्यन्ते । तैः रजःकणकल्पैः तद्वति विष्णोः पदकमले समूढं सम्यगूढं तेनैव समवस्थापितम् । किम् ? इदं विश्वं यद्विचक्रमे । 'गतिरनन्तरः' इति गतेः प्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । अस्येति 'इदमोऽन्वादेशोऽनुदात्तः' इत्यशादेशोऽनुदात्तः । य इममर्थमकरोत् स विष्णुरनेन होमेनेन यज्ञं समापयत्विति भावः । अपरा योजना—इदं विष्णुरेव स्वयं विचक्रमे विक्रमते यद्विधानं विक्रमते गच्छति । 'छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः' इति लिट् । विष्णोरेवेदं क्रमणं यद्विधानस्येति यावत् । विष्णुर्विशेष्यते । त्रेधा निदधे पदं तस्मात् अस्य हविर्धानस्य पांसुरे पांसुमति च मार्गे समूढं सम्यगूढं प्रापितमिदमाज्यमस्त्विति । अन्ये पुनराहुः— इदं विश्वं विष्णुः व्यापी आदित्यात्मा विचक्रमे विक्रमते विभज्य प्राप्नोति त्रेधा पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवि च पदं निदधाति अग्निविद्युत्सूर्यात्मना त्रिषु स्थानेषु पादन्यासं करोति । अस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे त्वन्तरिक्षे यत्पदं विशुद्रूपं तदेव समूढं सम्यगूढं कारणानित्यत्वात् सर्वदा न दृश्यते यथेतरे ज्योतिषी सम्यगूढेते दृष्ट्या । सोऽयमादित्य इदं यज्ञमनेन होमेन समापयत्विति ॥

Uvaṭa on Vs. 5, 15: इदं विष्णुः । गायत्री वैष्णवी । इदं जगत् विष्णुर्विचक्रमे विक्रान्तवान् । सर्वप्राणिनो हि भूतेन्द्रिय-मनोजीवि-भावेनाविशतीति विष्णुः । किं च । त्रेधा निदधे पदम् । पद्यते ज्ञायतेऽनेनेति पदम् । भूम्यन्तरिक्षलोकेषु अग्निवायुसूर्यरूपेण त्रिधा निहितवान् पदम् । किं च समूढमस्य पांसुरे । अस्थैव विष्णोरन्यत् पदान्तरं विज्ञानघना-नन्दमजमद्वैतमक्षरमित्येवंलक्षणं समूढम् अन्तर्हितमविज्ञातमकृतात्मभिः । पांसुरे । लुप्तोपममेतत् । पांसुल इव प्रदेशे निहितं न दृश्यते, तत्समूढ-

मिति द्रष्टव्यमिति वाक्यशेषः । तदुक्तम्—‘तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः । दिवीव चक्षुराततम्’ इति ॥

Skandasvāmin on RV. 1, 22, 17:

विष्णुस्तु भगवानस्मद्भूता वासुदेवः । स वामनच्छद्मना महाबलिं बबन्ध । तत्काले प्रपञ्चं विक्रान्तः त्रिस्थानभेदेन निहितवान् । पदमात्मीयं पादं त्रिषु स्थानेषु कृतवान् । भुवि खे दिवि च इत्येके । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसीत्यौर्णवाभः । निर्गुणस्य परब्रह्मणो गुणवर्णने विभ्रमन्ति लोकाः । न तच्चित्रम् । तच्च त्रिविधं [समूढं] सम्यक् ऊढं सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठापितम् अस्य विष्णोः पदं [पांसुरे] पांसुमतीव । पांसवो यस्मिन् सन्तीति मनुषि रप्रत्ययः । लुप्तोपमं च । यथा पांसुमति देशे सुप्रतिष्ठापितं तद्वत् । अस्य स्वीयं वा पांसुः । पृथिवी वा समारोहणं वा । तत्र यत् पदं विष्णोरस्मद्भूतः तत् समूढम् । विष्णुरादित्यो वा । इदं सर्वम् अहरहर्विचक्रमे । त्रेधा उदयगिरौ नभोमध्ये चास्तगिरौ च त्रिविधं सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठापितम् अस्य पदं पांसुरप्रदेशे इति । केचित्तु सम्पूर्वस्य महे रूपमिति । समूढं छन्नम्, न दृश्यते । विष्णुरेव आदित्यरूपेण लोकान् प्रकाशयति । तस्य त्रैविध्यं अन्यथा वा । अग्निवैद्युतादित्यात्मना भुवि खे दिवि । एकमेवेदं ज्योतिस्त्रेधा विभक्तम् इति मूर्धन्वान् वक्ष्यति तत् । ‘तमू अकृण्वन् त्रेधा’ (RV. 10, 88, 10) इति । तत्र यत् खे वैद्युतस्य पदं तच्छन्नं नित्यं न दृश्यते ॥

Sāyaṇa on TS. 1, 2, 13, 1:

विष्णुस्त्रिविक्रमावतारं धृत्वा इदं विश्वं विभज्य क्रमते स्म । भूमावेकं पदम्, अन्तरिक्षे द्वितीयम्, दिवि तृतीय-मित्येवं त्रेधा पदं निदधे । पांसवो भूम्यादिलोकरूपा यस्य पदस्य सन्ति तत् पांसुरम् । अस्य विष्णोस्तस्मिन् पदे विश्वं समूढं सम्यगन्तर्भूतम् ॥

Sāyaṇa's commentary on VS (Kāṇva-śākhā) 5, 15: Identical with his explanation (above given) of TS. 1, 2, 13, 1.

Sāyaṇa on Śata. Br. (Kāṇva- śākhā.) 3, 5, 3, 13;

इदं विश्वं विष्णुः त्रिविक्रमावतारधारी विचक्रमे विक्रान्तवान् । विक्रमणप्रकारमाह—त्रेधा त्रिप्रकारेण । त्रिषु स्थानेषु क्षित्यादिषु पदं निदधे स्थापितवान् । अस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे रजोयुक्ते पदे लोकत्रयं समूढं गृहीतं सम्मित-मासीदित्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 22, 17: विष्णुस्त्रिविक्रमावतारधारी इदं प्रतीय-मानं सर्वं जगदुद्दिश्य विचक्रमे । विशेषेण क्रमणं कृतवान् । तदा त्रेधा त्रिभिः प्रकारैः पदं निदधे । स्वकीयं पादं प्रक्षिप्तवान् । अस्य

विष्णोः पांसुरे धूलियुक्ते पादस्थाने समूढमिदं सर्वं जगत् सम्यगन्त-र्भूतम् । सेयमृक् यास्कैर्नैवं व्याख्याता । विष्णुर्विशतेर्वा व्यभ्रोतेर्वा । यदिदं किं च तद्विक्रमते विष्णुस्त्रेधा निदधे पदं त्रेधाभावाय पृथिव्या-मन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसीत्यौर्णवाभः । समूढमस्य पांसुरेऽप्यायनेऽन्तरिक्षे पदं न दृश्यतेऽपि वोपमार्थे स्यात् समूढमस्य पांसुर इव पदं न दृश्यत इति पांसवः पादैः सूयन्त इति वा पन्नाः शेरत इति वा पंसनीया भवन्तीति वा । इति । त्रेधा । ‘एधाश्च’ इत्येधाच्प्रत्ययः । चितोऽन्तोदात्तः । समूढम् । बह प्रापणे । निष्ठेतिक्तः । ‘चक्षिस्वपि’ इत्यादिना सम्प्रसारणम् । ढत्व-धत्वष्टुत्वढलोपदीर्घत्वानि । ‘गतिरनन्तरः’ इति गतेः प्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । अस्य । ‘इदमोऽन्वादेशे’ इत्यशनुदात्तः । प्रत्ययश्च सुप्स्वरेण । पांसुरे । ‘नगपांसुपाण्डुभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम्’ इति मत्वर्थीयो रप्रत्ययः । प्रत्ययस्वरः ॥

Sāyaṇa's commentary on SV. 1, 2, 11, 9: Identical with his above-given explanation of RV. 1, 22, 17, but does not contain the matter beginning with त्रेधा । ‘एधाश्च’ इत्येधाच्—प्रत्ययः.

Sāyaṇa's commentary on SV. 11, 8, 2, 5, 1. Identical with his explanation of SV 1, 2, 11, 9.

Sāyaṇa on AV. 7, 26, 4: विष्णुर्व्यापी भगवान् इदं विश्वं विचक्रमे विक्रान्तवान् । कतिधा विचक्रमे इति तदाह—त्रेधा पदा पदानि निदधे स्थापयामास । ‘पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवि च विष्णुर्वामनो भूत्वेमाँल्लोकांस्त्रिभिः क्रमैरभ्यजयत्’ इति श्रुतेः । अस्य विक्रममाणस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे पांसुमति । रो मत्वर्थीयः । पादे लोकत्रयं समूढं सम्यग् ऊढं समवस्थापितं समाकृष्टं वा अभवत् । अत्र ‘विष्णुर्विशतेर्वा अभ्रोते-र्वा । यदिदं किं च तद्विक्रमते त्रेधा निदधे पदं पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः’ इत्यादिनिरुक्तमनुसन्धेयम् ॥

b. आपो हि ष्ठा मयोमुवस्ता न ऊर्जे दधातन ।

महे रणाय चक्षसे ॥

In respect of this mantra, Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara's explanation on TS. 4, 1, 5, 1 is not available as his commentary on Kāṇḍa IV of the Taittiriya-saṃhitā is not published; likewise Skandasvāmin's explanation too on RV. 10, 9, 1, as his commentary on that Maṇḍala of the RV. is not yet published. Further, not having at hand the printed edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary on VS

(Kāṇva reconsion.) Ch. 11—20, I have not reproduced here his explanation of VS. 11, 50.

Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on TS. 5, 6, 1, 4: आपो हि ष्टादयस्तिष्ठः 'विपाजसा' इत्यत्र (TV. 4, 1, 5) व्याख्याताः । आपः व्यापिकाः स्थ मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयिष्यः ताः यूयं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे रसाय दधातन स्थापयत ऊर्जे वा अस्मभ्यं दत्त महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे ज्ञानाय च ॥

Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on TV. 7, 4, 19, 4: एताश्चतस्रः 'विपाजसा' इत्यत्र व्याख्याताः । हे आपः यूयं आपो व्यापिकाः स्थ । मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयिष्यः ता यूयम् ऊर्जे अन्नार्थं रसार्थं वा दधातन धारयत । महते रमणीयाय दर्शनीयाय ॥

Uvaṭa on VV. 11, 50: अबदेवत्यास्तिस्रो गायत्र्यः । आपो हि ष्टा मयोभुवः । द्वितीये पादे तच्छब्दश्रवणाद्यदोऽध्याहारः कर्तव्यः । हे आपः या यूयं मयोभुवः । मय इति सुखनाम । सुखस्य भावयिष्यः स्थ भवथ सर्वप्राणिनाम् । छन्दःपरिपूर्तिकरो हिशब्दः । ता नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अन्नाय दधातन स्थापयत । यथा वयं सर्वस्य भोग्यस्य भोक्तारो भवेम तथा कुरुतेत्यभिप्रायः । महते च रणाय रमणीयाय । चक्षसे दर्शनाय । अस्मान् दधातनेत्यनुवर्तते । एतदुक्तं भवति । महश्च यद्दर्शनं परब्रह्मलक्षणं रमणीयं तदस्माकं कुरुतेति । अथवा हिशब्दो यस्मादर्थे कृत्वा व्याख्यायते । न हि वेदे मन्त्रमात्रस्याप्यानर्थक्यमिष्यते सम्भवे सति । आपो हि । हे आपः हि यस्मान्मयोभुवः । ता न ऊर्जे । ताः शब्दस्य पञ्चम्यां संनतिः । तस्माद्धेतोरस्मान् अन्नाय स्थापयत । महते च रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनीयाय ॥

Haradatta on Āpastamba mantra-pāṭha 2. 7. 13: अपो हि ष्ठेति । हे आपः यूयं मयोभुवः स्थ मय इति सुखनाम सुखस्य भावयिष्यः स्थ । हिः प्रसिद्धौ । ता यूयं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अन्नाय दधातन धत्त अन्नमस्मभ्यं धत्तेत्यर्थः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय दधातन ॥

Sāyaṇa on TS. 4, 1, 5, 1: हिशब्द एवकारार्थः प्रसिद्धर्थो वा । हे आपः यूयमेव मयोभुवः स्थ सुखस्य भावयिष्यो भवत । ज्ञानपानादिहेतुत्वेन सुलोत्पादकत्वं प्रसिद्धम् । तास्तादृश्यो यूयं नोऽस्मान् ऊर्जे रसाय भवदीय-रसानुभवार्थं दधातन स्थापयत । किं च महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय दधातन अस्मान् परतत्त्वसाक्षात्कारयोग्यान् कुरुतेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa's commentary on TS. 5, 6, 1, 4; TS. 7, 4, 19, 4, and TA. 4, 42, 4. } Identical with his explanation given above on TS. 4, 1, 5, 1.

Sāyaṇa on Śata. Br. 6, 5, 1, 2: हे आपः आप्यते सर्वं कार्यं प्राणिनां याभिरित्यापः । आप्रोतेः करणे कर्तरि वा क्तिप् । तत्संबोधनम् । मयोभुवः । मय इति सुखनाम । सुखस्य भावयिष्यः । स्थ । हि यस्मात्ता एवंभूता यूयं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अन्नाद्याय दधातन स्थापयत । 'तप्तनप्तनथनाश्च' इति तस्य तनबादेशः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय ज्ञानाय धत्तेति ॥

Sāyaṇa on RV. 10, 9, 1: हि यस्मात् कारणादापो या यूयं मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयिष्यः स्थ भवथ तास्तादृश्यो यूयं नोऽस्मान् ऊर्जे अन्नाय दधातन धत्त । अन्नप्राप्तियोग्यानस्मान् कुरुत, अन्नमस्मभ्यं दत्तेत्यर्थः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय सम्यग्ज्ञानाय च धत्त । अस्मान् सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रति योग्यान् कुरुतेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on SV. II, 9, 3, 10, 1: हि यस्मात् कारणात् आपः या यूयं मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयिष्यः स्थ भवथ ताः तादृश्यो यूयं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अन्नाय दधातन धत्त । अन्नप्राप्तियोग्यान् अस्मान् कुरुत । अन्नमस्मभ्यं दत्तेत्यर्थः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रति योग्यान् कुरुतेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on AV. 1, 5, 1: हे आपः यूयं हि यस्मात् कारणात् मयोभुवः । मय इति सुखनाम । सुखस्य भावयिष्यः स्थ भवथ । 'आपोमयः प्राणः' इति श्रुतेः । अपामुपभोगेन प्राणस्थैर्यहेतुत्वात् सुखसाधनभूतविविधान्नाद्युपभोग्यपदार्थजनकत्वेन च सुखहेतुत्वात् । अस्तेर्लटि मध्यमपुरुषबहुवचने अदादित्वात् शपो लुक् । 'सार्वधातुकमपित्' इति ङिङ्ङावात् 'भसो-रहोपः' इति अकारलोपः । 'हि च' इति निघातप्रतिषेधः । मयोभुव इति । मयश्शब्दोपपदात् भवतेरन्तर्भावित्यर्थत्वात् क्तिप् । 'ओः सुपि' इति प्राप्तस्य यणः 'न भूसुधियोः' इति प्रतिषेधः । 'गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत्' इति कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । तस्मात्ताः तथाविधाः यूयं नः अस्मान् अन्नादिजनितसुखकामान् ऊर्जे बलकराय अन्नाय तदुपभोगजनित-सुखायेत्यर्थः । ...दधातन धत्त । सुखकरान्नप्रदानेन अस्मान् पेषयतेत्यर्थः । —अपि च महे महते । अच्छब्दलोपः छान्दसः । यद्वा । महपूजायामित्यस्मात् क्तिप् । महनीयाय पूजनीयाय रणाय रमणाय विविधोपभोग्यपदार्थेषु क्रीडनायेत्यर्थः । रमतेर्भावे ल्युट् । अन्त्यलोपः छान्दसः । तथा चक्षसे दर्शनाय । चिरकालजीवनाभिमतसाक्षात्कारायेत्यर्थः । ...यद्वा । महते

रणाय रणनीयाय शब्दनीयाय उपनिषदेकसमधिगम्याय चक्षुसे स्वात्मनो
निरतिशयानन्दब्रह्मत्वसाक्षात्कारायेत्यर्थः ।...दधातनेति पूर्वेण संबन्धः ॥

It is evident from these passages that, in respect of the two mantras given above, none of the explanations of Sāyaṇa is identical with those of any of the earlier commentators mentioned above; and comparison shows that this observation holds good of all the other mantras in Aṣṭaka I of the Ṛgveda (on which we have the commentary of Skandasvāmin), in chapters 1-10 of the Vājasaneyasaṃhitā (on which we have the commentary of Uvaṭa), and in the Saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka of the Taittirīyas¹ (on which we have the commentary of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara). The total bulk of the mantras contained in these is, I compute, more than twenty-five times that of the mantras commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu.

The facts set forth above may be summed up as follows: Guṇaviṣṇu has written a commentary on about 500 mantras, and, in the case of about a fifth of them, has borrowed *in toto* the explanations given by Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* without however, acknowledging his indebtedness, while Sāyaṇa who has written commentaries on Vedic mantras that, in bulk, exceed by more than twenty-five times that of the matter commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu, has not, even in a single instance borrowed his explanations from any of the commentators whom we know to have been anterior to him. Not only that; Sāyaṇa has, in respect of innumerable mantras, disdained to make use of his own earlier explanation and taken the trouble to indite new ones.

It hence becomes obvious that Sāyaṇa's above-cited explanations of *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa* 2, 4, 2-4 cannot have

1. As already observed above, the edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary on Chaps. 11-20 of the VS. was not accessible to me.

On Kāṇḍa IV of the TS, Aṣṭaka II of the TBr. and on two prapāthakas of the TA, the commentary of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara is not yet published.

Further, I must also mention that the comparison I have made of the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on the Taittirīya texts is not so minute as that I have made between his commentaries on the other two above-named texts and those of Uvaṭa and Skandasvāmin.

been borrowed by him, but are original; and since these explanations are found in Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra bhāṣya*, it follows that they must have been borrowed by Guṇaviṣṇu from Sāyaṇa.

This becomes evident, other considerations apart, from a comparison of Sāyaṇa's and Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation of these mantras; and in this connection, it must be borne in mind that this triplet of verses occurs in the Ṛk-saṃhitā and Sāma-saṃhitā and has been there commented upon by Sāyaṇa and Skandasvāmin, and that the first of them occurs in the Sāma-saṃhitā, Atharvaveda-saṃhitā and Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha and has been explained by Sāyaṇa and Haradatta. I reproduce these explanations here:

Sāyaṇa on RV. 1; 94; 1, 4, 3. अर्हते पूज्याय जातवेदसे जातानामुत्पन्नानां वेदित्रे जातप्रज्ञाय जातधनाय वा अग्नये मनीषया निशितया बुद्ध्या इमं एतत्सूक्तरूपं स्तोमं स्तोत्रं रथमिव यथा तक्षा रथं संस्करोति तथा संमहेम । सम्यक् पूजितं कुर्मः । अस्याग्नेः संसदि संभजने नोऽस्माकं प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टा बुद्धिः भद्रा हि कल्याणी समर्था खलु । अतस्तया बुद्ध्या स्तुम इत्यर्थः । हे अग्ने तव सख्ये अस्माकं त्वया सह सखित्वे सति वयं मा रिषाम । हिंसिता न भवाम । अस्मान् रक्षेत्यर्थः । अर्हते । अर्ह पूजायाम् । 'अर्हः प्रशंसायाम्' इति छटः शत्रादेशः । शपः पितृवादनुदात्तत्वम् । शतुश्चादुपदेशालसार्वधातुकस्वरेण धातुस्वरः शिष्यते । महेमा । मह पूजायाम् । रिषामा । रिष हिंसायाम् । व्यत्ययेन शः । तव । 'युष्मदस्मदोर्द्धसि' इत्याद्युदात्तत्वम् ॥

हे अग्ने त्वद्यागार्थम् इधमम् इन्धनसाधनम् एकविंशतिदार्वात्मकं समित्समूहं भवाम । संपादयाम् । तदनन्तरं ते तुभ्यं हवींषि चरुपुरोडाशादीन्यन्नानि वयं कृण्वाम करवाम । किं कुर्वन्तः । पर्वणा पर्वणा प्रतिपक्षमावृत्ताभ्यां दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां चितयन्तः त्वां प्रज्ञापयन्तः । स त्वं जीवातवे अस्माकं जीवनौषधाय चिरकालावस्थानाय धियः कर्माणि अग्निहोत्रादीनि प्रतरं प्रकृष्टतरं साधय निष्पादय । अन्यत् समानम् । चितयन्तः । चिती संज्ञाने । संज्ञापूर्वकस्य विधेरनित्यत्वाल्लघूपधगुणाभावः । पर्वणा पर्वणा । 'नित्यवीप्सयोः' इति वीप्सायां द्विर्भावः । 'तस्य परमाग्नेडितम्' इति परस्य आग्नेडितसंज्ञायाम् 'अनुदात्तं च' इत्यनुदात्तत्वम् । प्रतरम् । तरबन्तात् प्रशन्दात् क्रियाप्रकर्षे वर्तमानात् 'अमु च छन्दसि' इत्यमुप्रत्ययः ॥

