

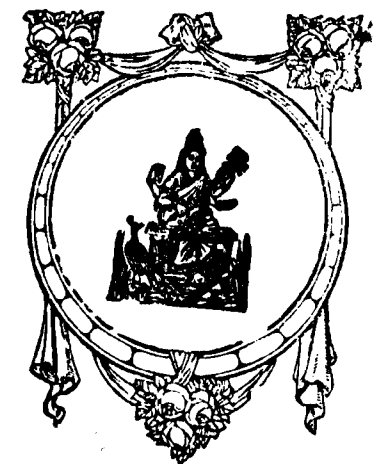
9362
Quarterly

1943
Vol. IX, Part I.

THE
JOURNAL
OF
ORIENTAL RESEARCH
MADRAS

January—
March

1935



MADRAS
PRINTED AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MYLAPORE
1935

Annual subscription Inland, Rs. 6.

Foreign, 10 sh.

Each part separately Rupees Two, Postage inclusive.

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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?'
कलाचार्येणाभिहितम् । सुष्ठु परिणताः । देव ! निष्पन्न एव कलासु
नन्दिवर्धनकुमारः । तथा हि—स्वीकृतमनेन समस्तं लिपिज्ञानम् ।
.....अनुचराणीव नरलक्षणादीनि आधेयविक्रयाणि 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 ।

प्रेम्पुरानाययत् पृथ्वा 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 निपुणचित्रकरैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपायनी-
कृतानि रसातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिविम्बानि 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 Paṇḍarāvihvala

तत्तद्रूपगतं भावं पटे रूपं प्रदर्श्य च ।

विजानात्युभयोः प्रीतिं चतुरा शिल्पिनी यथा ॥

Dūtīkarmaparakāśa, p. 26.

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

तद्दृष्ट्वा मन्त्रिणस्तस्य जगदुस्तां तपस्विनीम् ।
 अर्ये सुन्दरसेनं त्वं देवमत्र पटे लिख ॥
 सदृशालेख्यविज्ञानं तावद्रीक्षामहे तव ।
 तच्छुत्वा लिलेखैतं कुमारं सा क्षणात् पदे ॥
 तं चातिसदृशं दृष्ट्वा सर्वेऽप्यत्रैवमब्रुवन् ।
 नास्त्यालेख्यविसंवादो भगवत्या मनागिति ॥
 अयं कुमार एवेति चित्रेऽस्मिन्नायते हि धीः ।
 तन्मन्दारवतीदेवीरूपं नात्र विसंवदेत् ॥

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 दिङ्मुखख्यातरूपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विद्व-
 रूपाण्यादरप्रवर्तितैश्चित्रकृद्भिरभिलिख्योपनीतान्यजस्रमवलोकयतःमे गताः
 कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः । T. M., p. 263.

कदाचिदन्तिकन्यस्तविविधवर्तिकासमुद्रा प्रगुणीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः
 पुरोऽवस्थापिते पृथुनि चित्रफलेक निपुणमालोच्यालोच्य मकरकेतुवाणत्रातविद्व-
 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.

कथमियमतिककन्दुकक्रीडया मध्यमायासत्यल्पमेवा 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.

एतच्छुत्वा 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 Rukmīṇiharaṇa-Īhāmṛga shows this useful purpose of pictures in the lines—

(ततः प्रविशति कृष्णालेख्यव्यग्रहस्ता रुक्मिणी मकरन्दिका च)

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

सखि ! तदा ससंभ्रममुत्कण्ठिताहं भर्तु रूपदर्शनेन तथा न वितृष्णास्मि
 यथाद्य 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 वक्तुं सखीनां
 स्मितसुभगमुखश्रीर्लज्जते यत्र योषा ॥ Harivilāsa, V, 12.
 आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा बलिव्याकुला वा
 मत्सादृश्यं विरहतनु वा भावगम्यं लिखन्ती । Megha. II, Śl. 18.
 आकर्णाश्चितधन्वनः करिवरव्यापादनायोधतान्
 विन्ध्यालेख्यमहाटवीषु मृगयोत्साहे सखीनां पतीन् ।
 कोदण्डाञ्चलवद्धनिर्मदशिखिप्रस्फारपिच्छवजं
 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 प्राहयतो
 राजमण्डलादाजीवं कुर्यात् । Vol. I., T. S. S., Chap. II, Adh. 17, Pra-
 karaṇa 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 कलाकलापकुशल 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.

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

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

आज्ञाप्यमानशिर्षिजनानि संभ्रान्तप्रेभ्यवर्गलुलितपुष्पोपहाराणि स्पर्धन्त
 इवान्योन्यं भवनद्वाराणि ।.....पीनस्तनतटविसर्पिणः पिप्यन्ते 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-māvaticā 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 खलतरोऽयवा शिल्पी ।
 वञ्चितसकलजनानां तासामपि वल्लभो 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 हनुमान् बध्यताम् । Vol. I, p. 394. Madras Mss.

The Yaśastilakacampū mentions similar pictures (on banners)

अतिसविधसंचरत्सुरसुन्दरीकरचापलविलुप्तकेतुकाण्डचित्रैः । 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 Śilparatna 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 Kādambārī, in the Pradyumnābhyudaya, the Gāthāsaptasatī and in the Ratnavālī.

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
आलेख्येषु लक्ष्यते ।

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

सणिअं सणिअं ललिअङ्गुलीअ मअणवडलाअणमिसेण ।

बन्धेइ धवलवणवट्टअं व वणिआहरे तरुणी ॥

[शनकैः शनकैर्ललिताङ्गुल्या मदनपटलापनमिषेण ।

बध्नाति धवलव्रणपट्टमिव व्रणिताधरे तरुणी ॥]

Gāthāsaptasatī, V, Śl. 58.

सागरिका—एतदप्यस्ति मे प्रक्षितुं कौतूहलम् । किं यथा तातस्य
अन्तःपुरे भगवाननङ्गोऽर्च्यते इहापि तथैव किं वान्यथेति । Ratnavālī 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 जीविदव्वं विसमाहो होइ भत्तिगहिआदो ।

मारेइ सव्वलोअं जो तेण जमेण जीआमो ॥

जाव एवं गेहं पविसिअ जमपडं दंसअन्तो गीआई 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 unmīlana 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 Āryāsaptasatī—

कस्तां निन्दति लुम्पति कः स्मरफलकस्य वर्णकं मुग्धः ।

को भवति रत्नकण्टकममृते कस्यारुचिरुदेति ॥ Śl. 189.

is one of the many such found in literature. Similarly we have the Sūtrapāṭa process given in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, Suvṛttatilaka of Kṣemendra, Śṛṅgāradhanadakāvya and the Kārṇasundarī.

अव्यक्तव्याकृती चित्रसूत्रिताविव तौ स्थितौ ।
वीक्ष्यारिकटके लक्ष्मीं पृष्टाद्विस्मयमीयतुः ॥

Rājatarāṅgī, VIII, 2587.

द्वितीयार्धे समस्तपरा यथा गन्दितकस्य—

करतरलितबन्धं कञ्चुकं कुर्वतीनां
प्रतिफलितमिदानीं दैपमाताम्रमर्चिः ।

स्तनतटपरिणाहे भामिनीनां भविष्य-

नखपदलिपिलीलासूत्रपातं करोति ॥ Suvṛttatilaka, Śl. 41.

मात्रा चित्रविशेषलेखनविधावादिष्टपूर्वा चिरं
विष्णोर्जागरणोत्सवाय सुदती रेखामधादग्रतः ।

कैलासाचलगामिमानससरः स्वच्छं लिखेत्यद्भुता

क्रीडाशैलसरश्चकार विकसज्जाम्बूनदाम्भोरुहम् ॥

Śṛṅgāradhanadaśataka, Śl. 46.

राजा—धातुस्तन्मुखवर्तनाफलहकः श्यामावधूवल्लभ-

स्तल्लेखोद्यततूलिकाप्रगलितास्ताराः सुधाविप्रुषः ।

तल्लावण्यरसस्य शेषममला सा शारदी कौमुदी

तद्भूनिर्मितिमानसूत्रमपि तच्चापं मनोजन्मनः ॥

Karṇasundarī. Act I, Śl.

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 विधिर्निभृतं हसित्वा प्रोज्झति ॥]

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 Karpūramañjarī and in the Udayasundarikathā we have the word used in this sense.

यशः कूर्चिकया चित्रं दिग्भित्तिषु निविष्टया ।

द्रविडीगण्डफलके तेनावर्त्यत पाण्डिमा ॥

Vikramāṅkadevacarita, IV, Śl. 22.

कवि कसु वणिगआओ पट्टए वहेहि

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

त्वया हि बहुशश्चित्रेण वर्तिता दृष्टाश्च त्रिभुवनविवरवर्तिनो युवानः ।

Udayasundarikathā, p. 100.

The meaning of the word in the verses of Ratnākara

लक्ष्णत्वं विरलविलेपनश्रियस्ता विभ्रत्यो रुचिरतराङ्गवर्तनाभिः ॥

सद्रूपाः सललितनाट्यचित्रभितीरालोक्ष्याभिमतजनः पुषोष तोषम् ॥

विचित्रस्यानकोपेताः सुकुमाराङ्गवर्तनाः ।

नृत्ते 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 ।

Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti, I, ii, 13.

But, perfect modelling was also attempted in the pictures. Passages like स्वलतीव मे दृष्टिर्निम्नोन्नतप्रदेशेषु in the Śākuntala Act VI राजनीति-रिव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया दिनकरप्रभेव प्रकाशितव्यक्तनिम्नोन्नतविभागा.... चक्रवर्तिकन्यका in the Tilakamañjarī, p. 135, and निम्नोन्नतप्रदेशप्रकाशन-शिल्पिनि यौवने सा रूपसंपन्नेदीयसी बुद्धदासी in the Yaśastilakacampū (Vol. II, p. 312) all show a high sense of modelling possessed by our artistic ancestors. Varṇasthiti 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 बिभर्तु या ।

स्वरभेदमुपैतु या कथं कलितानल्पमुखारवा न वा ॥

Naiṣadha, II, 98.

and the gāthā of Śātavāhana

अविच्छिन्नप्रियालिङ्गनाभिलाषमात्मनः प्रकाशयन्ती काव्यन्यापदेशेन
वल्लभमाह—

वण्णक्रमरहिअस्स वि एस गुणो णवरि चित्तकम्मस्स ।

णिमिसं पि जं ण मुञ्चइ पिओ जणो गाढमुवऊढो ॥

[वर्णक्रमरहितस्याप्येष गुणः केवलं चित्रकर्मणः ।

निमिषमपि यत्र मुञ्चति प्रियो जनो गाढमुपगूढः ॥]

Gāthāsaptasati, VII, 12.

The unmilana process is best explained in the verse of Ratnākara

यस्याभियाति भवनेष्वसमातचित्रसंभारभित्तिपुरुषा मलिनीभवन्तः ।

उन्मीलनावसरशून्यदृशः समिद्धां दध्युर्दिवानिशमिव श्रियमव्यवस्थाम् ॥

Haravijaya, XVI, 65.

Unmilana is given by Ratnākara in another verse also

सभूमिलाभं शुभवर्तिरेखया मनोरमं मण्डलकार्यमस्खलत् ।

अशेषमुन्मीलयति क्षमाभृतां विचित्ररूपा ननु नीतितुलिका ॥

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 दधतीरक्षिमद्वयाः 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 Dharmaśarmābhyudaya

निर्माय निर्माय पुरीः सुराणां यच्छिक्षितं शिल्पकलासु दाक्ष्यम् ।

तस्यैव धात्रा विहितास्ति तत्र प्रकर्षसीमा नगरी सुसीमा ॥ IV, 13.

and of the Vikramāṅkadevacarita

नित्याभ्यासात् परिणतलिपेः स्रष्टुराश्चर्यलेखं

तल्लवण्यं वपुषि ललिते तस्य भूपालसूनोः ।

यत्र स्फूर्जल्लभललनालोकलोभैकपात्रे

जागर्ति ज्ञानिनदमुखरः 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 Upamitibhavaprapaṇcācāthā 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, अभिजात्यशंसिनी च नम्रता, पाण्डरा च मुखच्छविः, अनतिपरिभुक्तसुभगा च तनुः, प्रौढतानुविद्धा च दृष्टिः । न चैषा प्रोषितभर्तुका प्रवासचिह्नस्यैक-वेण्यादेरदर्शनात् । लक्ष्म चैतदक्षिणपार्श्ववर्ति । तदियं वृद्धस्य कस्यचिद्वणिजो नातिपुंस्त्वस्य यथार्हसंभोगालाभपीडिता गृहिणी त्वयातिकौशलाद्यद्यदष्टमालिखिता भवितुमर्हति'—इति । स तमभिप्रशस्याशंसत्—'सत्यमिदम् । अवन्तिपुर्यामुज्जयिन्यामनन्तकीर्तिनाम्नः सार्थवाहस्य भार्या यथार्थनामा नितम्बवती नामैषा सौन्दर्यविस्मितेन मयैवमालिखिता'—इति ।

Uttarapīṭhikā, 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 'pratyagravarṇarāga'. 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 प्रक्षे । भवतु प्रमार्जिष्यामि तावदहम् । ही ही ! साधुरे ! चित्रकर ! भाव ! साधु ! युक्तलेखतया वर्णानां यथा प्रमार्जि तया 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 कान्तिरित्याहुर्गणं गुणविशारदाः ।

पुराणचित्रस्थानीयं तेन बन्धं कवेर्वचः ॥

Kāvya-lankārasūtravṛtti, 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 करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालमङ्गाः ।

नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरन्ध्रसिंहप्रद्वतं वहन्ति ॥

स्तम्भेषु योषित्प्रतियातनानामुत्क्रान्तवर्णक्रमधूसराणाम् ।

स्तनोत्तरीयाणि भवन्ति सङ्गान्निर्मोकपट्टाः फणिभिर्विमुक्ताः ॥

Raghuvamśa, VII, 16-17.

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

फणिभिः प्रतिबिम्बमातरः शितिभिर्भान्ति शिरोऽवलम्बिभिः ।

रचितैरिव वेणिबन्धनैर्विरहादस्य पुरस्य शासितुः ॥

प्रतिमा विशदेन हतिकापटलेनावृतदृष्टिरिक्ष्यते ।

रुदितैरिव पुष्पितेक्षणा विपुलत्रासकृतैरनेकशः ॥

श्लयभित्तिविरूढभूरुहस्थिरमूलाग्रविनिर्गमक्षतम् ।

स्फुटतीव भृशं शुचातुरं हृदयं यद्गृहचित्रयोषिताम् ॥

नकुलः परिजीर्णवैबुधप्रातर्विम्बाननमध्यरन्ध्रतः ।

परिकीर्षयति 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 किरीटी 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 शबरेरालोक्य 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 Viṣṇu-dharmottara. 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 Upamitibhavaprapaṇcācāthā the verandahs of the Jain temple are described as filled with such patterns and designs of Raṅgoli.

विचित्रभक्तिविन्यासैर्गन्धोद्गुरसुवर्णकैः ।

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 दक्षस्व रङ्गवलिप्रदानेषु । Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 350.

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

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

मन्त्रिचोलाञ्चलसंमार्जनेन भग्यमानरङ्गावलिः ॥

Udayasundarikathā, p. 39.

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

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

Act, IV.

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

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 बिन्दुमिवेन्दुमौलिदैव्यामूर्ती च तदस्तरेखा ॥

Vasantavilāsa, I, 43.

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

यद्वप्रमौलौ कपिशीर्षमाला मान्त्री ठकारालिधोमुखीव । Ibid. II, 43.

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

पूर्वनायिकासखीं प्रति नायको वक्ति—

निहितायामस्यामपि सैवैका मनसि मे स्फुरति ।

रेखान्तरोपधानात् पत्राक्षरराजिरिव 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 Sānchi tope was in fact carved by the ivory workers of Bhilsa (Vidiśā) as we learn from the inscription there. Vāmana records likewise in his Kāvyaśāṅkārāsūtravṛtti that gemwork was cleverly done and figures of gods were cut in them according to the intaglio process.

देवीभावं गमिता परिवारपदं कथं भजत्येषा ।

न खलु परिभोगयोग्यं दैवतरूपाङ्कितं 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 Maliyāmpūṇḍi 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 (Anūrādha)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.

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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 Cendalūr 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. I, 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) Jayasimha 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) Jayasimhavallabha I ¹	... 33 years	30 years
(3) Indrabhaṭṭāraka	... 7 days	
(4) Viṣṇuvardhana II	... 9 years	
(5) Maṅgi-yuvarāja	... 25 years	
(6) Jayasimhavallabha 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 Jayasimha 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 Digumaṅṇu 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) Śaktivarman I ... 12 years
 (29) Vimalāditya ... 7 years
 (30) Rāja Rāja I ... 40 years
 (31) Śaktivarman 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 Uruṭūru and the Pōṇaṅgi 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 Kalucumbāṇṇu grant (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 177 ff.) of Amma II states that he ruled for 9 months.

4. The Digumārṇu 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	ḍa	...	ha	
9.	jha	dha	...		
0.	ñā	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.
7. C. P. no. 8 of 1913-14.
8. 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 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 saṁkrānti. 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
	" "	Pamiḍimu-kkalāpts ⁴	..	Kārtika Śu. di. 15, Lunar eclipse
6	Maṅgi yuvarāja	Cendālūr pts. ⁵	2nd	Vaiśākha Śu. di. 15, Lunar eclipse
7	Jayasimha II	Penuka-paru grt. ⁶	..	Jyēṣṭha paurṇamī, Saṁkrānti
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, Kum-bhalagna (Coronation date)
11	Vimalāditya	Ranasti-pūndi 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	..	Ś. 952, Sun in Karkatā. Śu. di. 5, Sunday.
14	Śaktivarma II	Tel. Acad. pts. ²	..	Ś. 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.

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. Hultzschi, in the Epigraphia Indica.⁵ These two scholars are divided in their opinion as to the identification of Pr̥thivīduvarāja, who figures in this grant as its ājñāpti (executor). The date of this grant was given, as "Pravardhamāna Vijayarāja Samvatsara ēkaviṃśati, the ninth day of the month of Kārtika." While Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao's date for this grant is A. D. 611, Hultzschi 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 ājñāpti — Pr̥thivīduvarāja, who was taken to be no other than Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates⁶ of Śaka 532. The reasons that tempted him to identify Pr̥thivīduvarāja 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 Pr̥thivīduvarāja 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, Kirtivarma and Maṅgalīśa 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 Maṅgalīśa, 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 Kirtivarma 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 Hultzsch. 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. Hultzsch 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. Hultzsch.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. Sātālūr 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

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 Sīṃhamāsa 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 Mārgaśīra ba. di. 13, in lunar reckoning. As the given *tithi* is of the dark fortnight, it helps us to some extent. If Mārgaśīra, 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 Mārgaśīra 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 Cīpurupalli 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 Cīpurupalli 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 Jayasīṃha 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 Saṃkrānti 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		
2	Jayasimha I	33 "	572—604	or	633—650
3	Viṣṇuvardhana II	9 "	604—612	"	650—682
4	Maṅgiyuvarāja	25 "	612—636	"	682—690
5	Jayasimha II	13 "	636—648	"	690—714
6	Kokkili	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	648—649	"	714—726
7	Viṣṇuvardhana III	37 "	649—685	"	726—727 727—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 Sātalūru 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	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	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	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 Kaṭiṅga. 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 Rāmatīrtham³ records of Vimalāditya, and the Pāmulaṅka 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 disciple of Trikālayōgimunindra or Trikālayōgi Siddhāntadēva of the Dēsi-gaṇa⁴ School. Thus, it is clear that Rāja Rāja I was actually

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.

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 Cālukyan 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 Dhārāvarṣa at Cakrakōṭa while he was yet a *yuvarāja*. 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. 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 Vīrarājendra, 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 Vīrarājendra, 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 Vīracōḷa, 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 Vīra 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	2 yrs.	867—891	or	945—969
23	Dānārṇava	3 "	891—893	"	969—971
24	Bādapa	30 "	893—922	"	971—1000
25	Tādapa II	12 "	922—933	"	1000—1011
26	Śaktivarma I	7 "	933—944	"	1011—1022
27	Vimalāditya				
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:

विकचकणोत्पलस्पर्धितरलेक्षणाः ।

केलितालकणत्वनकमयकङ्कणाः ॥

सरसनखराजिविच्छुरितभुजमण्डलाः ।

काञ्चिकोल्लासवशदर्शितोरुस्थलाः ॥

खैरसंजल्पनस्मेरविम्बाधराः ।

कर्णकण्डूमिशोद्वलितकक्षान्तराः ॥

²पृथुनितम्बस्वलल्लटहगतिविक्रमाः ।

सहजशृङ्गारसरभरितमुखविभ्रमाः ॥

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), *Ṣaṭpadī* (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.

पीनकुचकुम्भदर्पत्रुटक्ञ्चुकाः ।

शालिवप्रेषु यान्त्यः क्षणं गोपिकाः ॥

पान्यसार्थेषु 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 vēḷeyoḷ ati-sambhramam esedire | pū-vali pura-vīthigaḷoḷ neredire*), the twenty moras of the *Lalita-ragaḷe* in four feet of five moras each (cp. *alli māmaradalli mallikā-lateyalli | yeḷeya-sugemamaradalli 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 *Samśa-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 vunṇa 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 abhikṣṇam eva Jāmbavatī-vadanūravindorjjitālinā | dānavāṅganā-mukhāmbhoja-lakṣmī-tuṣāreṇa 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 [aril] *narendra-maṇi-vinyasta-maṇi-kiraṇa-līḍha-kramāmbujah | Pravarasenas tasya putro 'bhūd vikasan-navendīvarekṣaṇah* that occurs in a Vākāṭaka 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. *kuḷirva pū-golaṃgaḷalli | talira 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 suliva birayiyim | kaṃpu kaṃmaleya 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-sāstra-vākyodayair
upary-upari samcayocchritam 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-Paiṅgaḷa*. 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 $\cup \cup$ 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-Paiṅgaḷa* 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. — — — —	10. — — — —	10. — — — —
2. $\cup \cup$ —	2. $\cup \cup$ — —	2. $\cup \cup$ — — —	11. — $\cup$ — $\cup$	12. $\cup \cup \cup$ —	13. — — $\cup \cup$
3. — $\cup$	3. — $\cup$ —	3. — $\cup$ — —	14. $\cup \cup$ — $\cup \cup$	15. — $\cup \cup \cup$	16. $\cup \cup \cup \cup$
5. $\cup \cup \cup$	4. $\cup \cup \cup$ —	4. $\cup \cup \cup$ — —	5. — — $\cup$ —	6. $\cup \cup$ — $\cup$ —	7. — $\cup \cup$ —
	5. — — $\cup$	6. $\cup \cup$ — $\cup$	7. — $\cup \cup$ —	8. $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ —	
	6. $\cup \cup$ — $\cup$	7. — $\cup \cup$ —			
	7. — $\cup \cup$	8. $\cup \cup \cup \cup$			

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 लधी: (9 " " 15 ")
 10 c: अधिजिगांसुः प्रवचनं निखिलम् (12 " 16 ")
 14 a: या न्तपालान् पल्लवे न्द्राणाम् (9 " 16 ")
 b: सहसाविनि जित्यसं युगे (10 " 15 ")
 19 a: पल्लवेन्द्रा यस्यश क्तिमिमाम् (10 " 16 ")
 b: लब्ध्वाप्रता 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 नहोवतक्षत्रात्
 17 e: विषमदेश प्रयाणसर्वशे-
 21 c: प्रेहरान्तामनय 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* 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 *Upendravajrā-vṛtta* are mixed up. There are fourteen varieties of this *upajāti*, and they are all named and defined in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḥ* (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 *viśama-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-viśayān 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
 turiyaḥ||

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 *upajāti*s, 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 यमधिशिष्ये 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 स्मार्याः परं केवलं गुणाः ।

पौत्रस्य भवताद्यमास्मरिषत स्मार्याः 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 Uṣṇiḥ-75 and Paṅkti-931; and 19|26, of four *pādas* composed in Br̥hatī-232, Jagatī-1320, Br̥hatī-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 Vaitāliya, Aupacchandasika, 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 chandases 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 *Yaśastilaka* (Vol. I) are found the following two stanzas which Somadeva himself calls *mātrā*:—

सकलमङ्गलधाम जयकाम कमलालय
निखिलनय शौर्यनिगद कदनैकदोहद ।
आनिगममसमानबल वैरिकाल
जय जीवकामद ॥
कुवलयोत्सवचन्द्र 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 *vr̥tta* 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, *vr̥ttas* 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 किञ्चिद्दामि निःशेषस्तु नो पारयामि ।
वक्तुं त्वदीयगुणगरिमिधाम सर्वज्ञवचनविषयं हि नाम ॥
नृप महति भवति किञ्चिद्दिरामि वक्तुं गुणमखिलं नोत्तरामि ।
दीप्तिर्बुधमणोरवनीश 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-chandassūtra* 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 *Paddhatikā* 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 किञ्चित्त्वस्तुतिवृत्तिचिन्तितं न मद्दोदय ॥

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 Culiylā, defined in *Prākṛta-Paiṅga*, I, 167.

This difference in nomenclature between Somadeva and the author of the *Prākṛta-Paiṅga* 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 Kannada *Pañcatantra* of Durgasiṃha is found the catuspadī stanza: jaya divija-gaṇārcita-cāru-carāṇa duritogra-tamaḥ-paṭaloṣṇa-kiraṇa|tāpiṇcha-sama-cchavi-nīla-varṇa vidyādhara-kāntāgita-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 Mandānila-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 Mandānila 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 Mandānila-ragaḷe.

THE NĀMPALI GRANT OF YUVARĀJA RĀJENDRA VARMA, GAṆGA 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 *praśasti* (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 Sāmīrāja, 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 Satataye Caturdasotare*. (ll. 30-31). The grant was composed by Mahā-sandhivigrahi Raha Śrī Sāmanta and engraved by Śrī Dāmacandra. (ll. 31-32).

The date *satataye caturdasotare* is in itself somewhat confusing; because *satataye* lends itself to two emendations, *satatame* and *satatraye*. 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 Sāmīrāja, 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] स्वस्तिमरपुराणकारिणं 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 वतः

3. लशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरासकलभुव-
4. ननिर्माणकसुत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचुडामणे-
5. भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनश्चरणयुगलप्र-
6. णामादिगतकलिकलङ्कानकाहवसञ्क्षामंजानत-
7. जयशब्दप्रतापावनतसमस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडाम-
8. णिप्रभामञ्जरिपुञ्जरश्चितवरचरणसितकुमुद-

PLATE II (a).

9. कुन्देन्दुवदातदिग्दिशविनिगतयसं ध्वस्तारातिकुला-
10. चलो नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिन्यसौयौर्द्विषस्य-
11. त्यागादिगुणसम्पदाधारभूतो गङ्गा[र]मलकुलतिल-
12. कमहाराजश्री अन[न्त]वर्मसुनयुवराजश्रीराजे-
13. न्द्रवर्म कुशली निदिजेरुविषये नाम्पलिग्राम-
14. कुटुम्बजनपद समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वो
15. भवता यतोयं ग्राम सर्वकरभरपरिहृत्या-
16. चन्द्रार्कप्रतिष्ठा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्याभि[ष्ट]

5. Read गुरोस्सकल
6. म has been engraved twice over and the उ sign overlaps the following व.
7. Read सूत्र 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 दिग्देशविनिर्गतयशाः
13. Read दाक्षिण्यशौयौ-
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 नषा 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 वनरजिका²⁶ वटवृक्षकदम्बवृक्ष²⁷ अस्य च व्यास
24. गिता शिलोका²⁷ भ[व]न्ति बहुभि²⁸र्वसुधा दता²⁹ 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 दीक्षणास्थां.
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 क्रुमिभूत्वा³⁵ पितृभि³⁶ सह पच्यते मद्रंशजा³⁷ पर-
28. महीपतिवञ्शजावा पापादपेत्य³⁸ मनसो मुवि भा-
29. व³⁹ भूपा ये पालयन्ति मम धर्मवरं असेसतश्च
30. मया विरचिताङ्गलिमे समुद्यगाङ्गेयवञ्शप्रवर्द्धमानविजय-
31. राज्यसम्बद्धर शततये⁴¹ चतुर्दशोत्तरे⁴² लिखितमिदं माहासन्धि-
32. विग्रहि⁴³ रह श्रीसामन्तेन उत्कीर्ण⁴⁴ न चाक्षसाळिना श्रीदाम-
चन्द्रेण⁴⁵

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

SEMANTIC DIVERGENCIES IN INDO-ARYAN 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-illāda karmam mama māḍāv-inikku vidhiccadu ṇaṇṇallō*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. *ṇ*-of Mal. *daṇṇam* is due to nasal assimilation characteristic of Mal., as in *khannam* (piece) adapted from OIA *khanda*.

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. *pacī 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 golḷi*-(to become thirsty)—only in north Mysore.

Tel. *dāhāniki pōyāḍu* (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 *daṇṇi* and Tuḷu has *liruṣa* (OIA *trṣā* '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-illūdavaṇṇu dīnaril kṛpayuṇḍāmō (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 mūvaṇṇu dīnam-aṇa 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:—

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

dīnanmārum kālinu muḍakkuḷḷōr kaṇṇu kānadē-y-uḷḷōr (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 kaimaḷkallō* (the *kaimal* 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 Tulu. 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-nīṇaḥ*.

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 Kuṇṇan (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 Mahomedanism.

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

nīcanmārām bauddha jāliyanmārku (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']

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

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

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. *bhaṅgi* 'bending' 'undulation' 'wavy'.

Modern Mal. *bhaṅṇi* [-ṇṇ- < 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-aṅṇaṅṇaḷellāme bhaṅṇi-y-il kāṇēṇam-enṇu naṅṇi* (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-aṅṇāḷ (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 *ṇirāntu* is 'madness' 'demented state of mind'.

ṇēyum ṇirāntum—PT, II, l. 288.

bhrāntu ṇiḍiccō? (struck with madness?)—Pradoṣamāhātmyam, 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*, *paṭṭuvastraṅgaḷai koḍuttār* (the priest presented the silk cloths to the accompaniment of the chanting of *mantras*)—Brahmins' colloquial.

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

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

Tam. 'to speak'—*ōḍariya ṣugarpōla*.

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

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

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

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

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

taṇ vēdaṇai-y-ōḍiṇḷ (she gave expression to her pain by saying . . .)—KG, I, l. 60.

Kann. 'to recite scriptures'—*ellū vēdavan ōḍidātanu anūcānan embudu* (*anūcānan* is he who recites all Vedas)—cited by Kittel.

Kann. 'to read'—*ā pustaka ōdarē, bāḷa prayojana-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 *ōdikkaṇ* is a 'religious preceptor'.

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

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

vakkāṇam adapted (though, MIA) means in Mal. 'contentious argument', 'quarrel'. Tam. *vakkāṇai* 'idle talk' also appears to be connected. Rājendra Cōḷa inscriptions use *vakkāṇippāṇ* 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 *vayyātta* or *vayyāda* is current, as in *vayyāda kāryanṇal ceyyarudu* (things that one cannot fulfil should not be undertaken).

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

A future form *vayyū* [with the affix -ū] is also heard in expressions like *ayālkkē 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-avide kiḍann-uḷḷān* (on account of headache and fever I cannot sleep there).

40. *vācana* 'reading'.

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

Tam. *vāsittal*, *paḍipp-ōdal* [*paryāyas* for 'reading']—NN, 672.

Mal. *oru bhaṭṭācāryanōḍu 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. *vāsittalai valla pāṇaṇ* (the songster who could sound his instrument)—Naccinārkiṇiyar's commentary on lines 36 and 37 of *Śirupāṇāruppāḍai* of PP.

Tam. *uḍukkai vāṣippāṇ oruvaṇṇum, mattalam vāṣippāṇ oruvaṇṇum* (one person for sounding *uḍukkai* and another for playing on the *mattala*)—SII, II, Part II, p. 253.

Mal. *vīṇa vāyikkuka, hārmōniam 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 *vādya*). I may also observe that Mal. has the noun *vāyana* which means 'reading' or 'playing on a musical instrument'.

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 *kuśalavanmār śikṣayil Rāmāyaṇam colliyār* (Kūśa and Lava recited the story of Rāmāyaṇa in a well-taught way)—EBh. Āraṇya.

43. *Suṇṭhi* 'dry ginger'.

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

Suṇṭhi 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 *suṇṭh-i-kk*- as a denominative verb with the developed meaning, and *suṇṭhi* (violent temper) as a noun.

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

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

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

43. *śramaṇaḥ* 'ascetic'.

The Tamil colloquial forms *ammaṇam* (nakedness, obscenity), *ammaṇa-t-toṇṭi*, *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 Tulu, the adaptations [Tam. *śandu* and Kann., Tulu *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 *vannu 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:

eṇṇulla samsāram pōl vannu kāryaṇṇaḷ-ellām (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.

orāḷku 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 ṇeriya samsāri* would mean 'he is a man with a large family' and *oṅga samsāram eṅḡy-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', 'thrift', 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>aśiṅgyam</i> ; Tel.
<i>āgraha</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> '	'Lacking riches'—Mal.
<i>sādhu</i> 'fit' 'strong' 'saintly'	

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

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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 HARAHA 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.)

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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 *prasaṣti*. The verse नीला शौर्ये has been probably suggested by a similar verse ज्ञाने मौने in the Raghuvamśa and the phrase क्षितिपतेः क्षत्रप्रभावात्तये 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 सस्याय मघवा दिवम् (Raghuvamśa, 1, 26.)

c) यस्मिन् कालेऽम्बुवाहा नवगवलरुचः प्रान्तलभ्रेन्दुचापा-
स्तन्वन्त्याशावितानं स्फुरदुरुतडितः सान्द्रधीरं कणन्तः ।
(Harahā inscription, v. 23.)

विद्युत्वंतं 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 Dilīpa 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 Mātaṅga-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 śīśirāntyaḍ ante surapa-prōccaṇḍa-
kōḍaṇḍaḍ an-|

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

This stanza may be rendered in Sanskrit as: *vāg-gumṇhe Nāgavarmā Harir iva jīta-Bāṇaḥ, Tārakārātir iva adhaḥ-kṛta-Mayūraḥ, śiśirāntyaṃ ivāti-Māghaḥ, suraḥ-proccaṇḍa-kodaṇḍam iva tirobhūta-Guṇādhyaṇ, abja-vanaṃ 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 *Kāvya-lōkana* (which is, like Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-darśa*, a treatise on *Kāvya-lamkāra*), the epithet *ātta-Dhanaṃjayaika-vibhava* to his *Abhidhānavastu-kośa* (which, like the *Nighaṇṭu* of Dhanamjaya, is a collection of synonyms) and the epithet *tirobhūta-Guṇādhyaṇ* (= Sarvavarman; for the story of Sarvavarman's vanquishing Guṇādhya, see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 6-7) to his *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* (which, like Sarvavarman's *Kātantra*, is a small and simple treatise on Grammar, and by writing which Nāgavarma became known as *Abhinava-Sarvavarman*), 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 SITTANNAVĀSAL

BY

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

Sittannavāsāl, 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 *Garbhagrha* (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. Longhurst 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 Jainas. The elephant, the bull and the lotus-pool are three of the fourteen dreams dreamt by Triśalā, the mother of Mahāvīra.

