

The
Quarterly Journal

of the
Mythic Society

NEW SERIES



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1937-38

DALY MEMORIAL HALL

BANGALORE CITY

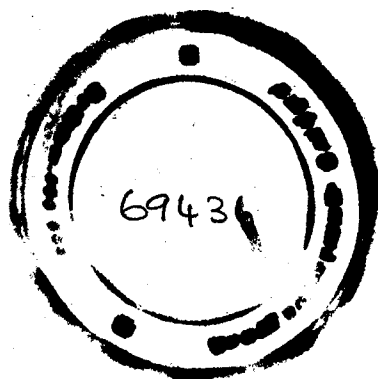
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[No. 1

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA

PROF. P. C. DHARMA, M.A.

SECTION I

FOOD

THE three main types of people dealt with by Vālmiki and living in India during the *Rāmāyaṇa* period were the Āryans, the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas. There was not much difference in the type (or level) of civilization amongst these classes. All of them were highly civilized, judging from the social, political and religious standpoints. These three types of people had different dietetic habits. In this connection, it may be pointed out that some critics consider that the Vānaras lagged behind the Āryans and Rākṣasas in culture and civilization and that immoderate indulgence of the palate is a sign of high culture! But the stimulation of the palate by various savoury dishes and the immoderate indulgence in strong drinks and sensual pleasures, as in the latter days of the Roman Empire and the days of Cleopatra in Egypt, are certainly signs of a degenerate civilization.

Āryans Mixed Feeders

The Āryans were mixed feeders, and used both animal and vegetable food-stuffs, though the vegetable ones largely predominated in their diet. The Ascetic Brahmins avoided meat and lived on roots, tubers and fruits according to the statement of Rāma himself (II-20-29). Brahmins were strict vegetarians, except on some special occasions, e.g., *Śrāddha* (III-11-57 F) and Sacrifices when the meat of the goat was used (I-49-11). When the Brahmin Sage Gautama, a guest of King Brahmadaṭṭa, was offered by mistake, food mixed with meat, he is said to have cursed the King for this insult (VII-59 M-59).

Vānaras Vegetarians

The political, the religious and the social organizations of the Vānaras were of the same pattern as those of the Āryans. But, they led a simple life and were contented with a purely vegetarian diet. The Vānaras were strict vegetarians. They fed on roots and fruits and honey. Till Rāma enlisted them in his army of expedition to Lanka, their principle was "To Live and to Let Live". They fought only in self-defence and cared not for the conquests of territories belonging to other people.

Savage men in all lands lived on game and fish obtained by hunting and fishing, often in a raw condition just like savage beasts. Later on, they learnt to cook food, and to preserve food by salting and drying. Agricultural life and a diet of grains and pulses were the habits of a still later and a higher stage of civilization. A purely vegetarian diet is an indication of spiritual progress and advanced culture. The voluntary abstinence from meat presupposes a high degree of mental restraint. An exclusive meat diet gives rise to ferocity, a desire to fight and a desire to take undue advantage of the weaker races and dispossess them of their land and liberty.

Rākṣasas Meat-Eaters

The Rākṣasas were all meat-eaters. They fed on all kinds of meat, human flesh not excepted, though some forms of meat

were favourite ones. They were actually called flesh eaters. [*Piṣitāśana* and *Kravyāda*—III-54-17 and *Nara-māms-āśin* (cannibal) III-72-21]. The Rākṣasa Virāḍha was particularly fond of the flesh of Sages (III-2-12). He promised to drink the blood of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (III-2-13).

The Rākṣasi Śūrpaṇakhā told Rāma that she would eat up Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, so that she and Rāma might subsequently sport together without any let or hindrance (III-17-27). Rāvaṇa threatened Sītā that his cooks would mince her up and cook her for his breakfast (III-56-24 and V-22-9). He was determined upon enjoying her at least as food if not as a mistress. The Rākṣasi women who had been ordered to subjugate Sītā by any means, mentioned in the course of their harangue, how they would kill and eat her up (V-24-36, etc.). The favourite parts of the body of human beings for eating were the heart (*Hṛdaya*—V-24-36, etc.), liver (*Yakṛt*), spleen (*Plīha*), bowels (*Āntarāṇī*), head (*Śirṣa*), and minced muscles (*Piluka*). The cannibals when eating human flesh, refreshed themselves with *surā* or liquor (V-24-45). Rāvaṇa had special cooks to cut up meat. In Chapter XI of the *Sundara Kāṇḍa*, Vālmiki gives a list of the dishes used for dinner by Rāvaṇa (V-11-11, etc.).

Rāvaṇa's Menu

The courses consisted of :—

1. The raw meat of deer, buffaloes and boars.
2. The flesh of the 'pea-fowl'; and the fowl in the roasted condition.
3. The flesh of the pig, the *Vārḍhrāṇasaka* Goat (red-haired with long ears), the porcupine, the deer, and peacocks, and fowls, prepared with curd and salt.
4. Birds' flesh (that of *Cakora* and *Krakara*) well cooked (probably spitted).
5. Buffalo's flesh (*Mahiṣa-māmea*), the *Śalya* fish, and the flesh of goats prepared with condiments.
6. Confections, soups and various kinds of pleasant preparations.

7. Fruit juices sweetened with sugar and honey, etc.
8. Salt dishes, and sour dishes.
9. Various kinds of fruits.

Various kinds of meat preparations prepared by excellent cooks were to be found in Rāvaṇa's Banqueting Hall. The Eleventh Canto of Book II gives a graphic description of the various meat dishes. But, there is no mention of any vegetable dish. Of course, one finds the expression *Annāvaśeṣa* which may refer to "remains of cooked rice" (V-11-25). *Annā* means simply "food". Even if it be taken to mean rice, it must be noted that only a casual mention is made of it. Thus, it will be seen that the Rākṣasa diet was a typical meat diet, with a little admixture of vegetable food.

Staple Food Grains and Pulses

The staple food grains in Ayodhyā was rice (*Taṇḍula*). The other food grains of Epic India were the *Nivāra*, wild or uncultivated rice of the forests used by the Ascetics and Brahman Sages (II-6-15), barley (*Yava*), and wheat (*Godhuma*).

The agricultural fields of Ayodhyā were planted with paddy (*Śālī* or *Vrihi*). In order to provide nitrogenous elements, the Āryans supplemented the diet of rice and wheat or barley, with the various pulses (VII-91-18, etc.), such as *Mudga* (green gram), *Canaka* (chick pea), *Kulitha* (horse gram) and *Māṣa* (black dhal), and milk. The word *Sūpa* is met with, but it seems to mean broth or condiment in the context (II-91-66).

Rice the Favourite Food of the Āryans

Cooked rice (*Annā* or *Odana*) formed the bulk of the food of the Āryans of the *Rāmāyana* period (I-53-3). Other preparations only supplemented the rice. During Daśaratha's *Āśva-medha* Sacrifice, many heaps of rice resembling hillocks were to be seen (I-14-15). During the feasting of King Viśvāmitra, Sage Vasiṣṭha provided heaps of rice—heaps of hot, boiled rice (I-53-23 and I-53-3). Bhāradvāja provided for Bharata's army excellent rice and various eatables (II-91-21). While

preparing for the coronation of Rāma, Vasiṣṭha ordered that the Brahmans should be fed early in the morning with excellent food, rice cooked and mixed with curd, milk, ghee, parched rice and curd (II-3-13 and 14). *Lāja* or parched rice or rather puffed rice formed an important ingredient in feeding, worshiping, etc. Thus, cooked rice always formed the chief part of the food of the Āryans. Meat and liquors were supplementary to it. The oil cake of *Inga dulcis* (*Ingudi Pinyāka*) and the coarse wild rice (*Nivāra*) were used as articles of food only by the Ascetic Brahmans in the forest.

Milk as an Article of Diet

Milk was very largely consumed either as milk, or milk and rice pudding, or *Pāyasa* (milk sweetened and mixed with boiled rice or wheat), or *Rasālā* (curd mixed with sugar and spices), or fermented milk (curd, *Dadhī*). Milk and milk products were favourite articles of diet with all classes (II-91-73). The conversion of milk by coagulation into *Dadhī* or curd (V-17-13 and I-53-3) and the production of butter by churning were processes well known to them. The churning of the curd was effected by the rotation of the churning rod, by means of a rope wound round it and pulled by the two ends alternately by the hands of the housewife. The process is the same as that described in the churning of the Milky Ocean, on a large scale (I-45-17). The churning is done in the same way even at the present day in India.

Fatty Food and Salts

The fatty elements in the diet were derived from oils (*Sneha*, VII-91-19 or *Taila*, V-53-7, gingelly oil) and ghee (clarified butter). The word *Navanīta* (butter) is not met with in the *Rāmāyana*. One finds frequent references only to *Ghṛta* or ghee—molten butter. The mineral salts were supplied in the form of *Lavaṇa* (salt), and *Sauvarcala* (a special variety of salt). In addition to the various preparations of rice, wheat, pulses and milk, various condiments *Upadamsa*, (II-61-5), *Nisthāna* (II-91-66) prepared with fruits or vegetables were in use and *Sūpa* (I-53-3).

Various Classes of Vegetable Food Preparations

The dietetic preparations were divided into four classes (II-91-20):—

- Bhaksya*—Food that could be bitten like *Apūpa* or cakes;
- Bhojya*—Food that could be eaten like boiled rice;
- Coṣya*—Suckable, like *Pāyasa* or gruel; and
- Lehya*—Lickable like honey (II-91-20).

The term *Bhaksya* was also used to denote all kinds of edibles except rice and meat. They were sweet or salt preparations (I-10-19).

Some of the preparations from rice used by the Āryans were:—

- Annā* or *Odana*—Boiled rice (I-52-23 and I-53-3);
- Krisara*—Rice with sesamum (II-75-29);
- Lāja*—Puffed rice or parched paddy;
- Modaka*—Sweet balls of rice, sugar and dhal (I-10-19);
- Mṛṣṭānna*—A savoury preparation of rice (I-53-3 and 4);
- Pāyasa*—Milk boiled, sweetened and thickened with boiled rice, etc. (I-16-19 and II-75-30, II-91-72).

The other vegetable foods mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* were:—

- Sūpa*—Vegetable broth made with juices of ripe fruits and scented (I-53-3 and II-91-66, etc.) may also mean dhal;
- Rasālā*—A dish of sweet curd with spices, sugar, etc. (II-91-73);
- Madhu*—Honey;
- Śarkarā*—Sugar (II-91-72);
- Khāṇḍava*—Sugar-candy (VII-92-11);
- Gauḍa*—Various sweetmeats (VII-92-11);
- Śāḍava* (I-53-4);
- Rāga-śāḍava* (V-11-15).

The common fruits mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are plantain (*Kadalī*), mango (*Āmra*), jack (*Paṇasa*), jujubes (*Badārī*), pomegranates (*Dāḍimā*), jambal (*Jambū*), limes (*Jambīra*), wood apple (*Kapittha*). Rāma's lunch consisted of meat,

fruits and wines, which he partook with Sitā in *Aśokavana* (VII-42-18).

Fruit juices were used—(1) for mixing with soups and (2) for making drinks like sherbets, and *Rāga-śāḍava*. The *Rāga-śāḍava* was a preparation made of honey, sugar and the juices of various fruits (V-11-16).

Animals Slaughtered for Food

The favourite meat of the Āryans was venison (deer's flesh). Next came the flesh of boars. They used generally the flesh of the hunted animals. The animals were classified into clean (*Medhya*) and unclean. The clean (*Medhya*) animals were those fit for offering to the Gods. These only seem to have been used as food. The *Medhya* or clean animals were the goat, and the various varieties of deer and the boar. Rāma hunted and killed deer for food (II-52-102, II-55-32, III-44-27, and III-47-22). Boars (III-47-22) and iguana (*Godhā*) were also used by Rāma. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa used to hunt and kill in the forest, the boar and the different varieties of deer *Rāya*, *Prṣata* and *Mahā ruru* (II-52-101 and II-56-27). Dog's flesh was used by none except the untouchable *Muṣṭikas* (I-59-19).

There is no mention of beef (flesh of ox or cow) as an article of diet by Brahmins and Kṣatriyas in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Even Rāvaṇa is said to have been served with buffalo flesh and not beef. Most probably, pigs, deer, sheep and goats and buffaloes only in Laṅkā were the only large animals slaughtered for food. The absence of any reference to the use of cow's flesh justifies the inference that the cow had already become a sacred animal in the *Rāmāyaṇa* period. Even Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna used only buffalo flesh and not beef (V-11-14 and VI-60-32). Bulls must have been slaughtered in Laṅkā during the *Rāmāyaṇa* period, as Bull-Hide (note it is not cows' hide or even *Go-carma*). *Āraṇha carma* was largely in use for various purposes in Laṅkā. The bucklers of soldiers were made of bull-hide. But who used ox flesh or beef? Vālmiki gives no clue. It is quite possible that the leather might have been

imported from foreign countries. It should be noted that the bull-hide bucklers were used by the Rākṣasas in Laṅkā (VI-54-30 and VI-97-21) and by the Vidyādhara (V-1-24). The bull-hide was worn by the Rākṣasa ascetics in Laṅkā instead of deer skins (V-4-16). Horse flesh was allowed only in the sacrifice of *Aśvamedha*. Of the five-toed animals, only five kinds were allowed as food for the *Dvijās*, viz., the porcupine, the hedgehog, the iguana, the hare and the tortoise (IV-17-39).

Bhāradvāja in entertaining Bharata arranged for different kinds of meat (II-99-21). His waiters fed Bharata's followers on various kinds of pure (clean) flesh (II-99-51), goat's flesh and pork (II-99-66, etc.); sundry meat preparations, roasted venison and roasted flesh of pea-fowls and wild fowls, curd, wood-apple syrups, *Rasālā*, *Pāyasa*, sugar and various kinds of liquors. The description of Bhāradvāja's entertainment given to Bharata and his followers clearly brings out my point that the Āryans were mixed feeders and not out and out meat-eaters like the Rākṣasas of Laṅkā. We can also see that rice formed an important part of the dietary, as amongst the present-day Hindus. Fruits were used by all classes. Mangoes must have been very popular as the references to mango groves are very frequent. When Sītā prayed to the River-Goddess Gaṅgā, she promised to offer liquor and *Māmsabhūtaudana* (i.e., meat, rice, vegetables and spices cooked together), her favourite food (II-52-88). Guha, the King of the foresters or Nisādas, offered to Bharata fruits and roots, forest grains, like wild rice, raw flesh and dried meat (II-84-17). The *Dāsas* evidently fed on meat, fish, roots, fruits and wild rice (II-84-7 and II-84-17)—the food available in the jungles and riversides.

Cooking of Meat

Meat was used both in the fresh and dried condition. Rāma was delighted to see Lakṣmaṇa preserving venison by drying (II-95A-34). Meat was cooked in various ways:—

1. One method was to fry it in pans with fat. The meat of deer, and wild fowls served to Bharata's followers by

Bhāradvāja is said to have been fried in pans (*Pitara*) (II-91-70). Frying pans of iron are in use even at the present day amongst the Hindus.

2. A second method in cooking flesh was that of Lakṣmaṇa (II-56-27), viz., roasting the whole animal in the open fire.

3. A third method was to boil it with rice, vegetables and spices and convert into *Pulav* (II-52-88).

4. A fourth method of cooking flesh was spitting—roasting the meat by holding it on a long pointed iron rod and turning it over the fire till cooked. This was the process recommended by Kabandha to Lakṣmaṇa for cooking the birds and fishes found near lake Pampa after removing the wings and skin (III-73-14).

5. A fifth method was to cook the meat (pork and mutton) with curd and salt, as in Rāvaṇa's kitchen (V-11-13).

6. A sixth method was to cook with acid vinegar, salt and white mustard, as in Rāvaṇa's kitchen (V-11-15).

7. A seventh method was to make confections and broths of the meat. *Kṛta-niṣṭhitān Lehyān Peyān* (V-11-14) evidently refers to preparations of meat made into lickable and drinkable preparations, e.g., broths and soups.

8. An eighth method was to dry and preserve it. Guha offered to Bharata dried flesh evidently of fish (II-84-17). Lakṣmaṇa used to dry the venison not immediately required, and preserve it for future use (II-95 A-34).

The undermentioned birds were all used as food:—*Krakara* (Partridge), and *Cakora* (Green Partridge) (V-11-14), *Kukkūṭa* (Fowl) (II-91-69), *Hamsa* (Swan), *Plava* (Duck), *Krauñca* (Heron) and *Kurara* (Ospreys) (III-73-12, etc.). Birds with plenty of fat were highly valued. Kabandha recommended the big birds with plenty of fat to Rāma (III-73-13).

Fish as Food

The Āryans certainly consumed fish. As the profession of fishermen (*Kaivartakas*) (II-83-15) is mentioned, fishes must have been in great demand. The *Dāsa* boatmen living on the banks of the Ganges were all fishermen, and Guha brought

tributes of fish, flesh and honey to King Bharata (II-84-10). Kabandha recommended to Rāma the edible fishes *Rohita*, *Vakra-tuṇḍa*, *Nanda mina* (III-73-14, etc.). Fishes were caught by angling with a hook (III-68-13). The references to catching fish, by the hook or *Baḍiśa* are frequent in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (III-68-13, etc.). Fish, both fresh and dried, were used.

Art of Cooking Highly Developed

During the Epic period, the art of cooking seems to have reached a high standard. Allusion has already been made to the various dishes, vegetable as well as meat, in use during the period. The articles of food with which the public were feasted during Daśaratha's *Aśvamedha* are described as having been "prepared according to the rules" (I-14-15). King Kalmaṣa-pāda's cook is described as being very clever in the preparation of excellent dishes (VII-65-22). The Banqueting Hall of Rāvaṇa was supplied with various delicious dishes prepared by very clever cooks, in a variety of excellent ways (V-11-18).

The cook was called a *Sūda* (III-56-24 and II-12-85). He was a professional cook. He had to prepare both vegetable and animal food, in four ways (II-91-20). The food as already pointed out may be *Bhakṣya* or biteable, *Bhojya* or eatable, *Coṣya* or suckable or *Lehya* or lickable. Six different kinds of flavours or tastes were recognised in those days as at present—sweet, sour, saltish, pungent, bitter, astringent (I-52-22 F). As the tastes of people differ, the different dishes with different flavours had to be prepared during festivities and public dinners. The cooks had to cook in such a way as to introduce one of the six flavours in predominance, in the different dishes, so that everybody's palate might be satisfied. The introduction of these six flavours in palatable dishes is a peculiar skill for which the Indian cooks have been famous from time immemorial.

Cooking was one of the sixty-four arts, which princes and others used to learn. Lakṣmaṇa was an excellent cook, and cooked the food for Rāma and Sītā. Rāma, when sporting with Sītā on the banks of the river Mandākinī, drew her

attention to the meat, well cooked by Lakṣmaṇa, ready for their repast (II-96-2).

Kabandha also bore witness to Lakṣmaṇa's skill in cooking (III-73-15). Venison was roasted by Lakṣmaṇa in the open fire. The whole deer was thrown into the fire till it was well scorched and free from liquid blood (II-58-27 and II-96-2). Venison was also probably used raw by Rāma (II-52-101). Dried venison and honey were also partaken by Rāma and Sītā (II-95A-36) when in the forest.

Cooks and Waiters at Table to Dress before Serving

The waiters at the table used to dress themselves before serving dinner. The waiters, who served the meals during Daśaratha's *Aśvamedha* Sacrifice, were adorned with burnished gold ear-rings and well decked (I-14-18). Rāma used to be waited upon in Ayodhyā by well-decked cooks and waiters (II-12-95). The well-decked food-servers in palaces, when serving food, were helped by other waiters wearing burnished gold ear-rings (I-14-18). The kitchen was called *mahānasa* (V-22-9, II-12-85 and III-56-24). The serving of food was the *pariveśana* (VII-92-7). It is interesting to note that King Sugrīva and his Vānara generals personally and humbly served out food to the Brahmans at the public feast during Rāma's *Aśvamedha* (VII-92-7).

Cooking Vessels

The cooking and drinking vessels mentioned are:—

Sthāli—curry pot, also water jug (II-91-70 and 71);

Piṭara—vessel—plates for eating (II-91-69);

Pātri—rice pots, etc. (II-91-70);

Kumbhi—small pot—water jug or tumbler (II-91-71);

Karambhi—churning pot (II-91-71);

Bhājana—vessels to hold liquid preparations (I-53-4); also water jars (II-91-34); and

Lauha—metallic (probably iron or copper) vessels used as kitchen utensils (II-91-67).

Grace before Food

It was usual to offer food to the spirits (*bhūtas*) before partaking of it. This practice is being continued even to-day. When Rāma invited Sītā for dining on the meat got ready by Lakṣmaṇa, he told her to offer the food first to the spirits (II-59A-35). Rāma made offerings to the spirits with fruits, roots and venison before entering his new hut on the Citrakūṭa Hill (II-56-32 and 35) and then ate the food with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa.

Women to Eat only after the Husband and the Male Relations

Sītā first offered the food of meat and honey to the spirits and then served the brothers Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with the same. After the husband and brother-in-law had finished their meal, Sītā who had waited till then, partook of the repast (II-59A-36 and 37). This is the time-honoured custom of the Hindu wife, to the present day. When Indra was asked by Brahmā to offer the divine *Pāyasa* to Sītā in the *Aśokavana*, he went over to Sītā and offered it so that she might drink it and sustain her life without any further food or drink till her rescue by Rāma. On receiving the *Pāyasa*, Sītā dedicated it formally to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, though absent (as we now-a-days offer oblations to the Gods) and then only partook of it (III-56A-23, etc.).

Hours for Meals

Breakfast.—It can be inferred from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that there were at least three meal-times. The first meal of the day was called *Prātaraśana* or *Prātaraśa*, corresponding to the present-day breakfast. Rāvaṇa must have been in the habit of having a breakfast early morning, as he swore to Sītā that she would be handed over to his cooks and be dressed up for his breakfast unless she made up her mind to submit to his solicitations (III-56-24 and V-22-9). Daśaratha too probably had a breakfast *Prāśaniya* (II-65-9). But all commentators take it to mean gargle.

Dinner.—Rāvaṇa's most important meal of the day was evidently his dinner after sunset. The Eleventh Canto of the *Sundara Kāṇḍa* gives a detailed description of the Banquet.

Lunch.—In those days, there was also probably another meal corresponding to the lunch of the present day, at *Aparāṇha samaya* or afternoon. Rāma used to have his lunch with Sītā in the *Aparāṇha samaya* or afternoon (VII-41-2). It is mentioned that Rāma spent the first half of the day in the administration of justice and spent the latter half in the *zenana*. He had his lunch with Sītā in the afternoon (VII-41-2 and VII-42-27), in his pleasure park (*Aśokavana*).

Food for Journey

When people had to travel long distances, they used to carry a hamper of food. The couriers sent by Vasiṣṭha to Bharata, residing with his uncle at Kekaya and ignorant of the death of his father, carried *Pathyāsana* or food for the journey (II-68-10).

Public Feasts

We meet with some references to public feasts on a large scale in the *Rāmāyaṇa* :—

1. The public of Ayodhyā was feasted during the Horse-Sacrifices performed by Daśaratha and Rāma (I-53-21, etc., I-54-22, etc., and VII-92-6F and 11).
2. Sage Vasiṣṭha entertained the army of Viśvāmitra (I-53-1, etc.), when the latter visited him in the forest.
3. Bharadvāja feasted Bharata's army near his hermitage (II-91-51, etc.), when visited by the latter.
4. Public feasts were also provided during the coronation ceremonies.

The feeding during the Horse-Sacrifice of Daśaratha was extended to all classes and both sexes. All classes were invited. Food was served out to all. Brahmans, Śūdras, hermits, mendicants, men, women and children (old and young), the healthy and the diseased, all were invited and fed (I-14-12, etc.). Daśaratha had given special orders to invite all classes of Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras from all quarters.

and feed them all with respect and without indifference (I-13-19 and 13).

Dining Together

It was considered improper to take food without sharing it with others—guests and relations. When Bharata met Rāma in Citrakūṭa, Rāma asked him whether he was practising the usual etiquette in eating—whether he shared the savoury food with others or selfishly consumed it alone (II-100-75). Enjoying the food oneself in solitude without sharing it with the guests, wife, children and servants was considered one of the greatest of sins. Bharata told Kausalyā that he would be guilty of such a sin if he had been in any way privy to the banishment of Rāma (II-76-33).

SECTION II

DRINK—(*Peya* II-91-21) or (*Pāna* I-53-2)

Drinking must have been universal. All classes, excluding the Brahmans, males as well as females, used to drink freely. The streets of Ayodhyā, Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā, always smelt of liquor (II-114-23, IV-33-7 and IV-5-17).

Varieties of Drink

The various drinks used during the *Rāmāyaṇa* period were:—

1. Water;
2. Sherbets or fruit juices sweetened (II-91-71 and V-11-91);
3. Honey (I-53-2);
4. Natural Wines (V-11-20, 23 and VII-42-18);
5. Artificial Wines (V-11-20, 23 and VII-42-18).

Annā and *Pāna*, Food and Drink, were always distributed during entertainments (I-14-16).

Pure Water

During the *Rāmāyaṇa* period, great attention was paid to the purity of drinking water. The pollution of water-supplies was considered as a great sin (II-73-51). Good drinking water

must be cool, limpid, clear and sweet, like the expressed juice of the sugarcane (I-5-17 and II-91-15). Cool, pure drinking water scented with lotus, was much appreciated (III-73-16 and III-73-19). The meritorious acts called *pūṛta* included the construction of tanks and wells for public use.

Honey as a Drink

Honey was one of the favourite drinks offered to guests and bridegrooms on arriving at the father-in-law's door in the form of *Madhuparka*. *Madhuparka* was a drink made up of curd, ghee, water, honey and sugar. Honey was offered to King Viśvāmitra, when he was entertained by Vasiṣṭha (I-53-2) and Bharata's followers were offered honey when entertained by the Sage Bhāradvāja (II-91-55). "Rāma would drink honey in the forest and hunt in the forests and be happy" said Daśaratha (II-36-6). So, it must have been a favourite drink.

The Vānara men and women were very fond of drinking honey, an intoxicating drink (IV-37-7, II-61-14, etc., V-62-9, etc., and IV-33-7). Evidently, the honey was allowed to ferment before being utilized in Sugriva's *Madhuvana*. This was the wild honey with which the Vānaras of Hanumān's search party celebrated their success by getting heartily drunk when returning from Laṅkā (V-61-14, etc.).

Wines and Distilled Liquors

The liquors mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* were of two kinds: natural wines—*Surā*—evidently the result of natural fermentation and the artificial liquors—*Kṛtā Surā*—the distilled ones. Rāvaṇa's Banqueting Hall is described as having been well supplied with all kinds of liquors (V-11-19). The term *Surā* may include fermented wines as well as distilled liquors.*

* It was as opposed to *Sōma* (a hieratic drink), essentially a drink of ordinary life.

Its exact nature is not certain. It may have been a strong spirit prepared from fermented grains and plants as Eggeling holds, or as Whitney thought, or a kind of beer or ale (Keith—*Vedic Index*, p. 458).

As Vālmiki divides liquors with *Surā* and *Kṛtā Surā* (artificial *Surā*, i.e., distilled *Surā*) in V-11-19, Whitney's interpretation is the better of the two.

The art of distillation of liquors must have been known to the people of the Epic period. The liquors mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are:—

Vāruṇī, *madhu vāruṇī*, *agrya vāruṇī*, *surā*, *madhya*, *mādhvika*, *madhurasā*, *madhu maireya*, *madira*, *madhu maireya*, *sauriraka*, *śarkarāsava*, *puṣpāsava*, *phalāsava*, *sidhu* and *āsava*. There must have been many costly varieties in those days. For example, we find a reference to *Varāsava*—the excellent variety of *Āsava*. *Surā* (II-52-88) was evidently one of the costlier and fashionable wines.

The spirituous part of the liquor was known as *Maṇḍa*. The liquor which had lost its alcoholic portion by exposure was known as *Pita maṇḍa* which nobody would care to take (II-36-12). *Pita maṇḍa* may also mean the drugs. *Sauriraka* was an inferior variety. When *Sītā* abused *Rāvaṇa* and rejected his improper proposals, she told *Rāvaṇa* that the difference between *Rāma* and *Rāvaṇa* was like the difference between costly wines (*Surāgrya*) and *Sauriraka* (a cheap variety) (III-48-45).

Vāruṇī was the strongest liquor in use at the time. It produced intoxication the moment it was drunk. *Sītā* refers to its highly intoxicating properties (VI-34-8). The other liquors of which the Gourmand and Connoisseur of wines, *Rāvaṇa* was fond, were:—

Śarkarāsava—distilled from sugar (V-11-19);

Mādhvika—distilled from honey (V-11-19);

Puṣpāsava—distilled from flowers (V-11-19);

Phalāsava—distilled from fruits (V-11-19);

Sidhu—distilled from molasses (V-11-30);

Madhurasā—distilled from honey (V-11-30).

Drink Prohibited to Brahmans

Drink was forbidden to Brahmans. *Daśaratha* told *Kaikeyī* (II-17-79) that people would consider him as despicable as a Brahman given to drink, if he were to carry out her unreasonable demands. *Daśaratha* could not think of anybody so despicable as a drunken Brahman. It was not forbidden to the other castes.

Drinking Very Common During the Period

Drinking must have been very prevalent in Ayodhyā. *Bharata* returning from *Kekaya* after his father's death, told his charioteer that he missed the aroma of *Vāruṇī* liquor, the perfume of garlands and the smell of incense on the royal roads of Ayodhyā as in the days before he left Ayodhyā (II-114-23).

As drinking, except in the case of Brahmans, was fairly common, Sage *Vasiṣṭha* entertained *Viśvāmitra*'s army with large quantities of different kinds of liquor and *Maireya* wine in particular. *Bhāradvāja*, himself the highest type of Brahman, supplied *Bharata*'s soldiers with plenty of liquor (II-91st Chapter). He could not have done so, unless he considered it excusable in the case of Non-Brahmans. The poet relates, at the end of the chapter, that the soldiers were all intoxicated and happy. In the *Sundara Kāṇḍa*, the Banqueting Hall of *Rāvaṇa* is described as containing many flagons of liquors intended for the consumption of *Rāvaṇa* and his wives. *Sītā* enjoyed drinking in the *Aśokavana* of *Rāma*'s *zenana*. *Rāma* with his own hand offered her the inebriating cup (during his dalliance) containing *Madhu maireya* (VII-42-18). *Rāma* and his brothers are never described as tasting liquor. *Rāma* probably wanted to please *Sītā* and make her charming, with sparkling vivacious eyes. The women of the day must have immensely enjoyed drinking.

Vānaras and Drink

The *Vānara* men and women vied with the *Āryans* in the love of drink. *Rāma* pointed out to *Lakṣmaṇa* that *Sugrīva* was sporting and drinking, forgetful of his promise (IV-30-79). *Tārā* enjoyed a drinking bout with *Sugrīva*. She was drunk when meeting *Lakṣmaṇa* (IV-33-39). When *Lakṣmaṇa* went to see *Sugrīva* in *Kiṣkindhā*, all the roads strongly smelt of liquor (IV-33-7). The condition of the *Vānara* tipplers in *Madhuvana* and their drunken brawls are graphically described by the poet. Some sang, and danced and capered and others shouted, wept and laughed. They ate up all the roots and

fruits and they destroyed whatever they did not eat and devastated the whole orchard.

Rākṣasas and Drink

The Rākṣasa men and women were very much addicted to liquor. Rāvaṇa always began the day with drink (V-18-13). When he went to visit Sītā in *Aśokavana* early in the morning, he was attended by women bearing jugs full of liquor. Kumbhakarna on waking up drank the various kinds of liquors kept ready (VI-60-62 and VI-6-32). And before going out to battle, he drank plenty of liquor of various kinds to rouse his spirits and increase his strength (VI-61-90 and 91).

Rāvaṇa's wives and the Rākṣasi guards in Laṅkā are described as being fond of liquor and flesh. Rāvaṇa's wives were particularly fond of liquor mixed with sugar and flavoured with sweet fragrant spices (V-9-57). It would correspond to "rum punch".

The Rākṣasa soldiers were very fond of drinking (VI-8-22). Hanumān saw the inebriate soldiers crowding the mansions in Laṅkā (V-10-10).

Liquor considered a Gift from the Gods

Liquor was considered a divine gift. Vārūṇī, the presiding deity of drink, is said to have been churned out of the Milky Ocean by the Celestials (I-45-34). As drinking was largely prevalent, we find references to taverns.

Taverns

The taverns were called *Pāna-bhūmi*. The low class tavern in Ayodhyā after the exile of Rāma is very graphically described by Prince Bharata (II-114-14). He compared Ayodhyā, deserted by Rāma and Daśaratha, to a tavern, in which all the best wines and liquors had been exhausted, which was strewn all over with the broken earthenware drinking bowls, and which was deserted by the drunkards and unsightly with ill-swept floors full of rubbish. *Śarāva* or earthenware drinking pots were used in the taverns as at present. The Banqueting Hall of Rāvaṇa is also called *Pāna-bhūmi* (V-11-3) as

innumerable women were drinking and rolling on the floor. Rāvaṇa must have thought that women could not be enjoyed without liquor, meat and music. His Banqueting Hall was furnished according to the most up-to-date requirements of modern sensualists. Taverns must have been fairly common. Rāma, in a beautiful simile (IV-28-33, etc.), refers to the condition of the taverns. In his description of the forest, fragrant with flowers and resounding with the music of birds and bees, the forest is compared to a tavern, the flowers filled with water and dew are compared to the drinking cups of liquor, the nectar of the flowers compared to liquor, the dancing and the crying of the peacocks to the music and dancing of the drunkards in the taverns, the bees' hum to the songs, the elephants in rut to the intoxicated and reeling drunkards, and the peacocks to the dancers.

Just as in the present day, drunkards liked to drink with their friends (boon companions). Sugrīva is said to have enjoyed his drink with all his ministers and Pariṣad (Assembly members) (IV-33-43). The drunkards were fond of eating flesh and dancing in their drinking booths (regular night clubs) (V-24-43 and 46). The Rākṣasi women in *Aśokavana* in Laṅkā proposed to eat up Sītā's flesh with many other savoury dishes and drink and dance all together (V-24-43, etc.). Thus, women vied with men in drinking.

Temperance

Though drinking was almost universal, the evils of drinking were not unknown. Lakṣmaṇa when taking Sugrīva to task for getting drunk, pointed out to Tārā that drinking did not conduce to the attainment of piety or wealth, that it interfered with the three *Puruṣārthas* or fundamental objects of life, namely, *Dharma*, *Kāma* and *Artha*, and it made men lapse from the paths of virtue (IV-33-43, etc.).

It is interesting to note that teetotallers like Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata existed even in those days of intense drinking. All the three condemned drink: and they are not described as drinking anywhere in the text.

DRAVIDIC SANDHI*

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Telugu

1. ONE of the most conspicuous types of Telugu consonantal *sandhi* in Telugu is connected with the *druta* ending *-n*. I have discussed this topic at some length in *Q.J.M.S.*, Vols. 23 and 24. I need only point out here that the fundamental phonetic processes involved in the meeting of *druta n* and other consonants are not without parallels in other Dravidian speeches:—

(i) Voicing of surds after the *druta*—cf. the voicing of surds after *-n* in *sandhi* contexts in Tamil (in actual evaluation) and Kannaḍa.

(ii) The optional use of the *bindu* may be likened to a similar use of the *sonne* or *bindu* before consonants in forms like Kannaḍa *âm* (I), *nîm* (thou), *tâm* (self), *bandam* (he came).

2. (i) After the consonants *-l*, *-r* and *-n* of sequences like the following, surds are sometimes voiced: *kaldṛāvi*, *can-guḍīpi*, etc.

(ii) *-m* is optionally elided in collocations like *bhaya-paḍe*, and always elided in others like *prāṇa-godḍamu*; but *-m* is retained in others.

3. In literary Telugu, internal consonantal *sandhi* of the following kinds is noteworthy.

(i) The simplification of the full nasal to what is called a half nasal after long radical vowels: *vāṇḍu*, *vā[n]ḍu*, etc.

(ii) Derivative nouns:

<i>l + t (d)</i> — <i>eṇḍa</i> (sunshine)—cf. Tam. <i>el</i> , <i>eṇḍ'ruu</i>	
<i>n + d</i> — <i>tiṇḍi</i> (food) — „ <i>tind'r'i</i>	
<i>r + t</i> — <i>māṭa</i> (word) — „ <i>māt't'ram</i>	
<i>*l + d</i> — <i>veṇḍi</i> (silver) —	

(iii) *Aupavibhakti* endings:

<i>r + t</i> — <i>ṣṭi</i> of <i>ṣṭu</i> (river)
<i>l + t</i> — <i>iṇṭi</i> of <i>illu</i> (house)
<i>*n + t</i> — <i>kaṇṭi</i> of <i>kannu</i> (eye)
<i>l + t</i> — <i>muntṭi</i> of <i>mullu</i> (thorn)

(iv) Verb extensions:

r + t—*vaṭṭi* (to be dried)—cf. Tam. *vaṭ't'r-*

**l + t (d)*—*eṇḍ-* (to dry up).

(v) Present tense stems of *tin-*, *an-* and *kon* [**kon-*, **koḷ-*] show *-ṇṭi-* in the colloquial.

(vi) Past tense stems of certain verbs:

n + t—*tiṇṭi* of *tin-* (to eat)

nḍ + t—*unṇṭi* of *unḍ-* used as a verb-base.

(vii) The aoristic tense-form *aṇḍru* beside *aṇḍuru* shows a *sandhi* change of *nḍ* to *ṇḍ* (through *nḍ'i*).

(viii) The plural ending *-lḷi-* of a number of Telugu nouns appears to be the assimilative resultant of the meeting of the plural *-l* with “basal” sounds like *-ḍ-*, *-r-*, *-ṛ-*.

4. Colloquial Telugu shows a few unique changes in consonantal *sandhi* in internal positions, like *ḍ + n*, as *vāṇṇi* [*vaḍ(u) + nṭi*], *akkāṇṇuṇci* [*akkāḍan + uṇci*], etc.; the contraction in instances like *gurrālu* from *gurramulu* [change recognized by AC], etc.

Tulu

1. Consonantal *sandhi* changes in external positions are few in this speech; voicing of surds occurs in compounds like *kâr-gattale* (pitch darkness) [*kattale* ‘darkness’].

2. The following changes in internal positions may be noted:

l + t (d) —*uṇḍu* (it exists)

n + t (d) —*kaṇḍ-*, the past stem of *kāṇ-* (to see)

n, n + v, the Future affix—*timb-* of *tin-*, *paṇb-* of *paṇ-* (to speak).

Kûi

This central Indian Dravidian speech shows certain characteristic Dravidian changes in internal positions:

l + t—*sōṭi*, the past stem of *sol-* (to enter)

n + d—*tiṇṇj-* of *tin-*.

For the relationship of these Kûi resultants to their cognates in the south Dravidian speeches, see my observations in my *History of the Alveolar Plosive*.

* Continued from Vol. XXVII, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 265.

Gōṇḍi

1. Trench in his *Gr.* tells us [p. 40] that most Gōṇḍi nouns ending in *-l, r*, have the key-letter *-ḍ-* in their inflexional stems. In my *History of the Alveolar Plosive*, I have tried to show the relationship of this *-ḍ-* to the Tel. *aupaviḥakti* †, *n†* and to trace the ultimate origin of these particles to the *sandhi* changes involved in the meeting of *-l*, etc., + *-t* (*d*).

2. ⁴⁸ *n, r* + *k*, the plural ending—
nāhk, the plural of *nār* (village)
rōhk, „ *rôn* (house).

3. *h* of the endings of some causative verbs—
tiht of *tind-* (to eat)
meht of *mēi-* (to graze).

Category 1.—1. While the internal *sandhi* changes occurring in Tamil are represented in the southern speeches and (in a few instances) even in Kûi and Gōṇḍi of Central India, the external *sandhi* changes (the character of which in Tamil is on the whole not unlike the internal *sandhi* phenomena) are found only in Tamil and (to a lesser extent) in old Mal.

2. For the differences between Tam. and Mal., see above.

3. Not all the internal *sandhi* changes corresponding to the Tamil types are found in Kannaḍa; but in Tel. most of the Tamil types are represented. For the relationship of certain cognate sounds and sound-groups, resulting from *sandhi* action in the several speeches concerned, see my *History of the Alveolar Plosive*.

The occurrence of some of the types of internal *sandhi* in Kûi and in Gōṇḍi would show that these changes form fundamental features.

Tamil alone appears to have popularised and standardised some of these internal types in external positions. This is

⁴⁸ For 2 and 3, see my paper on "Dravidic Problems" in IA, 1933.

	Tamil	Malayālam	Kannaḍa	Telugu	Tulu	Kûi	Gōṇḍi
1. <i>l, l̥, n, n̥ + t</i>	(a) Changes occur in internal <i>sandhi</i> —see <i>supra</i> (b) Changes in external <i>sandhi</i> also, depending on different factors—see discussion above	(a) Tamil changes represented in internal <i>sandhi</i> —certain unique changes occur in Mal. (b) Some of the Tam. changes exist in old Mal. but have disappeared in modern Mal.	(a) A few types of Tamil represented in internal <i>sandhi</i> (b) Tamil changes absent in external <i>sandhi</i> —sonatisation of <i>t-</i> in some compounds.	(a) many types corresponding to the Tam. ones in internal <i>sandhi</i> (b) Changes in external positions corresponding to Tam. types absent.—Sonatisation in some instances—For <i>druta n</i> , see my paper in <i>Q.J.M.S.</i>	(a) A few internal <i>sandhi</i> types (b) No changes corresponding to the Tam. types.—Sonatisation of surds in word-compounds as in Kann. in some instances.	(a) A few rare types (b) Only sonatisation in some instances.	(a) A few inflexional types. (b) No changes
2. <i>l, l̥, n, n̥ + p-, k-, c-</i>	Changes occur both in internal and in external <i>sandhi</i>	No types in external <i>sandhi</i> in modern Mal. corresponding to Tam. ones	No changes corresponding to Tam. types. Sonatisation in some instances, and weakening of <i>p-</i> to <i>v-</i> in some others	No changes corresponding to the Tam. types.—Sonatisation of <i>k-</i> in some instances, change of <i>p > v-</i> in some, and of <i>c > s</i>			

	Tamil	Malayalam	Kannada	Telugu	Tulu	Kûi	Gôṇḍi
3. <i>m, n</i> + plosives	- <i>m</i> elided in "casal" and other intimate compounds generally, and surds following are doubled. <i>m</i> in other instances, and - <i>n</i> (other than those involved in the changes under 1 and 2 above) become <i>varga</i> nasals	As in Tamil	- <i>m</i> elided in "casal" and other intimate compounds— Aside from this, <i>m</i> and <i>n</i> change to <i>varga</i> nasals	- <i>m</i> elided in some compounds.— For <i>drûḍa -n</i> , see above			
4. <i>y, r</i> + plosives	Doubling of plosives in "casal" in and a few intimate non-casal compounds	As in Tamil	Voicing of surds compounds				
5. <i>l, l + m</i>	<i>l > n</i> and <i>l > n</i> in external and internal <i>sandhi</i>	Tam. changes in old and new Mal. in internal <i>sandhi</i> ; but in external <i>sandhi</i> , only in some instances	<i>âṇma</i> beside <i>âḷma</i>				

6. <i>l, l + n', ñ</i>	Changes occur in external <i>sandhi</i> in circumstances detailed <i>supra</i>	Some instances showing changes similar to those of Tam. in external <i>sandhi</i> in old Mal.—					
7. <i>n + n'</i>	<i>Kannir</i>	<i>Kannir</i>	<i>Kannir</i>	<i>Kanniru</i>			
8. <i>m + m, n'</i>	- <i>m</i> elided both in "vét't'ru-mal" and in "alvali"	- <i>m</i> elided only in "casal" and in a few non-casal compounds	elision of - <i>m</i> in some compounds	..			
9. - <i>m + y, v</i>	As in 8 above	As in 8 above	As in 8 above	..			
10. Unique types in each speech	1. Treatment of so-called final <i>ñ, n'</i> and <i>v</i> 2. <i>âḡama kut'</i> <i>t'riyal-i-garam</i> optionally cropping up in some contexts.	1. - <i>n > l</i> before plosives, in old Mal., in <i>pon, pin, mun</i> 2. <i>lnd > nn, n</i> 3. <i>n + (u)de = nd'e</i> , the sing. genitive ending 4. <i>r > r</i> in consonant groups of <i>r + surds</i> or <i>c-</i>	1. <i>ḡ > k</i> 2. <i>r > r</i> 3. <i>s > c, j</i> 4. <i>s > ch</i> [in connection with <i>sâsiram</i>] 5. <i>p-, b-, m- > v-</i>	1. <i>p- > v-</i> 2. <i>c- > s-</i>			

only to be expected in Tamil in view of its antiquity, its conservatism (generally speaking) and its being a *Kunstsprache*.