हे अग्ने त्वा त्वां समिधं सम्यगिद्धं कर्तुं शकेम शक्ता भूयास्म । त्वं च धियोऽस्मदीयानि दर्शपूर्णमासादीनि कर्माणि साधय निष्पादय । त्वया हि सर्वे

यागा निष्पाद्यन्ते । यस्मात् त्वे त्वय्यग्नौ आहुतम् ऋत्विग्भिः प्रक्षिप्तं चरुपुरो-
डाशादिकं हविः देवा अदन्ति भक्षयन्ति । तस्मात्त्वं साधयेत्यर्थः । अपि च त्वं
आदित्यानदितेः पुत्रान् सर्वान् देवानावह अस्मद्यज्ञार्थमानय । तान् हीदानी-
मेव वयमुश्मसि कामयामहे । अन्यत् पूर्ववत् । शकेम । शकल शक्तौ ।
लिङ्ग्याशिष्यङ् । अदुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकानुदात्तत्वेऽङ् एव स्वरः शिष्यते ।
समिधम् । अत्र इन्धी दीप्तौ । अस्मात्संपदादिलक्षणः कर्मणि क्तिप् । त्वे ।
'सुपां सुलुक्' इति सप्तम्येकवचनस्य शे आदेशः । उश्मसि । वश कान्तौ ।
इदन्तो मसिः । अदादित्वाच्छपो लुक् । 'ग्रहिज्या' इत्यादिना संप्रसारणम् ॥

Sāyaṇa's commentary on Sāmaveda-saṃhitā II, 7, 3, 1, 1-3:
Mostly identical with his above-cited explanation of RV. 1, 94, 1,
4, 3.

Skandasvāmin's commentary¹ on RV. 1, 2, 4, 1; 3; 4: इमं स्तोम-
मर्हते जातवेदसे । तादर्थ्य एषा चतुर्थी । स्तोमार्हस्य जातप्रज्ञानस्य वाग्ने-
रर्थाय । रथमिव सम्महेम । संशब्देऽत्र सम्यक्तायाम् । महिरपि सामर्थ्यात्
गत्यर्थोऽन्तर्णीतप्यर्थश्च । यथा कश्चिद्रथं सम्यगमयत् तद्वत् सम्यगमय । मे
मनीषया प्रज्ञया अस्माकं प्रज्ञयैव स्तोममुच्चारयेमेत्येतदाशास्महे इत्यर्थः ।
कस्मात् । उच्यते । भद्रा हि । हिशब्दो यस्मादर्थः । यस्मात् भद्रा नः । षष्ठीनिर्दे-
शादुपरीति वाक्यशेषः । सप्तम्यर्थे वा षष्ठी । अस्माकमुपरि अस्मासु
वा प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टानुग्रहात्मिका मतिः । अस्याग्नेः संसदि सभायाम् ।
यस्मादयं यज्ञादिसभास्वस्माकमनुग्राहक इत्यर्थः । परः पादः प्रत्यक्ष-
कृतत्वात् भिन्नं वाक्यम् । हे अग्ने सख्ये । देवानां मनुष्याणां च स्तुत्य-
स्तोतृसम्बन्धः सख्यम् । तस्मिन् । सप्तमीनिर्देशाद्वर्तमाना इति वाक्यशेषः ।
मा रिषाम मा हिंसिष्यहि केनचित् वयम् । कस्य सख्ये । उच्यते । तव ॥

शकेम शक्नुयाम त्वां समिधम् । तुमर्थेऽयं कमुल् । समिन्धितुम् ।
साधयास्माकं धियः कर्माणि प्रज्ञा वा । किं च त्वे त्वयि देवाः हविः अदन्ति
भक्षयन्ति । आहुतं मर्यादया हुतम् । त्वमादित्यानदितेः पुत्रान् सर्वान्
देवान् यष्टुमावह । तान् हि उश्मसि कामयामहे वयम् किं च अग्ने ॥

भराम । शुद्धोऽप्ययं भरतिराङ्पूर्वार्थे द्रष्टव्यः । आहराम । त्वदर्थ-
मिध्मं कृण्वाम । हवींषि ते चितयन्तः ज्ञातवन्तः । किम् । सामर्थ्याद्यज्ञकर्म
त्वन्माहात्म्यं वा । पर्वणा पर्वणा । सप्तम्यर्थे तृतीयैषा । पर्वणि पर्वणि ।
पौर्णमास्याममावास्यायां चेत्यर्थः । वयम् । किं च जीवातवे । जीवातु-
र्जीविका तदर्थम् । प्रतरम् । क्रियाविशेषणमिदम् । प्रकृष्टतरं प्रवृद्धतरं
वा । साधयास्माकं धियः । किं च अग्ने ॥

1. With emendation of corruptions contained in Dr. Kunhan
Raja's edition.

Haradatta on Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha 2, 7, 1: अथ समावर्तने
समिदाधानम्—इमं स्तोमं इमां स्तुतिम् अर्हते स्तुत्यर्हाय जातवेदसे
जातधनाय जातप्रज्ञाय वा सम्महेम । महिः पूजायामन्यत्र, इह तु करोत्यर्थे
संस्कारे वा द्रष्टव्यः । कर्तुं संस्कर्तुं वा शक्नुयाम मनीषया स्वया
बुद्ध्या रथमिव यथा तक्षा रथं करोति गन्तुकामो वा यथा रथं
संस्करोति तद्वत् । किं कारणमग्नेः स्तुतिः क्रियते । उच्यते । भद्रा
हि हिशब्दो यस्मादित्यर्थः, यस्माद्भद्रा कल्याणी नः अस्माकं उपरि अस्मासु वा
प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टा अनुग्रहात्मिका मतिः अस्य अग्नेः संसदि सभायां यज्ञादि-
सभासु अस्माकमनुग्राहक इत्यर्थः । परः पादः प्रत्यक्षकृतत्वाद्भिन्नं
वाक्यम् । हे अग्ने तव सख्ये देवानां मनुष्याणां च स्तुत्यस्तोतृभाव-
लक्षणं सख्यं तत्र वर्तमाना वयं मा रिषाम मा केन चिद्विंसिष्यहि ॥

Sāyaṇa's explanation of SV. I, 1, 2, 7, 4: Identical with
his explanation of SV. II, 7, 3, 1, 1 referred to above, except that
the portion treating of grammar is here lacking.

Sāyaṇa on AD. 20, 13, 3: अर्हते पूज्याय । अर्हः प्रशंसायामिति
लटः शत्रादेशः । जातवेदसे जातप्रज्ञाय जातधनाय वा जातानां
उत्पन्नानां वेदित्रे वा इमं इदानीं क्रियमाणं स्तोमं एतत्स्तोत्रं मनीषया
निशितया बुद्ध्या सम्महेम सम्यक् पूजयेम निष्पादयेम । तत्र दृष्टान्तः ।
रथमिव यथा रथं रथकारः अक्षफलकाद्यवयवसंयोजनेन संस्करोति
तद्वत् । महानुभावस्याग्नेः स्तोमनिष्पादने अतिशयितया बुद्ध्या भवित-
व्यमिति प्राप्ते तत्सद्भावं दर्शयति । अस्य पूज्यस्याग्नेः संसदि
संसदेने उपसत्तौ तद्विषये नः अस्माकं प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टा मतिः भद्रा हि कल्याणी
खलु । अतः हे अग्ने तव सख्ये बन्धुभावे सति वयं स्तोतारो मा रिषाम हिंसि-
ता न भवेम ॥

As already observed above, we have not so far met with a
single instance where Sāyaṇa has borrowed *in toto* his explana-
tion of a mantra from the work of an earlier commentator.
Granting however, that SBr. 2, 4, 2-4 are exceptions and that
Prof. Bhattacharya is right in holding that Sāyaṇa's explana-
tions are borrowed from Guṇaviṣṇu, there must be some impera-
tive reason to impel Sāyaṇa not only to depart from his practice
of writing his own explanation, but also to refrain from borrow-
ing the explanations of Skandasvāmin or from repeating here (as
he has done in the case of Sāmaveda-saṃhitā II, 7, 3, 1, 1-3) his
own explanation of the same verses in his commentary on the
RV. This reason could only be that Sāyaṇa thought Guṇa-
viṣṇu's explanation to be the best in every way, one that conveyed

the information required, neither more nor less, in the appropriate words.

This reason however, will not serve in this connection. For, as we have seen above, Sāyaṇa's explanation of SMBr. 2, 4, 2 contains a quotation from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* which is lacking in Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation of that mantra; and in case Sāyaṇa really borrowed his explanation from Guṇaviṣṇu, he must then have interpolated this quotation into that explanation. In other words, Sāyaṇa must have felt dissatisfied with Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation for the lengthening of the short *a* in *mahema* and *riṣāma*, and therefore, added the sūtra from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* to explain it. In that case, one asks one's self, why should Sāyaṇa have borrowed at all from Guṇaviṣṇu? or, if borrow he must, why did he not borrow the explanation of Skandasvāmin, or repeat here the explanations given by him of these mantras in his commentary on the RV? These questions cannot be answered satisfactorily; and the quotation from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* in Sāyaṇa's explanation of SMBr. 2, 4, 2 thus shows that the explanation is Sāyaṇa's own, and that it is Guṇaviṣṇu, who has borrowed it from Sāyaṇa. Sāyaṇa, as we know, was quite conversant with the *Ṛk-saṃhitā* and the literature connected therewith, and there is nothing unusual in his citing a sūtra from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* in the course of his explanation.