The earliest attempt to study the Jain cave at Śittanṇavāśal 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 Śittanṇavāśal 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 Śittanṇavāśal 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 Jains. 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 desciple 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 Sittanāvāśal.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE RGVEDANUKRAMANI 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 *R̥gvedānukramāṇī* 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 R̥gveda were revealed to Ṛṣis before they were redacted into Saṃhitā, 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 R̥gveda. 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 किङ्कतः ।

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, Skandhogrivi, Krauṣṭhuti and Yāska as writers on Vedic chandas and they were called kavayah (VI, 5, 8). Yāska is referred to as Yaska-kulodbhava (VI, 1, 26; VII, 5, 9). The author also

suggests by his statement शाकल्यः पाणिनिर्यास्क इत्युगर्थपरास्त्रयः (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 स्पष्टमेवलकारार्थान् पश्यामो ब्राह्मणेषु च (II, 3, 19) that the word *chandas* in the sūtra बुहुलं छन्दसि refers only to Samhitā and not to Brāhmaṇas.

As regards upasargas, he does not seem to agree with the author of ऋग्वेदप्रातिशाख्य that they are *vācakas* (cf. उपसर्गं 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 R̥g-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 R̥ks 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 R̥g-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 हिंस्, this author derives it from सिञ्च्—

Cf. सिञ्चति रुधिरेणाङ्गं भुवं 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. अस्माद्वातोरियं 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:—

तालः—प्लवते अस्मिन्नास्यजलम् ; शुक्रः—शोचति देवगुणैः ; कपोलः—छादयति दन्तादीन् ; मीनः—मीयते हिंस्यते ; कलत्रम्—गलति भुङ्क्ते भर्तुः स्वम् ; श्रोणिः—श्रूयते न तु दृश्यते वल्लच्छन्नत्वात् ; 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 विधवा 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—अस्यतेः सुव्युपपदे ऋन्प्रत्ययो भवति ; जामाता—जः इत्येतस्मिन्नुपपदे मिजः तृच्प्रत्ययो भवति ; द्वौ त्रयः—उभेरिप्रत्ययो भवति, दत्र इत्येतौ चादेशौ भवतः ;

Daṇḍanātha in his commentary takes अन्त्रः 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 स्वश्रुः while the latter श्वश्रुः.

Durgasimha 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, 'Kampili 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 Kākatiya rulers, Rudrama and Pratāparudra.

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 Ārumūrugūḷa. 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 Śrīnātha's visit to the Court of Rācakonḍa is based on a *cāṭu pādya*, 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 Śrīnātha'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-varīṣa-caritra, Siṅgama also had this title. But the Report on Epigraphy for 1913 assigns this title to Siṅgama, brother of Muminuḍi Reḍḍi of the Korukonḍa branch of the Reḍḍis. 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.)

Puṟam.

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

Akam.

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

Uḷ.

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

Uḷai.

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

Kīḷ.

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 ceṇṟāṇ.
(He went behind the plough.)

Cār.

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

Ayal.

Cirāppaḷḷi-k-kunṟu uṟaiyūr-k-kaṇ uḷatū.
(The hill at Trichinopoly is near Uṟaiyūr.)

Puṭai.

Eyiṟ-kaṇ niṇṟār.
(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, Itai, Kaṭai.

Nūr-kaṇ maṅkalam.

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

Valam.

Āciriyaṇ māṇākkariṇ-kaṇ niṇṇāṇ.

(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 Tolkāppiyāṇār 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-puṇattu iruntāṇ*, if *puṇam* is taken as a locative suffix, the *cāriyai* 'attu' cannot come after it since it is enjoined in the sūtra.

Avarṇuvali maruṅkiṇ cāriyai varumē. (Tol. Elut. 118.)

that it comes only between the noun and the case-suffix; (5) Tolkāppiyāṇār 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 kuraṅkū' etc.; (3) Instead of the expression '*kaṇ-ṇ-akaṇ-ñālam* (wide place) one should use '*kaṇ-kaṇ akaṇ-ñālam*.' 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 kuraṅkū*' as an example under the sūtra

Peyarun tolilum pirinloruṅ k-icaipṭa

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

In the expression *kaṇ-ṇ-akaṇ-ñālam*, 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. '*parrarṇa 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 Ilakkapa-viṭakkam agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar.

Note 2.—The words *kaṇ*, *talai*, etc. are all nouns denoting place. cf. '*parrarṇa 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

Meyyurupū tokā v-iṇṇu y-āṇa. (Tol. Col. 105.)

Ex. *alaṇ-kaṭai-ē* (Tol. Elut. 1, 30, 62, 72, 434). for (*alaṇ-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 iranṭāvalu mutaliya urupukaḷai muṭit-tarku eṭuttōliya kāppu-mutaliya poruḷkaḷai-p-pōla urupai-muṭittu nillātu iṇṇu-k-kūriya poruḷkaḷ kaṇ-ṇ-enṇum urupaiyē uṇartti niṇṇāṇa eṇṇalir cēṇāvaraiyarum i-p-poruḷkaḷai urupenṇē kūriṇār āyirṇū. Aṇ-ṇāṇāṇ kūri attu-c-cāriyai koṭuttu utāraṇāṇ kāṭṭavē urupin piṇṇarum attu-c-cāriyai varutal tānum nērntār-āyirṇū.*' (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 *cāriyai* '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 விரிக்கும் கால
ஈற்றுநின் நியலுந் தொகையிற் பிரிந்து
பல்லா ருகப் பொருள்புணர்ந் திசைக்கும்
எல்லாச் சொல்லு முரிய வென்ப.
Vērrumai-p poruḷai virikkun kālai
Irru-niṇ riyalun tokai-vayir pirintu
Pallā r-āka-p poruḷ-puṇarn t-icaikkum
Ellā-c collu m-uriya v-eṇpa.

When one wants to expatiate the meanings of the cases mentioned above, it is said that all words which are synonymous 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 *Civañānamuṇivar*. 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.

Iḷampūraṇar splits the sūtra into two sūtras the first two lines forming one with the difference that *pirintē* is substituted for *pirintū* and the last two lines forming the second. The meaning is that if a *vērrumai-t-tokai* or a *taṭpuruṣa* 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 *ponṇāl ākiya toṭi*, 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 *pirintū* at the end of the second line.

Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, on the other hand, state that when a *vērrumai-t-tokai* (*taṭpuruṣa* compound) and an *aṇmoli-t-tokai* (*bahuvrīhi* compound) are split, a number of words has to be inserted. The difference between Iḷampūraṇar 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 *aṇ-moli-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 Tolkāppiyāṇār deals with *tokai-viri* in the following *vērrumai-mayaṅkiyal*, 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.

Civañānamuṇivar condemns Cēṇāvaraiyar thus: (1) If the author meant *vērrumai-t-tokai* he would have said so instead of *verrumai-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-mayaṅkiyal.

(Chapter on contamination etc.)

84. கரும மல்லாச் சார்பென் கிளவிக்கு
உரிமையு முடைத்தே கண்ணென் வேற்றுமை.
Karuma m-allā-c cārpeṇ 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 *uruḷu-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.—*Cārpu* is of two kinds:—*Karuma-c-cārpu* or impact and *karumam-il-cārpu* 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 *cārpu*. 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. சினேநிலைக் கிளவிக் கையுந் கண்ணும்
வினேநிலை யொக்கு மென்மனார் புலவர்.
Cinai-nilai-k kiḷavi-k k-aiyuṇ kaṇṇum
Vinai-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).

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

Note. 1.—The word *vinai-nilai* means *teri-nilai-vinai* 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.
Kaṇṇalun celavu m-onrumār vinaiyē.

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

Ex. *Cūtinai-k-kanṇiṇāṇ; cūtiṇkaṭ kaṇṇiṇāṇ.*
(He has got a mastery over playing at dice.)

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

Note. 1.—The words கையுந் கண்ணும் are taken over to this sūtra; they form the subject of *onrumār*; the words *kanṇalum* and *celavum* are taken along with *vinai* 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 *kanru-* 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 தொழில்.'

87. முதற்கினைக் கிளவிக் கதுவென் வேற்றுமை
முதற்கண் வாரினை சினேக்கை வருமே.
Mutar-cinai-k kiḷavi-k k-atu-ven vērrumai
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. *Yānaiyatu kōṭṭai-k kuraittāṇ.*

(He cut off the tusk of the elephant.)

Iḷampūraṇar 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
சினேமுன் வருத நெள்ளி நென்ப.
Mutan-mu n-ai-varir kan-n-en vērrumai
Cinai-mun varuta reḷḷi t-enpa.

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. *Yānai-k kōṭṭinkai 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 Iḷampūraṇar, 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.—Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar takes the previous sūtra as mentioning *uruṇu-mayakkam* and this sūtra as *poruḷ-mayakkam*. I am unable to understand why a differentiation should be done.

89. முதலுஞ் சினையும் பொருள்வேறு படாஅ

துவலுக் காலச் சொற்குறிப் பினைவே.

Mutaluñ cinaiyum poruḷ-vēru paṭāa

Nuvaluñ kālai-c cor-kurip 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 *kōṭṭū* is a part; but in the sentence '*kōṭṭatu nuṇiyai-k kuraittān*' (he cut off the tip of the tusk), *kōṭṭū* 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 மருக்கின் மரீஇய மரபே.

अष्टमाध्याये चतुर्थः पादः

२५

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

सुरावाजिनयोरिष्टिः साम्नाय्यं 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 ।
समरात्रे तु नानाह्वां प्रवृत्तिः सङ्गसाम्यतः ॥ २१८ ॥

षडहावृत्तिरेव स्याच्चत्वारः षडहा इति ।
^५संस्थागणशतोकथ्यादौ धर्माः स्युर्द्वादशाहिकाः ॥ २१९ ॥
शतोकथ्यादिगतोकथ्यादिष्वेकाहाद्धर्मसंक्रमः ।
माह्या उत्पत्तिगायत्र्यो^७ बृहस्पतिसवे मताः ॥ २२० ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

द्विर्विहोमः 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 ॥

प्रयोक्त्रपूर्व^१ धर्माणां स्याच्चैतत् सन्निपातिनाम् ।
निमित्तं चापि तेषां तदित्येवं वर्णकत्रयम् ॥ २२२ ॥

प्रोक्षणं हन्तिपिष्टिभ्यां^२ सोमापूर्वैश्च^३ वाग्यमः ।
देवताफलसंबन्धस्ताभ्यां वा न प्रयुज्यते ॥ २२३ ॥

न देवतातिथिन्यायाद्यङ्गे^४ प्राधान्यमश्नुते^५ ।
ब्रीह्याद्यैर्न^६ प्रयुज्यन्ते^७ प्रोक्षणप्रमुखान्यपि ॥ २२४ ॥

सोमोद्भवेनापूर्वेण नोपांशुत्वं प्रयुज्यते ।
^८प्रणीतावाग्यमोऽप्येवं नैष्टिकेन प्रयुज्यते ॥ २२५ ॥

^९प्रतीष्टकं नाग्निधर्मः पत्न्यन्तत्वं विनोत्तमम्^{१०} ।
अभ्यासः सामिधेनीनां स्थानधर्मत्वमृच्छति ॥ २२६ ॥

आरम्भणीया नावृत्ताविष्टेरावृत्तिमश्नुते^{११} ।
^{१२}नान्वाधानाङ्गमेवेतीमौ न्यायौ वृत्तिभाष्ययोः ॥ २२७ ॥

न निर्वापे सवित्रश्चिपूष्णामूहः प्रवर्तते ।
तस्मिन्नाग्निपदं तूह्यं समवेताभिधानतः ॥ २२८ ॥

तथा मांसपुरोडाशे चोह्यं धान्यपदं भवेत् ।
^{१३}इडामन्त्रे यज्ञपतेर्नोहः सन्नेषु^{१४} विद्यते ॥ २२९ ॥

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|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. G. प्रयोक्त्रपूर्व | 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 . द्यैश्च | 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. प्रगेष्टकं | 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 बृहत्योर्भवतीति च ।
बृहद्रथन्तरे गेये प्रगाथककुभोर्मते ॥ २३४ ॥
प्रागाथिकबृहत्योश्च स्याद्यौधाजयरौरवम् ।
^७प्रागाथिकानुष्टुभोश्च श्यावाश्वान्धीगवे मते ॥ २३५ ॥
द्वयोर्द्वयोः^८ प्रप्रथनात्तत्त्वं बार्हतेषु च ।
गीतिभेदा विकल्परन् न^९ चर्कसामे उभे स्मृते^{१०} ॥ २३६ ॥
प्रगीतया^{११} चोपस्थानं तानश्च^{१२} क्रतुषु स्मृतः ।
साम्नां स्यादुत्तरासूह^{१३} ^{१४}आयीभावविकारतः ॥ २३७ ॥

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|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. T. कृतं | 8. G. प्रकथ- |
| A and A ¹ . श्रुतं | A. प्रागाथिष्टुभश्च 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. रूढिरुत्तर | 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 यूपधर्माभिः स्यान्नियोजनसाधने ।
 श्रुतदध्नोरभ्युदये प्रणीताकार्यमिष्यते ॥ २३९ ॥
 रथन्तरबृहद्धर्मा यथाशब्दं^१ व्यवस्थिताः ।
^२कण्वे ^३समुच्चितास्ते वासंवादेन व्यवस्थिताः ॥ २४० ॥
^४गोसवे तु व्यवस्थैव धर्माणां सामगत्वतः ।
 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 नोद्यता ।
^९विकृतौ तदनेकत्वेऽप्यूहतास्य न विद्यते ॥ २४५ ॥
^{१०}तथोक्तयोर्दौरेकविध्ये प्रास्मा इत्यस्य नोद्यता ।
 ब्रीहेः प्रतिनिधावूहो नीवारादौ न विद्यते ॥ २४६ ॥

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|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. G. यथावस्यं | 7. A, A ¹ and G. पाश |
| 2. A ¹ . अप्वे | 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. |

नोद्याः स्युः पश्वनेकत्वे 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 पश्वनेकत्वे समस्य वचनं मतम् ॥ २४९ ॥
 न्यायद्वयं वक्ष्यमाणं दुष्टीकायामुदीरितम् ।
 निषिद्धोऽपि चतुर्विंशन्मन्त्रः पक्षे प्रवर्तते ॥ २५० ॥
^४प्राकृतेऽश्वादिवङ्क्रीणां समस्यैव वचो भवेत् ।
^५प्राकृतस्यापि करणं समस्तप्रतिषेधतः ॥ २५१ ॥
 उरुकेति वपायां स्यात् ^६प्रशसेति प्रशस्तयोः ।
 श्येनमित्यादिकं तत्तत्कात्स्न्यस्य ^७प्रतिपादकम्^८ ॥ २५२ ॥
 दर्शार्थे^९ नाग्निहोत्रस्य^{१०} कालोद्धाननिमित्तकम् ।
 तद्भूतश्रियो ^{११}धार्ये न दर्शाग्न्युद्धृतौ^{१२} मनुः ॥ २५३ ॥
 प्रदेयधर्मः पयसि श्रपणार्थं न विद्यते ।
^{१३}कर्तव्योऽभ्युदये स स्यात् ^{१४}पशुकामेष्टिगो न सः ॥ २५४ ॥

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| 1. A. तत्राप्यभ्यसि- | 10. T. होत्रार्थकालौ द्वौ न |
| 2. G. परमेव | 11. G. धार्ये |
| 3. A. क्रियाणां | 12. G. दर्शाग्न्युद्धृते |
| 4. G. This ardha is read after | A and A ¹ . दर्शाद्यं धृतौ |
| मतम् in verse 241. | 13. G. कर्तव्योऽभ्युदयेष्टु श्रुतदध्ना |
| 5. T and A ¹ omit this ardha. | सुधिष्णतः । पशुकामेष्टिगतयोः |
| 6. LV. प्रशसेति | न कर्तव्यस्तयोस्तु सः ॥ स्यात् |
| 7. LV. कर्मास्य | पर्यभिक्ते समं [कृतोत्सर्गे] |
| 8. G. प्रतिपादनम् | तदन्ताङ्गाकृतेर्विधिः [ततो- |
| 9. T. दर्शार्थो | विधिः] ॥ |
| A and A ¹ . दर्शार्थ | 14. LV omits this pāda. |

मिश्रणे पयआदीनां सोमधर्मो न विद्यते ।
अश्वमेधपशूत्सर्गे तदन्ताङ्गतत्वेर्विधिः ॥ २५५ ॥
आज्येन शेषमित्येष यागान्तरविधिर्भवेत् ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इति नवमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

अतिदेशः पदार्थानामुपकारमुखो^२ मतः^३ ॥ २५६ ॥

कृष्णलेनावघातश्च विष्णोरावाहनं न च ।

^४आरम्भणीया नाङ्गेषु दीक्षणीयादिकेष्टिषु^५ ॥ २५७ ॥

नानुमत्यादिषु तथा नापि^६ स्वस्यां प्रवर्तते ।

यूपाहुतिः खलेवाल्यां नास्ति स्थाण्वाहुतिस्तथा ॥ २५८ ॥

प्रयाजो^७ यक्ष्यमाणानां भवेत् संस्कृतिरुत्तमः ।

^८नाज्यभागौ पशुगतः पुरोडाशस्तु^९, संस्कृतिः ॥ २५९ ॥

चरुरोदनभेदः^{१०} स्यात् स्थाल्यामेव स पच्यते ।

तस्मिन् पेषः^{११} संयवनं संवापस्तापनं तथा ॥ २६० ॥

T reads from here as follows:-

तदर्थेन हविष्मताम् । पशु-
कामेष्टिगतयोः न कर्तव्यस्त-
योस्तु सः । पयआदौ तथा सोम-
संस्कारार्थेऽपि नास्ति सः ॥
स्यात्पर्यभिकृतोत्सर्गः तदङ्गा-
न्ततत्वेर्विधिः

1. G omits this and the next

2. T. रान्मुखो [ardha.

3. G. द्यतः

4. T. प्रारम्भ-

5. A, A¹, T and LV. कादिषु

6. T. स्वस्मिन्

7. T. वक्ष्य-

8. G. आज्यभागः

9. T, A, A¹ and LV. पुरोडाशश्च

10. T. भेदेन स्यात्स्थाल्यामेव पच्यते

11. T. संयवनं

उपधानं^१ संप्रथनं ऋक्षणीकरणभावना ।
^२अभ्यूहनं प्रज्वलनं^३ व्युद्धत्यासादनं तथा ॥ २६१ ॥
कर्तव्यत्वं न च भजेत् प्रयोजनविलोपतः ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

श्रुतत्वात्कृष्णले पाकः नास्त्युपस्तरणादिकम्^४ ॥ २६२ ॥

^५श्रुतेर्भक्षणमप्यस्ति भक्षोपहृतयः सह ।

ब्रह्मेतरेषां नो भक्षा^६ भक्षस्तस्यापि कालतः ॥ २६३ ॥

चतुर्धाकृतिनिर्देशमपि तत्र न विद्यते ।

ऋत्विग्दानं^७ श्रुतिस्तेषां न हविःशेषभक्षणम् ॥ २६४ ॥

तेषां न सत्रे वरणं नापि स्यात्तत्र दक्षिणा ।

शमनीयो न सत्राङ्गं तत्कुर्युः सत्रिणः पृथक् ॥ २६५ ॥

संहत्यकरणेऽपि स्युस्तदन्ये^८ तत्र ऋत्विजः ।

^९गवादिदानं काम्येष्टावष्टैकप्रयोजनम् ॥ २६६ ॥

^{१०}द्वेष्याय दानमप्येवमस्थियागस्तु जीवताम् ।

लुप्यते जपसंस्कारो मृतस्यैव भवेद्यदि ॥ २६७ ॥

कर्तव्यमेव तत्रापि शुक्रान्वारम्भणादिकम् ।

गुणकामास्तत्र न स्युः सदोमानादिसंश्रयाः ॥ २६८ ॥

नायुराशास्त इत्याद्या न च स्युर्होतृकामनाः^{११} ।

सर्वस्वारः समाप्यः स्यान्मृते कर्मास्थियज्ञवत् ॥ २६९ ॥

आयुराशास्त^{१२} इत्यादि तत्र स्याद्यावदाभवम् ।

ऋतुयाज्यावृत्तिः सत्रेऽप्यष्टैकत्वतो भवेत् ॥ २७० ॥

1. A. संप्रथनं

2. G. अभ्यूहनं

3. A. व्याहृत्या-

A¹ and LV. विहृत्य

T. व्युद्धत्या-

4. G. पस्तरणादि तु

5. G. श्रुते

6. G. भक्षो

7. A¹ and T. दत्तं

8. G. तदान्ये

9. T. and G. अश्वादि-

10. G. द्वेष्याभिधानं

11. T. कामतः

A. कामना

A¹. कामनम्

12. T, A and A¹. इत्येतत्

निर्वापः पवमानेष्टौ गुणलोपात्र^१ लुप्यते ।
 संख्यामुष्टिविरोधे स्यान्निर्वापे मुष्टिलोपनम् ॥ २७१ ॥
 गोरसाधारणैर्धनुत्वाद्यैश्छागो निवर्तते ।
 साधारणस्तु श्वेतादिगुणैर्नासौ निवर्तते ॥ २७२ ॥
 निवृत्तिः^२ यदि रत्वादि खलेवाल्यादिषु व्रजेत् ।
 तस्यां न स्युश्छेदनाद्याः स्युस्तु^३ पर्यूहणादयः ॥ २७३ ॥
 प्राकृतक्रमभेदेऽपि^४ न पदार्थो निवर्तते ।
 न प्राकृतक्रमान्यत्वान्^५ पदार्थोऽप्राकृतो भवेत्^६ ॥ २७४ ॥
 ॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥
 एकादशप्रयाजादौ गुणमात्रविधिर्मतः ।
 हिरण्यगर्भमन्त्रः स्यादुत्तराचारसंश्रयः^७ ॥ २७५ ॥
^८उत्करादेर्गुणस्यैव विधिरासादनादिके ।
^९अग्नौ दीक्षार्थमन्त्राणां प्राकृतेः स्यात् समुच्चयः ॥ २७६ ॥
 प्राकृत्या न समुच्चया पुनराधेयदक्षिणा ।
 अन्वाहार्यस्याग्रये वासोवत्संनिवर्तकम् ॥ २७७ ॥
 तदन्वाहार्यधर्मः स्याद्वत्से पाको निवर्तते^{१०} ।
 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. उत्करादौ |
| 4. A. द्वि | 9. G. आदौ[अग्नौ] दीक्षाहुतीनां |
| 5. T. पदार्थोऽपकृतेष्वपि | स्यात् प्राकृतीनां समुच्चयः |
| A ¹ . पदार्थोऽपकृतिः पिपिः | 10. G. न विद्यते |
| 6. G. प्रकृतेष्वपि | 11. T and A. वासोऽभि |
| 7. T adds the following ardha. | 12. G. संख्यया |

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

Q. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory. . . . A journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles: a pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— . . . The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review," November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppaswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . .

"New India," 20th December, 1926.— . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.— . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . . .

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.— . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . . .

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Oriental Research, 5, North Mada St., Mylapore, P. O., Madras, South India.THE
JOURNAL
OF
ORIENTAL RESEARCH
MADRASApril—
June

1935



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MADRAS

PRINTED AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MYLAPORE

1935

Annual subscription Inland, Rs. 6.

Foreign, 10 sh.

Each part separately Rupees Two, Postage inclusive.

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To face page 67.

NĀMPALI GRANT
Plate I.



J. G. S. P.

Plate II (a).



J. O. R. M.

To face page 61.

Plate II (b).



J. O. R. M.

To face page 62.



J. O. R. M.

AN INSCRIBED POT FROM NAṆḌŪRU

BY

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

The existence of the inscribed earthenware pot which forms the subject of this paper was first signified to me some months ago by Pandit Veturi Prabhakara Sastri of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. He also gave me for inspection two photographs of the pot, and then, at my particular request, he arranged for the pot being brought over to Madras for further examination and study. I took fresh photographs of the pot and impressions of the short inscription on it and these are now being published. I have often discussed with Mr. Prabhakara Sastri the questions centering round this inscribed pot and I owe many suggestions to him.

Provenance:—The pot now belongs to the Sāradā-niketana, a well-known girls' school maintained in the city of Guntur by Mr. Unnava Lakshminarayana, Bar-at-law and his wife, Mrs. Lakshmi Bai. It was discovered at Naṇḍūru some three to four years ago—more precise information regarding the time of discovery has not reached me—in the course of a digging for what is known as *pāṭi-maṇṇu*, lit. earth from ruins, for use in rice-fields; the workmen came upon what looked like the remains of an old brick wall, which turned out to be a brick encasement for the pot which forms the subject of this paper; it is owing to this encasement that the pot has been recovered entire, except for a small fracture near the mouth. I am not in a position to give any measurements relating to the size of the encasement or of the bricks comprising it. Nor have I seen the platter-like lid which is said to fit the mouth of the pot exactly. Some ashes are said to have been found in the pot at the time of the discovery, they do not seem to have been preserved and no information is forthcoming about the nature of the ash.

Naṇḍūru is a village in the Bapatla Taluq of the Guntur district, ten miles to the north of Bapatla, the Taluq centre. It is about 20 miles S. W. of Bhattiprolu, the find spot of the celebrat-

ed Bhattiprolu caskets, and about seven miles due W. of Tsandavolu, which, under the name of Dhanadapura, was once the capital of the Velanāḍu kings.

Measurements: In shape, the pot looks very much like one of the big burial urns recovered from Ādiccanallur and Perumbair and preserved in the Madras Museum. The height of the pot is $5\frac{1}{2}$ " , its circumference is 11" near the mouth and 16" at the level of the inscription, and a little more, somewhat lower, at its widest. The bottom is rounded and the pot cannot be easily seated erect without other support. Three simple lines, rather deeply incised, two above and one below the inscription, are the only ornamental features on the pot, besides the repetition of the double-line (in raised strands) a little higher up near the mouth, the two lines being in either case separated by $2/10$ ". The clay has been well and uniformly burnt and presents a dull brown appearance. The inscription is in clear Brāhmī characters of the second or third century A. D. The space between the linear bands above and below the inscription has a mean width of about $8/10$ ths of an inch, but all the letters except two extend above or below the bands, one of the ligatures extending both ways and measuring nearly $1,4/10$ ". The inscription is just about 6" long and thus occupies much less than half the circumference of the pot. The letters are quite clear and must have been engraved when the pot was still wet, before its being fired.

The inscription: The style of writing adopted in this short inscription reminds us forcibly of the remarks of Buhler on the script of the inscriptions from Jaggayyapetta, and may now be compared with the inscriptions from Nāgārjuni-konḍa.¹ The sign that looks like a *visarga* and yet differs from it so much by the insertion of a curve between the two dots is, I think meant for a stop. It occurs at the end of each of the two words comprising the inscription.² I read the inscription directly from the pot and from mechanical reproductions of it as follows:—

ā ya ma ni / pru sti kā /

In ā the length is indicated by a slight stroke on the right side of the vertical of the letter; I do not think that the dot below the left short vertical has any significance. The letter *ṇa*

1. Ind. Pal. Sec. 20 C; EI. XX, p. 11, XXI, pp. 61 ff.

2. The curve alone is used as a stop in Nāgārjuni-konḍa G II

1. EI. xxi plate opp. p. 62.

(in *ṇi*), it may be noted, is intermediate in form between the two forms of *ṇa* illustrated by Buhler in his tables (III l. 20) from Junnar and Jaggayyapetta; the letter sometimes shows a loop in the Nāgārjuni-konḍa inscriptions.¹

A dot over the left vertical arm of *pru* falls on the lower one of the two lines above the inscription. I neglect this dot like the one under *ā* noticed before. I may add that three or four similar dots are found on the uninscribed surface of the pot, a fact which supports the surmise that these dots do not form part of the inscription. The ligature *ṣṭi* is of rare occurrence; but there seems to be no room for doubt about its reading. Note that the *i* sign starts on the left vertical of *ṣṭa*.

To take up the word *pruṣṭikā* first. The word in this form is uncommon and I am not aware of any other instance of its use in literature or epigraphy. But I think it may be safely connected with *pruṣṭa*, a word known to Amarasimha (*pruṣṭa-pluṣ-ṭoṣitā dagdhe*- III. i. 99) in the sense of 'burnt'. An analogous formation to *pruṣṭikā* is furnished by the word *vartlikā* derived in the *Uṇādi-sūtras* from *vrt* with the addition of the termination *tika*.² *Pruṣṭikā* would, if what has been said so far is correct, mean literally anything that is burnt. Though it may thus conceivably mean a pot, I think it is meant to apply to the contents of the pot, the relics of some person preserved in it.

If this interpretation of the second word is correct, the first should naturally give the name of the person whose relics were thus preserved. The name as we read it is Āyamaṇi. Considering the provenance of the pot, one is tempted to say that this word, Āyamaṇi, shows the pot to be the reliquary of no less a person than the celebrated Buddhist divine Āryadeva. It is of

1. EI. XX plate facing p. 16. C 3, l. 4 *hirana*; also A.S.W.I. V Pl. li. Kanheri No. 2 l. 2, and several examples in No. 15. See also Burgess—Amaravati and Jaggayyapettah Pl. Lx. ii. No. 2. l. 2.

Pandit Prabhakara Sastri is, however, inclined to read this letter as *ni*. He thinks that the correct reading of this and the preceding letter is *muni*. The *u* in *mu* is by no means distinct, but there seems to be a slight extension towards the right of the cross stroke of *ma* faintly visible to the naked eye on the pot and seen also in one of the photographs, though many carefully prepared impressions did not get it in. He also suggests that if it is not *muni*, it may be *matī*.

2. *Uṇādi-sūtras*—ed., Dr. T. R. Chintamani, Part ii, Sūtra 419.

some interest to note, in this connection, that, to this day in the Krishna and Guntur districts, there are said to be found families with the significant names Ayyadevara, which, together with other family names like Thera and Buddharāja, indicates that these families, now Hindu, might be the representatives of the ancient Buddhist houses of the Āndhra country.

The family name Ayyadevara is of special significance, for it is just another form of Āryadeva. Another fact, perhaps worth noting, is the testimony of the Nāgārjuni-konḍa inscriptions¹ to the constant intercourse between the Āndhra country and Ceylon in the second and third centuries A. D., and Ceylon is said to have been the original home of Āryadeva.

We should not omit to note some difficulties in the way of treating the pot as the reliquary of Āryadeva's remains. The name in our inscription is Āryamaṇi; the Buddhist divine is generally known as Āryadeva, and the Chinese sources call him Deva Pusa; this means really that the name by which the Chinese called him was Deva, because Pusa is a common term they applied to all patriarchs.² On the other hand all the terms *Ārya*, *Deva*, and *Maṇi* are honorifics, and it is possible that the same person might have been meant by different combinations of these terms. Another point is that the containers of relics are more often of stone, crystal or steatite, often a number of vases and caskets one within another, the whole being deposited safely beneath a stūpa. The use of earthenware pots is however, not altogether unknown; one earthen bowl and three inscribed jars containing relics have been reported from Bhojpur;³ and inscribed bricks containing Buddhist sūttas have also been found.⁴ Then the language of our inscription seems to be more Sanskritised than is usual in such inscriptions in the mixed dialect; the form *āya* for *ārya* is known in some other instances, like Āya Karkuhasta⁵ and Āya Bhadukiya;⁶ but *pruṣṭikā* is a good Sanskrit word as we have seen. With Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, however, begins the full tide of Mahāyāna, when Sanskrit came into use. Lastly, the inscriptions on the relic caskets more

1. *EI*. xx, p. 23.

2. Edkins - *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 77; Watters-Yuan Chwang.

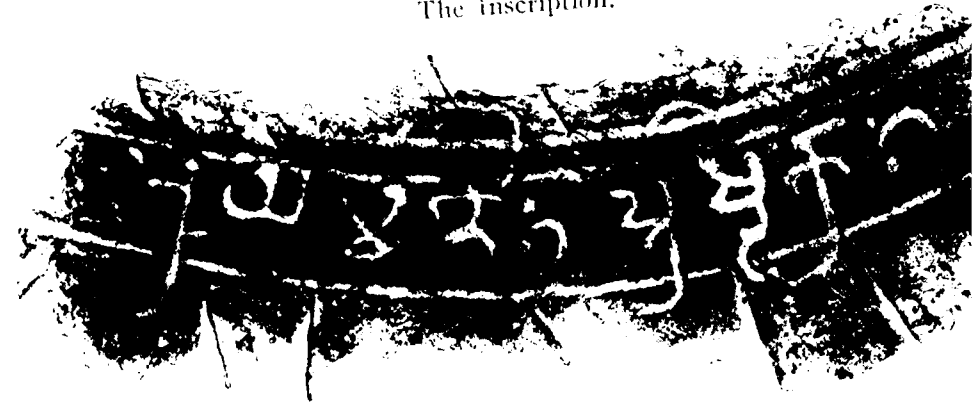
3. Luders - List of Brāhmī inscriptions. 676-78 and 680.

4. JASB. 1896, p. 101; *EI* xxi, pp. 193 ff.

5. Luders 58.

6. *Ibid.* 367.

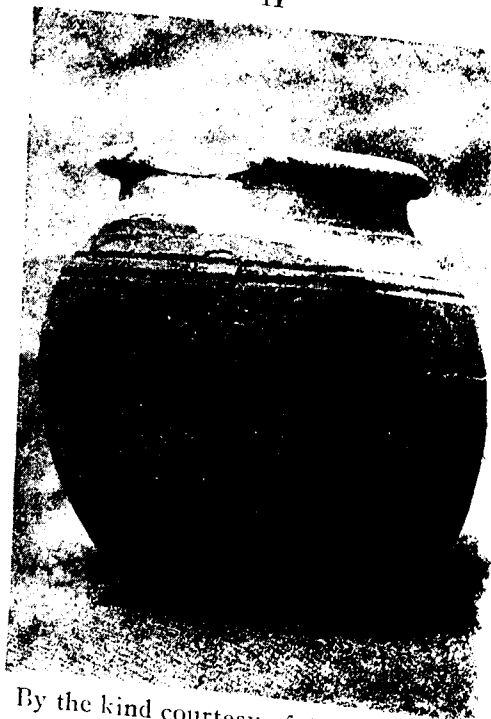
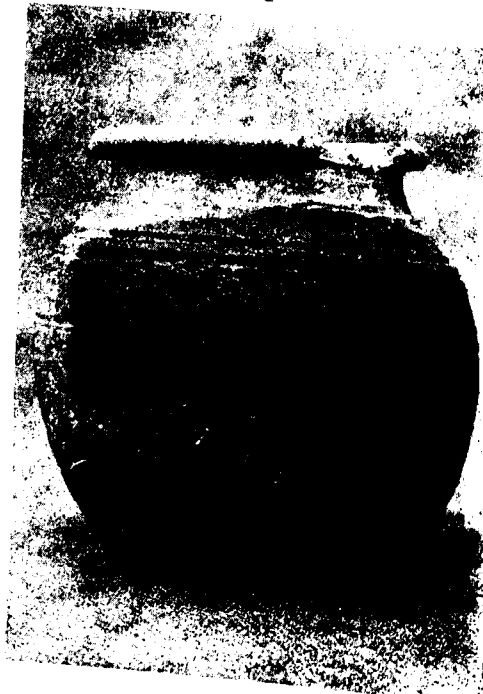
The inscription.



The pot with the inscription chalked.



By the kind courtesy of the Editor of the Bhārati, Madras.



By the kind courtesy of the Editor of
the *Bāhrati*, Madras.