4. In external *sandhi*, the southern speeches, aside from Tam. and Mal., do not tolerate the Tamil changes. In many instances, there is no change at all; while in word-compounds like the following there is only the voicing of *t*- owing to the influence of the sonority of the preceding sounds: Kann. *mul-dõṅgal*, *mēl-duḍuge*; Tel. *kal-drâgi*, etc.

Category 2.—1. Here the changes corresponding to those in Tamil are generally absent in the non-Tamil speeches.

In Kannaḍa, compounds and sequences like *kaṇ-gol*, *kaḷ-guḍiḍam* and *mugul-gây*, show voicing of *k*-; *kaṇ-bani*, etc., show voicing of *p*-; and *p*- is "weakened" to *v*- in instances like *nir-voydām*.

The treatment in Telugu also is different from that of Tamil.

Category 3.—There is agreement among some of the southern speeches in the following respects: (i) Elision of *m* in "casal" compounds in some instances and contexts; (ii) Change of *-m* and *-n* to *varga* nasals; (iii) The voicing of surds when *-m* or *-n* meet them.

But it has to be noted that, while in Tamil the elision of *-m* in "casal" compounds is accompanied by the doubling of the surds following, in Kannaḍa these surds sometimes become voiced and in Telugu the surds are retained short: Tamil *mara-k-kâl* and Kann. *mara-gâl*.

Category 4.—There is some divergence here in respect of the treatment of the surds following; while Tam. geminates them in "casal" compounds, Kann. shows instances in which the surds become voiced: Tam. *taḷir-c-civappu* and Kann. *taḷir-gempu*.

Category 5.—Tam. and old Mal. show the changes.

In Kann. internal *sandhi*, *nal-me* (goodness) [cf. Tam. *nan-mai*, with *l > n*], *ol-me*, *bal-me* illustrate the absence of the assimilative change; but *ânma* beside *âlma*, shows *n < l*.

Category 6.—Except in Tamil and in old Malayalam, these changes are not met with.

Category 7.—In *kaṇṇir* and similar compounds and in sequences, Tam. shows the change regularly. Kann. evidences the change in non-casal sequences also, like *kaṇ-ṇondadu* (the eye felt pain).

Categories 8 and 9.—There is some inter-dialectal agreement here.

Category 10.—These are all unique types discussed by me above under separate headings.

At page 259, lines 23 and 24, of *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. 27, read "slack consonantal grouping" for "slack gemination."

DEVAS AND ASURAS*

BY N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU, M.A., L.T.

Two-fold is Nature's life in the world
Daiva and Asura—the Godly and the Ungodly.
(*The Bhagavad Gita*)

Dowson in his *Hindu Classical Dictionary* says that Asura meant 'spiritual divine,' and that the term was originally used in the sense of 'God', and that it was applied to several of the chief deities, as Indra, Agni and Varuṇa. The term afterwards acquired an entirely opposite meaning, and came to signify an enemy of the Gods (p. 27). In the *Taittiriya Samhita*, I. v. 11, Varuṇa is addressed as the 'wise Asura'. In the same *Samhita*, I. vi. 6, Agni is addressed as 'Asura'. In the highly mystic verse in the *Atharva Veda Samhita*, V. 11, Varuṇa is called 'the Great Asura'. The *Yajur Veda* contains much interesting material for a critical study of the two sections of beings known as the Devas and the Asuras, represented in the Vedic and Puranic Literature as beings constantly at war with each other.

T.S., III. iii. 7, says that Prajāpati created Gods and Asuras, then created the sacrifice and then the metres. Sacrifice went after the Asuras, and the metres went after the sacrifice. Prajāpati took the strength of the metres and bestowed it upon the Gods. Metres ran away and sacrifice followed. The Gods prospered and the Asuras were defeated. *T.B.*, I. iv. 1, says that Prajāpati created Devas and Asuras. He could not distinguish them. The Devas appeared with the sign of the Soma creeper on their bodies for distinction. Thus they came to be distinguished. *T.B.*, I. iv. 9, also says that Devas, Pitṛs, men, cattle and Asuras were created and that the Devas performed the *Cāturmāsya* sacrifice and overcame

the Asuras. But the most significant verse is *T.B.*, I. i. 10, which says that Prajāpati created Virāt as a cow, and that the Devas and the Asuras quarrelled over its possession. *Atharva Veda Samhita*, VII. 104, says that 'the spotted milch-cow, well-milking, with constant calf 'was' given by Varuṇa to Atharvan', who in the same *Samhita*, V. 11, calls himself the comrade of Varuṇa, both having 'the same connection, the same birth'. The last verse of the hymn says that Varuṇa generated father Atharvan, connection of the Gods. It is here, perhaps, we see the germ of the first cause of division between the Devas and the Asuras. The whole quarrel between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra was over the possession of the divine cow, Kāmadhenu.

T.B., II. ii. 7, says that the Devas and the Asuras were created by Prajāpati, and that at the request of the Devas, Prajāpati created Indra, from His own Self. *T.S.*, II. i. 5, says that the cow, after bearing Indra, became barren. Indra thus became the leader of the Devas. The cow of Atharvan, which first belonged to Varuṇa, the Asura, produced Indra, the leader of the Devas. Tvaṣṭar was the person who possessed divine powers. Between Indra and Tvaṣṭar, a quarrel ensued over the drinking of the Soma juice. *T.S.*, VI. v. 11, says that Indra forcibly drank the Soma of Tvaṣṭar, and *T.S.*, II. iv. 12, and *T.S.*, II. v. 2, say that, as Indra slew Tvaṣṭar's son, Tvaṣṭar offered Soma, excluding Indra, and prayed to the *Āhavaniya* fire to give him a son who would be a foe of Indra, and thus was Vṛtra born. Vṛtra enveloped the worlds and came into union with Agni and Soma. Then Viṣṇu came and deposited himself in the three worlds, taking away the strength of Vṛtra. However, Indra and Vṛtra became avowed enemies.

Meanwhile, the Asuras were becoming rich and powerful. This was a matter of great concern to the Devas. *T.S.*, V. iii. 11, says that the Gods were fewer in number and the Asuras the more. *T.B.*, I. v. 9, says that Prajāpati concealed his eldest son Indra, as the Asuras appeared to be invincible, under the command of Virōcana. Then the Gods prayed that Indra

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should be their leader. The Gods deposited their riches in Agni, afraid of the Asuras (*T.S.*, I. v. 1). According to *T.S.*, V. v. 3, the Gods appropriated the wealth of the Asuras. *T.S.*, VI. ii. 4, says that the Asuras owned the Earth and that the Gods had so much as one seated could espy. The Gods asked for a share and in accordance with a contract made with the Asuras, Indra as a *salavṛki*, went round thrice and covered the whole Earth for the Gods. Here is the germ of the story of the Vāmana Avatāra. It appears from the reference in the *Yajur Veda* that the Asuras not only possessed enormous wealth but they had also much power. *T.S.*, III. ii. 11, says that Indra and Viṣṇu overthrew the nine and ninety strong forts of Śambara; *T.S.*, VI. ii. 3, says that the Asuras had three citadels, one of iron, one of silver and one of gold. The Gods conquered them after a siege, with the aid of Agni, Soma, Viṣṇu and Rudra. It was Rudra that won the citadels for the Gods and so he was hailed as Paśupati. *T.S.*, VI. ii. 4, says that the boar kept the wealth of the Asuras, beyond the seven hills, and that Indra pierced the seven hills and won the wealth for the Gods.

Though the Gods were helped by Agni, Indra, Viṣṇu and Rudra, in their conflict with the Asuras, it appears that they were divided among themselves, as is seen in *T.S.*, II. ii. 11, and *T.S.*, VI. ii. 2. But Indra took the lead always and brought them victory. The most bloody fight recorded was that between Indra and Vṛtra. Most of the hymns in the *Veda* are in praise of Indra, the slayer of Vṛtra. Indra made his *Vajra* from the bones of Dadhyanc, the son of Atharvan, and with it killed Vṛtra (*T.B.*, I. v. 8). *T.S.*, II. v. 2, says that Indra, impelled by the sky and the earth, slew Vṛtra; and *T.S.*, VI. v. 5, says that Indra, in league with the Maruts, slew Vṛtra, at mid-day, and that then Indra was hailed as Mahendra by the Devas. Indra then became the chief of the Devas. *T.B.*, I. vii. 1, says that when Vṛtra was killed by Indra, Namuci was born, that a terrible duel ensued between Indra and Namuci, that as Namuci could not be slain in the night or in the day, by means of anything wet or dry,

Indra killed him with the foam of water, at the dawn, and that for this act of treachery, Namuci called Indra a *Mitra-drohi*, an ungrateful friend. From all these references, it is clear that Indra and Tvaṣṭar and his family were friends, and that the enmity between Indra and Tvaṣṭar, over the drinking of the Soma, developed into a formidable rivalry and that the difference between the Devas and the Asuras over the possession of the cow, led to the assumption by Indra of the overlordship of the Devas, and the long feud between the Devas and the Asuras chronicled in the *Veda*.

Apart from social and economic causes, there seem to have been also religious differences, which fanned the flame of rivalry between the Devas and the Asuras. *T.S.*, II. v. 1, says that Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭar, was the domestic priest of the Devas. He secretly helped the Asuras, giving them the shares due to the Devas. Indra, being afraid of his sovereignty over the Devas, is said to have smitten off the three heads of Viśvarūpa. *T.S.*, VI. iv. 10, says that Bṛhaspati was the *purōhita* of the Devas, and that Canda and Marka were the priests of the Asuras. *T.B.*, I. i. 1, also says that Canda and Marka were the priests of the Asuras. The Devas and the Asuras also had the holy power in them, and so they could not overcome each other. The Gods then won over Canda and Marka with special boons and thus overcame the Asuras. Hence in the ritual, cups came to be drawn for Śukra and Manthin. Śukra became the priest of the Asuras. *T.S.*, II. v. 8 and II. v. 11, say that the Devas chose Agni as their messenger, and that the Asuras Daivya or Usanas Kavya, i.e., Śukra. Hence Agni is said to belong to the Gods and the Asuras, and later Rākṣasas and Piśācas came to be treated as the enemies of Agni. So also Bṛhaspati is called the *Deva-Guru* and Śukra the *Asura-Guru*. *T.S.*, II. iv. 1, pointedly refers to the rivalry between the Devas, men and the Pitr̥s, against the Asuras, the Rākṣasas and the Piśācas. The Devas made common cause with the Rākṣasas, then conquered the Asuras, and then drove away the Rākṣasas. The Rākṣasas then surrounded the Devas. The

Devas sought the protection of Agni. They made offerings to Agni and with the aid of Agni, they overcame the Rākṣasas. Thus it appears that the Devas gradually ousted the Asuras from the propitiation of Agni, although it would seem that both the Devas and the Asuras were at first equally the friends and propitiators of Agni. The *Yajur Veda* makes frequent and specific mention of the various ways in which they achieved this end.

T.S., II. v. 8, mentions three Agnis, Agni who is the oblation-bearer of the Devas, Agni the bearer of the offerings to the Pitṛs and Agni, the guardian of the Asuras. *T.S.*, VI. ii. 2, says that when the Devas and the Asuras were in conflict, the Devas entered Agni and made Him their protector, and through Him, they overcame the Asuras. *T.B.*, I. v. 9, says that when the Devas and the Asuras were in conflict, Prajāpati, seeing the overwhelming strength of the Asuras, under the headship of Virocana, the son of Prahlada, son of Kayādhu, wife of Hiranyakaśipu, concealed his eldest son Indra. When the Devas prayed that Indra should be sent to lead them against the Asuras, Prajāpati asked them to perform certain propitiatory rites, and when they performed those rites, Indra was sent to lead the Devas against the Asuras. These rites came to be known as *Iṣṭis*. Thus the rituals like *Jyōtiṣṭoma*, *Ukthya*, etc., came into vogue. *T.S.*, I. v. 9, says that the Asuras also attended these *Iṣṭis*, and so the Devas gave up uttering the *Mantras* loudly. *T.A.*, II. 1, says that both the Devas and the Asuras commenced the performance of *Yagñas*, but while the Devas followed the texts and were successful, the Asuras who relied on their physical strength for success, met with failure. So also says *T.A.*, II. ii, the Rākṣasas did penance and got a boon from Prajāpati that they should have the power to fight with the Sun; and to counteract their fight, men have been called upon to offer Rākṣasas *Arghya* with water at the *Sandhyas*, which drives them away to the island of Aruṇa. *T.S.*, VI. iii. 7 and VI. iv. 10, say that the Devas drove the Asuras away from the sacrifice, by means of offerings in the front in the east, and at the back

in the west. *T.S.*, VI. ii. 7, says that when the High Altar was seen going to the Devas, the Asuras proceeded against the Devas with their bolts, but they were repulsed by Indra with the Vasus in front, with the Pitṛs on the right, with the Rudras behind and by Viśvakarman with the Ādityas on the left. These references show that the conflict between the Devas and the Asuras became intense and that the Devas adopted the rituals with mystic force for their overcoming their enemies from time to time. That mystic weapons were invoked by both the parties is clear from *T.S.*, VI. ii. 11, which says the Asuras in retreat dug in spells against the vital airs of the Devas and they found them at the distance of an arm. That is why the sounding holes are dug an arm's length deep, in the rituals.

T.S., VI. iii. 7, says that by means of Agni as *Hotṛ*, the Devas defeated the Asuras, that the sacrifice was with the Asuras and that the Devas took it by the silent offering. *T.S.*, VI. iii. 10, also says that with Agni as their hero, the Devas overcame the Asuras. Though at first, therefore, perhaps, the conflict between the Devas and the Asuras was purely personal and was settled by means of combats between their individual heroes, yet, it appears that later on the conflict became more pronounced and ritualistic performances and the mystic forces liberated by such performances seem to have been used by the Devas to overcome the Asuras.

From merely mundane planes of existence, these conflicts would appear to have, in the natural course, traversed to the higher planes of existence. Instead of being conflicts for the possession of cows, wealth, citadels and even the kingdom of this earthly world, the Devas seem to have duly used these sacrifices for being lifted to the Higher Realms of Existence. *T.S.*, I. vii. 1, says that the Devas milked the sacrifice, the sacrifice milked the Asuras; the Asuras being milked by the sacrifice were defeated. By the whole sacrifice, the Devas went to the world of Heaven. Manu laboured with the cooked offering. The cooked offering, *Ida*, went to Manu; the Devas and the Asuras called severally upon her, the Devas directly,

the Asuras indirectly ; she went to the Devas ; the cattle chose the Devas ; the cattle deserted the Asuras. In this manner, the sacrifice was used by the Devas for their prosperity in this world, for the defeat of their enemies and for their reaching the abode of Heaven, *Svarga*. The *Yajur Veda* deals in detail with the various devices adopted by the Devas in their sacrifices, performed with the aid of the Vedic *Mantras*. *T.B.*, I. v. 9, says that men follow the Devas in the performance of the Vedic rituals, with these three objects in view, worldly prosperity, defeat of enemies and the attainment of the world of Heaven, *Svarga*, which, according to the Veda means Immortality (*T.B.*, I. iii. 7).

T.S., I. vii. 3. Whatever the Devas did in the sacrifice, the Asuras did. The Devas then perceived and seized the *Anvaharya* mess, connected with Prajāpati and made good their sacrifice. The Asuras were overcome.

T.S., I. vii. 4. With the aid of the New and Full Moon Sacrifices, the Devas overcame the Asuras.

T.S., II. iv. 2. The Devas offered to Indra on thirty-three potsherds and obtained the highest victory over the Asuras.

T.S., II. iv. 3. The Devas and the Asuras invoked Gāyatri. The Devas, by using the proper formula, obtained the Gāyatri, and appropriated the force, might, power, strength, offspring and cattle of the Asuras.

T.S., II. v. 4. The Gods and the Asuras did sacrifice. The Gods saw the offering on eleven potsherds for Agni and Viṣṇu, an oblation for Sarasvati and an oblation for Sarasvant. They offered this after the Full Moon Sacrifice. The Gods prospered and the Asuras were defeated.

T.S., II. vi. 4. The Gods and the Asuras contended as to these worlds. The Gods, by the fore-sacrifices (*Prayajas*) drove the Asuras away from these worlds. To defeat the Asuras, who attempted to do harm to the sacrifice of the Gods, the Gods divided the Gāyatri, and with five syllables in front

and three at the back, they protected the sacrifice, and thus protected themselves. Hence, the *Prayaja* and the *Anuyaja*, the fore- and the after-sacrifices.

T.S., III. ii. 2. Both the Gods and the Asuras did sacrifice. The Gods performed *Agnihōtra* twice, did animal sacrifice to Agni and Soma during the Full Moon and to Agni during the New Moon. They also sacrificed to All Gods in the morning, and performed *Varuṇapraghaśa* at mid-day, and *Sakamedhas* sacrifice to the Fathers and offering to Tryambaka in the evening, at the third pressing. The Asuras could not get on its tracks and so did not follow the Gods. Thus the Gods became inviolable, and the sacrifice came to be called *Adhvāra*. The Gods prospered, and the Asuras were defeated.

T.S., III. iv. 4. When the Gods and the Asuras were in conflict, Prajāpati gave to Indra the *Jaya* or Victory Offerings. The Gods were victorious and the Asuras were defeated.

T.S., III. iv. 6. The Gods and the Asuras did sacrifice. With special offerings known as *Abhyatana*, the Gods overpowered the Asuras. Then they conquered them with the *Jaya* Offerings and won the kingdom with the offerings thereafter known as *Rāṣṭrabhṛt*. Thus with a series of offerings to the Deities, the Gods overpowered the Asuras and won their kingdom.

T.S., V. i. 10. With the aid of gold plate with twenty-one projections, the Gods reduced the Asuras to straits.

T.S., V. ii. 8, V. iii. 3, V. iii. 11, V. iv. 1, V. v. 6. The Gods placed *Dūrva*, *Akṣnyastomiya*, *Bhuyaskṛt*, *Indratanu*, and *Vāmabhṛt* bricks in special ways and defeated the Asuras.

T.S., V. iv. 6. With the aid of the *Apratiratha* Hymn, the Gods overcame the Asuras. The Hymn is given in *T.S.*, IV. vi. 4 and A.V., XIX. 13.

T.S., V. iv. 7. The Gods pierced the Asuras with the *Udumbara* kindling sticks, provided with projections.

T.S., V. vii. 3. The Gods repelled the Asuras with arrows and thunderbolts (*Vajra*).

T.S., VI. ii. 2. The Asuras once became strong owing to division among the Gods. Then Agni, Soma, Indra, Varuṇa, and Bṛhaspati joined together and defeated the Asuras, with the aid of the Vasus, the Rudras, the Ādityas, the Maruts and all the Gods mustered together under their joint leadership.

T.S., VI. ii. 3. By the performance of *Upasads*, the Gods drove the Asuras from the field by day and by night. The Gods then destroyed the citadels of the Asuras, and won their greatest victory, with the aid of Agni, Viṣṇu, Soma and Rudra, who thenceforth came to be called Paśupati.

T.S., VI. iii. 2. A special force of the Asuras, known as the Rākṣasas, obstructed the Gods on their path to Heaven. The Gods defeated them with the aid of Soma, their King.

T.S., VI. iv. 2. These Rākṣasas infested the sacrifice of the Gods actively. Then the Gods protected the sacrifice with special devices, but the Rākṣasas waited around the altar, until the third pressing. The Gods wearily got through the sacrifice.

T.S., VI. iv. 6. The Gods and the Asuras did sacrifice. The Gods established the sacrifice in the *Upamēu* Cup. The Asuras grasped the thunderbolt and attacked the Gods. The Gods sought the aid of Indra and Indra obstructed the Asuras, by means of the *Antaryāma* Cup.

T.S., VI. iv. 11. The Gods reached eminence, overpowering the Asuras with the aid of the *Agrayana* Cups.

T.S., VI. v. 1. When Indra raised his bolt to hurl at Vṛtra, he became terrified and gave away his strength and he lost his magic power. Then the Gods gained a victory. The *Ukthya* Cup signifies this victory. It may be noted here that the use of the various bricks and the drawing of the various cups in the Vedic sacrifice are in commemoration of the various occasions and the various means by which the Devas won their series of victories over the Asuras in a long and continuous struggle for power and wealth in the world. These rituals were started and utilised by the Devas for their earthly glory and heavenly superiority and the Veda again

and again states that the Vedic rituals performed in the manner in which they were first performed by the Devas give to this day and for all times the glories that at first followed the performance of the Vedic rituals as enjoined in the Veda.

T.S., VI. v. 2. When the Asuras from above desired to turn round the Earth, the Devas made it firm.

T.S., VI. v. 5. Indra, in league with the Maruts, slew Vṛtra, at the mid-day pressing. He drew the Season Cups for the Maruts. This victory made Indra, Mahendra, the Great Indra, and he became the Head of the Devas.

T.S., VI. vi. 3. With the chanting of the *Saman* Hymns, the Prastotṛ smites the Rākṣasas.

T.S., VI. vi. 4. The Asuras drove the Gods to the south and the Gods repelled them by the *Upacaya*, a post lying near.

T.S., VI. vi. 9. Whatever the Gods did at the sacrifice the Asuras did. The Gods caused the metres and the pressings to find support in the *Adabhya*. Then the Gods prospered and the Asuras were defeated.

T.S., VI. vi. 11. The smaller metres were among the Gods and the larger among the Asuras. The Gods recited the larger metre with the smaller on either side, and thus overcame the Asuras, and appropriated their world.

T.S., VII. ii. 5. The Gods in their citadels performed the rite of the ten nights and prospered, defeating the Asuras.

T.S., VII. iii. 1. By success in sacrifice, the Gods defeated the Asuras, and went to the world of Heaven.

T.S., VII. iii. 7. With the aid of the rite of the fifteen nights, given to him by Prajāpati, Indra conquered the Asuras and attained prosperity. With the performance of this rite Indra placed force, might, power and strength in himself. This verse shows what amount of power the Vedic rituals are capable of giving to those who perform them, in the manner prescribed in the Veda.

T.S., VII. iii. 9. The Gods had holy power and the Asuras had food. The Gods performed the rite of the twenty

nights and acquired both and thus came into the possession of full *Viraj*.

T.B., I. i. 4. The Asuras performed *Agni-Adhana* in the wrong way and so they were destroyed, while the Gods who performed it in the prescribed manner got the world of Heaven.

T.B., I. ii. 6. The Devas and the Asuras quarrelled for the possession of *Āditya*. The Devas won and acquired the power of *Āditya* and became Brāhmins.

T.B., I. iii. 1. The Devas with their *Tejas* made wealth and established Agni and Soma in the ritual, known as *Agni-ṣomiya*.

T.B., I. iv. 9 and *T. B.*, I. v. 6. With the aid of the *Cāturmāsya*, the Devas defeated the Asuras.

T.B., I. vi. 2. The Devas obtained victory over the Asuras, by giving oblations to Agni, Soma, Savitā, Sarasvati and Pūṣan, who bestowed on the Devas, victory, sovereignty, force of thought, physical power and glory.

T.B., I. vi. 6. The Gods gave an oblation on eight potsherds to Agni and gained victory over the Asuras.

T.B., I. viii. 3. The Devas approached *Aśvin* and *Pūṣan* with *Satyam*, and offered an oblation on twelve potsherds and defeated the Asuras who approached the Gods with *Anṛtam*, untruthfulness.

Thus, the Devas and the Asuras gradually became sharply divided into two distinct and mutually opposed groups by their moral qualities and spiritual tendencies and practices as is clear from the references given from the text of the *Yajur Veda*. As the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*, II. 1, puts it forcibly, the Devas and the Asuras began *Yagñā*; the Devas followed the *Śāstra* and were successful, while the Asuras depended on their physical strength for success and so they were defeated. It is seen in all the later Epic and Purāṇic histories of the two sections of people, that the *Dāivic* or Godly people did all things with truthfulness and with full faith in God and the

Śāstras and so they were crowned with success and glory in all their works, while the *Āsuric* or ungodly men who put too much trust in their physical prowess, disregarded the moral and the spiritual laws of God and *Dharma* and so they always came to trouble, though they seemed to be successful and glorious for shorter or longer periods during their lives. The history of the Devas and the Asuras in the Vedic Text reveals the great truth of life that *Dharma* and *Satya* give ultimately success and glory to man, and that man should therefore strive ever to tread on the Path of *Dharma* and *Satya*, as revealed in the *Vedā*, which is the source of religion and morality.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS*

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE Asoka Tree is known in Hindi as *Asok*, in Bengali as *Asoka* or *Asok*, in Uriya as *Asoka* or *Ati* or *Asok*, in N. W. Province and the Punjab as *Asok* and in Bombay as *Asok*, *Asoka* or *Jassundi*, in Guzerath as *Ashopalava* and in Burma as *Th w gabo*. It is known to botanists as *Saraca indica* Linn., and also as *Jonesia asoka*, Roxb.

It is a small evergreen tree with an erect trunk covered with smooth dark-brown or greyish-brown bark; it bears flowers which appear in large compact clusters which spring direct from the heavy branches. The flowers are of a bright orange colour and later turn into a red hue. While in full bloom, this tree is beautiful. It bears pods from 6 to 10 inches long. It flowers from January to April or May.

It is found in a wild state along streams or in the shade of evergreen forests in the Khasia Hills, Chittagong, Arakam, Tennaserin, Upper Burma, the Northern Circars and the West Coast of Bombay, Ceylon and the Malayan Peninsula. The bark is much used by native physicians in the diseases of the uterus and specially in menorrhagia. A decoction of the bark in milk is generally prescribed. A *ghrita* called *asoka-ghrita* is also prepared with a decoction of the bark and clarified butter together with a number of aromatic herbs in the form of a paste. In Orissa, the bark is said to be used as an astringent in case of internal hæmorrhoids.

The Asoka Tree is one of the sacred trees of the Hindus which they are ordered in the Urapaj to worship on the 13th day of the month of *Chaitra*, that is 27th of March. Its flowers, probably on account of their beauty and the delicacy of their fragrance which, in the month of April and May, is exhaled throughout the night, are much used in temple decorations.

* No. XXIX "On a Few Myths and Legends about the Asoka Tree."

The tree is the symbol of love and is dedicated to Kāma, the Indian God of love; like the *Agnus castus* it is believed to have a certain charm in preserving chastity. Thus Sitā, the wife of Rāma, when abducted by Rāvaṇa, escaped from the caresses of the demon and found refuge in a grove of *Asoks*.

In the legend of Buddha, when Māyā became conscious of having conceived the Buddi-sattva in her womb, she returned to a wood of *Asok* trees and then sent for her husband. The word *Asok* signifies "that which is deprived of grief," (Folkard's *Plant-Lore and Legend*). Mason, in his *Burma and Its People*, says that the tree is held sacred among the Burmans because under it Gautama Buddha was born, and, immediately after his birth, delivered his first address.† From a study of the foregoing account of the Asoka Tree (*Saraca indica*), I find that:

- (1) The Hindus regard this tree as sacred.
- (2) This belief in its sanctity is based on the fact that it is dedicated to Kāma, the Indian Cupid, who is otherwise known as *Panchasara* or "the god possessed of 5 arrows" which he shoots at the hearts of men and women to inspire them with the feelings of love, and one of which is composed of the flowers of this beautiful tree.
- (3) It is on account of its sanctity and, perhaps, of the exquisite beauty and fragrance of its flowers that these latter are used in Hindu worship and temple decorations.
- (4) In Lower Bengal, a festival known as the *Asoka Śaṣṭhi* or "the Griefless Sixth" is held on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of the Bengali month of *Baiśākh* (April-May) on which occasion Bengali Hindu ladies partake of the flowers of this tree and, very likely, perform certain other rites.

† For much of the information embodied in this paper, I am indebted to an article entitled "Some Beautiful Indian Trees," by E. Blatter and M. S. Millard, Part XI.—*The Asoka Tree*, which has been published in *The Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, pp. 353-355.

(5) The correct significance of the name *Asoka* given to this tree is *that which keeps off or takes away grief*, and not "that which is deprived of grief".

Most likely, this name has its origin in some legend which describes some mythical personage or hero as having been rendered immune from grief by partaking of the flowers or juice of this sacred tree. (Further research is required on this point.)

(6) The Burmese belief in its sanctity has originated from the legend which narrates that Gautama Buddha was born under this tree and that, immediately after his birth, he delivered his first sermon.

Most likely, from some divine prophecy Buddha's mother Māyādevī had come to know that the Great Founder of Buddhism would be born under an Asoka Tree. It is for this reason that, as soon as she became conscious of having conceived him in her womb, she immediately retired to a forest of Asoka trees in order that her semi-divine son might be born under one of these trees.

(7) The popular belief that the Asoka Tree has the power of preserving chastity is, perhaps, due to the fact that, in ancient times in India, the juice of this tree or its flowers were believed to have the medicinal property of allaying or lessening or deadening the feeling of lust and that, very likely, these were partaken of for this purpose.

In course of time, this belief assumed another but extraordinary form, namely, that the very sight of this tree deprived lascivious men of their lustful passions and, thereby, enabled virtuous women to preserve their chastity from the advances and caresses of these wicked men.

(8) The tradition that Sītā, the wife of Rāmā, the King of Ayodhyā, was able to save herself from the immoral advances of Rāvaṇa, the Demon-King of Laṅkā, by taking refuge in a grove of Asoka trees, most likely originated from the afore-described belief.

REVIEWS

Creative India.—By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. (Motilal Banarsī Doss, Lahore. Rs. 15).

PROFESSOR Sarkar's latest book "deals with some of the creations of the Indian peoples in personalities, ideas, institutions and movements from the Mohenjo Daro times to the age of Ramakrishna Vivekananda as *specimens of human energizing*". In the 700 pages before us, the author seeks to exhibit in relief "some of those phases and trends in the evolution of Indian manhood and civilisation which are generally overlooked or minimised by antiquarian researches, text-book writers on Indian history, archæology, philosophy or literature, as well as by authors of general treatises relating to the spirit of India or the East." He offers it "as a contribution to the realistic philosophy or inductive sociology of values." In this task he has drawn on a wide variety of sources and made "liberal use of his publications in journals or books since 1910."

Professor Sarkar's grasp is comprehensive, his pen pictures lucid and his presentation masterly in regard to all that has passed into history. But one cannot say the same of his treatment of modern India. Chapter V—the Creations of Modern India—fails alike to comprehend the developments all over India and to trace out the unifying life-currents which constitute the re-birth of the Indian Nation. This chapter is relatively disjunctive and parochial.

But the merits of the work before us are great. It is the first comprehensive attempt at a cultural history of India. Professor Sarkar deserves the gratitude of all Indians and of students of Indian culture for his lucid presentation of a difficult subject.

"The Hindus of the Indus Valley (Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and other sites) were perhaps not yet used to the metallurgy of iron. But they built roads 13-30 feet wide, enjoyed hydropathic and hot air-baths, and commanded the

convenience of public drainage. Their agricultural technique knew the cultivation of wheat and barley, and industry the use of cotton-spinning whorls. By commercial relations, they came into contact with the 'East' and the 'West' of those days. Among their arts and crafts, says our author, are to be mentioned ivory seals, dancing forms, *Śvāstika* design, animal figures, half-syllabic scripts, stone, gold, copper, bronze and silver vessels. The Hindu culture of this Chalcolithic period (C. 3500-3000 B.C.) appears to have been dominated by 'cities,' and the people were used to spacious dwelling houses * * *. They propagated the cult of the Mother Goddess * * *. It is indeed possible to trace the beginnings of the tree and serpent worship, the *pipal tree* cult, the phallus-cult, as well as Śiva and Durga of our times to the fourth millennium B.C. "

The Professor's main theme is clearly set out. It is to combat "the most prevalent notion" "that Hindu literature is at best the literature of topics dealing with the "other world", the Soul, the Divinity—the themes which constitute the stock-in-trade of pessimistic metaphysics". "The historic truth, however, is" declares Professor Sarkar, "that metaphysical subjectivism is the least part of Hindu thought, and pessimism the farthest removed from actual Indian life and institutions. The Hindus have discussed every subject in the universe from the tamarind to the pole-star". He continues, "In a sense the geography of Creative India is as wide as Asia itself." * * * "This (the colonising aptitude) indeed constitutes the celebrated *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII, 15) cult of *charaiveti* (march on)." * * * "For about fifteen hundred years from the close of the fourth century B.C. the Hindus maintained a 'Greater India' of international commerce and culture."

In regard to the alleged defect in organising ability and in the capacity of the Hindus for administering public affairs, we are told "Epoch by epoch, Creative India has given birth to as many heroes, both men and women, in public service,

international commerce, military tactics and government, as has any race in the Occidental World." * * * "Hindu history is a history of as many institutions, councils, conferences, academies and congresses, as that of the Western races. The Hindus organised municipal commissions for civic life and built hospitals for the sick and wounded at least three hundred years before the Christian Era. The Hindus had *parishats*, i.e., academies or clubs for philosophical and scientific investigations in every age of their history. They established universities for the advancement of learning and propagation of culture." They had *Sanghams* or academies for passing literary works.

Speaking of Buddha, our author points out that "the confederacy of the Vajjians looked up to him as adviser on critical occasions in national politics. Nor were the monks of Sakhya mere meditators. They were, as a rule, energists. Quietism or non-action is not the principle on which his *Sangha* was organised. The first hospitals in the world were built by his disciples. * * * Schools, academies and rest-houses were the handiwork of the Sakhyan monks." Similarly "Asoka's cares and efforts were thoroughly humanistic. * * * He was the keenest of internationalists." * * * "In India the state was never theocratic. No religion dominated the policy of governments. The statecraft was not regulated by the personal faith of the rulers. * * * The real Bible of the Hindu State was * * * to be found * * * in *Niti-Śāstra*." * * * "Within about a century after Sakhya's death Chandragupta Maurya founded his Empire. * * * There is not any trace of Sakhyan teachings in his finance minister Kautilya's *Artha Śāstra*, the code according to which the empire is said to have been consolidated." Thus too, *Sukra Niti-Śāstra* is devoid of theological bias. The *Sukra* authors declare "other sciences have, for their subject-matter, certain limited interests of mankind; but the *Niti-Śāstra* is, on the contrary, *sarvopajivaka*, i.e., helpful to all interests of man, a pivot of the social order."

As pointed out by the author, "it is in and through the positive, the secular and the material that the transcendental,

the spiritual, the metaphysical have been allowed to display themselves in Indian Culture-history. The *Upaniṣads*, the *Vedānta* and the *Gītā* were not the works of imbeciles and weaklings". "On the contrary, the *Gītā* is the philosophy of duty and *niṣkāma karma*, of work for its own sake, of the "categorical imperative". It is a message of hope to suffering humanity. * * * "The ideal Hindu king (therefore) protected himself, but not through fear; followed the dictates of duty, but not through remorse; realised revenues, but not through greed; and enjoyed happiness, but not through attachment." And the adoption of this ideal has produced a long galaxy of distinguished monarchs from ancient days to Shivaji and Ranjit Singh in independent India and to Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV whose reign in Mysore is universally acclaimed as Ramarājyā of to-day.

The Hindus clearly realised the necessity for political organisation. The necessity is established by them through the doctrine of *matsya-nyāya* or the logic based on the fish. Says the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti Parva*, LXVII, 16-17, LXVIII, 11-12) in the absence of a ruler "the strong would devour the weak like fishes in water". Cf. also *Manu Samhita* (VII, 20), the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ayōdhyakāṇḍa*, LXVII, 31), *Matsya Purāṇa* (CCXXV, 9), and *Artha Śāstra*, (I, 4) and *Kamandaka Nīti Śāstra* (II, 40). And "enjoyment of wealth and wives is impossible" (*Śānti Parva*, LXVII, 1-3, 12-15). Neither *mamatvam* (mine-ness, property rights) nor *Dharma* (law, justice) can subsist then. And *Danda* (punishment, sanction) is described as the necessary attribute of the sovereign. And the misuse of *Danda* leads to the fall of the ruler (*Kamandaka*, II, 39, and *Manu* VII, 28-30).

Hindu theory of politics did not end with a definition of sovereignty or description of a state, nor even with the description of the *Samrat* or *Cakravartin*—the conception of the universal state. Our author points also that it is very clear on the need for self-rule, *Svarājya*, *A-paradhinatva*. Says *Sukra-Nīti* "Great misery comes of dependence on others. There is no greater happiness than that from self-rule"

(III, 646). And according to Kautilya, under such dependence "the country is not treated as one's own land, it is impoverished, its wealth carried away, or it is treated as a commercial article."

In one sentence, there is ample evidence to say that while the Hindus emphasised that "man does not live by bread alone", they fully realised that *he cannot live without bread either*.

We believe we have abstracted enough from this valuable work to kindle interest in it. The thoroughness exhibited in the exposition of Hindu political theory as evidenced in the foregoing paragraphs characterises the author's treatment of Hindu literature, fine arts, industry and trade. We commend the book to all students of Indian Culture-history.

A. V. R.

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THE MONETARY ARRANGEMENTS OF
THE MYSORE SULTANATE

BY R. N. SALETORÉ, M.A.

“ All praise and glory be to the most high God, who breathing life into a handful of clay, which was before inanimate, gave it the form of man ; and who has raised some chosen individuals (of the species) to rank and power, riches and rule, in order that they might administer to the feeble, the helpless and the destitute, and promote the welfare of their people.”

—*Tippu Sultan, Commercial Regulations*, VI. i.

HYDER ALI usurped a vast kingdom which included the major parts of the modern districts of Mysore, Hassan, Kadur, Tumkur, Bangalore, Salem, Coimbatore, Madura as far as Dindigul. To these Hyder added 24 forts in several places.¹

From this extensive realm extending up to the Kṛṣṇa, he was deriving an income of one crore and ten lakhs of *varahās*, while during the *Woḍeyārs* the province of Mysore yielded only forty lakhs, and this earned for him the tilte of *mahā-maṇḍalādhipati*.²

The Character of Hyder

The author of the *Hyder Nāma* thought, as an administrator, Hyder “ displayed the qualities of skill, courage, mercy,

¹ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1930, Appendix A, pp. 103-4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

charity, discipline, impartiality and wisdom as none had or will show. A man equal to him there never was, nor is, nor will be."³ Though these words are rather enthusiastic, yet it must be remembered they come from a Hindu officer who has been described as a "true historian and not, in any sense, an apologist or eulogist"⁴. There are good grounds for making such a defence, especially if we compare this estimate of Hyder with the views of Wilks regarding Hyder. This ruler seems to have had Kande Rao, Chinneia (Channaya?), Ali Khan, Sellahyiet Khan, both *Navāyets*, Meer Sadik, as his finance ministers, who became the successive victims of his wild policy of imprisonment, torture and extortion, carried out without "the smallest compunction"⁵. This was probably quite true if we look at the moral aspect of Hyder's character. As the author of the *Hyder Nāma* would have it, Hyder's forcible capture of beautiful women, wherever they could be found, his treachery and his habit of teasing a person "summarily (without proper inquiry) were his principal defects, owing to which, like a blot of ink destroying a thousand paintings" the reign of Hyder did not last long⁶ (*sāvira cittara ondu masi nungidante*).

Financial Reforms

Still Hyder was out for a change in the administration of finance. Though he retained in the district of Seringapatam the old system of weights and measures prevailing from the time of Cikkadeva Rāja Woḍeyār, in Nagara, he introduced a new scheme and the *Hydari varahās*, retaining the *Ṣāira* figure on the obverse which appeared on the gold pieces of Sivappa Nāyaka of Kelaḍi. He opened a grand bazaar near Seringapatam called *Ganjam Sahr*.⁷ Amalgamating the departments of Finance and Police, says Wilks, "he composed a special commission for the investigation of embezzlements,

³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁵ Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, II, p. 199.

⁶ *M.A.R.*, *op.cit.*, p. 102.

⁷ *M.A.R.*, 1930, p. 101.

which was not only successful in the detection of actual frauds, but in establishing apparent proof of malversations which never existed".⁸

Sources of Revenue

It is during Hyder's well-known son Tippu Sultan's reign that a more complete idea of the monetary arrangements of the Mysore Sultanate can be obtained. Tippu had several sources of revenue and he seems to have been especially keen on certain dues. "The established *Paiscush*" was one of these and writing about this tribute to Mohamad Ghyas, he observed: "Let him (*Rao Rasīā*) pay up the arrears of *Paiscush* due to us. We will then send the necessary order to our commander for raising the siege of Nargund".⁹ He again demanded the arrears of these dues after raising the siege from this *zemindār* of Nargund.¹⁰ Tippu appears to have received large sums from *jāgirs* which he farmed out to *mutsuiddies* or revenue officers like Baboo Rao Rām Rao and he would not brook any delay in the payment of these amounts.¹¹ Revenue from his own districts was another of his sources of income (*kīṣṭ*) to recover which he sometimes had to employ the military, for example, in the case of the *Darōgha* of Gooty. This *kīṣṭ* seems to have been recovered thrice and Chisty Yar Khan was specially requested as per his "written engagement" to discharge the whole of the third *kīṣṭ* within the period of a month, paying the amount thereof into the treasury.¹² Extortion was another of his means, like that of his father, of accumulating wealth. He advised Kamruddin Khan thus: "Let a capitulation be granted to the besieged, allowing them to depart with their arms and

⁸ Wilks, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

⁹ Kirkpatrick, William, *Select Letters of Tippu Sultan*, XV, p. 27.

Note: The Roman figures in the Footnotes refer to the letters of Tippu Sultan in Kirkpatrick's edition.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 41.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 29-30.