The words *prṣṭhyasya śaḍahasya śaṣṭhe'hani āgni-mārute śastre parisamūhane ca viniyogaḥ* too that occur in the beginning of Guṇaviṣṇu's commentary on the above triplet of verses, indicate likewise that the explanation of Guṇaviṣṇu is borrowed. In the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of that author, there are only two occasions when he mentions a *śrauta-viniyoga* as contrasted with a *smārta-viniyoga*. His explanation of the hymn *ṛtam ca satyam ca...*, containing the statement *aśvamedhāvabhṛthe viniyuktāḥ* is one,¹ and that of the verses in question (namely, *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* 1, 7-9=SMBr. 2, 4, 2-4) is the other. The former explanation is, as shown above, borrowed from Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*; and since Guṇaviṣṇu's expla-

1. This hymn does not seem to be prescribed for use in the Aśvamedha bathing by any writer on *śrauta* ritual. It is said by Gautama in his *Dharma-sūtra* (24, 10) that the recitation of this

nations of the other verses of the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* do not contain any reference to *śrauta* rites, one is justified in concluding that he knew nothing of them and that his explanations of the verses in question, with their reference to the *śāstra* on *prṣṭhya śaḍaha*, are likewise borrowed.¹ As for Sāyaṇa, we know from his commentaries on the RV and the Taittiriya texts that he was well acquainted with *śrauta* rites, and a reference to such a rite in his explanation furnishes no occasion for surprise.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that Prof. Bhattacharya's opinion that Sāyaṇa borrowed his explanations from Guṇaviṣṇu is untenable, and that, in fact, it is Guṇaviṣṇu who has borrowed from Sāyaṇa. Since the latter died, as said above, in about 1386 A.D., while Raghunandana who mentions Guṇaviṣṇu lived in the 16th century A.D., we may conclude that Guṇaviṣṇu flourished in about 1460 A.D.

hymn removes all sins and confers on one the same benefit as does participation in the purificatory bath (*avabhṛtha*) of the Aśvamedha, *samamaśvamedhāvabhṛthena*. Halāyudha's words, *aśvamedhāvabhṛthe viniyogaḥ* seem to refer to this statement of Gautama. Compare in this connection the preliminary observations of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara in his commentary on this hymn (TA. 6, 2, 45-47).

1. On p. xxxvi of his *Introduction*, Prof. Bhattacharya has observed, "Guṇaviṣṇu has cited in his commentary a large number of passages from various works dealing with a variety of topics" and hence concluded that he was acquainted with the *Nighaṇṭu*, and hence concluded that he was acquainted with the *Nighaṇṭu*, *Nirukta*, *Yogi-yājñavalkya*, *Narasimha-purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, etc. The explanations in which these quotations occur are all borrowed by Guṇaviṣṇu either from Sāyaṇa or from Halāyudha, and Prof. Bhattacharya's above belief is hence unfounded. The only thing that can be safely asserted in connection with Guṇaviṣṇu is, that he was well-acquainted with Pāṇini's grammar.

A SHORT NOTE ON 'ASMĀKAM' IN SANSKRIT.

BY

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Prof. Brugmann says, "The form in 'ākam' is possibly the nom. acc. sing neut. although it is not easy to ascertain why this form was chosen for the genitive; but it is quite possible that 'asmākam' was originally adverbial with some meaning like 'on our side' 'by us'; then it may have had the attributive use with nouns. e.g. *asmākam gāyatrāḥ*", (Vol. III, part II, p. 396.)

But it may be said that, in expression like '*asmākam dhanam*', both the words may have been considered to have been in apposition. Since there is slight difference between 'our money' and 'money that is ours', the word '*asmākam*' may have been mistook for genitive. Then it may have been used along with *words of all genders in all numbers*. Such a change is seen in Tamil. The expression

avara...kayam (Purānānūru, 15) which originally meant 'wells which were theirs' is now taken to mean 'our wells', so that the word *avara* which was originally an *a.rinai* plural participial noun put in apposition with '*kayam*' (*a.rinai* plural noun) is now taken to be the genitive case of '*avar*'.¹

cf. अस्माकेन वृजनेनाजयेम (RV. P 43, 10)

अस्माकेभिर्नृभिरत्रास्वर्जय (RV. VIII, 16, 12.)

अस्माकांसो मघवानो वयं च (RV. VII, 78, 5.)

1. Though 'a' in '*avara*' is now taken to be the genitive case suffix, yet there is the restriction that words having it should govern only *a.rinai* plural nouns. This clearly narrates its history.

A NOTE ON THE DATING OF THE FRESCOES IN THE BṚHADĪŚVARA TEMPLE AT TANJORE.

BY

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The earlier paintings in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore form a distinct class by themselves. With the exception of a few traces in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, they are the only known examples of Hindu paintings of the classical type extant in the south. In studying the continuity of tradition in the classical art of painting in India, dating is a problem of considerable importance. With the exception of Mr. Govindaswami¹ and Mr. O. C. Gangoly², nobody has made any attempt at this problem; and their arguments are inconclusive.

DATE OF THE LATER PAINTINGS

There are two layers³ of paintings in the inner shrine of the Bṛhadīśvara temple—an earlier and a later one—which have been executed one over the other. The clue to the dating of the upper layer of painting is given by a painted inscription in Telugu—the language of the Nāyaks of Tanjore—on the western wall of compartment⁴ No. 1 under some portraits, probably of kings. From a close study of the wall and of the technique of the painting process adopted on it, there is no doubt that the painted inscriptions and the paintings belong to the same period. The inscription runs thus:—

“Cevvappa Nāyaṁḍu Accutappa Nāyaṁḍu
Raghunātha Nāyaṁḍu Rāmabhadra Nāyaṁḍu
Vijayarāghava Nāyaṁḍu Vyaya . . . ram.

1. The frescoes in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore—*Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vol II 1933; p. 1.

2. Discovery of Chola frescoes in Tanjore—*Indian Art and Letters* 1935, New series, Vol IX, No 2, p. 86.

3. Mr. S. K. Govindaswami loc cit p 2 ff.

4. The passage surrounding the inner shrine and containing the frescoes are divided into 15 compartments.

Ādinellodharmaya...ūātara - vra - a
Lakṣmama - gāru."¹

In this inscription is mentioned the name of the last king of the Nāyak dynasty of Tanjore—Vijayarāghava (1633-1673 A.D.)² who died in 1673 in a battle with Cokkanātha Nāyak of Madura. The painting on this wall must, therefore, have been executed during the time of Vijayarāghava or subsequent to his death.

It was suggested to me by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma that, if the missing letters between "Vyaya" and "ram" are supplied it should read "Vyaya Saṃvatsaram." According to Mr., L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's "Indian Ephemeris," Vyaya occurred in 1646-47 A. D. during the time of Vijayarāghava. It occurred again sixty years later, that is, in 1706-07 A. D. or about thirty-three years after the death of Vijayarāghava. From this it is clear that the paintings on this wall were executed either in 1646-47 A. D. or in 1706-07 A. D.

It is unlikely that the paintings came into existence during the Mahratta period, which began in 1674 A. D., because the Mahrattas would never have commemorated the dynasty, whose downfall was brought about by them. Further, there are some differences in style between the Nāyak and the Mahratta paintings. From the point of view of the technique and style, all the paintings on the upper layer are of the same class. They may, therefore, be dated from the 17th century A. D.

These paintings have been painted over a layer of more beautiful and early paintings. It may be argued that Vijayarāghava, being a devout and rank Vaishnavite, painted the walls over again to cover the details of earlier Saivite scenes. Mr N. K. Venkatesan³ says, "While the first three Nāyak kings held the balance between rival faiths in the state, the fourth king Vijayarāghava Nāyak grew somehow to be a rank Vaishnavite⁴ and tra-

1. The inscription was deciphered by Mr T. N. Ramachandran of the Archaeological Survey of India.

2. "History of the Nāyakas of by K. Sitaramiya, Tanjore".

3. Govinda Dikṣita—Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol II, p. 2828.

4. This statement does not seem to be corroborated facts, especially in the light of the existence of Śaivaite frescoes of his times.

tion says that this was the reason why the Nāyak rule came to an end with him, because he left off the evenness of temper so essential for a king, and became a partisan in his religious faith and hence in his public conduct as king." If this is true, it is strange that one finds at least as many Śaivite figures on the Nāyak layer as on the earlier one. The only explanation that can be offered for the super-imposition of an earlier layer of painting by the later layer is that the walls were specially prepared from time to time especially during festivals and fresh paintings were executed thereon.

DATE OF THE EARLIER PAINTINGS

The clue to the dating of the earlier frescoes is given by the scenes from the life of Saint Sundara depicted on one of the panels of the eastern wall of compartment No.7. Śiva appears before the assembly gathered to attend the wedding of Sundara, whom He claims as His slave. He then leads the assembly and Sundara to a temple where He disappears. Sundara goes to Kailāsa, mounted on an elephant preceded by King Cēramāṇ on horseback.

There are at least four important texts that treat of the life of Sundara. There is the "Patinonṛām Tirumuṛai" in "Tiruttonḍar Tiruvandādi", a Tamil work of the 10-11th century A.D. of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. Śēkkiḷār, the minister of Kulottuṅga II (1133-1150 A.D.)¹ wrote a Tamil work called "Tiruttonḍar Purāṇam", generally known as "Periyapurāṇam". A Telugu work of 1190 A. D. entitled "Basavapurāṇam"² by Palkuriki Somanātha Kavi, also depicts the life of Sundara. This work is very important, because its author lived in the 12th century A.D., about the time of Śēkkiḷār and should have been alive to the traditional account of the life of Sundara. A work in Sanskrit of uncertain date called "Agastya Bhaktavilāsa"³ is also known. It

1. I am indebted to Prof K.A. Nilakanta Sastri for these dates.

2. Pandit Prabhakara Sastri of the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras drew my attention to this book and translated for me the life of Sundara from it.

3. Dr. V. Raghavan pointed out that there are two Bhaktavilāsas, viz., Agastya Bhaktavilāsa and Upamanyu Bhaktavilāsa. Agastya and Upamanyu figure as narrators in both.

treats of the life of many Śaivite saints, Sundara among others. There are other texts in Kanarese¹ which, being later than the 12th century are not of great importance to the discussion here.

The journey of Sundara to Kailāsa riding an elephant² preceded by king Cēramāṇ on horseback is depicted in the earlier frescoes and these details are given only in the Periyapurāṇam and in none of the other texts. This difference is not a matter of popular belief or tradition because, none of the other texts quoted above, mentions this fact. It may be taken that the story of Sundara's journey to Kailāsa mounted on an elephant preceded by king Cēramāṇ emanated from Śēkkiḷār's imagination.³

As this scene, which is found nowhere else except in Śēkkiḷār's account, appears in the early paintings, it seems evident that it was based on Periyapurāṇam. As a minister and the most

Besides these, there are two more texts bearing on the lives of Śaivite saints, viz., a section in the Skandopapurāṇa and a section in Bhaviṣyottapurāṇa (Mss in the Govt. Oriental Mss. library, Madras). In the Sanskrit literature on the lives of Śaivite saints, there are two versions of Sundara's story. While one version stops with his life at Tiruvārūr and makes no mention of Cēramāṇ or Sundara's journey to Kailāsa on an elephant, the other (Ūpamanyu) deals with these incidents. There are other mutual differences also as well as differences from the Tamil literature on the Saints. But the evidences of these Sanskrit works having been produced under the influences of Tamil literature on the lives of saints are not wanting.