J. O. R. M.

often give only the name in the genitive case of the person whose relics are preserved without employing any word signifying relics—as the word *pruṣṭikā* does in this case; but here again instances of the mention of relics are not unknown and the words *śarīra* and *dhātu* are found employed in some inscriptions from relic caskets.¹

Āryadeva is well-known as the pupil of Nāgārjuna and the author of many works. He was a native, most probably of Ceylon,² but seems to have spent much of his life in the mainland of India. Yuan Chwang mentions his connection with several places in India, but there is nothing so far known, except Āryadeva being the disciple of Nāgārjuna, that brings him into any very close relation with the Āndhra country. In view of this and in view of the difficulties already noticed, it may be doubted if our pot can yet be accepted as the reliquary of Āryadeva's remains.³ But the suggestion seemed worth making in view of the other evidence cited above. This evidence is late and inconclusive; it must be left to future research to confirm or disprove the suggestion put forward here tentatively.

1. Swat Relic Vase Inscription, Jalalabad Vase Inscription and another inscription dated 146 A.D. on a box lid—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, ii p. 4, 52, and 152. *El.* ii pp. 326, 328 (Bhaṭṭiprolu); ASSI. I. p. 86, No. 47 (Amarāvati). Of all these, only the inscription of 146 A. D. furnishes a close analogy to our record, being the interment of the relics of a Śramaṇa. The rest relate to the relics of the Buddha.

2. Or South India Watters, i, 321; Beal, v, 190, n. 76.

3. For Āryadeva see Watters - Yuan-Chwang index, s. v. Deva, and corresponding passages in Beal - Buddhist Records, in particular, i. 189, n. 76. A short metrical work on Mahāyāna ethics by Āryadeva was recovered and published by H. P. Sastri, in 1898-J.A.S.B. ii, pp. 175-84. Āryadeva's *Catuṣṣatikā* ed. also by H. P. Sāstri. *Memoirs ASB.* iii (8) pp. 449-514. Again by Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya, Part II only—*Viśvabhāratī Series No. 2* (1931). The *Sātaśāstra*, a short treatise of Āryadeva on logic, has been recovered and published by Tucci in his *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series Vol. 49. See also I.H.Q. 1933, pp. 978-9 for a discussion on Āryadeva's birth-place, Kuangpai-lun in Watters. xx, i, 362.

REALISM IN INDIAN ART

BY

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

Madras

The cry of 'go back from nature' has now pervaded Indian atmosphere and created an Indian Art quite unconscious and ignorant of and hence totally dissociated from nature. The say that nature is no good and that the ideal artist should rise above her is a tacit though honourable way of admitting the inimitableness of God's creation. The human hand, however much aided by instruments, falls short of portraying the sublime spirit of God in nature. But that does not and should not in any way discourage an artist from depicting nature as true as his ability could allow him to do it. It is only the degree of perfection that makes the artist felt as great or small. Whatever people might feel regarding the opinions of Ruskin on art—and we are not concerned with the opinions—it cannot be gainsaid he was a remarkably great aesthete, and it is interesting to note how very plain he is on the point (Art). In his Pre-Raphaelitism he asks us to 'suppose that every tree of the forest had been drawn in its noblest aspect, every beast in the field in its savage life—that all these gatherings were already in our national galleries, and that the painters of the present day were labouring, happily and earnestly, to multiply them, and put such means of knowledge more and more within reach of the common people'—and questions us whether 'that would not be a more honourable life for them, than gaining precarious bread by "bright effects".' He says that the painters do not think it to be so and adds that 'they think it easy, and therefore contemptible to be truthful.' Proceeding he deplores that 'the excuse is, however, one of lips only; for every painter knows that when he draws back from the attempt to render Nature as she is, it is oftener in cowardice than disdain.'

That this truth which Ruskin has been telling us is confined to England is as absurd a notion as that of Art belonging to any particular nation or country. As the instinct of man is artistic in some degree or other all the world over and as fine art was no monopoly of any country or clime, so also the supposition of

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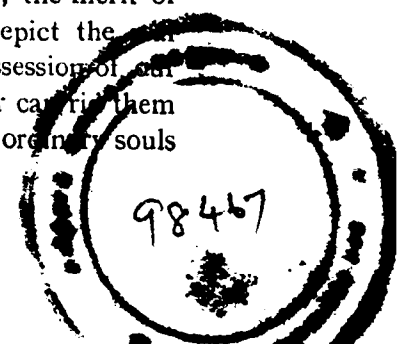
REALISM IN INDIAN ART

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Ruskin that 'the faculties which, when a man finds in himself, he resolves to be a painter, are intenseness of observation and facility of imagination; that man is created an observer and an imitator; and his function is to convey knowledge to his fellow-men, of such things as cannot be taught otherwise than ocularly' holds good as truly in other parts of the world as in England. But this supposition is merely an ideal which many artists of to-day glory more in violating than in following. Criticizing art instructions of his day Ruskin says 'we begin, in all probability, by telling the youth of fifteen or sixteen, that Nature is full of faults, and that he is to improve her; but that Raphael is perfection, and that the more he copies Raphael the better; that after much copying of Raphael, he is to try what he can do himself in a Raphaelesque, but yet original manner: that is to say, he is to try to do something very clever all out of his own head, but yet this clever something is to be properly subjected to Raphaelesque rules, is to have a principal light occupying one-seventh of its space, and a principal shadow occupying one-third of the same; that no two people's heads in the picture are to be turned the same way, and that all the personages represented are to possess ideal beauty of the highest order, which ideal beauty consists partly in a Greek outline of nose, partly in proportions expressible in decimal fractions between the lips and chin; but partly also in that degree of improvement which the youth of sixteen is to bestow upon God's work in general. This I say is the kind of teaching which through various channels, Royal academy lecturings, press criticisms, public enthusiasm, and not least by solid weight of gold, we give to our young men. And we wonder we have no painters.'

The criticism of Ruskin is as true of Indian Art to-day as it was in England in his time. The notion that Indian Art means depicting of men and women with fractured bones and contorted bodies emaciated by perhaps an anaemia of long duration, of trees with their branches bereft of leaves or if depicted with leaves at all, with only so many as could be easily counted (which simplified method is perhaps one way of rising above nature and God), of animals in all fantastic forms imaginable, the merit of the artist lying in his ignorance or inability to depict the form of the object, has so completely taken possession of our modern artists' brains that no magician or conjurer can rival them of it with his most herculean of efforts, much less originate souls like us.

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Om, 127
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Now, to go to the real state of affairs in the realm of art in India, we have but to visit the various famous places of our land that contain art-treasures of our past, and a sight of these would very well suffice to dispel the illusion that has taken so deep a root in the minds of people. During my recent visit to Mahā-balipuram—the seaport of the Pallava monarchs of Kāñci renowned for its 'Seven Pagodas'—I made a few sketches being struck by the very natural and realistic treatment of life, all on stone. The sage just near the small shrine carved in the famous 'Arjuna's Penance' is one that not merely attracts attention but arrests it. The sculptor who carved so exquisite a figure in the round and who shows such a high mastery of human form can have nothing in common with that class of our modern artists who take a delight in flouting all notions of elementary fundamentals of artistic thought, convention and anatomy in their frenzy to rise above, and better, nature. It would be a good beginning to study the picture (fig. 1) in detail. The rather emaciated body



Fig. 1.

of the sage exhibits the ribs partly.¹ The bend of the body is graceful and the anatomical structure of the body is exquisite.



Fig. 2.

Similarly with regard to the carving of the pair of deer beneath the sage. The attitude of one of the deer reminds us of the line of Kālidāsa wherein the animal is described as in the act of scratching the body. Unfortunately the head of the sage lower down is missing but the sitting posture that is just the one of Yogadakṣiṇāmūrti is striking. It is all natural and spontaneous work—nothing of the fantastic and ludicrous about it. In the carving of the desciple carrying water for the daily ablutions of the sage (fig. 2) we find a similar meticulous observance of nature's law in anatomy, pose etc. We have next the beautiful carving of the monkey group (fig. 3) where one of these mischievous creatures is engaged in removing dandruff from the head of another sitting with a young one in its lap. Nothing can be more natural than this wonder piece of stone work that seems to breathe and move. Of the beauty of the elephants in the Gajalakṣmī group



Fig. 3.

1. This marvellous piece of work reminded me at once of the special dictums of the Viṣṇudharmottara for the proper representation of various objects. The emaciated body of the sage in stone brought home to my mind the force of the verse



Fig. 4.

नृपयस्तत्र कर्तव्या जटाजूटोपशोभिताः ।
कृष्णाजिनोत्तरासङ्गा दुर्बलास्तेजसा युताः ॥

The beautiful figures of the Nāgas carved in the group is reminiscent of the lines देवाकाराश्च कर्तव्या नागाः फणविराजिताः. The Gandharvas represented as flying all around and hovering above in the company of their lovely wives remind us of the line सपत्नीकाश्च ते कार्या मात्स्यालङ्कारधारिणः. Similarly the beauty of the female companions of these demigods carved in stone is a commentary on the verse

दैत्यदानवयक्षाणां राक्षसानां तथैव च ।
रूपवत्यस्तथा कार्या पत्न्यो मनुजसत्तम ॥

in the Varāhamūrti panel (fig. 5) is equally praiseworthy.



Fig. 5.

Of the group of rats and the cat doing penance (fig. 6) which



Fig. 6.

latter Mrs. Fyson identifies as Dadhikarna, (it is not included in my sketch), little need be said; it reminds one of the śloka in the Śīsupālavadhā¹ where even the live cat is taken for a statue—so marvellous is the work of the sculptors. The group here is as realistic.

It can be safely asserted that there was never a time in India with evidence lacking to prove Realism as the ideal of the sculptor or the painter. The figurines of the pārāvatas (doves) are so lifelike that the cat approaches them stealthily and the motionless figure of the animal makes the people in the street mistake it for a carving like those of the birds. Again we have another example of this type of highly realistic representation in the Raghuvamśa² where the lions spring fiercely to kill the mighty elephants painted on the walls of the bathing houses on the banks of Sarayū only to discover that they are mere lifeless drawings and nothing more. The pathetic verse in the Kāvya-prakāśa³ where the parrot is described as complaining to the pictures of the king and the others of the indifference shown to it by the princess and so on is but another example of this extraordinary realistic treatment in painting and sculpture that makes even beasts and birds mistake them for live ones.

In the Kundamālā of Dīgnāgācārya we have the statement that there can be no Bimba without a Pratibimba.⁴ Even the reflection of Sītā in the water is spoken of as Pratikṛti which

1. चित्रंस्तथा कृत्रिमपत्रिपङ्क्तेः कपोतपालीषु निकेतनानाम् ।
मार्जारमप्यायतनिश्चलाङ्गं यस्यां जनः कृत्रिममेव मेने ॥ S. V. III, 51.

N. B.—Unless there was a realistic treatment of subjects there could be no mistaking of a live cat for a carving however motionless it might be.

2. चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालभङ्गाः ।
नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरब्धसिंहप्रद्वतं वहन्ति ॥

Raghu. XVI. 16.

3. राजन् राजसुता न पाठयति मां देव्योऽपि तूष्णीं स्थिताः
कुब्जे भोजय मां कुमारसचिवैर्नाद्यापि संभुज्यते ।
इत्थं नाथ शुक्रस्तवारिभवने मुक्तोऽध्वगैः पञ्चरा-

चित्रस्थानवलोक्य शून्यबलभावेकैकमाभाषते ॥ K. P. X. Ullāsa.

4. तदस्याः प्रतिकृतेर्मूलमन्वेष्टयामि । निःसंपातविविक्तमिदं दीर्घिकातीरम्,
विम्बेन च विना प्रतिबिम्बमित्यसंभाव्यमेतत् । Act IV.

term is strictly applied to a picture; but the reason is not far to seek. Every picture and especially a Viddha Citra (*i. e.*, a portrait) should be like the reflection in a mirror as the Sthavirā-valīcarita puts it.¹ The śloka of the Navasāhasāṅkacarita

नृपस्य चित्रे मधुरेयमाकृतिर्न भिद्यते चन्द्रमसो ययाम्भसि ।

सखीजनस्तामिति नर्मपेशलः शनैश्चपानम्रमुखीमभाषत ॥ VII

which talks of the picture resembling the original exactly like the reflection of the moon in the water the original in the sky gives out percisely the same idea.

It is evident from the Raghuvamśa,² the Tilakamañjarī³ and other works in Sanskrit that it was customary in ancient India for the pictures of princes and princesses to be sent all round the land to the courts of various kings, for fixing up marriages according to the dictum of 'परस्परस्य स्पृहणीयशोभं द्वन्द्वम्'. This method of choosing a princess by seeing her picture would be an impossibility if there were no resemblance between the drawing and the original. We have subtle differentiation in the Śilpa

1. ते विश्वकर्मणो मूर्त्यन्तराणीवातिकौशलत् ।

तमालिखन् यथावस्थमादर्शप्रतिबिम्बवत् ॥ I. 134.

Compare the Śilpa text

सादृश्यं लिख्यते यत्तु दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बवत् ।

तच्चित्रं विद्वमित्याहुर्विश्वकर्मादयो बुधाः ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

cf. धवलाभ्रकच्छुरितभित्तिलिखितललिताङ्गनालिपिम् ।

अप्यु कुवलयदृशां प्रतिमाः सितदर्पणनिभासु लेभिरे ॥

Navasāhasāṅkacarita, XV. 7

2. प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यो दूतिसंदर्शिताभ्यः

समधिकतररूपाः शुद्धसन्तानकामैः ।

अधिविविदुरमात्यैराहृतास्तस्य यूनः

प्रथमपरिगृहीते श्रीभुवौ राजकन्याः ॥ XVIII. 53.

3. कदाचिदङ्गनालोल इति निपुणचित्रकरैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपायनी-
कृतानि रूपातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिबिम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकमां
दिवसमालोकयत् । T. M. p. 15.

अतोऽस्याः सकलनिजपरिवारवाराङ्गनाचित्रकौशलदर्शनव्याजेन दर्शय निसर्ग-
सुन्दराकृतीनामवनिगोचरनरेन्द्रदारकाणां यथास्वमङ्कितानि नामभिर्यथावस्थितानि
विद्वरूपाणि । T. M. p. 138.

texts between Viddha and Aviddha pictures.¹ The former represent that class of pictures that exactly resemble the originals being portraits of a high order while the latter represent a class of imaginary drawings not strictly realistic. This latter group of pictures merely give an idea of the thing represented and nothing more. If realistic painting cannot be conceded as having been in existence in old India passages like the one in the Tilaka-

दीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपहार्यमाणचित्रफलकारोपितविद्वरूपः ।

T. M. p. 133.

तत्र च त्वदुपलम्भाशया दिङ्मुखख्यातरूपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विद्वरूपाण्या-
दरप्रवर्तितैश्चित्रकृद्भिरभिलिख्योपनीतान्यजस्रमवलोकयतः.....मे गताः
कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः । T. M. p. 263.

cf. किं चैतत् प्रतिरूपदर्शनवशादस्मानिमां कर्हिचित्

याचेतैष विशेषतस्तदुचितं पुत्रीपितृणां तु नः ।

इत्यालोच्य तया समं दयितया धर्मेण धीमन्नहं

त्वत्पार्श्वे प्रहितास्मि तत्प्रतिकृतिं चैतां भवानीक्षताम् ॥

Vasantavilāsamahākāvya, p. 75.

cf. भर्तुः प्रतीहारनिवेदितस्ततः प्रविश्य संसद्ग्रहमाहितानतिः ।

भूभेददत्तावसरः स कर्णयोः क्षरत्सुधासारमुवाच वाचिकम् ॥

किं चाग्रतस्तेन निरीक्ष्य भूपतेः कुमारमाकारविनिर्जितस्मरम् ।

तद्रूपशोभासुभगोऽस्य दर्शितां जगन्मनोलुण्ठनलम्पटः पटः ॥

पीयूषधाराग्रहमत्र नेत्रयोर्निरीक्ष्य कन्याप्रतिबिम्बमद्भुतम् ।

किं तथ्यमित्यं भवितेति चिन्तयन् पुरो नृपः श्लोकमिमं व्यलोकयत् ॥

अस्याः स्वरूपं कथमेणचक्षुषां यथावदन्यो लिखितुं प्रगल्भताम् ।

धातापि यस्याः प्रतिरूपनिर्मितौ घुणाक्षरन्यायकृताकृतिर्जडः ॥

Dharmaśarmābhyudaya, IX, 32-35.

A messenger is sent with a portrait of the Vidarbha princess to every court including the court of Kosala.

cf. रूपादिभिर्गुणगणैरुपमस्यास्तातभिराय विमृशन् वरमात्मजायाः ।

आलेख्यकर्मकुशलैः फलकेषु कृत्स्नानालेखयत् क्षितिभुजः प्रथितान्ववायान् ॥

कौतूहलेन फलकेषु मयाद्वेषे क्षोणीभूतो विलिखिताभिपुणं निरूप्य ।

आसीदियं त्रिजगतामभिनन्दनीये कुत्रापि यूनि विनिवेशितचित्तवृत्तिः ॥

Sahṛdayānanda, III, 17-18.

1. साहस्यं लिख्यते यत्तु दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बवत् ।

तच्चित्रं विद्वमित्याहुर्विश्वकर्मादयो बुधाः ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

mañjarī¹ where an exact drawing of the portrait from memory is attempted can have no meaning. At any rate sketching from life would be absurd if there is no real portrayal of the features in a realistic way. In this connection I am reminded of the two pictures of Nārāyaṇa² in the Sarasvatīmahāl library in Tanjore that were so exactly similar. The painter who could show such a striking similarity between the two pictures could and ought to have brought out the likeness of the original in flesh and blood whom he painted originally in both his pictures.

We need not go very far to see the truth of the above statement. We have it in the Vasantavilāsamahākāvya³ that the minister weeps at the sight of the statue of his mother. So realistic is it that it moves him to tears. As against all this we have bad pictures with their blemishes hidden by paint described in the Pādatāḍitaka.⁴ Sītā is carried away into the forest as it were and forgets herself when seeing the pictures illustrating Rāma's life on the walls of the royal palace at Ayodhyā and takes them all to be realistic and Rāma has to remind her of the fact she is looking at pictures;⁵ and this talks eloquently of the very

1. कदाचिदन्तिकन्यस्तविधिवर्तिकासमुद्रका प्रगुणीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः
पुरोऽवस्थापिते पृथुनि चित्रफलके निपुणमालोच्यालोच्य मकरकेतुबाणत्रातविद्धा
देवस्यैव रूपविद्वमभिलिखन्ती । p. 319.

2. Nārāyaṇa who belongs to the 18th century is the author of Śabdabhūṣaṇa and Śabdamañjarī and two portraits of his in miniature are painted on the first pages of the MSS of the two works preserved in the Tanjore library. They possess a remarkable and striking resemblance.

3. तदा सूत्रधारेणैकेन दारवी कुमारदेव्या मातुर्मूर्तिर्महन्तकाय नवीनघटिता
हृष्टौ कृता । उक्तं च तेन मातुर्मूर्तिरियम् । तदा मन्त्रीश्वरेण आशिखनखं दृष्ट्वा मूर्तीं
रुदितं च । प्रथममभ्रमात्रम्, ततोऽव्यक्ततरो ध्वनिः, ततो व्यक्ततरः । सर्वे तटस्थाः
पृच्छन्ति । देव ! किं कारणं रुदते ? हर्षस्थाने को विषादः ?ततो मन्त्रिणोक्तम्
दुःस्वमिदं यन्मे भाग्यसङ्गाधिपत्यादिविभूतिर्मातुर्मरणानन्तरं संपन्ना । etc. p. 97.

The statue is a carving in wood.

4. वर्णानुरूपोज्ज्वलचारुवेषां लक्ष्मीमिवालेख्यपटे निविष्टाम् ।

सापह्वां कामिषु कामवन्तोऽरूपां विरूपांमपि कामयन्ते ॥ p. 31.

5. लक्ष्मणः—एष पञ्चवट्यां शूर्पणखाविवादः ।

natural treatment in the paintings that serve as a contrast to the ugly pictures loaded with paint to please the crude taste of the lay public that is easily carried away by colour—वर्णाढ्यमितरे जनाः.

The extraordinary skill required of an artist to execute pictures in such a clever way is very well given out in the passage in the *Avantisundarikathā* of Daṇḍin¹—it is a pity that it happens to be moth-eaten and worn out to the utmost limit and therefore fragmentary in its printed form—wherein the sculptor replaces the broken hand of Śeṣaśāyiviṣṇu in *Mahābalipuram* so dexterously that nothing of it could be seen as having been repaired. That great feat of an artist—painting one's self—in which many an artist of the west has delighted, and of which we have examples like the paintings of Rembrandt, of Wilson, of Sir Joshua and a host of others, all by themselves, appears to have been a favourite pastime with the painter even in India as we see in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*² and elsewhere. In the *Avadānakalpalatā*

सीता—हा ! आर्यपुत्र ! एतावत्ते दर्शनम् ।

रामः—अयि ! वियोगव्रस्ते ! चित्रमेतत् ।

सीता—यथा तथा भवतु । दुर्जनोऽमुखमुत्पादयति ।

रामः—इन्त ! वर्तमान इव मे जनस्थानवृत्तान्तः प्रतिभाति ।

Uttararāmacarita, Act I.

In the last line Rāma also feels the realism of the pictures.

1.या विस्मापितदुर्जयस्य मान्धातुनाम्नः स्थपतेः प्रशस्तवास्तुशास्त्रा-
र्थसारसा.....स्तुविस्तारषण्णवतिप्रासादविधिविशारदो यानासनशयनादिना.....
तीयप्रयोक्ता षट्त्रिंशदाचार्यगुणैरलंकृतो ललितालयनामा स...विरचित...राद्रदृष्टिनि-
र्दिष्टायां भूमावुपाविशत् । दृष्टेऽपि तस्मिन् विस्मय...मेष किल यन्त्रमयमिन्द्रजालिकं
कृतवानेव किल सं...पित्रा यवनानप्यतिशयानेन क्षुभितोऽयमिति यन्त्रो.....
भवसिता एव सर्वे नित्यप्रमादशैथिल्यां शिल्प...दिवैतस्मिन्नेपुणमपि तदनुग्रहार्थमेव...
(शास्त्रं)धन्वनः केनापि कारणेन मणिबन्धं भग्नो...अनुरूप....वेति द्रष्टुमर्ह्य

etc. p. 8.

2. आलेख्यलीलाफलकं सतुलमेकं दधाना करपल्लवेन ।

आत्मानमालिख्य वराय तस्मै दातुं समुद्योगवतीव तस्थौ ॥ IV. 72.

cf. पुनरहमभिलिख्यात्मनः प्रतिकृतिम् “इयममुष्यै नेया । नीतां चैनां
निर्वर्ण्य सा नियतमेवं वक्ष्यति—‘नन्वस्ति कश्चिदीदृशाकारः पुमान् ?’ इति ।
प्रतिब्रूयते—‘यदि स्यात्ततः किम् ?’ इति । तस्य यदुत्तरं सा दास्यति तदहमस्मि
प्रतिबोधनीयः” इति ।

Daśakumāracarita, p. 107, N. S. edn.

of Kṣemendra even Buddha is reported to have done his own portrait.¹

A painting like the one described in the śloka of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*

इत्युक्ता तैलिलेखाय तापसी भूमिपात्मजम् ।

अविसंवादिलावण्यं संक्रान्तमिव दर्पणे ॥

ते दृष्ट्वा लिखितं चित्रे तुल्यं राजसुतं तथा ।

साधु साध्वित्यभाषन्त प्रहर्षोत्फुल्ललोचनाः ॥ IX. 1305-1306.

cannot but go recognised;² and we have instances of people recognising portraits by a mere look as in the *Ratnāvalī*³, the *Śṛṅgāra-*

1. ततश्चित्रकराशक्यां प्रभावैरनुपूरिताम् ।

भगवान् प्राहिणोत् तस्यै न्यस्तां स्वप्रतिमां पटे ॥

A. K. L., Vol. I, Pallava VII. 62.

2. Recognition of the original by a look at the figure is found in the verse—

तेनापृष्टः स वेतालः केयमित्यतिकौतुकात् ।

उवाच शिल्पिना देव कृतेयं शालभञ्जिका ॥

कलिङ्गराजतनयामालोक्य सदृशाकृतिम् ।

सेयं कलिङ्गसेनाख्या रूपकारेण निर्मिता ॥

Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, X. 202-3.

3. सुसंगता—इदं खलु कदलीगृहम् । तद्यावत्प्रविशामि । (प्रविश्याव-
लोक्य च सविस्मयम्) एषा मे प्रियसखी सागरिका । किं पुनरेषा गुर्वनुरागो-
त्क्षिप्तद्वयेव किमप्यालिखन्ती न मां प्रेक्षते । भवतु । तद्यावदस्या दृष्टिपथं परिहृत्य
निरूपयामि । (स्वैरं पृष्ठतोऽस्याः स्थित्वा दृष्ट्वा सहर्षम्) कथं भर्ताभिलिखितः !
साधु ! सागरिके ! साधु ! अथवा, न कमलाकरं वर्जयित्वा राजहंस्यन्यस्मिन्नभिरमते ।
Act II.

Cf. Later Sāgarikā recognises her own portrait drawn by
Susaṅgatā on the same picture board.

सागरिका—(विलोक्य सक्त्रोधम्) सखि ! कथं त्वयाहमत्रालिखिता ।

Cf. Later even the fool of a Vidūṣaka recognises the picture
as that of his friend the King.

विदूषकः—भो ! वयस्य ! दिष्टया वर्धसे । एतत्तद्यन्मया भणितम् ।

त्वमेवान्नालिखितः । अन्यथा कोऽन्यः कुसुमचापव्यपदेशेन निहूयत इति ।

tilaka¹ and the Viddhaśālabhañjikā.² The pictures should have been very striking for the fool of a Vidūṣaka in the Viddha-

1. मया कोऽयं मुग्धे कथय लिखितः सत्वरसखी-
वचः श्रुत्वेत्युच्चैर्विनिहितदृशा चित्रफलके ।
न वक्तुं तन्वङ्गया शकितमथ चोदामविदल-

त्कदम्बाकारेण प्रिय इति समाख्यायि वपुषा ॥ p. 142.

2. विदूषकः—इतस्तावललितस्फटिकगर्भभवनभित्तिचित्रसंस्थेषु कर्मसु निवेद्यतां दृष्टिः । एष तावदेवो देव्या समं पाशकाभिनिवेशी आलिखितः । एषापि ताम्बूलकरण्डवाहिनी नागवल्ली । एषा चामरग्राहिणी प्रभाञ्जनिका । एष रत्नकरण्डको नाम वामनकः । एष पुनर्मन्दुरामर्कटः टप्परकण्ठो नाम ।

राजा—त्वमेषोऽभिलिखितः ।

विदूषकः—(सक्रोधम्) नाहं लिखितुं शतो ब्राह्मणी जानाति यादृशोऽहं सा मां भणति त्वं प्रत्यक्षो देव इति ।

राजा—किमुपवने शुको वदति ।

विदूषकः—किमिव ।

राजा—अस्ति भवान् देवः किं पुनर्भृङ्गिरिति ।

विदूषकः—को दुर्जनवचनानां कर्णं ददाति (अङ्गुल्या निर्दिशन्) एषा पुनः शोभासमुदयेनोपहसन्तीव काप्यपूर्वा आलिखिता ।

राजा—इयमपूर्वैवास्माकं न पुनरनङ्गस्य । (सम्यग्विलोक्य) सैवेय-
मस्मन्मनःसागरशशिलेखा । अहो रूपसंपदस्याः !

चक्षुर्मेचकमम्बुजं विजयते वक्त्रस्य मित्रं शशी

भ्रूसूत्रस्य सनाभि मन्मथधनुर्लावण्यपण्यं वपुः ।

लेखा कापि रदच्छदे च सुतनोर्गात्रे च तत्कामिनी-

मेनां वर्णयिता स्मरो यदि भवेद्देवदग्ध्यमभ्यस्यति ॥

विदूषकः—(स्वगतम्) का पुनरेषा देवीपरिवारे । (विचिन्त्य) मभवत्, कौतूहलेन देवी अभिनवागतं निजमातुलजातकं मृगाङ्गवर्माणं वारं वारं विरचित-
महिलावेषं कारयति । तां च दृष्ट्वा अज्ञातपरमार्थैश्चित्रकरैः सैव चित्रे आलिखितेति
तर्कयामि तन्न विस्फोटयिष्ये । विस्मयतु तावत् प्रियवयस्यः । (प्रकाशम्) वर्षापयि-
ष्ये भो कुमारिका खलु एषा एतस्या नेपथ्यं लक्ष्यते ।

राजा—यथाह प्रियवयस्यः ।

* * * * *

विदूषकः—इतोऽपि देवी मदनवती अशेषपरिवारा चालिखिता ।
राजा—इदमेव रूपरत्नं सम्भावयामस्तावत् ।

śālabhañjikā to recognise so easily all of them painted in the palace.

The Mṛcchakaṭika says that imitation is the general rule with craftsmen;¹ but it can be safely said, judging from the frescoes and sculptures of the best period of Indian art that we have all over India, that mere imitation of another's work was not attempted by good workmen, though the less skilful ones might have resorted to such means. The land where अचुम्बितार्थप्रतिपत्ति is an ideal can never have an exceptional dictum in the realm of painting. If there was imitation in the case of skilled workmen it was an imitation of nature which well accounts for the passages that talk of light and shade² and the like—matters of technique all evolved and got at in attempts at trying to represent nature as faithfully as possible. So our painters of old could not have been grand-children³ of nature but her sturdy children; and to justify our conviction we have the exquisite carving at Mahābalipuram of a highly fascinating and charmingly realistic milking group whose very striking natural beauty and skill in execution compelled me to take a note of it on my

विदूषकः—इहापि सास्येव ।

राजा—(आत्मगतम्) एकं चक्षुरनेकत्र सा (विदूषकं प्रति) कासौ ?

विदूषकः—इयमियम् ।

विदूषकः—(स्तम्भे शालभञ्जिकां विलोक्य) इयमपि सैव ।

Viddhaśālabhañjikā, Act I.

1. दृष्ट्वा क्रियामनुकरोति हि शिल्पवर्गः

सादृश्यमेव कृतहस्ततया वदन्ति ॥

Act X. 34.

2. राजनीतिरिव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया दिनकरप्रभेव प्रकाशित-
व्यक्तनिम्नोन्नतविभागा.....चक्रवर्तिकन्यका । Tilakamañjarī, p. 135.

The use of the words *dinakaraprabheva* and *vyakta* is significant. It is not abstract light but real sunlight giving sharp relief to the features and forming cast shadows that is referred to.

3. Archdeacon Fisher, in one of his letters that has not been printed, says, "I have just met with the following observation in Leonardo da Vinci, 'One painter ought never to imitate the manner of any other, because in that case he cannot be the child of nature, but the grand-child.'"—Constable sometimes called imitators "Poachers on other men's grounds." Life of Constable, p. 286.

picture-pad. This representation (fig. 7) which reminds me of



Fig. 7.

the powerful word-picture of Mayūra of the calf at milkingtime in the verse

आहत्याहस्य मूर्ध्ना द्रुतमनुपिबतः प्रस्तुतं मातुरुधः
किंचित् कुञ्चैकजानोरनवरतचलचारुपुच्छस्य धेनुः ।
उत्तीर्णं तर्णकस्य प्रियतनयतया दत्तदुङ्कारमुद्रा
विस्त्रसिक्षीरधारालवशबलमुखस्याङ्गमावृत्ति लेदि १॥

1. The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra, edited by G. P. Quackenbos, Indo-Iranian series. p. 235.

is really worthy of the most realistic school of painters and sculptors. The carving of the old cowherd (fig. 8) in the company of what appears like his daughter and grand-children, is again a fascinating study. Any master may be proud of the baby boy on the shoulder of the old man, snugly seated and dreaming sweet childish dreams of innocence.

Light and shade or rather chiaroscuro as it is technically called in the artists' world is a factor to which considerable attention has been paid by our ancients. This is an outcome of the desire to faithfully represent the volume or the third dimension on a plane surface like the board or the canvas. This was done either with a single colour, i.e., monochrome or with different colours as we have it given in the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* and *Śivalattvaratnākara*.¹ The oldest authority on this point is the *Mahābhārata* where the possibility of highly realistic representation by means of light and shade in pictures is referred to in the verse quoted by Kṣemendra in his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* to show Vyāsa's knowledge of various arts including painting.



Fig. 8.

प्रकीर्णे चित्रपरिचयो यथा भगवतो व्यासस्य—
'अतथ्यान्यपि तथ्यानि दर्शयन्ति विचक्षणाः ।
समे निम्नोन्नतानीव चित्रकर्मविदो जनाः ॥'

1. पूरयेद्वर्णतः पञ्चात्तत्तद्रूपोचितं यथा ।
उज्ज्वलं प्रोन्नते स्थाने श्यामलं निम्नदेशतः ।
एकवर्णेऽपि तं कुर्यात्तारतम्यविशेषतः ॥ A. A. C. and S. T. R.

Following it Hemacandra repeats the quotation in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*. Dhanapāla has a passage in the *Tilakamañjarī*¹ where he talks of light and shade in colours bringing out the effect of relieve. The use of the word *Dinakaraṣrabheva prakāśitavyaktanimnonnatavibhāgā* is significant especially when it shows us that the painters of old India had observed the play of light on forms and the effect of light and shadows thereby. There are other passages from Sanskrit literature talking of the directions and forms of shadows, etc. that bear testimony to the very keen and accurate study of nature in ancient India; and with all this mass of evidence for it it cannot be so easily said that chiaroscuro was a sealed book to our forefathers. A look at the frescoes of India from any quarter, Ajanṭa, Bagh, Sittannavaśal or Tanjore would reveal how well the principles of perspective and foreshortening were mastered. The talk of Kṣayavṛddhi in the Śilpa texts is actually shown in practice on the walls in these places.

From the foregoing pages it is evident what was the ideal of our ancients in the pictorial world. Their attempt was at realistic treatment. Of course there are conventions in all spheres and certain conventions there are in painting too. Representation of the three worlds being the aim of the artists of our land, and the forms of the divine ones, etc. being beyond the reach of our mortal eye, canons and descriptions regarding their form, etc. laid down by seers had to be strictly followed. The mockery of an independent spirit in such a holy sphere as this was dispensed with. But individual genius could make the picture or image felt by its striking nature and individuality in no way opposing the conventions within whose limits it had been worked. But in representing the world around them the artists were absolutely free and their treatment was quite realistic. The drawings of elephants, ducks etc. are examples.