¹² *Ibid.*, LXIII, pp. 83-84.

their accoutrements. Kala Pundit, with his family and kindred and the principal bankers, must also be induced by engagements, to descend from the fort, upon doing which they are to be placed under a guard, and ten lakhs of pagodas, to be demanded of them, for ravages committed in our territories".¹³ Sometimes whenever any of his *mutasuddies* of the '*Tōsch-khāne*' died, guards were immediately placed over his properties which were eventually appropriated to the State. So he wrote once: "You and others (certain officials) represented to us that this man possessed property to the amount of a lakh of pagodas. Let the same be sought after and discovered and the whole be brought to the account of the *Sircār*".¹⁴ Looting during battle was another channel of revenue. No wonder he wrote: "You must now give the most peremptory order to the *Risāldārs* of cavalry to go forth on separate parties and exert themselves properly to make prize of the enemy's horses; the present being a favourable opportunity for getting together a great number of horses".¹⁵ He was shrewd enough to have foresight in the import and export of various goods. Meer Kasim, his commercial consul at Muscat, was thus advised: "Keep them (cinnamon, sandalwood, pepper, etc.) till they become dear, and will yield a good profit and then sell them".¹⁶ He desired to procure pearls from Pegu through his agents at "as cheap a price as possible".¹⁷

Items of Expenditure

The revenues of Tipu were chiefly expended on the maintenance of his armies, his court and his administration. In this connection he sometimes manipulated with the currency and ordered to "fix the value of the pagoda at one *fanam* above the market-price; or exchange and issue it at that rate, to the servants of the State".¹⁸ The actual payment of his

¹³ *Ibid.*, LXIX, p. 89.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, CXIV, p. 145.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, p. 50.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, CLVI, p. 187.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, CCXI, p. 246.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 14-15.

troops seems to have been made monthly and though it was also in arrears for months even advances were made.¹⁹ In cases of the *Piādēhs* of his government from the adjacent *tālūkās* a monthly allowance of ten *fanams* per man was ordered.²⁰ Rewards were granted sometimes: "five rupees to every man of our own people, bringing in the head of a *Piādēh* belonging to the rebel *Polygār*, and let the same reward be granted for every prisoner brought in alive".²¹ Compensation was granted for the wounded in battle; and he commanded once: "let the wounded receive the compensation fixed by our regulations".²² It is interesting to see how the cost of arms purchased for the *Piādēhs* was recovered. "Direct the *Killedār*," he ordered once, "to bring arms for them and let the price of the same be deducted, by instalments from their pay."²³ He submitted once to Shah Alam, the Emperor of Delhi, 120 gold mohurs as "*nuzr*".²⁴

The civil and military necessities of his State were not neglected. He suggested to Meer Kasim, his commercial consul at Muscat: "Propose to the merchants of Muscat (and get the *Imaum*—sovereign—to issue orders to the same effect) to bring hither on the empty *Dingies* such horses as they may have for sale; which being sold to us, the owners can carry back the produce in rice".²⁵ On the *Dusserāh* Day he directed Mohamad Ghyas and Nur Mohamad Khan "to distribute among the Hindus composing your escort, a goat to every ten men; and on the anniversary of the festival of the *Zilhijjah* the like number of goats among the Musalmans of your party".²⁶ This action of the Sultan reveals his sense of equity towards his subjects. This can be noticed again: "Let the grain

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, CCCLII, pp. 393-94.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, LXI, p. 82.

²¹ *Ibid.*, CXIX, p. 156.

²² *Ibid.*, CCLXIX, p. 298.

²³ *Ibid.*, CCCLXXXVII, p. 420.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, LXXI, p. 91.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, CX XVI, p. 162.

furnished by such of the ryots as have submitted to your authority be paid for".²⁷ In making similar transactions he found out that it paid to conciliate merchants. Therefore he addressed Khaja Sêth and other merchants as follows: "We highly approve of your intention (to trade under English or Portuguese colours) and desire you will repair in the utmost confidence with your merchandise, either to the port of Mangalore or to the port of Calicut; where landing your goods, you shall in the first instance, supply us at a fair price, with such articles as we may want, after which you shall be at liberty to sell the remaining at your pleasure, and to take your departure when you like".²⁸

Economy in Expenditure

Tippu Sultan himself was a personality of simple habits and it is no wonder that he always set his hands against avoidable expenditure. His court historian, Mir Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani, has recorded his natural simplicity: "He was not, however, lavish or expensive in any of his habits or amusements, not even in his dress".²⁹ It is simply unnatural to expect such a man to be extravagant and his sense of economy may sometimes be said to verge on parsimony. When Shah Noorullah proposed to purchase wax candles, the Sultan characteristically inquired: "Where can be the necessity for so many wax candles? Get the *Aumil* to deliver what number may be really requisite".³⁰ A ruler with such an attitude towards economy would hardly brook any extravagance. So when old Mohyuddin Ali Khan resumed his former passion for dancing, which was repugnant to his master, he burst out to Ghulam Ghuzunfur: "This is a sign (or proof) of superfluous wealth. But wherefore have you remained silent on this occasion, and why have you not forbidden his pursuit of this amusement?"³¹ Again when Meer Kasim, the *Darôgha* at

²⁷ *Ibid.*, CXXVIII, p. 163.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, CLXIII, p. 192.

²⁹ Miles, *The History of the Reign of Tippu Sultan* (trs.), p. 282.

³⁰ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, CLXXVII, p. 212.

³¹ *Ibid.*, CCCCVI, p. 453.

Muscat, sent him a sealed packet of pearls, Tippu remarked: "The pearls you have sent have, on the whole, been purchased at a very high price".³² He advised his agent thus: "You must not sell them (sandalwood) at any other (*i.e.*, not at less) prices than these (stipulated). If you should have to keep them even for a year or two, it will not signify. Take care that you buy your sulphur and copper cheaply".³³

Means of Remitting Specie

It is therefore interesting to find out how all this wealth of which he was so careful was transmitted from place to place. Addressing two officers of the *Regular Ahmedy* Tippu remarked: "Your account of receipts and disbursements is duly arrived. A remittance will be made to you for defraying the expenses of your mission".³⁴ These remittances were made through the bills of exchange. When sending such a bill to Mohan Chund and Sujan Rae, Tippu wrote: "A bill of exchange for one thousand rupees is sent herewith. Out of the amount (when realised) you are to take for yourself, sixteen months arrears of wages, at thirty rupees per month and a twelve months wages, at the same rate in advance, being three hundred and sixty rupees".³⁵ The amounts due to Tippu in distant places were to be made over to his bankers. To the Nawab of Shanoor Tippu ordered: "You must, therefore, agreeably to your former promises, speedily pay the amount into the hands of the bankers, and despatch the latter to us".³⁶ Actual specie was dispatched under a strong military escort, owing to obvious dangers. Referring to a large sum so sent, he warned his officer: "This money is arrived at Dharwar whither you must send an escort to bring it to you".³⁷ The amounts so transferred were not small, for in

³² *Ibid.*, CC, p. 231.

³³ *Ibid.*, CLXXII, p. 209.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XLIV, p. 63.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, LXXIII, p. 100.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, LXXVIII, p. 106.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, CX, p. 142.

an epistle he says: that he had sent "a further supply of twenty thousand pagodas".³⁸

Whenever he was in camp and was short of funds, he sent orders for payment to the nearest treasury. He once communicated thus, to one of his officers: "At present we have taken up our residence, with a small retinue at Bangalore; we are consequently unable to supply you from hence, but have sent the necessary orders to our treasury at Seringapatam".³⁹ It is also possible that Tippu had his own bankers, for he informed Hakéem, Khan of Shanoor: "We desire you will also raise the remaining eight lakhs of rupees, and transmit the amount in bankers' bills, by the hands of our bankers whom we wish you to send back to us immediately".⁴⁰

Financial Administration

That Tippu Sultan was keen on maintaining an efficient financial administration there is little doubt. When Mirza Mahomed Ali, Superintendent of Elephant Stables, at Nagar, complained that the *muṣuddies* or accountants attached to his staff had "adopted habits of ease and of lounging in Nagar with the result that fifteen days were consumed in preparing the accounts of one", this caused Tippu the "utmost surprise". Therefore he commanded that "whenever the *muṣuddies* belonging to your department cease to yield you the proper obedience, you must give them a severe flogging; and making them prepare, with the greatest dispatch, the list and other papers required by our former orders, transmit the same duly to the Presence".⁴¹

Tippu wanted to root out bribery. When he came to know Tumana Naikwary, the Warden of the Kurbanath Pass, was receiving bribes and permitting people to proceed to the Payen Ghaut, he instructed that there should be stationed "two respectable and sensible men, with some trustworthy

³⁸ *Ibid.*, CXIII pp. 144-45.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, CIX, p. 141.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, CL, pp. 183-84.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 2.

Piādēhs (irregular foot-soldiers) in one of the forts commanding this pass for their proper care and regulation". This guard had to be relieved every three months.⁴² On hearing that the pay of some soldiers at Gurrameondah, who had died, was misappropriated by their officers, he desired that a proper inquiry should be made "very particularly into this transaction, and having ascertained the time the aforesaid officers have been in possession (or receipt) of this money, make them refund the same."⁴³ The embezzlement of large sums was severely dealt with. He instructed the Chief of Shanoor thus: "With regard to the malversations (or embezzlements) to the extent of twenty-six lakhs of rupees, which have been established against the minister, etc., of that friend, you must examine into the account of the same, and enforcing payment thereof, by flogging and other rigorous means, transmit to us bankers' acceptances for the amount."⁴⁴ Flogging was followed by dismissal. Certain *Risāldārs*, who had received bribes, were to be "divested of their commands", and confronted with their accusers they were obliged to refund to the *Sircār* the amounts they corruptly obtained. Then they were to be kept under restraint, this matter was to be reported to him and he would send men to fill up their vacancies.⁴⁵

Therefore he was keen on the proper maintenance of accounts. Whenever an officer was suspected of 'malversations' he was sent to a superior officer with his account books for the necessary scrutiny.⁴⁶ It is clear that he insisted on the submission of accounts. He communicated thus to Mohamad Ghyas, of the *Regular Ahmedy Corps*: "Your account of receipts and disbursements is duly arrived. A reminder will, hereafter, be made to you, for defraying the expenses of your mission."⁴⁶ Together with this statement

⁴² *Ibid.*, XII, p. 24.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, LXIV, p. 84.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, CCXXVIII, p. 260.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, LXXXIV, p. 113.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, LIV, p. 74.

was sent a muster-roll of the provincial staff. Burhanuddeen was ordered: "Muster returns of the whole of the troops under your command, whether cavalry, regular or infantry, or other description, as well as a statement of receipts and disbursements, must be sent to us."⁴⁷ It is possible to know how these musters were prepared. To Burhanuddeen, Tippu suggested that the *Bakshi* of his cavalry was to "take a muster of the *Daisy's* cavalry in the presence of the *Daisy's* manager."⁴⁸ There was evidently a gradation in the cadre of these *Bakshis* for mention is made of the 'first *Bakshi*'.⁴⁹ Similarly Tippu demanded detailed accounts of the 'magazines and artillery'.⁵⁰

Even in ordinary transaction receipts were required. Mah. Mirza Khan was thus informed: "Receipts for the same (gram) under your seal and signature, must be regularly given by you to the aforesaid *mutisuddies*, who will deliver them to their respective principals".⁵¹ A certain *dalāl* (broker) had demanded payment of two hundred and sixty rupees advanced by him to another, besides another sum similarly advanced, and Meer Kasim in this connection had to pay this amount and obtain a receipt.⁵² Even in the case of larger sums this principle was not forgotten. When one lakh of *pagôḍās* was dispatched to Narsayya, Dewan of Nagur, on account of annual *paiscush*, the Nawab of Shanoor was requested to obtain "his receipt for the same".⁵³ This conception of obtaining receipts was so keen in Tippu that he ordered the Dewan of Zuferābād, that there was no necessity for them "consigning the amount payable to the soldiers to the *Killedārs* in order to be distributed by him. If he did so, he would be punished in the manner specified in the *Hukum-*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, LX, p. 81.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, CLXIX, p. 200.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, CCCLXXXII, p. 432.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, CLXIX, p. 200.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, QXIX, p. 155.

⁵² *Ibid.*, CC, p. 233.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, CII, p. 184.

Nāmek which was always sent to the heads of the departments of State.⁵⁴

The Revenue Department

Tippu had under him an organised Revenue Department, which he styled as the *Athouny*. This was certainly not the "intelligence department" as guessed by Kirkpatrick⁵⁴ but the ancient Karnāṭaka institution of the *Athavaṇe*.⁵⁵ No mention is made of this department in the *Hyder Nāma* but it is quite possible that it existed during Hyder's time too as he continued many of the old departments familiar to Karnāṭaka administration. The receipts and disbursements of this Revenue Department were strictly inspected and a report submitted to Tippu Sultan who always tried to maintain its efficiency. Turbiyat Ali Khan explained to him that the circumstances of his inspecting the accounts of the receipts and issues of the *Athouny* and examining them justly according to rules prescribed had rendered his interference extremely disagreeable to that department and that this department had therefore misrepresented the whole situation. Tippu consequently gave him this advice: "Whenever, by means of a reference to the regulations, any saving or deduction can be fairly made in the receipts and issues of the *Athouny*, you must fearlessly carry the same into effect."⁵⁶ The consequence must have resulted in a systematic scrutiny of the *Athouny* accounts.

Wilks gives further information about this department of Revenue: "The administration of the revenue in Mysore is committed, under the control of three principal *Soubadārs*, to *Aumils* presiding over districts, sufficiently limited in extent to admit a diligent personal inspection of the whole of their charge; the number of these districts has varied as convenience seemed to require from 116 to 120...and these variations are marked in the annexed accounts of the gross revenue for

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, CCCCXXVII, p. 469.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, CCCXXI, p. 255.

several years. Their salaries are fixed at a rate which the *Dêwân* considers to be adequate and it is augmented on their good conduct."⁵⁷

The *Tōsekhāneh* or the Treasury

The most important establishment in the department of revenue was the *Tōsekhāneh* which existed since the times of Hyder⁵⁸ and it was divided into two sections *nuggdi* and *jinsi*—the cash and stores sections of the Treasury.⁵⁹ Every treasury, in the capital and in the provinces was strongly guarded. Burhanuddeen was instructed thus: "you must affix both the seal of the *Daisye* and your own to the *Tōsekhāneh* and other storehouses of the *Daisye*, as well as on all such places as contain money or goods in deposit."

The cash department of the treasury contained gold, silver and valuables like elephants' 'teeth' which were kept in the 'Ivory Department'. Shumsuddeen was reminded that in the *Tōsekhāneh* there was gold and silver to the tune of several lakhs which were utilised for coining gold mohurs, *pagôlās* and other coins.⁶⁰ Besides this Treasury Office, there was a 'Jewel Office' where probably the royal jewellery was kept and the workshops of goldsmiths maintained.⁶¹ Irregular attendance in these shops was punished with "scourges" in order to complete the work of the jewels in hand.⁶² Whenever any jewels were to be made the Treasurer had to supply to the goldsmiths' workshops with the necessary gold and silver and receipts were to be obtained "either on account of the collections or from the *Surrāps* (shroffs=money-changers) superintending the *Dukāns* (or retail warehouse) of the *Sircār*."⁶³

⁵⁷ Wilks, *Report on the Interior Administration*, Reserves and Expenditure of the Government of Mysore, 1799, p. 33.

⁵⁸ *M.A.R.*, 1930, p. 105, Appendix B.

⁵⁹ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, CLXXV, p. 220.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, CCCCXVI, p. 460.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* Note: This "Jewel Office" during Hyder's time was known as *Jauchirakhāna*. *M.A.R.*, 1930, Appendix B., p. 105.

⁶² *Ibid.*, CCCLIV, p. 395.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, CCCCXVI, p. 460.

There was also the mint, where the coins were struck and it was another storehouse of the wealth of the country.

Tippu Sultan was systematic in his monetary arrangements. He received, for example, from the *Darôghas* of the treasury of Seringapatam a statement of the quantities of gold and silver in the Treasury, together with an account of receipts and balances. He seems to have set apart certain sums for the construction of public works, in the district treasuries. He once commanded these *Darôghas* to keep in such coffers "*hyderies*, half rupees and quarter rupees as were in the treasury or the mint, or might come in with the collections from the country". Then he ordered them to affix a label on such coffers with these words: "In this chest are deposited the rupees composing the *Nuzr* to be appropriated to the construction of an aqueduct (from the Euphrates) to the sepulchre of the holy Ali."⁶⁴

The Treasury was managed by the *Mutsuddies* (accountants) and the *Sherestedārs* (revenue accountants) who survive even to-day in South Kanara. Always keen on efficiency Tippu made an excellent retrenchment officer and he therefore instructed Muhamad Ushraf who wanted one more clerk: "a separate *mut suddi* for keeping the accounts of the *Tōsekhāneh* is unnecessary and that this duty is to be performed by one of the numerous *Sherestedārs* of the Muhals."⁶⁵ Tippu's ideal of a *Darôgha* can be seen in these words addressed to Chisty Yar Khan: "You will use your utmost exertions to promote the interest of the *Sircār*, the prosperity of your taluk and the increase of its revenue, and especially that you will, according to your written engagement, discharge the whole of the third *kist* within the period of a month, paying the amount into our treasury." These amounts were to be utilised only for the specified projects and for no other purpose.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, CCCC, p. 447.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, CCCXCVI, p. 443.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, LXIII, p. 83-4.

The Administration of the Treasury

Wilks noticed the operation of both these departments of the Treasury and Revenue. "The operation of the first (Treasury and Finance) department is extremely simple. Each district has its chief *Golar*, who keeps the key of the treasury; the *Sherestedār* has the account, the *Aumil* affixes his seal, and the Treasury cannot be opened except in the presence of these persons. The *Scrāff* examines the coins received on account of the revenue, affixes his seal to the bags of treasure dispatched to the General Treasury, and is responsible for all deficiencies in the quality of the coin.

"A similar process, sanctioned by the sealed order of the *Dēwān*, attends the disbursement of cash at the General Treasury: and the accounts are kept in the same style of real accuracy and apparent confusion, which is usual in other parts of India.

"The Government having hitherto been so happy as not to anticipate its revenues and declining on grounds of religious prejudice to receive an interest for money, is unacquainted with those complicated operations of finance which form so difficult a study under the Governments of Europe."⁶⁷ These last remarks of Wilks are characteristic of this Westerner who looked at Eastern institutions with a consciousness of superiority and compared them with 'European systems. The result has been disastrous.

Patronage of Commerce

Despite the deficiencies of Tipu as a financier, it must be conceded that he was extremely eager to develop the possibilities of both inland and foreign commerce. One of his first plans therefore in this direction was to remit duties whenever he found it convenient. He proclaimed to all the actual and future *Aumils* of all his ports that he had remitted four-tenths ($\frac{4}{10}$) of the duties on all goods bought and sold "by the refuge of commerce, Mao Saith, son of Rao Seth, *Dullāl* of Muscat". Therefore the *Aumils* were instructed not to

⁶⁷ Wilks, *Report on the Interior Administration*, pp. 19-20.

demand from the agents of this *Dullāl* only six-tenths ($\frac{6}{10}$) of the duty.⁶⁸

Some of these duties can also be known. There was an anchorage duty levied at the rate of forty rupees per '*Dingy*'. The *Imaum* of Muscat, levying a duty of only ten per cent on the goods of all merchants, charged only six per cent on the ships of Tipu and this Sultan consented to impose a reciprocal duty on the ships from Muscat. He further consented that his *Gumāsthes* (agents) would allow, as formerly, to "purchase without let or hindrance, from the people of the country, such further quantities of the same article as they may require."⁶⁹ He even agreed to approach the neighbouring kings through Mao Saith to establish factories as he proposed at fort Mundry (Mandvi?) in Kutch and at Jāmnagar. He also remitted half the amount of the duties hitherto levied in his ports on the Muscat ships and *dows*. He forbade the sale of rice to any merchants coming from either Portuguese, English or similar foreign ports, as these, owing to the scarcity of grain in their own countries, had adopted "the contrivance of sending other merchants, in the character of Muscat with money", for purchasing rice and other articles, at his ports. Tipu therefore sent directions to his port officers that none should be considered Muscat merchants unless they produced "a passport or certificate under the seal and signature of the superintendent" of his factory, probably at Seringapatam, and that no fees were to be levied for such passports.⁷⁰

Favour to Foreign Merchants

Tipu generally tried to favour alien merchants. He once requested the Governor of Pondicherry to give a letter of authority to Bouparies (*vyāpāries*) whom he dispatched into the dominions of Tipu so that the *Tālukdar* of Selim as soon as he saw these letters written in "*Urury* or *Telingy*" would permit them to proceed, without all the trouble which

⁶⁸ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, CCIV, p. 238.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, CCVI, p. 230.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, CCVII, pp. 241-42.

they had experienced before. This was because Tippu had discovered that recently "certain strangers" entered his territories where they not only borrowed money with the ryots and with others but they were found to be guilty of various unwarrantable practices.⁷¹ Not only did he invite the merchants of Muscat, Ponducherry, but he even extended his concessions to some American traders. He informed Yakub and his Armenian commercial friends: "The duties upon such goods, as you may import into our dominions, are without exception hereby remitted. Bring, therefore, with entire confidence to our ports, and into our kingdom, either by sea or land (as you may think proper) your silk stuffs and other merchandise, and there freely buy and sell. Wherever you may choose to bring your goods, there a place shall be assigned for your residence: and if you should, at any time be in want of workmen or labourers, the same shall be furnished to you on hire, by our *Talukdars*."⁷²

Establishment of Factories

Hyder had established factories in foreign countries where he sold through his *Darōgha* or *Naibs*, sandalwood, black pepper, cardamoms and other spices. The accounts of all sales and purchases of each factory were to be submitted to the respective *Aumils* under whom they were placed.⁷³ Tippu desired to establish, in all 17 such factories, under *Naibs* who were to purchase and send to him "all the rare and curious productions of those countries, which, on arriving here, are to be sold, on account or for our benefit". A *vice-versa* policy was to be followed regarding the rarities of his own kingdom.

These *Naibs* were given specific instructions:

I. The *Naib* (trade-agent) was authorised to expend such sums as appeared necessary and proper to him for the purpose of establishing those factories.

II. These agents, when established in his own country, in those places where superior 'silken stuffs' were manufactured,

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 35.

⁷² *Ibid.*, CCCCXV, p. 497.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, CC, p. 232.

were to make 'economical contracts' to export to the places where they were in demand.⁷⁴

III. A system of individual deposits for commercial enterprises was to be on the following lines:

<i>Amount Deposited</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Terms of Profit</i>
1. 5 to 500 <i>Imaumies</i> (Tippu's substitutes for rupees)	end of one year	Together with the principal a profit or increase of half an <i>Imaumi</i> on every <i>Imaumi</i> so deposited or advanced.
2. 500 to 5000	do.	do. a quarter of an <i>Imaumi</i> .
3. Sums exceeding 5000	do.	12 <i>Imaumies</i> of every hundred <i>Imaumies</i> of the principal. ⁷⁵

The refund of such deposits, if desired, was to be granted 'immediately' and a receipt taken and heirs, on the death of a principal depositor, on producing the certificates bearing the seal of the *Sircār* granted by the *Mulikut Tujar* Department, were entitled to the due principal and profit "without demur or delay".⁷⁶ This clear evidence in Tippu's own documents shows that the Sultan himself was in favour of receiving interest, although Wilks so confidently asserts that no interest was levied in the Mysore State during Tippu's reign.

Agricultural Policy

Tippu Sultan did not neglect to pay any attention to agriculture, although it was in his own way. One of his inscriptions issued in 1797 A.D. is as follows: 'excepting land formerly cultivated, whoever cultivates waste land (*i.e.*, under this channel of the Kaveri) will pay to the God-given Government *three parts of the produce* the same as other cultivators, but the fourth part will be remitted in the way of God. Whoever cultivates new land will hold it as long as earth and sky endure and it will be confirmed to his posterity.'⁷⁷ From this it is evident

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Appendix E, V, p. xliii.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, E, VI, p. xliiv.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, p. xlv.

⁷⁷ E.C., III, Pt. I, *My*, 54, p. 5.

that he claimed threefourths of the produce of irrigated land and asserted a title over the whole of it. This is quite typical of this despot, who considered himself chosen by God to "administer to the feeble, the helpless and the destitute and promote the welfare" of his people! This inscription also reveals that waste land once cultivated became the property of the cultivator for life and for generations, obviously whenever Tippu chose to give it. It is strange how the poor people put up with all his despotism, but he was ever resourceful to face any emergency, although the explanation of his own actions was not always clear. Raja Ram Chunder informed him that the ryots of the Great Balapoor District had fled away on account of the increase of six or seven hundred *pagodas*, owing to the "fixation of the royal *pagoda* at twelve *Cantarai fanams*". But Tippu could hardly understand the mentality of the peasants at all for he could scarcely realise their miseries. "Where is the hardship," he demanded, "or difficulty in a ryot (or renter, having) to pay an additional *fanam* or two upon his rent which is that can fall upon the individual, when the tax (complained of) is divided among the whole?"⁷⁸

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE RĀMĀYANA

BY PROF. P. C. DHARMA, M.A.

SECTION III

TOILETTE

Toilette of the Hair

CONSIDERABLE attention was paid in the period of the *Rāmāyana* both by men and women to their personal appearance. The men of the epic age used to have a knot of hair (*Śikhā*) on the top of their head, after shaving the front and the back. Mārica in describing Rāma (III-38-13) stated he had a knot of hair (*Śikhā*) when young. Therefore Rāma must have had a tuft like the modern Hindus on the crown of his head. He could not have cropped his head.¹ The Kṣatriyas as Dvijas, had to wear the knot of hair (*Śikhā*) on the top of the head. The Kṣatriya boys used to have side-locks of hair round the ears known as *Kākapakṣa*. These side-locks were shaved off when the boys became older, probably before marriage. When Viśvāmitra took with him the boys Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, from Ayodhyā, they were 16 years old (I-20-2) and they had side-locks (I-19-8 and I-22-7) as they were unmarried. Mārica saw them wearing *Śikhā*. Moustaches must have been commonly worn as barbers are called *Śmasru vardhaka*.

The Brahman Ascetics and hermits like Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha wore matted locks. The other Dvijas might be presumed to have worn the *Śikhā* (top-knot) as at present.

The Vānaras and the Brahma-Rākṣasas like Vibhīṣaṇa must have worn their hair like Bharata, Rāma, etc. Sugriva

¹ Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata could not have cropped their hair as they are described as converting their hair into matted locks or *Jatā*, by smearing the juice of the Banyan tree (II-52-68 and II-100-1). As Rāma had a *Śikhā* (a knot of hair on the top of the head) before leaving for the forest we can certainly presume that the Āryans wore their hair like the present-day Hindus till about twenty years ago.

⁷⁸ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, CCCXC, p. 439.

and Vibhīṣaṇa are described as being attended to by the barbers at Nandigrāma before Rāma was shaved (VI-31-14). Rāvaṇa could not have cropped the hair. He was wearing a *Śikhā* when abducting Sītā (III-46-3). Vibhīṣaṇa begged the councillors in the War Council, to save Rāvaṇa before he was dragged by the hair by the enemies (VI-14-19). The ceremony attending the first shaving was known as *Caula*. Shaving was effected by razors (*Kṣura*). One finds frequent references to *Kṣura* or razor and *Kṣura Dhāra* (razor edge). Anything very sharp was often compared to the razor blade. Therefore the razor must have been of well tempered steel. Shaving was done by professional barbers with razors. The barbers who shaved Rāma when he returned to Ayodhyā after his exile, are said to have been very clever and deft of hand. The barbers also clipped his moustaches (VI-131-13).

The Rākṣasas proper—not Rāvaṇa's relations who were Brahma-Rākṣasas—probably wore their long hair knotted. They are described as running with loosened and scattered hair from the field of battle (Viprakirṇa, Śīroruhāḥ and Mukta-keśāḥ) (VI-52-15 and VI-56-33).

Toilette of the Hair of Women

The women used to part their hair in the middle of the head,—(the parting line right in the middle of the crown of the head was known as *Simanta*),—comb the two halves separately, then braid the hair and let it loosely hang down (V-15-24). Flowers were worn on the head (V-18-17, II-95A-31 and II-93-13).

Cleaning of the Teeth

Tooth brushes were certainly in use. They were known as *Danta Dhāvana* (*Amsūmataḥ*) (II-91-74). The tooth brushes were made of twigs of various trees. One end of the twig must have been chewed and flattened and converted into a brush.²

² Such brushes are used even to the present day. The villagers of Southern India use various kinds of twigs in this way for cleaning the teeth.

Massage and Bathing

Before bathing people used to be rubbed with oil and massaged. The massage with oil was called *Udvarthanam* or *Urchādanam* (II-91-53). *Samvāhanam* was massaging, though it was sometimes confined to the pressing of the feet (II-91-53).

For removing the oil from the body, *Kalka* or powdered pulses such as chick-pea or green gram were used. Even at the present day, people in South India use the flour of the chick-pea or green gram (varieties of pulses, for rubbing on the oily body to remove the oil). The flour has a cleansing action (II-91-73). Various decoctions such as that of dried gooseberry, were also in use for the purpose (II-91-73). The use of such decoctions prevails even now in Southern India.

Maids Trained as Bath Attendants

The shampooing, bathing, drying, etc., of the bodies of men were carried out by maids in those days. Neither the men nor the maids seemed to have felt any impropriety. Bhāradvāja supplied eight such female attendants to every soldier of Bharata during his entertainment (II-91-52). Vibhīṣaṇa offered to Rāma, after the death of Rāvaṇa, the services of beautiful maid-servants, well taught, and skilled in the art of toilette, to bathe him in the customary fashion (VI-124-3). Lakṣmaṇa met a whole bevy of young and beautiful maidens for performing personal services in the harem of Sugriva (IV-33-2 ff). Handsome maids were in attendance on Rāma (II-42-15 and VI-21-3) and Rāvaṇa (V-10-20). In Daśaratha's palace, on the day of his death, the young maidens who, ignorant of his death, waited early morning with the usual articles of toilette, are described as *Paryupasthāna kovidāḥ* and *Snāna śikṣajñā*, i.e., knowing the details of the art according to tradition (II-65-8, etc.). The water for bathing was scented with sandal.

Evidently the art of bathing people was regularly taught to young maid-servants. After bathing, people used to adorn themselves with ornaments and clothing, rub sandal and other fragrant pastes and unguents on their body and arms, and wear flowers. The use of sandal and unguents—*Raktacandana*

and *Aṅga-rāga*—was very popular, with both men and women (II-33-9 and II-16-9). The use of Collyrium (*Añjana*) for blackening the eyelashes was common both amongst men and women (II-91-76). The maid-servants selected for attendance on the princes for toilette purposes, were young, beautiful and well-dressed and decked (V-10-20 and VI-21-3).

Headwear

Most men, probably aristocrats, seem to have worn a coronet on their head (like Rāvaṇa's Generals). Turbans (*Uṣṇiṣa*) were certainly in use, though confined to female servants and eunuchs (III-64-47, VI-80-6 and VII-117-21). They were not probably used by the higher classes.

Footwear

Men used for footwear sandals of wood or leather *Pādukā* or *Upānahā* (II-91-75). The *Pādukās* of wood inlaid with gold were used by princes (II-112-21).

Marks on the Forehead

Caste marks for men are not referred to. But as already seen, women used to adorn their foreheads with a beauty spot, called *Tilaka* with *Gorocana* or red arsenic or *Manāśśīla* (II-95A-18). Sometimes the *Tilaka* was made of gold (II-9-48). The *Tilaka* was intended to enhance the beauty of the face (III-16-8).

Toilette of the Body of Women

It was then a custom for women to deck themselves with various tinkling ornaments, fragrant flower garlands, and flower-chaplets. They smeared their bodies with sandal³ and saffron paste, blackened their eyelashes with *Añjana* to make them beautiful, and put on beauty spots on the forehead (VII-26-14, etc.). Women used to dye their feet with lac (*Lākṣa-alaktaka-rasa*) (II-60-18). They also had *Patra lekhā* or figures painted with pigments on their cheeks and breasts (IV-30-56).

³ Men also used to adorn themselves with flower garlands and sandal paste.

To sum up the articles of toilet mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are :—

Danta Dhāvana—*Kūrca*—Tooth brush ;

Kankata—Comb ;

Darpaṇa—*Ādarṣa*—Mirror ;⁴

Kṣura—Razor ;

Soap substitutes—such as *Kalka*—flour of pulses, and

Kalka Kaṣāya—decoction of gooseberry, etc. ;

Añjana—Collyrium ;

Pādukā of wood—Sandals ;

Upānahā of leather—Sandals ;

Mukuṭa—Coronet ;

Apīḍa—*Avatamśaka*—Chaplets of flowers ;

Puṣpabhāra—Flower garlands ;

Lākṣa—Lac dye for feet ;

Rakta candana—Sandal paste (coloured red) probably with saffron—a variety of sandal was also called

Rakta candana ;

Manāśśīla for beauty spots ;

Gorocana for beauty spots ;

Patra lekhā—Coloured lines on chest, etc.

Jewels and Ornaments

It is evident that men and women were fond of adornments. The ornaments worn by them during the *Rāmāyaṇa* period were :—

Muktāhāra—Pearl necklace (II-8-1) ;

Nūpura—Anklets with tinkling bells (II-60-19) ;

Mekhalā—Girdle or belt or waist zone with tinkling bells (II-78-7) ;

Dāma—Waist string of gold (II-78-7) ;

Kuṇḍala (worn by males)—Ear-rings (VII-23-61 and V-47-12) ;

⁴ Nothing is definitely stated in the text about the nature of the mirrors. They might have been of polished metal or of glass and mercury. People were certainly familiar both with crystal glass and mercury. The words *Spatika* and *Rasa* are met with frequently.

Kuṇḍala (of women)—Ear-rings (IV-6-21 and II-12-99);
Mukuta—Crown (VII-23A-63);
Keyūra—Armlet (IV-6-20);
Aṅgulīyaka—Ring (V-36-2);
Hāra—Garlands (III-52-38);
Grāiveya—Necklaces (III-60-32);
Hema-sūtra—Gold string worn round neck (IV-33-37);
Kañci—Gold belt (IV-33-37);
Mālā—*Hiraṇmaya*—Gold necklace (II-9-46);
Tilaka—Spot on forehead (II-9-49);
Hastābharāṇa—Bracelet (V-15-41 and I-14-53);
Valaya—Wristlets (II-32-5);
Aṅgada—Armlet (V-47-12);
Pārihārya—Bangles used by women (V-1-26);
Cūdāmaṇi—Chaplet or Crest Jewel (V-38-67);
Niṣka—Pendant of gold and gems attached to the necklace (V-47-12 and V-5-25).

The *Kuṇḍalas* were made of gold. In the case of Rāvaṇa's queens, they were made of diamonds and *lapislazuli* (V-10-33), and their *Aṅgadas* (armlets) were studded with diamonds and *lapislazuli* (V-10-33).

Special mention may be made of the ornaments worn by Sitā. These were :—

Aṅgada—Armlet (III-60-33);
Keyūra—Armlet (IV-6-20 & 21);
Kuṇḍala—Ear-rings (IV-6-20 & 21);
Nūpura—Anklet with tinkling bells and inlaid with gems (IV-6-20 & 21);
Cūdāmaṇi—Chaplet or Crest Jewel (V-38-67);
Hāra—Garlands (III-52-38);
Svadamṣṭra—An ear ornament for the tragus of the ear (V-15-41);
Karṇa veṣṭa—A hanging ear ornament (V-15-41);
Hastābharāṇa—Bracelet of gems and corals in Sitā's case (III-60-33);
Grāiveya—A neck ornament (III-60-32);
Pārihārya—Bangles (VI-1-26);
Raśanā—Zone (V-38-17).

Sitā presented some ornaments as gifts to the preceptor's wife and these were :—

Hāra—(Necklace) may be of gems, or coins, or pearls;
Hema-sūtra—Gold string necklace;
Raśanā—Zone, Girdle;
Aṅgada—Armlets;
Keyūra—Armlets (II-32-6, etc.).

The ornaments of Rāma were :—

Golden ear-rings (*Kuṇḍala*), Golden armlet (*Aṅgada*), Gold string necklace (*Hema-sūtra*), Gems (*Maṇi*), Armlet (*Keyūra*), Bangles (*Valaya*) (II-32-5). Ring (*Aṅgulīyaka*—V-36-2), Ornaments of Pearls (VI-21-3), *Kirita* (VI-131-66).

Rāma had evidently not parted with his ring when he went to the forest in exile, though he discarded all his ornaments before his exile. A *Mukuta* or crown of gold with tassels of pearls was worn by kings and nobles (V-49-2). Rāvaṇa's Generals are described as wearing *Mukutas*.

The ornaments worn by Rākṣasas were *Hema Dāma* (V-47-6), *Hema Niṣka*, *Aṅgada*, *Kuṇḍala* and other ornaments of gold and gems (V-47-12 and VI-11-31).

The ornaments worn by Kumbhakarna were *Maṇisraja* (Necklace of gems) (VI-66-24, etc.), *Aṅgada*, *Aṅgulī veṣṭa*, *Hāra*, *Kuṇḍala*, *Niṣka* and *Śronisūtra*.

The ornaments worn by Rākṣasa women are detailed in the ninth Canto of the *Sundara Kāṇḍa* (V-9-46, etc.). These were *Nūpura* (Anklets), *Hāra* (Gold necklace), *Muktāhāra* (Pearl necklace), *Raśanā* (Zone or belt), *Dāma* (Gold waist string), *Kuṇḍala* (Ear-rings) and *Hema-sūtra* (Necklace of gold strings).

Ornaments for Animals

People's love of finery made them provide ornaments not only for themselves but also for their horses, elephants and cows (V-5-5). The horses and asses yoked to chariots were decked with ornaments. The horses used to have gold trappings. The tusks of elephants were adorned with gold bands (V-5-5) and with gold *Kakṣya* and *Grāiveya* (I-53-17). The horns and feet of cows were ornamented with gold plates before presentation to Brahmans.

SECTION IV

CLOTHING

Various Fabrics

The fabrics in use in those days were :—*Kārpāsaka* *Paṭa* (Cotton) (V-53-6), *Kṣauma* (Linen,) *Kauśeya* (Silk) (II-32-16), *Avika* (Wool), *Kambala Ajina* (Deer skin), *Cira* or *Valkala* (Bark of trees), *Kuśa-cira* (Plaited-grass) (II-37-10), *Mahārājata Vāsas* (Laced Cloth) (V-10-7) and *Śaṇa* (Hemp) (V-48-46).

Silk was not merely popular but also considered the most appropriate when worshipping and especially yellow silk. Kausalyā was clad in silk, while worshipping in the Royal Chapel on the eve of Rāma's Coronation as Yuvarāja (II-4-30, I-20-14 f. & 19). Rāma also on the morning of the day fixed for the Coronation wore silk during the worship (II-6-7). Silk was the favourite fabric of princesses. Sitā is called *Kauśeyavāsini* (II-37-9). Sitā was wearing silk in the forest as well as in the *Aśokavana* (III-52-19 and V-15-20). The Ascetics used to wear the bark of trees and deer skin. The *Sanyāsins* wore an orange-coloured cloth. Rāvaṇa when appearing before Sitā in the guise of a mendicant was wearing an orange (III-46-3) coloured cloth. Rāvaṇa used to wear costly silk or linen with lace borders (V-10-7 and V-49-4).

Clothing of Men

Brahmacārins or students used to wear only one cloth (III-38-13) round their waist. They had no upper cloth. The upper cloth or *Uttariya* was evidently adopted only after marriage. The demon Mārīca in referring to his first encounter with young Rāma before the slaughter of Tāṭakā, referred to him as *Eka-Vastradhara* (III-38-13). Married men used to wear two garments—a lower *Vastra* (IV-10-25 and V-32-1) and a shorter upper *Uttariya*. The upper cloth or *Uttariya* must have been loosely thrown over the neck and shoulders. It was tied round the waist during exertion or fighting (II-32-37). It is not clear how the lower cloth was exactly tied during this period. Jackets or *Kaṇcukas* were worn only by servants and soldiers (VI-117-21). Reference has been already made to use of turbans.

Clothing of Women

Women were fond of silk clothing. They used to wear two cloths—an upper one or *Uttariya* thrown over the shoulders and serving as a mantle; and a lower one round the waist, evidently tied with a knot. Even in the case of aristocratic ladies, no jackets or bodices are referred to.

Colour of the Clothing

The favourite colours were yellow, blue, green and white (IV-66-12, VII-26-17, IV-28-24, IV-30-47 and IV-1-21).

The Rākṣasas were fond of red clothing. Rāvaṇa's favourite dress must have been red in colour (III-49-9). He is described as having been clothed in red or scarlet cloth (*Raktavāsas*) (VI-40-6) and as *Raktāmbaradhara* (III-49-9). He was also fond of milky white cloth (V-18-24). Other Rākṣasas are described as wearing red clothes. Jambumāli, one of Rāvaṇa's Generals, wore red cloths (V-44-2). It may be observed that the white colour seems to have been preferred for worship and penance, red colour on festive occasions, and the black colour for sad occasions. The orange *Kāśāya* was the colour preferred by *Sanyāsins* (III-46-3). The old men maintaining discipline in the zenana were also clad in orange robes (II-16-3).

SECTION V

COMMON RECREATIONS

Musical and dramatic performances and dances were the common recreations of all, whether princes or peasants, male or female, Āryan or Non-Āryan (II-67-15). Music played a very large part in the life of the people during the epic period. Ayodhyā was well supplied with bards and minstrels, actors, dancing masters and musicians. So also were Lankā and Kiṣkindhā. The other popular recreations of the day in Ayodhyā were :—Resorts to the public parks for sport, evening drives to suburbs, riding on elephants and horses, pleasure drives (II-71-23), playing with balls⁵ and playing with dice.

⁵ Playing with balls must have been a common game, as Vālmiki uses a metaphor from the game of playing with balls. Sugriva when pushed by Rāvaṇa, is said to have rebounded like a ball *Kaṇḍu* (VI-40-13).

Hunting was one of the extra recreations of the Kṣatriyas (I-5-21). Music, dancing, dramatic performances and jesting were the recreations provided for Bharata in his uncle's house at Kekaya (II-69-4). In Laṅkā, the Rākṣasas were fond of wrestling, music and drinking (V-5-11). The Vānara and Rākṣasa women were also fond of music and dancing (IV-27-26, V-5-9, V-24-45 and V-10-32, etc.).

Indoor Amusements of Women

The Zenana in Ayodhyā was furnished with birds in cages, dwarfs, hump-backs, jesters, dancers, and musicians and musical instruments, for diversion, as the Royal maidens were practically shut up after marriage in the Palace Zenana.

Outdoor Sports

People used to resort to parks and gardens for sport and amusement (II-67-17). Even the Zenana women had a separate park (*Aśokavana*) provided for them both in Laṅkā and in Ayodhyā (V-14-49 and 15-2, etc., and VII-42-1, etc.).

The kinds of Parks and Gardens, referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are:—*Vana* (woods), *Upavana* or *Ārāma* (gardens or parks, royal parks, V-2-12), *Ākriḍa* (pleasure gardens or public parks, V-2-12), *Nagaropavana* (suburban parks), *Vihāra* (pleasure garden, II-60-13), *Āmravana* (Mango-park), *Pramadā vana* or *Aśokavana* (the predominance of Aśoka trees in these parks probably gave the name)—(it was intended only for the use of the inmates of the Zenana), *Niṣkuṭa* or gardens adjoining houses (II-84-16).

Game of Dice

Gambling with dice must also have been prevalent, as we meet with the terms used in gambling, e.g., *Devana* and *Paṇa*. *Devana* (V-9-32) means gambling with dice. *Paṇa* is wager (IV-61-4). The term is derived from the 'Stake' in gambling (V-14-15). There is again a reference to defeated gamblers being stripped of their clothing and ornaments (to make them pay the last pie).

Various Kinds of Conveyances for Driving

People used to drive in chariots, carts, or ride on elephants or horses, etc. Litters or palanquins were also in use.

Aeroplanes and zeppelins (*Vimāna* and *Puṣpaka*) are also referred to. *Yāna* included all vehicles. *Śakaṭa* or carts for carrying chattel or goods were used by Sages (I-50-4). They were also used by the Commissariat Department. Litters were called *Śibikā*. Sugriva rode on a litter when going to Rāma (IV-38-7, etc.). The chariots were called *Ratha*. They were called *Go-Ratha* (II-82-31) when drawn by bulls and *Vāji-Ratha* (II-92-32) or simply *Ratha* when drawn by horses. The chariots were drawn by horses as a rule (V-45-3). The carriages or chariots of the citizens of Ayodhyā were drawn by camels, horses (II-92-32), elephants (II-82-32) or bulls (II-82-31). In Kekaya chariots were drawn by horses, camels, bullocks, or asses. The servants of Kekaya Rāja sent as escort to Bharata, rode on all these animals (II-70-29).

It appears that the *Purohita* rode on chariots specially constructed. There seem to have had special upholstery—of deer skin, tiger skin, or silk to suit their ideas of purity and cleanliness (II-5-4). The pleasure chariots were fitted with seats, carpets and beds (VII-46-2 & 4). Horses were tied to the chariots by ropes and not by leather traces (VII-46-21).

State Coach

The Royal chariots were adorned with gold bells and drawn by four huge horses, probably white. They were also covered with tiger skin (I-53-18, II-39-10, II-16-28, etc., and II-16-30). The pleasure chariots (*Auparāhya Ratha*) must be distinguished from the chariot in which the heroes used to fight.