1. Aravattumūvara Purātana Caritre
Triṣaṣṭipurātana Caritre by Karnāṭaka Kavicakravarti
Aravattumūru Purātana Saranara Caritre.

2. "Mr. S. K. Govindaswamy has suggested that the seated figure on the elephant may represent Rājārāja himself taking part in some ceremony connected with the initial installation of the shrine. Whether the figure represents the king or not, there is little doubt that the scene represents some important ceremony connected with the installation, as the position of this group in close proximity to a representation of the shrine, with a painted image of Natarāja in front of the temple,"! O. C. Gangoly—loc cit p. 88. this identification is really strange.

3. Compare, "A careful study of the Periyapurāṇam reveals that details for which there is no warrant in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambī's short notes on the Śaivite saints make their appearance for the first time in Śēkkiḷār's account, for ought we know, Śēkkiḷār was guided by his imagination and by popular belief".
Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. The Colas. p. 18.

important officer of the state, Śēkkiḷār probably had important scenes from Periyapurāṇam specially executed by artists. It may, therefore, be safely presumed that the paintings were executed about the time of the Periyapurāṇam or immediately after. It is not unlikely that the portrait¹ of the king on the same wall may be that of Kulōttuṅga II, the king under whom Śēkkiḷār worked as a minister.

The technique and the style of the painting of the scenes from Sundara's life are not the best of their kind in the earlier group of paintings. On this evidence it may be argued that the scenes from Sundara's life represent a degenerate type of Cola art and that the other frescoes were executed before the days of Kulōttuṅga II. Even on the same wall there are paintings of Śiva in Yogāsana, Apsarasas dancing, an elephant, a horse, etc. which are some of the masterpieces of Cola art and bear a striking resemblance to the classical art of Ajanta and of the Pallavas and these are similar in technique and style to the strikingly beautiful paintings on the walls of compartments Nos. 10 and 11.

The technique of the fresco process requires that the paintings on a single wall should be executed at almost the same time. Otherwise, breaks will be evident by a clear line separating the old plaster or paint from the new. In fact, with many Italian frescoes, it has been possible to find out the extent of the work done each day by studying such breaks. No such line of demarcation could be found on this wall. Further, the plaster on this wall being very thin, the paintings should have been executed as rapidly as possible before the former dried up. Thus the entire subject-matter of the earlier frescoes on this wall must date from a single period. The difference in technique and style of some of the pictures is due to the fact that the artist embellished and paid greater attention to more sublime and larger subjects. Thus the earlier frescoes on this wall are works of the Cola period and date from the 12th century A.D., at the latest. It is probable that some of the pictures like that of Tripurāntaka which is a masterpiece of classical art, were executed about the same time. It seems improbable that these frescoes which are almost on adjacent walls should have been executed during the time of Rājārāja, that is, about two centuries earlier, as suggested by Mr. Govindaswamy and Mr. Gangoly in their articles already

1. Mr. S. K. Govindaswamy thinks that it probably represents Rājārāja. Mr Govindaswamy loc cit pp 9.

referred to. We can safely say that the classical art of Tanjore continues down to the 12th century A. D.

The Cola paintings thus date from the 12th century A. D. and the Nāyak paintings from the 17th. The intervening period of about five centuries marks the decline and disappearance of the classical art in Tanjore and the rise of the folk art as represented by the Nāyak art.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE BHAMATI (CATUSSUTRI). EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI AND C. KUNHAN RAJA. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The Bhāmātī is one of the authoritative treatises of the Advaita School of philosophy. In fact, it is one of the classics for the student of Vedānta. To master the Bhāmātī and have a grip of its Pañkti is the high water mark of consummate scholarship. The author, Vācaspati Miśra, is a scholar of prodigious learning—a Sarvatantrasvatantra—and the depth of his philosophic lore is unsurpassed. According to tradition, the work bears the name of the author's wife and the beautiful story about it mentioned in the introduction reveals the true qualities of an ancient Indian scholar. Vācaspati's prose, though written in a flowing and elegant Sanskrit style, is still the terse Śāstra style and is couched in the phraseology of Prācīna Tarka. It eludes often enough the grasp of the scholar. All Sanskrit philosophical treatises are written in a peculiar prose style which has even become stereotyped and standardised, so that the Pañkti-anvaya is itself a test of the mastery of the technique of the Śāstra and presents a great difficulty, especially to the modern student of Sanskrit. To translate such a technical work into English is a difficult task for scholars, even to those of the attainments of Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and Dr. Kunhan Raja. Translation is a difficult art. While being literal and accurate, it must bring out fairly clearly the meaning of the original, and while preserving the genius of the original, it must not sacrifice the genius and idiom of the language of translation and be unintelligible to the reader unacquainted with the language of the original. In this few can succeed or have succeeded, and it is no disparagement to any scholar to be told that he has failed to achieve this ideal. The difficulty is increased tenfold when rendering a difficult philosophical work bristling with technical words into English.

For example, there is the well-known sentence.

तथा चेदं ब्रह्मेति व्यापकविरुद्धोपलब्धिः

Stripped of all technicalities, the purport is this: The condition of all scientific enquiry is that the subject of enquiry must admit of doubt and that the enquiry must be fruitful of results, and there is no enquiry without doubt and utility. Hence there is no scope at all for scientific enquiry in the case of Brahman, in the absence doubt and utility. According to the well-known principle of logic, this is the difficulty that is encountered at the outset. For, the knowledge of Brahman is as daylight, and there is no wordly purpose also in such knowledge. The readers of the English translation will be unable to make out this meaning.

We congratulate the authors on this laudable attempt at translating one of the greatest philosophic works in Sanskrit and on, rendering thus, a great service to the philosophical world.

K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar.

THE MAHABHARATA, CONDENSED IN THE POETS' OWN WORDS BY
PANDIT A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR AND TRANSLATED INTO
ENGLISH BY V. RAGHAVAN, M. A., Ph. D. FOREWORD BY
SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Rs. 1—4—0.

The method of of condensation has been and could be, applied to no other ancient literary heritage of India to greater purpose than to the Mahābhārata. It has been justly remarked of the Epic that the trend of its main story is incomprehensibly lost in the immense over-growth of extraneous matter. The kernel of the Mahābhārata, the story of the feud in the Kuru family, abounds in conspicuously human pictures. The kernel is so heavily overlaid with didactic and religious lore that the throbbing life of the main theme is almost stifled under the latter. The effort which is so wisely made in this book of piercing to the core, slashing off huge masses on the surface is needed for revivifying the epic-theme. There is now a growing class of educated Indians which is likely to ignore the great national epic, if its approach to it is not facilitated by brevity and comprehensibility. To that class this publication is bound to be specially useful. Nor is the condensation appallingly rigorous. If we take the Mahābhārata-kernel to consist of about 8000 stanzas, the condensation is $\frac{1}{8}$ of the original. In about a thousand, stanzas, the reader is enabled to go through the adventures of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, the panorama passing before the readers' vision with the arresting liveliness of a sensational drama,

The compressed presentation happily focusses at close succession the vivid dramatic situations and engages the human interest of the modern reader in it most effectively.

To facilitate its comprehension, an English Translation has been made part of this publication. The Translator's Note reveals how intelligently the translator has comprehended the nature of his task. Trusting to his good sense, the translator, with his intimate understanding of the geniuses of both the languages, has presented an even narrative, chaste and eminently readable.

The utility of the Index to the proper names occurring in the Text, dealing with two-hundred headings, and serving as a veritable 'who is who' can not be overrated. As a fitting conclusion to the book, the learned translator adds a note on the message of the Mahābhārata, in which he expatiates on the weighty pronouncement of Ānandvardhana that the final import of the great epic is the emphasis on the realisation of the vanity of earthly glories and the attainment of śānti, leading to Moksa.

It is a modest statement of fact that the get up is attractive and the volume handy. We would like to point out to the publishers its need to use diacritical marks for the transliterated Sanskrit words. The price of the book is a marvel of cheapness.

Y. Mahalinga Sastri.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SERIES, No. 9.

THE COLAS VOL. I (TO THE ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I) BY
K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., PROFESSOR OF INDIAN
HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS.
1935—ANANDA PRESS, MADRAS. (PREFACE XII; CHAP-
TERS I TO XII PAGES 358; APPENDIX, ADDITIONAL NOTES
AND INDEX, PAGES 359 TO 718) (Price Rs. 8 or 12sh).

This volume is the first instalment, and a very substantial instalment full of promise, of a comprehensive and complete history of the Cōḷa epoch, which is admittedly the period when the constructive genius of the Tamil country rose to heights of achievement, at once superb and varied, in several spheres—government, art, religion and letters. In this volume, the learned author sets forth, in a systematic manner, all the trustworthy and noteworthy material concerning the history of the Cōḷas, that could be gathered from diverse sources—the portions of the Śaṅgam literature available in print, the religious and secular literature, mainly in Tamil, of the post-Śaṅgam age, inscriptions and grants which throw light on Cōḷa history in a direct or indirect manner, the monuments and coins of the Cōḷa period, the records left by the Chinese, Arab and early European travellers and Muslim historians; and he evaluates the data furnished by these sources with a remarkably sound judgment and a highly commendable degree of level-headedness and deduces his conclusions generally with very great caution. In Chapters II and III, when dealing with the references and notices concerning the Cōḷas in early Tamil literature and elsewhere, myths are discriminated from historical facts with a keen discernment; and by way of illustration, one may read the paragraphs dealing with the relation of the Moriyar (Mauryas) to the South Indian States and Karikāla's life and achievements, as also the foot-notes critically reviewing the opinions expressed by some writers on Māmūlanār's account of the Mauryan raid into the Tamil country and the schemes of Cōḷa genealogy suggested by Kanakasabhai and Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar. Chapter IV gives an interesting account of Government and social life in the Śaṅgam age and Chapters V to XII take the

history up to the accession of Kulōttuṅga I. The high level of historical judgment which Professor Nilakantha Sastri brings to bear on all his work is borne out amply by the unbiassed and sholarly way in which he examines numerous literary and epigraphic records in the course of his historiographic expositions in Chapters IV to XII. None can miss the strikingly sound line of reasoning adopted by Professor Nilakantha Sastri in the two Notes which are appended to Chapter X; and in the former of these two notes, the well-known verse about Mahīpāla, in the prologue to the Sanskrit drama Caṇḍakauśika, is correlated satisfactorily with all the historical facts ascertainable from epigraphic records about Mahīpāla. By the way, it may be pointed out that Sanskrit scholars may be tempted, not unreasonably, to suggest a veiled pun even in the word 'Candragupta' occurring in the Sanskrit verse in the prologue of the 'Caṇḍakauśika' and to point out that Mahīpāla was also Candragupta in the sense that he was helped by Candra (the Candella king Harṣadeva) in regaining his throne.