In conclusion it is only to be regretted that modern art in India should so recklessly present all sorts of anaemic and asthmatic patients if not consumptive ones, not in poses like ābhaṅga or atibhaṅga, tribhaṅga, etc. but aṣṭāvakra-bhaṅgas—all in the complacent belief that this is equal to or directly connected with the noble pictures of the past. In this case nothing better can be done than drawing the attention of the producers of this sort of modern art to the few lines of criticism of an eminent artist of

1. *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 135.

the west levelled against some of his contemporaries losing themselves in illusory joys of having approached the old masters through rotten productions of theirs in a wretched imitative style. "Those who are old enough to compare the present state of painting, among us, with what it was before the continent was thrown open to our artists, cannot but have misgivings as to the advantage of foreign travel to British students. If, as it may be feared, we are more and more losing sight of nature, it may be less owing to the influence of the National Gallery, than to the example from abroad of, I will not call it imitation but *mimicry* of early art. This is so easy a thing to succeed in, and is so well calculated to impose on ourselves and others a belief that we possess the spirit of the primitive ages of art, that we cannot too carefully guard against its seduction. The purity of heart belonging to childhood is, no doubt, as desirable to the painter as to the Christian, but we do not acquire this by merely imitating the *lisp* of infancy."¹

1. Life of Constable, p. 84.

Note :—This note is added by me to remove certain misapprehensions that might arise regarding realism in Indian Art. Realism does not mean photographic fidelity. Similarly idealism cannot be a monstrous torture of realism. Idealism is realism perfect and graceful. A study of Pallava, Cola, Hoysala and other phases of art would instil in one a reverence for such an idealistic realism. The bronzes of South India of the best period are perfectly idealistic with no outrage on realism. Indian figures are gracefully rounded in shape, nerves, projecting bones and muscles being avoided in representation according to certain Indian conventions laid down in Śilpa texts. And that creates a gulf of difference between Indian and Western (Greek, etc.) art besides other differences too numerous for mention in this short note.

The best specimens of Indian art are not opposed to this sort of idealistic realism. Orissan ivories represented by such excellent specimens as 'Tortoise' and 'Krishna' (Plate LXXIII Fig. A and B. History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon by V. A. Smith) which are described by Sir George Watt as 'a wonderful creation' and 'an exquisite piece of work' respectively, the work of the Śilpins, temple architects and carvers of temple cars of South India, and some of the exquisite paintings of modern masters like Dr. A. N. Tagore and Nandalal Bose may be said to represent modern Indian art continuing the traditions of the past. "The Cloud Messenger" and 'Tear-drop on the lotus leaf' of Dr. A. N. Tagore, the

'Svayamvara of Damayanti', 'Gāndhārī' and 'Agni the Fire-god' by Nandalal Bose, 'Curiosity' of D. P. Roy Chowdhury, 'My lamp goes out every time' of Charuchandra Roy and 'The spider's web' of Samarendranath Gupta, to mention a few, are typically Indian, are at once realistic and decorative, and breathe the fragrance of ancient Indian Art. Realism must well be conceded in these pictures when it is conceded in D. G. Rossetti's and Burne-Jones's pictures of the Pre-Raphaelite School. H. Majumdar has some really charming pictures published in the albums that go in his name; and Indian sculpture is well represented by the works of such eminent men as D. P. Roy Chowdhury, Karmarkar and Mhatre. Some of the excellent pictures of Ravi Varma and Raja Raja Varma form South India's contribution to modern art. But all these are supposed to be western in spirit. For every one good picture we have ten bad pictures in the art field and they have to be carefully weeded out.

FIVE-STAGES OF PRE-VEDIC DETERMINATIVE-
COMPOUND-ACCENTUATION AS SURMISED BY
THE HISTORIC SURVIVALS OF THEIR
REPRESENTATIVES IN SANSKRIT.

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(Continued from p. 351, Vol. VIII, Part IV.)

At the next stage¹ (i.e. the fourth one) of determinative-compound-accentuation, the accent was further shifted to the initial syllable of the second member as the following sūtras coming under the अधिकारसूत्र—

उत्तरपदादिः (P. VI, 2, 111.) show.

कंसमन्थशूर्पाय्यकाण्डं द्विगौ (P. VI, 2, 122.)

dvi-kaṁsaḥ| tri-kaṁsaḥ| dvi-mānthah| tri-mānthah|
dvi-śūrpah| dvi-pāyyah| dvi-kāṇḍah|

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके (P. VI, 2, 123.)

brāhmaṇa-śālam|

कन्था च (P. VI, 2, 124.)

sauśami-kāntham| āhvara-kāntham|

चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम् (P. VI, 2, 126.)

1. The view that the second member is more important of the two in the determinative compounds probably came to be entertained at this stage; hence was the necessity to move the accent to the first syllable of the second member from the last syllable of the first member. Although it is convenient to speak separately of these two stages (third and fourth), yet it should be borne in mind that at one time or another, during transition, the accent should have been wavering between the two syllables. There should have been also at least a subsidiary stage when the composition vowel appeared and bore the accent.

putra-cēlam| nagara-khēṭam| dadhi-kaṭukam|
prajā-kāṇḍam|

वीरमुपमानम् (P. VI, 2, 127.)

vastra-cīram| kambala-cīram|

पल्लसूपशाकं मिश्रे (P. VI, 2, 128.)

ghṛta-pālalam| ghṛta-sūpah| ghṛta-śākam|

कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् (P. VI, 2, 129.)

dākṣi-kūlam| śāṇḍi-sūdam| dāṇḍāyana-sthālam|

dākṣi-karṣaḥ|

(All these are names of villages.)

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् (P. VI, 2, 130.)

brāhmaṇa-rājyam|¹

वर्ग्यदयश्च (P. VI, 2, 131.)

arjuna-vārgyaḥ| vāsudeva-pakṣyaḥ|

पुत्रः पुम्भ्यः (P. VI, 2, 132.)

dāśaki-putraḥ| māhiṣa-putraḥ|

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः (P. VI, 2, 134.)

mudga-cūrṇam|²

षट् च काण्डादीनि (P. VI, 2, 135.)

darbha-kāṇḍam| darbha-cīram| tila-pālalam| mudga-
sūpah| mūlaka-śākam| nadi-kūlam|

कुण्डं वनम् (P. VI, 2, 136.)

1. But we have *ku-cēlam* *ku-rājyam* for according to Kātyāyana, the accent taught in VI, 2, 126 to VI, 2, 130 is superseded by the accent of the indeclinable taught in VI, 2, 2, though that rule stands first and these subsequent.

“चेलराज्यादिस्वरादव्ययस्वरः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥”

2. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपग्रहात्, the word उपग्रह being the old name of षष्ठी given by ancient grammarians.

darbha-kūṇḍam|¹

The period when the composition or the thematic vowel in the determinatives of Lithuanian was accented, probably represents an intermediate stage (between the third and fourth stages of pre-Vedic-determinative-compound-accentuation) the determinative compounds passed through in pre-Vedic language.

But when somehow the composition vowel in Lithuanian disappeared (the reason for it we do not know), the original primitive Indo-European logical accent of the determinative compound was restored—(this restoration must have been, in all probability quite accidental). But in Sanskrit, as later on the second member came to be looked upon as the more important of the two, the accent should have been moved further forward to reach the final syllable of the determinative compound; and slight indeed is the transition between the fourth stage and the last one of determinative-compound-accentuation.²

The last stage of determinative-compound-accentuation is recorded by such sūtras of Pāṇini as are governed by the अधिकारसूत्र—

अन्तः (P. VI, 2, 143.)³

1. This stage of determinative-compound-accentuation is very well represented by the following Vedic compounds.

mano-yujāḥ (Rv. I, 14, 6); vṛtra-haṇam (Rv. I, 106, 6);

puru-sprham (Rv. IX, 102, 6); marta-bhōjanam (Rv. I, 114, 6.);

puru-tāman (Rv. I, 5, 2.)

Sāyaṇa explains the accent of the last compound as follows:—

“तमु ग्लानौ” इति धातोरन्तर्भावितण्यर्थात् पचाद्यचि । चित्त्वादन्तोदात्तेऽपि कृत्वत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं बाधित्वा “परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्” इत्युत्तरपदाद्युदात्तत्वम् ।

2. From the slight shift of the fourth stage of determinative-compound-accentuation to a distinct displacement in the fifth stage, the way was not very long. Only at this last stage of determinative-compound-accentuation, must the view of the speakers of the pre-Vedic language that the second member is more important of the two in determinative compounds have taken a very definite shape and formed a strong prepossession.

3. Under one of these sūtras (कृत्योकेष्णुच्चावादीदयश्च P. VI, 2, 160) is read the following राजाहोश्छन्दसि (गण. 169) by which a-rājā

I have already pointed out the working of analogy in the sūtra संख्या. (P. VI, 2, 35.)¹ through which some Dvandva compounds like *ekā-daśa* accent the first member.

There are some more sūtras which reveal to us the mysterious working of analogy in this direction

राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु (P. VI, 2, 34.)

śvāphalkā-caitrakāḥ | *caitrakā-rōdhakāḥ* |
śini-vāsudevāḥ |

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी (P. VI, 2, 36.)

Pāṇiniya rauḍhiyāḥ (Both the words in this compound have acute on the middle as formed by छ affix)²

कार्तिकौजपादयश्च (P. VI, 2, 37.)

sāvarṇi-māṇḍūkeyau | *paila-śyāparṇeyāḥ* | *vatsa-jarantah* |
kapi-śyāparṇeyāḥ | *stri-kumāram* | *kunti-surāṣṭrāḥ* |
avimatta-kāmabaddhāḥ |³

and *anahāḥ* accent the last syllable in the Vedas only. In the vernacular, they have the accent of नञ्, i.e., *udātta* on the first, (cf. भाषायां नञः स्वर एव). It is strange that the logical accent in these compounds is preserved in the later Sanskrit, while in the earlier Vedic language it is lost. The next sūtra ordains the end-acute of certain compounds in which the first member is a negative particle; but this being optional, the alternative accent is that of the indeclinable as taught by P. VI, 2, 2.

(विभाषा तृचनतीक्ष्णश्चिषु P. VI, 2, 161.)

a-kartā | *ā-kartā* | *anannam* | *ān-annam* |
a-tikṣṇam | *ā-tikṣṇam* | *a-śuciḥ* | *ā-śuciḥ* |

This shows that the logical accent did not completely lose its hold even in these compounds.

1. *Vide* "Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds" J.O.R.M. Volume VIII, Part II, page 144.

2. Aufrecht, *Accentus compositorum Sanscriticorum*, p. 9.

3. *dōṣā-vastar* (Rv. I, 1, 7.) probably represents the type of these compounds in the Rgvedic period, if we adopt Sāyaṇa's explanation of the accent of this compound. Sāyaṇa says here—

The compounds like *ekā-daśa*, which themselves were accented on the analogy with the older determinative compounds of the adjectivally descriptive class, more especially with Dvigus, probably had in their turn further analogical influence over compounds like *śini-vāsudevāḥ* so that the latter too came to retain the accent of the first member.

It ought to be remembered that an ideal Dvandva compound normally accents both the members (in other words, such a compound is a loose one) since both the members are equally important. This principle is recognised in the following sūtra of Pāṇini.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च (P. VI, 2, 141.)

indrā-varuṇau (Rv. I, 35, 1.)

dyāvā-prthivī (Rv. X, 63, 9.)¹

(Compare what Mādhavabhaṭṭa says in his *Rgvedānukramāṇī* Part I, i, iii, 9.)

समप्रधानयोर्द्वन्द्व उदात्त उभयोरपि ।

षावापृथिवी मरुतो हयामि मित्रावरुणौ ॥

[In this connection, it ought to be remembered that by the expression 'ideal Dvandva compounds', I mean those compounds which, being the commonest and earliest type of the old Dvandvas, are roughly brought under Wackernagel's first two stages of the Dvandva compound formation (*Vide* Altindische Grammatik II. 1 sections 63-68. p. 150-162. See also Macdonell's Vedic Grammar—Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertums-kunde. Sections 259-266. p. 155-158.)]

For the sake of convenience I give below some typical examples of the seven stages.

दोषाद्वन्द्वो रात्रिवाची । वस्त इत्यर्षाची । इन्द्रसमासे कार्तिकौजपादित्वात्

आशुदासः ।

But Macdonell's interpretation of the compound is different (*Vide* p. 8 Macdonell's, "A Vedic Reader for Students").

1. The compound *indrā-brhaspati* (Rv. IV, 49, 5.) has three accents for the second member. *brhaspati* of this compound is itself a double-accented one (see my paper on "Double-accented compounds" to be published shortly in the Madras University Journal.)

I. mitrā-varuṇā (Rv. I, 2, 9; 3, 56, 7b; 10, 64, 5b.)

II. mitrā-varuṇābhyām (Rv. V, 51, 9, MS. 1, 3, 7.)

(Bartholomae, Indogermanische Forschungen 20, 168 Anzeiger, regards these Dvandvas as abbreviations by dropping the common ending in the first member. This retention of the commonest ending of the first member, that of the nom. acc., unaltered in other cases and in derivatives is analogous to the usage of jeder-manns for jedes-manns in German.)¹

III. indrā-pūṣṇōḥ (Rv. I, 162, 2.)

IV. indra-vāyū (Rv. VII, 90, 7b; I, 14, 3; 23, 2; 3; 139, 1.)

V. aho-rātrāṇi (Rv. X, 190, 2c.)

VI. ukthā-śāstrāṇi (VS. 19, 28.)

This class of compounds is found in abundance in later saṁhitās like the Vājasaneyi and the Taittirīya Saṁhitās.

VII. iṣṭā-pūrtam (AV. VI, 123, 2d.)²

iṣṭā-pūrtena (Rv. X, 14, 8.)

kṛtā-kṛtam (AV. XIX, 9, 2.)

We have so far traced the five stages of determinative-compound-accentuation. Strictly speaking, there should have been another stage also. At one time, the retention, in the compound, of the word-accent of the second member was probably felt as quite sufficient. I believe that the following sūtras of Pāṇini may perhaps warrant such an assumption.

प्रकृत्या भगालम् (P. VI, 2, 137.)

kumbhī-bhagālam| kumbhī-kapālam| kumbhī-nadālam|

गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत् (P. VI, 2, 139.)

pra-kārah| pra-kāraṇam| pra-hārah| pra-hāraṇam|

idhma-vraścanah| palāśa-śātanah| śmaśru-kālpānah|

iṣat-karah| duṣ-karah| su-karah| havya-vāham (Rv. I

1. Cf. Brugmann: Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen grammatik herausg. von Curtius 9, 264.

2. The older type in which a dual or plural has been turned into a singular at the end, only in order to expresse a collective meaning is represented by this compound. See Windisch in Fest-gruss an Boehtlingk, p. 115 ff.

12, 2.) ṛtā-vṛdhah (Rv. I, 13, 6.) draviṇo-dā (Rv. I, 15, 7.) āṅguṣām (Rv. I, 62, 1.)

But this state of affairs seems not to have been allowed to prevail for a long time. This practice appears to have been checked and as the second member came to be looked upon as the more important of the two in determinative compounds, the accent seems to have been compulsorily thrown to the end of the compound.

समासस्य (P. VI, 1, 223.)

It has been already pointed out¹ that some Bahuvrīhi compounds in Sanskrit like tri-yugam logically accented the last member. Some more Bahuvrīhis of this type which Pāṇini takes into account, we shall see in the following sūtras.

बहुव्रीह्याविदमेतत्तद्वयः प्रथमपूरणयोः क्रियागणने (P. VI, 2, 162.)

idam-prathamah| idam-dvitiyah|

etat-prathamah| tat-prathamah|

संख्यायाः स्तनः (P. VI, 2, 163.)

tri-ṣṭanā| catus-ṣṭanā|

विभाषा छन्दसि (P. VI, 2, 164.)

dvi-ṣṭanā|

संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः (P. VI, 2, 165.)

deva-mitrah| brahma-mitrah| vṛkājinah|

kulājinah| kṛṣṇājinah|

व्यवायिनोऽन्तरम् (P. VI, 2, 166.)

vastrāntarah|

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् (P. VI, 2, 167.)

bhadra-mukhah|

निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम् (P. VI, 2, 169.)

prakṣārita-mukhah| siriha-mukhah|²

जातिकालमुखादिभ्योऽनाच्छादनात् कोऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः

(P. VI, 2, 170.)

1. Vide J.O.R.M., Vol. VIII, Part II, my article.

2. This rule being optional, when the final is not acute, then rule P. VI, 2, 110 निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् applies which makes the

sāraṅga-jagdhah| palāṇḍu-bhakṣitah|
sukha-jātaḥ| samvatsara-jātaḥ|¹

वा जाते (P. VI, 2, 171.)

danta-jātaḥ|

नञ्सुम्याम् (P. VI, 2, 172.)

a-yavaḥ| su-yavaḥ| ayaḥ (from a-ri) [Rv. II, 12, 4d-;
5c.] a-yoddhā (Rv. I, 32, 6.) su-śipras (Rv. II, 12, 6c.)²

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपश्यु (P. VI, 2, 177.)

pra-prṣṭhaḥ| prodaraḥ| pra-lalāṭaḥ|

वनं समासे (P. VI, 2, 178.)

pra-vanam| nir-vanam|

[Compounds like these must have been originally अव्ययीभाव-
समासs accenting the first member, as is evidenced by the following
sūtra of Pāṇini.

परिप्रत्युपापावर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु (P. VI, 2, 33.)

Then they should have passed through the Tatpuruṣa stage
before they were finally transmuted into Bahuvrīhis] (see my
paper on "Double-accented Compounds" to be published
shortly in the Journal of the Madras University.)

अन्तः (P. VI, 2, 179.)

antar-vanaḥ|

first member have acute on the final optionally; and when that also
does not apply, then by P. VI, 2, 1. (बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्) the first
member preserves its original accent, which is that of gati
(गतिरनन्तरः P. VI, 2, 49). Thus there are three forms prakṣālita-
mukhaḥ| prakṣālita-mukhaḥ prakṣālita-mukhaḥ| representing at
least three stages of Bahuvrīhi compound-accentuation.

1. That the last compound must have been once a Tatpuruṣa is
evidenced by the sūtra कालः परिमणिना (P. II, 2, 5).

2. The movement of this accent in backward direction in
those Bahuvrīhi compounds whose first member is नञ् or सु is
shown by the following two sūtras of Pāṇini.

कपि पूर्वम् (P. VI, 2, 173) a-brāhmabandhūkaḥ|

अन्तश्च ((P. VI, 2, 180.)

prāntaḥ| paryantaḥ|

परेरभितोभाविमण्डलम् (P. VI, 2, 182.)

pari-tīram| pari-maṇḍalam| pari-kūlam|

[The last compound too should have been originally an
अव्ययीभावसमास when it either accented the first member (pari-
kūlam) by the sūtra VI, 2, 33 of Pāṇini (already quoted) or the
initial syllable of the second member according to the sūtra
कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे (P. VI, 2, 121).

pari-kūlam|

Then it should have passed into the intermediate stage of
Tatpuruṣa and finally into Bahuvrīhi.]

प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् (P. VI, 2, 183.)

pra-koṣṭham| pra-grham|

pra-dvāram|

निरुदकादीनि च (P. VI, 2, 284.)

nirupalam| nir-maśakam|

nir-makṣikam| niṣ-kālakaḥ|

niṣ-peṣaḥ| niṣ-taripaḥ| niṣ-tarikaḥ|

duṣ-taripaḥ| nir-ajinam| ud-ajinam|

upājinam| pari-hastaḥ|

pari-karṣaḥ| nir-udakam|

[The last compound throws a flood of light on the evolution
of different classes of Sanskrit compounds¹. In this connection,
compare the following illuminating remarks of Bhairavamiśra in
his Candrakalā—a commentary on Nāgeśa's Laghuśabdendu-
śekhara under this sūtra of Pāṇini.

निर्गतमुदकं यस्मादिति बहुव्रीहिः, निर्गतं च तदुदकमिति तत्पुरुषो वा ।
अर्थाभावेऽव्ययीभावो वा यद्यप्यत्र संभाव्यते तथापि तत्रैतत्सूत्रप्रवृत्तिं विनापि
समासान्तोदात्तत्वेनैव सिद्धम् ॥]

su-kumārīkaḥ|

ह्रस्वान्तेऽन्त्यात् पूर्वम् (P. VI, 2, 174.)

a-vrīhikaḥ| su-nāśakaḥ|

1. Vide my article on "Double-accented Compounds,"
XI—17

अभेर्मुखम् (P. VI, 2, 185.)

abhi-mukham|

अपाच्च (P. VI, 2, 186.)

apa-mukham|

स्फीगपूतवीणाञ्जोऽध्वकुक्षिसीरनामनाम च (P. VI, 2, 187.)

apa-viṇām| apāñjah| apādhvā|

apa-sīrah| apa-halah| apa-taṅgalam|

apa-nāma|

द्वित्रिभ्यां पादन्मूर्धसु बहुव्रीहौ (P. VI, 2, 197.)

dvi-pāt (Rv. IV, 51, 5; X, 27, 10; 117, 8.)

tri-pādūrdhvaḥ (Rv. X, 90, 4.)

dvidān| tri-murdhānam (Rv. I, 146, 1a.)

सक्यं चाक्रान्तात् (P. VI, 2, 198.)

gaura-sakthah| ślakṣṇa-sakthah|

The disturbance set in, in the matter of accentuation of epithetised compounds during the Vedic period, is recorded by Pāṇini and the Vārttikakāra in the next sūtra

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् (P. VI, 2, 499.)

[अत्र वार्तिकम्]

“ परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।

पूर्वादयश्च दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥ ”

añji-sakthāya (TS. 7, 3, 17, 1. KS. Aśvamedhagrantha 3, 7.)

vāk-patiḥ (VS. 4, 4; TS. 1, 2, 1, 2; 6, 1, 1, 9.)

a-mṛtam (Rv. I, 35, 2.)

tri-dhātuni (Rv. I, 85, 12b.)

tri-dhātu (Rv. I, 154, 4c.)

su-vīram (Rv. I, 85, 12d.)

uru-vyacasā (Rv. I, 160, 2a.)

“ अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिचक्रादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ”

(Vārttika). tri-cakreṇa (Rv. I, 118, 2b; X, 85, 14b.
TS. 4, 7, 15, 4.)

tri-vṛtā (TS. 7, 3, 14, 1.)

sū-pāyana (Rv. I, 1, 9b.)

su-parṇas (Rv. I, 35, 7a.)

hiraṇyākṣas (Rv. I, 38, 8c.)

su-nīthas (Rv. I, 35, 7b; 35, 10a.)

uru-gāyah (Rv. I, 154, 1d.)

uru-kramasya (Rv. I, 154, 5c.)

tri-ṣadhasṭha (Rv. IV, 50, 1.)

a-saścat-ā (Rv. I, 160, 2a.)

“This dual a-saścat-ā is a Bahuvrīhi compound, ‘having no second,’ while a-saścant (also an epithet of Dyāvapṛthivī) is a Karmadhāraya, ‘not a second=unequalled’,¹].

“Bahuvrīhis formed with ‘a’ or ‘an’ are almost invariably accented on the final syllable as a distinction from Karmadhārayas (which normally accent the first syllable a-mānuṣaḥ Rv. X, 22, 8); e.g. a-mātrām (Rv. I, 102, 7.)”²

“ पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्वृद्धादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ”

Vārttika. marud-vṛddhaḥ| citra-bhānuḥ (Rv. I, 35, 4.)

tveṣa-saṁdrśaḥ (Rv. I, 85, 8d.)

“ पूर्वपदाद्युदात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ”

Vārttika. divo-dāsam (Rv. I, 112, 14 b;

IV, 26, 3d; VI, 61, 1b; VII, 18, 25c.)

divo-dāsāya (Rv. IX, 61, 2.)

hiraṇya-pāṇiḥ (Rv. I, 35, 9a.)

bhūri-śṛṅgā (Rv. I, 154, 6b.)

Now I conclude this paper with the following inferences deduced from what has been seen so far.

(1) In the pro-ethnic period, as the determinative-compounds which logically accented their first member were shuffled into a new class of compounds (which is designated as the epithetised class), they should then have quite logically accented the second

(1) A Vedic Reader by A. A. Macdonell, Page 38.

(2) Vide A Vedic Grammar for Students by A. A. Macdonell, Page 455, footnote 2.

member (and frequently the accent in this case might have been thrown to the final syllable of the compound).

(2) The displacement of stress by pitch accent might have originally been responsible for starting the movement of the determinative-compound-accent towards the last syllable of the first member; by this time a corresponding backward movement too, might, in all probability, have come to be started in the possessive-compound-accentuation.

(3) In the pro-ethnic period, between the stage of accenting the final syllable of the first member and the stage of accenting the initial syllable of the second member in determinative-compounds, there should have been an intermediate stage.

In a similar way, between the corresponding two stages of accentuation (namely that of initial accentuation of the second member and that of the end accentuation of the first member) of the epithetised compounds, there should have been an intermediate stage. The compounds of both the classes in Lithuanian, in which appears the composition or thematic vowel that bears the accent, correspond to those of this intermediate stage (when the accents of the determinative compounds and epithetised compounds coincided).

[The greek determinative compound *Megalopolis* meaning, "great-town" has the same accentuation as the Greek possessive compound *megalopolies* meaning, "great-townforming"¹. Compare also the accentuation of the following Greek possessive compounds

melan-o-komos and
andr-o-boulos.²

1. *Vide* Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend usw.* Volume III. Translated by B. Eastwick into English, para 981.

2. *Ibid* para 982. *See also* para 970 where Bopp notices some more Greek compounds which have an accented composition vowel. "In the development of the separate languages, the use of -o- as the connecting link in compound-words was especially frequent; hence this ending has been called the 'Vowel of composition' ('Composition-vocal')" Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen* Volume II, Section 13, page 28. English Translation.

Then, as though repelled by each other, the two accents were restored to their original logical positions in Lithuanian; but in Sanskrit, the further movement of the two accents in the direction towards which they originally began their move (that of the determinative compounds moving forward and that of the epithetised class moving backward) was not retarded; and finally aided by the view that the second member is more important of the two in determinative compounds, its accent moved to the last syllable of the compound and correspondingly the initial syllable of the epithetised compounds came to be accented as in *divodāsam*. Probably later on, it was felt quite sufficient to retain the original accent alone of the first member in epithetised compounds; and somehow it should have been felt unnecessary to scrupulously accent the initial syllable of these compounds.

ADDENDA

I

In connection with the discussion of the third stage of determinative compound accentuation, it is useful to remember that H. Hirt considers the accentuation of the relatively few compounds of the type *Viśvá śambhuvam*, *Pūrvā-Pitis*, etc., older than that of the majority (*Vide* Der Indogermanische Akzent 319. Cp. also. F. T. Wood "Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian", page 21). Some compounds of this type are mentioned by Whitney in his *Sanskrit Grammar*, Section 125-E. For further examples, *see* Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* II (1) Section 17-E and *Das Dēhnungsgesetz Griechischen Nominal Komposita* 15.

"Bezenberger (*Beiträge zur geschichte der litauischen Sprache* Göttingen 106) goes so far as to suggest the possibility that the primary stress in Avestan and Sanskrit compounds may at one time have rested, universally or frequently, on the thematic vowel of the prior constituent." *Vide* F. T. Wood. l. c. page 22.

II

On page 132, I have noticed some dvandva compounds of the older type in which a dual or plural has been turned into a singular at the end. The following remarks of Delbruck, whose view now is generally accepted, may be read with interest in regard to the question of the origin of dvandva compounds.

He says, "The well-known unity of two things which supplement each other may be expressed by the dual of the more important one. When to these duals is added occasionally the singular of the complementary word, but generally by attraction dual, this is due to a desire for clearness". (Syntactische Forschungen Band V 98) Delbruck rightly believed that the elliptic dual was the starting point, and from that was developed the double dual dvandva, and finally all the dvandvas of classical Sanskrit.

"In mitrā tānā nā rathyā¹ vāruṇo yāśca sukrātuḥ sanāt¹ sujātā tānayā dhrtāvratā (Rv. VIII, 25, 2). "Mitrā, an elliptic dual means 'Mitra and Varuṇa', but to make the matter perfectly plain the poet seems to have added afterwards varuṇo - - - ca 'and varuṇa too' which produces a collocation that is pleonastic and highly illogical though easily comprehensible." Bergaigne and Wackernagel raise the question whether vocatives like Mitrā-varuṇa (P. P. varuṇā) Rv. I. 15. 6. etc., may belong here; whether in short, the form varuṇa of the Samhitā text be not an old Voc. Sg., supplementing the (elliptic) dual Mitrā. But little reliance can be placed on this, since the Voc., as well as the Nom. Acc., dual appears repeatedly with short *a* (See Lanman N. inflection); yet it is possible that in one or another of the instances (they occur repeatedly) the complementary noun may have been originally felt as a singular." (See Kuhn's Zeitschrift Band 43. p. 111 f. n. 1 and p. 112 f. n. 1.)

As F. Edgerton says, after a double-dual dvandva, the repetition of one member, especially the first one, in the sg. is unthinkable. The same scholar has, to my mind, conclusively proved that in the primitive Indo-European there ought to have been two stages of Dvandva compound formation. (1) Elliptic dual as represented by Sanskrit Mitrā. (2) Elliptic dual with the addition of the singular of the complementary word as represented by Mitrā. . . . Varuṇa. In Aryan the double duals of the type mitrā-varuṇā were formed and in the classical language the dvandvas of the type mitrā-varuṇau were formed. Vide Kuhn's Zeitschrift Band 43. Origin and Development of Elliptic Dual and of Dvandva Compounds by F. Edgerton. P. 110 ff.

III

Towards the close of my paper I have alluded to the fact of some Lithuanian compounds having the composition vowel. In that context it is good to remember the following physical fact noted by scholars. "Julian Kremer (Behandlung der suffixe in der fuge nominaler zusammensetzungen im Litauischen, in Bezenberger's Beitrage zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen, 7th

volume, section 7. Der composition vocal, p. 42) offers as a principal reason for the use of *ā* or *ā̃* as a composition vowel (in Schleicher's sense, which includes the Svarabhakti vowel) in Lithuanian the fact that this sound represents the 'Indifferenzlage' the neutral position to which the organs of speech most naturally return. Thus not only is the development explained, under certain conditions, of a svarabhakti vowel after the thematic vowel of the first constituent had disappeared, but the inclination of 'a' to remain in many instances as a composition vowel or to substitute itself for others receives a firm basis in physical fact" Vide, F. T. Wood. Op. Cit., page 18.

ŚUCINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF BHŪTALA
VĪRA RĀMA VARMA, A. D. 1546.

BY

S. DESIKAVINAYAKAM PILLAI.

The inscription edited below is found engraved on the north wall near the Gopuravāśal or the main entrance on the east of the well-known Sthānūnātha temple at Śucindrum. It is written in the Tamil language and the characters employed are also Tamil. The object of the record is to register an order of king Venṇumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varmā alias Śaṅkaranārāyaṇamūrti Vēlaikkāraṇ, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanāḍ, for instituting a special worship on the day of Rohiṇī, the birth-day of Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala, the Vijayanagar Viceroy of South India between the years 1544 and 1555 A. D. The inscription is interesting as it throws a flood of light on the political condition of Travancore about the middle of the 16th century A. D.

That Travancore was more than once invaded by the Vijayanagar army is undoubted. The first expedition was led by Salakkam Tirumala under the orders of Achyuta Rāya and the second by Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala of our record during the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya.¹

The reasons for the latter are said to be the following:

1. The king of Travancore was gradually extending his authority over a considerable area of the Tinnevely District which legitimately belonged to the Pāṇḍya chieftains who held sway under the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar emperor.²

2. Francis Xavier, the Portuguese missionary³ who began his proselytizing activities in South India about the year 1543 A. D., converted all the Paravas of Cape Comorin, Tuticorin and

1. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 704.

2. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, p. 14.

3. "He (the Portuguese Governor) thinks of collecting all these native Christians who are now scattered at great distances from each other, of transplanting them to a certain island, and giving them a king to administer justice and look after their safety and interests."—The Hand of Xavier, pp. 5 and 6.

other places to Christianity and consequently there arose the danger of these neophytes changing their allegiance from 'the Indian rulers to the king of Portugal'.

3. Some of the rich temples of the Hindus were actually despoiled by the Portuguese Governor and his followers and the booty divided among them or sent to their king in Portugal.¹

Circumstances such as these called for the immediate intervention of the central Government at Vijayanagar. Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala was appointed Viceroy² and sent to the South with a large army at his command. His military expedition was a complete success. The Portuguese Governor Alfonso de Sousa and his men were scared away. The Paravas of the coastal regions remained loyal subjects of the Hindu Rājas as before and the aggressive policy of the Travancore king was effectively checked. The present document bears eloquent testimony to the political peace-offering which Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varma made to one of the most powerful and influential representatives of the Vijayanagar Empire at that time.

An unpublished inscription from Cape Comorin states that Viṭṭhaladeva set up a pillar of victory there after his successful campaign in the South.

Numerous inscriptions of Travancore kings are found scattered all over the Tinnevely District. A study of them and also of the records from some of the temples in South Travancore reveals to us that Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varma and another king Bhūtala Vīra Udayamārtāṇḍa were ruling simultaneously in the year 722 M. E. (See appendix). Were they co-regents or independent kings?

What is the exact significance of the epithet சங்கரநாராயண ? Why is it often prefixed to the names of the Travancore kings who belonged to the latter part of the 7th or the earlier part of the 8th century M. E. and not to any rulers of other times? These are interesting questions yet to be solved by research. The ruler of Travancore in modern days styles himself Śrī Padmanābha Dāsa in memory of the great dedication of the state to God Śrī Padmanābha of Trivandrum by Mārtāṇḍa Varmā in 925 M. E. (1750 A. D.) Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa is the name of the presiding deity in the temple at Nāvāykkūḷam (நாவாய்க்குளம்), a village

1. The Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, p. 297.

2. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 704.

about 8 miles to the north-east of Ārringal (ஆற்றிக்கல்), the cradle of the reigning Royal family of Travancore.

The astronomical details found in ll. 1-2 are correct for October 26, 1546 A. D.

TEXT.

1. ஸஹஸ்ரஸு ஸுவஸிஸு கொல்லம் எடையஉரு தலா ஞாயிற்று
பூவ பக்கத்து துதிகையும் மங்கல
2. வாரமும் பெற்ற அனுழத்தினன் செதுங்கநாட்டு சங்கரநாராயண
மூர்த்தி வேளைக்காறன் வென்றும்
3. ண்கொண்ட பூதலவீர இராமவன்மர் என்று பேருடை செதுங்க
நாட்டு மூத்தவராய நாம்நயி
4. ஞர் சிவந்திரமுடைய நயினர் கோயிலுக்கு சீகாரியமும் சீகாரிய
(க்) கணக்கும் மொழிய நயினர் தேசமாய்
5. உள்ளதுக்கெல்லாம் கேழ்வியும் ஆச்சினையும் நாளது முதலுக்கு
தவிர்த்து இதிலுண்டான கேழ்வி உடை
6. மையும் ஆச்சினை உடைமையும் ஆண்டு ஒன்றுக்குக் கோட்டை
இருபது இக்கோட்டை இருபதுக்கும் திரு
7. நான் படிக்கு பணமும் செல்லும் உற்ற படியும் விட்டலேச்சு
மகாராசாவின் திருந்கேத்திரமான உரோ
8. கணி நர்கேத்திரத்தில் பெருமாள் தெந்திருவேங்கட விண்ணவர்
எம்பெருமான் அமுது (டு) சய்யசிற
9. ப்புக்கும் பாயிதத்துக்கும் திரு ஆராதனை கூடினால் பிறத்தே சீவ
லிப் பிறகாரத்திலே எழுந்தருளுகிற
10. வகைக்கும் விட்டுக்குத்தோம் நயினர் தேசமாய் உள்ளதுக்கெல்
லாம் வயிராவியும்மு
11. றையம் பின்னையையும் நயினர் சுசந்திரமுடைய நயினர்(ர்) ஆண
வாளாகப் பாத்துக்கொள்ளும்
12. படி எழுதுற்று இருபத்திரண்டாமாண்டு அற்பசி மாதம் இருபத்
தாரூந்தெய்தி மலைமண்டலத்து
13. கல்குளத்தில் வீடாயிருந்து கற்பித்த அளவுக்கு ஆசந்தாராவற்
செம்பிலும் கல்லிலும் வெ
14. ட்டிப்பரிப்பித்துக் கொள்ளவும் இப்படிக்குக் கணக்கு வெங்கடக்
கிட்டிணன் எழுத்து.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

On the 26th of Tulām 722 M. E. Venrumankonḍa Bhūtala Vira Rāma Varmā, the Senior Tiruvaḍi of Jayasimhanāḍ,

abolished certain posts, other than those of Śrikāryam and Śrī-kāryakkaṇakku, in the establishment of the Sucindram temple, and with the savings thus effected made provision for offerings and special worship to God தென் திருவேங்கட முடையார் on the day of Rohiṇi which was the nalal star of Viṭhaleśvara Mahārāja (of the Vijayanagar empire). The order was issued while the king was camping at Kalkulam in Malaimaṇḍalam. It bears the signature of the accountant திருவேங்கடக்கிட்டிணன்.