Flying

There are many references to flying:—(VI-16-18, VI-17-2, VI-34-4, VI-41-72, VI-40-40 and VI-45-4), and aeroplanes or *Vimāna* (III-23-30 and VI-124-8). Critics may treat this as figment of the poet's imagination. But it is impossible to deny their total absence.

THE COMMON ANCESTRY OF RĀSTRAKŪṬA, CĀLUKYA AND KADAMBA

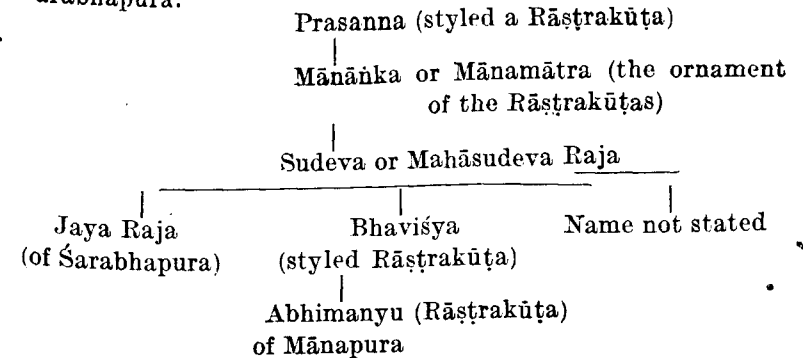
BY S. V. VISWANATHA

THE origin of the Cālukya and Kaḍamba dynasties is rather obscure. The latter is generally derived from the *Kaḍamba* tree reared in the family-house, that was perhaps their totṁ. The former claim their ancestry from the ancient Rīśis Hārīta and Mānavya. Both these dynasties are styled as “Mānavyas” which term has been interpreted as belonging to the family of Manu. It is also found that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas claimed their descent from the same source. Mānavya *gotra* as derived from Manu, the earliest progenitor of the Indian race or the classical Rīśi that codified the Hindu sacred laws, is however, uncommon and not met with in the lists of *gotras* and *pravaras* ordinarily in use in South India. One thing seems however certain; that all these three prominent dynasties of Central Dekhan belonged originally to the same stock.

Historically, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas are found to have for their ancestors a line of kings that held their sway in Central Dekhan in and around the country that contained Śarabhapura and Mānapura. One of these kings Mānāṅka or Māna Mātra is indeed described “as the ornament of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas” (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 164). For a brief outline, the contents of the epigraphs relating to the kings of Śarabhapura are seen to furnish the following particulars. The Khariar Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IX) give three names—Prasanna, Mānamātra and Mahāsudeva. The Unḍikavāṭika inscription of Abhimanyu (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII) contains the following list. Mānāṅka (Mānamātra), Deva Raja and his three sons, one of whom was Bhaviśya, and his son Abhimanyu. It is a commemoration grant made by the last “in order to increase the religious merit of his mother and father”. Abhimanyu is said to have adorned “Mānapura by his *adhyāsana* (encampment)” (l. 12f). In line 18 of the

inscription, it is mentioned that the grant was made “in the presence of Jayasimha the *nigraha* (capturer),” “rendered by Dr. Fleet as *pāla* (commander) of the fort Harivatsa kōṭṭa.” The Arang Plates mention a certain Jaya Raja (Fleet, *Gupta Ins.*, 121) who issued them from Śarabhapura.

Putting together the contents of all the grants of this dynasty, we have the following genealogy for these kings of Śarabhapura.



The Unḍikavāṭika grant states that Sudeva had three sons, the names of two of whom are not given. The central stem given in the above table represents the early members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line. Who were the brothers of Bhaviśya and what about them? It is obvious that Jaya Raja of Śarabhapura referred to in the Arang Plate must have belonged to the same line. The palæography of this inscription is similar to that of the Unḍikavāṭika grant of Abhimanyu; and on these grounds alone Jaya may be taken to be a contemporary of Bhaviśya or of his son Abhimanyu. As he is mentioned in the grant of the latter as actively engaged in his campaigns, being styled the taker of a fort, it is only reasonable to suppose that he was a close and trusted relation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, serving perhaps as commander-in-chief in his wars, but of such importance that his name was associated as a witness of the deed.

Dr. Dubreuil makes a clever conjecture that he was perhaps a son of Sudeva (*Dekhan*, 78) and rises also a query whether he may be the same as Jayasimha, the originator of the Cālukya line (111). It is said of Jayasimha the Western Cālukya

that he was "the master of the possessions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas". So Sudeva will have to be assigned to the end of the fourth century A.D.; while Jayasimha will come a little later. This agrees well with what is known of Cālukya synchronisms.

The characters in the grants from Śarabhapura are seen to resemble those of the Siwani Plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena (II) (Fleet, *Gupta Ins.*, p. 243).

As it has been stated already, the Kaṇambas also claimed to belong to the Mānavya *gotra*, like the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The first of the Kaṇambas known to history is Mayūra Śarman. Could one of the unknown sons of Sudeva be identical with Mayūra Śarman, who, under the existing knowledge of Kaṇamba chronology, may have founded the dynasty of kings about 400 A.D.? But this identification would seem impossible. The appellation "Śarman" of Mayūra might show that he was a Brahman—and so his descendants—; and this alone is a strong enough stumbling block against any possible identification of the ancestry of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kaṇambas. On the strength of some passages in the Talagunda Inscription of Kakustha Varman the Kaṇamba (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, Vv. 10–12) king Mayūra Śarman has been taken to be a Brahman (*vipra*). It may at once be stated that none of the family of Mayūra styled themselves as "Śarman", all of them being Varman. He is himself described as a *dvijottama* (the best of the twice-born). A further examination of the passages appearing in connection with this context seems therefore to be necessary. The stanzas read as follows: Yah prayāya Pallavendrapurim guruṇā samam Vira Sarmaṇā adhijighāmsuh pravachanam nikhilam ghaṭikām viveśa āsu tarkukah // Tatra Pallavasvasamsthena kalahena tivrena roshitah Kaliyuge'smin aho bata Kshatrāt paripelava Vipratā yātaḥ / Gurukulāni samyak ārādhyasakham adhityāpi yatnataḥ Brahmasiddhiḥ yadi nripādhiṇā kimataḥ param dukkham ityataḥ // They have been translated thus: "With his preceptor Vira Śarman he went to the city of the Pallava lords, and eager to study the whole sacred lore quickly entered the *ghaṭika* as a mendicant. There enraged by a fierce quarrel

with a Pallava horseman (he reflected), "alas in this Kali age the Brahmans should be so much feebler than the Kṣatriyas! For, if to one who has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Veda, the perfection in holiness depends on a king, what can there be more painful than this?" (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 34). The rendering seems to require correction at least in a few places. *Ghaṭika* is obviously a religious institution corresponding perhaps to a modern *pāṭha-śāla*". Tarkuka has been interpreted on the basis of Hemādri's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* and a gloss on the *Rājatarāṅgini* as *yāchaka* (mendicant). The word would more properly mean, with reference to the context, "eager to debate or combat" from the root *tarka*, for his object in visiting the city was to widen his Brahmanical wisdom. *Brahmasiddhi*, a very difficult word, has been translated as "perfection in holiness". It may mean "Realisation of Brahman or attainment to the status of a Brahman" which was not impossible of achievement in those ancient days, as attested by the classical story of Viśvāmitra.

It seems clear from the stanzas cited that Mayūra had already possessed the necessary qualification, *viz.*, "Service in his preceptor's family" and "earnest study of his branch of the Veda" which need not have found any *special mention*, if he was actually a Brahman. Are these not among the *indispensable* qualities of a Brahmana? Mayūra seems therefore to have been an intensely Brahmanical Kṣatriya who had given himself up to a complete mastery of the Vedic lore in his branch and had chosen a Brahmana Vira Śarman for his teacher. Mayūra is therefore styled a *dvijottam* (best of the twice-born—Kṣatriyas included) and the term *vipra* appears in the inscription only in connection with the ignominy that had befallen the "Brahman" in the Kali age at the hands of the warrior caste (Kṣatriya). Even the Pallava Maharāja Danti Varman is mentioned in an inscription from Tiruvellārai as belonging to the Brahma-Kṣatra family. Still another point may be mentioned in this connection: It is interesting that in this period characterised by frequent marriage relationships between the various ruling dynasties, there is reference to

none between the Kaṇḍamba, Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa, obviously because they were all of the same *gotra*. In the Talagunda Inscription Kākustha is eulogised as giving his daughter in marriage to Guptas and other kings. "This Sun of a king by means of his rays—his daguhters—caused to expand the splendid lotus groups—the royal families of the Guptas and others" is what is actually found in the inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 36). Elsewhere we read the Pallava king Danti Varman "married the daughter of the celebrated king, a crest-jewel of the Kaṇḍamba family" (*S. I. I.*, II, Pt. V, 511). The Balaghat Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, 268) state that Narendrasena Vākāṭaka married a princess of Kuṇṭala (Kaṇḍamba). If these marriages had actually taken place and are not merely the creations of the poet's fancy, they would have fallen under the variety *Pratiloma* which is universally condemned in the Hindu codes of law. If Mayūra was a Brahman by parentage on both sides these marriages between the Kaṇḍamba and other clans of lower birth could not have taken place, nor would the successors of Mayūra have been known only as "Varman".

That the Kaṇḍambas and Cālukyas were kith and kin of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas seems also to be indicated, otherwise. In the list of countries included in the conquests of the early Cālukyas the Rāṣṭrakūṭa is conspicuous by absence, and only on one occasion is mentioned a defeat by Kīrti Varman Cālukya of "a confederacy of the Kaṇḍambas", as the Aihole inscription states. Neither the Rāṣṭrakūṭa nor Cālukya is mentioned among the conquests of Mayūra in the inscription of this king discovered at Candravalli, the earliest Kaṇḍamba inscription. Here the king constructs a tank; and among his glorious conquests are given the defeat of Trikuṭa-Ābhira, Pallava, Pāriyātraka, Śakasthāna, Saindhava, Punata and Mokhari.

Now to state briefly our conclusion, the three sons of Sudeva Raja of Śarabhapura appear to have been the progenitors of the three well-known families of the Dekhan, Cālukya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Kaṇḍamba, all of them belonging to the *gotra* of Mānavya or Mānāṅka, "One whose crest ornament was *māna* or honour".

THE TANDANTOTTAM BRONZES

BY DR. C. MENAKSHI, M.A., PH.D.

THE village of Tandantottam, celebrated in the *Tirunattutokai* of Sundaramūrti—the last of the sixty-three Śaiva Nayanmars—is situated six miles east of Kumbakonam in the Tanjore District. From Kumbakonam it is reached up to Murukkaṅgudi a distance of approximately five miles by conveyance and the residue of one mile is done invariably by walk as the area is cut up by irrigation channels.

In the second half of the eighth century A.D., an *agrahara* was created to the west of the village of Tandantottam. This new *agrahara* was named Dayamukhamangalam and was endowed as a *brahmadeya* ('a gift to Brahmans') to 308 brahmins who had studied the three Vedas and the Smṛtis. The donor of this gift was Dayamukha *alias* Kumara, the Treasurer or the *Kośādhyakṣa* of the Pallava Government, in the time of the king Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The above information together with all the other details relating to the grant of the village, is furnished by a copper-plate record dated in the 58th regnal year of Pallavamalla who was elected to the Pallava throne about the year 725 A.D. when he was hardly twelve years old.

In editing the subject-matter of the above copper-plate Mr. Krishna Śastri observes:—"The existence of the plates was brought to the notice of the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., by Mr. Narayanaswami Ayyar, Sub-Inspector of Police, Madras City. It is stated that they were found with many other idols, while digging a foundation in the premises of the Śiva temple in the village of Tandantottam, Kumbakonam Taluk of the Tanjore District, about one hundred years ago. No one knew what it is and how they happened to be there."

The contents of these copper-plates have been published and the plates themselves were deposited in the Madras Museum. But about the idols that were taken out along with the copper-plates, nothing is known ever since. And an

enquiry made on the spot in September 1934 revealed that they were lodged in the same Śiva temple from whose compound they were originally unearthed. The shrine is now known as the Naṭanapurīśvara temple and is attributed to one Nandiraja as its builder. About thirty-five idols were shown in a dark room; a few of them could be identified as those that were dug out. They bore unmistakable marks of corrosion and slight damages caused in the process of excavation. An attempt at identification of these few images follows :—

Vṛiṣavāhanamūrti or Vṛisabhārūdhāmūrti

This group consists of Śiva, Pārvati and the Bull. The height of Śiva is 42 inches; of Pārvati 34 inches, Bull 28 inches. The *Jatamakūṭa* of Śiva, ornamented by the serpent and the crescent is *par-excellence*. The hands are adorned by *Sarpakaṅkaṇas*. Śiva has also ornaments on the neck, a *Yagnōparitam* and an *Udarabandham*. Pārvati's ornamentations are equally praiseworthy. Her garment which covers only the lower part of the body is diaphanous and bears floral designs. The Bull looks magnificent with rows of bells tied like garland around its neck. This group of images may be compared with a similar group from Vedāranyam. But the Tandantottam images are undoubtedly finer than the former ones.

Vinādhara

That aspect of Śiva where he is represented as a teacher is well known as Dakṣiṇāmūrti. The four forms of Dakṣiṇāmūrti are :—(1) Yoga-Dakṣiṇāmūrti (the teacher of *Yoga*), (2) Jñāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrti (the teacher of *Jñāna*), (3) Vyākaraṇa-Dakṣiṇāmūrti (the teacher of *Vyākaraṇa*), (4) Vinādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrti (*Vinā* holder).

The second group of images at Tandantottam consists of Śiva and Pārvati placed on a single pedestal which is slightly damaged during excavation. Śiva represented here as *Vinādhara* may be compared with similar bronze images from *Vadaraṅgam*, as well as with those in the Madras Museum.

The height of Śiva is 30 inches and that of Pārvati



(1) Vṛiṣavāhanamūrti (front and rear view)



(2) Pārvati separated from the group No. 1
(front and rear view)



(3) Vinādhara with Pārvati (front and rear view)



(4) Candikeśvara and Tirunāvukkarasu or Sundaramūrti



(5) Family group: Śiva, Pārvati, etc.

22 inches. Many of the images of *Vinādhara* so far published have either three hands or four, but the Tandantottam bronze has only two, suggesting the early age of the image. The slender and graceful form of the image, the hooded cobra ornamenting the right shoulder and the artistic *Jatāmakuṭa* embellished with jewellery all round are characteristic of *Vinādhara*.

The absence of the *Vinā* noticed in some of the images of *Vinādhara* as in this particular case may be attributed to the fact that the *Vinā* which very often consisted of a thin *Danda* alone, was cast independent of the image and inserted into its hands only while decorating the image before procession. It is well known that bronze images come under the class of *Uṣavamūrtis* which are deities meant to be taken out in gorgeous processions on festival days.

Candikeśvara

This great devotee of Śiva is enshrined both in the form of stone and bronze images in Śiva temples. Innumerable descriptions of Candikeśvara are contained in the *Āgamas*. Many of the metal images of Candikeśvara so far photographed and published have four hands but the Tandantottam bronze has only two. It is stated that in the *Kaliyuga* sometimes Candikeśvara is represented with his palms in *anjali* with a string of flowers held in between and described as *Ādicandikeśvara*. The Tandantottam image represents this form and measures 30 inches in height.

Tirunāvukkarasu or Sundaramūrti

The practice of casting bronze images of canonised Nāyanmars and installing them in temples for purposes of worship was adopted in the early part of the Coḷa period. Appar or Tirunāvukkarasu, the contemporary Śaiva poet of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I, occupies a prominent place among the Śiva *bhaktas* of the Tamil land. This image from Tandantottam may be compared well with other images of Appar published in works on South Indian Bronzes. But

the absence of the spade, the characteristic tool always associated with the image of Appar, is conspicuous, and therefore it may be that this statue represents Sundaramūrti rather than Appar. A similar bronze image of Sundaramūrti is enshrined in Padmanabhapuram (*H. I.*, Vol. II, Part II, Pl. CXXXVII). The height of the present image is 28 inches.

Śiva, Pārvati, etc.

An interesting family group consisting of Śiva, Pārvati, Gaṇeśa and Subrahmanya, all cast together, is one of the unearthed specimens of Tandantottam. This group is iconographically very valuable. The height is 12 inches. Unfortunately, the faces of the figures are more corroded than of the rest.

Dating of the Images

In any attempt made at dating South Indian bronzes, the student is faced with several difficulties. Many of the images are gathered from treasure-troves and very often the circumstances of the find do not enable one to arrive at an approximate date.

With regard to the images found at Tandantottam, it may appear at the outset, that they are contemporaneous with the copper-plates, because both the images and the copper-plates were unearthed together from the same spot. This inference must be accepted with caution for the reason that the images might have been cast at a much later period and the copper-plates and the images thrown into the earth simultaneously at quite a different time.

Palæographical evidences or a comparative study of bronzes may sometimes indicate the age of the images. Firstly, none of the Tandantottam bronzes bears any date or inscription. Secondly, the few metal images of the early Pallava period are hidden in the dark corners of our temples and have not been made available for purposes of study. Perhaps the Vedanar image from Tiruvetkalam near Chidambaram is an exception. A comparative study therefore of the Tandantottam images with early Pallava bronzes is not at

present possible until proper photographs of these early Pallava bronzes are available. But for the present, from a general study of the Tandantottam images in relation to published Coḷa images, it may be tentatively maintained that the unearthed images described above belong to the early Coḷa period rather than to the time of Pallavamalla.

DRAVIDIC SANDHI*

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

SUMMING up, it may be said that while in internal *sandhi* a number of types are common to the Tam.-Mal. group, Kannaḍa and Telugu, the *special* changes in external *sandhi* shown by literary Tamil are absent in Kannaḍa and in Telugu, except for those involved in Kannaḍa *padināḷgu*, *nānāru*, *jēney*; Kann. *āṇma*; Kann. *kaṇṇīru* and *kaṇṇondadu*; in Telugu *ērpāḍ-*; and in the elision of *-m* before other sounds in intimate compounds.

It is possible that the study of pre-literary inscriptions in Kannaḍa and Telugu may reveal more types of this kind in these speeches; but in view of the nature of the external *sandhi* rules current in Kannaḍa and Telugu, and further in view of the fact that many of the special changes of literary Tamil are absent in the colloquials of Tamil from an early period (as shown by the absence of these changes in the colloquial portions of the early Tamil inscriptions), it would be safe to think that apart from a few types many of the special external *sandhi* changes of literary Tamil might not have struck deep root in Kannaḍa and Telugu. It may also be noted that some of the external *sandhi* changes of Kannaḍa and Telugu involve phonetic alterations which are mirrored (though in contexts that are not always parallel to those of Kannaḍa and Telugu) in colloquial Tamil.

The voicing of voiceless plosives after certain sounds (*cf.* Table above) in types where literary Tamil evidences extensive assimilative changes, and the weakening of *p* to *v*, popularised by Kannaḍa and Telugu (in varying contexts, of course), are not unrepresented in colloquial Tamil.

In external *sandhi*, therefore, Kannaḍa and Telugu appear to have gone their own ways in many respects, and

developed the *colloquial* tendencies, while literary Tamil appears to have adopted and standardized a number of changes in external *sandhi*.

Nothing better illustrates the extent of this divergence from a common standpoint than the rules of Telugu *druta sandhi* involving the *druta prakritikamulu* (constituted of many forms with a final consonantal *n*, which have cognates in other south Dravidian speeches). So large was the number of these forms that Telugu grammarians constituted them into a separate category and prescribed rules for the *sandhi* changes in which they were involved. And the rules themselves (here again standardized to a considerable extent) do not, in some respects, fail to reflect phonetic processes operating in other south Dravidian speeches (though in different contexts). Formidable indeed are the prescriptions of (i) *arasunna* or *niṇḍusunna* or *samślēṣa*⁴⁹ or *svatramu* for the

⁴⁹ The Telugu grammars understand by the term *samślēṣamu* "the meeting in a pure consonantal state" of the *druta n* with the following sound. What the Telugu grammars describe as *samślēṣa* relates to the script and does not take account of the sound-value; what was intended by the rule of *samślēṣa* was perhaps primarily to approve of the use in script of the symbol for *-n* followed by the other sounds irrespective of the sound-change. While in these, therefore, the use of symbols was primarily envisaged, the prescription of the *arasunna* for certain contexts at a particular stage in the history of Telugu appears to have related to a sound-change recognised and fixed by the Telugu grammarians. The use of the *bindu* in Kann. and in Tel. may be summed up thus:—(a) internally in most Tel. native dissyllabics with short radical vowels the *pūrṇabindu* is used before plosives (and *c, j*), except in inscriptional Tel. where *varga* nasal symbols were used in the groups *nd* and *ṇḍ*; while in Kann. in similar circumstances the *pūrṇabindu* is optional, beside *varga* nasal symbols; (b) internally in native dissyllabics with long radical vowels and in polysyllabics, the tendency of Tel. was to reduce the *pūrṇabindu* to the *arasunna* and then (in the colloquial) to drop it altogether, while in Kann. also the process of dropping the *pūrṇabindu* started early though it was not completed, generally speaking, till after Kesava's time (*no arasunna* was recognized at all in Kann.); (c) externally, in Telugu *druta* sounding the *pūrṇabindu* and the

* Continued from Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, p. 27.

druta n meeting unaspirated voiceless plosives (which are voiced in the process); (ii) *lōpa* or *svatvamu* or *samślōga* or (in some instances) the *nindusunna* when the *druta n* meets original voiced plosives (both aspirated and unaspirated) and aspirated voiceless plosives; (iii) *lōpa* or *svatvamu* or *samślōga* before other initial sounds (not covered by the above); (iv) *arasunna* or *svatvamu* for the *-n* of *ēn*, *nēn*, *tān*, before unaspirated voiceless plosives, while before other sounds *lōpa* and *svatvamu* are laid down. And some of these may have been artificially erected into inviolable rules by learned men.—But when they are analysed, the phonetic processes involved in some of them are not without parallels in other south Dravidian speeches in diverse contexts.

V

Augments

Certain elements described as *śāriyai*'s in Tamil grammars and as *āgama*'s in the grammars of other speeches are introduced in *sandhi* contexts between (i) noun-bases and inflexional endings, and (ii) the constituents of word-compounds. Such particles exist in all the chief south Dravidian speeches, but they are most numerous and varied in Tamil. The Tamil grammars elaborately describe the nature and function of these augments. The comparative study of these augments with reference to their occurrence and function forms an important part of Dravidic *sandhi*.

ardhabindu were used (before plosives only) in the contexts and conditions mentioned above, while Old Kann. used the *pūrṇabindu* optionally (beside *varga* nasal symbols) before plosives and always before all other consonants, when final *-m* or *-n* was concerned in external sandhi; (the differences between Tel. and Kann. in this respect were that Kann. did not recognize the *arasunna* at all and that the *pūrṇabindu* was used in Old Kann. before all consonants in external sandhi).

The sound-value of the *pūrṇabindu* in many contexts in the earlier stages of both Tel. and Kann. perhaps involved not only a *varga* nasal value but also a nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Tamil

I shall first comment on the views of Tolkāppiyam on *śāriyai*'s.

TE, 113, mentions that *śāriyai*'s may be inserted between two words in *sandhi* contexts. From other *sūtras* in this grammar, one learns that these particles may appear (i) between noun-base and inflexional affix, and (ii) between the constituents of word-compounds, chiefly of the *tēt't'rumai* type.

TE, 120, points out the chief augments of this type: *-in-*, *-vat't'r-*, *-att-*, *-am-*, *-on-*, *-an-*, *-akk-*, *-ikk-*, *-ān*. This *sūtra* also indicates [by the use of the phrase *piṇavum anna*] that there are other particles of this type.

In the *punar-iyal* chapter of TE, some of the changes affecting these are given [121 to 134]. In a number of *sūtras* in *urup-iyal*, the *śāriyai*'s appearing between noun-base and "case"-suffixes are described; and in the next three chapters *uyirmayaṅ-iyal*, *pullimayaṅ-iyal* and *kut't'riyal ugarappunariyal*, the *śāriyai*'s appearing between the constituents of word-compounds are mentioned.

I shall now take up each of these *śāriyai*'s in order, and discuss the manner of the approach of TE to it.

(1) *-in-*

(i) This element is inserted between noun-bases (with final *-a*, *-ā*, *-u*, *-ū*, *-ē* and *-au*) and "case"-terminations [174]; between the verbal nouns *uriñ* and *poruñ* and their case suffixes [183]; similarly between some bases with final *-m* and their "case"-suffixes [187]; optionally between *aḷan*, *puḷan* and "case"-suffixes [194]; after noun-bases with final *kut't'riyal-ugaram* [196]; after words denoting measure, weight, number, followed by *kuṇai* [168]; and optionally after other consonants and vowels, as defined in 203.

(ii) In word-compounds also, *-in-* may be inserted after *maga* [219], optionally after *pani*, *vaḷi* [242, 243], after *dāṇu* and *magadāṇu* [272], after *cē* [280], optionally after *maḷai* [288], optionally after *voyil* [378] and *iruḷ* [403], after *vaṇdu* and *peṇḍu* [421], and after *paṭṭu* [434].

(iii) *-n* of *-in-* undergoes no change in word-compounds when it meets the post-position *-kaṇ*, but it is changed to *t'* [r] when meeting the datival *-k* [TE, 124].

The important points about this *śāriyai -in* are the following:

(a) It is introduced alike in inflexional positions and in word-compounds. As an inflexional augment, it occurs quite numerously in words with final vowels.

(b) In word-compounds, the function of this augment may be (i) genitival, as in *vaṇḍ-in-kāl*; (ii) adjectival, as in *maḍamā nōkkin viṇaiyar* [PP, III, 31] or *araṣu viṇai ciṇappin aṅgāḍi vidiyum* [Cilapp., XIV, 178]; (iii) ablatival, as in *ond'r-in-kurai*. *uḷakk-in-kurai*, *kaḥc-in-kurai*; (iv) locatival, as in *pani-y-i'* (*n*)-*koṇḍān*, etc.

(c) The "case"-termination *-in-* in Tamil, according to the grammars denotes ablatival and allied relationships, while the *śāriyai -in-* (as seen above) in word-compounds may have a genitival, ablatival or locatival force. Naccinārkkiniyar in his commentary on TE, 113, observes that the difference between the *śāriyai -in* and the *urupu* ("case"-ending) *-in-* is that while the former may take on a separate "case"-ending (as in *pāmb-in-ai*, the second case form of *pāmbu*; *vāḷ-in-oḍu*, the third case form of *vāḷ*; etc.), the "case"-ending *-in-* cannot take on another *urupu*. Naccinārkkiniyar's distinction is only a formal one but there is also a more important difference between the two in the meanings introduced.

Though thus the difference between the *śāriyai -in-* and the fifth "case"-ending *-in-* in actual usage is clear and definite, the possibility of these two elements having been originally the same is worth considering. *-in-* as a *śāriyai* in word-compounds has a genitival, ablatival and a locatival force, and in inflexional endings it appears as a mere augment. It is not impossible that originally the elements were not different and that in course of time a functional differentiation led to *-in-* being regarded as the fifth "case"-ending.

(2) *-an-*

Both in inflexional endings and in word-compounds, this *śāriyai* appears after the singular "neuter" demonstratives *adu*, *idu*, *udu* [TE, 177], after *yāḍu* [201], and after some numerals with final *u*, i.e., "one" to "eight" [TE, 199, 420].

(3) *-on-*

This *śāriyai* appears, both in inflexions and in word-compounds, after *kō* and *ō* (shutter for preventing rush of water) [181, 295]. Naccinārkkiniyar mentions that the *śāriyai -in-* is also sometimes used in the stead of *-on-*.

-on- as a *śāriyai* is not found in other Dravidian speeches, and even in Tamil it appears only after words with final *-ō*. It is possible therefore that this *-on-* may have been a variant of *-in* (or *-an*?) in which the *-i-* was displaced by *o* on account of the influence of the final *-o* of the words with which the *śāriyai* was associated in Tamil.

It may be noted that the final *-n* of *kōn* may have been the remnant of an old *śāriyai*, permanently embodied.

(4) *-am-*

(i) This *śāriyai* does not occur in inflexional endings, but only in word-compounds of the *vēṭ't'rumai* kind.

(ii) In word-compounds, it is found used after names of trees like *puḷi* [245], *arai* [284], *āṇ* [305], *vēppu* [416].

(iii) *-m* of *-am-* becomes a *varga* nasal before plosives (and *c-*) [130], and is elided before *m-*, *n-*, *y-* and *v-* [131].

(5) *-att-*

(i) *-att-* appears in inflexional endings as a *śāriyai* followed by "regular" "case"-terminations, after noun-bases with final *-m* (as an *ādēśa*) [186], as in *maratt-ai*, the second case form of *maram* (tree), etc. As an inflexional *āgama* it is also found before the seventh case-affix after nouns with final *-a* or *-ā*, as in *viḷa-ṭ-attu-k-kaṇ* [182], optionally after *maḷai* (288), *viṇ* [306], *veyil* [378], *iruḷ* [403], in all of which a "locatival" force is implied.

This locatival use of *att* has disappeared in modern colloquial Tamil but is retained in an active way in Mal. in instances like *veyilatto*, *kāt't'atto*, *n'eñṇatto*.

(6) -*vat't'r*-

TE takes *vat't'r*- as the *śāriyai* and proceeds to say that *v* is dropped [123] when used after the "neuter" plural demonstratives *avai*, *ivai*, *uvai* and the "neuter" plural interrogative *yāvai* [179]. As I have shown elsewhere, the approach of TE to the demarcation of the exact structure of the *śāriyai* suffers from the mistake of "false splitting". Instances like *avat't'r*-, *cilavat't'r*- in which *v* really forms part of the plural bases, appear to have been wrongly split up by the author of TE as being constituted of the bases and *vat't'r*-. Later grammars like *Nannūl*, however, have not made this mistake, but have marked off *-at't'r*- as the *śāriyai* [N, 243].

(ii) This *śāriyai* crops up after a number of "neuter" plural words, both as an inflexional augment and as an "increment" element in word-compounds:

Ola (a few) [175]; *yā*, the plural interrogative [176]; *av*, *iv*, *uv*,—the "neuter" demonstrative plurals—[184]; the same "neuter" demonstrative plurals with *-ai* [178] in which *-v*- of the *śāriyai* is said by TE to be dropped with the result that stems like *avai-y-at't'r*- are formed; *yāvai*, the interrogative plural [179] in which case TE says that *-vai* of *yāvai* is dropped before the *śāriyai*; the base *ellā* (all) [190]; and the base *pala* (many) [175].

TE, 282, points out that in word-compounds (which, be it said here, are all of the "casal" or *vētt'rumai* type) also the *śāriyai* may appear, as in *avai-y-at't'ru-k-kōḍu*.

I have pointed out in detail the affiliations of this Tamil *śāriyai* to certain similar augments of Kannaḍa, Telugu and Mal. in HAP.

-*ān*-

TE, 248, mentions that *ān* (the final *n* of which changes to *t'* before a plosive according to TE, 125) is the *śāriyai* appearing after nouns denoting "stars" when followed by verbs, as in *paraṇi-āi-kōṇḍān*.

There is a third "case"-ending in Tamil: *ān*, which (according to the grammars) denotes instrumentality and sometimes associativeness. I think that the so-called *śāriyai*

ān is in origin the same as this third "case"-ending and that it is called a *śāriyai* in the instances covered by TE, 248, because the "inflexional" force of the element had become more or less "obscured" here.

-*ikk*-

Here again, the *śāriyai* appears only after nouns (with final *-i*) denoting months, when followed by verbs, as in *āṭi-kku-k-kōṇḍān*.

TE regards *ikk*- as the *śāriyai* and postulates in 127 and 128 that *-i*- of *-ikk*- will have to be dropped in the contexts in which the *śāriyai* appears. When it is considered that the *śāriyai* crops up only after nouns with final *-i* (or *-ai*), it is clear that here again TE has wrongly considered the *śāriyai* as *ikk*-, while actually the *i* is a part of the noun-bases. In order to get over the difficulty of accounting for what in the light of this wrong splitting would appear as the elision of *i*, TE has been forced to prescribe special *sūtras* [127, 128].

The force with which the *śāriyai* is employed here is locatival (cf. Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary); but the *śāriyai* itself is structurally the same as the fourth case (datival) termination. In fact, the sound in the instances contemplated by 249 has been defined as a *śāriyai* perhaps because an original fourth "case"-ending came to be regarded later on as having a generalised case force.

-*akk*-

TE mentions the use of this *śāriyai* in word-compounds after words like *kund'ru* [419], after *tāl* [385] and after *tamiḷ* [386]; but TE, 129, also prescribes that *-kk*- of *-akk*- is lost in such compounds, so that the ultimate forms in these cases would appear as *kund'r-a-k-kūgai*, *tāl-a-k-kōl*, *tamiḷ-a-n'āl*.

I may say here that there are no instances, available from extant texts, showing *-akk*- without being elided.

It is noteworthy that later grammars [N, 243] regard this *-a*- not as the remnant of an older *akk* in which *-kk*- has been elided, but as a separate *śāriyai*.

2. (a) Among the *śāriyai*'s discussed above, *-in*-, *-on*-, *-an*-, *-att*-, *-at't'r*- appear both before "case"-endings and in

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connection with word-compounds. *-am-* appears only in word-compounds, and *-ân* and *-(i)kk-* only before verbs.

(b) *-in-*, *-ân-*, *-att-* and *(i)kk-* are structurally related to certain "case"-endings.

(c) *-at't'r-* appears to be resultant of *sandhi* changes affecting the *śāriyai -an-* [HAP].

3. I have already observed that there are some differences between TE and later grammars in their approach to the description of *śāriyai*'s. I shall point out here the differences between TE and *Nannūl* :—

(i) N mentions certain elements⁵⁰ (as *śāriyai*'s) not expressly described as such by TE: *al* (in words like *toḍai-y-al*), *tam* (e.g., *ellār-tam-m-aiyum*), *n'am* (e.g., *ellā n'am-m-ai-y-um*), *n'um* (e.g., *ellīrn'um-m-ai-y-um*), *ē* (e.g., *kalan-ē-tūṇi*), *u* (e.g., *avan-u-kku* 'to him'), *ai* (e.g., *munṇāḷ-ai-k-kuḷavi*, *ku* (e.g., *uy-gu-vay*), *na*.

(ii) N marks off *-at't'r-* as the *śāriyai*, regarding *-v-* of *avat't'r-*, etc., as being no part of the *śāriyai*.

(iii) N 244 expressly mentions *-it't'r-* also as a *śāriyai*; TE refers to it only in 122.

(iv) N regards *-a-* in compounds like *tāl-a-k-kōl*, as an independent *śāriyai*, while TE regards this *-a-* as the remnant of *-akk-* in which *-kk-* has been dropped.

N makes no mention of *-akk-* and *-ikk-*.

While TE has limited its list of chief *śāriyai*'s to those augments, whose connection with other grammatical affixes had become more or less obscure in structure or in meaning or in both, N appears to have extended this list.

The general principle, on the basis of which the *śāriyai*'s have been classified as such in the grammars is that as *śāriyai*'s these have an individuality of their own which separates them in meaning or in structure or in both from other grammatical affixes particularly inflexional.

⁵⁰ While N, by its statement in 243: *pada mun vigudiyum...* and by its inclusion of *tam*, *n'am*, *n'um*, *ul*, *ē*, etc., in 244, has extended the list of *śāriyai*'s, commentators go further and include *tan*, *tān*, *tām*, and even verb-endings among *śāriyai*'s. I do not think that all this is justified by the rules, expressed or implied, in TE.

Malayālam

All the Tamil *śāriyai*'s mentioned by TE, except *-on-*, *-an-*, *-akk-*, *-ikk-* and *-ân-*, occur in Malayālam; and all these (except *-am*) are met with both as inflexional augments and as "cementers" in word-compounds:

(1) *-in-* :—(i) inflexional augment, as in *pū-ṽ-in-āl*, *kann-in-d'e*, etc.; (ii) in compounds like *ātt-in-pāl*.

(2) *-at't'-* :—only as an inflexional augment in *avat't'-*, *ivat't'-*, *ellāt't'-*, *palavat't'-* [HAP].

(3) *-it't'-* :—(i) as inflexional augment in *adit't'-*, (of *ada* 'that'), *idiit't'-* (of *idā* 'this'), which are unique in Malayālam; (ii) in word-compounds like *padit't'- ēḷa* (ten times seven).

(4) *-att-* :—(i) as inflexional augment after nouns with final *-am*; (ii) as an active locative affix [cf. old Tamil *-att-*, dealt with in TE] in forms like *veyilattē* (in the sun), *iruṭṭattē* (in darkness), *kāt't'attē* (in the wind); (iii) in *mumbilattē* (former), *rāvilattē* (belonging to the morning) which instances are used with a "qualificatory" force in Malayālam; (iv) *-att-*, appears also in compounds like *kuvaḷ-att-ila ēl-att-ari*, *n'eñṇatt-ella*. Augments other than these do not exist in Malayālam.

Kannada

The *śāriyai*'s in Kannada are *-in-*, *-ad-*, *-ar-*, *-aṇ-*, *-am-*.

(1) *-in-*

This element appears as an augment in the singular inflexions (third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh cases) of nouns with final *-u*, *-ū*, *-ō*, *-au* [Śmd, 108] and optionally for some nouns (like *pagal*, *irul*), and compulsorily for others (like *igaḷ*, *āgaḷ*) with final consonants. Except in the nominative and the accusative "case"-endings, the element *-in-* appears as an augment to which the "regular" "case"-endings are attached. (ii) In word-compounds, this element is not found in Kannada except in *padin* and in rare pre-literary inscriptional instances like *tāmara katt-in keḷage*; it may also be stated straightway that none of the other Kannada *śāriyai*'s mentioned above (except *-am*) occurs in Kannada word-compounds.

(2) -ad-

This element appears in Kannada as an inflexional âdêsa in the declensional endings (of "cases" other than the nominative, the accusative and the dative) of "neuter" nouns with final -a(m), like *mara(m)*, *polam*, *nelam*: *mara-d-im* [Instr.], *mara-d-a* [Genitive], *mara-d-oḷ* [Loc.], etc.

One may compare the use of -att- as an âdêsa in the inflexions of Tamil words with final -am [TE, 186].

Kittel's observation at p. 42 of his *Gr.* that -d- in *mara-d-a*, etc., is "a mere letter of euphony facilitating pronunciation" cannot be absolutely endorsed in view of the affiliations of the augment -ad- to Tamil -att-, Malayalam -att- and to certain cognate Telugu inflexional augments (for which last, see below).

(3) -ar-

This is used as an augment in the inflexional endings of (a) numerals like *ondu*, *eraḍu*, etc.; (b) demonstratives like *adu*, *idu*; (c) words denoting quantity, having a final -du or -tu of demonstrative origin; (d) certain adjectives with final -du, -tu or -ttu of demonstrative origin; (e) participial nouns with final -du of demonstrative origin; (f) the interrogative *ên* which has *êt-* as its "oblique" base to which -ar- is attached as an augment before some of the regular "case"-endings are annexed [Śmd, 110].

An examination of all these instances would show that the augment -ar- in Kannada is employed in the inflexional endings of two main categories of words: (a) numerals and (b) demonstratives (singular and plural) and words in which these demonstratives are incorporated.

In Tamil, as already noted, the numerals concerned take on the augment -an-, the singular demonstratives have -an-, and the plural demonstratives -att'r-. I have discussed the relationship of Kann. -ar- to Tam. -an- on the one side and to Tam. -att'r- on the other, in HAP. I would content myself here with recording my conclusion that Kann. -ar- and Tam. -att'r- very probably owe their finals to pre-historic *sandhi* changes in which the junction of -an- (represented in the

inflexional endings of Tam. numerals and singular neuter demonstratives) with other sounds was involved.

(4) -aṇ-

This appears as an augment in the inflexional endings of words denoting direction [Śmd, 110]:—*mûḍu—mûḍ-aṇ-a mundu—mund-aṇ-a*, *naḍu—naḍu-ṽ-aṇ-ge*.

-an- as a *śāriyai* is unique in Kannada, as it is not met with in any other dialect. It is, I think, connected with -aṇ- appearing in Old Tam. *n'adu-v-aṇ*, *ivaṇ*, *avaṇ* which are all "directional" words with -aṇ.

(5) -am-

In Kannada word-compounds in which the first constituent has a final *n* or *ṇ* and the second constituent has a consonantal initial, an -am- may appear [ŚŚ, 346]:—*mīn-am-buḷu*, *kaṇṇ-an-doḷali*, *bān-aṇ-guḷige*, etc. The question whether the *am* here is related to the Tam. augment -am is well worth investigation.

Telugu

Telugu has the following augments.

(1) An element -n- appears in the instrumental, genitive and locative endings in the inflexions of nouns, as in *guru-ṽu-n-a-ku*, *guruvu-n-andu*; *gurṛamu-n-āku*, *jalamu-n-andu*, etc.

An element -n- appears in genitival word-compounds, like *pāmu-n-emmulu*, *rāju-n-eduṭa*, *mōmu-m-andamu*, *śivuvu-n-ājñā* [AC, Sandhi, 22].

These elements are perhaps connected with Tamil -in-.

(2) The inflexional stems of *adi* (that) and *idi* (this) are *addān*, *dān*- and *iddān*, *dīn*- respectively. *dān*- is the aphœre-sized form of *adān*- < **adan*; cf. Kūvi *ēdān* and Tam. *adan*-. Similarly, Tel. *vān*-, *vīn*- are the oblique stems of *avi* (those) and *ivi* (these).

The relationship of Tel. *dān*- to Tam. *adan*- shows that this Tel. *dān*- [as well as *dīn*- of *idi* (this)] contains the augment -an-.

(3) I have shown in HAP that -ṭ- of Tel. *vāt*-, the inflexional stem of *avi* (those) and of *vīṭ*-, [of *ivi* (these)] is related to *t'*

of the corresponding Tam. stems *avat't'*- and *ivat't'*-. Aphæresis and vocalic lengthening in the Telugu forms are due to accent-shift.

(4) The *aupavibhakti* element *-t* appearing after certain nouns with *-y*-, as in *cêt-* of *cêyi* (hand) is cognate with *-(a)tt-* of Tamil, *-d-* of Kannaḍa and of Gōṇḍi.

Kūi

(1) *-t* in the singular and the plural accusative and dative endings of nouns like *kōru* (buffalo) [*kōru-t-i-ni*, the sing. Acc.; *kōru-t-i-ṅgi*, the sing. dative] is possibly connected with the augments *-(a)tt-* of Tamil, *-(a)d-* of Kann., *-t-* of Tel.

(2) Kūvi, a sub-dialect of Kūi, has the inflexional stems *êdân*⁵¹ of *êd* (that) and *îdân*- of *id* (this). cf. Tel. *addân*, *dân*- of *adi* (that) and *iddân*, *dîn*- of *idi* (this).

Gōṇḍi

(1) Trench (*Gr.*, p. 39) tells us that names of human beings and

-n-. This *-n*

(2) These are *addên*- alternative reminds on Tel. *dîn*-.

tên is perhaps sized origin the vowels

instances of *-n* are discussed in my "Aphæresis and Sound-Displacement in Dravidian".

These Gōṇḍi stems may therefore be considered to have augments related to *-an*- of Tam. *adan*-, Tel. *addân*, *dân*-, Kūvi *êdân*-.

(3) The augment *-d-* in the inflexions of Gōṇḍi nouns [Trench, *Gr.*, p. 40] is cognate with the Tel. *aupavibhakti* *-t*- [HAP].

⁵¹ *ê* (that) corresponds in Kūvi to *â* (that) of South Dr.

(4) This augment *-d-* changes to a cerebral in some instances of nouns with *-l*-, *-r*-, as in *parod-* of *parol* (name).