If Professor Nilakantha Sastri could be said to have erred in anything in his work under review, it is on the side of caution. While there is absolutely no overstatement of his case on any point and generally there is no understatement, his historical cautiousness may be said to have deterred him from pushing certain evidences to their logical conclusion. For instance, in discussing the place of the *Maṇimēkhalai* in the history of Tamil Literature, in the concluding part of Chapter III, he states, with perfect fairness, the case for assigning a *post-Diṇnāga* date to the Tamil classic; but he seems to get himself entangled in one of the snares of over-cautiousness, viz., *compromise*, and asserts "with some confidence that the *Nyāyapraveśa* has been inserted in the *Maṇimekhalai*". He fortifies his position by a reference to the presence of some pre-Diṇnāga elements of Nyāya and Sāmkhya in Chapter XXIX of the *Maṇimēkhalai*. He thinks also that the clue to the real history of this chapter is to be found in Mr. Dhruva's remark "The author of the *Maṇimēkhalai* does not perceive that the last two *avayavas* can never be included in the *Dṛṣṭānta* as he ignorantly imagines," and arrives at the conclusion that the chapter in question should have undergone a clumsy remodelling at the hands of a pious student of Diṇnāga of the post-Śaṅgam age. In the first place, it must be observed here that the characteristically incisive logic of Professor Nilakantha Sastri would certainly

enable him to see that the presence of certain pre-Diñnāga elements in the *Mañimekhalai*, while they may affect the beginning of the anterior limit, cannot affect its end which has been ascertained from the admittedly undoubted presupposition of Diñnāga's Nyāyapraveśa. Mr. Dhurva's remark about the absurdity of the statement in the *Mañimekhalai* that Upanaya and Nigamana could be subsumed under *Drṣṭānta* is unfortunately the result of some misapprehension; and the fact is that some early Buddhist writers on *Nyāya*, presumably Diñnāga and his contemporaries, actually contended that *Upanaya* and *Nigamana*, as recognised by Gautama and Vātsyāyana, might be subsumed under *drṣṭānta* and pointed attention has been drawn by Uddyotakara and Vācaspatiśra to this fact in the *avayava* sections of the Nyāyavārtika and Tātparyāṭīkā. Except in this single instance, Professor Nilakantha Sastri's historical shrewdness and caution have resulted almost invariably in safe and sound conclusions. How cautious Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastri has been, even in his casual statements, may be seen, for instance, from an observation like this "The Cōḷas, like the Pāṇḍyas, are spoken of in the plural in all the versions of the Aśoka edicts, and this has been held to imply that in Aśoka's time there were more than one Cōḷa and one Pāṇḍya king." In view of the fact that the main ground of this implication vanishes, the moment it is remembered that the plural form in Sanskrit would be the only correct form when the country (*janapada*) is referred to, the full significance of the saving phrase 'held to imply' put in by Professor K. A. N. Sastri can be easily appreciated.

Using to some extent the language of Wingfield-Stratford, it may be observed, in conclusion, that Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastri has successfully steered clear of the *scylla* of the *free lance*, with his glibly prolific arguments from words and accidental resemblances, and the *Charybdis* of the orthodox historian, with his chilling and icy scepticism; and he has produced this scholarly substantial and perfectly reliable account of the Cōḷa history, on every page of which one could see ample evidence of the author's wealth of learning, ripe scholarship and sound historical judgment.

S. Kuppuswami Sastri.

Uruṇu-toṭaru t-aṭukkiya vēṛṛumai-k kiḷavi
Oru-con nāṭaiya poruḷ-cen maruṅkē.

Words having the same case-suffix may be treated as if they are one if the sense allows it (i.e.) they may qualify the same word.

Ex. Antaṇar nūrkum aṭattirukum āti (Kurāl. 543)
(That which preceded Vedas and Dharma).

Note 1.—*Vēṛṛumai-k-kiḷavi* generally means case-suffix. Here it should be taken to denote a word with a case-suffix. Hence this suggests a *paribhāṣā* that wherever case-suffix is mentioned, the noun with the case-suffix should be taken if it is suggested by the context.

Note 2.—In the interpretation of this sūtra the commentators disagree. Iḷampūraṇar takes the word *uruṇu* in the sense *pala uruṇu*; but he has not explicitly stated that they should not be the same suffix though in the examples '*yāṇaiyatu kōṭṭai nūnik-kaṭ kuraittān*', '*Tiṇaiyir kiḷiyai-k-kaṭiyum*' which he has given, only different suffixes are used. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have stated that the same suffix should be repeated as '*eṇṇoṭu ninnoṭu*'. The former condemns Iḷampūraṇar that in the examples given by him there is no *aṭukkū* since *nūnikkaṇ* and *kiḷiyai* are only *aṭai-moli* (adjunct) to the verbs *kuraittān* and *kaṭiyum* respectively. Naccinārkkiniyar condemns Cēṇāvaraiyar that they are not *aṭai-moli*, but does not discuss whether they are *aṭukkū* or not. He states examples wherein words having the same suffix are read together, as also words with different suffixes. When we take into consideration the word '*aṭukkū*', the interpretation of Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be sound.

103. இறுதியு மிடையு மெல்லா வருபும்
நெறிபடு பொருள்வாயி னிலவுதல் வரையார்.
Iṇṭiyu m-iṭaiyu m-ellā v-urupum
Neri-paṭu poruḷ-vayi nilavutal varaiyār.

(Learned men) do not prevent words having different case-suffixes at the middle and at the end of the expression from qualifying the same (finishing) word.

Ex. (Cāttanatu) āṭaiyai valiyinār kāṭṭiṇkaṇ paṭittān.
(He took by force Cāttan's cloth in the forest).

Note 1.—The word *uruṇu* in the sūtra should be taken in the same way as *vēṛṛumai-k-kiḷavi* in the preceding sūtra.

Note 2.—The meaning given above is that given by Teyvacilaiyār. It is only in his interpretation this sūtra has a bearing to the previous sūtra and the following sūtra. The interpretation of ḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkiniyar is as follows:—Words with case-suffixes may stand both in the middle of sentences and at their end. ḷampūraṇar does not seem to have noted the difference between ātai cāttanatu (the cloth belongs to Cāttan) and cāttanatu ātai (Cāttan's cloth). Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkiniyar have noted it. The former has suggested that a word in the seventh case may be used at the end or the middle, of a sentence only if it qualifies a verb and not if it qualifies a noun. For instance the expression 'kunṛattukkaṭ-kūkai' (the owl on the rock) cannot be optionally used as 'kūkai kunṛattukkaṭ'. Civañāṇamuṇivar states that this sūtra speaks of the usage in Sanskrit that no word should have its suffix dropped. Since Tolkāppiyaṇār has to write sūtras dealing only with Tamil usage, Civañāṇamuṇivar's view is not sound.

Note 3.—The sentence "Ḳru-veyarkkākuṁ enṛōtappaṭṭa urupu-tammaiyē irutiyum itaiyum nirkum eṇa vakuttu-k-kūriṇāṇ enṇatū" found in Cēṇāvaraiyam seems to be an interpolation. It is not in conformity with his statements mentioned previous to it. Civañāṇamuṇivar condemns him for this sentence.

Note 4.—If we take the interpretation of Teyvaccilaiyār here, one may question how we get sanction for the use of words with case-suffixes at the end of sentences. It is suggested by the sūtra.

Aiyuṇ kaṇṇu m-allā-p poruḷ-vayin

Mey-y-urupu tokā v-iruti y-āṇa. (Col. 105.)

Note 5.—In Nacciṇārkkiniyam the sentences 'cāttanatu ātai enṇuḷi...viṇaikkurippāyirru' are found. They seem to be interpolation since the same idea has been stated by the sentence 'Iruti-k-kaṇ niṇṛakkāl viṇaikkurippām enṇu uṇarka.'

104. பிறிது பிறி தேற்றலு முருபுதொக வருதலும்
கெறிபட வழங்கிய வழிமருங்கு கென்ப.

Piritu-piri t-ērralu m-urupu-toka varutalum
Neri-paṭa valaṅkiya valī-marun k-eṇṇa.

It is said that usage sanctions nouns with case-suffixes qualifying different words in the middle and end of sentences and with the case-suffixes being dropped.

Ex. Kāṭaliyai-k koṇṭu kavunti-y-oṭu kūṭi kōvalaṇ ceṇṇāṇ
(Kōvalaṇ went taking his wife and meeting with
Kavunti).

Nilāṇ kaṭantāṇ (He crossed the land).

Cirril narrūṇ parri (Taking hold of the well-made pillar in the toy-house).

Note 1.—The meaning given above is that of Teyvaccilaiyār. Since the previous two sūtras have stated that words with case-suffixes qualify the same word, the former part of this sūtra enjoins that they may qualify different words. In so doing, that the case-suffixes also may be dropped is sanctioned by the second part of the sūtra.

Note 2.—The words irutiyum, itaiyum and ellā vūrupum are taken here from the previous sūtra.

Note 3.—The former part of this sūtra is interpreted by ḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkiniyar that one case suffix may be super-imposed to another. Though it has been said as a general case, they say that only the sixth case-suffix will be superimposed by another case-suffix, preferably an unlike suffix. Examples are cāttanatanai, cāttanatanāl, etc., cāttanatanatū also may be used. Teyvaccilaiyār points out two defects in their interpretation:—(1) Cāttanatu in cāttanatanai does not mean Cāttan's, but means Cāttan's object and hence it is not a noun in the sixth case, but a noun in the nominative case. (2) If, otherwise, Cāttanatanai should have the same meaning as Cāttanai, which is not the case. Teyvaccilaiyār is undoubtedly correct in his interpretation.

Note 4.—Since the elision of the case-suffixes is said in connection with vērrumai-t-lokai in Ecce-v-iyal, why should the same be enjoined here? Teyvaccilaiyār answers this question by saying that the elision of case-suffix mentioned in ecce-v-iyal is in connection with a compound and its mention here is intended where there is no compound. For instance in the expression 'cirril narrūṇ parri', cirril is a noun in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped and narrūṇ is a noun in the second case with the case-suffix dropped.

Note 5.—The word neri-paṭa-valaṅkiya-valī-marunṅin means 'in accepted usage'.

105. ஐயும் கண்ணு மல்லாப் பொருள்வயின்
மெய்யுருபு தொகாது விறுதி யான.