Notes.

1. 2. (a) Another inscription of the same king dated 13th Kārtikai 722 M. E. has the following:

“சேதுக்க நாட்டுச் சங்கர நாராயண மூர்த்தி திரு வேளைக்காறன்” (S. I. I., V, No., 409).

‘வேளைக்காரர்’—“இவ்வாறு செய்வேன், செய்யா தொழிவேனாகில் இன்னகேடு யானுறுவேன்” என்று தானே சபதங்கூறிக்கொண்டு அதன்படி நடக்கும் ஆப்தர்கள்”. (செந்தமிழ். தொ. XVI, ப. 3).

Contra S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 98 Foot note.

In the text the expression means only ‘a staunch devotee of God Śankaranārāyaṇa’.

(b) ‘வேள்நுமண் ஞாண்ட’

‘Who took the earth by right of conquest’. Contra, S. I. I. Vol. I, pp. 77-8.

1. 4. சிவந்திரம்.—Modern சுசந்திரம்—the place where Indra’s body was purified. It is situated in South Travancore.

சீகாரியம்.—The post of the temple manager.

நயினர் தேசமாய்.....தவிர்த்து.—From this it can easily be inferred that the posts maintained for the general supervision of the temple lands were abolished by the king’s command.

1. 5. கேழ்வி (கேள்வி).

(1) Command, oral sanction. ‘நம்வாய்க் கேழ்விப்படி’ (S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 306).

(2) Administration of justice (Lexicon). The office of the tax-collector in Nāñjināḍ corresponding to that of the village munsiff in other parts is even now known as கேழ்விக்கச்சேரி.

ஆச்சினை (ஆக்கினை) punishment, penalty.

உடமை (உடைமை) pay or remuneration given to temple servants etc.

cf. உடமைப்பணம், உடமைக்காரர்.

l. 7. நற்கேத்திரம்.—நகரத்திரம்.

l. 8. தென் திருவெங்கட விண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான்.—the name of the God (Viṣṇu) in the temple at Śucīndram.

l. 9. சிறப்பு.—special pūjā or worship.
பாயதம்—பாயஸம்.

l. 10. வாரிவி. The members of a separate caste in S. Travancore are known as Vairavis (Bhairāgis) or Yōgipparadēśis. Many of them are hereditary watchmen or door-keepers of the temples at Śucīndram, Cape Comorin and other places in Nāñjināḍ. (See T. A. S. Vol. V, Part II, pp. 168-170).

l. 11. முறையுள்ளை—a menial servant.

ஆனவான் an interesting word.

ஆனவான் and ஆனவான் are its variants.

See T. A. S. Vol. V, Part. II, p. 168. Foot note; K. S. Papers Series 4, pp. 219 & 220.

l. 13. கல்குளம்—modern Padmanābhapuram. It was the ancient capital of Travancore.

APPENDIX.
List of Travancore kings whose inscriptions are found dated in the year 722 M. E.

No.	King.	Place.	Date.	Remarks.
1	Rāma Varma Tiruvaḍi Paṇḍaram of Jaya-simhanāḍu	Kariśūḷndamaṅgalam	Ko. 722 Mārkaḷi 8.	Administration Report of the Travancore Archaeological Dept. for 1108 M. E. p. 21, No. 19.
2	Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Veṅṟumaṅkoṇḍa Bhūṭala Vira Śrī Vira Udayamārtāṇḍa Varma Siraivai Muttavar	Tirupputamarudūr.	Ko. 722 Tai 10.	Do. p. 22, No. 24.
3	Jayatunṅaṇāṭṭu Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Veṅṟumaṅkoṇḍa Śrī Bhūṭala Vira Rāma Varma, Jayatunṅaṇāṭṭu Muttavar	Teṅkāśi	Ko. 722 Chitrai 17.	Do. p. 24, No. 30.
4	Jayatunṅaṇāṭṭu Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Veṅṟumaṅkoṇḍa Bhūṭala Vira Śrī Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma Siraivai Muttavar	Ālvārtirunagari	Ko. 722 Minam.	Do. p. 25, No. 35.
5	Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Veṅṟumaṅkoṇḍa Bhūṭala Vira Udayamārtāṇḍa Varma Siraivai muttavar of Jayasimhanāḍ	Kattari-maṅgalam.	Ko. 722 Āḍi 25.	Madras Epigraphical Report for 1929-30, No. 372.
6	Jayasimhanāṭṭu Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Mūrti Tiruvelaikkāraṇ Veṅṟumaṅkoṇḍa Śrī Bhūṭala Vira Rāma Varman, Jayasimhanāṭṭu Muttavar	Tinnevelly	Ko. 722 Kārtikai 13.	South Indian Inscriptions Vol. V, No. 409
7	Jayasimhanāṭṭu Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Mūrti Velaikkāraṇ Veṅṟumaṅkoṇḍa Bhūṭala Vira Rāma Varman	Śucīndram	Ko. 722 Tūlām 26.	

TAMIL ḷ

BY

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The history and the phonetic relationships of the sound ḷ [=ḷ] which is characteristic of Tamil and a few other Dravidian languages and so difficult of utterance to the uninitiated foreigner, have so far not been clarified or discussed with reference to all the Dravidian speeches and dialects. Caldwell made a few summary and categorical observations regarding this sound in his *Comparative Grammar* (pages 144, 161, 162 of the second edition); but, since the time of this distinguished pioneer student of Dravidian, so much new linguistic material relating to the major and the minor speeches of this language-family has been collected that it is essential now to make a revaluation of facts regarding the occurrence of the sound, its phonation, its distribution and its relatives and developments. The aim of the present paper is to make a revaluation of this kind with the help of all available materials: the data furnished by inscriptions and literary texts, the evidence of the indigenous grammars of the south and the testimony of the forms of the north.

Distribution.

The sound ḷ exists in old and new Tamil, old and new Malayalam, old Kannaḍa (before the 13th century), in pre-literary Telugu inscriptions, in Baḍaga and in Toda. In the last-mentioned dialect (spoken by a few hundreds of hill-men in the Nilgiris), the sound is met with to-day only as a development of other sounds.

Tamil.

Generally speaking, the sound receives correct evaluation in the Tamil country. It is true that in some areas and among some communities, the sound changes to ḷ or becomes "corrupted" to y ; but the actual phonation of the sound is recognized everywhere, any alteration in the correct evaluation being considered (sometimes even by the speakers themselves) as a departure from the normal standard of purity. On p. 18 of his *Manuel de*

la langue Tamoule, Vinson observes: " ḷ a Pondicherry, a Karikal et dans le Tanjāvūr s'articule comme le j français, dans le Madurē et au nord-ouest comme ḷ cerebral; vers Madras il ne se prononce pas ou s'adoucit en y ". Prof. Vinson's observation should not, I think, lead to a wrong emphasis being laid on the fact that these "corruptions" are in any way universal or are not recognised as such by the large majority of speakers.

The sound is a very common one in literature from the earliest known times. The number of words with ḷ is much more numerous in Tamil than in any other Dravidian speech. Later on in the course of my essay, I shall give a list of Tamil literary words with ḷ , the cognates of which do not evidence ḷ even in Mal. or in Kannaḍa. At least a few of these may show a secondarily developed ḷ . I would, however, mention here the common colloquial kēḷ for kēḷ 'to hear' as containing a secondary ḷ derived from ḷ . [cf. also kēḷvi-p-paḍi in a 11th century inscription published on p. 106, Part I, Vol. II of South Indian Inscriptions].

Malayalam.

The sound exists in both the literary and the colloquial dialects of this west coast speech. Here too, though "corruptions"¹ of the sound occur in the speech of the uneducated masses, the pure value of the sound receives universal recognition.

A secondarily developed ḷ is met with in Malayalam in the following instances:—

āḷca 'week'—cf. Tam. āṭci

kāḷca 'sight'—cf. „ kāṭci

vēḷca 'love'—cf. „ vēḷ

vēḷvi 'sacrifice'—cf. „

nīḷ —in old literary compounds like nīḷ-kannāl , cf. nīḷ 'long' etc.

kīḷukk 'to knock on the head'

kēḷ 'to weep'

The above forms are standard literary words, and many of them are used in common speech also; but the following words are "corrupt" colloquial variants heard in parts of Malabar:—

1. cf., particularly, "corrupt" forms like oyiccu [for oḷiccu] in viṭṭoyiccu 'left off', orakkoyiccu 'cast off sleep' of Mopla Mal. [p. 4 of the texts of Gramophone Records published by the Madras Govt.]

aḷaykk- for *ayakk-* 'to send'
kaḷuṇṇu for *kavuṇṇu* [IA *kramuka*] 'areca-nut-tree'.

Kannaḍa.

The sound disappeared from Kannaḍa by about the 13th century from which time it changed to *ḷ* wherever syncope did not lead to the suppression of the sound.

A secondarily derived *ḷ* appears in literary Kannaḍa in the following:—

(i) The following words, the counterparts of which do not show *ḷ* in Tamil or in Mal.

cēḷ 'scorpion'—cf. Tam. *tēḷ*.
poḷḷuḷ 'navel'—cf. „ *poḷḷuḷ*.
kaḷal 'buttermilk'—cf. Tam. *kaḍai-* 'to churn'.

(ii) Word compounds in which final *ḍ* changes to *ḷ* [see Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, 183]:—

kāl-kiccu 'forest fire' [*kāḍu* + *kiccu*].
nāl-kaḍe 'village shop' [*nāḍu* + *kaḍe*].
eraḷ-mātu 'two words' [*eraḍu* + *mātu*].

(iii) In inflexional and conjugational *sandhi*:—
 future stem with *p*:—*māl-p-*,
nōḷ-p-;

dative forms with *-g*:— *esal-ge*=*esaḍi-ge*;
 optatives with *-ke* *mālge*=*māḍu-ge*.

(iv) Some verbal and nominal bases with optional *ḷ*.—

kuḷ-g- = *kurug-* 'to be contracted'.
nuḷ-g- = *nuru-g-* 'to be reduced to fragments'.
peḷ-g- 'to quarrel'—cf. *peṇag-*.
eḷḍu = *erudu* 'bull'.
paḷti = *parti* 'cotton'.

Telugu.

Very important for the student of Dravidian is the discovery of the presence of the sound *ḷ* in some of the pre-literary Telugu inscriptions. Epigraphists are agreed (in spite of a few dissentient views) in thinking that the sound *ḷ* does occur in a number of pre-Nannaya inscriptions. I give below a list of a few¹ relevant words containing the sound:—

1. Inscriptional instances of place-names (as read by M. S. Sarma) *tāḷuṭūru*, *paḷaki* (which name has now changed to *prakhī*) and *plōlnāḍu* (now *prōlnāḍu*).

cōḷa 'cōḷa' [Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., p. 223; Vol. VIII, p. 177; Vol. XI, p. 337].

ēḷu 'seven' [Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 337, 845].

laccina pāpam 'the sin of destroying' [*ib.*, p. 676.]

lassi 'having destroyed' [*ib.*]

alicina pāpam 'the sin of having destroyed'

laccina-vāṇṇu 'he who destroyed'

laccu-vāṇṇu 'he who destroys' [Vikram. inscription.]

kolalci 'having caused to shine' [Addanki inscr.]

From about the 10th and the 11th centuries onwards in literary texts and inscriptions, *ēḷu* appears as *ēḍu* and *cōḷa* as *cōḍa*. So far as *lacc-*, *lass-* and *ali-* are concerned, the suggestion that the common base underlying these forms appears later as *ḍayy-* 'to be destroyed' has already been made, though nobody has proved the derivation with analogies. I suggest the following proofs to show that *ali* [corresponding to Tamil, Kann. *ali*], *ḷayy-* [the base of the past stem *lacc-*, *lass-*], and later *ḍayy-* are normally related:—

(i) the occurrence of accent-shift accompanied by the aphæresis of the initial syllable. is a phonological phenomenon in Telugu which I have already discussed elsewhere at some length [QJMS, 1932]. A form like *ḷayy-* in which the vowel *-a-* represents the aphæresized original initial *a-* of *ali* is normally derivable from *ali-*; cf. Tel. *lē-* = Tam., Kann. *eḷ-*, Tel. *ḍi-g-* = Tam., Kann. *iḷi-*, Tel. *gruyyi* = Tam., Kann. *kuḷi*.

(ii) The correspondence of literary Tel. *ḍ* = Tam., Kann. *ḷ* is met with in numerous instances (see below).

It is therefore quite justified to postulate that *ḷayy-*, *ali-* of the old Telugu inscriptions are normally connected with literary *ḍayy-* and *aḍi-* in *aḍi-y-āsa* 'vain hope'.

These inscriptional Telugu forms with *ḷ*, and particularly the accent-shifted *laccina*, *lassi*, etc., do raise the presumption that at a stage previous to the 11th century, the sound *ḷ* occurred at least in a few instances in Telugu also, as in Tamil and in Kannaḍa and that this *ḷ* changed to *ḍ* in instances like *ḍayy-*, *ēḍu*. The forms with *ḷ* are met with in inscriptions of different tracts

The existence of *ḷ* in Telugu inscriptions was first pointed out by the epigraphist Lakṣmaṇa Rao; and, later, these instances have been discussed by others in the columns of the Journal of the Telugu Academy and of the Telugu monthly Bhārati.

of the Telugu country and of different periods. Further, the accent-shift and aphæresis (so characteristic of Telugu and conspicuous by its absence in Tam. and in Kannaḍa) underlying the sorns *laccina*, *lassi* rule out the suggestion that these forms may have been borrowed from Kannaḍa.

Badaga.

The sound *l* occurs in Badaga (a dialect of Kannaḍa with certain marked peculiarities) in two sets of instances:—(i) in accent-shifted Badaga variants of older words with *l* corresponding to their Kannaḍa counterparts with *l*; (ii) as a new development of the older cerebral *l* in some words.

(i) old *l* in accent-shifted Badaga forms¹:—

<i>hlē-g-</i> 'to speak'	—cf. Kann. <i>pēl-</i> , <i>hēl-</i>
<i>klai-</i> 'to be finished'	—cf. Kann. <i>kaḷi-</i>
<i>nḷālu</i> 'shade'	—cf. „ <i>neḷal</i>
<i>hogl-</i> 'to praise'	—cf. „ <i>pogaḷ-</i>
<i>tlagg-</i> 'to be lowered'	—cf. „ <i>talg-</i>
<i>ylī-g-</i> 'to descend'	—cf. „ <i>ilī</i>
<i>yla-</i> 'to weep'	—cf. „ <i>aḷ-</i>
<i>gluyi</i> 'pit'	—cf. „ <i>guḷi</i> ; cf. also Tel. <i>gruyyi</i> .
<i>blu-</i> 'to fall'	—cf. „ <i>bil-</i>
<i>klī</i> 'below'	—cf. „ <i>kil</i>
<i>yle-</i> 'to rise'	—cf. Kann. <i>eḷ-</i>
<i>kli-</i> 'to tear'	—cf. „ <i>kili-</i>
<i>blāyi</i> 'way'	—cf. „ <i>baḷi</i>
<i>hlaye</i> 'old'	—cf. „ <i>haḷe</i> , <i>paḷe</i> .

The accent-shift is evidenced by the disappearance of the original vowel of the first syllable (which leads to the consonant groups with *l*), and by the transference (with lengthening in some instances like *hlē-* 'to speak', *klī* 'below') of the vowel of the original first syllable to the radical position in the newly-formed words.

(ii) Badaga *l* as a development of older *l*:—

<i>henglu</i> 'women'	—cf. Kann. <i>hengaḷu</i> , <i>hengasuru</i>
<i>obblu</i> 'one woman'	—cf. „ <i>obbaḷu</i>
<i>makklu</i> 'children'	—cf. „ <i>makkaḷu</i>
<i>jinaglu</i> 'days'	—cf. „ <i>dinagaḷu</i> [IA <i>dina</i> 'day']
<i>avla</i> 'her'	—cf. „ <i>avaḷa</i>

1. All these instances are collected from the Badaga gospels written by the Mangalore missionaries. I learn that in common colloquial very often the sound *l* is slurred over in Badaga today.

TAMIL *l*

<i>hōdla</i> 'she went'	—cf. Kann. <i>pōdaḷu</i>
<i>tiṅglu</i> 'month'	—cf. „ <i>tiṅgoḷu</i>
<i>ble</i> 'corn'	—cf. „ <i>beḷe</i>
<i>blai</i> 'outside'	—cf. „ <i>beḷi</i>
<i>mḷō-</i> 'to sprout'	—cf. „ <i>moḷe-</i>
<i>klē-</i> 'to hear'	—cf. „ <i>kēḷ-</i>
<i>klēg-</i> 'to send'	—cf. „ <i>kaḷuhis-</i>
<i>ylōgu</i> 'inside'	—cf. „ <i>oḷagu</i>
<i>blēdu</i> 'it grew ripe'	—cf. „ <i>beḷedudu</i>
<i>blīccal</i> 'light'	—cf. „ <i>beḷicca</i>

Toda.

(i) Old *l* is replaced by different sounds in this dialect:—

<i>biḍult-</i> 'having fallen'	—cf. Kann. <i>bīḷd-</i>
<i>kirk</i> 'below'	—cf. „ <i>kil</i>
<i>kūḍi</i> 'fowl'	—cf. „ <i>kōḷi</i>
<i>āḷṭidi</i> 'wept'	—cf. „ <i>aḷ-</i>
<i>boḷi</i> 'way'	—cf. „ <i>baḷi</i>
<i>eḍut-</i> 'having risen'	—cf. „ <i>eḷ-d-</i>
<i>iṣṭi</i> 'having dragged'	—cf. „ <i>iḷ-d-</i>
<i>kuḍi</i> 'ditch'	—cf. „ <i>kuḷi</i>
<i>eḍērrī</i> 'having roused'	—cf. „ <i>eḷb-</i>
<i>pūf</i> 'worm' [Note syncope]	—cf. „ <i>pūḷu</i>

(ii) A new *l* appears in the following words used by Miss C. F. Ling in her gospels; in reply to a query of mine she writes to me that the sound *l* in these words is exactly like Tamil *l* in phonation:—

<i>tillim</i> 'glad'	—cf. Kann. <i>tīḷi</i> 'bright'
<i>billi</i> 'silver'	—cf. „ <i>beḷḷi</i>
<i>bāl</i> , <i>pāl</i> 'sword'	—cf. „ <i>bāl</i>
<i>pullu</i> 'bird'	—cf. „ <i>pul</i>
<i>bēḷ</i> , <i>pēḷ</i> 'finger'	—cf. „ <i>beraḷ</i> , <i>berlu</i> , <i>beḷlu</i>
<i>mulḷi</i> 'thorn'.	—cf. „ <i>mulḷu</i> , <i>mul</i>

II

Phonation.

Both in Tamil and in Malayāḷam, it is a voiced continuative produced by the passage of air through a channel (slightly broader than that for *ṣ*) formed between the curled-up tongue-tip and the cacuminal (or sometimes post-alveolar) region of the mouth-roof. There is no contact (except for the sides of the

tongue, with some speakers) with the mouth-roof; if a contact occurred, the sound produced would be the plosive *ḍ* when there explosion preceded by tension, or *ḷ* when the air is allowed to escape sideways. There is also no "hissing" as for the production of the voiced variety of *ṣ*; the passage between the tongue-tip and the mouth-roof should be kept slightly broader than for the production of the voiced variant of *ṣ* in order to allow air to escape through the passage and along the sides in a continuous stream without any "hissing" whatsoever.

The notation of the Royal Asiatic society employs *ḷ* to denote the sound, while the I. P. Association (following the suggestion of Prof. Daniel Jones) regards it as a cerebralised variety of the fricative heard in the south English evaluation of *r* in the English word *farm*.

The description given in the old Tamil grammars about the manner of production of the sound is not sufficiently clear.

Tol., El., 95 says: *nuni nā aṇara aṇṇam varuḍa ra-gāra ḷa-gāram-āy-iraṇḍum piraṇḍum* "r and *ḷ* are produced when the tip of the tongue gently rubs the hard palate".

Nannūl 83: *aṇṇam nuni nā varuḍa ra ḷa varum* "when the tongue-tip gently rubs the hard palate, *r* and *ḷ* are produced".

It is difficult to see from a present-day stand point (i) why *r* and *ḷ* should be clubbed together with regard to their manner of production, (ii) how there is any "gentle rubbing" at all in the production of *ḷ* which (as evaluated to-day in Tamil) involves no "rubbing" of the tip.

The continuant character of the sound *ḷ* is, however, recognized by Tol. El. 21 which classifies it as an *iḍai-y-ḷuttu* with *y*, *ḷ*, *ḷ* and *v*, by Sūtra 78 which allows *ḷ* to be the absolute final in words, and by Sūtra 48 which allows the sound as the initial member of consonant groups with *k*, *c*, *p*, *t*, etc.

There is also little doubt that the sound *ḷ* was a cacuminal from a fairly early time because of the *sandhi* underlying word-compounds like *śōṇāḍu* [= *śōḷa + nāḍu*].

The fourteenth-century Mal. grammar *Lilātilakam* recognizes *ḷ* as a unique Tam.—Mal. sound with a cerebral value. Its individuality as a separate phoneme is specifically discussed in the commentary on Sūtra II, 7 of this work.

The Kannaḍa grammars *Śabda Smṛti* [Sūtra 6] and *Śabdamāṇidarpaṇa* [18] point out the cerebral character of the sound

ḷ in Kannaḍa because of its *ekasthāni* relationship to the *mūrdhanya* plosive *ḍ*.

The *Śabdamāṇidarpaṇa* belonging to the 13th century (by which time the sound *ḷ* was far on the road to disappearance in Kannaḍa), devotes as many as seven *sūtras* to the discussion of the rules relating to the *ḷ*-sound. Among other things it prescribes the need for the use of *ḷ* in words according to the usage of great poets [23]: *mahākavi dṛṣṭamam nirākuḷam pēḷge*. Sūtra 48 of the same grammar refers to the occurrence of the sound *ḷ* as an absolute final in Kannaḍa,—which is an implied recognition of the "continuant" character of the sound.

(To be continued.)

THE ASTRONOMICAL DATA OF THE PARIPĀḌAL

BY

K. G. SANKAR.

The earliest extant Tamil works are the so-called Saṅgham collections known as the *Eṭṭuttolakai*, *Palluppāṭṭu* and the *Palineṇ-Kilkanakku*. The *Paripāḍal* is one of the *Eṭṭuttolakai* and includes 24 poems set to music, by various authors and on various subjects. The 11th *Paripāḍal* is a poem on the river Vaiyai, composed by the poet Nallanduvanār. Apart from its considerable literary merits, it is of unique interest in that it enables us to fix the Saṅgham age accurately, by a careful consideration of its astronomical data. But, owing to difficulties of interpretation and calculation, all efforts to do so, including mine, have so far proved unsatisfactory, and scholars have therefore tacitly given it up as a hopeless task. Failing in a frontal attack, I have recently been trying flanking movements, and, after various trials and failures, I believe I have after all succeeded in solving the riddle, though the data I have now arrived at goes quite against the view I have urged in various papers regarding the Saṅgham age. The data are contained in the following opening lines of the poem:—

- விரிகதிர் மதியமொடு விபல்விசம்பு புணர்ப்ப
வெரிசடை யெழில்வேழந் தலையெனக் கீழிருந்து
தெருவிடைப் படுத்தழன் றென்பதிற் றிருக்கையு
ளுருகெழு வெள்ளிவந் தேற்றியல் சேர
5. வருடையைப் படிமகன் வாய்ப்பப் பொருடெரி
புந்தி மிதுனம் பொருந்தப் புலர்விடிய
லங்கி யுயர்நிற்ப வந்தணன் பங்குவி
னில்லத் துணைக்குப்பா லெய்த விறையமன்
வில்லிந் கடைமகர மேவப்பாம் பொல்லை
10. மதிய மறைய வருகாளில் வாய்ந்த
பொதியின் முனிவன் புரைவரைக் கீறி
மிதுன மடைய விரிகதிர் வேனி
லெதிர் வரவு மாரி யியைகெனவில் வாற்றாந்
புரைகெழு சையம் பொழிமழை தாழ்.

The meaning of the first three lines is not quite clear. The commentator Parimēlalakar interprets them to mean that the

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heavens were divided into three *Vilhis* named Meṣa, Ṛṣabha and Mithuna *Vilhi*, each consisting of 9 *nakṣatras*. The Meṣa *Vilhi* is said to have comprised the 4 *rāśis* Ṛṣabha, Mithuna, Karkāṭaka and Simha; the Ṛṣabha *Vilhi* the 4 *rāśis*, Kanyā, Tulā, Mīna and Meṣa; and the Mithuna *Vilhi*, the remaining 4 *rāśis* Vṛścika, Dhanus, Makara and Kumbha. The three *Vilhis* and their component *rāśis* as stated here are also mentioned in the *Piṅgala-Nighaṇṭu*. But it is doubtful if the text can bear this interpretation. It is not certain that the conventional division into *vilhis* dates back to such an early period. Again, Meṣa, Ṛṣabha and Mithuna are not mentioned by name, but are only said to be indicated by the words *Eri*, *Ṣaḍai* and *Vēlam*. *Eri* means fire, and therefore indicates Kṛttikā, whose presiding deity is Agni, and, through Kṛttikā, Ṛṣabha which includes $\frac{1}{4}$ Kṛttikā. The equation *eri*=fire=Agni=Kṛttikā=Ṛṣabha, seems rather far-fetched; and it is not clear why Ṛṣabha is not indicated by Rohiṇī, the whole of which is in Ṛṣabha, rather than by Kṛttikā, part of which is in Meṣa. In the same way *Ṣaḍai* is said to indicate Mithuna, through Ārdrā, whose deity is Rudra, the god with *Ṣaḍai*; and *Vēlam* Meṣa, through Bharaṇī, whose *yoni* is *Vēlam* (elephant). In a previous paper, I contended that the passage indicates the *asterisms* rather than the *nakṣatra* segments of Kṛttikā, Ārdrā and Revatī or Bharaṇī (both have for *yoni* the elephant) to be located in Ṛṣabha, Mithuna and Meṣa *rāśis*, and deduced therefrom some chronological limits for the present poem. But now I am not sure that Parimēlalakar has interpreted these three lines correctly. They seem to mean only “in the heavens which have been spaced out into 27 mansions named *eri*, *Ṣaḍai*, *vēlam*, etc., (whatever the *nakṣatras* they indicate) for the bright moon to rest”; and it is therefore unsafe to draw any chronological inferences from a passage of such doubtful import.

Supposing, however, that Parimēlalakar's interpretation is correct, let us see to what inferences it leads us. The asterisms Kṛttikā, Ārdrā and Revatī or Bharaṇī would be in Ṛṣabha (30° to 60°), Mithuna (60° to 90°) and Meṣa (0° to 30°), the *Yogatārā* of Revatī is identified with 6 Piscium, whose longitude in 1690 A. C. was, according to Flamsteed's *Catalogus Britannicus*, 15°32'. If therefore by *Vēlam* we mean Revatī, it could not have been in Meṣa before 1690— $(15 + \frac{32}{60} \times 72) = 572$ A. C. as the rate of precession is 1° for every 72 years. If on the other hand

by *Vēlam* we mean *Bharaṇī* which is identified with 35 Arietis ($42^{\circ}36'$ in 1690 A. C.) or with 41 Arietis ($43^{\circ}52'$ in 1690 A. C.), it was in *Meṣa* from 1690— $(43 + \frac{2}{3} \times 72) = 1470$ B. C. to 1690— $(12 + \frac{2}{3} \times 72) = 773$ A. C. This period of 2242 years (1470 B. C. to 773 A. C.) is however too wide for our purpose. But *Kṛttikā* and *Ārdrā* will help us to define the limits more closely. The *yogatārā* of *Kṛttikā* is identified with *Alcyone* ($55^{\circ}40'$ in 1690 A. C.); and it could not have been in *Rṣabha* before 1690— $25 \cdot 40 / 60 \times 72 = 159$ B. C. The *yogatārā* of *Ārdrā* is identified with *Orionis* ($84 \cdot 24^{\circ}$ in 1690 A. C.) or with 135 *Tauri* ($83 \cdot 20^{\circ}$ in 1690 A. C.); and it could not have been in *Mithuna* before 1690— $24 \cdot 25 / 60 \times 72 = 69$ B. C. Combining the inferences from the location of *Revatī* or *Bharaṇī* *Kṛttikā* and *Ārdrā* in *Meṣa*, *Rṣabha* and *Mithuna* respectively, we may conclude that the 11th *Paripāḍal* dates between 69 B. C. and 773 A. C. But this does not take us beyond the present state of our knowledge as to the limits (C. 1 to 700 A. C.) of the *Saṅgham* age. For, on the one hand, the reference to *Gajabāhu* in the *Silappadikāram* indicates that the *Saṅgham* age cannot be dated before the 1st Century A. C.; and, on the other hand, it is certain that C. 700 A. C. is the later limit, as, according to the bigger *Cinṇamaṇūr* plates, the *Saṅgham* was founded and the victory at *Talai-y-ālaṅkāṇam*, famed in the *Saṅgham* works, was won by ancestors of *Māraṇvarmaṇ Arikēsarī*. It may also be pointed out that, according to *Parimēlaḷakar*, the *nakṣatras* were not *Kṛttikādi*, as in that case *Revatī* or *Bharaṇī* should be in *Mīna*, not *Meṣa*. It should also be noted that the rate of precession has been here assumed to be 1° for every 72 years, and not, as suggested by Mr. L. D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, 1° for every 60 or 61 years, as the longitudes given by *Flamsteed* are tropical, and there is no evidence to show that sidereal longitudes were used in India before the time of *Āryabhaṭa* (C. 500 A. C.).

We are then told that *Venus* was in *Rṣabha* (30° to 60°) *Mars* in *Meṣa* (0° to 30°), and *Mercury* in *Mithuna* (60° to 90°) and that the time was day-break. Then we have the phrase *aṅgi uyar nṛpa*. *Parimēlaḷakar* says this means that *Kṛttikā* was in the Zenith. If this is correct, the Sun must have been in $90^{\circ} + 39^{\circ}$ (true longitude of *Kṛttikā*) $= 129^{\circ}$, and *Venus* and *Mercury*, whose maximum distances from the Sun are 48° and 26° , cannot have longitudes less than 81° and 103° , which are at least 21° and 13° beyond the required positions. It has therefore been con-

tended that *uyar* cannot mean "Zenith", but only "visibly high up". As against this, it may be urged that in a purely astronomical passage like this, it would be more reasonable to interpret *uyar* in its technical sense of *ucca*, and that, if *Kṛttikā* was not in the Zenith, there is no reason for its being mentioned in this passage, and there would be no indication of the Sun's position, while all the other planets are correctly located. We have, therefore, to accept the Sun's longitude as 129° and find out ways of reconciling this with the positions given for *Venus* and *Mercury*. One alternative would be to take the positions given in this passage for all the planets as their mean positions. But while the mean positions of *Mars*, *Jupiter* and *Saturn* do not vary greatly from their true ones, the true positions of *Mercury* and *Venus* depend more on the position of the Sun rather than on their own mean positions, which vary so considerably from their true ones, as to give an altogether incorrect idea of their location. Besides, I have made careful calculations by mean motions of the planets, and could not get a single date to suit the given data between C. 1 and 700 A. C. This alternative therefore must be given up. The only other explanation that I can think of for the discrepancy is that in the early times in which the *Paripāḍal* was composed, the Hindus had not yet succeeded in calculating correctly the true motions of the minor planets *Venus* and *Mercury*, whose daily mean motions are $1 \cdot 6$ and $4 \cdot 1$ respectively, and that in calculating suitable dates for the astronomical data of the 11th *Paripāḍal*, we may practically ignore the positions of *Venus* and *Mercury* given in the text.

It may be asked whether, in view of the discrepancy noted here, we should not rather discard the given data as purely fictitious or conventional. I do not think so. For, I have not found these same positions given in the *Bṛhat-Jātaka* or other astrological works among the conventional conjunctions for heavy showers. Neither can they be fictitious, for, barring *Venus* and *Mercury*, they work out correctly, involve no astronomical anomalies, and the poet could have no object in stating purely fictitious data in such detail when they are not relevant to the main purpose of his poem. We have, therefore, no alternative but to take the data as genuine and perhaps copied from an almanac of those days, and seek for other explanations regarding the discrepancy pointed out, if the explanation I have offered is not deemed satisfactory.

Jupiter is said to be beyond the two houses of Saturn, that is, in Mīna (330° to 0°). In Hindu astrology, each solar sign is said to have a planet for its lord, and the lord of Makara and Kumbha is Saturn. This reference to the two houses of Saturn shows that the poet was acquainted with Hindu astrology, as the mention of Mithuna and Makara by their Sanskrit names also indicates. Saturn is said to be in *villir Kaḍai Makara*. This may be taken to mean "In Makara, next to Dhanus (*villirku-aḍai*)", or "in the last quarter of Dhanus (*villil-Kaḍai*) and Makara". If the former meeting is correct, Saturn was in Makara (270° to 300°) as Parimēlaḷakar construes. If the latter meaning is preferred, Saturn was in the junction point of Dhanus and Makara, that is, exactly 260°, or at least its longitude was not less than 270°—7°30′=262°30′, the beginning of the last quarter of Dhanus. In any case, Saturn cannot have been 13° distant from the beginning of Makara, as it would have to be in Mr. L. D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's dates for the *Paripāḍal* (16th June 634 A.C.). It may be pointed out that, according to Hindu astrology, all the planets are here said to be located in their *svakṣetras* (own houses), though such a grouping is not said to have any astrological significance, so far as I have been able to find out from the astrological works accessible to me.

Then we have the words *pāmbollai maḍiya maṇaiyavaru nāḷil*. They naturally mean that a lunar eclipse was shortly expected, "on a day when the serpent was quickly coming to obscure the moon", though it is possible to take them to mean that the moon set in the region of Āśleṣā (the asterism of Sarpa). But the use of the word *varu* and the absence of the locative suffix in *pāmbu* decide us in favour of the former interpretation. Agastya (Canopus) is then said to have reached Mithuna (60° to 90°), breaking forth from his high place, but he is not said to have become visible.