I consider that the relationship of *-d-* to *-ḍ-* is parallel in origin to that of *-t-* to *-ṭ-* of Tel. *aupavibhakti* endings and that Gōṇḍi *-ḍ-* and Tel. *-ṭ-* (and *ṇṭ*) are ultimately traceable to alveolar plosives resulting from old *sandhi* changes of the type of *l*, *r* + *t* [HAP].

General

There is inter-dialectal agreement in respect of the augments *-in*-, *-an*-, *-at't'r*-, *-att*-. *-in*- in word-compounds is used most extensively in Tamil where (as already noted) the augment may have an adjectival, genitival, ablatival or locatival force.

-in- is not employed in Kann. word-compounds (except in inscriptional *katt-in*- and *pad-in*-), while in Telugu *pāmu-n*-, *emmulu*, etc., the remnant of an old augment with a genitival force is discernible.

Telugu *dân*-; but all those contents in be a *sandhi*- modification of the Alveolar

up in Tamil is, as *re*", connected with of Gōṇḍi. *-at't'r*- is from the meeting of *-ḍ-* may be derived

from an older alveolar plosive of the kind appearing in *-at't'r*-.

-(a)tt- seems to be cognate with the inflexional augment *-ḍ-* of Kannaḍa, *-t-* [Tel. *aupavibhakti*], *-t-* of Kūi [appearing as an augment only in "neuter" nouns] and *-d-* of Gōṇḍi. This augment has a very wide distribution.

-am- exists only in word-compounds.

Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. 28, No. 1, Pages 25-27.

Page	Line	For	Read
25	col. 5, line 1 (Telugu)		Delete <i>kanntru</i>
„	col. 4, lines 3 and 4	in some compounds.	in all word-compounds.
„	col. 2, line 11	As in 8 above	As in 8 above, except that in alvaḷi, -m is elided only in inti- mate compounds like <i>vaḷṭa yāl</i> and <i>pavaḷavāy</i> .
26	line 14	<i>ntr voydām</i>	<i>ntr voydam</i> .
„	„ 19	 'casal'....	 "casal" and other intimate
„	„ 23	Do.	Do. Do.
„	„ 29	do.	do. do.
27	„ 8		Add: But it has to be noted that the elision in all alvaḷi instances of -m before m- and n'- follow- ing in literary Tam., is not met with in the Tam. colloquial or in the other speeches, and further that the final -m of many native nouns (with -am) in Kann. had disappeared dur- ing the Middle Kannaḍa stage.

	Tamil	Malayāḷam	Kannaḍa	Telugu	Tulu	Kûi	Gôṇḍi
-in-	(i) Inflections of compounds with adjectival, genitival, ablative or locative force. (ii) <i>pad-in-</i>	Generally, as in Tamil	(i) In inflexions. (ii) <i>pad-in-</i> . Not found in other word-compounds, except in inscrip- tional <i>Kaṭṭ-in-keḷage</i> . cf. -ar- which appears in the inflexions of numerals, of the singular and the plural forms of the demonstratives—not met with in compounds.	(i) Cf. -guru- <i>ū</i> in-, etc. (ii) cf. <i>pāmu-n-ennulu</i> , etc.		Kûvi <i>ēdān-</i> the inflexional stem of <i>ēd-</i> (that).	<i>tān</i> , the in- flexional stem of <i>ad-</i> (that).
-an-	(i) In inflexions of numerals. (ii) In inflexions of <i>adu</i> , <i>āḍu</i> , <i>yāḍu</i> . (iii) In word-compounds with the words in (i) and (ii). Peculiar to Tamil, in <i>kōon-</i>	<i>-in-</i> appears instead of <i>-an-</i> in Mal. in the contexts corresponding to those of Tamil.	cf. -ar- which appears in the inflexions of numerals, of the singular and the plural forms of the demonstratives—not met with in compounds.	-an- in <i>dān-ad-</i> (that)- cf. <i>dān-</i> of <i>id-</i> .			
-on-		Absent.	Absent.	Absent.			
-at't'(r)-	In inflexions of a number of plural words; also in word-compounds with these plurals.	-at't'- in most inflexional contexts corresponding to the Tamil ones	-ar-	-t-in Tel. <i>vāt-i-</i> , <i>vāt-i-</i> , the inflexional stems of the plural demonstratives.			cf. <i>ē</i> , the in- flexional augment after nouns with <i>l</i> , -r.

	Tamil	Malayālam	Kannāḍa	Telugu	Tulu	Kñi	Gōṇḍi
-att-	(i) Inflexional āḍēa, after nouns with -am. (ii) In word- compounds involving such nouns as first constituents. (iii) after <i>veyil</i> , <i>irul</i> , etc., when followed by verbs [TE].	As in Tamil; but the use of -att- in (iii) is still active in Mal. while it has disappear- ed from modern Tamil.	Only as an in- flectional aug- ment in forms like <i>mara-d-</i> [of <i>mara</i>], etc.	Cf. -t-, the pri- mary <i>awpa-</i> <i>viḍakṭi</i> ending appearing in <i>ce-t-</i> of <i>cēyi</i> (hand).		Cf. -t- in the sing. and the pl. acc. and dat. endings of nouns like <i>kōru</i> (buffalo).	Cf. -ḍ-, the augment in inflections of nouns having final -t-, r-.
-am	In word-com- pounds	In word-com- pound.	In word-com- pounds. (?)				
-ān-	Peculiar to Tamil.						
-akk-, -ikk-	"						
-aṇ	Cf. Old Tam. <i>āṇaṇ</i> , <i>āṇaṇ</i> , <i>n'āḍāṇaṇ</i> .		As an inflex- ional augment after words denoting di- rection.				

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS*

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE Stork (*Ciconia alba*) is sufficiently common in many parts of Europe, including Roumania and Ruthenia; while it migrates yearly from its winter quarters in Africa, makes its nest and rears its young. The Stork attaches itself to man and his habitations, building its huge nest on the top of his house, and walking about in his streets as familiarly as if it had built them.

The inhabitants of Roumania in South-West Europe narrate the following myth to account for the origin of the taillessness of the Stork:—

WHY THE STORK HAS NO TAIL?

Once upon a time, there lived a young man named Floria who did some kindness to the King of the Storks. In return for this kindness, the King of the Storks gave him a feather, saying, "whenever you will be in danger, wave this feather and I shall come to your assistance". The king of that country asked Floria to procure for him a bottle of the waters of life and death which could be found in a very dangerous country. So Floria summoned the King of the Storks and requested him to procure for the king a bottle of the waters of life and death. Thereupon, the King of the Storks summoned all the storks and asked them to procure the said waters. But none of them agreed to do so, as the task was a very perilous one. At last, a stork blind of one eye and lame of one leg, undertook to procure it. So, he went to the country where the fountain of the waters of life and death lay at the bottom of two mountains which were constantly clashing with each other, so that none could go to the bottom thereof. A frog, which lived at the bottom thereof, advised the stork to fly down to

* No. LI "On a Roumanian Aetiological Myth about the Origin of the Taillessness of the Stork."

the bottom of the mountain, when they would rest for a little time, then he should fly up with the water. But the frog warned the bird that, when he would rise up towards the summit of the mountains, he should not touch the sides thereof, for if he would do so, the mountains would crush upon him and kill him. The stork acted according to these directions, while he was flying up with the bottle of the waters and had nearly reached the summit of the mountains his feet happened to touch a pebble lying on the top thereof. As soon as this was done, the mountains crushed upon him, but fortunately only the stork's tail got caught by the mountains. But the stork put forth all his might and main to escape from the clutches of the mountains and succeeded in doing so only with the loss of his tail, which could not be extricated therefrom.

After losing his tail, he arrived at the court of the King of the Storks and delivered the bottle of the waters of life and death. At this the king was very glad. But the assembled storks, who had not ventured to undertake this difficult task, began to jeer at the blind and lame stork about his taillessness. *At this, the King of the Storks severely reprimanded them and cursed them that, from that time forth, all storks should be devoid of tails. This is why the storks have no tails.**

From a study of the foregoing myths, we find that:—

(a) The Roumanians are keen observers of the peculiarities of the birds, and being unable to explain the origin of the taillessness of the storks, have invented the foregoing myth to explain it.

(b) The stork is regarded as a bird of good omen. In Ruthenia, it is thought to be very lucky for those who live in houses upon which a stork has built his nest and the woman in this photograph would be very sad if the great bird left the house. The nest upon the top of the house in the picture looks as though it were made of the same stuff as the thatched

* *Vide* the Folktale entitled: *Why the Stork has no Tail in The Folktales of All Nations*. Edited by F. H. Lee, published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931. Pages 836-838.

roof, on which bundles of hemp and flax are drying in the Sun†.

(c) The incident of waving the feathers to summon the King of the Storks, has its analogue in the folklore of other races of people. In the *Arabian Nights*, a ring is given which, when rubbed, summoned the demon. In a Bengali folktale, a princess was given a fan which, when waved, summoned her lover, the absent prince.

(d) The bringing of waters of life and death symbolises the performance of a very dangerous job, like the fetching of a tigress's milk in Bengali folklore.

(e) The water of life and death is curious. There is the tradition about a fountain whose waters confer immortality on the drinkers thereof. But, I do not know of any other instance of water which inflicted death.

(f) The mention of the oscillating mountains is rather unique. I do not know of any parallel instance thereof.

(g) The foregoing myth belongs to the group of folktales of "The Helping Beasts Type". In this myth, the stork and the frog help the young man Floria in performing this dangerous job.

† *Vide* the photograph of the thatched house at page 339 of *Children's Colour Book of Lands and Peoples*, Vol. I.

REVIEWS

Srikara Bhāṣya.—By C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L. (In two volumes. Price Rs. 15.)

WE congratulate Rajacharitavisharada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao on the publication of this ancient work of Sri-pati which is appropriately dedicated to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore by Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, Kt., C.I.E., LL.D., President, The Mysore Lingayat Education Fund Association. *Srikara Bhāṣya* is the Veerasaiva commentary of the *Vedānta Sūtras*. The Introduction gives us an original account of a very complicated subject, the entire field of Hindu philosophy. The Preface extends to over forty pages while the English Introduction is very close upon nine hundred pages. In the second volume is printed the text in original Sanskrit with appendices which are bound to be of invaluable help to readers. As Mr. V. Subramanya Iyer says, the Preface is a masterly survey of modern trends of philosophical thought paying a glorious tribute to Sri Badarayana. The Introduction contains an approach to the fullest discussion concerning the effects of the teachings of the *Upaniṣads* on philosophical thought in the West. It is said of the theory of *Bhedābheda* of Badarayana which Sri-pati, the author of the commentary, advocates that it holds ground in the two continents. The readable, scientific manner in which Badarayana applies his mind to the method of *Samanvaya* is known to all students of philosophy and the rules and methods of reasoning which he employs to clarify the philosophic standpoint which he wishes to indicate and the authoritative fashion in which he lays down his conclusions baffle analysis. It is no wonder that Badarayana's method should revolutionize philosophical speculations and lead to the highest and most exalted in Upaniṣadic thought whence radiate diverging schools of thought as they are to-day.

Mr. Hayavadana Rao finds that Sri-pati belonged to about the fifteenth century A.D. and expounded unity in duality, that

is, *Dvaitādvaita*, and he elaborately discusses the various phases of this theory and believes that he has tried to combine harmoniously the passing views of *Dvaita* and *Advaita*. In this effort, occasion has been taken to discuss the relationships of the theory to the systems of philosophy in vogue in East and West. For prodigious industry and application, and for a critical analysis of a complicated mass of voluminous matter available on the subject, Mr. Hayavadana Rao could hardly have a rival and we have no doubt that the work before us will be found a very useful treatise by all.

S. S.

The Kharias.—By S. C. Roy and R. C. Roy. (In two volumes. Published by *Man-in-India* Office, Ranchi. Price Rs. 11.)

THE authors deserve the grateful thanks of anthropologists for the excellent work on the Kharias published by them. The local variations of the Kharia tribes, their institutions, the several successive levels of their primitive culture are well brought out in these two volumes. Dr. Marret, one of the greatest living authorities on anthropology, in his illuminating Foreword, recommends Young India to study and to master the existing material in India concerning the various races inhabiting the country and their affinities and to help forward the anthropological study of their country and we echo the hope that the same will appeal to the several Universities in India so that they may recognize anthropology as a course of study for the University degree with a proper emphasis of original considerations. Sir Brajendranath Seal's attempt in the Mysore University in this direction deserves a clearer recognition than it had in his day and we are confident that Vice-Chancellor N. S. Subba Rao, himself a distinguished student of the history of our country and its economics, will give the deserved impetus to the study of the manners, customs, culture, religion, traditional history and social conditions of southern India with particular emphasis to Mysore in our University.

The illustrations fill a great want. The measurements and the physical appearance of the Kharia tribe and the

description of their affinities are of deserving interest. This tribe appears to have utilized the forms of nature to secure the working control of environment and solved to some extent the problem of food and shelter, personal adornment and clothing, self-defence and revenge, etc. The settlements were of a rude sort where a few families lived together in their scattered huts while a few resorted to regular villages. For the details of their social organizations we must refer to the volumes under review. Leadership, Village Council, Tribal Council with democratic leanings appear to have existed, and with all communal life were still maintained ideas of private property. The position of women was not very low though there were certain disabilities concerning their rights of inheritance and ceremonials. Marriage was totemistic to a certain extent. Solidity of the clan was good and to act against the clan interest was the deadliest sin. The widow had the life interest in the property of her sonless deceased husband so long as she continued a widow. The disposal of the human placenta amongst the Kharias was curious: the umbilical cord was severed by the midwife with a thread, a knife or a copper coin being placed at the place of severance with other perquisites. The cord was buried at a corner of the hut or under the doorway or the threshold or under the eaves or thrown into the flowing stream or put into an earthen pot under a tree close by the hut. The stem when it dried and dropped off, was also buried under the same tree along with the fire that was so long kept in the lying room or shed. A terrible sickness and death were attributed not to natural causes but to a malignant spirit or witchcraft. Burial was the vogue and cremation rare. On the whole religion and 'magic' had intermingled in their rites and ceremonies. The spirit was regarded as being capable of influencing human destiny. Ancestor worship was abundant. The village priest was the oldest inhabitant. Contact amongst the Hindu and Christian people was the marking of trends in cultural evolution. The Kharias are candid and open men, cheerful in disposition, genial in temperament, sober and serious yet

possessed of a strong will, not unreasonably obstinate, not very pliant and easy going but on the whole an honest, simple and guileless but generally improvident people. Progressive sections of the community would no doubt secure gradually their place in the Indian Society.

S. S.

Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India for the years 1930-34.—(In two Volumes; Manager, Government Publications, Delhi. Price Rs. 50-8-0.)

ANNUAL REPORTS of the Archaeological Survey of India for the years 1930 to 1934 form most interesting reading. The very first plate, a facsimile in the Kubyankkuyi temple in Burma belonging to the twelfth century A.D., is remarkable.

Owing to the delay in the publication, the Government of India decided to issue a consolidated work and we are fortunate in securing the services of Dr. C. L. Fabre, a Hungarian, a European scholar of reputed fame fitted for the work and associated with the publication of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* of the Kern Institute, Leyden. The financial condition of the State led to a general decline in the activities of the Archaeological Department and yet the number of discoveries embodied in these volumes is of no mean importance and contain evidences of constant and careful activity. We trust the brilliant results obtained at Mohenjo Daro, which have attracted world-wide attraction, will not rest there and that it will be possible to resume spade-work which has been abandoned. The excavations at Harappa revealed very interesting operations of the town aptly called *the workmen's quarters*. Further survey has yielded important results, such as the existence of the many more sites belonging to the more cultural levels as Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, reaching the excavators' spade. The images discovered at Nalanda have been fully illustrated. In the neighbourhood of Taxila Sir John Marshall discovered two more important sites. Mr. Dikshit who took a great deal of interest in the work of the period, has now become

Director-General and we congratulate him for the opportunity which he has of furthering the activities of the Department with which he is associated. The Glossary of technical terms and the Index are a new feature of the work which are to be welcomed.

S. S.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore for the years 1934 and 1935.

WE congratulate Dr. M. H. Krishna on being able to bring up-to-date the archaeological reports of Mysore and the volumes before us for the year ending June 1934 and June 1935 embody considerable research and collection of epigraphical and other material. It is interesting to observe that the tours for study of the Calukyan monuments of the State have been completed and numerous photographs have been taken and it is hoped that the monograph on Chalukyan architecture in Mysore will be available at no distant date. Dr. Krishna has given an authentic account of the *Kaditas* available at the Sringeri Mutt. Some of these had been previously noticed in the archaeological reports by the late Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar of revered memory and we are grateful to Dr. Krishna for making them available to a larger public. No. 37, page 139 for 1934, is an important inscription being a grant made directly by the ascetic Vidyāranya on the 29th January 1386 and Dr. Krishna supplements the information in the grant with reference to other inscriptions of Vidyāranya available in stone and copper-plates. In 1935, Dr. Krishna made extensive tours in Western and Northern India at his own cost in order to obtain first-hand acquaintance with Indian Sculpture and Architecture and visited not less than forty-five places of importance and we have no doubt that the value of these tours from the point of view of Mysore Architecture is enormous. Amongst the inscriptions collected during the year is one relating to Rajāditya, throwing some light on the relationship between Ganga, Cālukya and

Rāstrakūṭa kings of the period. Several villages are mentioned in inscription No. 17, found in a village near Begur, and it is unfortunate that the villages named therein are not identifiable. No. 39 describes the exploits of a General under Yādava Rāmadeva against Mummadi Singeya Naicka in 1282. Regarding the consideration of monuments, we are afraid a great deal still remains to be done as Dr. Krishna himself would admit, but that is a question of funds. Exploration work also is at a standstill. With the improvement in the financial situation of the country and the support of the enlightened public progress in these directions will be more satisfactory.

S. S.

Rig Veda Samhita, Vol. II.—(Published by the Vaidika Samshodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, 2. Price Rs. 12.)

SAYANA'S well-known commentaries on the *Rig Veda Samhita* are printed under the auspices of the Tilak Maharashtra University, Volume I of which has already been reviewed in these pages. Volume II comprises maṇḍalas 2 to 5. The Editorial Board is a guarantee of the excellent work before us. To make the work critical the manuscripts available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Oriental Institute, Baroda, the Indian Office Library and others have been pressed into service. Every attempt is made to test the authenticity of manuscripts used in the work.

The hymns in the second maṇḍala are attributed mostly to *Gṛtsamada*, a remarkable personage in the Hindu legends, the first member in the family of Angirasa who was carried off by the Asuras during the sacrifice and was later rescued by Indra. The hymns of the third maṇḍala are attributed to the famous sage Viśvamitra. We look forward to the completion of this remarkable work at no distant date. The letter-press, reading and the get-up are worthy of the work and the undertaking.

S. S.

Patna Gaya Report.—(In two volumes. Behar and Orissa Research Society.)

FRANCIS BUCHANAN has left an account of his journey throughout India. The readers are familiar with his journey in Mysore. We have had occasion to account of his journey in several other parts of India. The two volumes before us under the heading *Patna Gaya Report* comprise the Introduction and books one and two in Volume I and books three to five along with Appendices and maps in Volume II, published by the Behar and Orissa Research Institute and printed from the Buchanan manuscripts in the India Office Library. They take us back to one century and a quarter and present an account of the conditions of the country at that time. The survey was of remarkable significance and the political student has got invariably to study Buchanan wherever he goes in India for an actual account of the state of the country in the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was not as only a traveller that Buchanan toured the country but he studied the history and antiquities of the country, took notes of the topographical situations, the social conditions of the people, the trade and industry, education, mode of living, the disease peculiar to the various parts and how the poor provided resources for their living, religion and in short everything concerning the daily life of the people with an eye to the introduction of any new methods to be adopted for progress in education, relief in sickness and disease and improvement in commerce.

S. S.

Pāli Pajja Pushpañjali, Buddha Vaçana Parichaya and Miḷinda Prasne.—By G. P. Rajaratnam, M.A. (Published by the Sakya Sahitya Maṇḍapa. Re. 0-8-0 & Rs. 4-0-0 Ordinary copy, Rs. 7-8-0 Library copy.)

MR. RAJARATNAM is a well-known author and a poet in Kannada and many of his poems have already become household words. His studies in the history and religion of Buddhism

are to be welcomed. We have already reviewed his work on Chinese Pilgrims. He has projected several works concerning Buddhism of which the two books before us have been published. *Pāli Pajja Pushpañjali* is a collection of certain parts of Pāli literature which appealed to the author and which he has given us in a readable, intelligent and appealing Kannada garb. It is homely, attractive, appealing and well worthy of the task which the author has taken for it. His attempt to familiarise the ordinary Kannada public with the gems of the Pāli literature is to be welcomed. The above remarks apply with equal force and greater significance to the other translation of the *Buddha Vaçana Paricaya* and *Miḷinda Prasne* into Kannada from the original Pāli.

The Sakya Sahitya Maṇḍapa which has made itself responsible for the publication of this Pāli-Kannada translation deserves every encouragement. *Buddha Vaçana, Paricaya* are the sayings of Buddha or the Tirthaṅkaras and sacrosanct to the Buddhists as the *Veda* to the Hindus, the *Bible* to the Christians or the *Quran* to the Muhammadans, and as such it is of the greatest importance to know what those sayings are. Buddhism is a live religion although it has suffered considerable decades in India itself, where its critical tenets were woven into the all-absorbing Hinduism in many ways. During the past several decades attempts for the revival of Buddhism are growing apace and increasing interest is evinced in Buddhist studies. The work before us is not a mere translation, and the author has done his best to help us to appreciate and enjoy the sayings of Buddha which he has given us. We look forward with eager interest to the numerous works which he has set before himself.

S. S.

Bhāsa Mahākavi.—By C. K. Venkataramiah, B.A., L.L.B. (In Kannada. Price Rs. 2.)

MR. VENKATARAMIAH is a prolific writer as he is also a resourceful speaker and his study ranges the whole field of Sanskrit literature. His enthusiasm for Bhāsa became known

to us more than a decade ago when he gave us an interesting account of Kaṭidāsa and after an interval occupied in the contribution of dramas, biographies, stories and speeches on a variety of subjects and topics, we have now before us a sumptuous volume of the great Sanskrit poet Bhāsa, almost unknown to fame a generation ago but now occupying an appropriate place in the field of Sanskrit literature. After the discovery of the Manuscripts by Ganapati Sastriar in 1910 increasing interest is given to Bhāsa to an extent that it almost looks as if Kaṭidāsa will soon be forgotten. We know that it can never be for it is impossible to forget *Śakuntala* and as long as she lives Kaṭidāsa will never die but will go on flying into imperial heights like the cloud messenger which he has gifted to posterity for eternal enjoyment. Mr. A. R. Krishna Sastry has given an account of Bhāsa in Kannada and there are also other works relating to Bhāsa in that language: yet this work is to be welcomed. It is earnestly to be wished that Mr. Venkataramiah would furnish a short introductory account to his big volume so that an ordinary reader will be in a position to know something about Bhāsa before he takes to study the complicated details in the book itself. It is not for us to enter into a discourse on the date of Bhāsa where distinguished scholars join issue but it seems that his date and his works are determined, on established material. At page 57, Mr. Venkataramiah makes a departure from a bare discussion on the materials available for consideration on the date of Bhāsa and suggests that there were stone structures far earlier to those at Mahābalipuram, etc. It is not the existence of the stone structure to which any objection is taken but rather to the spirit of criticism which the author seeks to level against the statement of Mr. Hirananda Sastry and others who are reputed archæologists. There is a limit to imagination and we are confident that Mr. Venkataramiah in his enthusiasm for finding everything in our language, has trespassed it and we wish scholars will avoid digging into the unknown where they can help it.

S. S.

The Mahābhārata. Fascicule 8, Virāṭaparvan.—(By V. S. Sukthankar. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.)

THE critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* under the directorship of Dr. Vishnu S. Sukthankar continues to be published and the Volume No. 5, like the previous volumes, is scholarly, fully critical and well illustrated. The text is reliable and represents the greatest progress in the philosophical history of the Indian epoch as recognized by the late Professor Hill Brandt. There is no weakening in the effort at completion. The theme is worthy of the task and the editors are completely equal to the task they have undertaken, and the work before us is a monument of their industry and self-imposed zeal for which posterity will be always very grateful to them.

S. S.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nos. 49 & 52.—(Manager, Government Publications, Delhi. Price Rs. 4-8-0 and Rs. 6-0-0 respectively.)

Nos. 49 and 52 of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* relate to Bijapur Inscriptions and a memoir on Kotala Firoz Shah, Delhi, respectively. The first one by Dr. Nizam is of considerable importance. Mr. Cousins has already left an important work on Bijapur architecture and the present work is based on his notes and another Urdu work. In this *Memoir* attempt has been made to correct the mistakes in Mr. Cousins' notes and the Urdu work and to furnish an authentic record of the Muslim inscriptions at Bijapur.

Kotala Firoz Shah ruins belong to the fourteenth century A.D. and Mr. J. A. Page has made extensive use of the translation of Elliot and Dowson for the purpose of his original narrative and has himself followed the *Shirat-i-Firozshahi*, a translation of which is found in the volume. The Appendix gives a translation of the seven edicts of Asoka on the *topra* pillar in an English rendering.

S. S.

**Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His
Exalted Highness The Nizam's Dominions for the
year 1343 F. 1933-34/A.C.**

THE Report under review is a very encouraging report and Telugu Epigraphy has been noticed to a large extent. Several new monuments of considerable archæological and historical importance including the *viharas* at Ghatockatch were surveyed. The fort at Taltam mentioned in *Āin-i-Akbarī* and *Akbar Nāmā* in connection with the quest of Khandesh and Ahmednagar by Akbar were surveyed. Ten pre-historic sites in Gudwal as well as others elsewhere were discovered. The discovery at Gachchi Bavoli near Golkanda showed examples of two different accounts of ancient burial, viz., the *Cairn* and the *Cromlech* occurring side by side. At Ellura five new frescoes representing flying *apsarasis* were brought to light in caves 31 and 32. Cleaning and preserving the frescoes were made on scientific lines. At Aurangabad Buddhist caves have been similarly preserved. A comprehensive survey of Hindu inscriptions in Telugu districts has been made and several inscriptions edited.

S. S.

**Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year
1935.—(Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland.)**

WE congratulate the organisers of the Kern Institute on the encouragement they are receiving from India both in the matter of financial support and the literary work associated with their labour. The excavations at the prehistoric sites of Chanhudaro in Sind by the expeditions of the American School of Indic and Iranian studies and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts under the direction of Dr. Earnest Mackey are bound to be of importance to students of antiquity. The publication started by giving contents and important notes on periodicals concerning India and in a very short time it has been enabled to give original articles relating to Indian archæology from the most prominent workers in the field.

Indus Culture can now be considered as having a much wider zone of influence than was originally possible and the discovery of the pre-historic sites at Rangapur suggests that the culture might be known more appropriately as proto-Dravidian. The Yale and Cambridge Archæological Expeditions headed by Dr. H. De Terra furnished its pre-historic explorations in the North-Western Province claiming to have found relics of a culture which could not be definitely dated but probably at least one hundred thousand years old and belonging to the stone culture of the Palæolithic Age. We wish many more years of successful service for this important publication and hope it will find it possible to include the work done in Mysore in its notice.

S. S.

**Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin
State for the year 1111 M.E./1935-36 A.D.—(Price
Re. 0-12-0.)**

THE Annual Report of the Cochin State for the year 1935-36 contains valuable information done in the State during the year 1935-36 and we are glad to observe the pace taken by the Government to construct and conserve private monuments and images of inscriptions under private ownership.

S. S.

**Administration of the Archaeological Department of
Travancore for the year 1111 M.E.**

IN Travancore trial excavations at Trikkakkara were resumed and other excavations were conducted at South Travancore, the results of which we await with eager interest.

S. S.

**Handbook of Gwalior.—(The Director of Archæology,
Gwalior.)**

THE *Handbook of Gwalior* published by the Archæological Department makes very interesting reading and we congratulate

Mr. Garde, the Director of Archaeology in the Gwalior State, on the excellent get-up of the work. Gwalior abounds in archaeological remains extending to two thousand years including such important and ancient sites like Ujjaini, Besnagar, Padmavati, Dasapur and the like. Besnagar was an extensive Buddhist centre relating to the grove at Sanchi and Bagh contains Viharas cut out of a solid rock and adorned with beautiful frescoes. Hindu and Jain relics flourished and a detailed monograph of these, fully illustrated, would be welcome.

S. S.

Popular Culture in Karnataka.—By Masti Venkatesa Iyengar. (Price Rs. 2-8-0.)

MR. M. VENKATESA IYENGAR, familiar to the Kannada reader as Srinivasa and well known in literary circles as Masti, has presented his *Popular Culture in Karnataka*, the book under review. The first series of lectures in Kannada under the auspices of the Madras University of which he is a distinguished alumnus were delivered by him and we do not regret the delay in the publication considering the get-up and the presentation. The Census of 1931 absorbed his time for several years and the task of an executive officer in charge of a district is by no means easy. Nevertheless the author has found time to engage in literary activities of a very high order and produce popular books in the language of the country which find a place in every home. The Veerasaiva Movement which moulded the thought of the Karnataka for one thousand years and the teachings of Basavanna and of Purandaradasa such as those referred to in the book have reflected the common view and lifted the outlook of the Kannada Country. The Mysorean is naturally proud of both the subject and the author and we congratulate Mr. Venkatesa Iyengar on the excellent manner in which he has dealt with the subjects comprised in the volume under review.

S. S.

No Man's Land & Ocean of Theosophy.—(Theosophy Co., 51, Esplanade, Bombay. Price As. 8 and Rs. 2 respectively.)

No Man's Land has been reprinted from the *Aryan Path* by the Theosophy Co., Los Angels, and comprises of five subjects : (i) Beyond Human Horizon, (ii) Divine Incarnation, (iii) Gods, Heroes and Men, (iv) Omnipresent Spirit and (v) Spirits Embodied and Disembodied. Progress and retrogression alter and succeed each other as light and darkness. Civilizations and works wax and wane but it requires devotion to the mortal which makes of selfish, transitory, personal existence fuel for the flame of the imperishable ego—the stimulation of the divine incarnation on earth. The same Company has published the *Ocean of Theosophy* by William King Judge. An exceedingly interesting work presented in a manner easily understood by the ordinary reader and given in the form of a small compendium. Mr. Judge had the advantage of sitting at the feet of H. P. B. under Indian masters and learnt the principles of the esoteric philosophy from them. Theosophy is a wisdom towards God and faith to those who believe that he is everywhere and everything and it is the knowledge of laws which govern the evolution of philosophical, astral, psychological and intellectual constituents of nature and mind. This *Handbook* deals with Theosophy in a nut-shell and we recommend the work as a clear, good introduction to the further study of the subject. At a time when materialism holds sway the matter of the spirit is generally in the mind, and the pages of this book purport to give the same right knowledge in the true theosophy of mind and nature and to help on the progress of the races.

S. S.

Andaman Islands.—(The New Book Agency, Mysore. Rs. 1-8-0)

MR. F. A. M. DASS has given clear and vivid pictures of the Andaman Islands, their resources and landscapes and of the people and their habits and their Government. The

Andaman Islands were not unknown to the ancient mariners but their connection with the Indian main land is no doubt recent. The Islands are to-day a beautiful settlement for the British Indians but the book shows many good features about the fairy islands of the Indian bay. Whether the Indians are the descendants of the Pre-Aryan races of North India or the aborigines of the Bamboo race or the remnants of the ship-wrecked Africans or the Semangs or others could not be easily predicted but they are a dying race and perhaps the last relic of the primitive man. Marcopolo describes the islanders as idolaters and the most brutish and savage races with canine dispositions and Mr. C. L. Fredric considers them as cannibalistic but these observations of their customs and manners probably are overdrawn. The enterprise of Mr. Dass is good, praiseworthy and we congratulate him on his successful endeavour.

S. S.

Bulletins of the Madras Govt. Museum.—(Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. Price Re. 0-12-0.)

MR. GRAVELY in his study refers to Ferguson's unsound separation of Indian Architecture as Buddhist, Jain and Hindu without a realisation of their connection. The difference is mainly chronological without any essential architectural emphasis. We have ourselves felt the confusion resulting from the nomenclature adopted by Ferguson and we welcome Mr. Gravelly's study with gratitude. The Hoysala style is regarded as the finer outcome of the well-known type of the two forms of temple adopted by the Calukyan Dynasty and absorbs perhaps the Kadamba style also. In the temples found in different parts of India will be found one common feature, the production of towers by a process of vertical repetition without increasing the height of any single structure suggesting the sway of the fundamental unity underlying the various styles of Indian temple architecture.

S. S.

Hymn of Aruna.—By N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu. (Price Re. 1. Foreign 2 sh.)

To readers of *Aruna Prasna* referred to in our Journal, this book will be particularly welcome. *Aruna Prasna* is perhaps the most beautiful lyrical poem in Vedic Sanskrit and we congratulate Mr. Venkatesam Pantulu on the prose translation in English of these hymns. Whether or not the mistake formerly of *Ahuna Vairya* in Zend Avesta is based on or adhered from it, a verification is nevertheless welcome.

S. S.

Geographical Essays.—By Dr. B. C. Law.

DR. B. C. LAW has collected in this volume the several articles which he had published in various journals on the ancient geography of India, Burma and Ceylon. The book is a very handy reference supplemented by a very useful Index. We have verified the information given under the various headings and find they are correct, concise and up-to-date. Earlier chapters are devoted to the data available and are introductory of the ancient conditions in India with references drawn from the epic and puranic sources as well as from the extant literature. It gives us an idea of the spread of Buddhism in India in the early centuries of the Christian Era and of the influence which Buddhism exerted in the daily life of the country.

S. S.

Brahmavidya.—(Bulletin of the Adyar Library. Vol. I, Part I.)

THE *Adyar Library Bulletin* which has since published three issues already is worthy of the cause for which it is devoted. The Adyar Library is one of the finest we have come across and the work done at Adyar is of greatest importance to India in particular. To us who had the good fortune to see Colonel Olcott it is a matter of sincere thankfulness that this *Bulletin* should have started its career of usefulness on the

day on which he passed away. The subjects dealt with are of considerable importance and the Adyar Library is certain to bring into light many books of ancient times which, without its support, would be lost to us.

S. S.

Upadesa Saram.—(“ Sunday Times ” Press, Madras. Price Re. 0-4-0.)

SRI RAMANA MAHARSHI, a learned sage, leads an ascetic life near Tiruvannamalai and is attracting crowds of visitors, devotees and disciples from all parts of the world. No South Indian newspaper is without a reference to the sage in a week and there is no traveller from abroad who does not go to the hermitage of this sage and listen to his wonderful discourses. A solution of the riddle of existence, dependence upon nothing but yourself and finding out whence you came is not possible for an earthly human being with his covetousness greed and ambition. To avoid the ever-lengthening change of *Samsāra* one must ceaselessly keep desire limited to unavoidable cause without seeking any results therefrom and secure by gradual steps, non-attachment with things of the earth. *Pūja*, *Japa* and *Dhyāna* in its succession may end in *Samādhi* but not necessarily so because *Dhyāna* is many-sided. Discipline, earnestness and the calm, quiet and solitary concentration giving one's soul up to meditation and to the supreme is not easy and it is not possible to work that way without the assistance of a spiritual preceptor in the *Sādhana Catuṣṭaya* for the revelation of truth.

S. S.

Śiva Tattva Prakāśika.—By S. Krishnaswami Iyer, Chittor. (Price Re. 1.)

IN this book an attempt has been made to expound the identity of Śiva and Keśava. We have long felt that Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahma so far as their manifestations in images are concerned, embody in each the attributes of

the others so that when we see one image we see the attributes of the Hindu Trinity. The collection of authorities to show the identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu is much welcomed. As Mr. Swaminatha Aiyar says one supreme impersonal being is *Nirguṇa Brahma* without name or form and he manifests himself to devotees in the form in which they meditate on him. Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer has further illustrated the unity in this diversity of manifestations and the book explains clearly that there is no reason for sectarian bigotry between the worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The image of Sri Venkateśa on the Tirupati Hills is stated to have been in earlier times a Śaivite image to which to-day Smarthas, Vaiṣṇavas and Sri Vaiṣṇavas pay their due homage.

S. S.

Sripati Paddhati.—By V. Subramanya Sastry. (Price Rs. 2-12-0.)

MR. V. SUBRAMANYA SASTRY has laid the astrologers under a deep debt of gratitude by his various translations of the ancient astrological works and *Sripati Paddhati*, the last of the series, is a revised and enlarged edition with an English translation and annotations and a complete index both in Sanskrit and English. Sripati was a Brahman belonging to the first half of the eleventh century, a famous mathematician, a highly reputed astrologer and an author of several treatises including the present work. The construction of a horoscope, the method of calculating the strength of aspects between planets, evaluating the source of such strength and of finding out the good and evil which each planet would contribute to the life of the subject, are very important indeed to any one who believes in Astrology. The length of life given to the subject is to be discovered and the circumstances under which the allotted span of life might be affected by the planetary conditions in a favourable or evil position have to be traced. These are matters discussed in Chapters I to VI of the work under review. In the later chapters will be found the extent

to which the planet is likely to influence the life of the subject and the difficulties which might have to be surmounted during the period of its influence with other planets which come into conflict with its rule. All these factors will have to be studied properly by the astrologer before he can predict the good or evil that may occur in the subject's life from the ripening of the past *Karma*. A close study of the book would enable the individual, with proper aspects to understand something about himself without being unfortunately left in the bewildering mass of confusion, not to say of conflicting detail.

S. S.

NOTES

The Aśoka Tree.

THE Note on the Aśoka Tree in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, p. 40, by Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra is indeed interesting. References are found frequently in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and other works in Sanskrit literature to the Aśoka Tree and especially to the beauty of its flowers. In fact, its beauty made the flower one of the five Love-Arrows of Kāma, the God of Love. I do not know, however, if the tree was intended to be a symbol of chastity. Buddha's mother evidently made the *Aśokavana*, her lying-in-place, as the *Aśokavana* was ever held to be and used as the pleasure-garden, by the kings of old. Indeed it was the pleasure-garden where Rāma and Sita took their meal together in the afternoon (*vide* p. 13 of the same issue). I do not think that Mr. Mitra is correct when he says that Sita took refuge in the *Aśokavana*, to escape the advances of Rāvaṇa. It was Rāvaṇa that chose the *Aśokavana* for the stay of Sita until such time as she would agree to love him and exchange him for her lord Sri Rāma. It was evidently Rāvaṇa's pleasure-garden and he must have intended her stay there to be of purpose to him as the beauty of the garden might sow seeds of lust in Sita in the course of time. But as Sita was too virtuous for Rāvaṇa, the Aśoka had no such effect on her. It only helped her to turn her thought more and more towards Sri Rāma. It killed her *Soka* or grief in that way. Apart from the beauty of the flower, the bark of the Aśoka Tree has indeed excellent medical use, as has been pointed out by Mr. Mitra.

N. K. VENKATESAM.

Anantapur,
27-6-37.

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A PROTO-INDIAN SIGN FROM VALA

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

IN the course of some excavations I conducted in Vala, the ancient Vallabhipur (Kathiawar) by kind permission of H. H. the Thakore Saheb, in the year 1930, several objects of the proto-historical period of India were unearthed on the lower level of the foundations of a later Buddhist monastery. I have described these objects elsewhere;¹ they may be safely placed within the period of the Mohenjo Daro-Harappa discoveries.

One of these objects is a knob cover or lid of a pot, the edges of which are broken, but fortunately its knob remains intact. Similar knob lids have been discovered at Mohenjo Daro,² at Sari-Dheri,³ and at Jemdet Nasr.⁴

¹ Heras, *The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals Discovered in Sumer*, B. B. & C. I. Annual, 1938.

² Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, Pl. LXXXII, Nos. 37-44.

³ Corbier, *New Finds in the Indus Valley, Iraq*, IV, Pl. V, No. 2.

⁴ Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr*, Pl. LXVII, Nos. 25-27.

The upper portion of the knob of the cover found at Vala is flat with a circular border made out of the clay of the same cover. In the centre of this circle there is a sign shaped like a hook also made of the same substance. This sign was for a long time the cause of a great puzzle to me. At first sight it may appear that it is the spiral end of the circular border, made while turning the potter's wheel, but if that were the case, the curved line of the sign or spiral would be concentric and would end in the very centre of the knob. It is not so in this case. Moreover, the whole border round the sign may be easily traced, and the sign is not a continuation of that border. Therefore, there is no doubt that this sign was purposely made on the knob. But what was its significance?

Lately, while going through the list of signs of Jemdet Nasr, which is the earliest collection of Sumerian signs discovered up to the present,⁵ I unexpectedly found the same sign as on the knob though turned to the opposite direction, thus: . It is well known that the signs of Jemdet Nasr are always inclined 90° to the left. Thus  (Jn. 25) stands for a garden. The original position of the sign should be . Thus in Mohenjo Daro we find  *tōta*, garden. Moreover, on many occasions not only the position is changed but also the direction of the sign. Thus, for instance, in Mohenjo Daro we have  *kašude*, "ass" with the mouth to the left and in Jemdet Nasr (130)  *anšu*, ass, with the mouth towards the right.

This is precisely what has happened to the sign under study. On the lid knob the sign is , while in Jemdet Nasr (160) the sign is thus: . What is the meaning of this Sumerian sign?

⁵ The signs of the Kish Tablet of the Ashmolean Museum, which is earlier than Jemdet Nasr, cannot be said to be a collection of signs, for they are very few.



Clay knob-lid of a pot discovered at Vala.

Prof. Langdon says that it probably reads *bar*. *Bar* in Sumerian means "to open" and corresponds to the cuneiform . Thus one may say *igi bar*, "to open the eye," "to see," "to look at". Therefore the Proto-Indian potter of Kathiawar while making this cover placed on the knob the sign meaning "open", in the same way as we write "press the button" under the push-bell.

Now, is this sign  unknown in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions? The sign meaning "to open" in the list of Mohenjo Daro signs is ; it reads *tira*, a word which besides "opening" means "wave" and "sea". The only difference between these two signs is that one is angular and the other is curvilinear. May we from this deduce the priority of age of either of them? As a general rule angular signs are later, for they had the tendency to become cuneiform. Yet Jemdet Nasr which is evidently later than Mohenjo Daro,⁶ in this case has a curvilinear form of the same sign which is angular in the Indus Valley. There are other exceptions, similar to this.⁷ The similarity with the Jemdet Nasr sign therefore suggests a later age for this Kathiawar sign.

This new discovery seems to suggest that the Proto-India script was also known in Kathiawar and that therefore the marvellous civilization revealed by the Indus Valley excavations was also spread throughout ancient Surāṣṭra.

⁶ Cf. Heras, *The Origin of the Sumerian Writing*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, January 1938.

⁷ Cf. Heras, *Sumerian Epigraphy*, *The New Review*, V, p. 260.

THE VEDIC RITUAL OF MARRIAGE

A Study

BY N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU, M.A., L.T.

THE Marriage Ritual according to the Vedas might be broadly classified under the following heads :—

- i. The auspicious time for the celebration of the marriage and the choice of the bride.
- ii. The bride's treading on the Stone.
- iii. Oblations with fried grain.
- iv. *Pānigrahaṇa* (the taking of the bride's hand by the bridegroom).
- v. *Sapta-padi* (the bride's taking seven steps with the bridegroom).
- vi. The bride's journey to the bridegroom's house.
- vii. The reception of the bride at the bridegroom's house.
- viii. Seeing Dhruva, the Polar Star, and Arundhati in the night.
- ix. Three nights' *Dikṣa* with fire.
- x. The Consummation.
- xi. The Domestic Fire and its *Upāsana*.
- xii. Special Expiations.
- xiii. Special Desires.

In the following table, the ritual is arranged in order according to :—

- I. The *Atharva Veda*—Kauśika Sūtras.
- II. The *Sāma Veda*—i. Khādīra, ii. Gobhila *Gr̥hya* Sūtras.
- III. The *Śukla Yajur Veda*—Pāraskara *Gr̥hya* Sūtras.
- IV. The *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda*—i. Āpastamba, ii. Hiranya-keśīya *Gr̥hya* Sūtras.
- V. The *R̥g Veda*—i. Āśvalāyana, ii. Sāṅkhyāyana *Gr̥hya* Sūtras.