Aiyuṇ kaṇṇu. m-allā-p poruḷ-vayin

Mey-y-urupu tokā v-iruti y-āṇa.

No case-suffix will be elided at the end of a sentence except those of the second and the seventh.

Ex. *Yām ēttukam palavē* (Puṛa. 10, 13.)

[We shall extol many (of your qualities)].

Nalla illa ākuṇṇa . . . akanṇalai nātē (Puṛa. 7, 13.)

(Let the good become extinct in the wide land.)

Note. 1.—This sūtra is important since it has given rise to the notion that the words *kāl*, *akam*, *puṛam*, *vayin*, *kaṭai* etc. are seventh case-suffixes. For instance in the word '*mūṇṇalaṇ-kaṭai-y-ē*' of the first sūtra of Tolkāppiyam, the word *kaṭai* is a noun meaning place and the seventh case-suffix *kaṇ* is dropped on the strength of this sūtra, since the root '*al*' cannot have the seventh case-suffix with the cāriyai '*am*' in the middle. But later scholars take it to be a seventh case-suffix.

106. யாத னுருபிற் கூறிற் றுயினும்

பொருள்சென் மருங்கின் வேற்றுமை சாரும்.

Yāta n-urupir kūṇir r-āyinum

Poruḷ-ceṇ maruṇkiṇ vēṇṇumai cārum.

The meaning of the case-suffix can be taken in whatever form it is given expression to.

Ex. *Oru-kaṇai koṇṭu mū-v-eyil uṭarri* (Puṛa. 55, 2.)

(Having destroyed three forts with one arrow.)

Note. 1.—Here the word *koṇṭu* serves the purpose of the third case-suffix. Such words became to be called *collurupū*. This the only sūtra which sanctions it.

Note. 2.—Here the word *urupū* does not mean case-suffix, but *form* as in the sūtra.

A-m-mū v-urupina tōṇra l-ārē (Col. 160.)

Note. 3.—The meaning given above belongs to Teyvaccilaiyār. The other three think that this sūtra means that, whatever be the case-suffix, it should be taken to have the meaning of such case-suffix as suits the context. If that is taken to be the meaning of this sūtra, it may be said that it simply repeats the idea contained in the 101st sūtra mentioned above. Hence the interpretation of Teyvaccilaiyār is sound.

107. எதிர்மறுத்து மொழியினுந் தத்த மாயிற்

பொருணில திரியா வேற்றுமைச் சொல்லே.

Etirmaruttu moliyinun tatta maraṇṇir

Poruṇilai tiriyā vēṇṇumai-c-collē.

Case-suffixes will have the same meaning even when they qualify a negative verb.

Ex. *Yāloṭuṇ koḷḷā* (Puṛa. 92, 1.)

(They cannot be in harmony with the sound produced by *yāl*.)

Note. 1.—This sūtra clears the doubt whether case-suffixes may be used along with negative verbs since the doer, object, instrument etc. can be had only by a positive verb.

108. குஐ ஆனென வருஉ மிறுதி

அவ்வொடு சிவனுஞ் செய்யு ளுள்ளே.

Ku ai āṇ-ēṇa varuṇ m-iruti

A-v-v-oṭu civaṇuṇ ceyyu ḷ-uḷ-ḷē.

The words having suffixes *ku*, *ai* and *āṇ* at the end of a line may be appended by the particle '*a*' in verse.

Ex. *Alaru niraṇṇu m-eṇṇum varu-vali*

Neṭu-mutal kurukalu m-ukaram varutaluṇ

Kaṭinilai y-iṇṇē y-āciri yarkka. (Tol. Elut. 390.)

Kāva lōṇa-k kaḷiṇaṇ cum-mē.

Aiyuṇ kaṇṇu m-allā-ṇ poruḷ-vayin

Mey-y-urupu tokā v-iruti y-āṇa. (Tol. Col. 105.)

109. அனபு பிறத்த லஹினை மருங்கிற்

குங்வும் ஐயு மில்லென மொழிப.

A-ēṇa-ṇ pīratṭa l-aḷiṇai maruṇkiṇ

Kuvvum ai-yu m-illeṇa molipa.

'*Ku*' and '*ai*' cannot be appended by '*a*' if they are suffixed to *aḷiṇai* names.

Note. 1.—This sūtra suggests that only *āṇ* may be appended by '*a*' when it is suffixed both to *uyartiṇai* and *aḷiṇai* nouns.

110. இதன திதுவிற் நென்னுங் கிளவியும்

அதனைக் கொள்ளும் பொருள்வயி னானும்

அதனாற் செயற்படற் கொத்த கிளவியும்

முறைக்கொண் டெழுந்த பெயர்ச்சொற் கிளவியும்

பால்வரை கிளவியும் பண்பி னாக்கமும்

காலத்தி னறியும் வேற்றுமைக் கிளவியும்

பற்றுவிடு கிளவியுந் தீர்ந்துமொழிக் கிளவியும்

அன்ன பிறவுந்நான்க னுருபின்

தொன்னெறி மாயின தோன்ற லாதே.

Itaṇa t-ituvir r-eṇṇuṇ kiḷaviyum

Ataṇai-k koḷḷum poruḷ-vayi n-āṇum

Ataṇār ceyar-ṇaṭar k-otta kiḷaviyum

Muraṇai-k-koṇ ṭ-eḷunta peyar-c-cor kiḷaviyum

Pāl-varai kiḷaviyum paṇṇi n-ākkamuṇ

Kālatti n-arīyum vērrumai-k kīlaviyum
Parru-viṭu kīlaviyun tīrtu-mōḷi-k kīlaviyum
Aṇṇa pīravu nāṇka-n-urupin
Tonṇeri maraṇiṇa tōṇra l-ārē.

The fourth case is used from very ancient times in the following meanings:—in place of the sixth case in such sentences as 'this of this is of this sort'; in place of the second case in expressions like 'this will hold that'; in the place of the third case in sentences like 'this is fit to be done by him'; in place of sixth case denoting relationship; in place of the fifth case denoting the exact position of land and comparison; in place of the seventh case denoting time; and before the roots *parru-viṭu* and *tīr-* which generally take the fifth case.

- Ex. (1) *Yāṇaikkū-k kōṭu kūrītū.*
 (The tusk of the elephant is sharp.)
 (2) *Ivaṭṭu-k koḷḷum i-v-v-aṇi.*
 (This ornament will suit her.)
 (3) *Avaṭṭu-c ceyya-t-takum i-k-kūriyam.*
 (This act deserves to be done by him.)
 (4) *Āvīṭṭu-k kaṇṇū.*
 (The calf of the cow.)
 (5) *Karuvūrkku-k kīlakkū.*
 (East of Karūr.)
 (6) *Cāṭṭaṭṭu neṭiyan.*
 (He is taller than Cāṭṭaṭ.)
 (7) *Kālaikkū varum.*
 (He comes in the morning.)
 (8) *Maṇai-vūlkkaiṭṭu-p parru-viṭṭān.*
 (He extricated himself from the attachment of a house-holder.)
 (9) *Ūrkku-t tīrtān.*
 (He removed himself from the village.)

Note 1.—Under *aṇṇa pīravum* examples like 'kaṇṇaṇi nīruttal eṭitō...kuyil akavuṇ kural kēṭpōrkkū (Akanānūru, 97) (Is it easy to refrain from weeping for those who have the sweet notes of the cuckoo?).

Note 2.—Why should not the author have stated this sūtra after 100th sūtra, since this also deals with contamination? He may have done it. But Cēṇāvaraiyar says that sūtras from 84 to 100 dealt with the contamination of the case-suffixes used

in splitting compounds and this sūtra does not deal with the splitting of compounds.

111. எனை யருபு மன்ன மாபின
 மான மிலவே சொன்முறை யான.
Ēnai y-arupu m-anna maraṇiṇa
Māna m-ilavē con-murai y-āna.

There will be no harm if other case-suffixes also are used in a similar manner.

Ex. 'Nūlai-k kurrāṇ kūrīṇān' in place of 'nūlatu kurrāṇ kūrīṇān'. (He found fault with the work.)

Note 1.—The reading in all the books at the beginning of the second line is *māṇam* and it means harm. It seems to me that *māṇam* is a *tadbhava* and the Sanskrit word *māna* does not have that meaning. Hence my conjecture is that it should be *āṇam*, the *tadbhava* of *hāṇam*. One should explain the appearance of 'm' at the beginning. In sūtras like 'valleluttu mikīṇu māṇa m-illai (Tol. Elut. 231, 247, etc.) the splitting should have been wrongly done thus—valleluttu mikūṇum māṇam illai. Since Tolkāppiyāṇār is fully conversant with Sanskrit, I am sure he would not have committed this mistake. In later Tamil lexicons like 'Cūḍamaṇi' the word *māṇam* has been given the meaning *harm*.

112. வினையே செய்வது செயப்படு பொருளே
 நிலனே காலங் கருவி யென்ற
 இன்னதற் கிதுபய னாக வென்னும்
 அன்ன மரபி னிரண்டொடுத் தொகைஇ
 ஆயெய் டென்ப தொழிமுத னிலையே.
Viṇaiyē ceyvatu ceyappaṭu poruḷ-ē
Nilan-ē kālaṇ karuvi y-enrū
Inṇataṭ k-itu-paya n-āka v-ennum
Aṇṇa maraṇi n-iraṇṭōṭun tokaii
Ā-y-eṭ ṭ-en-ṭa toḷin-muta nilaiyē.

(Learned men) say that there are eight things that should precede an action:—*kṛti* (effort within the body of the doer), doer, object, place, time, instrument, the recipient and the purpose of doing.

Note 1.—The word *viṇai* in this sūtra means *kṛti* and not *kriyā*. But Cēṇāvaraiyar mistakes *viṇai* to mean *kriyā*; this is unsound since *kriyā* cannot precede *kriyā*. Naccinārkkūṇiyar takes *viṇai* to mean the verbal roots like *uṇ*, *tīṇ* etc.; this is also

unsound since the verbal roots are not one of the requisites for an action to take place.

Note. 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes *tolin-mulanilai* to mean *karakam*. Since *vinai* is not a *karakam*, this interpretation is unsound.

Note. 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār states that the fifth case meaning is not mentioned here perhaps with the idea that it is not a *karakam*; but it seems to be that the word *nilan* may stand both for the seventh case meaning and as the fifth case meaning.

Note 4.—The word *mutanilai* means 'that which precedes' and hence 'cause'.

Note 5.—The mention of '*innatarkū*' and '*itu payan āka*' as a group separated from '*vinai*', '*ceyvatū*', '*ceya-paṭu-poru*', '*nilan*', '*kālam*' and '*karuvi*' is due to the fact that the former group is not so important as the latter.