The chronological significance of this reference to Agastya has been completely missed by all scholars who have hitherto dealt with this problem. I have been at some pains to study the position and motion of Agastya, as I felt that here was a clue which might lead to a discovery of the true date of the *Paripāḍal*. Flamsteed gives us the longitude of Canopus in 1690 A. C. as 100°46′. Its position therefore at the beginning of the Christian era, was in 100°46′—1690°/72=77°18′, and in 700 A. C. its longitude was 77°18′+700°/72=87°1′. The present *Sūryasiddhānta*

(10th Century A. C.) gives its longitude as 90°, which it would have attained in 700+(2°59′×72)=915 A. C. Thus it is clear that from 1 A. C. to 700 A. C., Agastya was always in Mithuna. What then does the *Paripāḍal* mean by saying that on a particular day Agastya *reached* Mithuna, breaking forth from its high place? The meaning can only be that the heliacal rising, not the *visible rising*, of Canopus occurred on that particular day. John Bentley (*Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy*, 1825, pp. 162-3) has explained clearly how to determine the day on which the heliacal rising of Canopus occurs at Ujjain. It is, therefore, worth quoting here. "Take a celestial globe, in which the stars are correctly laid down, and rectify it for the latitude of Ujjain 23°11′ N., bring the star Canopus to the eastern horizon, and mark the point on the ecliptic then in the horizon, with its distance from some fixed star east or west of it, lying in or near the ecliptic; this will be cosmical point, and its longitude in the Hindu sphere, will be known from its distance in degrees east or west of the star. Measure 10½° towards the east, perpendicular to the horizon, and mark the point where it falls on the ecliptic, in respect to its distance east or west of some fixed star whose longitude is given in the Hindu sphere, this will be the heliacal point, and its longitude in the Hindu sphere will be known from its distance east or west of the star. Thus, the globe being rectified for the latitude, and the star Canopus brought to the eastern horizon, the point of the ecliptic then on the horizon will be found to be about 10°56′ west of Regulus (Maghā), whose longitude in the Hindu sphere is 4°-9°; consequently the longitude of the cosmical point in the Hindu sphere is 4°-9°—10°56′=3°-28°4′; now measuring 10½° perpendicular to the horizon towards the east, as directed, the point will fall on the ecliptic about 20° to the west of Regulus; therefore the longitude of this point in the Hindu sphere is 4°-9°—0°20′=4°-8°—40′, to which the sun must *invariably* come at the heliacal rising of Canopus at Ujjain. The Hindu sphere being sidereal, and consequently fixed, the cosmical and heliacal points thus shown, are also nearly fixed, they were so in the time of Varāha, and they are the same now. But it is far otherwise, in the moveable or tropical sphere, in which the variation is considerable, the longitude of the cosmical and heliacal points increasing as the time is more modern". From the above, it will be seen that the heliacal rising of Canopus takes place *invariably*, when the Sun's longitude is 128°40′. We can arrive at the same result by the methods of Hindu astro-

nomy. The rule on the subject as given by Varāhamihira (*Pañca-Siddhāntikā*, Ch. 14, st. 39-40) is:—Multiply 25 by $\frac{1}{4}$ the equinoctial shadow; take the corresponding arc, add 15, multiply by 10 and add 21 times the equinoctial shadow; the result are the *vinādis*, by which calculate the *lagna* from the beginning of Karkāṭaka; when the Sun stands at that point, Agastya becomes visible in the south. Calculating by this method, Varāha arrives at 143° as the Sun's longitude, when Agastya becomes visible.

(संख्याविधानात् प्रतिदेशस्य विशय संदर्शनमादिशेज्जः ।

तच्चोच्चयिन्यामगतस्य कन्यां भागैः स्वराख्यैः स्फुटभास्करस्य ॥

Brhat-Saṃhitā, ch. 12, st. 14)

From the rule given by him, it is seen that the distance of visibility is 15°; so that, according to Varāha, the heliacal rising of Canopus took place, when the sun's longitude was 143°—150° = 128°, which is almost the same as that given by Bentley. The sun's longitude (129°) given by the words *aṅgi uyar nṛpa* is thus seen to be confirmed by the mention of the heliacal rising of Canopus.

The closing lines state that heavy showers fell on the high Sahya Mountain in accordance with the custom that the rains come after late summer. Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai has understood this to mean that the rainy season has just begun, and therefore takes the time of the occurrence to be about the 90th solar day. But that this was not the author's meaning will be clear from the position of the sun as stated by him, and from his reference to the heliacal rising of Agastya. Varāha says that the waters become clear at the heliacal rising of Agastya (उदये च मुनेरगस्त्यनाम्नः पुनरम्बूनि भवन्ति निर्मलानि । *Brhat-Saṃhitā*, Ch. 12, St. 7); and Varāha's statement is confirmed by Kālidāsa (प्रससादोदयादम्भः कुम्भयोर्नेर्महौजसः—*Raghu-vamśa*, iv, 21). Mallinātha, in his commentary on the *Raghu-vamśa*, also says:—‘अगस्त्योदये जलानि प्रसीदन्ति’ इत्यागमः । The waters become clear only about one month after the rains have begun. For this reason also, the solar day must be long after the 90th preferred by Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai. We may, therefore, take it as certain that the sun's longitude was 129°, and the solar day was consequently the 135th.

The required actual positions of the major planets are:—Mars 0° to 30°, Jupiter 330° to 0°, and Saturn 270° to 300°. Their corresponding mean longitudes on the 135th solar day are:—Mars 325° to 341°, Jupiter 328° to 351° and Saturn 278° to 308°. The mean positions of these planets on the 135th solar day of

I.B.C. were:—Mars 325°, Jupiter 174° and Saturn 75°. The required increases in their mean longitudes are therefore:—Mars 0° to 16°, Jupiter 154° to 177° and Saturn 203° to 233°. Calculating with the tables in Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. 1, Pt. 1) for the years between 1 A. C. and 700 A. C. these increases are found in only one year 17 A. C, Mars 14°, Jupiter 156° and Saturn 208°. In 17 A. C. the Śrāvaṇa Paurṇami fell on the 27th July, and the *tiṭhi* ended 7 hours and 12 minutes after mean sunrise, that is, about 1-12 P. M. The solar month of Āvaṇi began in that year on the 18th July, and 27th July was therefore the 10th Āvaṇi and 135th solar day. The sun's longitude was exactly 129°, as required by the text, and the longitude of Rāhu was 315°. The distance of the sun from the node was thus 174°; and a lunar eclipse was, therefore, certain to have occurred on that day. The sun's longitude being 129°, the heliacal rising of Agastya must have also occurred on the same day. In fact the coincidence of lunar eclipse and Agastyodaya on the same day is very unique, and it actually took place in 17 A. C. as required by the text. On the 27th July 17 A. C. at day-break, the true longitude of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were respectively 28°, 332° and 274°, that is, they were all exactly in their required positions. But the true longitudes of Venus and Mercury at the time were 90° and 156°, i.e., 30° and 66° in advance of the required positions. The truth seems to be, as I have suggested, that the poet could not get the true positions of Venus and Mercury, as the Hindus at that period had not yet learned to calculate them correctly. But, finding that the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were all in their own houses (*Svakṣetras*), he apparently supposed that Venus and Mercury were likewise in their own houses Rṣabha and Mithuna. In making this supposition he may possibly have been influenced by an astrological notion, for which I cannot find any authority at present, that the location of all the planets in their own houses is an indication of heavy rains. The poet was certainly aware of *Svakṣetras*, as he says that Jupiter was beyond the two houses of Saturn. It is thus seen that the 27th July 17 A. C. completely satisfies all the astronomically possible data of the text; and as no other date from 1 A. C. to 700 A. C. suits the given data even approximately, we have no option but to conclude that the 11th *Paripāḍal* was actually composed in 17 A. C., and that all dates for the Saṅgham age later than the early centuries of the Christian era must be given up.

॥ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता श्रीमद्भागवतं च ॥

वे. राघवः

वंशीगानसुधां निपीय पशवः प्रेमासृतं गोपिकाः
अद्वैतामृतमर्जुनो यदधरात् प्रापुः परां निर्वृतिम् ।
वेदं वेदविदश्च वित्तिमपि यत्पाति स्म तच्छ्रियामलं
भेदौघावधि सामरस्यशिखरं धामाहमाराधये ॥ (ममैव)

योऽन्तः प्रविश्य मम वाचमिमां प्रसुप्तां
संजीवयत्यखिलशक्तिधरः स्वधाम्ना ।
अन्यांश्च हस्तचरणश्रवणत्वगादीन्
प्राणान्नमो भगवते पुरुषाय तस्मै ॥ (भागवते भ्रुवस्तुतौ)

नमः सदभ्यः सभ्येभ्यः सभापतिभ्यश्च । अतीव कृतज्ञोऽस्मि
अद्य संस्कृतसेवासमितिनिर्वाहकसमितेः, यदद्य प्रवर्तमानायां भगवत्सेवायाम्
अन्वेतुं ममापि लब्धोऽवकाशः । किं तु प्रौढैर्वाग्मिभिर्विद्वद्भिरेव
निर्वोढुं शक्येऽस्मिन् कार्ये अन्तःकृष्यमाणजिह्वः कोऽप्यपूर्वं एव
अन्तर्वाणिरहं मूकमपि वाचालीकुर्वतीं भगवतो दयामालम्ब्य प्रवृत्तः,

‘सिध्यन्ति कर्मसु महत्स्वपि यन्नियोज्याः
सम्भावनागुणमवेहि तमीश्वराणाम्’ ।

इति कविसूक्तेः निदर्शनायमानः, यत्किञ्चिदद्य वदामि । ‘कोण-
क्षोणक्षोविन्द’ इति द्रविडाभाणकानुसारेण अनेनापि मदीयवाग्यज्ञेन
असम्पन्नेनापि भगवान् सर्वात्मकः सर्वयज्ञभुक् प्रीयेतेति विश्वसिमि ।

वैयासिकिना शुकब्रह्मणा राज्ञे परीक्षिते, यथा परमात्मना भगवतैव
प्रजापतये ब्रह्मणे गीतम्, तथैव गीतम्, अतएव ‘भगवता प्रोक्तं भागवतम्’
इति व्याख्यातृभिः निरुक्तं भागवतं नाम पुराणं मयि पठति, तदा

* मद्रपुरीसंस्कृतसेवासमितिवार्षिकभगवद्गीतामहोत्सवावसरे उपन्यस्तोऽयं सन्दर्भः ।

तदा स्मृतिपथं आरुरुहुः भगवतैव स्वसुहृदे भक्ताय अर्जुनाय कुरुक्षेत्रे
सङ्ग्राममुखे उपदिष्टावा गीताया अभिप्रायाः । तत्र तत्र तास्ताः
भागवतीर्गीताः स्मारितोऽभवम् । इदं प्रत्यभाच्च, तत्र तत्र गीतासन्दर्भान्
मनसि निधायैव भागवते तत्तन्निरूपितमिति । एवं च रुचिरेष्वस्मिन्
भागवतपुराणे ; गीतानुसन्धानेन सह पठ्यमाने तस्मिन् पुराणे कोऽप्यपूर्वं
एवानुभवः समभूत् । तथानुभूतानंशान् कांश्चनात्र अभिरूपाणां
भवतां पुरतः उपन्यसितुमिच्छामि ।

योगशास्त्रतया वर्ण्यमानासु गीतासु कर्मभक्तिज्ञानाख्यास्त्रयो
योगाः प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । ताश्च गीता उपनिषदां सारतया वर्णिताः । तथैव
अस्मिन् भागवतपुराणे च त्रयोऽपि योगाः सप्रपञ्चं निरूप्यन्ते ; भागवतं
च ब्रह्मसूत्राणाम् अर्थतया वेदार्थतया च गरुडपुराणे वर्ण्यते ।

‘नैष्कर्म्यमप्यच्युतभाववर्जितं न शोभते ज्ञानमलं निरञ्जनम् ।’

इत्यादिसन्दर्भैः उपक्रमे उपसंहारे च दृश्यमानैः, यद्यपि
भागवतपुराणे कर्मज्ञानयोगापेक्षया भक्तेरेव पारम्यं प्रतिपादितम्,
यद्यपि चेदं पुराणं भक्तिमालम्ब्य पृथक् प्रस्थानतया प्रवर्तितम्,
तथापि भागवतवर्ण्यमानभक्तेः ज्ञानस्य कर्मणश्च नैव परस्परं विरोधः
कोऽपि वर्तते । कर्मयोगिनः किं लक्षणम् ? भक्तो भागवतः कथं
वर्तते ? ज्ञानिनश्च किं स्वरूपम् ? इति बहुत्र भागवते निरूपितम् । तत्र
नैतेषां त्रयाणामपि कोऽपि मिथो रूपभेदो गुणभेदो वा विलोक्यते ।
समुदितो योगरूप एक एव वर्तते इति मन्ये । यथा च गीतासु
पञ्चमेऽध्याये—

‘साङ्ख्ययोगौ पृथग्बालाः प्रवदन्ति न पण्डिताः ।’

‘एकं साङ्ख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स पश्यति ।’
इत्युक्तम्, तथैवैकं कर्म, ज्ञानम्, भक्तिं च यः पश्यति, स पश्यति,
स एव विपश्चित् । अत एव भागवतपुराणवस्तुसङ्ग्रहश्लोके च दृश्यते—

‘यत्र ज्ञानविरागभक्तिसहितं नैष्कर्म्यमाविष्कृतम्’
इति । भागवते तृतीयस्कन्धे पञ्चविंशेऽध्याये (श्लो०. १३, १४, १८.

२३, ४१) भगवदवतारभूतेन कपिलेन स्वमातुर्देवहूत्या ज्ञानोपदेशः क्रियते । तत्र च भगवता कपिलेन साङ्ख्यं भक्तिश्च पर्यायतया प्रयुज्येते ।

‘तत्त्वान्नायं यत् प्रवदन्ति साङ्ख्यं
प्रोवाच वै भक्तिवितानयोगम् ।’ (३९)

इति । पुनश्चैवम् अत्रैव समन्वयः क्रियते भक्तिज्ञानयोः । आह भगवान् ब्रह्मणे—

‘अहमात्मात्मनां धातः प्रेष्ठः सन् प्रेयसामपि ।
अतो मयि रतिं कुर्याद्देहादिर्यत्कृते प्रियः ॥’ ३. ९. ४२.

भागवते प्रवर्तिता अत्युत्तमत्वेन च स्तुता भक्तिः कीदृशी ? मातरं देवहूती-
माह भगवान् कपिलः (३. २९. २१-२७) :

‘अहं सर्वेषु भूतेषु भूतत्मावस्थितः सदा
तमवज्ञाय मां मर्त्यः कुरुतेऽर्चाविडम्बनम् ॥
यो मां सर्वेषु भूतेषु सन्तमात्मानमीश्वरम् ।
हित्वा र्चां भजते मौढ्याद्भस्मन्येव जुहोति सः ॥
द्विषतः परकाये मां मानिनो भिन्नदर्शिनः ।
भूतेषु बद्धवैरस्य न मनः शान्तिमृच्छति ॥
अहमुच्चावचैर्द्रव्यैः क्रिययोत्पन्नयानघे ।
नैव तुष्येऽर्चितोऽर्चायां भूतप्रामावमानिनः ॥
अर्चयामर्चयेत्तावदीश्वरं मां स्वकर्मकृत् ।
यावन्न वेद स्वहृदि सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थितम् ॥
आत्मनश्च परस्यापि यः करोत्यन्तरोदरम् ।
तस्य भिन्नदृशो मृत्युर्विदधे भयमुत्बणम् ॥
अथ मां सर्वभूतेषु भूतात्मानं कृतालयम् ।
अर्हयेद्दानमानाभ्यां मैत्र्याभिज्ञेन चक्षुषा ॥’

किं भक्तः उत ज्ञानी प्रह्लादः ? अस्य विचारस्यैवात्र नावकशः । स चैवं वर्ण्यते (७. ४. ३१)—

‘आत्मवत् सर्वभूतानां एकः प्रियसुहृत्तमः ।’
‘नोद्विग्नचित्तो व्यसनेषु, निस्पृहः श्रुतेषु दृष्टेषु गुणेष्ववस्तुदृक् ।’

सर्वभूतान्तस्स्थं भगवन्तं बहुमानयन् भागवतो भवति, भक्तो भवति ।
इदमेव विभूतियोगस्य रहस्यम्, यत् कपिलेन देवहूत्यै प्रदर्श्यते—

‘मनसैतानि भूतानि प्रणमेद्बहुमानयन् ।
ईश्वरो जीवकलया प्रविष्टो भगवानिति ॥’ ३. २९. ३३.

एकादशे च स्कन्धे उद्धवप्रश्नानुरोधेन भगवता साधोर्लक्षणम्, मुक्तस्य स्वरूपम्, भागवतस्य गुणाश्च वर्ण्यन्ते । एतेषां परस्परं न केवलं नास्त्येव विरोधः, परं चास्ति सर्वप्रकारकः संवादः । गीतासु दृश्यमानेन स्थितप्रज्ञवर्णनेन च संवादो भूयसा भाति ।

मुक्तलक्षणं भागवते (११. ११)—

‘इन्द्रियैरिन्द्रियार्थेषु गुणैरपि गुणेषु च ।
गृह्यमाणेष्वहंकुर्यान्न विद्वान् यस्त्वविक्रियः ॥

* * *

वैशारद्येक्षयासंगशितया छिन्नसंशयः ।
प्रतिबुद्ध इव स्वप्नाज्ञानात्वादिनिवर्तते ॥
यस्य स्युर्वीतसङ्कल्पाः प्राणेन्द्रियमनोधियाम् ।
वृत्तयः स विनिर्मुक्तो देहस्थोऽपि हि तद्गुणैः ॥
यस्यात्मा हिंस्यते हिंस्रैर्येन किञ्चिद्वदच्छया ।
अर्च्यते वा क्वचित्तत्र न व्यतिक्रियते बुधः ॥
न स्तुवीत न निन्देत कुर्वतः साध्वसाधु वा ।
वदतो गुणदोषाभ्यां वर्जितः समदृङ्मुनिः ॥

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मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि निरपेक्षः समाचर ।

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मदर्थे धर्मकामार्थानाचरन् मदपाश्रयः ।
लभेत निश्चलां भक्तिं मय्युद्धव सनातने ॥’

अत्रैव साधुरेवं कृष्णेन लक्ष्यते—

“कृपालुरकृतद्रोहस्तिष्ठुः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
सत्यसारोऽनवद्यात्मा समः सर्वोपकारकः ॥
कामैरहतधीर्दान्तो मृदुः शुचिरकिञ्चनः ।
अनीहो मितशुक् शान्तः स्थिरो मच्छरणो मुनिः ॥
अप्रमत्तो गभीरात्मा धृतिमान् जितषड्गुणः ।
अमानी मानदः कल्पः मैत्रः कारुणिकः कविः ॥”

भागवतवर्णनं भागवते ११-२:

‘सर्वभूतेषु यः पश्येद्भगवद्भावमात्मनः ।
भूतानि भगवत्यात्मन्येष भागवतोत्तमः ॥
गृहीत्वापीन्द्रियैरर्थान् यो न द्वेष्टि न हृष्यति ।
विष्णोर्मायामिदं पश्यन् स वै भागवतोत्तमः ॥

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न कामकर्मबीजानां यस्य चेतसि संभवः ।
वासुदेवैकनिलयः स वै भागवतोत्तमः ॥
न यस्य जन्मकर्मभ्यां न वर्णाश्रमजातिभिः ।
सञ्जतेऽस्मिन्नहंभावो देहे वै स हरेः प्रियः ॥
न यस्य स्वः पर इति वित्तेष्वात्मनि वा भिदा ।
सर्वभूतसमः शान्तः स वै भागवतोत्तमः ॥’

मुनिलक्षणं भागवते ११. ८. ५-६:

‘मुनिः प्रसन्नगम्भीरो दुर्विगाहो दुरत्ययः ।
अनन्तपारो द्यक्षोभ्यः स्तिमितोद इर्वाणवः ॥
समृद्धकामो हीनो वा नारायणपरो मुनिः ।
नोत्सर्पेत न शुष्येत सरिद्धिरिव सागरः ॥’

गीतासु च योगीति, भक्त इति, स्थितप्रज्ञ इति तत्र तत्र यानि वर्णनानि वर्तन्ते, तैः सहामीषां संवादः स्फुट एव सहृदयानाम् । यतो नास्त्येव कोऽपि विरोधो भक्तिज्ञानयोः, तत एव भागवतवस्तुसङ्ग्रहलोके च द्वितीयपादे गीयते—

“यस्मिन् पारमहंस्यमेकममलं ज्ञानं परं गीयते” इति ।

(१) इतश्च— भागवतं नाम पुराणं भगवता कृष्णद्वैपायनेन पुराणान्तरेषु तृप्तिमलभमानेन, विशिष्य भगवन्तमेकमेव नायकतया-वलम्ब्य, तद्गुणवर्णनैकलोभेन, तस्य भगवतो विचित्राणि दिव्यानि यानि जन्मानि कर्माणि च तान्यनुसन्धातुमनुभवितुं च सन्देहम् ।

‘यस्यावतारो भूतानां क्षेमाय च भवाय च ।’
‘अथाख्याहि हरेर्धर्मिन्नवतारकथाः शुभाः ।
लीला विदधतः स्वैरमीश्वरस्यात्ममायया ॥’ १. १. १८.
‘अवतारा ह्यसंख्येया हरेः सत्त्विनिधेर्दिजाः ।’ १. ३. २६.
‘जन्मकर्माभिधानानि सन्ति मेऽङ्ग सहस्रशः ।
न शक्यतेऽनुसन्धातुमनन्तत्वान्माययापि हि ॥
क्वचिद्रजांसि विममे पार्थिवान्युरुजन्मभिः ।
गुणकर्माभिधानानि न मे जन्मानि कर्हिचित् ॥’

१०. उत्तर०. १. ३७-३८.

‘ऋषयो मनवो देवा मनुपुत्रा महौजसः ।
कलास्सर्वे हरेरेव सप्रजापतयस्तथा ॥’ १. ३. २७.

इति विष्णोर्वीर्याणि प्रवक्तुमेव प्रारभत । एवं च सर्वमेवैतद्भागवतपुराणं विभूतियोगाध्यायस्य विस्तरः । गीतासु चतुर्थेऽध्याये—

‘अपरं भवतो जन्म परं जन्म विवस्वतः ।
कथमेतद्विजानीयां त्वमादौ प्रोक्तवानिति ॥’

इत्यर्जुनप्रश्नस्योत्तरभूतानाम्

‘बहूनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि— ।’
‘अजोऽपि सन्नव्ययात्मा भूतानामीश्वरोऽपि सन् ।
प्रकृतिं स्वामधिष्ठाय संभवाम्यात्ममायया ॥’
‘यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ०’ ‘परित्राणाय साधूनाम् ०’
‘जन्म कर्म च मे दिव्यमेवं यो वेत्ति तत्त्वतः’ ।

इत्यादि गीतानां सूत्रभूतानां मन्ये भाष्यमिव भागवतं नाम पुराणम् ।

(२) गीतास्वष्टमेऽध्याये अभ्यासयोगनामक इदमुच्यते—
 'प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन भक्त्या युक्तो योगबलेन चैव ।
 अवोर्मध्ये प्राणमावेश्य सम्यक् स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥' १०.
 'अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन् मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् ।
 यः प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥
 यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरम् ।
 तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावभावितः ॥' ४-५. इति ।

अयमेवाभिप्रायो भागवतपुराणावतारमूलभूततया वर्तते । अमुमेवाशय-
 मुरीकृत्य शुक्रब्रह्मणा सर्पदंशेन सन्निहितमृत्योः परीक्षितो भगवत्कथाः
 भगवत्स्वरूपगुणकर्माणि च गीतानि भागवतपुराणरूपेण । मरिष्यन्तं
 परीक्षितं तमभ्यागतः शुकाचार्यः कथयति—

'जन्मलाभः परः पुंसामन्ते नारायणस्मृतिः ।' २. १. ६.
 अस्मिन्नेवाध्याये (२. १.) अयं विषयः विस्तरेण निरूप्यते ।

'प्रयाणकाले च कथं ज्ञेयोऽसि नियतात्मभिः ।'
 इत्यर्जुनप्रश्नस्याष्टमेऽध्याये गीतासु सङ्ग्रहेणोत्तरं वर्तते । अत्र तु
 भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धप्रथमद्वितीयाध्याययोर्विस्तरेणोत्तरं वर्तते ।
 द्वितीयाध्यायान्ते च 'एते सृती ते नृप वेदगीते' इत्यारभ्य, 'नैते
 सृती पार्थ जानन् योगी मुह्यति कश्चन' इति गीताष्टमाध्यायान्ते वर्णिते
 देवयानपितृयाने भागवते प्रपञ्च्येते । सप्तमस्कन्धे च पञ्चदशाध्याये
 प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्ती, आवृत्त्यनावृत्ती, पितृयानदेवयाने च पुनश्च निरूपिते
 दृश्येते । अस्मिन्नष्टमे एवाध्याये गीताचार्येण यदुक्तम्—

'आब्रह्मभुवनाल्लोकाः पुनरावर्तिनोऽर्जुन ।
 मामुपेत्य तु कौन्तेय पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥' (१६)

इति । तदेवेत्थं प्रतिध्वनिरिव भागवते श्रूयते—

'कर्मणां परिणामित्वादाविरिञ्चादमङ्गलम् ।
 विपश्चिन्नश्चरं पश्येददृष्टमपि दृष्टवत् ॥' ११. १९. १८.

इति । 'प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन' इति श्लोके यदर्जुनाय भगवताभ्यधापि

तदेवोद्धवेन कृष्णविरहसन्तप्यमानाभ्यो गोपिकाभ्योऽभिधीयते, दशमे,
 पूर्वार्धे, ४६ अध्याये—

'यस्मिन् जनः प्राणवियोगकले क्षणं समावेश्य मनो विशुद्धम् ।
 निर्हृत्य कर्माशयमाशु याति परां गतिं ब्रह्ममयोऽर्कवर्णः ॥'

(३). युद्धपराङ्मुखाय निर्विण्णायार्जुनाय दिव्यं ज्ञानं दत्त्वा
 भगवान् तं योद्धुं नियोजयति । तदेव दिव्यं ज्ञानं दत्त्वा भागवते
 चतुर्थे स्कन्धे (अध्या० २०) राजानं पृथुमिन्द्रं माभिषेणयेति निवारयति ।

कथं पितृभिः पितामहैः गुरुभिः बन्धुभिः सह युध्यताम् इत्येक
 एव धर्मसंमोहो गीताभिः विचार्य निराक्रियते । भागवते तु तद्रीत्यैव
 मनुष्यस्य अस्मिन् संसारे यावन्तो यादृशाः कृच्छ्रा मनोधैर्यलुण्ठाकाः
 मोहकलिलोत्पादका अनुभवा भवेयुः तावतः सर्वानपि विविधासु कथासु
 निरूप्य सर्वेषु व्यसनेषु च धर्म्यः क्षेमाय कल्पमानश्च पन्थाः निरूप्यते ।
 प्रियपुत्रमरणम्, शापः, प्रियविरहः, स्वमरणं इत्याद्यवसरेषु मुह्यमानस्य
 तप्यमानस्य पुंसो मनश्शमो यथा जायेत, तथा भगवते अनेकैः सन्दर्भै-
 रुपदिश्यते ।

दिव्यं ज्ञानं च प्रत्यध्यायं तत्तदवसरानुसारेण तत्तदधिकारिणे
 दीयते—द्वितीये स्कन्धे भगवानेव ब्रह्मण उपदिशति । तृतीये कपिलो
 देवहूत्यै । चतुर्थे भगवानेव राज्ञे पृथगे । चतुर्थे एव प्राचीनबर्हिषः
 कुमारभ्यो रुद्रः । तत्रैव प्राचीनबर्हिष एव ज्ञानात् कर्म अवरमिति
 ज्ञानपारम्यमुपदिश्यते । पञ्चमे ब्रह्मा प्रियव्रताय प्रियव्रतसदृशज्ञानिनो
 गृह्णाश्रमो नैव बन्धाय कल्पेतेति कर्मयोगं कथयति । पञ्चमे एव ऋषभ-
 स्वरूपेण अवतीर्य भगवान् ज्ञानमार्गं विशदयति, आचरणेन, उपदेशेन च ।
 तदनन्तरं च जडभरतवृत्तान्तः, यत्र च ज्ञानयोगः पूर्णतया प्रतिपादितः ।
 राज्ञे रङ्गणायत्रैव जडभरतो ज्ञानमुपदिशति । षष्ठे च वृत्रवृत्तान्तः सर्व
 एव सारभूतः स्वदत्ते नितराम् । पुत्रमरणदुःखकार्पण्येन लालप्यमानं चित्र-
 केतुमत्र नारदोऽङ्गिराश्च समवस्थापयतो ज्ञानोपदेशेन । कामकर्म त्यक्तव्यम्,
 आनुश्रविके दृष्टे च ज्ञानप्रतिष्ठेन विरज्य परात्मैकदर्शनं लब्धव्यम् इति

अस्मिन्नेव स्कन्धे भगवतैव चित्रकेतवे प्रतिपाद्यते । पार्वत्या शापे दत्ते, ज्ञानिना सता चित्रकेतुना अतिरमणीया वाच उत्तरत्वेन दत्ताः । किञ्चिदपि अनसूयेन अकुपितेन अदुःखितेन मनसा चित्रकेतुना शापः प्रतिगृह्यते । सप्तमे च शिशुपालकथाव्याजेन वैषम्यनैर्घृण्यशङ्कानिरासपूर्वकं जगति वर्तमानो जीवेषु दृश्यमानः असाधुभावः कुत इति निर्धार्यते । अस्मिन्नेव सप्तमे प्रह्लादेन सप्तम्यचारिभ्यः तत्त्वोपदेशः क्रियते—

‘तस्मात् सर्वेषु भूतेषु दयां कुरुत सौहृदम् ।
आसुरं भावमुन्मुच्य यथा तुष्यत्यधोक्षजः ॥’ इति ।

ततः परम् अजगरमुनिना परमहंसलक्षणं सप्तम एव वर्ण्यते । गृहस्थः सन् स्वकर्म कुर्वन् कथं पुमान् मुच्येतेति निश्चीयते चात्रैव चतुर्दशाध्याये । दशमे च विरहातुराभ्यो गोपिकाभ्यः आश्वासकं ज्ञानं सन्देशतया प्रेष्यते । उत्तरार्धे च भगवान् कृष्ण एव गोपीभ्यः अध्यात्मशिक्षां ददाति । एकादशस्कन्धः सर्व एव विस्तरेण त्रिविधमपि योगं प्रपञ्चयति । एतेषु चान्येषु स्थलेषु श्रीमति भागवते गीतागूढार्थतात्पर्यविवरणभूताः बहवोऽर्थाः प्रकटिताः ।

इतश्च (अ) गीतासु वर्णितो यो विश्वरूपः, स सुविस्तरवर्णितो दृश्यते भागवते प्रथमे स्कन्धे तृतीयाध्याये—

‘यस्यावयवसंस्थानैः कल्पितो लोकविस्तरः ।

* * *

पश्यन्त्यदो रूपमदम्रचक्षुषा

सहस्रपादोरुभुजाननाद्भुतम् ।

सहस्रमूर्धश्रवणाक्षिनासिकं

सहस्रमौल्यम्बरकुण्डलोलसत् ॥

एतन्नानावताराणां निदानं बीजमव्ययम् ।

यस्यांशंशेन सृज्यन्ते देवतिर्यङ्मनादयः ॥’ इति ।

(आ) प्रह्लादकथायां च, ‘अच्छेद्योऽयमदाहोऽयम्’ इत्यादिगीता-वाक्येषु गीयमानब्रह्ममहिमैव, पर्वतात् पातितोऽपि, दग्धोऽपि, इतरथा च

हिसितोऽपि न. रोम्यपि विकृतिमनुबभूव प्रह्लाद इति कथाशैल्या वर्ण्यते । ‘नित्यः सर्वगतः आत्मा’ इति निरूपणायैव अत्र स्तम्भादपि परमात्मस्वरूपम् आविर्भावितं कथारूपेण ॥

(इ) मया हता इमे बान्धवा मरिष्यन्ति इति कृपालुमनुत्साहिनम् अर्जुनं येन ज्ञानेन युध्यस्वेति बोधयति भगवान् गीतासु, तेनैव भगवान् शुकश्च सर्पदंशेन स्वयं मरिष्यन्तं परीक्षितं बोधयति—

‘त्वं तु राजन् मरिष्येति पशुबुद्धिमिमां जहि ।

न जातः प्राग्भूतोऽद्य देहवत्त्वं न नङ्क्ष्यसि ॥

न भविष्यसि भूत्वा त्वं पुत्रपौत्रादिरूपवान् ।

* * *

घटे भिन्ने यथाकाश आकाशः स्याद्यथापुरा ।

एवं देहे मृते जीवो ब्रह्म संपद्यते पुनः ॥

* * *

मृत्यवो नोपधक्ष्यन्ति मृत्यूनां मृत्युमीश्वरम् ।

अहं ब्रह्म परं धाम ब्रह्माहं परमं पदम् ॥

एवं समीक्षन्नात्मानमात्मन्याधाय निष्कले ।

दशन्तं तक्षकं पादे लेलिहानं विषानलैः ।

न द्रक्ष्यसि शरीरं च विश्वं च पृथगात्मनः ॥’ १२. ५.

इति ।

(ई) गीतासु नवमेऽध्याये इदं दृश्यते—

‘तपाम्यहमहं वर्षं निगृह्णाम्युत्सृजामि च ।

अमृतं चैव मृत्युश्च सदसच्चाहमर्जुन ॥’ १९.

अस्य तत्त्वस्य विस्तरः भागवते वृत्रासुरवृत्तान्ते शिशुपालकथारम्भे च दृश्यते । षष्ठे स्कन्धे वृत्रेण सङ्ग्राममुखे, ‘अवशः अनीशो जीवः, अतः सुखे दुःखे च समत्वं श्रेयः’ इति युयुत्सुरागत इन्द्र उच्यते । उमया च दत्ते शापे तेन वृत्रेणेदमुच्यते—

‘प्रतिगृह्णामि ते शापं आत्मनोऽञ्जलिनाम्बिके ।

कर्तारं मन्यतेऽप्राज्ञ आत्मानं परमेव च ॥

गुणप्रवाह एतस्मिन् कः शापः को न्वनुग्रहः ।
 कः स्वर्गो नरकः को वा किं सुखं दुःखमेव वा ॥
 एकः सृजति भूतानि भगवानात्ममायया ।
 एषां बन्धं च मोक्षं च सुखं दुःखं च निष्कलः ॥
 न तस्य कश्चिद्व्यतिः प्रतीपो न ज्ञातिबन्धुर्न परो न च स्वः ।
 समस्य सर्वत्र निरञ्जनस्य सुखे न रागः, कुत एव रोषः ॥' ७. २१.
 एवं च ज्ञानिनः तत्त्वावलोकितः स्वात्मानं पीडयति कस्मिंश्चिदपि
 कोप एव न भवेत् । तस्य नास्त्येव हृदयतापः स्वविपत्तिमन्तरा ॥
 किञ्च शब्दतश्च संवादा अनेके गीताभागवतयोर्वर्तन्ते ।—
 १. गी० 'प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे ।' २. ११.
 भा०. 'अकोविदः केविदवादवादान् वदस्यथो नातिविदां वरिष्ठः ।
 न सूरयो हि व्यवहारमेनं तत्त्वावमर्शेन सहामनन्ति ॥' १. ५. ११.
 इति रहूगणाय राज्ञे जडभरतस्य उक्तिरियम् ।
 २. गी० 'यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
 वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥' २. ४२.
 भागवते पञ्चमे जडभरत एवमाह रहूगणम्—
 'तथैव राजन्नुरुगार्हमेधवितानविद्योरुविजृम्भितेषु ।
 न वेदवादेषु हि तत्त्ववादः प्रायेण शुद्धो नु चकास्ति साधुः' ॥
 ५. ११. २.
 षष्ठे यमेनैवमुच्यते—

'प्रायेण वेद तदिदं न महाजनोऽयं
 देव्या विमोहितमतिर्बत माययालम् ।
 त्रय्यां जडीकृतमतिर्मधुपुष्पितायां
 वैतानिके महति कर्मणि युज्यमानः ॥' ६. ३. २५.
 एकादशे एकविंशेऽध्याये पुनश्चायमेवाभिप्रायः प्रपञ्च्यते ।
 ३. गी०. 'नेहाभिक्रमनाशोऽस्ति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते ।' २. ४०.
 एतत् प्रतिध्वनयन्निव उद्धवं भगवान् कृष्ण आह एकादशे—
 'न ह्यङ्गोपक्रमध्वंसो मद्धर्मस्योद्धवाण्वपि ।' ११. २९. २०.