	Time and choice of bride	Treading of stone	Fried grain	Pānigrahaṇa
	1	2	3	4
<i>Atharva Veda</i> .	Bride chosen lays stick in fire. Bathed in prepared water heated. Dressed in new garment. Bound to right yoke-hole. Gold on forehead.	Bride stands on stone on lump of dung.	Scatters grains.	Bride's hand seized and bride led around fire. Bride mounts couch. She is ungirdled. Fragrant powder sprinkled.
<i>Sāma Veda</i> .	Girl's choice with earth clods. Rest as above.	Treads on upper millstone.	Roasted grain with <i>sami</i> leaves.	With six verses (after <i>ekapadi</i> M.B.), both sprinkled with water.
<i>Śukla Yajur Veda</i>	Bride's father anoints both.	Treads on stone.	Do. and oblations in fire.	Bride round fire with <i>mantras</i> , cf. A.V. ref. to original wedding of Sūrya.
<i>Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda</i>	(1) Choice with seeds, earth, clods, etc. (2) <i>Darbha</i> round the bride's head. (3) Hiranyakeśi mentions choice of naked or virgin girl of different <i>gotra</i> .	Right foot on stone followed by oblations in fire and circumambulation ending with <i>Jayādī</i> . Special to this Veda.	Roasted grain with <i>sami</i> leaves and oblations in fire.	Bride round fire, followed by oblations in fire.
<i>R̥g Veda</i> .	1. Four <i>ājya</i> oblations. 2. Examination of bride's family. 3. Forms of marriage—eight mentioned.	Right foot on stone.	Fried grain and ghee oblation in fire.	1. Three times round fire and the water pot. 2. Special instructions for seizing hands.

	Sapta-padi	Journey to new house	Reception at new house	Seeing stars
	5	6	7	8
<i>Atharva Veda.</i>	....	Follows with a Brahmin in front (not with fire behind as in the Yajur Veda or fire in front as in Rg Veda).	Bride seated on red ox hide. Brahmin boy on her lap. Blessing by priest.	....
<i>Sāma Veda.</i>	One step forward only in Gobhila.	Bride taken in north-east direction after <i>eka-padi</i> .	Bride seated on red ox hide. Brahmin boy on her lap. Blessing by priest.	See Dhruva after <i>Praveśa-homa</i> .
<i>Sukla Yajur Veda.</i>	Seven steps.	After three nights' <i>Dikṣa</i> (IX).	The above rite takes place in a Brahmin's house (not in bridegroom's).	See Dhruva after <i>Praveśa-homa</i> .
<i>Kṛiṣṇa Yajur Veda.</i>	Seven steps and seeds of rice thrown over heads of both followed by <i>homa</i> in fire.	After three nights' <i>Dikṣa</i> .	Do. and ritual with fire follows (<i>Praveśa-homa</i> and <i>Jayānti</i>).	See Dhruva and Arundhati followed by <i>Sthālpaka</i> .
<i>Rg Veda.</i>	Seven steps and sprinkling with water.	After three nights' <i>Dikṣa</i> , journey to bridegroom's house after four days. Rg Veda alone says that night or next or third night.	Do. and fire ritual; curds partaken by both.	See Arundhati and seven <i>ṛṣis</i> .

	Dikṣa (3 nights)	Nuptials	Domestic fire (aupāsana)	Expiation	Special desires
	9	10	11	12	13
<i>Atharva Veda.</i>	....	Follows VII.	....	For bride's wailing.	Special women's rites.
<i>Sāma Veda.</i>	Three nights' <i>Dikṣa</i> and <i>Śeṣa-homa</i> at the end of fourth night.	Follows IX.	....	....	....
<i>Sukla Yajur Veda.</i>	Three nights' <i>Dikṣa</i> and <i>Śeṣa-homa</i> at the end of fourth night.	Follows IX.	Fully dealt with by <i>Paraskara</i>.	....	....
<i>Kṛiṣṇa Yajur Veda.</i>	Three nights' <i>Dikṣa</i> and <i>Śeṣa-homa</i> at the end of fourth night and <i>Jayānti</i> after <i>Śeṣa-homa</i> .	Follows in proportion per season.	Enjoined for life.	....	Only a few mentioned taken from <i>Atharva Veda</i> .
<i>Rg Veda.</i>	<i>Dikṣa</i> three nights or twelve nights or one year.	Follows in proportion per season.	Enjoined for life.	For bride's wailing.	....

According to Āpastamba (*Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda*), the ritual is much more extensive than is found in the table given above. The ritual according to Āpastamba falls under the following heads :—

- I. (1) Bride's and bridegroom's bath.
- (2) *Gaṇapati Pūja* and *Puṇyāhavācana*, i.e., purification with water (cf. *śānti udaka* in the *Atharva Veda*).
- (3) *Rakshā-bandhana* and second sacred thread for the bridegroom.
- (4) *Kanyā-varaṇa* (reception of bride).
- (5) *Gauri-pūja* by the bride and *Akhanda Dīpa*—light placed for all the period of the marriage.
- (6) *Kankāna-bandhana*—to bride's left hand.
- (7) The promise of the bride to bridegroom by her parents.
- (8) *Madhu-parka*—washing the feet of the bridegroom by the parents—new garment to the bridegroom, etc.
- (9) *The giving of the bride to the bridegroom*, after sacred vows.
- (10) Bridegroom's receipt of the bride with promises and vows.
- (11) *Dānas*—gifts by the bride's party.
- (12) The establishment of the sacred fire by the bridegroom.
- (13) Bridegroom's seeing the bride (the veil between them being now taken off).
- (14) Both sit side by side (small expiatory rites).
- (15) Right yoke-hole washed, covered with cloth.
- (16) *Mangala-sūtra*—tied round the neck of the bride.
- (17) *Yoktra*—round the waist of the bride—to befit her for sacrificial rites according to the Veda.
- (18) Seeds of rice thrown on their heads and on each other's head by the couple—three times.
- (19) Blessing.

- II. (20) *Pānigrahaṇa*—seizing bride's hand.
- (21) *Pradhāna-homa*—First offerings to fire.
- (22) *Sapta-padi*—Seven steps.
- (23) Sixteen ghee oblations.
- (24) Oblation with roasted grain.
- (25) *Jayādi* (special oblation with ghee to all the Gods).
- (26) Removal of *yoktra*.
- III. (27) *Night* (First day) :
Praveśa-homa (bridegroom's oblations in fire—at his residence—marking the entry of the bride into his house).
- (28) Bridegroom's address to the bride—installing her as the mistress of the new house.
- (29) Bride's seeing the house.
- (30) Bride seated on red bull's hide in the middle of the house.
- (31) House handed over to the bride.
- (32) Sixteen oblations to fire for matrimonial happiness (three *mantras* are in A.V.—rite for matrimonial happiness).
- (33) *Jayādi-homa*.
- (34) Male child on bride's lap.
- (35) Fruits given to the child.
- IV. *Night* (First day) :
- (36) *Gandharva-pūja* (to stay and support the pair during the three nights' *Dikṣa*).
- (37) Seeing Arundhati, Dhruva and seven Ṛsis (going to the east or north of the house).
- (38) *Āgneya-Sthālīpāka* (food oblation in fire).
- (39) Beginning of *aupāsana* (Domestic fire to be tended all life by the couple).
- V. *Fourth Night's Last Part* :
- (40) *Śeṣa-homa* (expiatory oblations).
- (41) *Jayādi-homa* (done for the completion of every fire-ritual) where six articles are used :—
 (i) *Dhruva*, (ii) *Ājya-sthālī*, (iii) *Prokṣaṇi*,
 (iv) *Pūrṇa-pātra*, (v) *Idhma*, (vi) *Sruva*.

VI. (42) *Samāveśa*—entry into house from marriage altar after *Dikṣa* is completed.

VII. (43) *Nākabali*—only for certain sections of the followers of Āpastamba. Prayer and invocation to higher and lesser deities to bless the couple.

A critical comparison of the marriage ritual according to the several Vedas and a close comparison of the rites laid down in the *Atharva Veda* and the *Yajur Veda* particularly leave no doubt that the *Atharva Veda* is the first in the order of evolution of the Vedic *mantras* and rituals, the next in order being the *Sāma Veda*. The ancient Aryans in their first abode on the Punjab plateau must have used the *Atharva Veda* for their simple Vedic rituals and used *Sāma-gāna* for their invocation to the Vedic Devatas. Mahādeva, the Lord Śiva, is said to be immensely pleased with *Sāma-gāna*. Nārada is said to be wandering over the three regions chanting *Sāma* verses on his *veeṇa* (cf. *B. Gita*, X. 22). Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa says he is *Sāma* among the Vedas. In *A.V.*, II. 12. 2, we are told that Bhāradvāja sang *Sāma* hymns to the Gods for the protection of a person from his enemies. भरद्वाजो मम मुक्त्यानि संसृति.... (*Uktha* is a variety of *Sāma* hymns). In the opinion of Weber "the verses occurring in the *Sāma-saṃhita* generally stamp themselves as older and more original (than those of the *Ṛg Veda*) by the greater antiquity of their grammatical forms". Prof. Whitney says that only "about one-sixth (of the hymns) is found among the hymns of the *Ṛg Veda*" reproduced, I think, from remembrance of the *Atharva Veda* in the later age when the tenth *maṇḍala* was brought into existence when the Aryans evidently had gone over to the extreme east of Northern India. Other *Atharva Veda* hymns are admitted by him to be "peculiar to the *Atharva*". Prof. Whitney himself says that the *Atharva* is of popular, rather than of priestly origin. Exactly so. The *Atharva Veda* belongs certainly to a period when the Aryans had not evolved the elaborate ritualism of the *Yajur Veda* or the elaborate historical and mythical traditions found in the *Ṛg Veda*. In *A.V.* II. 12. 4 below we read of thrice eighty *Sāma*-singers.—Sāyanācharya

refers to eighty *Sāmans* of three grades or metres, viz., *Gāyatri*, *Ushnih* and *Trishtubh*. Does it mean that there were in the age of the *Atharva Veda* (3 × 80) or 240 *sāma* ṛks, as against the later 1,549 ṛks of the *Sāma Veda Saṃhita*, all of which with the exception of 78 are found in the *Ṛg Veda* (Dowson's *Hindu Classical Dictionary*, p. 349)? The third would be the *Śukla* and *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vedas*, since some of the *mantras* and special rites of the *Atharva Veda* are remembered and reproduced in the *Yajur Veda*; and the whole Vedic literature must have been rounded off in the *Ṛg Veda*, in which we have not merely invocations and elaborate prayers to the Deities of the Vedic pantheon, but also stories of Ṛṣis and kings with whom the ancient history of India rightly began in the great land of Arya-vartā—between the Himalayas and the Vindhya, between the Sindhu or the sea on the west and the east, over the vast plain watered by the holy rivers, Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvatī. It is noteworthy that in the two *sūtras* of the *Ṛg Veda* there are two special features which make the Veda more modern than the *Atharva Veda*. Āśvalāyana refers to one year's *Dikṣa* after marriage before nuptials in clear terms, and Sāṅkhyāyana refers to a dance as a part of the marriage ritual.

The evolution of the marriage rituals and *mantras* according to the *Gṛhya-Sūtras* of the four Vedas is exhibited below in different sections :—

<i>Atharva Veda</i> (Book XIV)	<i>Sāma Veda (M.B.)</i>		<i>Śukla Yajur Veda</i> Pāraskara (I.4-12)
Kaṣṭhika (75-79)	Khādīra (I.3-4)	Gobhila (II.1-5)	
1	2	3	4

SECTION I

75.5. Time for wedding (i.13).		iv. 6. Time
6. Preparing the sacrificial fire (i.1-16; i-1; i-23, 24).		
8. Wooer and companion	1 (3-9) Choice by girl of earth clods, etc.	
9. Set out (i-31).		
11. Wooers strew grass (ii-32-36).		
14. Fixing stick in water (i-37).		
15. Stick drawn out. Water drawn out (i-38)		
16. Presenting water.		
17. (i.38, 39)		
22. Oblations when the wooer comes in (i.17).		
23. Loosing scarf tied about the bride (i.19).	1-10. Bride's bath.	
24. Bride lays fuel on fire (i.19).	1-12. Fire to east of house.	
25. Prepared water heated (ii.52-58).		
26. Bride is bathed (ii-65).		iv.4. Bride's father anoints both.
27. Pouring of water on the bride (i.35, 43).		
76.1. Rubbing bride dry after bath (ii.66).		

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<i>Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda</i>		<i>Ṛg Veda</i> (X.85)	
Āpastamba (3-9)	Hiranyakeśi (I.19-25)	Āśvalāyana (I,4-8)	Sāṅkhyāyana (I.5-18)
5	6	7	8

III.2. Time	19.3. Time	I,4,12. Time.	I,5,5. Time.
III.10. Choice of girl.	19.4. A naked girl, a virgin of different <i>gotra</i> .	3-8. 4 Ājya oblations.	7-10. Bridegroom sacrifices after settling the girl (ritual).
III. 14. 15. Choice by bride from seeds, clods of earth, etc.		S. 1-3. Examines the family of bride and characteristics of girl.	5,6-10. Characteristic of girl.
IV.i. Woovers.		4. Choice of 5 lump of earth by bride.	6,1-6. (X.85,23) woovers.
IV.8. Bridegroom places a round piece of <i>Darbha</i> network on her head, etc.		6.(1-8). Forms of marriage (Brahma, Daiva Prājāpatya, Arsha, Gandharva, Asura Paisācha, Rākṣasa).	
		7-16-18. Loosens 2 locks of hair (two tufts of wool bound round her hair on two sides X.85, 24, 25).	12-1. Bridegroom goes to bride's house. 3. Gives her garment (X.85,6).
			8. Rakṣa.

<i>Atharva Veda</i> (Book XIV)	<i>Sāma Veda (M.B.)</i>		<i>Sukla Yajur Veda</i> Pāraskara (I.4-12)
Kauśika (75-79)	Khādīra (I.3-4)	Gobhila (II.1-5)	
1	2	3	4

SECTION I

4. Putting new garment on bride (i.45, 53)	3.6. Fresh garment to bride after bath and fire oblations with bride-groom	1.18. New garments to bride. 1.23. Fire oblation.
5. Combing of bride's hair after bath and garment (ii.68)		
7. Bride girded with a bond, yoke-rope (i.42; ii.70).		
10. Leading bride out of her house (i.20, 51).		
12. Bride bound to right yoke-hole and left yoke-hole and gold to fore-head (i.40, 41).		
14. Purifying the bride (ii.69).		

SECTION IIa

15. Setting up a stone in a lump of dung (i.47) at bride's house.			
16. Setting of bride on it (i.47).		2.3. Treads on upper mill-stone.	7.1. Treads on stone.
17. Bride stands firm on stone.	3.19. Treads on upper mill-stone.		

SECTION III

Scatters grain (ii.63).	3.18. Fried grain with <i>śami</i> leaves.	2.5. Roasted grain with <i>śami</i> leaves.	6.1. Fried grain. Oblations with <i>śami</i> leaves.
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<i>Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda</i>		<i>R̥g Veda (X.85)</i>	
Apastamba (3-9)	Hiranyakśi (I.19-25)	Āśvalāyana (I.4-8)	Sāṅkhyāyana (I.5-8)
5	6	7	8

—Continued.

IV.8. Fresh garments to bride.			(X.85.28.) 9. ties to her <i>modhuka</i> flowers.
IV.8. Bride girt with rope.			11.13. Oblations.
iv.8. Gold on right yoke-hole and she is washed.			
v.3. Right foot on stone (followed by oblations in fire) and circumambulation ending with <i>Jayādī</i> .	19.8. Treads on stone.	7.7. Bride treads on stone.	13.12. Right foot on stone.
	20.3. Fried grain oblation.	7.8-15. Ghee and fried grain. Oblation by bride.	13.15-17. Fried grain with <i>śami</i> leaves.

<i>Atharva Veda</i> (Book XIV)	<i>Sāma Veda (M.B.)</i>		<i>Śukla Yajur Veda</i> Pāraskara (I.4-12)
Kauśika (75-79)	Khādīra (I.3-4)	Gobhila (II.1-5)	
1	2	3	4

SECTION IV

19. Seizing of bride's hand to lead about fire (i.48).	3.17. <i>Pāṇi-grahaṇa</i> .	2.16. <i>Pāṇi-grahaṇa</i> with six verses.	6.3 <i>Pāṇi-grahaṇa</i> . 7.3. Round (<i>mantra</i>) (cf. A.V. "To thee they have in the beginning carried round Sūrya, the sun bride)" with the bridal procession. May'st thou give back Agni, to the husband's wife together with offspring.
20. Leading bride about fire (i.39.40).	3.24. Bride led round the fire.	M.B. I.2.10-15 (after <i>eka-padi</i>).	
25. Bride mounts the couch (i.60 ; ii.31).			
28. Ungirding the bride (i.57.58) and (vii.7.8.1).			
31. Bride sprinkled with fragrant powders (ii.53).	3.28. Both be-sprinkled with water.		

SECTION V

		2.11. She steps forward in north-east direction after oblations with fried grain (right foot forward) (for sap with one step).	8.1. Seven steps. While there is no reference to "seven steps" or <i>saptapadi</i> in the <i>Atharva</i> or the <i>Sāma Veda</i> , the seven steps are made an important portion of the marriage ritual in the <i>Yajur Veda</i> and the <i>R̥g Veda</i> . While
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<i>Kṛ̥ṣṇa Yajur Veda</i>		<i>R̥g Veda (X.85)</i>	
Āpastamba (3-9)	Hiraṇyakeśi (I.19-25)	Āśvalāyana (I.4-8)	Sāṅkhyāyana (I.5-8)
5	6	7	8

iv.9. <i>Pāṇi-grahaṇa</i> bride led to fire.	19.4. Bridegroom and bride with fire oblations.	7.3.5. <i>Pāṇi-grahaṇa</i> ; thumb for male, other fingers for female children ; he, west facing, she, east, sits ; millstone to west of fire and water-pot to north-east.	13.2. <i>Pāṇi-grahaṇa</i> (X.85.36).
iv.10. Ritual with fire.	20.1. <i>Pāṇi-grahaṇa</i> and prayer (20.2).		13.13. Round fire.
		6. Leading three times round fire and water-pot.	14. Second garment given to bride.

iv.16. Seven steps followed by <i>Homa</i> in fire (1) sap (food) (2) strength (3) <i>vratā</i> (4) happiness (5) cattle (6) seasons (7) for sevenfold <i>Hotṛship</i> .	20.9 and 21. Seven steps. (1) sap (2) juice (3) vows (4) comfort (5) cattle (6) wealth (7) for sevenfold <i>Hotṛship</i> . 21.6. Seeds of rice thrown over the	7.19. Seven steps in north-east direction. (1) for sap (2) for juice (3) wealth (4) comfort (5) for off-spring (6) for seasons (7) for friendship. 20. Priest sprinkles their head with	14.5. Seven steps. 14.9. Sprinkles with water.
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<i>Atharva Veda</i> (Book XIV)	<i>Sāma Veda (M.B.)</i>		<i>Śukla Yajur Veda</i>
Kauśika (75-79)	Khādīra (I.3-4)	Gobhila (II.1-5)	Pāraskara (I.4-12)
1	2	3	4

SECTION V

Khādīra (I.3.26) and Gobhila (II.2.11) refer only to one step. Pāraskara (I.82) refers to seven steps and adds the formula "May Viṣṇu lead thee" to every one of the seven steps taken by the bride. Hiranyakeśin (I.20.9) calls them the *seven steps of Viṣṇu*. It appears that the connection of Viṣṇu with the seven steps is a relic and an echo of *Atharva Veda*, V. II. (9, 10) where *Atharva* is called by Varuṇa his *suitable comrade of seven steps*. *Atharva*, the comrade of seven steps, becomes *Viṣṇu of seven steps*, the protecting God-head of the Trinity in the later *Yajur* and *Rg Vedas*.

SECTION VI

32. Setting out of bride for her new house (I.59, 60, 62)	4.1. Bride taken in north-east direction.	2. 17. Bride taken away in north-east direction.	4. 15. Bridgroom taken by the bride.
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<i>Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda</i>		<i>Rg Veda (X.85)</i>	
Āpastamba (3-9)	Hiranyakeśi (I.10-25)	Āśvalāyana (I.4-8)	Sāṅkhyāyana (I.5-8)
5	6	7	8

—Continued.

	heads of bride-groom and bride.	water from water-pot.	10-17. Gifts.
		21. Bride that night in an old Brahmin woman's house (who has her husband and children alive).	
V.12. Departure in vehicle with fire taken behind them.	22. Departure for new house—fire behind them. (New house, bride not to stand on threshold and cross threshold with right foot.)		11. For new house (1) that night, next night or third night. (2) Girl's bath. (3) New garment. (3) Fire and sacrifice. (5) <i>Dance four times.</i>

<i>Atharva Veda</i> (Book XIV)	<i>Sāma Veda (M.B.)</i>		<i>Sukla Yajur Veda</i>
Kauśika (75-79)	Khādīra (I.3-4)	Gobhila (II.1-5)	Pāraskara (I.4-12)
1	2	3	4

SECTION VI

33. Making bride stand firm after rising from couch (ii.15).

77.1 Bride mounts vehicle for her new house (i.61, ii.30).

2. Bride sets out with a Brahmin in front (i.64, ii.8).

77.3. The bridal train starts for home (i.34, ii.11).

4. If another bridal procession crosses (ii.74).

5. Wedding journey (ii.46).

7. When anything in bridal car needs mending (ii.47).

8. At river crossing (ii.6).

9. Passing great trees (ii.9).

10. To women who come to look at the bride during journey (ii.28).

11. On bridal journey (ii.7).

4.1. Mounting chariot, etc. cf. A.V., for mantras on way for accidents.

5.1. Oblations in fire.

10.1. Chariot journey-

<i>Kṛiṣṇa Yajur Veda</i>		<i>Rg Veda (X,85)</i>	
Āpastamba (3-9)	Hiranyakeśi (I.19-25)	Āśvalāyana (I.4-8)	Sāṅkhyāyana (I.5-8)
5	6	7	8

—Continued.

V.25. Journey
(cf. A.V.)

8.1. Bride mounts chariot for new house.
(X.85.26)

8. Food to Brahmins.

15.1. Departs from the house
(X.85, 24).

3. Smears axle of chariot with ghee, etc., details.

8.(2.3). Bride ascending and descending step (journey to new house).
(X.53.8.9.)

8.5. Journey with nuptial fire in front.

8.6. At lonely places, trees and crossways.
(X.85.32).

<i>Atharva Veda</i> (Book XIV)	<i>Sāma Veda (M.B.)</i>		<i>Sukla Yajur Veda</i>
<i>Kausika</i> (75-79)	<i>Khādira</i> (I.3-4)	<i>Gobhila</i> (II.1-5)	<i>Pāraskara</i> (I.4-12)
1	2	3	4

SECTION VI

12. When the bridal train passes a burial place (ii.73).

13. If bride falls asleep on the road (ii.75).

14. When the train is in sight of the house (ii.12).

15. Sprinkling of ear, unyoking of oxen at the end of the journey (ii.16).

16. Complete sprinkling of new house by bride (ii.19).

17-19. Setting of stone and stepping of pair on it in new house (i.47).

20. Bride's stepping forward into the house (i.21, i.63, i.64, ii.26).

22. Leading bride thrice about the fire (ii.17).

23. Homage by bride to the deities (ii.20, ii.46).

SECTION VII

78.1. Bridegroom brings the hide of red ox (ii.21).	4.2. On a red bull's hide in a Brahmin's house.	3 (1-3). On a red bull's hide in a Brahmin's house.	8.10. Red bull's hide.
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<i>Black Yajur Veda</i>		<i>R̥g Veda (X.85)</i>	
<i>Āpastamba</i> (3-9)	<i>Hiranyakeśi</i> (I.19-25)	<i>Āśvalāyana</i> (I.4-8)	<i>Sāṅkhyāyana</i> (I.5-8)
5	6	7	8

—Continued.

8.7. To lookers-on.
(X.85,33).

8.8. Enters new house.
(X.85, 27).

16.12. Enters the new house.
(X.85.42).

VI.8. Red bull's skin in new house (the ritual with fire to <i>Jayādī</i>).	22.8. Red bull's skin.	8.9. Bull's hide to the west of the fire (neck to east, hair outside).	16.1. Bull's hide seat and sacrifice.
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<i>Atharva Veda</i> (Book XIV)	<i>Sāma Veda (M.B.)</i>		<i>Śukla Yajur Veda</i>
Kaśīka (75-79)	Khādīra (I.3-4)	Gobhila (II.1-5)	Pāraskara (I-4-12)
1	2	3	4

SECTION VII

2, 3 & 5. Preparing seat for the bride (ii.22).
4 & 6. Bride sits on nuptial bed (ii.23).
8. A Brahmin boy seated on bride's lap (ii.24).
78-9. Removal of boy from lap (ii.25).
10. Pair approach priest for blessing. (ii.1.ii.45) after (vi.78.1).
13. Priest pouring water into the folded hands of the pair. (ii.45, 1.).

4.6. On red bull's hide in new house.
4.7. Boy on her lap (lotus roots put in his hands or fruits).
4.9. Bride salutes according to seniority.

SECTION VIII.

4.3. At star rise — <i>homa</i> with <i>ājya</i> .	3.6. At star rise <i>homa</i> with <i>ājya</i> .	8-19. Sees Dhruva.
4.4. Sees Dhruva.	3.8. Sees Dhruva.	

SECTION IX.

4.9.2. Three nights' <i>Dikṣa</i> . 4.12. <i>Śeṣa-homa</i> .	3.15. Three nights' <i>Dikṣa</i> . 5.1. <i>Śeṣa-homa</i> .	8.21. Three nights' <i>Dikṣa</i> . (for one year no conjugal intercourse) or twelve nights or six nights or three nights. 11.1. <i>Śeṣa-homa</i> .
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<i>Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda</i>		<i>Ṛg Veda (X.85)</i>	
Āpastamba (3-9)	Hiranyakeśi (I.19-25)	Āśvalāyana (I.4-8)	Sāṅkhyāyana (I.5-8)
5	6	7	8

—Continued.

VI.11. Child in her lap, fruits given to him.

(Oblations X.85.43, etc.) (partakes curds and gives her) (X.85.47).

17.1. Curds.

16.8-11. Boy of good birth on lap.

VI.12. Sees Arundhati.

22.14. Sees Arundhati and Dhruva.

22. Sees Arundhati and Ṛṣis.

17.2, 3.4. Sees Arundhati.

VII. Followed by *Śihālīpāka*.

(*Upasthāna*).
23. *Śihālīpāka*.

VII. *Dikṣa* for three nights and fourth day rites (fire ritual to *Jayādī*).

23.10. *Dikṣa* for three nights.
24. *Śeṣa-homa*.

8.10.11. *Dikṣa* for three nights or twelve nights.

5.3. Three nights' *Dikṣa*.
5.10. Worship fire.
18. Fourth day rites.

<i>Atharva Veda</i> (Book XIV)	<i>Sāma Veda (M.B.)</i>		<i>Śukla Yajur Veda</i>
Kaṇṣika (75-79)	Khādīra (I,3-4)	Gobhila (II 1-5)	Pāraskara (I,4-12)
1	2	3	4

SECTION X.

79.4. Bride mounts the couch (nuptial bed) [ii.31 (i.60)].	4. (15, 16). Nuptials	5.7. Nuptials [after 3 nights have passed, (Sāyanācharya in his commentary on <i>Atharva Veda</i> , Vol. I, p. 175, refers to nuptials as the <i>karma</i> of the fourth day. चतुर्थिकाकर्म)].	11.7. Nuptials.
5. Bride sits on the nuptial bed (ii.23).			
6. Bride enters the nuptial bed (ii.32).			
8. In the act of coition (ii.64).			
10. After consummation of union (ii.71, i.34.1).			
12. Rising from nuptial bed (ii.43).			
13. Putting new garments on bride (i.45, 53).			
14. Parting of bride's hair with a blade of <i>Darbha</i> (i.55, 56).			
16. Preparing sacrificial fire (i.1, 2 whole book i.1).			
17. Paying (in kine) for the bride (i.32, 33).			
20. Giving away bride's undergarment (ii.41).			
21. Priest's acceptance of the garment (ii.41).			

<i>Ṛg Yajur Veda</i>		<i>Ṛg Veda (X.85)</i>	
Āpastamba (3-9)	Hiranyakeśi (I,19-25)	Āśvalāyana (I,4-8)	Sāṅkhyāyana (I,5-8)
5	6	7	8

VIII.1. Nuptials.	24.3.4. Nuptials.	19. Nuptials.
	7. Menses.	20. <i>Pumsavana</i> (third night).
	25. <i>Garbhāḍāna</i> .	21. <i>Garbhābhiṣeka</i> (fourth month).
		22. Summation, etc. (seventh month).
IX.11. Wife's garment to Brahmana.		8.12. Nuptials. Gift of bride's shrift to Brahmana who knows the <i>Sūrya</i> hymns.

<i>Atharva Veda</i> (Book XIV)	<i>Sāma Veda (M.B.)</i>		<i>Śukla Yajur Veda</i>
Kauśika (75-79)	Khādira (I,3-4)	Gobhila (II.1-5)	Pāraskara (I.4-12)
1	2	3	4

SECTION X

22-23. Taking away
the garment to clean
it (ii.48, ii.49).

24. Garment wrap-
ped to a tree (ii.50).

25. Pouring water
on bridal garment
(ii.45).

26. New possessor
puts on the garment.
(ii.51).

27. Priest comes
back after washing
bride's garment.
(ii.44).

SECTION XI.

9. *Aupāsana*.

SECTION XII.

30. Expiations for
sin of bride's wailings.
(i.46, ii.59).

SECTION XIII.

<i>Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda</i>		<i>R̥g Veda (X.85)</i>	
Āpastamba (3-9)	Hiranyakeśi (I.19-25)	Āśvalāyana (I.4-8)	Sāukhyāyana (I.5-8)
5	6	7	8

—Continued.

(X.85)—Food and
blessings.

8.4. If she weeps
(X.40.10.)

15.2. If she cries
(X.40.10).

ix.6. *Mantras* for
special desires of
wife (a) to win
over her husband,
(b) against co-
wives, (c) if wife
has consumption
or sickness.

(Cf. *Atharva*
Veda, women's
rites.)

TO
ŚRĪ RAMANA RISHI

ॐ

श्री रमणः

नमः परमऋषिभ्यो नमः परम ऋषिभ्यः

A Prayer

SALUTATIONS TO ŚRĪ RAMANA—the living monument of Eternal Truth! The direct proof of the Inexpressible! May Thy Holy Feet lead me into the Sanctuary of Śrī Tripura! Blessed be Thy Holy Feet! Blessed Thy Presence! Blessed Thy dear ones! Blessed all that relates to Thee!

Blest be the Mother Earth on which Thou art!
Blest be the Universe going round Thy Centre!
Love of Manicka Vachakar personified!
Essence of Gods and sages taken shape!
Solace of the Forlorn! Refuge of the Oppressed!
Help to the Meek! Voice of the Mute!
Splendour of all! Reincarnate of the Vedas!
Hail to Thee! Thine is the Glory!
Oh, Signpost of Peace! Limit of Ānanda!

TRIPURA RAHAŚYA

BY M. S. VENKATARAMA IYER

Introductory Note

Jamadagni was a Brahmin saint who lived in the forest with his wife Reṇuka and his sons, of whom Paraśurāma was the youngest, the most valiant and the best renowned. The country was then ruled by Haihayas, a certain clan of Kshattriyas. Some of them came into clash with Paraśurāma but fared the worse. They dared not challenge him afterwards. Their rancour, however, remained, and they could not resist their longing for revenge. They seized their opportunity when Paraśurāma was far away from the hermitage, attacked his saintly father and killed him. On the son's return, the mother narrated the unprovoked murder of the

saint; she also desired that her husband's body should be cremated on the banks of the Ganges and that she might as a *Sati* mount the funeral pyre.

Paraśurāma vowed that he would clear the earth of the Kshattriya vermin. He placed his father's corpse on the shoulder and took his living mother on the other and set out along to the Ganges. While passing through a forest, an *Avadhūta*, by name Dattātreya, saw Reṇuka and stopped the young man who carried her. The *Avadhūta* addressed Reṇuka as Śakti incarnate, as the one unparalleled valour (एकवीरा) and worshipped her. She blessed him, and told him of her life on earth and her resolve to end it. She also advised her son to look to Dattātreya for help when needed. Paraśurāma went on his way and fulfilled his mother's desire.

He then challenged every Kshattriya in the land and killed them all. Their blood was collected in a pool in Kurukshetra, and Parasurāma offered ablutions to his forefathers with it. His dead ancestors appeared and told him to desist from his bloody revenge. Accordingly, he retired into mountain fastnesses and lived as a hermit.

Hearing on one occasion of the prowess of Rāma, his wrath was rekindled and he came back to challenge him. Rāma was born of Daśaratha who, though a Kshattriya, escaped his doom by a ruse. Rāma accepted Parasurāma's challenge and got the better of him.

Paraśurāma returned crestfallen and on his way met an *Avadhūta* named Samvarta, the brother of Brihaspati. Later he encountered Sri Dattātreya who instructed him in *the Truth* and so led him to salvation.

DATTĀTREYA

There was once a dutiful wife whose husband was, however, a licentious wretch. This couple unwittingly disturbed Rishi Māndavya, who had been placed on a spear by a misguided king. The Rishi, who was in agony but not dying, cursed them, saying that the husband would die at sunrise and the

wife be left a widow. Widowhood is most abhorrent to a Hindu lady and considered worse than death. By the force of her dutiful wifehood she resisted the curse of the Rishi; the Sun could not rise; and the Gods were rendered impotent.

The Gods in council resolved to approach Anasūya—the ideal of wifehood—to ask her to prevail on the other lady to relent. Anasūya promised her that she would restore her dead husband to life; and so the matter ended satisfactorily for all.

The three chief Gods then agreed to be born as sons to Anasūya. Brahma was born as the Moon; Śiva as Dhūrvāsa; and Śrī Nārāyaṇa as Datta. The last is also called “Datta Ātreya,” of which the latter word is the patronymic derived from Ātri, the husband of Anasūya. Śrī Dattātreya is the foremost in the line of divine teachers incarnate on earth.

1. Salutations to *Aum* (undifferentiated Brahman, and yet) Primal and Blissful cause, the transcendental consciousness shining as the unique mirror of the wonderful universe:

Note.—The one undifferentiated Brahman signified by *Aum* polarises as *Sat-chit-ānanda* taking shape as Parameswari who, in Her crystal purity, displays the variegated phenomena which gyrate in equipoise within Her. Neutral Brahman and the polarised Brahman are thus interchangeable. The idea of the mirror implies the non-separateness of the object from the subject (conscious being).

2. (Harithayana said:)

“Undisturbed you have heard, O Nārada! the *mahātmya* (The Gospel) of Śrī Tripura, which teaches the way to Transcendence.”

Note.—This begins the latter part of the book; the first part deals with a narrative of Devi (Śakti-Śrī Tripura), Her worship and Her grace. Tripura literally means the three cities. They are the states—*Jāgrat*, *Svapna* and *Sushupti*. The undercurrent of consciousness in all of them, remaining unaffected, is metaphorically called the Resident Mistress by name Śrī Tripura. The procreative faculty generating new

beings and the link of altruistic love connecting the offspring to the parent are personified in the *Mother*. Hence the feminine termination of Tripura. “The way to transcendence” signifies that interest in Tripura purifies the mind and creates the zeal for enquiry into the Truth. The listener is now fit for the ensuing discourse on wisdom.

3. I shall now discourse on wisdom, which is unique because one will be permanently freed from misery, by hearing it.

4. This is the concentrated extract of the essence of the Vedic, Vaishṇava, Śaiva, Śākta and Pāsupata lore taken after a deep study of them all.

5-7. No other course will impress the mind so much as this one on Wisdom which was once taught by that illustrious master Dattātreya to Paraśurāma. The teaching was born of his own experience, logical in sense and quite unique in its nature. One who cannot apprehend Truth even after hearing this must be dismissed as a silly fool to be ranked among the insentient and accursed of God; Śiva himself cannot make such an one gain wisdom.

8. I now proceed to relate that incomparable teaching. Listen! Oh, the lives of Sages are most sacred!

9-11. Nārada too served me to learn the same from me; for, service to sages enables one to apprehend their innate kindness, just as the sense of smell helps one to detect the intrinsic odour of musk.

As Paraśurāma the son of Jamadagni, already pure-minded and pleasing to all, was listening to the Gospel of Tripura from the lips of Dattātreya, he became abstracted in devotion and so growing still for a time, his mind became still purer.

12-13. Then as the mind relaxed, his eyes glowed in rapture and his hair stood on end, as if his ecstasy could not be contained within but must escape through the very pores of his body. He then fell to the ground before his master Datta.

14. Again he arose, and being still filled with ecstasy, his voice choked with emotion as he said: ‘Lucky am I; Blessed am I; through Thy Grace, O Lord!’

15. That expanse of Grace called Śiva, here incarnate as my Guru, is indeed gracious to me; gaining whose pleasure even the Lord of creation looks a pigmy.

16. Does not the God of Death verily merge into the Self, if only one's master is pleased with one?

That Supreme Being is gracious indeed, just in so much as is my Master so for reasons unknown to me.

Note.—The meaning is that the Guru, being God, is mercy incarnate and requires no incentive to show grace.

17. The Guru's grace gained, I have gained all! Thou hast now kindly opened out to me the glory of Tripura.

18. I now desire fervently to worship Her Transcendental Majesty. Kindly tell me, my Master, how it is to be done.

19–22. Being thus requested, Datta Guru satisfied himself as to the fitness of Paraśurāma, whose zeal for and devotion to Tripura worship were intense; and he duly initiated him into the methods of Her worship. After initiation into the right method, which is more sacred than all others and leads directly to Realisation, Paraśurāma learned from the sweet lips of Śri Guru all the details regarding recitations, figures for worship and different meditations, one after another—like a honey bee collecting honey from flowers. Bhārgava (*i.e.*, Paraśurāma) was overjoyed.

23. Being then permitted by his holy master, he thirsted to practise the sacred lore; he went round his master, made obeisance to him and retired to Mahendra Hill.

Note.—To walk round gently and peacefully, always keeping the centre to one's right, is a sign of respect to the object in the centre.

24. There, having built a clean and comfortable hermitage, he engaged for twelve years in the worship of Tripura.

25. He incessantly contemplated the figure of that Holy Mother Tripura, performing at the same time his daily tasks and the special ceremonies connected with Her worship and recitations; twelve years thus passed in a flash. Then on a certain day while the son of Jamadagni was sitting at ease, he fell into a reverie.

27. "I did not understand even a little of what Samvarta told me whom I met formerly on the way.

28. "I have also forgotten what I asked my Guru. I heard from him the Gospel of Tripura,.....

29.but it is not clear to me what Samvarta said in reply to my query on creation.

30. "He mentioned the story of Kālakrit, but went no further, knowing that I was not fit for it.

31. "Even now I understand nothing of the workings of the universe. Where does it rise from, in all its grandeur?

32. "Where does it end? How does it exist? I find it to be altogether transient.

33. "But worldly happenings seem permanent; why should that be? Such happenings seem strangely enough to be unconsidered.

34. "How strange! They are on a *par* with the blind, being led by the blind!

35. "My own case furnishes an example in point. I do not even remember what happened in my childhood.

36. "I was different in my youth, again different in my manhood, still more so now; and in this way, my life is constantly changing.

37, 38. "What fruits have been reaped as the result of these changes is not clear to me. The end justifies the means as adopted by individuals according to their temperaments in different climes and in different times. What have they gained thereby? Are they themselves happy?

39. "The gain is only that which is considered to be so by the unthinking public. I however cannot deem it so, seeing that even after gaining the so-called end, the attempts are repeated.

Note.—Since there is no abiding satisfaction in the gain, it is not worth having.

40, 41. "Well having gained one purpose, why does man look for another? Therefore, what the man is always after should be esteemed the only real purpose—be it accession

of pleasure or removal of pain. There can be neither, so long as the incentive to effort lasts.

42. "The feeling of a need to work in order to gain happiness (being the index of misery) is the misery of miseries. How can there be pleasure or removal of pain so long as it continues ?

43-45. "Such pleasure is like that of soothing unguents placed on a scalded limb, or of the embrace of one's beloved when one is lying pierced by an arrow in the breast ; or of the sweet melodies of music heard by an advanced consumptive !

46. "Only those who need not engage in action, are happy ; they are perfectly content, and self-contained, and they experience happiness which extends to all the pores of the body.

47. "Should there still be a few pleasurable moments for others, they are similar to those enjoyed by one who, while writhing with an abdominal pain, inhales the sweet odour of flowers.

48. "How silly of people with innumerable obligations ever to be busy seeking such moments of pleasure in this world !

49. "What shall I say of the prowess of indiscriminating men ? They propose to reach happiness after crossing interminable hurdles of efforts !

50. "A beggar in the street labours as much for happiness as a mighty emperor.

51, 52. "Each of them having gained his end feels happy and considers himself blessed as if he had reached the goal of life. I too have been unwittingly imitating them like a blind man following the blind. Enough of this folly ! I will at once return to that ocean of mercy—my Master.

53. "Learning from him what is to be known, I will cross the ocean of doubts after boarding the boat of his teachings.

54. "Having resolved thus, Paraśurāma of pure mind immediately descended the hill in search of his Master.

55. "Quickly reaching the Gandhmādana Mountain, he found the Guru sitting in *padmāsana* posture as if illuminating the whole world.

56. "He fell prone before the Master's seat and, holding the Guru's feet with his hands, pressed them to his head.

57. "On Paraśurāma saluting him thus, Dattātreyā gave him his blessings, his face lit with love, and he bade him rise saying :

58. "Child ! rise up. I see you have returned after a long time. Tell me how are you ? Are you in good health ?

59. "He rose as commanded by his Guru, and took his seat in front of and close to him as directed. Claspings his hands, Paraśurāma spoke with pleasure.

Note.—Claspings the two hands with fingers directed towards the object, is a sign of respect.

60. "Śrī Guru ! Ocean of Mercy ! Can any one drenched with Thy kindness ever be afflicted by ailments even if destiny so decree ?

61. "How can the burning pains of illness touch me who is abiding in the refreshing moon of the nectarlike kindness ?

Note.—The moon is believed to be the store of nectar with which the *pitris* feed themselves.

62-64. "I feel happy in body and mind, being refreshed by Thy kindness. Nothing afflicts me except the desire to remain in unbroken contact with Thy holy feet. The very sight of Thy holy feet has made me perfectly happy, but there are a few longstanding doubts in my mind.

65. "With Thy kind permission I desire to propound them.

66. Hearing the words of Paraśurāma, Dattātreyā, the Ocean of kindness, was pleased and said to him.

67. "Ask at once, O Bhārgava, what you so much want to know and what you have so long been thinking about, I am pleased with your devotion and shall answer your questions with pleasure."

Thus ends the First Chapter known as the Interrogatory of Bhārgava in *Śrī Tripura Rahaśya*.

Chapter II

Obligatory Sense towards Action Condemned, and
Investigation Recommended

1. "Ordered thus, Paraśurāma again saluting the son of Saint Ātri with humility began to ask :
2. " Bhagavān, dear and esteemed Master ! Oh, Omniscient one ! Ocean of Mercy ! Once before for good reason I was furious with the kingly class.
3. " Twenty-one times I strode the land exterminating them all, including suckling babes and those in the womb collecting their blood in a pool.
4. " My forefathers were pleased with my devotion to them ; however, they ordered me to desist from such carnage. My wrath was at last appeased.
5. " On hearing of the renowned Rāma the very incarnation of Hari in Ayodhya, my wrath was rekindled. Blinded by fury and proud of my prowess, I challenged him.
6. " I was defeated by that great Lord and my pride was humbled. However, out of his innate kindness he let me go with my life because I was a Brahman.
7. " As I was returning mortified by defeat, I realised the vanity of the ways of the world.
8. " Unexpectedly I met Samvarta, the Lord of the *Avadhūtas*, and instinctively recognised him to be like fire in embers.