Note 6.—Cēṇavaraiyar says that, though the case, meanings have been mentioned in *vērṛumaiyiyal*, this sūtra is necessary since here the word *ceyappāṭuporu* gives the meaning of the second case in a comprehensive manner, *karuvi* includes *ēṭi*, *kālam* includes *vinai-cey-y-iṭam* and it has newly mentioned *vinai*. But it seems to me that, had it not been for this sūtra, 71st sūtra cannot be taken to mention the object as the meaning of the second case; besides this sūtra serves as a sort of introduction to the 114th sūtra.

113. அவைதாம்

வழங்கியன் மருங்கிற் குன்றுவ குன்றம்.

Avai-tām

Valaṅkiyaṇ maruṅkiṭ kuṇṇuva kuṇṇum.

Some of them may not be used in actual usage.

Note 1.—This sūtra is important since, otherwise, it may be taken that all the eight mentioned in the previous sūtra should be mentioned in a sentence.

114. முதலிற் கூறுஞ் சினையறி கிளவியுஞ்

சினையிற் கூறு முதலறி கிளவியும்

பிறந்தவழிக் கூறலும் பண்புகொள் பெயரும்

இயன்றது மொழிதலு மிருபெய ரொட்டும்

வினைமுத லுரைக்குஞ் கிளவியொடு தொகைஇ

அனையமர பினைவே யாகுபெயர்க் கிளவி.

Mutaliṭ kūrūṇ cinai-y-aṭi kiṭaviyūṇ

Cinai-y-iṭ kūrū mutal-aṭi kiṭaviyūm

Piranta-vali-k kūrūalum paṇṇu-koḷ peyarum
Iyanṇratu molitalu m-iruṇṇeya r-oṭṭum
Viṇai-muta l-uraikkūṇ kiṭaviyōṭu tokai
Anaiya-mara piṇavē y-ākuṇṇeyar-k kiṭavi.

Ākuṇṇeyar or metonymy is of the following kinds:—whole is put for the part, part for the whole, the place of production for the product, quality for the object possessing it, cause for effect, *iruṇṇeyar-oṭṭū* or the compound made up of two words of which the second member denotes a part and the first an object similar to it or its action, the doer for the object done etc.

(1) *Teṇku tinṇāṇ.*

(He ate the cocoanut.)

Teṇkū generally means 'cocoanut tree'. Here it means cocoanut fruit.

(2) *Paṇi-vār cimaiyūṇ kāṇam pōki* (Maturaikkāñci, 148.)
(Having traversed through the forests full of mountains covered with snow).

Cimaiyam which generally means 'peak' denotes here 'mountains having peaks.'

(3) *Cil-pūṇ-kaliṅkatta!* (Kalittokai. 56.)
(She wears the cloth made in Kalinga which has a few flowers).

(4) *Muruku urāla-t talai-c-ceṇṇū* (Maturaikkāñci, 181.)
(Having gone against (the enemies) like *Murukan*).

Here the quality *Muruku* is put for *Murukan*.

(5) *I-k-kuṭam poṇ.*

(This pot is gold.)

Here the word *poṇ* is put for the object made of *poṇ*.

(6) (a) *Tuṭi-y-iṭai vantā!*

(The woman, having her waist like *tuṭi*, came.)

(b) *Īr-ōti y-eṇ-rōliyum varumē* (Akanāṇūṇ 107.)

(My friend also who has her hair cool comes.)

(7) *Tiruvalluvar paṭi.*

(Read the *Kuṭaḷ* written by Tiruvalluvar).

Note 1.—Some may question the need of this sūtra here. But from the 112nd sūtra the sentences like *teṇku tinṇāṇ*, may be viewed as incorrect since *teṇkū* is not any one of the eight mentioned above. But since such sentences have come in vogue, their usage must receive the sanction of Tolkāppiyāṇār. Hence he has read this sūtra here.

Note 2.—As regards *iru-peyar-oṭṭū* there is difference of opinion among commentators. Ḥampūraṇar and Cēṇāvaraiyar feel that it is identical with *aṇmolī-t-lokai*; Naccinārkkiniyar takes compounds like *makkaṭ-cuṭṭū* in Tol. col. i where the second member denotes by metonymy *cuṭṭappaṭum-poruḷ*, as *iru-peyar-oṭṭū*. Civaṇānamuṇivar agrees with Naccinārkkiniyar. Teyvaccilaiyār, on the other hand, takes such instances like *tuṭi-y-iṭai* and *tāl-kulal* as are taken by others as *uvama-t-lokai-p-purattu-p-piranta-v-aṇmolī-t-lokai* and *viṇai-t-lokai-p-purattu-p-piranta-v-aṇmolī-t-lokai* and states two reasons for his view:—(1) Tolkāppiyānār has not stated in 418th sūtra *uvama-t-lokai-p-purattu-p-piranta-v-aṇmolī-t-lokai* and *viṇai-t-lokai-p-purattu-p-piranta-v-aṇmolī-t-lokai* and (2) the second member of the compound here is connected with the whole which the compound denotes, while that of *aṇmolī-t-lokai* is not connected with it. Teyvaccilaiyār's opinion seems to agree with Tolkāppiyānār.

Note 3.—Since in the opinion of Cēṇāvaraiyar, *iru-peyar-oṭṭū* and *aṇmolī-t-lokai* are identical, he raises the question that this need not be mentioned here since *aṇmolī-t-lokai* is treated in *ecca-v-iyal* and answers it thus:—in the section on compounds he mentioned *aṇmolī-t-lokai* and in the section dealing with nouns as *iyar-peyar* and *āku-peyar* he has mentioned *iru-peyar-oṭṭū* here. The reason does not seem to be sound.

Note 4.—Under *viṇai-mutal-uraikkun-kīlavi*, Ḥampūraṇar has given Tolkāppiyam, *Kapilam* as examples. Since they are different from the words Tolkāppiyam and *Kapilam* Cēṇāvaraiyar condemns Ḥampūraṇar. Naccinārkkiniyar cites under this sūtra the example '*I-v-vūṭai kōlikan*' given by Cēṇāvaraiyar and under the sūtra '*kīlanta v-alla vēru-pira tōṇinum*' (Tol. Col. 117) the examples '*Tolkāppiyam*' and '*Kapilam*'. This is one of the instances wherein Naccinārkkiniyar sides both with Ḥampūraṇar and Cēṇāvaraiyar when both of them differ in their opinion.

Note 5.—In Cēṇāvaraiyam the sentence '*Āku-peyar eluvāy-vērrumai-mayakkam-ātalān iṇṭu kūṇiṇār-eṇṇārāl Uṇaiyāciriyaṇ-eṇṇ*' is found. This sentence is not found in the Namasivaya Mudaliyar's Ḥampūraṇam edition. But Naccinārkkiniyar states at the last sūtra of this chapter '*I-v-v-āku-peyarkaḷ eluvāy-vērrumai mayakkam-eṇṇu uṇarka*'. If he had stated this after meeting the objections raised by Cēṇāvaraiyar against Ḥampūraṇar, it would have been correct.

115. அவைதாம்
தத்தம் பொருள்வயிற் தம்மொடு சிவனலும்
ஒப்பில் வழியாற் பிறிதுபொருள் சுட்டலும்
அப்பன் பின்னவே துவலுக் காலை
வேற்றுமை மருங்கிற் போற்றல் வேண்டும்.
Availām
Tattam poruḷ-vayir rammoṭu civaṇalum
Oppil valiyār piritu-poruḷ cuṭṭalum
A-p-paṇ piṇavē nuvaluk kālai
vērrumai maruṅkiṇ pōṇṇal vēṇṇum.

They are of two kinds; one denoting those that are connected with them and the other denoting those that are not connected with them. If there is any deviation in the literature, they should be taken into account.

Note.—This sūtra deals with another kind of classification of *ākupeyar*. I think that '*tattam--poruḷ-vayir-rammoṭu civaṇal*' and '*Ajahallakṣaṇā*' are identical and '*oppil-valiyār-piritu-poruḷ-cuṭṭal*' and '*Jahallakṣaṇā*' are identical. The fourth line, in my opinion should be a different sūtra dealing with '*Jahad-agahal-lakṣaṇā*'. Ḥampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiniyar take it as a separate sūtra, but they interpret *vērrumai* as case-suffix instead of deviation. Teyvaccilaiyār takes all the four lines as one sūtra and states that *ākupeyar* is of four kinds:—*tattam-poruḷ-vayir-civaṇal*, *rammoṭu civaṇal*, *oppil-valiyār-cuṭṭal* and *piritu-poruḷ-cuṭṭal* and interprets *vērrumai* to be the case-suffix. Cēṇāvaraiyar also takes all the four lines into one sūtra and takes *a-p-paṇpiṇavē* to be the adjunct of *vērrumai*.

116. அளவு நிறையு மவற்றொடு கொள்வழி
உளவென மொழிப வுணர்ந்திடு கொடுபவரி
Alavu niraivu m-avaraiyāṇai kōḷi
Uḷa-v-eṇa molipa v-uṇarntiṇi kōḷe.

Learned men say that words denoting measures and weights are taken with them.

- Ex. (1) *Kuṇṇi koṭu*.
[Give me a *kuṇṇi* (four measures of corn).]
(2) *Oru cēr koṭu*.
[Give me one seer (of oil, etc.).]

Note 1.—These are cases of '*jahad-agahal-lakṣaṇā*'. In order to serve as an introduction to this I think we should take the fourth line of the previous sūtra as a separate one.

Note 2.—Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar think that the words denoting numbers are not *ākupēyar*; they have said so perhaps because similar words in Sanskrit denote both numbers and numerical objects. Civañānamuṇiyar condemns them. I agree with Civañānamuṇiyar.

117. கிளந்த வல்ல வேறுபிற தோன்றினும்
கிளந்தவற் றியலா னுணர்ந்தனர் கொளலே.
Kiṇanta v-alla vēru-pira tōṇṇiṇuṇ
Kiṇantavar piyalā u-ṇṇarntaṇar koḷalē.

If, anything not mentioned here appears in literature, it should be taken into account on the lines chalked above.

- Ex. *yāl kēṭṭāṇ*.
(He listened to the notes of *yāl*)
(Here the instrument *yāl* is put for its notes.)
Yāṇai vāṇṭāṇ.
(Elephant-like person came.)
(Here the word *yāṇai* refers to a person resembling it.)

Note—This sūtra suggests that the kinds of metonymy are so varied that they have not been mentioned in an exhaustive manner in the 114th sūtra.

Vērrumai-mayaṇkiyal ends.



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