४. गी०. २. ४५: त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन ।
 भा०. पञ्चमे जडभरत आह—

'गुणानुरक्तं व्यसनाय जन्तोः
 क्षेमाय नैर्गुण्यमथो मनः स्यात् ।'

५. गी०. २. ६०: इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्ति प्रसभं मनः ।
 भा०. ७. १२. ७: इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्त्यपि यतेर्मनः ।
 ६. गी०. २. ६२: ध्यायतो विषयान् पुंसः संगस्तेषूपजायते ।
 संगत् सञ्जायते कामः कामात् क्रोधोऽभिजायते ॥
 क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः संमोहात् स्मृतिविभ्रमः ।
 भा०. ११. २१. १९-२०: संगत्तत्र भवेत्कामः कामदेव कलिर्नृणाम् ।
 कलेर्दुर्विषहः क्रोधस्तमस्तमनुवर्तते ॥
 तमसा ग्रस्यते पुंसश्चेतना व्यापिनी भ्रुवम् ॥
 किञ्च भा०. ११. १३. १०: ततः कामो गुणध्यानात् ।
 ७. गी०. २. ५७: इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।
 तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नाविमिबाम्भसि ॥
 भा०. २२. ३०: इन्द्रियैर्विषयाकृष्टैराक्षिप्तं ध्यायतां मनः ।
 चेतनां हरते बुद्धिः स्तम्बस्तोयमिव हृदात् ॥
 ८. गी०. ३. २८. गुणा गुणेषु वर्तन्ते इति मत्वा न सज्जते ।
 ,, १४. २३: गुणा वर्तन्त इत्येव योऽवतिष्ठति नेङ्गते ।
 भागवते च एकादशे कृष्णेन उद्धवाय कथिते मुक्तलक्षणे दृश्यते—
 'इन्द्रियैरिन्द्रियार्थेषु गुणैरपि गुणेषु च ।
 गृह्यमाणेष्वहंकुर्यान्न विद्वान् यस्त्वविक्रियः ॥'
 ९. गी०. ३. ३०: मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि सन्न्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा ।
 निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः ॥
 भा०. ११. २९. ९: कुर्यात् सर्वाणि कर्माणि मदर्थं शनैः स्मरन् ।
 मय्यर्पितमनश्चित्तो मद्धर्मात्मनोरतिः ॥
 १०. गी०. ३. २७: प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः ।
 अहंकारविमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ॥
 भा०. ३. २७. २: स एष यर्हि प्रकृतेर्गुणेष्वभिविषजते ।
 अहंक्रियाविमूढात्मा कर्तास्मीत्यभिमन्यते ॥

११. गी०. ४. १-३: स कालेनेह महता योगो नष्टः परन्तप ।

भा०. ११. १४-भगवानुद्धवमेवमाह—

कालेन नष्टा प्रलये वाणीयं वेदसंज्ञिता ।

मयादौ ब्रह्मणे प्रोक्ता धर्मो यस्यां मदात्मकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्ता च पुत्राय मनवे पूर्वजाय च । इत्यादि ।

१२. गी०. ४. ३३: श्रेयान् द्रव्यमयाद्यज्ञात् ज्ञानयज्ञः परन्तप ।

इति ज्ञानयज्ञः प्रशस्यते । ज्ञानयज्ञश्चैवं भागवते विश्वरूपम् अन्तर्यमुनं विलोक्य अकूरेण कृते स्तोत्रे वर्ण्यते—

एके त्वाखिलकर्माणि सन्न्यस्योपशमं गताः ।

ज्ञानिनो ज्ञानयज्ञेन यजन्ति ज्ञानविग्रहम् ॥

१३. गी०. ४. ३७: यथैधांसि समिद्धोऽग्निर्भस्मसात् कुरुतेऽर्जुन ।

ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात् कुरुते तथा ॥

भा०. ११. १४. १९: यथाग्निः सुसमिद्धार्चिः करोत्येधांसि भस्मसात् ।

तथा मद्विषया भक्तिरुद्धवैनांसि कृत्स्नशः ॥

१४. गीतासु पञ्चमेऽध्याये १८, १९ च श्लोके समत्वं नाम योग उच्यते—

विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।

शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥

इहैव तैर्जितः सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ।

निर्दोषं हि समं ब्रह्म तस्माद् ब्रह्मणि ते स्थिताः ॥

गीतास्वेव षष्ठे चाध्याये—

सुहृन्मित्रार्युदासीनमध्यस्थद्वेष्यबन्धुषु ।

साधुष्वपि च पापेषु समबुद्धिर्विशिष्यते ॥

भागवते तत्र तत्र अतिमनोहरैः सन्दर्भैरयं समत्वयोगो निरूप्यते ।

विशिष्य, एकादशे भगवदुद्धवसंवादे भगवानाह—

११. २९. १३-१६: मामेवं सर्वभूतेषु बहिरन्तरपावृतम् ।

ईक्षेतात्मनि चात्मानं यथा खममलाशयः ॥

इति सर्वाणि भूतानि मद्भावेन महाद्युते ।

समाजयन् मन्यमानो ज्ञानं केवलमाश्रितः ॥

ब्राह्मणे पुत्कसे स्तेने ब्रह्मण्यर्के स्फुलिङ्गके ।

अकूरे कूरके चैव समदृक् पण्डितो मतः ॥

नरेष्वभीक्ष्णं मद्भावं पुंसो भावयतोऽचिरात् ।

स्पर्धासूयातिरस्काराः साहंकारा वियन्ति हि ॥

विमुज्य समयमानान् स्वान् दशं व्रीडां च दैहिकीम् ।

प्रणमेद्दण्डवद्भूमौ आश्रयचण्डालगोखरम् ॥

१५. गीतासु ५. २९. भगवानात्मानम्—

“सुहृदं सर्वभूतानाम्” “न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः”
इति वर्णयति ।

भागवते च ३. २९. ३९. कपिलो देवहूतीमाह—

न चास्य कश्चिद्विद्यितो न द्वेष्यो न च बान्धवः ।

पुनश्च ६. १८. ३३: न ह्यस्यास्ति प्रियः कश्चिन्नाप्रियः स्वः परोऽपि वा ।
आत्मत्वात् सर्वभूतानां सर्वभूतप्रियो हरिः ॥

(अनुवर्ति)

A NOTE ON AN INSCRIBED SEAL FROM PERAK.

BY

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In the Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums Vol. XV, part 3 (1932), Mr. Ivor H. N. Evans, Ethnographer, F. M. S. Museums, reported the discovery of an inscribed Cornelian seal which he described as follows: 'It is a small seal of red Cornelian of good colour and somewhat translucent, chamfered at the edges on the face and there engraved with an inscription running the length of the seal in the middle. The dimensions of the piece are 1.4 cms. $\times$ 1 cm. $\times$ 4 cm. The back is a flat.' The inscription reads *Śrī Viṣṇuvarmmasya* and the script is clearly of the class to which the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā, Borneo and W. Java belong. The letters are 'box-headed', and remarkably like those in the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of Campā. This script is usually called Pallava script after Vogel's well-known paper on the Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman. In spite of Professor R. C. Majumdar's attempt to fix a northern or central Indian origin for the early Campā script¹, I think the case is still strong for our continuing to use the designation brought into vogue by Vogel's careful examination of the whole question.

But while calling the script Pallava, we should be on our guard against postulating any direct connection, particularly of a political nature, between the areas where the script was in vogue and the line of South Indian rulers after whom the script is named. Mr. Evans writes "Dr. Callenfels remarks, in answer to a letter of mine in which I had pointed out that this name was borne by several Pallava kings. 'It is not necessary that the Viṣṇuvarman is a Pallava king. Kings and nobles in that time liked to have names ending in Varma, i.e., the kings of Indo-China, Borneo, Java and Śrī-Vijaya. I think, however, that the *Śrī* certainly points to a king or a prince.' I had wondered, too, whether it might not be the ring of some commoner bearing an inscription with a talismanic significance". There is no one among the known kings of South India or the Malay Archipelago

1. BEFEO, xxxii, pp. 135 ff.

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and Indo-China with the name Viṣṇu-Varma. And the faulty grammatical form of the name, Viṣṇuvarmmasya in the place of Viṣṇuvarmmaṇaḥ, may be taken to support the last surmise of Mr. Evans that it is the seal of a commoner, possibly a merchant. There is no lack of evidence to show that the artisans and traders of ancient times often affected the Sanskrit idiom and were not very mindful of classical grammar in the dialect they employed. One wonders why Mr. Evans suggests a talismanic significance for the inscription on the stone? Is it because of the *Śrī* at the commencement? But *Śrī* is at once an honorific prefix and a symbol of prosperity and is generally employed as a prefix to personal names. I am inclined to suggest that the ring which bore this inscribed Cornelian was just the signet ring of a merchant called Viṣṇuvarmma. The best opinion regarding the age of the seal puts it nearer the sixth century A. D. than the fourth, though the earlier date is not an impossibility¹.

I have had occasion elsewhere to draw attention to other evidence on trade relations between South India and the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal². But such relations were by no means the monopoly of South India, and it may be doubted if a South Indian merchant would have used a signet engraved in these characters as we have so far not come across another instance of this kind. It is perhaps worth noting in this connection that among some ancient gems and seals noticed by Cunningham in 1841, we find a Chaceldonic agate from Ujjain inscribed in characters very similar to those of our seal³. The inscription was read by Prinsep as *Śrī Vati-Khuddasya*, Seal of Śrī Vati-Khudd. That reading is open to doubt at more than one point; I am inclined to read *Śrī Va (tikhu) ṇḍasya*. But the forms of the letters *Śrī*, *Va*, and *sya* bear the closest possible resemblances to those of the same letters in our seal. Viṣṇuvarmma then, if as we suppose he was a merchant, might have come from Central India, or he might have been one of the colonists belonging to the Hindu settlement of Kuala Selingsing in Perak whose long history from about 600 A. D., if not earlier, is attested by the remains brought to light by Mr. Evans.

1. JFMS. *ibid*, p. 90.

2. JOR. vi, pp. 299 ff.

3. JASB. 1841, plate opp. p. 148, No. 19.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

BRHATI OF PRABHAKARA MISRA WITH THE RĪJU-VIMALA-PANCIKA OF ŚĀLIKANĀTHA: (TARKA-PADA). EDITED BY S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI, JUNIOR LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, 1934. Price Rs. 5. Foreign 8s.

The aphorisms of Jaimini are in 12 Chapters, which are divided into 60 sub-sections or *pādas* as they are called. The whole work, excepting the first *pāda* alone, deals with the principles of Vedic interpretation or with the details of sacrificial ritual; and its philosophic significance, where it has any, is quite indirect. The first sub-section, which is known as the *Tarka-pāda*, is solely devoted to a consideration of Mīmāṃsā epistemology; and it necessarily contains, by implication, a view of Mīmāṃsā ontology also. The practice of *paṇḍitas* has, for long, been to give much less attention to this section than its subject-matter seems to us to demand, and to be content with a study of only the remaining portions of the work. Even later commentators, as a rule, omit to explain it. This attitude of orthodox scholars towards the Mīmāṃsā as a philosophic doctrine is, however, far from unintelligible. They are staunch adherents of a different school of philosophy, *viz.*, the Vedānta which has its own definite world-view; and they naturally do not like to waste their time and energy in learning a system which, though claiming to be based on the Veda like the Vedānta, diverges from it in more than one essential respect. Their point of view only furnishes another proof of the well-known fact that the interest of the Indians in philosophy has never been merely theoretic. The sacrificial teaching of the Mīmāṃsā has not been disregarded in the same manner, because the performance of Vedic ritual is considered to be a necessary part of the training of a Vedāntin. Though this may explain the attitude of *paṇḍitas* towards Mīmāṃsā as a *darśana*, the neglect into which the study of the *Tarka-pāda* has, as a consequence, fallen for so long a time is unfortunate from the standpoint of the modern student who is interested in philosophic views as such or in the history of Indian thought as a whole. For it has led not only to a break in the traditional interpretation of the philo-

sophic side of the system but also to the loss or disappearance of much of the literature bearing upon it. The loss is far greater in the case of the Prābhākara school of Mīmāṃsā than in that of the Bhāṭṭa school, as will be seen from the fact that not more than two or three works belonging to it were hitherto familiarly known. It is the primary source of authority in regard to this school, *viz.*, Prabhākara's commentary on the *bhāṣya* of Śābara relating to the neglected *pāda* that is now published; and students of Indian philosophy cannot feel sufficiently grateful to the editor for having undertaken this important work and for having accomplished it so successfully.

The present volume includes, in addition to this commentary which is known as the *Brhati*, the *Rju-vimala-pāṇcikā*, a gloss on it by Śālikanātha who is reputed to have been Prabhākara's direct disciple. It also contains a reprint of the *sūtras* of Jaimini as well as the *bhāṣya* of Śābara; and the several texts and commentaries are given here concurrently so that reference to them is rendered quite easy. Prabhākara's style resembles that of old masters like Patañjali and Śābara, and is conversational in its form. Though the language is simple, it is often difficult to follow the argument couched in it; but Śālikanātha's gloss, together with the careful punctuation introduced by the editor, greatly assists the understanding of the work. The amount of resolute labour required for editing such difficult works from old manuscripts is always great; and it should have been considerably greater in the present case, because only one manuscript of the *Brhati* could be procured. The editor was, however, fortunate in securing four copies of the commentary on it; and they should have been of immense service to him in determining the correct form of the text where its manuscript was imperfect. In this difficult task the editor has received, as he gracefully acknowledges in the Preface, much help from Mahamahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriyar of the Presidency College, Madras, whose unrivalled scholarship in the *darśanas* in general and Mīmāṃsā in particular, is a sufficient guarantee that the textual problems, which arose in the course of editing the work, have been satisfactorily solved.

The Prābhākara school has several characteristic doctrines, like the one, for example, which is known as *akhyāti-vāda*. The most important of them, which is also perhaps the least understood now, is the doctrine of *niyoga* or 'Vedic mandate'; and it

is treated of at length in the present publication. The work also contains side references to other points of historical or doctrinal importance like the *śabda-brahma-vāda* of the grammarians (p. 160) and the views of Buddhist thinkers like Diṇnāga and Dharmakīrti (e.g. pp. 87, 53). The editor does not propose to continue the printing of the remaining portions of the *Byhālī*; but he promises that a supplementary volume will be issued containing the *Bhāṣya-pariśiṣṭa* of Śālikanātha, which is a direct commentary on the *bhāṣya* of Śabara, and an introductory essay in English by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriyar. We eagerly look forward to its publication and expect that it will not only elucidate several points in the Prābhākara doctrine which are now only vaguely understood but will also incidentally light up some at least of the many dark corners in the history of Indian philosophy.

M. H.

THE MATSYA PURANA: A STUDY. BY V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., LECTURER IN INDIAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. BULLETINS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, No. 5 Re. 1, S. 1/6.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar opened his study of the Purāṇas, a legitimate source of information for the historian of ancient India, with a general survey of the Purāṇas in Vol. VIII of the IHQ. He followed it up with his "Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa" and has given us now his study of the Matsya Purāṇa. The study runs to about 140 pages and discusses in its first four chapters the flood legends, the origin of the Purāṇa, theory of incarnation, the date of the Purāṇa and the Polity and Architecture described in the Purāṇa. It finishes with two useful chapters, the fifth and the sixth, on the indebtedness of the Matsya Purāṇa to the Vāyu Purāṇa and on the Tamil Matsya Purāṇa.

1. The author says on p. 17 that South India was the place of flood; the arguments are few and naive. Details of the flood-story which contradict this conclusion are conveniently overlooked. Here he gives R. V. III. 24.3 mentioning "four tribes sprung from Manu" as additional proof! The probable identity between the Vedic "Pañcājana" and "Pañcakṣiti" and the five-fold division of the country in Tamil literature has been suggested by P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar and R. Raghava Ayyangar;

but Dikshitar neither cites the text, nor collects the several texts mentioning "Pañcājana" and "Pañcakṣiti"; he does not discuss the question at all. Above all, his reference to Ṛg Veda III. 24.3 is wrong; it should be Atharva Veda III. 24.3; and, it might be added for Dikshitar's information that the Ṛg Veda itself refers to the "five peoples" at least six times in Maṇḍalas 1, 7 & 10.

2. Discussing the origin of the Purāṇa, the author digresses into an account of the Matsya tribe and the Matsyadeśa and opines that the fish-flood-legends were "cultivated" (p. 23) by the Matsyas! Comment is needless.

3. The author thinks that on pp. 23-4, he has proved the South Indian nativity of the Matsya Purāṇa. Its South Indian origin is not as plain as that of the Bhāgavata. On p. 24, the author makes the convenient remark that the Purāṇa is *full of* references to South India, which remark he has not substantiated; nor can the text of the Purāṇa justify it. Leaving other evidences to the contrary in the Purāṇa, we would like to draw Dikshitar's attention to Matsya XVI, 16, where, as a contrast to the Bhāgavata, which expressly glorifies the Dravīdadeśa and its people, the Matsya brings the Dravīḍas, Uḍras, Āndhras and Koṅkaṇas under Mlecchas, whose sight must be avoided during Śrāddha time. From other parts of the author's study also, it is plain that the author, easily and naturally, ignores texts of importance.

4. Ch. I, section 3 of the study is mostly a digression; it explains or tries to explain 'Daśāvatāra' in the light of the Evolution theory and proclaims Vāmana as the missing link! According to the author's study, Kṛṣṇa, the Buddha and Kalki mean nothing. In this connection again, the digressing author has little time and space for the contribution of the Matsya to the idea of Avatāra. Noteworthy matter on the subject in Matsya 47 is almost ignored, except for a casual remark on p. 25 which again betrays insufficient understanding of the text.

5. On pp. 42-44, Dikshitar says that Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra is referred to in the Matsya Purāṇa and devotes a section of his study to Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra. The Purāṇa does not refer to Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra. Nor does it contain anything relating to the Vaikhāṇasa Śāstra, Śukra Nīti and the Liṅgāyat sect. It is impossible to understand how the author is led to see references to these three where they do not exist at all.

6. The author fails to notice what has been plainly said in the Purāṇa. The following are some instances of the serious omissions: Matsya II, 13-14 which mention the Narmadā as the only river which lasts even through the deluge; ch. VIII echoes the Vibhūti-adhyāya of the Gītā; ch. II, 22-24, Matsya's expansion of the 'Pañcalakṣaṇa' definition of Purāṇa; ch. XXIV, 2-3, the statement that Budha is the eponymous author of Elephantology and that the text called "Rājaputriya" quoted in later texts is his work; ch. X, 24-25, mention of Vararuci as a master of Nāṭya; ch. XIII, 38 which mentions Rādhā, who does not occur even in the Bhāgavata; ch. IV, 19-20 and 23 which presuppose the Bṛhatkathā; ch. CCXXIX 2 which mentions a Vṛddha Garga and his astrological work.

7. It is regrettable that the author should still persist in taking "Vākovākya" as speech of birds and beasts. Wrong understanding of the text is seen in the two main sections on Polity and Architecture—Eg. the interpretation of Matsya ch. 215, 58-59 on p. 75 of the study, the paragraph on the crown prince on p. 93, and the whole of the matter on the types of Prāsādas on pp. 109-110. Regarding ancient Indian Polity, the author makes contradictory statements on pp. 76 and 86. The section on Architecture is scrappy.

8. Important statements are made without references being given to the texts. The study, as a whole, is neither exhaustive nor critical, as carelessly written as it is printed. Not a single Sanskrit text quoted is free from errors. Proof-reading seems to have been done more to observe a custom and the Errata at the end containing only three corrections must be taken by the readers as Upalakṣaṇa.

"SAUTI"

BHATTACINTAMANI—A COMMENTARY ON THE BHATTADIPIKA, BY VANCHESVARA. EDITED BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA SASTRA-RATNAKARA MIMAMSARATNA BRAHMASRI VENKATASUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, PRINCIPAL, MADRAS SANSKRIT COLLEGE, MYLAPORE, MADRAS. Rs. 6/-. Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore Madras, 1934.

The Bhāṭṭadīpikā of Khaṇḍadeva is the most authoritative treatise of recent times in the sphere of the Mīmāṃsā of the Bhāṭṭa School. Khaṇḍadeva lived in the early half of the 17th century in Benares and wrote most of his works from there. His

pupil, the famous Śambhu Bhaṭṭa wrote the first commentary on the Bhāṭṭadīpikā; it was followed by the Candrikā of Bhāskararāya. The work under review is the last of the commentaries on the Bhāṭṭadīpikā.

Khaṇḍadeva is reputed to have omitted the Tarkapāda from his work. On the other hand we find Vāñcheśvara commenting on the portion of the Bhāṭṭadīpikā relating to the Tarkapāda. Wherefrom he got that text is not clear. Vāñcheśvara is an erudite scholar; he shows a complete mastery of Śrauta and other śāstras in this scholarly commentary. The portion from the beginning up to the end of the third pāda in the third adhyāya is published in the volume under review. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Brahmaśrī Venkatasubrahmanya Sastriar, who edited the work was an authority in Mīmāṃsā. A short account of the life history of the author is found in the introduction. The detailed table of contents, the index of adhikaraṇas, the index of sūtras, the list of adhikaraṇa nyāyas, and the index of quotations will be found very useful. The list of corrections is pretty long, but exhaustive. The book has been neatly printed and attractively got up. We heartily welcome this publication.

T. R. C.

¹सर्वस्या दक्षिणाया स्याद्भुवि धेनुर्निवर्तिका ।

एक पञ्च गवामेव कृत्स्नस्यापि त्रिवत्सकम्² ॥ २८० ॥

प्राकाशदानमध्वर्युभागस्यैव निवर्तकम्³ ।

⁴इयावोऽश्वः ⁵सकलस्यापि स्यात् सोमचमसस्तथा ॥ २८१ ॥

वाक्यैक्ये तु ब्रह्मभागमात्रस्यैव⁶ निवर्तकः ।

यजुर्युक्तस्तु नाध्वर्युभागस्य विनिवर्तकः⁷ ॥ २८२ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

नक्षत्रेष्ट्युपहोमाद्या ⁸न नारिष्ठादिबाधकाः ।

कुशकार्ये विधानाच्च तेषां स्युर्बाधकाः शराः ॥ २८३ ॥

स्याद्रथस्य तु घोषस्तु बाधको मन्त्रदर्भयोः ।

बार्हस्पत्यादिभिर्नैव बाध्यन्ते प्राकृता ग्रहाः ॥ २८४ ॥

प्राजापत्यैर्न⁹ दैक्षाद्या नानूयाजास्तथा मतैः ।

पत्नीभिर्नोपगा ¹⁰गुल्गुल्वाद्यैर्न नवनीतकम् ॥ २८५ ॥

तार्येणानाहतं¹¹ न श्लोकाद्यैर्गायत्रमुख्यकम् ।

कौत्सकाण्वजनित्रादिसामभिर्बाध्यते तु तत् ॥ २८६ ॥

तदुद्वापं¹² तानि कुर्युः स्वस्वसंख्यानुसारतः¹³ ।

आवापो राजसामादेः¹⁴ उभयं पवमानगम् ॥ २८७ ॥

1. G. गवादि

2. G. त्रिवत्सरः

3. G. निवर्तकः

4. A¹ and G. इयावाश्च

5. LV. संकलस्यापि

6. T. भाववाक्यस्यैव

LV. मात्रस्यैव

7. T and A. निनिवर्तकम्

G. पि निवर्तकः

8. LV. न सारि-

9. G. पत्यास्तु

10. T. गुल्फाद्यैः

A¹. गुल्गुल्वाद्यैः

11. A¹. णाहतकं

G. हतं वस्त्रं न शोका-

12. G. वासं

13. T adds this ardhha :

उद्वावापकं सर्वं गायत्र्यादिगतं मतम् ॥

14. T. मोदः

G. आपो वा राजसामादेः

विधिस्थमग्न्यादिपदं नियतं निगमेष्वापि ।
 विधिस्थपदमेव स्यात् सौर्यादिविकृतिष्वपि ॥ २८८ ॥
 अग्निः पावक इत्यादौ सगुणं तेषु तद्भवेत् ।
^१गुणे बुधन्वत्यदिः स्यान्नाधानेष्ट्याज्यभागयोः^२ ॥ २८९ ॥
 अनूबन्ध्यावनस्पत्यौ^३ स्यातामुस्त्रा वनस्पती ।
 स्यातामवभृथावग्नीवरुणौ स्विष्टकृद्गुणौ ॥ २९० ॥
 छिद्रापिधान्या^४ सर्वेष्वप्यगुणा^५ स्विष्टकृद्भवेत् ।
 अनूयाजः स्विष्टकृतः तृतीयः संस्कृतिर्मेतः ॥ २९१ ॥
 याज्यानुवाक्यावचनं न भजेदर्थकर्मताम् ।
 ऊहो मनोतामन्त्रस्य वायव्यादौ न विद्यते ॥ २९२ ॥
 स्वयोनावेव गेयं स्यात् सामकण्वरथन्तरम् ।
 गानमुत्तरयोस्तस्य^६ स्वयोन्युत्तरयोर्भवेत् ॥ २९३ ॥
 ग्रहान्यत्वेऽपि^७ विकृतिर्नैव स्यात् स्तोत्रशस्त्रयोः ।
 ऊह आज्यपशवस्य पृषदाज्ये न विद्यते ॥ २९४ ॥
 ॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ अथ पञ्चमः पादः ॥

आदितः स्यादुपादानं त्रिकपालादिषु क्रमात् ।
 एकत्रिककृतोर्मध्यंदिनमाद्ये तृचे मतः^८ ॥ २९५ ॥
 तस्मिन् धूर्गानमभ्याससंपाद्यं तृचसंश्रयम्^९ ।
 दशरात्रोऽहर्गणेषु मध्यमः संप्रवर्तते ॥ २९६ ॥
 नाद्योपादाननियमो मन्त्रेष्वधूननादिषु ।
^{१०}सामागमेन संख्यायाः पूरणं स्तोमवृद्धिषु^{११} ॥ २९७ ॥

1. T, A and A¹. गुणो बुधन्वत्तादि-
2. T, A and LV. ध्वाज्यभागयोः
3. G. स्पत्योः
4. T, A and A¹. भिधान्यां
5. G. सर्वेषु ह्यगुणाः
6. A. तद्भवेत्
7. G. त्वेन
8. A¹. दिन आद्ये तृचो मताः
G. आद्या तृचोः मतः
9. G. सावनः
10. A¹. स्तोमागमेन
11. A. स्तोत्रवृद्धिषु
A¹. स्तोमविद्धिषु

भवेदेतस्य^१ तु बहिष्पवमानेष्वृगागमः ।
^२आग्नेयीनामागमः स्यात् सामिधेनीविवृद्धिषु ॥ २९८ ॥
 षोडशी प्रकृतावेव स्याद्राजन्यनिमित्तकः ।
 तद्ग्रहः स्यादाग्रयणात् तृतीयसवने तु सः ॥ २९९ ॥
 स राजन्यनिमित्तोऽपि भवेत् स स्तुतशस्त्रकः ।
 सकलानां^३ द्विरात्राणामुत्तरेऽहन्ययं मतः ॥ ३०० ॥
 अहीनस्य चतुर्थेऽहन्येकत्रैव भवेदसौ ।
 उत्कृष्टव्याविषुवति त्वहन्याग्रयणाग्रता ॥ ३०१ ॥
 जगत्यां^४ साम यच्च स्याज्जगत्साम तदुच्यते ।
 उपाग्रवत्योरग्रयत्वं^५ संभवादिषु^६ नो भवेत् ॥ ३०२ ॥
 ग्राह्यस्वस्थान एवैन्द्रवायवः पाठलम्भिते ।
^७गुणकामाधिकारेऽपि ग्राह्यः स्वस्थान एव सः ॥ ३०३ ॥
 शुक्रमन्ध्यग्रहादेस्तु विधौ स्यात्प्रतिकर्षणम्^८ ।
 तदैन्द्रवायवात् पूर्वं कृष्यते सादनं तथा ॥ ३०४ ॥
^९ग्रहसादनकर्षेऽपि प्रदानं नैव^{१०} कृष्यते ।
^{११}त्र्यनीकायामादितोऽहोरनिमित्तोऽग्रताविधिः ॥ ३०५ ॥
 व्यूढो विकारोऽनीकानां गव्ये स्वस्थानवृद्धयः ।
 छन्दोव्यतिक्रमो व्यूढो मन्त्रैकविषयो मतः ॥ ३०६ ॥

॥ इति पञ्चमः पादः ॥

1. A¹ and G. देतासु
2. G. आग्नेयाना-
3. G. सामान्येन
4. A, A¹ and T. सामगच्च
G. उदयश्चा
5. A, A¹ and T. अग्रत्वं
6. A, A¹, G and T. संसवादिषु
7. G. गुणाणाम
8. A, A¹, T and LV omit this
ardha,
9. G. ग्रहाणां न विकर्षे
10. A. नाम
11. T and LV. त्र्यणी
G. त्र्यनीकानामा-

॥ अथ षष्ठः पादः ॥

बृहद्रथन्तरादीनां गानं कार्यं तृचे मतम् ।
कालार्थ एव संयोगो^१ वीक्षणं स्वर्तशोर्भवेत् ॥ ३०७ ॥
गव्यादिपृष्ठ्यषडहे नान्वहं पृष्ठसामनी ।
द्वादशाहैकादशिन्यां विभज्यालम्भ इष्यते ॥ ३०८ ॥
^२न पृष्ठ्यानां विश्वजिति ^३पृष्ठस्तोत्रे निवेशनम् ।
^४वैरूपसामेत्यादौ स्यात् ^५पृष्ठ एव निवेशनम् ॥ ३०९ ॥
त्रिवृदभिष्टुदित्यादौ स्तोत्रीया नवके त्रिवृत्^६ ।
सामद्वयं संसवादौ पृष्ठस्तोत्रस्य साधनम् ॥ ३१० ॥
षडहे^७ प्रातिलोम्येऽपि तदन्ते मधुभोजनम् ।
आवृत्तिः षडहावृत्तौ ^८न मध्वाशस्य युज्यते^९ ॥ ३११ ॥
^{१०}व्यपेतषडहावृत्तौ तस्याप्यावृत्तिरापतेत् ।
सत्रेऽपि स्यान्मध्वशनं मानसं नाहरन्तरम् ॥ ३१२ ॥
सत्राणि बहवः कुर्युस्त एवार्त्विज्यकारिणः ।
सत्राहीनावभिमतवासाज्यादिलक्षणौ ॥ ३१३ ॥
न भिन्ने^{११} प्रत्यहं पौण्डरीकेऽयुतसहस्रके^{१२} ।
विभज्य नयनं तेषां न सर्वाः स्युर्मनोरृचः ॥ ३१४ ॥
मानोपहृत्योर्वासः स्यादहीने न तु^{१३} भिद्यते ।
स्यादुपावहतेरेव काले तद्वाससो ग्रहः ॥ ३१५ ॥

॥ इति षष्ठः पादः ॥

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|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. A. A ¹ . and T. संबन्धो | 8. A omits न मध्वाशस्य |
| 2. A. निपृष्ठानां | A ¹ omits this and the next |
| 3. A ¹ . ब्रह्मस्तोत्रे | pāda. |
| T. बृहस्तोत्रे | 9. T. विद्यते |
| 4. T and G omit this ardhā. | 10. T. अन्यात् |
| 5. A ¹ . ब्राह्म एव | 11. G. भिन्यात् |
| 6. A. नवकं मतम् | 12. G. स्रकम् |
| 7. T. षडहप्राति- | 13. A, A ¹ and T. तत्तु |
| LV. षडहप्राति- | |

॥ अथ सप्तमः पादः ॥

पश्वङ्गानि हवींषि स्युः ^१तान्यप्येकादशैव तु ।
^२नेज्याशेषात् स्विष्टकृदध्युप्रीहोत्रैडविक्रिया ॥ ३१६ ॥
वनिष्टुर्निहितः पात्रेऽप्याग्नीध्रैडस्य^३ विक्रिया ।
प्रेषानुवचनाभ्यां स्यात् प्रशास्तुरपि भक्षणम् ॥ ३१७ ॥
स भक्षयेद्भागमेकं कुर्वन्^४ कार्यद्वयीमपि ।
भक्षः प्रतिप्रस्थातुर्न वपाश्रपणकारिणः ॥ ३१८ ॥
अपूर्वो गृहमेधीय आज्यभागविधानतः ।
ततोऽधिकं यावदुक्तं स्यात् स्विष्टकृदिडादिकम् ॥ ३१९ ॥
स्विष्टकृत्परिसंख्यात्वे प्राशिन्नादि निवारयेत्^५ ।
प्रायणीयातिथ्ययोर्न विकल्पे^६ शंखिवडान्तरे ॥ ३२० ॥
पूर्वाभ्यामेव तु तयोः शंखिवडाभ्यां समापनम् ।
स्युरपूर्वा उपसदः सौवाधारविधानतः ॥ ३२१ ॥
अपूर्वोऽवश्वथोऽपि स्यादाज्यभागविधानतः ।
बृहद्यवादि नियतं यत्र तस्य पुनर्विधिः ॥ ३२२ ॥
प्राकृतानां विकल्पादिर्न^७ श्रुतैर्द्रव्यदैवतैः ।
नाप्यौदुम्बरयूपेन खादिरस्य समुच्चयः ॥ ३२३ ॥
बाधन्ते वैकृतः शुक्ला ग्रीहयः प्राकृतान्यवत्^८ ।
सर्वेषु पञ्चावत्तत्वं पश्वङ्गेषु प्रवर्तते ॥ ३२४ ॥

॥ इति सप्तमः पादः ॥

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| 1. A and T. तान्यथै- | 4. G. तृप्या |
| 2. T. इज्याशेषात् स्विष्टकृत् होत्रे | A. पौण्डस्य |
| ध्युद्विस्तु विक्रिया | 5. T. दीर्न वारयेत् |
| A. इज्या....कृदध्युप्रीहोत्रैडविक्रिया | 6. G. तद्विधा |
| A ¹ . नेज्याशेषा स्विष्टकृतीः | 7. A. विकल्पः स्यात् |
| अध्युद्विस्तु होत्रैव विक्रिया | LV. त्रादि निवारयेत् |
| 3. T. द्वेतस्य | 8. T. G and A ¹ . प्राकृतान्यवान् |
| | A. प्राकृतानुयात् |

॥ अथाष्टमः पादः ॥

पर्युदासो न होतारं न सोम^१ इति तु स्तुतिः ।
 नातिरात्रे निषेधः स्यादनाहुतिरिति स्तुतिः ॥ ३२५ ॥
 अभिघार्या नाभिघार्या इत्याद्यापि स्तुतिर्भवेत् ।
 अग्न्याधेये सामगानां न ब्रह्मेति निषिध्यते ॥ ३२६ ॥
 दीक्षितो न जुहोतीति पुरुषार्थो निषिध्यते ।
 पदेनाहवनीयस्य सामान्यस्य निवर्तनम् ॥ ३२७ ॥
 वैमृधादौ सामिधेनीसामदशयोपसंहृतिः ।
 न भवेद्विहोमेषु स्वाहाकारोपसंहृतिः ॥ ३२८ ॥
 अग्न्यतिग्राह्ययोरस्ति विकृतावतिदेशनम् ।
 स्यादद्विरेवावदातव्यं पुरोडाशादिकं हविः ॥ ३२९ ॥
 चतुर्गृहीतं तु भवेदुपांशुयजने हविः ।
 साम्नाय्ये न त्विति विधेः पूर्वभागो^२ भवेत् स्तुतिः^३ ॥ ३३० ॥
 उपांशुयाजे स्यादाज्यं हविर्धौवविधानतः ।
 देवता तत्र तु भवेत्तान्त्रिकेष्वेव^४ काचन ॥ ३३१ ॥
 तत्रापि स्युर्विकल्पेन तिस्रो विष्ण्वादिवेवताः ।
 स पौर्णमास्यामेव स्यादपि प्राक्सोमयागतः ॥ ३३२ ॥
 ॥ इत्यष्टमः पादः ॥
 ॥ इति दशमोऽध्ययः ॥

॥ अथैकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

आग्नेयादिफलं तन्त्रं भाष्येऽङ्गोपकृतिस्तथा ।
 सा भवेदखिलैरङ्गैः कान्यावृत्त्यादिकं^५ फलम् ॥ ३३३ ॥

1. T. होम

A. स्तोम

2. T. भागे

3. G. विदिः द्रव्यं

4. G. omits this ardha.

G omits this and the next
ardha.