Note.—Samvarta, the brother of Brihaspati, looked like a maniac wandering in the forests. Nārada once directed the emperor Nivritta to him and instructed him how Samvarta could be recognised. The King accordingly met the Sage and prayed for his help in the performance of a sacrifice, in which Brihaspati prompted by Indra had refused to officiate. Samvarta agreed, though hesitatingly, and later completed it in spite of the wrath of Indra. Indra attempted to break up the function but was rendered impotent by the Sage (*vide Aśvamedha Parva in the Mahābhārata*).

9. " His greatness was like red hot coal hidden in embers. Every inch of his body filled one with exhilaration so that I had a refreshing feeling in his mere proximity.

Note.—Sensation of Peace or of *ānanda* is the symptom of *Satsaṅga*.

10. " I asked him to tell me about his state. His answer was clear cut and expressive of the essence of the sweet nectar of Eternal life.

11. " I could not pursue the conversation then and felt like a beggar-maid before a queen. However, I prayed to him and he directed me to Thee.

12. " Accordingly I have sought shelter at Thy holy feet, just as a blind man who is entirely dependent on his friends.

13. " What Samvarta said, is not at all clear to me. I have learnt the Gospel of Tripura well. It is undoubtedly an incentive to devotion to Her.

14. " She is incarnate as Thou, and always abides in my heart. But what have I gained after all ?

Note.—Prayers to God are only selfish in the beginning, yet they not only fulfil one's desires but also purify the mind so that devotion to God grows in intensity and the devotee desires nothing more than God. Then God shows His Grace by manifesting as his Guru.

15. " Lord, kindly explain what Samvarta told me before. It is certain that I cannot realise the goal until it is made known to me.

16. " Whatever I do in ignorance thereof looks like mere child's play.

17. " Formerly I pleased the Gods, including Indra, with various ceremonies, observances, gifts and presents of food.

18. " Later I heard Samvarta say that the fruits of all these acts are only trivial. I consider those acts of no account which yield only trifling results.

19. " Misery is not absence of happiness, but limited happiness. For as happiness recedes misery pours in.

20. "This is not the only miserable result of action, but there remains a still worse one, the fear of death, which cannot be mitigated by any amount of activity.

21. "My devotional practices before Tripura are similar. All these mental conceptions are nothing but child's play.

22. "The practices may be according to Thy instructions, or different. Again they may be with discipline or without discipline, since the Śāstras differ about this.

23. "Meditations may also differ according to individual tastes and temperaments. How can that be? Devotion is just as imperfect as *Karma*.

24. "How can transient mental concepts of devotion produce intransient results of high Truth? Moreover, the practices are continuous and there seems to be no end to these obligatory duties.

25. "I have noticed that Samvarta, the Lord, is quite happy, being completely free from any sense of obligation to act and its disastrous results.

26. "He seems to laugh at the ways of the world, to stride unconcerned up the road of fearlessness, like a majestic elephant refreshing itself in a lake of melted snow when the surrounding forest is on fire.

27. "I found him absolutely free from any sense of obligation and at the same time perfectly happy in his realisation of Eternal Being. How did he gain that state? And what did he tell me?

28. "Kindly explain these points, and so rescue me from the jaws of the monster of *Karma*."

29. Praying so, he fell prostrate and took the Master's feet in his hands.

Seeing Paraśurāma doing so and feeling that he was now ready for Realisation,

30. Sri Datta whose very being was love, said gently: "Oh child Bhārgava! Lucky are you—your mind being thus disposed.

31-33. "Just as a man sinking in the ocean, suddenly finds a boat to rescue him, so also your virtuous actions of the

past have now placed you on the most sacred heights of Self-Realisation. That Devi Tripura, who is the conscious core of the heart and therefore knows each one intimately, swiftly rescues Her unswerving devotees from the jaws of death, after manifesting Herself in their hearts.

34. "As long as a man is afraid of the nightmare, obligation, so long must he placate it, or else he will not find peace.

35. "How can a man stung by that Viper, obligation, ever be happy? Some men have gone mad as if some poison had already entered their blood and were torturing their whole being.

36. "While others are stupefied by the poison of obligation, and unable to discriminate good from bad.

37. "Wrongly do they ever engage in work, being deluded; such is the plight of humanity stupefied by the poison of the sense of obligation.

38. "Men are from time immemorial being swallowed up by the terrific ocean of poison, like some travellers once on the Vindhya range.

39. "Oppressed by hunger in the forest, they mistook the deceptive *Nux Vomica* fruits for some delicious oranges.

40. "And in their voracious hunger they ate them up without even detecting the bitter taste. They then suffered torment from the effects of the poison.

41. "Having originally mistaken the poisonous fruit for an edible fruit, their reason being now blinded by poison, they eagerly sought relief from pain.

42. "And in their agony they took hold of and ate thorn-apples, thinking them to be rose-apples.

Note.—Thorn-apples are used for extracting a poisonous alkaloid. The fruit is fatal or produces insanity.

43. "They became mad and lost their way. Some becoming blind fell into pits or gorges;

44. "Some of them had their limbs and bodies cut by thorns; some were disabled in their hands, feet or other parts of the body; others began to quarrel, fight and shout among themselves.

45. "They assaulted one another with their fists, stones, missiles, sticks, etc., till at length thoroughly exhausted, they reached a certain town.

46. "They happened to come to the outskirts of the town at nightfall, and were prevented by the guards from entering.

47-49. "Unaware of the time and place and unable to gauge the circumstances, they assaulted the guards and were soundly thrashed and chased away; some fell in ditches; some were caught up by crocodiles in deep waters; some fell headlong into wells and were drowned; a few more dead than alive, were caught and thrown into prison.

50. "Similar is the fate of the people who deluded with the quest for happiness have fallen into the snares of the task-master of action. They are bewildered in their frenzy and destruction awaits them.

51-52. "You are fortunate, Bhārgava, in having transcended that distracted state. Investigation is the root-cause of all, and it is the first step to the supreme reward of indescribable bliss. How can any one gain security without proper investigation?

53. "Want of judgment is certain death, yet many are in its clutches. Success attends proper deliberation till eventually the end is without doubt accomplished.

54. "Indeliberateness is the ever-present weakness of the Daityās and Yātudhānas (Asuras and Rākshasas); deliberation is the characteristic of the Devās (Gods), and therefore they are always happy.

55. "Owing to their discrimination they depend on Vishṇu and inevitably conquer their enemies. Investigation is the seed capable of sprouting and flourishing into the gigantic tree of happiness.

56. "A deliberating man always shines over others.

"Brahma is great because of deliberation; Vishṇu is worshipped because of it.

57-58. "The Great Lord Śiva is omniscient for the same reason. Rāma, though the most intelligent of men, came to

disaster for want of judgment before attempting to capture the golden deer; later with due deliberation, he spanned the ocean, crossed over to Laṅka, the island of the Rākshasa brood and conquered it.

Note.—The reference is to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rāvaṇa, the arch enemy of Rāma, induced one of his lieutenants to assume the shape of a golden deer and entice Rāma away from his hermitage so that Rāvaṇa could forcibly carry away Sītā, who would thus be left unprotected. The ruse succeeded; and later ensued the great battle in which Rāvaṇa and others were killed and Sītā was recovered. Thus did Rāma vindicate himself.

59. "You must have heard how Brahma also becoming on an occasion infatuated, acted rashly like a fool and consequently paid the penalty with one of his five heads.

Note.—Brahma had originally five heads. He and Vishṇu were once contesting each other's superiority. Just then a huge column of light appeared in front of them and they wondered what it was. They agreed that he who found either end of the column earlier, should get the palm. Vishṇu became a boar and sought the bottom; Brahma became a swan and flew up towards the top. Vishṇu returned disappointed. Brahma at the point of despair came across a screw-pine flower. He stopped its descent and asked wherefrom it was coming. All that it knew was that it was falling from space and nothing more. Brahma persuaded it to bear false witness and claimed superiority over his rival. Śiva was enraged, snapped off that head which spoke the lie, and declared himself as the column of light.

60. "Unthinkingly, Mahādeva conferred a boon on the Asura and was immediately obliged to flee in terror for fear of being consumed to ashes.

Note.—There was once an Asura by name Bhasma. He made penance and pleased Śiva who appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Bhasma desired that his mere touch should reduce any object to ashes. Śiva conferred the boon; Bhasma wanted to test it on him; Śiva took to flight.

In order to save him from that predicament, Vishṇu appeared as a voluptuous damsel before the pursuing Asura and enticed him. He became amorous and made advances to her. She asked him to go to a spring in front of them and rub himself with water, before embracing her. He was taken in. On his hand touching his body, he fell down a heap of ashes.

61. "On one occasion, Hari having killed the wife of Bhrigu became the victim of a terrible curse and suffered untold miseries.

62. "Similarly have other Devas, Asuras, Rākshasas, men and animals become miserable by want of judgment.

63. "On the other hand, great and valiant are the heroes, O Bhārgava, whom judgment ever befriends. Eternal homage to them.

64. "Common people, becoming foolishly involved in regard to their sense of action, are perplexed at every turn; if, on the other hand, they think and act, they will be free from all misery.

65. "The world has been in the coils of ignorance from time immemorial; how can there be discernment so long as ignorance lasts?

66. "Can the sweet waters of dew collect in tropical sandy deserts which are already scorched by heat? Similarly, can the refreshing touch of discernment be sought in the red-hot flue over the furnace of long burning ignorance? Discernment is, however, gained by proper methods, the most effective of which is also the best of all, and that is the supreme grace of the Goddess who inheres as the Heart Lotus in every one. Who has ever accomplished any good purpose, without that Grace?

69. "Investigation is the Sun for chasing away the dense darkness of indolence. It is generated by the worship of God with devotion.

70. "When the Supreme Devi is well pleased with the worship of the devotee, She turns into *vichāra* in him and shines as the blazing Sun in the expanse of his Heart.

Note.—Devi : Goddess.

Vichāra : Discrimination, investigation, deliberation, judgment.

Devi is there in ignorance, in worship, in *vichāra* and later, like fat in the milk, the curds and churned butter successively.

71-72. "Therefore that Tripura, the Supreme Force, the Being of all beings, the blessed, the highest, the one consciousness or Śiva, who abides as the Self of self, should be worshipped sincerely, exactly as taught by the Guru. The forerunner of such worship is devotion and praiseworthy earnestness.

73-76. "The antecedent cause of these is again said to be the learning of the *mahātmya* (Gospel). Therefore, O Rāma, the *mahātmya* was first revealed to you; having heard it, you have now progressed well. *Vichāra* is the only way to attain the highest Good. I was indeed anxious about you; and there is very good reason for such anxiety until the mind turns towards *vichāra* from the overpowering disease of ignorance, just as one is anxious for a patient who is delirious, until one sees that the system shows signs of a favourable turn.

77. "If once *vichāra* takes root, the highest good has for all practical purposes, been reached in this life. As long as *vichāra* is absent from a human being, the most desirable form of birth, so long is the tree of life barren and therefore useless. The only useful fruit of life is *vichāra*.

79-81. "The man without discrimination is like a frog in the well; just as the frog in the well does not know anything either of good or of bad and so dies in his ignorance in the well itself, in the same way men, vainly born in *Brahmāṇḍa*,* do not know either good or bad regarding themselves and are born only to die in ignorance.

82. "Confounding happiness with misery (e.g., *vairāgya*—dispassion) and *vice versa* (e.g., family ties), a man suffers in the cycle of births and deaths, powerful ignorance prevailing.

**Brahmāṇḍa* : Egg of Brahma (i.e., the Universe).

83-84. "Even though afflicted by misery, he does not cease further indulgence in those causes antecedent to it (namely, wealth, etc.); just as a jack-ass pursues a she-ass even if kicked a hundred times by her, so also is it with the man and the world. But you, O Rāma, becoming discriminating have transcended misery."

Thus ends the Second Chapter in *Tripura Rahasya*.

Chapter III

The Antecedent Cause for Learning the Gospel Association with the Wise must precede "*Vichāra*"

1. "Having listened to Dattātreyā's words, Paraśurāma was delighted and continued his questions in all humility:

2. "O Bhagavān! It is precisely as my Lord Guru has just said. Truly, a man will ever head for destruction in his ignorance.

3. "His salvation lies in investigation (*vichāra*) alone. The remote and proximate causes have also been mentioned by Thee, and they have been traced to *mahātmya*. I am in great doubt on this point.

4. "How does that happen and what is again its proximate cause? Can it be that it is natural (like courage to a hero)? Then why is it not shared by all?

5-6. "Why have I not got it as yet? Again, there are others who are more troubled and more suffering than I. Why have they not got this means? Kindly tell me." Thus asked, Datta, the Ocean of Mercy, answered:

7. "Listen, Rāma! I shall now tell you the fundamental cause of salvation. Association with the wise is the root cause for obliterating all misery.

8-9. "Association with the sages is alone said to lead to the highest good. Your contact with Samvarta has led you to this stage of enlightenment, which is the forerunner of emancipation. On being approached, the sages teach the greatest good.

10. "Has any one ever got anything great, without contact with the wise? In any case, it is the company which determines the future of the individual.

11. "A man undoubtedly reaps the fruits of his company. I shall relate to you a story to illustrate this:

12. "There was once a king of Dasarna by name Muktachūda. He had two sons: Hemachūda and Manichūda.

13. "They were comely, well-behaved and well-learned. At one time they led a hunting party, consisting of a great retinue of men and warriors, into a deep forest on the Sahya Mountains which was infested with tigers, lions and other wild animals. They were themselves armed with bows and arrows.

14. "There they shot several deer, lions, boars, bisons, wolves, etc., having killed them by the skilful use of their bows.

16. "As more wild animals were being hunted down by the royal hunters, a tornado began to rage, pouring down sand and pebbles.

17. "A thick cloud of dust screened the sky; and it became dark like night, so that neither rocks, trees, nor men could be seen.

18. "The mountain was shrouded in darkness, so that neither hills nor valleys could be seen. The retinue hurried away afflicted by the sands and pebbles hurled down by the tornado.

19. "A few of them took shelter under rocks, others in caves, and still others under trees. The royal pair mounted on horses and rode away into the distance.

20. "Hemachūda ultimately reached the hermitage of a sage, which had been built in a fine garden of plantain, date and other trees.

21. "There he saw a charming maiden whose body bright as gold shone like a flame of fire.

22-23. "The prince was bewitched at the sight of the girl, who looked like the Goddess of Fortune, and spoke to her thus: 'Who are you, fair lady, who live fearlessly in such a dreadful and solitary forest? Whose are you? Why are you here? Are you alone?'

24. "On being spoken to, that spotless maiden replied : 'Welcome, prince! Please sit down.

25. "Hospitality is the sacred duty of the pious. I notice you have been overtaken by the tornado and afflicted.

26. "Tie your horse to the date-palm. Sit here and take rest, and then you will be able to listen to me in comfort.'

27-29. "She gave him fruits to eat and juices to drink. After he had refreshed himself, he was further treated with her charming words which dropped like sweet nectar from her lips. 'Prince! There is that well-known sage, Vyāghrapāda, an ardent devotee of Śiva, by whose penance all the worlds have been transcended, and who is eagerly worshipped even by the greatest saints for his unparalleled wisdom both with regard to this and other worlds.

30. "I am his foster child—Hemalekha is my name. There was a *Vidyādhari* (celestial damsel) (—*Vidyadprabha* by name) and very beautiful.

31. "One day she came here to bathe in this river, the Vena, to which Sushena, the King of Vanga, also came at the same time.

32. "He saw the celestial beauty bathing. She was the fairest in the world, lithe in body and with the most beautiful breasts.

33. "He fell in love with her which love she returned.

34. "Their love consummated, he returned home leaving her pregnant.

35. "Afraid of slander, she caused an abortion. I was however born alive from that womb.

36. "As Vyāghrapāda came to the river bank for his evening ablutions, he picked me up because of his great love for all, in order to bring me up with a mother's care.

37. "He who offers righteous protection is said to be the father. I am therefore his daughter by virtue of this and devoted to him.

38-39. "There is certainly no fear for me anywhere on earth on account of his greatness. Be they Gods or Asuras, they cannot enter this hermitage with bad motives; if they did

they would only be courting their own ruin. I have now told you my story. Wait here, Prince, a little.

40. "That same lord, my foster-father, will soon be here. Salute him and hear him with humility; your desire will be fulfilled, and you may leave here in the morning.'

41. "Having heard her and becoming enamoured of her, he was silent for fear of giving offence yet he became distressed in mind.

42-46. "Noting the prince love-stricken, that highly accomplished girl continued: 'Bravo Prince! Be steady! My father is about to come. Tell him all.' As she was saying this Vyāghrapāda the great saint arrived, carrying a basket of flowers culled from the forest for worship. Seeing the sage coming, the prince rose up from his seat, prostrated before him mentioning his own name, and then took his seat as directed. The sage noticed that the man was love-stricken; taking in the whole situation by his occult powers, he pondered on what would be the best course in the circumstances; and ended by bestowing Hemalekha on the young man as his life-partner.

47-49. "The prince was filled with joy and returned with her to his own capital. Muktachūda, his father, was also very pleased and ordered festivities in the kingdom. He then had the marriage performed ceremoniously, and the loving couple passed a very happy honeymoon in the palace, in forest retreats, and in holiday resorts. But the infatuated prince noticed that Hemalekha was not as amorous as himself.

50. "Feeling that she was always unresponsive, he asked her in private: 'My dear! How is it you are not as attentive to me as I am to you?'

51. "Thou fairest of girls radiant with smiles! How is it that you are never keen on seeking pleasure or enjoying it? Are not these pleasures to your taste?'

52. "You look indifferent even during the greatest pleasures. How can I be happy if your interest is not awakened?'

53. "Even when I am close to you, your mind seems to be elsewhere; when spoken to, you do not seem to listen.

54. "As I hold you in close embrace for a long while, you seem unconscious of me, and then ask me, "Lord, when did you come?"

55. "None of the carefully planned arrangements seem to interest you and you do not take part in them.

56. "When I turn away from you, you remain with your eyes closed; and so you continue whenever I approach you.

57. "Tell me how I can derive pleasure with nothing but an artist's model which is what you are, seeing your indifference to all enjoyments.

58. "What does not please you cannot please me either. I am always looking to you, trying to please you like a lily looking up at the moon.

Note.—*Kumuda*, a certain lily, blossoms only in the night and is therefore said to be the beloved of the Moon, as the lotus blossoming in the day is said to be the beloved of the Sun.

59. "Speak, dear! Why are you like this? You are dearer to me than even life. I adjure you! Speak and so relieve my mind."

Thus ends the Third Chapter in the section on the potency of the association with the wise, in *Tripura Rahaśya*.

THE LANGUAGE OF TIRUVALLUVAR'S KURAL

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

THE language of the famous work *Kural*¹ which is assigned by Tamil literary tradition to the *Padinenkilkanakku* set in the Śaṅgam collection (*Eṭṭutogai*, *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Padinenkilkanakku*), shows a number of peculiarities which are neither envisaged by *Tolkāppiyam* nor met with in many of the members of the *Eṭṭutogai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* sets, but which are represented numerous in what can be regarded as the language of a later stage reflected in the writings of the Ālvārs and the Śaivites and in the extant inscriptions. These special features are pointed out and illustrated² below.

It may be observed here that even in the *Eṭṭutogai* collection, *Kalittogai*³ and (to a lesser extent) *Paripāḍal* show these peculiarities.

Cilappadigāram (which is not regarded by the earliest extant Tamil tradition as a Śaṅgam work) shows some more of these later features.

I am not concerned with the relative chronology of the composition of these works, for the determination of which the testimony of language is at best only of ancillary value; but if I were asked to indicate the *linguistic stages* reflected in these works, I would represent them thus:—

¹ Pope's edition of *Kural* and the recently published Śaiva Siddhānta Society edition of *Kural* (with Parimēlaḷagar's commentary) have been used for the purposes of this essay.

The illustrations from other Tamil texts are taken from well-known editions.

² 'n' in this essay stands for the blade-dental nasal; ɾ for the trill (cerebralised slightly); d' for the voiced alveolar plosive occurring in the group nd'(r'); t't' for the long voiceless plosive in the literary group evaluated as t't'(r'); c for the palatal affricate which in many parts of the Tam.-speaking area has to-day the value of s'.

³ I have discussed the language of *Kalittogai* and that of *Cilappadigāram* elsewhere.

I	II		III
	(a)	→ (b)	
<i>Agan'ânûru</i> <i>Puran'ânûru</i> <i>Nat't'riṇai</i> <i>Kurundogai</i> <i>Aiṅgurunûru</i> <i>Padit't'ruppattu</i>	<i>Kalittogai</i> <i>(Paripāḍal)</i> <i>Kuraḷ</i>	<i>Cilappadigāram</i>	The works of the Ālvārs and the Śaivites

I. These works are written in the language of a very ancient stage which might have been used in literary compositions even at a period when developments and evolved features had already begun to appear in the colloquials.

II. (a) These works embody some instances of developments and colloquial forms, though it may be said that the language employed is in the main the old literary dialect.

(b) More developments and colloquial forms occur in this work.

III. Numerous forms embodying changes and developments are met with in these texts.

II

Linguistic Features in *Kuraḷ*, not met with commonly in the Language of the Earliest Stages:

1. *āl*⁴ (beside *ān*):—

<i>kaṭ't'adanāl</i> (2)	<i>idanāl</i> (517)
<i>vagaiyāl</i> (33)	<i>vaṇṇattāl</i> (561)
<i>uḷattāl</i> (282)	<i>yānaiyāl</i> (678)
<i>kaḷavināl</i> (283)	<i>n'ānāl</i> (1017)
<i>colāl</i> (387)	<i>oppuravināl</i> (220)

⁴ Tol. Col. [97 and 108] envisages *-ān* only; *-āl* is but rarely represented in many members of the *Eṭṭutṭogai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* groups. Instances containing *-āl* are numerous in the texts composed in the language of a later stage. *Viṛac.* (*Vēṭ't'rumaipp.*, 3) and *N'annūl* (297) definitely mention *-āl*.

2. *il*⁵ with a "seventh case" force:—

kanavilum (1054)
aḷavil (1187)
amb-in-il (772)
tammil (1107)

3. The post-positions *poruṭṭu* (*cf.* *Viṛac.*, *Vēṭ't'.*, 6), and *māṭṭu*:—

(a) <i>tinal poruṭṭu</i> (256)	(b) <i>yār māṭṭu</i> (94)
<i>vilai poruṭṭu</i>	<i>iraivan poruḷ cēr puḷaḷ</i>
<i>koḍuttal poruṭṭu</i> (725)	<i>-purindār māṭṭu</i> (5)
	<i>avar māṭṭu</i> (1199)

vēṇḍi is on the way to becoming a genuine post-position:—

pin-cēral vēṇḍi (1250)
tuppuravu vēṇḍi (263)
icai vēṇḍi (777)

4. The absence of the augment *-tt-* in *n'ilakku* (570), *vaiyakku* (701), *n'alakku* (149).

5. The use of the augment *-in-* before *il*⁶ as in *amb-in-il* (772).

6. The use of the singular *-du* in constructions like the following⁷, in association with *ellām* (which conveys actually a plural meaning):—

tāyad-ellām (610)
uḷḷuvad-ellām (596)
ilvālvad-ellām (81)

⁵ *-il* (as such) as a seventh case affix is not met with in the language of the oldest stages. Tol. *Eḷuttu* [242, 243, 378, 403] refers to an *-in* which has a seventh case force, according to *N'accinārkkiniyar*. *Viṛac.* (*Vēṭ't'rumaipp.*, 7) and *N'annūl* (302) refer to *-il*.

⁶ TE, 132, prohibits the use of the augment *-in-* before the case ending *-in*; and such a usage is not commonly met with in the language of the oldest texts.

-in-in- and *-in-il* become common in the language of later stages.

⁷ This usage, however, is sought to be justified by Teyvacci-laiyār in his commentary on *sūtra* of Tol. Col. [p. 46 of Karandai edition].

7. "Rational" plurals with *-kaḷ*⁸

mat't'ai-y-avar-gaḷ (263)

pūriyargaḷ (919)

8. *ellām*, qualifying rational third person plurals⁹ in the following :—

n'ind'rāruḷ-ellām (142)

n'ittāruḷ-ellām (325)

vaiyattārkk-ellām (238)

irappārai-y-ellām (1067)

anbilār-ellām (72)

eḷuvārai-y-ellām (1032)

9. The second person plural pronoun *n'ir*¹⁰ is used honorifically in 1319 and 1320.

⁸ Tol. Col. prescribes *-kaḷ* only for non-rationals [169], and here too only optionally [171].

-kaḷ for rationals does not occur in the language of the earliest stages.

-kaḷ is frequently associated with "rationals" in the language of a later stage. *Kalittogai* and *Kuraḷ* show *-kaḷ* with rational nouns. *Cilappadigāram* has also *yāngaḷ* and *taṅgaḷ* [i.e., *-kaḷ* for rational pronouns].

Virac., *Vēṭ't'r.*, 2 and 9, and *N'annūl* 278, definitely sanction the use of *-kaḷ* for rationals; and the usage recognized by these grammars has already been current in the language of the *Āḷvars* and *Śaivites*.

⁹ TC, 187, says that *ellām* when "qualifying" rationals is generally used only with the first person plurals. Cf. Teyvacilaiyar's commentary on this *sūtra* (p. 125 of Karandai edition) and Cēnāvaraiyar's observations in his commentary on the same *sūtra* (p. 164 of Śaiva Siddhānta edition).

A rare *cāṇḍ'rōr-ellām* occurs in *Pur. Kalittogai* has many instances of this type.

ellām qualifies rationals of all persons in the language of an evolved stage (cf. *N'annūl*, 285).

¹⁰ Tol. Col. has only *n'iyir* (188, 190).

Kalitt. has at least one instance of *n'ir* (used honorifically). The 10th century *Virac.* (*Vēṭ't'r.*, 9) and the 13th century *N'annūl* [285] recognize *n'ir*, employed numerously in the language of the *Śaivites* and *Vaiṣṇavites*. It may be noted that *n'ir* is used only honorifically in *Kuraḷ*.

10. Causative verbs with *-vi-*, *-ppi*¹¹ :—

uḷappikkum (938)

n'ayappittār (1189—participial noun)

aṇivippa (1233)

11. Verb-bases like *maruv-* (800), *keḷuv-* (806) and *oruv-* (652, 800, 871), rare in the earliest stages.12. The future first person singular with *-an*¹² :—

irappan (1067)

paruguvan (1266)

uḷḷuvan (1125)

ilan (223)

13. Optatives associated with the first and the second persons¹³ :—

kāṅga maṇ konganai-k-kaṇ-ṇ-āra is associated with the first person (implied).

¹¹ These causatives are but most rarely represented in the language of the oldest stages. For these rare instances, see my "Language of *Kalittogai*" (*Journal of Oriental Research*).

Virac. (*Upakārapp.*, 5) and *N'annūl* (138) mention this type.

¹² While Tol. Col. (200) mentions *-al* (in connection with first person future singular forms), *-an* is mentioned by *Virac.* (*Kriyāp.*, 7), and described as expressing *tuṇivu*. The old commentator Perundēvanār observes that the type with *-al* "has an *adēśa l*", while the commentator Iḷambūraṇar says that the type with *-al* is said to have been replaced by that with *-an* in his time.

N'annūl (331) also refers to this type.

The earliest texts do not have *-an* commonly as the ending of the first person singular future finite. Rare instances are *yān kūruvan* [*Nat't'rinai*, 233] and *yān aṇiguvan* [*PN*, 109]. *Kuraḷ* and *Cilapp.* have a few instances. The *Bhaktas* use the type freely.—The literary language of Mal. kept up this type till the 16th century.

¹³ Tol. Col. (226) disapproves the use of the *viyaṅḡḷ* for the first and second persons, though commentators seek to justify the exceptional instances in the earliest texts by saying that the phrase *mannāḍ-ḡḡum* in the *sūtra* of Tol. Col. already envisaged the exceptional instances.

14. Conditionals and concessives of the following types :—

- (i) -*kāl*, preceded by the past relative participle, used only to modify verbs denoting “ indeterminate ” or future actions, and therefore giving rise to the idea of “ condition ”¹⁴ :—

pet't'ra-k-kāl (1270)

kund'rikkāl (14 < *kundr'iyakkāl*)

kârâkkāl (301)

- (ii) -*âl* :—

ânâl (53)

muḍindâlum (658)

kaṇḍâl (1256)

- (iii) -*êl* :—

vaṛakkum-êl (18)

uṇḍ-êl (368)

ind'rêl (556)

- (iv) -*ânum* :—

il-ânum (448)

enaitt-ânum (317)

- (v) -*ênum* :—

ennuḍaiyar-ênum (430)

kûrmaiyyar-ênum (997)

- (vi) -*il* :—

uṇil unga (922).

¹⁴ The signification of “ condition ” is not directly or exclusively envisaged by the Tol. Col. *sûtra* which refers to the *vinaiyeccam* types in which -*kâl*, -*kaṇ*, -*pin*, -*min*, are suffixed to original relative participles.

Kāṅgiṛpin (190), *uykkiṛpin* (440), *celgiṛpin* (1170) are peculiar “ conditionals ”. *Kuraḷ* has the participial nouns *oṟukkiṛpavar* (779) and *ceygiṛpân* (515).

Future finites with -*giṛ-p-* occur in *Kalittogai* (among the *Eḻuttogai* texts) and also in the language of the Ālvârs and the Śaivite N'āyanmârs.

15. Infinitives with -*a* commonly express in the oldest stages only the following significations :—(i) “ effect ” of the action of the verb governed by the infinitive ; (ii) “ simultaneity ” of action ; (iii) initiation of slight “ sequentiality ” for the action of the verb governed by the infinitive ; and (iv) occasionally used with the force of a verbal noun, as in *tara-p-paḍ-*, etc.

The signification of “ previously conceived purpose ”¹⁵ was not common in the oldest stages. *Kuraḷ* has the following in which the infinitives may be regarded as conveying the idea of “ purpose ” :—*pala colla-k-kâmuṟuvar* (649) ; *karumam ceya kai tûvên* (1021).

16. -*viḍ-* and -*iḍ-*¹⁶ as *tuṇai vinai* :—

n'algâdâgiviḍin (17) *puguttiviḍum* (608)

perâaviḍin (238) *têrâviḍinum* (876)

irudiyâgiviḍum (476) *kond'riḍa* (1030)

kâṭṭiviḍum (28)

17. Negatives of the type constituted of the past stem, followed by -*il* and personal terminations :—

kat't'ilan (414)

amaindind'ru (340)

This is very rare in the oldest texts, but common in *Cilapp.*, and also in the language of the Bhaktas. Cf. *Virac.*, *Dhâtupp.*, 10 and the old commentary on this *sûtra*.

¹⁵ It may be noted that in the oldest stages the idea of “ previously conceived purpose ” was very frequently expressed by the type of *ceyyiya* and by the fourth case forms of verbal nouns with -*al* (as in *taraṛ-ku*).

Kuraḷ has only two instances of the *ceyyiya* type :—*Kâṭṭiya* and *ṭiniya*.

The *ceyyiya* type appears to have fallen into disuse in later stages, and replaced by *ceyya*. *Virac.* (*Dhâtupp.*, 7) equates the *ceyya* type to the *tum-anta pratyaya* of Sanskrit which expresses only “ purpose ”.

¹⁶ For -*iḍ-* as a *tuṇai vinai*, cf. *Virac.*, *Dhâtupp.*, 8 (commentary).

18. Though instances like *vālbavan...vaikkappaḍum* (50), *tiyavai tiyinum aṇjappaḍum* (202) and *vāymai-y-ena-p-paḍuvadu* (291) are normal constructions where no genuine passive is involved, the following may be regarded as genuine passives :—

(*kaṇcāyavar*) *n'agappaḍuvar* (927)

(*paḷaiyārkaṭ paṇbit't'ralaippiriyādār*) *viḷaiyappaḍuba* (810)

Kalitt. has one genuine passive construction: *kaimarak-kappaṭṭāy n'ī*. Virac., Kriyāp., 11, expressly refers to passives with *paḍ-*.

19. Miscellaneous :—

(a) *iṇvā n'ind'ra* in 1157 perhaps stands for a transitional stage through which the so-called present tense affix *-ā n'ind'r-* became “crystallized”.

Virac., Kriyāp., 4, comm., refers to *ā-n'ind'r-* as being constituted of the “*iḍai-c-col*” *ā* and the “affix” *-n'ind'r-*.

(b) The following forms are unique in *Kuraḷ* :—

enbāḱku (1312)

paḍubāḱku (164)

karappāḱku (1127)

vēbāḱku (1128)

The commentarians ḷambiraṇar and Cēnāvaraiyar refer to this type as a *vinai-y-eccam* type.

Nēminādam and *N'annūl* (343) also include the type among the *vinai-y-eccams*.

The type is unique in *Kuraḷ*.

(c) *vēṇḍā-v-ām* (942) is the “ancestor” of later *vēṇḍām*. *vēṇḍum* (preceded usually by verbal nouns) as an affirmative hortative, and *vēṇḍā* as a prohibitive, already occur in the oldest texts; and *Kuraḷ* also has instances of these types.

(d) *eṇṇanam* (251) is unusual in the earliest stages. Tol. does not mention forms like *iṇṇanam*, *aṇṇanam* and *eṇṇanam*; *N'annūl* expressly refers to them. These forms occur numerous in the language of a later stage: Cilapp. has *iṇṇan*, *iṇṇanam*. The

forms *eṇṇanē*, *eṇṇanam*, *iṇṇanē*, *iṇṇanam*, etc., are common in the language of the Ālvārs and the Śaivites.

Mal. preserves *iṇṇanē*, *aṇṇanē* and *eṇṇanē* even to-day.

(e) *pōḍāy* (1123) appears to be based upon older *pō-tar-*. Forms like *pōḍum*, *pōḍāy*, *pōṇḍa*, *pōṇḍān*, *pōṇḍēn* occur frequently only in the language of a later stage.

Cilappadigāram has some of them.

(f) Some of the other collocations in *Kuraḷ* common in later stages are the following :—*kāṇum aḷavu*; *avvaḷavu*; *aridu*; etc.

Among the above features, Numbers 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14 (ii), (iii), (iv) and (vi), 16 and 17 occur also in *Kalittogai* (of the *Eṭṭuttogai* collection).

III

Old Features in *Kuraḷ*

1. The use of the *āydam* :—

aḥḍu

veḥgi

aḥgi

eḥgu

kaḥcu

2. The use of the third case ending *-ān* [as in *aṇṭān* (39), *iyaḷpinān* (47), *vinaiyān* (63), *aṇvinān* (315), *manattān* (453), *teyvattān* (619)]; the absence of the fifth case *n'ind'ru* and of the sixth case *uḍaiya* or *uḍai*; the use of old post-positions like *vayin* (as in *viḷai vayir*), *mīcai*, *kaṇ* and *uḷi* (as in *tī-y-uḷi*); the use of the augment *-an-* for *adu*, *idu*, *yādu*.

3. The plural demonstratives *iva* and *uva* in *iva-k-kān* and *uva-k-kān* (1185).

The “intermediate” demonstratives in *u-p-pakkam* (620), *uva-k-kān* (1185).

4. The pronouns *yān* (no *n'ān*), *yām*, oblique *n'in'* (no *un-*), oblique *n'um-* (no *um-*).

5. Transitive-causative bases underlying *koḷi* (938), *urūm* (94).

6. Past conjunctive participles like the following :—

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| (a) <i>aḷi</i> (182) | (b) <i>trināy</i> (594) |
| <i>marī</i> (227) | (c) <i>pariyā</i> (774) |
| <i>orī</i> (422) | <i>n'agāa</i> (824) |
| <i>taḷi</i> (425) | |
| <i>n'acai</i> (1263) | |
| <i>aḷai</i> (91) | |
| <i>keḷi</i> (820) | |

It is noteworthy that the conjunctive participle types with *-ū*, *-bu* (occurring in the earliest stages) are not met with in *Kuraḷ*. That these were very ancient types is clear from the observation of Cénâvaraiyar (in his commentary on Tol. Col., 228) that these types and the *vinaiyeccam* types *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya* were not met with in his time (*vaḷakkinnuḷ i-k-kālattu vārā-v-āyinum*...).

The commentarian Iḷambūraṇar observes that in his time the type *uṇṇā vandān* has replaced *uṇṇū vandān*.

- (d) *āgi* (beside *āy*) (51)

7. Past finites like the following :—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) <i>paṭṭand'ru</i> (999) | (b) <i>eydind'ru</i> (1240) |
| <i>tirndand'ru</i> (612) | |

8. Future finites of the following types :—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| (a) <i>peruguvam</i> (1328) | (b) ¹⁷ rational third person plural |
| <i>enba</i> (60) | |
| <i>paḍuba</i> (810) | |
| <i>karuduba</i> (337) | |

9. First person singular with the (personal) ending *-al* :—

- pulappal* (1259)
keḍuval (116)
n'ōval (1236)
ceyval (1023)
aṇival (1129)

¹⁷ *enba* (483), *vēṇḍuba* (696), *varuba* (961), *aṇguba* (333) are “neuter” participial plural nouns.

10. The tense with *-d-* (or *-tt-*) in the first person plural (with *-um*) and the second person singular (with *-i*) and plural (with *-ir*) :—

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>perudi</i> (1237) | <i>maṇaittir-ō</i> (1318) |
| <i>kāydi</i> (1246) | <i>aṇjudum</i> (1128) |
| <i>otti</i> (1119) | <i>vāḷdum</i> (956) |
| <i>ātti</i> (for <i>ādi</i>) (1112) | <i>ādum</i> (653) |
| <i>āgudir</i> (1319) | <i>iḷattum</i> (1250) |

11. The first person singular with *-kku* (with the *kut'triyalugaram* which is elided before vowels following) occurs in one instance :—

- uraikk-ō* (1181)

12. Old purpose-participles with *-iya* :—

- tiniya* (1296)
kāṭṭiya (1313)

13. Hortatives with *-al*, as in the following :—*enal* (196); *viḍal* (158); *ceyal* (333).

14. Optatives like (a) *vāliya* and *vāli* and (b) first person plural *ayargam* (1268), *kāṅgam* (1301).

15. Old participial nouns with the blade dental *n'* in the suffixal portion :—*vāḷun'am* (1193), *viḷun'ar* (1309), *ceṇun'ar* (759).

16. Negatives of the following types :—

- (a) Finites, constituted of verb-bases (with or without an extension-suffix *-g-*) followed by *-al* and personal endings :

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>n'ing-al-ar</i> (1216) | <i>amai-y-al-a</i> (1283) |
| <i>pēṇ-al-ar</i> (1016) | <i>cey-g-al-ān</i> (848) |
| <i>cey-y-al-a</i> (1086) | |

- (b) Finites, constituted of “neuter” participial nouns and *-il* followed by personal endings :

- arindad-il-ēn* (1226)
(yām) aṇivad-illai contains *illai* (used for all persons.)

- (c) Finites in which nouns are followed by *-il* and personal endings :

<i>avalam-il-ar</i> (1072)	<i>pāḍ-il-ar</i> (906)
<i>ceydaḷ-il-ar</i> (954)	<i>kaṇ-n-il-an</i> (566)
<i>kund'raḷ-il-ar</i> (778)	<i>n'irai-y-il-an</i> (864)
<i>urudaḷ-il-an</i> (628)	<i>paṇb-il-an</i> (865)

- (d) Two instances of fully conjugated affirmative forms followed by *-al* and personal endings :

kuḍuñjollan-allan (-ēl) (386); *uḷar-allar* (880).

- (e) *enal* as a prohibitive in *magan enal* (196).

- (f) Prohibitives with *-an-min* and negative optatives with *-at'ka* :

(i) <i>n'illanmin</i> (777)	
<i>iravanmin</i> (1067)	
(ii) <i>maṇavat'ka</i> (106)	<i>collat'ka</i> (184)
<i>turaṇavat'ka</i> (106)	<i>n'ōvat'ka</i> (877)
<i>vēṇḍat'ka</i> (177)	<i>mēvat'ka</i> (877)
<i>cūḷat'ka</i> (204)	

paḍāḍi (1210) is an instance of a prohibitive type which is represented numerously in *Kalittogai*.

17. Borrowings from Indo-Āryan (not at all unusual in old texts) :—

<i>avi</i>	<i>uran</i>
<i>avai</i>	<i>ulagam</i>
<i>aṅgaṇam</i>	<i>uruvam</i>
<i>amiḷdam</i>	<i>uvamai</i>
<i>araṇ</i>	<i>ēdu</i>
<i>araṅgu</i>	<i>ēdam</i>
<i>aracu</i>	<i>ēmam</i>
<i>accu</i>	<i>ōitu</i>
<i>amar</i>	<i>kaṇam</i>
<i>āgulam</i>	<i>karuman</i>
<i>āḍi</i>	<i>kāḍi</i>
<i>ācāram</i>	<i>kāṇḍu</i>
<i>āyam</i>	<i>kāmam</i>
<i>indīran</i>	<i>kālam</i>
<i>ilakkam</i>	<i>kāraṇam</i>

<i>kulan</i>	<i>pārppān</i>
<i>kuṇam</i>	<i>pāgam</i>
<i>kuḍumham</i>	<i>pākkiyam</i>
<i>kuru</i>	<i>pāvam</i>
<i>calam</i>	<i>puruvam</i>
<i>caman</i>	<i>purandaran</i>
<i>cuvai</i>	<i>pūdam</i>
<i>cūdu</i>	<i>pēdaimai</i>
<i>tavam</i>	<i>madi</i>
<i>taṇḍam</i>	<i>mandiri</i>
<i>tānam</i>	<i>manam</i>
<i>tūdu</i>	<i>mugam</i>
<i>tiru</i>	<i>mānam</i>
<i>teyvam</i>	<i>mādar</i>
<i>tēvar</i>	<i>māyam</i>
<i>tōṇi</i>	<i>māttirai</i>
<i>n'āṇḍy</i>	<i>vaṇḍam</i>
<i>n'āgarigam</i>	<i>vaṇṇam</i>
<i>n'āgam</i>	<i>vīram</i>
<i>n'āmam</i>	<i>vādam</i>
<i>n'ey</i>	<i>vāṇigam</i>
<i>paḍam</i>	<i>vittagar</i>

IV

I may also indicate here that *Cilappadigāram* (which is not regarded by the earliest Tamil tradition as a Śaṅgam work) shows evolved features like the following¹⁸ :—

1. The third case ending *-āl*; the sixth case *uḍaiya* (very rare, represented only in one instance); the seventh case *-il*; the use of the augment *-in-* before the case-ending *-il*; the use of the *u-c-cāriyai* in forms like *avaḷ-u-kku*, *eṭṭukku*.

2. The use of the plural ending *-kaḷ* for rationals not only in nouns but in pronouns (*yāṅgaḷ* and *taṅgaḷ*).

¹⁸ Illustrations are given in my paper on "The Language of *Cilappadigāram*".

3. The second person plural pronoun *n'ir* (for older *n'iyir*), the first person singular *n'ân* (beside *yân*), the oblique *un-*.

4. The use of *ellâm* to qualify "rational" third personal nouns.

5. The first person personal ending *-ôm* (beside *-em*, *-ém*, *-am*, *-âm*) of tense-form.

6. The use of *uṇḍu* for rational plurals (as in *peṇḍirum-uṇḍu-kol*, *cāṇḍ'rôrum-uṇḍu-kol*).

7. Verb-bases like *oruv-*, *maruv-*; causative with *-vi-* in *aṇivippôyē*; the present tense ending *-gind'r-* (in relative participles); the first person singular finites with final personal *-an*; the plural imperative *târum*; the use of the *um-m-it't'ru* *vinaiyeccam*, as in *end'ralum*; conditionals with *-il*, *âl*, *êl*; negative finites of the type of *kaṇḍ-ilal*; one instance of *maṇakka mâtṭôm*.