5. T and A. मान्त्रिकीषु च
A^१. मान्त्रिकेष्वेव

6. LV. धिकं

यावत्फलोदयं हन्ति सकृत्सर्वौषधे^१ त्वसौ ।
 सकृदङ्गानुष्ठितिः स्यात् त्रयः कार्याः^२ कपिञ्जलाः ॥ ३३४ ॥
 यावत्स्वं दोहने गावो दर्शाङ्गानां तु तन्त्रता ।
^३सह प्रदानं व्यवधेर्न कृष्णग्रीवयोर्भवेत् ॥ ३३५ ॥
 ॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

स्यादेशकालकर्तृणामग्नेयादिषु तन्त्रता ।
 अङ्गानां मुख्यदेशाद्याः स्युः प्रयोगाङ्गभावतः ॥ ३३६ ॥
 दर्शे च पूर्णभासे च नाङ्गानामस्ति तन्त्रता ।
 हविष्वध्वरकल्पायामप्येवं^४ सङ्गभेदतः ॥ ३३७ ॥
 प्राजापत्ये पशुगणे भवेत्तन्त्रं वसाहुतिः^५ ।
 भवेद्यपाहुतिस्तन्त्रं यूपैकादशिनी गता ॥ ३३८ ॥
 अप्सवेवावभृथस्य स्यादङ्गानामप्यनुष्ठितिः ।
 अङ्गावृत्तिर्देशभेदात् प्रघासेषु विहारयोः ॥ ३३९ ॥
 तन्त्रेणैवोपकुर्वन्ति^६ तयोर्ब्रह्मादयस्तथा^७ ।
^८अपराभिकहोमानामावृत्तिः^९ कर्तुंभेदतः ॥ ३४० ॥
 ब्रह्मसाम्नीलेष विधिरालम्भोत्कर्षगोचरः ।
 त्रींक्षीनिति विधिस्त्वेषः स्यात् पश्चन्तरगोचरः ॥ ३४१ ॥
 अङ्गानां दशपेयाभिषेचनीयेन तन्त्रता ।
 निष्कासेनेति वारुण्या न प्रचारान्तरे विधिः ॥ ३४२ ॥
 निष्कास इत्यपि तथा नैव कर्मान्तरे विधिः ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

1. T and A^१. त्वसौ

2. T and A^१. तयोर्ब्रह्माः

LV. यत्र कार्याः

3. T. सह प्रदानं हविषोः

A. सदोहव्यवधानेन

A^१. सकृत्प्रदानव्यवधेः

G omits this and the next ardha.

4. G. या अप्येवं

5. G. adds भिन्नदेवेषु पशुषु

न सा तन्त्रत्वमश्नुते ।

6. T. द्वयोः

7. T. तयोः

8. LV. अपरा-

9. G. मानो त्वावृत्तिः

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

वेद्यादेर्वचनान्मुख्यभिन्नकालादिसङ्गतिः ॥ ३४३ ॥
 सर्वेषु तन्त्रमाधानं यूपः सोमपशुत्रये ।
 तत्तत्क्षणाद्यपि तथा तन्त्रं स्यादपि तत्स्वरुः ॥ ३४४ ॥
 अहर्गणे विषाणायाः प्रासनं चरमेऽहनि ।
 अन्याह्वाने वाग्विसर्गे^१ नानाबीजावहन्तिषु ॥ ३४५ ॥
 पशौ^२ पौरोडाशिके स्यादाह्वाने वाग्विसर्जनम् ।
 प्रधानमात्रापवर्गे^३ भवेद्वाग्विमोचनम् ॥ ३४६ ॥
^४साङ्गान्तेऽग्निविमोको हि वार्तिके संप्रदर्शितः ।
 सुब्रह्मण्योपसत्काला तन्त्रेण स्यादहर्गणे ॥ ३४७ ॥
 भिद्येत सुत्याकाला^५ तु कालभेदेन सान्वहम् ।
^६प्रतिप्रयोगं देशादिभेदापेक्षा न युज्यते^७ ॥ ३४८ ॥
 आन्तात्पात्राणि धार्येरन् प्रतिपत्तिविधानतः ।
 आरभ्य पवमानेष्टिं भवत्येषां विधारणम्^८ ॥ ३४९ ॥
 ऊर्ध्वं सकलसोमानां प्राजापत्यप्रचारणम् ।
 उत्कृष्यन्ते पदापेक्षाः शब्दा हरिवादादयः ॥ ३५० ॥
 ॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

अङ्गावृत्तिः कर्तृभेदात् भिन्नदक्षिणकर्मणाम् ।
 राजसूये कर्तृभेदेऽप्यधिष्ठानं न भिद्यते ॥ ३५१ ॥
 भवत्यवेष्टौ पञ्चानां हविषां भिन्नतन्त्रता ।
 कामाय तन्त्रभेदः^९ स्यात्पवमानहविस्त्रये ॥ ३५२ ॥
^{१०}स्युर्द्वादशाहसुत्यानां तन्त्रं दीक्षोपसद्गुणाः^{११} ।

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| 1. A. वाग्नि | LV. प्रतियोगमंशा |
| T and A ^१ . वाग्विसर्गो | 7. T, G, A, and A ^१ . विद्यते |
| 2. LV. शेषौ | 8. T. तेषां विधारणा |
| 3. T. भवेच्चा | 9. A. स्यात्पावमान |
| 4. T, G and A ^१ omit this ardha. | 10. T, G and A ^१ . स्यात् |
| 5. LV. कालानु | 11. A. गुणः |
| 6. G. काले | |

सुत्याकालास्तु भिद्यन्ते सवनीयादिका गुणाः ॥ ३५३ ॥

सुब्रह्मण्योपसत्काला नाह्वानभ्यासमृच्छति^१ ।

कुम्भीहृदयशूलाद्यास्तन्त्रं स्युः पाशुके गणे ॥ ३५४ ॥

तथैव भिन्नदैवत्ये न तु जात्यन्तरे तथा ।

कपालानि न तन्त्रं स्युरनेकाश्वप्रतिग्रहे ॥ ३५५ ॥

सकृद्भवेद्वन्तिमन्त्रः^२ नानाबीजेषु भिद्यते ।

निर्वापादिबहुत्वेन तन्मन्त्रावृत्तिरिष्यते ॥ ३५६ ॥

त्रिवेदिं प्रोक्षतीत्यादौ मन्त्र^३ आदौ सकृद्भवेत् ।

कण्डूनां यौगपद्यं तत् कृष्यै त्वेति मनुः सकृत् ॥ ३५७ ॥

सकृन्मध्ये प्रबोधादावपि स्वप्रादिमन्त्रकः ।

सकृत् प्रस्थानमन्त्रः स्याद्विश्रम्य गमनेष्वपि ॥ ३५८ ॥

भिद्यते प्रत्युपरवं मन्त्रः खननसाधनः ।

हविष्कृदग्निगुमुखा भिद्यन्ते कालभेदतः ॥ ३५९ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इत्येकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ अथ द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

पञ्चार्थानुष्ठितैरङ्गैः^४ पुरोडाशेऽस्त्युपक्रिया ।

तत्राज्यभागौ कर्तव्यौ स्यातां तौ न पशौ यदि ॥ ३६० ॥

सौमिकेष्टिषु वेदिः स्यात्तत्पात्राणि तु नेष्टिषु ।

शामित्रोऽग्निः पुरोडाशश्रपणे न^५ प्रसज्यते ॥ ३६१ ॥

श्रप्यं^६ प्राजहिते कौण्डपायिनामयनं हविः ।

सवनीयादिनिर्वापो न हविर्धानयोर्भवेत् ॥ ३६२ ॥

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| 1. LV. ऋध्यति | 3. G. आधानकृ- |
| 2. T. सकृदुद्वन्तिमन्त्रोऽपि | 4. G. पौरोडाशे |
| A and A ^१ . सकृद्भवेत्तल मन्त्रो | 5. A. and LV. श्रयणेन |
| LV. सकृद्भवेद्वन्ति- | 6. A. and A ^१ . श्रप्यं |

प्रायणीयादिषु पृथग्जागरः सौमिकाद्भवेत् ।
 अध्वर्युमन्त्रा भिन्नाः स्युः प्राचासिकविहारयोः ॥ ३६३ ॥
 इष्टिकर्मसु सोमाङ्गेष्वन्वाधानं न विद्यते^१ ।
 व्रतोपायनमप्येवं सोमार्थेनैव सिद्धितः ॥ ३६४ ॥
 ग्रहणार्थान्वाहितश्चेत्^२ दीक्षेष्टौ सा परा^३ भवेत् ।
 सोमेष्टिषु न कर्तव्यं पत्नीसम्वहनं तथा ॥ ३६५ ॥
 आरण्यभुक्तिरप्येवं कर्तव्यं शेषभक्षणम् ।
 अन्वाहार्यं न दातव्यं भक्षणं तृत्विजां भवेत् ॥ ३६६ ॥
 एतासु होतुर्वरणमदृष्टार्थत्वतो भवेत् ।
 प्रोक्षणं सकृदेव स्यादातिथ्येष्ट्यादिबर्हिषाम् ॥ ३६७ ॥
 तस्यास्तरणसन्त्रः स्यादावर्त्यः पशुकर्मणि ।
 पशौ^४ सन्नाहहरणमन्त्रयोर्नास्त्यनुष्ठितिः ॥ ३६८ ॥
 ॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

अग्नयो गार्हपत्याद्या वैदिकेष्वेव कर्मसु ।
 नियतः स्यात् पुरोडाशः सवनीयपशावपि ॥ ३६९ ॥
 सवनीयेषु न पृथग्गाहानं स्याद्विष्कृतः ।
^५तथैव सौम्यचर्वादौ^६ पाशुकेनैव सिद्धितः ॥ ३७० ॥
 निशीष्टौ दर्शसंयुक्तमङ्गजातं^७ प्रसज्यते ।
 नारम्भणीया विकृतौ^८ प्रकृत्यर्था प्रसज्यते^९ ॥ ३७१ ॥
 विरुद्धसमवाये स्याद्भूयसामनुरोधनम् ।
 तत्र तत्समतायां तु भवेन्मुख्यानुरोधनम् ॥ ३७२ ॥

1. T and A . भिद्यते

2. A. न्वाहितश्चेत्

A¹. न्वाहितश्चेत्

3. T. A and A¹. परं

4. G. सान्नाय्य

5. A¹ omits this pāda.

6. A. विकृतौ

7. A¹ omits अङ्गजातं...रोधनम्

8. T. विकृत्यर्था

9. LV. न सज्यते

मुत्यायां नियतं पर्व द्विधर्मा परिधिर्भवेत् ।
 तत्र न स्युर्यूपधर्मा ये^१ स्वधर्मविरोधिनः ॥ ३७३ ॥
^२पशुतन्त्रान्तर्गतत्वात् सवनीयाः^३ प्रसङ्गिनः ।
 विकृतिश्चेत् प्रकृत्येकतन्त्रा सा तन्त्रिणी भवेत् ॥ ३७४ ॥
 बर्हिराग्नये कांस्यभोजिन्यायेन पुष्पितम् ।
 द्यावापृथिव्यस्यैव^४ स्यात्तावता नैव तन्त्रिता^५ ॥ ३७५ ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

वत्सत्त्वगवाससोर्भिन्नकार्यत्वेन समुच्चयः ।
 अग्नौ वैक्षपशोस्तन्त्रे^६ पञ्चङ्गिहविरष्टकम् ॥ ३७६ ॥
 समुच्चिता ऋजुत्वाद्या ब्रीह्याद्यास्तु विकल्पिताः ।
 वैश्वानरी पाथिकृतीत्याद्या अपि विकल्पिताः ॥ ३७७ ॥
 भिन्नस्कन्नादिहोमानां दर्शादिषु समुच्चयः ।
 मन्त्राध्ययनधर्माणां कर्मकालेषु नादरः ॥ ३७८ ॥
 कार्यं प्रयोगमन्त्राणां स्वस्वरेणैव कर्मसु ।
 ये पुनर्ग्राहणाधीतास्तेषां भवति तत्स्वरः ॥ ३७९ ॥
 मन्त्राणामवसानेन कर्मादीन् सन्निपातयेत् ।
 समान एव न्यायोऽयं वसुधाराहुतीष्वपि ॥ ३८० ॥
 स्यादाधारेऽप्ययं न्यायो मन्त्रा ग्राह्या विकल्पिताः ।
 चतुर्भिरभिमित्यादौ भवेत्तेषां समुच्चयः ॥ ३८१ ॥
^७वरुप्रथस्वेत्यादीनां न भवेत्तु समुच्चयः ।
 समुच्चयो भवेदेव क्रियमाणानुवादिनाम् ॥ ३८२ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

1. A. यैश्च

2. LV. पुरोडाशाः

3. A¹ omits पशुतन्त्र...विकृतिश्चेत्

4. T. स्यैतत्

5. A and A¹. तन्त्रता

6. T. तत्र प्रसङ्गि

A. तन्त्रे प्रसङ्गि

7. T. उरुप्रथेत्यर्थवादो लिङ्गात्तु

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

जपस्तुत्यादिमन्त्राणां धर्मार्थत्वात् समुच्चयः ।
 याज्यानुवाक्यायुगलमनेकं स्याद्विकल्पितम् ॥ ३८३ ॥
 समुच्चयाः क्रयाः सोमे गुदयागे^१ समुच्चयः ।
 अग्न्याधेये दक्षिणाः स्युः संख्याभेदाद्विकल्पिताः ॥ ३८४ ॥
 जाघनीनां पशुगणे न भवेत् समुच्चयः ।
^२वाक्ष्यादिना स्यात् काम्येन^३ नित्योत्थयविनिवर्तनम् ॥ ३८५ ॥
 काम्यो नाहवनीयः स्यादाधानादेरभावतः ।
 तेषु नाधानसंस्कारो नित्योत्थस्य न धारणम् ॥ ३८६ ॥
 कश्चिदेव पदार्थानि कुर्याद्बहुषु यष्टृषु ।
 तेषु यः कश्चिदेव स्यात् सत्रे गृहपतिर्मतः ॥ ३८७ ॥
 सर्वेऽपि सत्रे कुर्वीरन् संस्कारानञ्जनादिकान् ।
 याजमानात्विज्ययोर्विप्रतिषेधे परं बली^४ ॥ ३८८ ॥
 आत्विज्यं ब्राह्मणा एव कुर्युः सर्वेषु कर्मसु ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

इति श्रीमद्वैतविद्याचार्यश्रीरङ्गराजाध्वरिसूनोः
 अप्ययदीक्षितस्य कृतौ चित्रपटे
 द्वादशोऽध्यायः

॥ चित्रपटः समाप्तः ॥

1. G. गुणयोगे
 2. G. वात्या-

3. A. वित्याख्यस्य निवर्तनम्
 4. A. बलम्

Pinṭa-p peyaru m-āyiyā ririyā
Paṇṭiyan maruṇkiṇ mariya marapē.

The word denoting collection is of the same nature and should be understood as such from the ancient usage.

Ex. Kuppaiyatu talaiyai-veṭṭināṇ; kuppaiyai-t talaikkaṇ veṭṭināṇ; kuppaiyai-t talaiyai veṭṭināṇ.

(He cut off the top of the heap.)

Note 1.—It is worthy of note that Tolkāppiyānār did not consider a heap to be a whole.

Note 2.—The word *பிண்டம்* is a *tadbhava* of *pinḍa*.

91. *ஒருவினை யொடுக்கொ ளுயர்பின் வழித்தே.*
Oru-vinai y-oṭu-c-co l-uyarpiṇ valittē.

The suffix *oṭu* (of the third case) is used with the superior of the two when both do the same action.

Ex. Eṇ maṇaivi-y-oṭu makkaḷu nirampinaṇ (Pura. 191, 3).
 (My children were filled (with wisdom) along with my wife.)

Note 1.—The sūtras from 84 to 90 deal with the optional use of the seventh case in place of the second case. Then the author has taken to speak on the third case.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkinīyar interpret *uyarpiṇvalittē* as 'along with the superior' and Teyvacilaiyār as 'along with that which adjoins the superior (i.e.) the inferior. In the instances where *oṭu* is used in ancient classics like Puraṇānūṟu, it is found along with the word denoting the superior. Hence the opinion of the former three seems to be sound. The reason why Teyvacilaiyār has differed from them may be due to two reasons. Pāṇini has stated 'sahayuktē apradhānē' (Aṣṭādhyāyī II, 3, 19). Besides in sentences like

'Vanta nampiyai-t tampi taṇṇoṭu
 Muntai nāṇ-mārai muṇikku-k kāṭṭi
 (Kamparāmāyaṇam I, Kaiyaṭai, 17.)

(Having shown to the sage well versed in the ancient four vedas, Rāma who came along with his brother.) the suffix *oṭu* is used along with the word denoting the inferior. That he wants to follow Pāṇini is evident from his sentence 'I-p-poruḷ Pāṇinīyārkkum okkum'.

Note 3.—This sūtra should be taken along with 'Ataṇo ṭiyainta v-oru-vinai-k kiḷavi' in the 74th sūtra.

Note 4.—Iḷampūraṇar explains the use of *oḷu* in the sentence *nāyoḷu namḇi vantāṇ* (the master came with the dog) by saying that the dog deserved greater recognition for some reason or other —(perhaps gratitude). Cēṇāvaraiyar agrees with him in that point and adds that, if it is not the intention of the speaker, the suffix *oḷu* does not denote association.

Note 5.—Cēṇāvaraiyar raises the question why this sūtra was not stated next to the 74th sūtra and answers that *Vēṇṇumaiyiyal* deals with the cases and their meanings in a general manner and the specialised meanings and uses are dealt with only here.

92. மூன்றனு மைந்தனுந் தோன்றக் கூறிய
ஆக்கமொடு புணர்ந்த வேதுக் கிளவி
நோக்கோ ரினைய வென்மனார் புலவர்.
Mūṇṇaṇu m-aiṇṇaṇuṇ tōṇṇa-k kūṇiya
Ākkamoḷu puṇarnta v-ēṭu-k kiḷavi
Nōkkō r-aṇaiya v-eṇṇmaṇār pulavar.

Learned men say that, on careful consideration, the use of the third case-suffix and that of the fifth case-suffix to denote cause when it qualifies a verb formed of the root *ā-* (meaning to become) is of the same nature.

- Ex. (1) *Vāṇikattāṇ āyiṇāṇ*; *Vāṇikattṇ āyiṇāṇ*
(He became a man on account of trade.)
(2) *Vāṇikattāṇ āya poruḷ*; *Vāṇikattṇ āya poruḷ*.
(Wealth raised on account of trade.)

Note 1.—Cēṇāvaraiyar raises the doubt that this sūtra is unnecessary since it has been said that the third case as well as the fifth denotes cause in the sūtras

Ataṇ-viṇai-p-paṭuṭal-ataṇṇ-ātal. (Col. 74.)

and

putumai-paḷamai-y-ākkam. (Col. 78.)

respectively and answers the same thus:—Since this chapter deals with *mayakkam* (contamination), the author has mentioned the same here and hence he cannot be charged of having repeated the same. But it seems to me that the same may be answered thus:—The statement *ataṇṇ-ātal* in the 74th sūtra may mean only the cause and need not mean the cause when it is followed by the verb ‘to become’ and the statement *ākkam* means that the noun in the fifth case should be followed by any word derived from the root *ā-*. Hence one may think that, if a word denoting cause is followed by a word derived from the root *ā*, only the

fifth case-suffix should be used. This sūtra clears his doubt by saying that the third case-suffix also may be used in such instances.

Note 2.—The word *nōkkū* is a noun in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped.

93. இரண்டன் மருங்கி னோக்க னோக்கமவ்
விரண்டன் மருங்கி னேதுவு மாகும்.
Iraṇṇaṇ maruṇki nōkka nōkkam-av
V-iraṇṇaṇ maruṇki n-ētu-v-u m-ākum.

The verb meaning to observe may be governed not only by a noun in the second case, but also in the third and fifth cases if the observation is not through the physical eye, but through the mind’s eye.

- Ex. *Kōlāṇ nōkki vāluṇ kuṭi*; *kōliṇ nōkki vāluṇ kuṭi*.
(The subjects living expecting the righteous rule.)

Note 1.—*Nōkkam* (observation) is of two kinds:—*Nōkkiya nōkkam* (observation by the physical eye) and *Nōkkal-nōkkam* (observation not by the physical eye, i.e., by the mind). This sūtra deals with the use of case-suffixes in the latter case.

Note 2.—One may question why this sūtra which deals with the optional use of the third case-suffix and the fifth case-suffix in the place of the second case-suffix was not placed after the 90th sūtra since it has been said that all the sūtras from 84 to 90 deal with the optional use of other case-suffixes in place of the second. It may have been placed there. But since it deals with the optional use of the third and fifth case-suffixes meaning cause and the 92nd sūtra also deals with them, it has been placed here.

94. தடுமாறு தொழிற்பெயர்க் கிரண்டும் மூன்றங்
கடிநிலை யிலவே பொருள்வாயி னான.
Taṭumāru tolir-peyar-k k-iraṇṇum mūṇṇuṇ
Kaṭi-nilai y-ilavē poruḷ-vayi n-āṇa.

The noun (whose case-suffix is dropped) and about the nature of whose action it is difficult to decide is not prevented from being taken either as in the second case or as in the third from the sense.

Ex. In the sentence ‘*puli koṇṇa yāṇai*’ it is difficult to decide whether the act of killing rests with the tiger or the elephant, since it is the genius of the Tamil language to use active forms in passive sense. If the act of killing rests with the tiger, the word *puli* should be taken as the noun in the third case so that the expression ‘*puli koṇṇa yāṇai*’ means the elephant killed by the tiger;

if, on the other hand, the act of killing rests with the elephant, the word *puli* should be taken as the noun in the second case so that the same expression means the elephant that killed the tiger.

Note.—Though there is no contamination here, yet there is room to take the noun either as one case or as the other. Hence this sūtra finds a place in this chapter.

95. ஈற்றுப்பெயர் முன்னர் மெய்யறி பனுவலின்
வேற்றமை தெரிப உணரு மோரே.
Iṭṭu-p-peyar munṇar mey-y-ari paṇuvaiṇ
Vēṇṇumai teripa v-uṇaru m-ōrē.

The intelligent will see the difference from what follows after the last word.

Ex. If one says '*puli koṇṇa yānai vantatū*' it is evident that the elephant killed the tiger since otherwise it could not come. If, on the other hand, one says '*puli koṇṇa yānai kiṭantatū*' it is evident that the elephant was killed by the tiger.

Note 1.—This sūtra answers the question which will arise from the previous sūtra 'How is one to decide whether the noun is in the second case or the third?'

Note 2.—In the previous sūtra, this sūtra and the following few sūtras I have followed the order adopted by Teyvaccilaiyār since it seems to be regular—contamination of the second case, the third case, the fourth case, the fifth case and the sixth case.

Note 3.—The word '*vēṇṇumai*' in this sūtra means *difference* and not *case*.

96. ஒம்படைக் கிளவிக் கையு மாணுந்
தாம்பிரி விலவே தொகைவரு காலே.
Ōmpaṭai-k kiḷavi-k k-ai-y-u m-āṇun
Tām-piri v-ila-v-ē tokai-varu kālai.

The noun which qualifies a verb meaning to protect may be in the second case or the third case when the case-suffix is dropped.

Ex. *Puli pōṇṇi vā* may mean 'be protecting a tiger' or remain protected by a tiger.

Note 1.—Cēṇāvaraiyār takes the word *tokai* to mean *compound*; it seems it is quite sufficient if it is taken to mean *elision* (of case-suffix). According to him *puli-pōṇṇi* is a compound word like *nilaṇ-kaṭantāṇ*.

Note 2.—Nacciṇārkkiniyār reads *toka* instead of *tokai*. In the Damodaram Pillai edition of Nacciṇārkkiniyam the reading

is '*ōppa virintu*', while the manuscript in the Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, reads '*Ōppa virintuḷi*'. The latter reading is better.

Note 3.—Since this sūtra and the sūtra commencing with *Taṭumāru-toḷiṇ-peyar* deal with the same cases, *ōmpaṭai-k kiḷavi* may have been read along with *taṭumāru-toḷiṇ-peyar* and the two sūtras may have been read as one; but there is one difference; in the former sūtra there is the word *mūṇṇum* and in the latter *āṇum* and it has nowhere been said that the suffix *āṇ* belongs to the third case.

Note 4.—Cēṇāvaraiyār says that one may think that this sūtra may have been read with the sūtra commencing with '*Iranṭaṇ maruṇkiṇ*' and both may have been read as '*Iranṭaṇ maruṇkiṇ ṇōkka- nōkkanum—ōmpaṭai-k kiḷaviyu m-ētuvu m-ākum*'; if it was so done, *ōmpaṭai-k kiḷavi* may be qualified by a noun in the fifth-case also. In order to avoid it, the author has not made them into one sūtra.

Note 5.—The word *tām* here is only for euphony.

97. குத்தொக வஞ்சக் கொடையெதிர் கிளவி
அப்பொரு ளாற்ற் குரித்து மாகும்.
Ku-t-loka varūṇṇ koṭai-y-etir kiḷavi
A-p-poru ḷ-āṇar k-urittu m-ākum.

The word denoting the recipient of a gift which can afford to have the suffix *ku* dropped may take the sixth case-suffix also.

Ex. Instead of '*nākar-ṭali koṭuttāṇ*' (he gave an oblation to *nākar*) one may say *nākaratu ṭali koṭuttāṇ*.

Note 1.—Cēṇāvaraiyār, Nacciṇārkkiniyār and Teyvaccilaiyār say that this sūtra states that the compound *nākar-ṭali* may be split as *nākaratu ṭali*. According to them there is no sanction for the expression '*nākaratu ṭali*' in usage.

Note 2.—The word *koṭai-y-etir-kiḷavi* means the word denoting the recipient of a gift. The only place where the suffix *ku* may be dropped is in '*nākaraku-ṭali koṭuttāṇ*'. This sūtra enjoins that *nākaratu ṭali koṭuttāṇ* also may be used. It is worthy of note that *ku* cannot be elided in the expression '*ṭali nākaraku-ṭali koṭuttāṇ*'.

Note 3.—In the Namasivaya Mudaliar's edition of *Iḷam-pūraṇam* the expression '*koṭai etirtal eṇṭatu viḷupṇam-uṭaiyārai nutaliyakkār koṇṭuvaittu virumṇi-k-koṭuttal*' is found. Here *koṭai-etirtal* should be replaced by *koṭai* since the statement '*viḷup-*

pam-uṭaiyārai...koṭuttal is the meaning of *koṭai* and not of *koṭai-y-elirtal*. Hence the first meaning of the word *koṭai-y-elirtal* given in the Tamil Lexicon is incorrect.

Note 4.—Since the previous sūtra ended with the contamination of the third case, this sūtra deals with that of the fourth case.

Note 5.—The particle '*uru*' in the sūtra suggests that such a usage as *nākaratu paḷi* is rare.

98. அச்சக் கிளவிக் கைந்து மிரண்டும்
எச்ச மிலவே பொருள்வயி னுன.
Acca-k kiḷavi-k k-aintu m-iraṇṭum
Ecca m-ilavē poruḷ-vayi ṇ-āṇa.

A verb denoting fear may be qualified by a noun either in the fifth case or the second case.

Ex. Paḷiyiṇ aṇcum; Paḷiyai aṇcum.

(He is afraid of calumny.)

Note 1.—Since the use of the fifth case is sanctioned by '*accam*' in the 78th stanza, one may doubt that the use of the second case-suffix sanctioned by 72nd sūtra is nullified. This sūtra removes his doubt.

Note 2.—Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar state that this sūtra enjoins that the compound word *paḷi-y-aṇcum* should be split as *paḷiyai aṇcum* also.

Note 3.—The use of such expressions as '*vaḷai-kalalutarḱu aṇca-vēṇṭā*' (one need not fear for the bracelets to slip down) shows that the fourth case also began to be used in later times.

Note 4.—This sūtra deals with the contamination of the fifth case.

99. அதுவென் வேற்றுமை யுயர்தினைத் தொகையின்
அதுவெ னுருபுசெடக் குகாம் வருமே.
Atu-v-eṇ vēṭṭumai y-uyartiṇai-t tokai-vayiṇ
Atu-v-e ṇ-urupu-keṭa-k kukaram varumē.

When a word in the sixth case is followed by an *uyartiṇai* noun, the suffix *atu* is replaced by *ku*.

Ex. 1. Paṭaikkut talaivaṇ.

(Leader of the army.)

2. Nampikkui-makaṇ.

(Son of Nampi.)

Note 1.—The meaning given above is that adopted by Iḷampūraṇar. According to it this sūtra enjoins that, if the noun that is qualified by a noun in the sixth case is an *uyartiṇai*, the suffix *atu* should not be used and it should be replaced by the suffix *ku*. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār interpret the sūtra thus:—The *uyartiṇai* compound whose members have the relation denoted by the sixth case should have, when it is analysed, the suffix '*ku*' at the end of the first member and not '*atu*'. There are three defects in this interpretation:—(1) Does he mean by the word *uyartiṇai-t tokai* a compound made up of two words, both of which are *uyartiṇai* or only the second member? If it is the latter, what is the reason to interpret it in that manner? (2) The word '*keṭa*' in the sūtra does not suit well. Cēṇāvaraiyar explains that *keṭa* suggests the meaning *non-appearance* instead of *disappearance*. (3) There will be no sūtra to sanction the use of the suffix '*ku*' in such expressions as *Paṭaikkut-talaivaṇ* '*Nampikkui makaṇ*', etc. Naccinārkkiniyar interprets it thus:—The suffix '*ku*' is used when a *uyartiṇai* compound is analysed, the sixth case will be used without the suffix *atu*. In the former part of the interpretation he agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar and the example for the latter part is '*niṇ makaṇ*'. The defects in this interpretation are: (1) There is sentence-split. (2) The second part is unnecessary since there is a sūtra which enjoins that the case-suffixes may be dropped when the nouns which have them precede those which they qualify. Besides he condemns Iḷampūraṇar by saying that such expressions as '*niṇakku makaḷ*' should not be used and they should be read '*niṇakku makaḷ ākiyavaḷ*'. But there is a sentence '*pāṭiṇikku...pāṇmakaṇ*' in the 11th stanza of Puṇāṇūru supporting the interpretation of Iḷampūraṇar. The commentator on Puṇāṇūru also agrees with Iḷampūraṇar.

Note 2.—This sūtra deals with the contamination of the sixth case.

Note 3.—It deserves to be noted that the word '*tokai*' here does not mean *compound*, but it means *association* in the same way as the word *tokuti* in the sūtra

Ṇaitteṇa v-aṇṇa ciṇai-mutaṭ kiḷavikkui
Viṇai-p-paḷu tokutiṇi ṇ-ummai vēṇṭum. (Tol. Col. 33.)

100. ஆறன் மருங்கின் வாழ்ச்சிக் கிழமைக்கு
வழு மாகு முறைநிலத் தான.

Āraṇ maruṇkiṇ vāleci-k kīṭamaikkū
Ēlu m-āku m-uray-nilat t-āṇa.

The seventh case also may be used instead of the sixth case with nouns denoting the dwelling place when its relation to the noun which it qualifies is that of the land inhabited and the inhabitant.

Ex. Kāṭṭiṇkaṇ yāṇai; kāṭṭatu yāṇai.
 (Elephant in the forest.)

Note—This sūtra also deals with the contamination of the sixth case.

101. அன்ன பிறவும் தொன்னெறி யுலையாத
 உருபினும் பொருளினும் மெய்த நமர
 இருவயி னிலையும் வேற்றுமை மெய்யாம்
 கிரியிட னிலவே தெரியு மோர்க்கே.
Anṇa pīravum tonneri pīlayāṭi
Uruṇinum poruḷinum mey-taṭu māri
Iru-vayi nilaiyum vēṭṭumai y-eḷḷam
Tiripīṭa n-ilavē teriyu m-ōr-k-kē.

There is no confusion in the minds of the learned with regard to the use of one case-suffix for another or of one case-suffix used in the sense of another case-suffix similar to the cases mentioned above if it is in conformity with the ancient usage.

Ex. 'Cāṭṭaṇṭu vekunṭān' for cāṭṭaṇi vekunṭān
 (He felt angry with Cāṭṭaṇ) etc.

Note 1.—This sūtra suggests that it is impossible to give a comprehensive list of all cases of contamination.

Note 2.—The word *iruvayinilaiyūm* is taken to mean by Ḥampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār 'in both the places where one case-suffix is used for another and where one case-suffix is used in the sense of another case-suffix'; but on the other hand Cēṇā-varaiyar and Naccinārkkīṇiyar take it to mean 'in both the places where a case-suffix has its original meaning and that of another case-suffix'. The former interpretation is better.

Note 3.—Thus we see that the sūtras 84 to 101 deal with contamination.

Note 4.—From this sūtra it is evident that there should have been a vast literature in Tamil at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār. It is unfortunate that we are not in possession of any of them.

102. உருபுதொடர்ந் தடுக்கிய வேற்றுமைக் கிள
 ஒருசொன் னடைய பொருள்சொன் மருங்கே.

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