8. Forms like *inda*, *iṇṇan* and *iṇṇanam*.

It would be noted that *Cilappadigâram* shows more features of the later stage than *Kalittogai* or *Kuṇal*. The following ones, evidenced by *Cilappadigâram*, are not met with in *Kuṇal* (or in *Kalittogai*):—

(1) *uḍaiya* as a sixth case affix.

(2) The *u-c-câriyai* in *avaḷ-u-kku*, etc.

(3) The first person singular pronoun *n'ân*; the singular oblique *un-*.

(4) The plural ending *-kal* for pronouns in *yāṅgal* and *taṅgal*.

(5) The personal ending *ôm* for verbal finites.

(6) The use of *uṇḍu* as in *peṇḍirum-uṇḍu*.

(7) *maṇakka-mâtṭôm*.

(8) *inda*; *iṇṇan(am)*; *pônd-*, *pugund-*.

THREE GREAT BIRTHS

BY K. A. BOCKER

ON the 25th of December, Christian Churches throughout the world celebrate the Festival of Christmas, or the Birth of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And, as the bells ring out, men's minds go back over the years to their childhood days when, round the knees of their parents, they first heard the Gospel Story.

And now, though all of us are well acquainted with the simple story of the Scriptures, not many of us are aware of the amount of myth and legend that has been woven round this great event. Nor are there many who know, or perhaps, who would care to confess, that many of the most beautiful legends have probably been borrowed by us from this great land of Ind! For while the navy of Hiram traded with Ophir, which many take to be India, in gold, ivory, apes and peacocks, it carried back with it many beautiful legends of Krishna and the Buddha, which subsequently, probably, came to be woven round the figure of our Lord. This will become more apparent if we compare the births, as described in various myths and legends, of these great personages.

The scriptural story is too well known to bear repetition, and so we will pass on to the story of the Nativity as described in some of the better known myths and legends.

The story goes that while on their way from Nazareth to Bethlehem, Mary, finding her time had come, besought Joseph to take her off the ass she was riding. Looking in vain for some human habitation, they came upon a cave which was perpetually dark until the Madonna entered, when it was immediately filled with a bright light which remained as long as she remained therein. Here, and not as in the scriptural story, in a stable, our Lord was born, and it was not until the third day that Mary took the Holy Babe and laid it in the manger where the Ox and the Ass worshipped it.

It is further related that at the hour of birth, Nature and the whole world was hushed, and everything was stilled. On that day three suns were seen in the East which were immediately joined together, signifying that divinity, soul and flesh were all combined in Christ.

On the night of the Nativity, a star in the centre of which was a child holding a cross, appeared in the East and warned the Magi to go and worship the Holy Infant. The darkness of night was turned into the light of day. Towards midnight an angel appeared to the shepherds telling them of Christ's birth, while the balsam vineyards of Engaddi appeared in full bloom, wafting a delicious perfume far and wide.

Great joy was also manifested in the Animal World. The Raven is said to have been the first bird to have heard the glad tidings from the Angels at midnight. At midnight, also, the Cock crew announcing the great event, while the Dog enquired where it had taken place. "At Bethlehem," answered the Gnat, while the Hen advised everyone to journey thither. It was on this night that the Mule earned his evil reputation, and it happened as follows:—The Holy Virgin had placed her Infant in a manger, between an Ox and a Mule, and had covered it with hay to keep it warm. The Mule repeatedly kept pulling the hay away, while the Ox tried its best to keep the Child covered and warmed it with its breath. The Virgin thereupon blessed the Ox saying that its snout would always be moist, that is that he would always be in good health, and that, like a woman, the cow would be pregnant for nine months. She, however, condemned the Mule to barrenness.

The vegetable kingdom also partook of the Universal joy on this great occasion. Fruit trees and flowers burst into bloom, while a spray of Sainfoin on which our Lord happened to be lying, formed a wreath round his head.

Let us now compare these legends with some of those woven round Lord Krishna.

Like Christ, Sri Krishna was of Royal descent, his father being Vasudeva, son of Shurasena, King of the Yādavas, and

as it was Christ's mission on earth to free it from sin, so Brahma sent Nārāyaṇa, in the form of Sri Krishna, to rid the earth of Kansa, King of the Demons, who was sorely oppressing it.

Like Herod in the Biblical story, Kansa, being warned by Saint Nārada of his doom at the hands of the eighth child of Devaki, determined if possible to destroy the child. In order that the prophecy may be fulfilled, however, Yogamāya, by a mystic process, transferred the conception of Devaki into the womb of Rohini, after which Vasudeva, like Joseph, fled with the babe from Mathura to the house of Nanda, the cowherd, where Sri Krishna grew up as an ordinary shepherd child.

As at the hour of the Nativity, so on the birth of Sri Krishna, various phenomena manifested themselves. The seas were agitated, the stars shone more brightly, the beating of drums was heard in heaven, and the king of the gods showered flowers on the earth. The gods, great sages, Gandharvas and Apsaras sang hymns in his honour. The babe himself, even before his birth, emitted a great light, and no one was able to look on Devaki because of the light that invested her.

Like Christ and Sri Krishna, the Lord Buddha also came of Royal stock, his father being Suddhodana (or Pure Rice, being so named by the people because his granaries, like those of his father before him, were always full and his heart was pure) of the Sakya Clan. His mother, Queen Maya, was, like Mary, mysteriously informed of his coming. For, while she slept in her pavilion by the side of her lord, there came to her a dream, and she dreamed that she saw four Guardian Divine Kings who lifted her from her couch and bore her away to the great mountains and there laid her. Here bright, celestial, spirits bathed her in the pure waters of a lake and so cleansed her from all her sins. They then dressed her in divine garments and shedding perfumes around her, led her down again to rest. While thus she lay, there appeared a lordly white elephant, shining like silver, who touched her with his trunk on the right side, and then disappeared like a cloud into her womb. She awakened her lord and related the

dream to him, and he replied stating he had also heard the sweet music of the spirits, and further said that the child would be born when the Flower-Star shone in the East.

And when her time was drawing near, Queen Maya approached the King and asked him to allow her to go home to the house of her parents, there to have the child according to the custom of her race. And the King consenting, they fetched a litter and she set out accompanied by her retinue for the home of her people. At the end of the day, they rested near the Gardens of Lumbini, and Queen Maya, leaning on the arm of the faithful Prajāpati, wandered about the gardens enjoying the sound of the running waters and the cooing of the doves. And as they passed beneath a beautiful palsa tree, it bowed earthwards until its leaves and flowers covered the ground and here, while Prajāpati knelt beside her, was born the Shining One.

As at the births of Christ and Sri Krishna, many celestial phenomena appeared. The ten thousand worlds suddenly trembled and shook, while a great light illuminated them. The blind gained their eyesight, the deaf heard, the mute began to speak, and disease fled from the world. Water gushed from the earth, while a cool breeze sprung up. Fruit-trees and flowers blossomed forth, and sweet music resounded in the air. Musical instruments played without human agency, the ornaments worn by women tinkled, horses neighed, elephants trumpeted. The imprisoned found themselves free, while the fires of hell were extinguished.....

Thus were born the three greatest Philosophers the World has ever seen, each with his mission to save mankind, irrespective of Race, Caste, Colour or Creed. Would that men would therefore praise the Lord, and sinking their differences, enable the mission of these Great Ones to be fulfilled!

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NOTES ON THREE QUAIN T INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

SECTION I

Supposed Exudation of Blood from Stones

WHENEVER an extraordinary event happens or a strange phenomenon, which cannot be explained by the man-in-the-street, takes place, the people become panic-stricken and ascribe it to the working or influence of some supernatural agency. If the phenomenon takes place with reference to any tangible object, ordinary folks would fight shy of it and would not touch it on any account. This quaint superstitious belief has recently received a striking illustration in the shape of an extraordinary phenomenon which has occurred in a Bengali gentleman's family at Kālñā in the district of Burdwan in Western Bengal. In this case, some stone utensils in that gentleman's house began to exude a red blood-like fluid. This blood-red fluid was, at first, examined by some medical men. But they did not find any blood corpuscles in it. But it has been sent for further examination. But the results of this second examination have not yet been published in the newspapers. The womenfolk of the family have been very much terrified on seeing these bleeding stone utensils, so much so that these have been kept apart, and that they would not even touch them, as will appear from the following account of this strange event which has been printed in *The Behar Herald* (published from Bankipur) of Saturday, the 18th August 1934:—

" BLEEDING STONE UTENSILS

Extraordinary Phenomenon

Sj. Krishna Chandra Mukherjee, M.A., of Siddeswaritala, Kālñā (Burdwan), writes to say that several stone utensils of his house were found on Tuesday, the 7th August, to be covered with tiny red spots like pimples. One of the pimples

being pricked by a member of the family with his nail began to give out drops of blood-like red fluid and that copiously. The hospital surgeon, Dr. Anderson, has taken much interest in the matter and sent a quantity of the fluid for examination and culture. On a previous medical examination the fluid was found to contain no blood corpuscles. All the same the phenomenon is extraordinary and the members of the family, specially the womenfolk, have been panic-stricken. They attribute it to some supernatural agencies. Can anybody explain? The utensils are kept untouched out of fear and the red spots are still there."

A similar extraordinary phenomenon has taken place in a Śiva's temple in the village of Kottayam in North Travancore in Southern India. In this case, the blood is oozing from what appears to be a swelling in the side of the stone image of a bull (Nandikeshwar) which is the *vāhana* or vehicle of the god Śiva to whom the temple is dedicated. This event is being looked upon by the local people as a miracle; and it was proposed to send a quantity of this blood-like fluid to the Maharaja of Travancore. The following account of this extraordinary phenomenon has been published in *The Behar Herald* (published from Bankipur) of Saturday, the 21st July 1934:—

"MIRACLE IN ŚIVA'S TEMPLE

Blood Comes Out of Stone Image

For the first time in the history of Śiva's temple at Kottayam, North Travancore, a miracle, it is reported, has occurred. From early morning of July 17 blood was seen flowing from a side of the stone image of bull *vāhana* (Nandikeshwar) before the image of god Śiva. The fluid comes from what appears to be a swelling that feels smooth to the temple priest. It is understood that in accordance with custom, on the occasion also a pot full of blood that flows from the stone image of the bull be sent to the Maharaja of Travancore informing His Highness of the incident. The news of the miracle is drawing enormous crowd to the temple."

But it does not appear from the foregoing newspaper report whether the blood oozing from the stone image of the bull was medically examined and whether the people looked upon this strange event with superstitious awe and ascribed it to the wrath of the god Śiva. (Should any Hindu gentleman of Travancore be cognisant of this extraordinary phenomenon, he is requested to communicate to this *Journal* any further facts he may be aware of regarding it.)

SECTION II

Supposed Eruption of Smallpox on Stones

In this connection, I may state that some people look upon black spots on stones as eruptions of smallpox and that an instance of this belief has recently cropped up at Kishanganj in the district of Purnea in North Behar. In this case, black spots appeared on the stone rollers (*norās*) which are used for grinding spices with upon slabs of stone which are called *shil*. This curious phenomenon occurred in the households of several respectable gentlemen of the locality. The members of the households in which this event occurred looked upon it as an outbreak of smallpox among stones and, therefore, gave up the practice of grinding spices upon *shils* by means of *norās*. This is testified to by the following paragraphs which have been published in *The Behar Herald* (published from Bankipur) for Saturday, the 13th April 1935:—

"PECULIAR FEATURE ON SMALL STONES USED FOR GRINDING SPICES ON FLAT STONES

Since about a fortnight past, an unusual and peculiar feature is being noticed on the small stones (*nōra*) used for grinding spices, etc. On flat stones (*shil*), viz., the small stones are found dotted with black spots. This is being noticed in several houses of the locality. The black spots noticed on the said small stones are not removed by rubbing or washing. The local rumour is that an epidemic of smallpox had broken out among stones and some people had abandoned using stones. The black spotted small stones may be seen, among others, in the houses of Dr. B. K. Das, B.Sc., M.B., and Mr. J. L. Chatterjee, Station Master, of Kishanganj."

There are two hypotheses which can explain the appearance of the black spots on the stone rollers. Either they are due to the growth of some fungus on the stones or to some chemical change in the constituents of the stones. But the former hypothesis is untenable, because, if the spots had been due to the growth of some kind of fungus, they would have disappeared with hard rubbing or washing. But they did not do so. So I am obliged to fall back upon the hypothesis that they are due to some chemical change in the constituents of the stones. It is a great pity that the spotted stone rollers were not submitted to examination by some scientific expert. For had they been so done, the latter would have been able to throw some light about the true cause thereof.

SECTION III

Supposed Rain of Blood

Similarly reports occasionally appear in the newspapers to the effect that *rain of blood* has fallen at such and such a place and that the local people have become terrified by it and superstitiously believe that it portends some disaster or calamity to that locality. In this case, scientific men explain that the drops of rain, having passed through strata of air surcharged with red dust or sand, assume the reddish tinge which imparts to them a blood-like appearance. These ignorant people call such a shower of water-drops a "*rain of blood*".

Recently, the following report about the fall of such a supposed "rain of blood" was received from Rangpur (in Northern Bengal) and published in *The Behar Herald* (printed from Bankipur) for Wednesday, the 1st July 1936 :—

"QUEER PHENOMENON AT RANGPUR

Rangpur, June 25.

A few days ago while three boys were returning home at about 6 P.M. and were walking by the side of the north-east corner of the Rangpur Collectorate ground had been drenched with a shower of blood which presumably fell from the Banyan

tree that stretched its branches over their heads. Under that tree there is a small structure made of brick in which the image of Hanuman is worshipped and therefore the people called the locality as Hanumantala.

A strange rustling sound preceded the shedding of blood and the boys were amazed to see their clothes down the waist had been drenched with blood which trickled down even to the feet of one of them. There was no streak of blood on earth. The boys were non-plussed out of fear and hurried to a tank to wash the same. Strange to say that the upper part of their body on which they had shirts remained clean. People who heard about this strange phenomenon went to the spot and looked around and tried to trace the source of this strange phenomenon. But there was no indication which could explain this. No mark of blood was visible on earth.

As it was the 'Ambubachi Day' and Rangpur is a place included within the zone of ancient 'Kāmrūp' according to the 'Jaginitantra' some people ascribe this to the existence of some goddess residing in this tree from whom the blood issued. The blood could not be examined analytically.

The names of the three boys were Dinendra Kumar Sen, son of Dwijendranath Sen of Guptapara (an employee under the Rangpur District Board), a student of the local college, Bireswar Chatterjee, son of Akshay Kumar Chatterjee, Press Peshkar, Rangpur Settlement, an ex-student of the K.R.H.E. School, Rangpur, and Devprasad Basu, a student."

From the foregoing account we find that the unlettered and credulous people, being unable to find out the true explanation of this strange happening, arrived at the following sophisticated reasoning to account for its origin :—

- (a) Kāmrūpa is the reputed home of many goddesses.
- (b) Rangpur is a part of Kāmrūpa.
- (c) Therefore the tree at Rangpur must be inhabited by a goddess who is no other than the Earth-goddess.
- (d) That when this strange phenomenon occurred, it was "Ambuvāchi" time when the Earth-goddess was popularly believed to be in her menses.

(e) Therefore the Earth-goddess, residing in the tree, must have dropped her menstrual blood upon the men standing below it.

But the man-in-the-street knows that the times when the gods used to visit the earth and manifest themselves to human beings have passed away and that we are now living in hard-matter-of-fact times when everything must be explained by a rational and scientific theory. Therefore the afore-described sophisticated reasoning does not commend itself to the educated and literate people.

We should, therefore, try to find out a rational explanation which fits in with the facts of this case. I think that the only explanation, which appears to account for the origin of the aforedescribed queer or strange phenomenon may be set forth as follows :—

Some bird of prey, say a vulture or a kite, must have brought a dead rat or hare or a lump of flesh from a butcher's stall and eaten it on the topmost branches of the tree. The blood issuing from the dead animal or lump of flesh must have collected in the foliage. When it was agitated by a strong gust of wind which produced the rustling noise, the blood was shed on the clothes of the persons standing below the tree. The statement that only the clothes from the waist downwards to the feet were stained by the blood, appears to me to be only a figment of the credulous persons' imagination, which has been added to lend the whole affair a greater air of miraculousness.

REVIEWS

Sivaswamin's *Kapphinābhyudaya* or Life of King Kapphina.

Edited by Gauri Shankar, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon), *Lecturer, Government College, Lahore.*

THIS is a Sanskrit poetical work containing twenty cantos (*sargas*) composed in various metres and is descriptive of the life and work of Kapphina, a Buddhist mythical king. The story in brief is that Kapphina was ruling in Leelavati, a town situated in the Vindhya. A spy says to the king that Prasēnajit, the King of Kosala, hates him, and that the king has to be on his guard and try to overcome Prasēnajit. The king consults his ministers, Subahu, Darśaka and others. In connection with the council meeting, the poet describes the king's assembly hall, the speeches made by his ministers, the king's tour in the country of Vidyadhara. He further describes seasons and amusements in moonlit night, and the battle between Kapphina and Prasēnajit. Though both are Buddhists, Buddha first favours Prasēnajit and moved by the fervent prayer of Kapphina, Buddha enables him to conquer Prasēnajit, on the condition that he rules his kingdom for the benefit only of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.

ಮಾ ಭೋಗೇಭ್ಯಃ ಭಂಗುರೇಭ್ಯಃ ಪ್ರಕೃತ್ಯಾಪ್ರಾಣೇಭ್ಯಃ
ಮಾ ಶ್ರಿಯೈಃ ಮಾ ಯಶೋಭ್ಯಃ ಶ್ರಾದ್ಧೈಃ ಶುದ್ಧೈಃ
ಶ್ರದ್ಧಯಾಶಾದ್ಧಿಃ ಪೃಥ್ವೀಂ ಪೃಥ್ವೀ ರತ್ನ ಪ್ರಯಾರ್ಥಃ ।

Do thou rule the earth, not for the naturally transitory pleasures, not for thine own life, not for wealth, nor for fame, but being sincerely devoted and pure, rule the kingdom earnestly, only for the preservation of the three precious jewels, namely, (1) the Buddha, (2) the Dharma, (3) the Saṅgha.

The *Kavya* presents Buddhism in its true form free from speculations of later philosophy.

The author is a good gifted Sanskrit poet and his style and diction are charming. Though the style is alterative, it is

yet lucid, it is like *Māgha*, *Naishadha*, under standard works. In lucidity it is inferior to Kalidasa's *Kumārasambhava* or *Raghuvamśa*. Dr. Gauri Shankar, the editor, deserves credit for reserving the work from oblivion and careful and learned edition.

R. S.

Drona Parva, Vol. III. (In Kannada; Oriental Library Publication; Price Rs. 1-12-0.)

Health, Its Knowledge and Practice & Hana Prapancha. (In Kannada; Mysore University Kannada Granthamala Series, Nos. 7 & 9, respectively; Price Rs. 1-4-0 each.)

MESSRS. Basavalingiah and K. Anantachar have edited the "Drona Parva" of the *Mahābhārata* in Kannada for the Government and Nos. 7 and 9 in the Mysore University Kannada Granthamala Series are two useful books on Hygiene and Finance, respectively. With such books before us it ought not to be difficult to have Kannada as a medium of instruction in our High Schools and Colleges.

S. S.

Sanskrit Dramas. (In Kannada; Mysore University Kannada Granthamala Series, No. 10, Price Rs. 1-4-0.)

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Mr. Krishna Sastry and an account of the great dramatists of India is given to us. We are confident a Kannada account of the Kannada Dramas as well as another on the English Dramas will soon follow in the Series.

S. S.

Kannada Kaipidi, Vol. I. (University of Mysore, Price Rs. 1-12-0.)

THE first volume of *Kannada Kaipidi* has been re-published very carefully, revised and edited and we hope that other volumes will be compiled and published at no distant date. These are indications of the rising tide of the Karnataka language and literature and it is high time that greater interest in the study of our language is evinced by the people of our country.

S. S.

Inner Life. (By Hazarat Inyat Khan. (N. V. Uitgevers-Maatschappij, A.E. Kluwer, Deventer-Holland.)

THE *Inner Life* is the preparation for the journey to the beyond and it is necessary to see that there is no debt left to be repaid. In our life there should be occasion to enjoy and repose with passivity of mind. We must stand before God and be able to establish relation with God and be sure that such a relationship is not a figment of the imagination. It is necessary for every one of us to see that we live rightly, properly and justly. We must spread our love to every one and hate none, show our affection to all. We must be of use to all men throughout life and that way lies the attainment of spiritual knowledge. We must consider it a great joy to mingle with our fellowmen just like a bird flying with its children. Whatever be one's profession or work, to take part in the outer life, to perform it sincerely and truthfully, to fulfil one's means in the outer life thoroughly so as to reflect the initial realisation of truth is the same and suggests of man's life on earth.

S. S.

Gayan.—By Hazarat Inyat Khan. (N. V. Publishing Co., A.E. Kluwer, Deventer-Holland.)

GAYAN or singing is a subject of another brochure by Hazarat Inyat Khan. Both sound and colour have their effect on the human soul according to the law of harmony and to a fine soul colour appeals and to a still finer one sound. If we remember that, throughout, the philosophical or mystical idea is of first importance in reading Gayan, we shall be in a position to realise that harmony which it is our object to attain. Like Tagore, Inyat Khan is his own translator and the contents of this little book under review are the thesis of an exposition of the theme which is intended to be expounded.

S. S.

Yogika Sangha Vyayama. (Yoga Mimamsa Office, Bombay.)

THE publications of Swami Kuvalayanandaji are of the highest importance and the poses expounded in this book are of great use to all. We wish advantage will be taken of these exercises by students as well as adults.

S. S.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, Vol. I, No. 1.
(Benares Hindu University, P.O. Benares.)

MR. K. V. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR has left us in Southern India but he has been of more use to us in Northern India, where he has been working under the auspices of the Benares Hindu University. The first article of the Journal is devoted to Āgama Śāstra of Gowdapada by Vedusakhan Bhattacharya and in the second Prof. Neelakantha Sastry deals with Agastya or the rise and spread of Hindu culture. About Agastya and the Tamil land and the cult of Agastya Prof. Gangoly delivered a lecture under the auspices of the Mythic Society over ten years ago. The Agastya cycle is a very important cycle and the legends connected with him are many and various. Mr. Sastry regards the Vedic Agastya as a historic figure who, for various reasons unknown, became a centre

of numerous religions. He, however, suggests that phallic worship is symbolical of pre-Aryan culture and considers Agastya to have brought about this culture and the later Aryan culture. Prof. Belvalker discusses the state of Hinduism and Buddhism in Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakatika* in another article, while Kant's "Conception of the Thing-in-Itself and the Changes Therein" are the subject-matter of another article by Dr. Mitra. The Conception of Lila in Viśiṣṭadvaita Philosophy is dealt by Dr. Varadacharya and the most important of all is the History of Benares, by Dr. Altekar. Benares is more or less connected with the life and doing of every Hindu and it is hoped that one day he will go to *Kasi*: as such the history of the place, which is the legend, the tradition, the life, the life-scene and the longing of the Hindus is most welcome.

S. S.

Yoga. (The Journal published under the auspices of the Yoga Institute, Bombay, India, Vol. IV, Nos. 26-28, January-March, 1936.)

WE are glad to note the Journal under review is reviving its publication and we congratulate its founder Sri Yogendra on his laudable attempt to continue his work amidst great difficulties. A Yoga renaissance is long overdue and we welcome Sri Yogendra's work on this account.

S. S.

NOTES

The Name 'Talasayanam'

To the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXVII, New Series, Nos. 1 and 2, Rao Sahib C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar has contributed a short article in which he says that Rev. H. Heras is wrong in thinking that one of the names by which the village of Mahābalipuram was known in ancient times was 'Talasayanam'. Mr. Chettiar says that Rev. Heras' translation of Tirumanagai Alwar's words 'Kadalmallai Talasayanam' into 'the mountain near the sea otherwise called Talasayanam' is incorrect. Of the two reasons given by Mr. Chettiar for this statement, the first, namely, that the Professor has confused 'mallai' with 'Malai', the Tamil word for 'mountain', is quite beside the point, unless it has been put forward by Mr. Chettiar to convince the reader that Rev. Heras is a hopelessly inaccurate translator.

Taking up his second argument, namely, that "The Tamil language does not convey in the words 'Kadalmallai Talasayanam' the meaning attributed by the Professor....Tamil grammar will not make the words 'Mallai' and 'Talasayanam' in the above phrase as nouns in apposition", one is bound to observe that Mr. Chettiar is dogmatic here, and obsessed by the assumed correctness of his own interpretation. There is no rule in Tamil grammar that prevents two nouns in juxtaposition from being in apposition provided the context allows it. Mr. Chettiar's sole reason for making this statement seems to be that, if they are in apposition, his own interpretation will be impossible.

Mr. Chettiar's theory that, in word-collocations like the one under consideration, the first name denotes the town or village, while the second indicates the temple located therein, will not hold water for instant. No distinction is generally made between the name of the temple and that of the place which contains it; or, to be more accurate, no special name

is given to a temple as such apart from the place. Where, however, there are several temples scattered within a largish area, the temples have got names; for instance, within the village of Tirunagar there are about ten temples, and within the municipal area comprised in Conjeevaram Town there are many temples. But even in these exceptional cases, it is quite possible that there are or have been small hamlets surrounding the temples and having the same name as the temples.

Coming now to the instances given by Mr. Chettiar to illustrate his point, Tiruvarangam and Periyakoil are both used to denote the temples at Srirangam, and the name Srirangam itself for the town is derived from that of the temple. In the cases of Thillai and Tiruchitrakudam, the prefix of Thillai is used to distinguish this place from another with the same name in North India where Sri Rama is said to have lived about ten years along with Sita and Lakshmana. The case of Kachi and Attigiri has been referred to in the previous paragraph. Mr. Chettiar is very much in the wrong when he says that Nandipuram is the name of the village where the temple Vinnagaram is situated. The very ending Nagaram in the name Vinnagaram is enough to show that Vinnagaram is the name of a place. This is also borne out by the existence of other places with the same ending Vinnagaram, such as Parameswara Vinnagaram, Vaikunta Vinnagaram, Arimeya Vinnagaram. There is a village which goes by the name of mere Vinnagaram with no prefix, better known as Sri Uppiliappan Koil near Kumbakonam. This fact is fatal to Mr. Chettiar's theory.

If we now come to the place in question, Mahābalipuram, Mr. Chettiar maintains that in the collocation Kadalmallai, Talasayanam, Kadalmallai is the name of the village and Talasayanam is the name of the temple. But in *Periathirumozhi*, ii-5, quoted by Mr. Chettiar himself, we find ii-6-2 அவனார்.....கடல்மல்லைத்தலசயனம்; in 6-5, கச்சிடுந்தவனார் கடல்மலைத்தலசயனம்; in 6-7 கருகை கடந்தவனார் கடல்மல்லைத்தலசயனம், In these passages Talasayanam is described as the village

where the God resides. To meet Mr. Chettiar's possible argument against this, namely, that the word *சு* is in apposition with *கடல்மேல்* and not with *தலசயானம்*, we have but to point out to him that similar appositional use of *சு* with the name of the temple occurs in other places also. For instance: *Perialwar Thirumozhi*, (iv)-9

1.உலகாண்ட இருமால் கோயில்
ஒளியரங்கமே.
 4.மணவாளர் மன்ற கோயில்
புனலரங்கமே.

Similarly in 7, 8, 9, 11, *அரங்கம்* is equated with the name of the temple which militates against Mr. Chettiar's theory that the place and the temple have distinct names. Again, in *Periathirumozhi*, v-10, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, Nandipurahinnagaram is described as *உரைகின்ற நகர்*. From these quotations, it will be seen that according to the Alwars themselves there is no distinction between a temple and the village where it is situated.

A word about the theory of the existence of two temples *Jalasayanam* and *Talasayanam* in Mahābalipuram may not be out of place here. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, the famous South Indian Savant, is of opinion* "that the name *Jalasayanam* in the inscriptions may be a mistake for *Talasayanam* because the near proximity to the sea cannot give a shrine this name". Mr. Chettiar's argument that "that on the land was called *Talasayanam* (Sanskrit: *Sthalasayanam*—landbed or bed on land) and that on the sea was called *Jalasayanam*—(Seabed or bed on sea)" is tantamount to giving an unauthorised meaning to the Sanskrit word *Sayanam*. The word *Sayanam* in these compounds can only refer to the reclining pose of the deity. The fact is well known that God Viṣṇu is generally *Seshasayanam* or *Jalasayanam*, that is, is supposed to repose on *Ādisesha* in the Ocean of Milk or on a single leaf floating in

the Great Flood at the time of *Pralaya*. The tradition about Mahābalipuram is that in compliance with the request of the sage Pundarika, Viṣṇu was pleased to lie down on the bare floor, hence the name *Sthalasayanam*. A point worthy of note in this connection is that the same Thirumangai Alwar uses the word *Jalasayanam* as synonymous with 'Sirupuliyur', a place of pilgrimage in the Tanjore District. This name will be quite inappropriate from Mr. Chettiar's point of view because Sirupuliyur is an inland village miles away from the sea.

Lastly, we have to consider the analogous names *Ananthasayanam*, *Darbhasayanam*, which are the names given by pilgrims to Trivandrum and Tirupallani. In fact, the former place is known only as *Anantasayanam* to most pilgrims, to whom the name *Trivandrum* will be a strange one. As is well known, at this place the God Viṣṇu is seen lying at full length on *Ādisesha* or *Ananta*, which accounts for the name. At the latter place, Sri Rama is said to have lain down on a bed of *Kusa* grass (*Darbha*) and vowed vengeance on the Ocean (*Samudra Raja*) when the latter did not heed Sri Rama's request to make a way for him in order to reach Lanka. All these facts go to show that Rev. Heras is quite right in thinking that *Talasayanam* is the name of Mahābalipuram and that he is quite right in quoting Thirumangai Alwar in support of his statement.

K. S. PATRACHARI.

* "Notes on the Seven Pagodas. III—The Antiquities of Mahābalipuram" (1917) by Prof. Rao Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, M.A. (Hons.), Ph.D.

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THE YAKṢA OF THE VEDAS AND
UPANISADS

BY ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

THE word Yakṣa occurs in the following forms, which are retained in citations : Sanskrit, *Yakṣa*, *Yakṣi*, *Yakṣiṇi* ; Pali, *Yakkha*, *Yakkhi*, *Yakkhiṇi* ; Prakrit, *Jakkha*, *Jakkhiṇi* ; Sinhalese, *Yaka*, *Yaki* ; Hindi, *Jak* ; Tamil, *Ecca*. The etymology of the word, and its meaning in the earlier texts, have been much disputed.¹ A majority of scholars derive from root *yakṣ*, to move quickly towards, or glimmer or flash upon, and according to this derivation *yakṣa* would mean a momentary appearance of light, flashing upon the sight suggestion a translation of *Yakṣa* by "phantom" ; it may be added that *yakṣ* in *ātmanenapada* forms, and in Vedic *pra-yakṣ* has also the sense, to honour. Professor A. B. Keith, on the other hand, has written to me that he regards the word as evidently derived from *yaj*, to worship with offerings, or honour ; and this is evidently the derivation assumed by Sāyaṇa, who consistently explains Vedic *yakṣa* (n.) by such words as *yajñam*, *pūjā*, and *pūjitaṁ dhanam*, "sacrificial offerings", and *yakṣa* (m.)

¹ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch* ; Hertel, *Die arische Feuerlehre*, I. 43 ; Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III. 126-143 ; Hillebrandt, "Vedisch *yakṣa*," in *Aus Indiens kultur*, Festgabe für R. von Garbe, Erlangen, 1927 (with further references). Hertel, *Die arische Feuerlehre*, I. 43, derives from *yakṣ*.

and *yakṣin* by *pūjya deva* and *pūjanīya* "worshipful deity" (RV., X. 88. 13 and VII. 88. 6) as it is also of the Pali commentators (P.T.S. *Pali Dictionary*, s. v. *yakkha*). Either of the foregoing meanings is consistent with the fact that *yakṣa* (m.) in Sanskrit and Pali literature generally is tantamount to *deva* or *devatā* "deity", sometimes in the highest sense, and sometimes in the lower sense of goblin or spook. In any case, there is hardly any Indian deity to whom the designation *yakṣa* is not either frequently or occasionally applied in an honorific sense.² It seems to us that the whole content of the word *yakṣa* (m. or n.)³ includes the notions of sudden luminosity, wonderful or awe-inspiring manifestation of something normally invisible, and mysterious power properly to be worshipped.

In RV., VII. 88. 6, Varuṇa is qualified as *yakṣin*, and this is in perfect agreement with X. 88. 13, where the Sun is referred to as the "onlooking eye, or outlook, of the *yakṣa*" (*yakṣasya adhyakṣam*); for the Sun is the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa in X. 37. 1, of Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni in I. 115. 1, and as repeatedly affirmed in RV., these are aspects of a single essence. The equation of Mitravaruṇa with *apara* and *para* Brahman can be taken for granted⁴: that Sun who in X. 37. 1 is the son of Dyaus and eye of Mitra and Varuṇa is then naturally in AV., X. 7. 33 the "eye of that elder Brahman to whom be homage". AV., X. 7 expounds the *stauros* (*skambha*) which, as we know from innumerable texts, pillars apart heaven and earth, as the axis of the universe and trunk of the Tree of Life: in 38 we find "A great *Yakṣa* in the midst of the universe (*mahad yakṣam bhuvanasya madhye*) proceeding (*krāntam*) in a glowing (*tapasi*) on the back of ocean;⁵ therein (*i.e.*, in the

² The equation *yakṣa* = *deva* is plain in GB., I. 1 cited below.

³ In passages cited below, identifying the primal *Yakṣa* with the neuter Brahman, the neuter *yakṣam* is also employed. *Yakṣam* in RV., IV. 3. 13 and V. 70. 4 might then mean "god" as much as "offering". GB. begins with neuter *yakṣam* and follows with masculine pronouns.

⁴ See my "Angel and Titan," *J.A.O.S.*, 55, p. 410, Note 13.

⁵ *Salilasya prṣṭhe*: the primordial "indeterminate fluidity" (*apraketaṁ salilam* of RV., X. 129. 3). The divine procession is

pillar, with which the hymn is primarily concerned) inhere the universal (*viśve*) deities,⁶ like the branches of a tree about a trunk," and in 21 "The (higher) kindreds know this supporting branch of the Non-being (*asat*) as the Supernal, those likewise here below who worship this thy branch deem it Being (*sat*)."⁷ The "branch" is no doubt "supporting" (*pratiṣṭhantim*) in the sense of RV., X. 82. 6 where "The waters bare that primal Germ wherein the universal deities consorted; on the Navel of the Unborn there stood (*adhi... tasya*) that (sc. trunk or

a "walking on the water," or in other words "finding a firm support or ground" (*pratiṣṭhā*) in the waters. A constant association of the primordial *Yakṣa* with the waters is perfectly normal, in view of the identification with the Brahman, whose "world is the waters", *i.e.*, whose is the realm of universal possibility, and equally normal if we identify Varuṇa with the *para* Brahman. The "*Yakṣa* in the waters" is then a recognized formula, *cf.*, the allusion in AV., XI. 2. 24, where the commentator explains *yakṣam* quite intelligibly as *pūjyam svarūpam*, the "worshipful intrinsic aspect", *sc.* of the Brahman. "In the waters" is not, of course contradictory of "in the tree": it is in the tree that the recumbent Brahman "stands up", the tree itself is "amidst the flood" (*vrkṣo tiṣṭantho madhye arṇasah*); and to this tree there clings (*pari asvajat*) the distressed Bhujyu, RV., X. 182. 7,—Bhujyu, whom we identify with that "bird who eats of the sweet fruit" and together with the "other who does not eat but looks about him" "clings to the tree" (*vrkṣam pari asvajāte*, RV., I, 161, 20), as also we identify the tree with the "single fig" (*eka aśvattha*) that is called the "one awakener" (*eka sambodhayitr*) and "enduring support for the contemplation of Brahman" in MU., VI. 4, and with the Buddhist "tree of awakening" (*bodhi-rukkhā*).

⁶ The "many deities" or angels operative in the universe (*viśvam*) and *dependent* for their life and being on Agni.

⁷ There is a Supreme Identity (*adekam*) of Being and None being: "Agni is Being and Non-being in uttermost-empyrean, womb of the Infinite", RV., X. 5. 7; "Being is born of Non-being, from the recumbent (*uttānapadas*, *f. sc.* extended Ground of Being, *cf.*, *uttānāya*, m. in JUB., IV. 23), RV., X. 72. 2; *cf.*, JUB., I. 53, TU., II. 7, and St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 45. 1 "the emanation of all being from the Universal Cause, which is God... Creation, which is the emanation of all being, is from the non-being, which is nothing".

The reader familiar with the Vedic and/or Hermetic and Gnostic and Christian conception of the Godhead or Supreme Identity as a syzygy or unity of "conjoint principles" (this expression is used by St. Thomas Aquinas in speaking of the generation of the Son)

tree) wherein all beings are depicted in a single (likeness),”⁸ which can only be that Tree whose trunk Varuṇa sets up in the groundless firmament, RV., I. 24. 7, the “Eternal Fig, with root above and branch below: that is, indeed, the Brilliant (Sun), that the Brahman, that in which all worlds inhere, and that nonesoever goes beyond,” KU., VI. 21, the “Only Fig” identified with Brahman and called the “One Awakener” (*eka sambodhayitr*) in MU., VI., 4, and the Buddhist Tree of Awakening (*bodhi-rukkha*) from which the Buddha dispossesses the *yakkha* Māra, Death, as Varuṇa is dispossessed by Agni and Indra in RV., X. 124. To sum up what has been so far gathered, we may say that Varuṇa, elder Brahman, Unborn, Unbeing, is that ground whence there springs up all that is, and as *Yakṣa*, the “simplex chthonic *Yakṣa*” of AV., VIII. 9. 26, is the invisible spirit that indwells and manifests itself in the Tree of Life, Agni Vaiśvānara as Vanaspati, “Tree-Lord”, and hence the concept the divine procession as a Burning Bush, in MU., VI. 4 and VII. 11,⁹ and of the Brahman-*vrkṣa* as Sanisāra-*vrkṣa*.

A question of more importance than might at first sight appear is asked in AV. X. 8. 43, “What spirant genius (*yakṣam ātmanvat*, neuter agreeing with ‘Brahman’, the theme of

will find no difficulty in references to the Infinite (*aditi*) and the Recumbent (Ground of Being) as feminine. AV., VIII. 9. 8 refers to the *Yakṣa* (the “simplex chthonic *Yakṣa*” of *ib.*, 25, 26) as “stirring” (*ejate*, a word especially to be connected with the quickening of Agni in the womb, as *e.g.*, in RV., V. 78. 7-8) “in the operation” (*vrate*) of Virāj (*i.e.*, “*Natura naturans*, *Creatrix*, *Deus*”), from whom, as explained in AV., VIII. 10, all things “milk” their specific qualities; and it may be remarked that if the *Yakṣa* is here Agni or the Sun (as to which I agree with Hillebrandt, *loc. cit.*, p. 21, Note 1), the Magna Mater must be thought of as *Yakṣi*; the later distinction of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣi*, m. and f. introduces nothing new in principle; the duality is already latent in the Supreme Identity. *cf.* my “La doctrine tantrique de la ‘Bi-Unité’ divine” in *Études Traditionnelles*, 42, 1937, p. 288 f.

⁸ For this idea, see my “Vedic Exemplarism”, *Harvard Journ. Asiatic Studies*, I, 1936.

⁹ *Cf.*, MU., VI. 4 and VII. 11, where the divine procession is described as the proliferation of a Burning Bush, see my version in *A New Approach to the Vedas*, 1933, pp. 50-51.

the hymn as a whole) is within the lotus-flower with nine openings (the human body), that the knowers of Brahman know” (*tad brahmavido viduḥ*). In accord with this is JUB., IV. 34. 1, where it is said that the Brahman-*Yakṣa* (of IV. 20. 3) “chose the person (man) for his procession (*prapadanāya*, contrasting with *śayānāye* in IV. 23. 7); he entered into him” (*tam . . . prāviśat*). The Brahman-*Yakṣa* thus become the immanent spirit *ātman*, within you, and other than that which it indwells. This position survives in Sn. 478, where the Buddha concludes a description of his own perfections: he is cleansed (*suddho*), he does not identify Self with “himself” (*attanā attānam nānupassati*), the body, he wears is his last, he has attained to Full-awakening, and “Such is the cleanness of the *Yakkha*, it is the *Tathāgata* that deserves your offering” (*ettāvatā yakkhassa suddhi, tathāgato arhati pūralāsam*). In Sn. 875, 876 the question is raised whether the “cleanness of the *Yakkha*” is attainable here and now (*idha*) or “at death, without residue of characteristics” (*samayam . . . anupādisese*); the Buddha treats the distinction as irrelevant. The “cleanness of the *Yakkha*” in these passages is clearly the same thing as the “cleanness of the man” and “cleanness of the (true) Brahman” in Sn. 789, 790 (*suddhi narassa and brāhmaṇo . . . suddhim*). Sn. thus manifestly identifies the *Yakkha* with the true Self (*attā*) in man, as distinguished from the empirical “self” (*attā*) which is “other than the Self” (*anattā*). It is perfectly clear, then, why the deceased is so often spoken of as “becoming a *Yakkha*”; the *Yakkha*, the *Attān*, is precisely what is “left over” when the *nāmarūpa* is unmade, just as in CU., VIII. 4-5 *atiśiṣyate . . . ātman*. And if this *Yakkha* is not *anupādisesa*, not yet *suddho*, then the residue of character will determine the constitution of a new *nāmarūpa* which will be referred to as a “rebirth” of so-and-so, the deceased.

There are also certain texts in which the word *yakṣam* has been interpreted in an inauspicious sense. Thus in RV., IV. 3. 13 and V. 70. 4 the wish is expressed, “May we not partake of the sacrificial offering (*yakṣam*) of any impious or

godless man": but the inauspicious meaning here depends on the context, not on the thing itself, and the meaning is, May we not take part in the rites of evil men. *Yakṣa-bhṛt* in RV., I. 190. 4 (glossed by Sāyaṇa *pūjitam haric-ādikaṁ dadhānaḥ*)¹⁰ is simply "one who proffers sacrificial worship", and we hold with Grassmann, Geldner, and Hertel that in VII. 56. 16 where the Maruts are *yakṣa-dr̥ṣah*, this means "of *yakṣa* aspect", rather than with Hillebrandt that the Maruts are "spies out of *yakṣas*". In Kauś. S., 93. 3, *yakṣas* are indeed classed in a list of ill-omened portents; it will indeed be found that in the later literature, *yakṣas* in the plural may be either good or evil, and it can easily be seen how the idea of ill-omen could have arisen from what was always the essentially uncanny nature of the kind of being in question.¹¹

The identification of the Great *Yakṣa* with Brahman in AV., X. 7 is maintained consistently throughout the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. In JUB., IV. 20-21 = Kena 14 f. the Brahman manifested (*prādur babhūra*) to the Deities, who

¹⁰ In view of AV., X. 8. 43, where the indwelling spirit or very self in the body is called an *ātmanvat yakṣa* "that the knowers of Brahman know" (cf. *ātmanvin* as a designation of the "Person here in oneself", *ātmani*, BU., II. 1. 13, and *ātmanvin* qualifying Death as he proceeds from privation to possession in BU., I. 2. 1) *yakṣa-bhṛt* may well be tantamount to *prāṇa-bhṛt*, *bhūta-bhṛt* and *bhartr*, and *jāta-bhṛt* as that which is the "support of life, being, and birth". It is thus that JUB., IV. 24, speaks of the Brahman-*Yakṣa* as entering into or indwelling the Person or Man, as an immanent principle. Cf. Sn., 478, *ettāvalā yakkhaṁsa suddhi*, "such is the purification of the *Yakṣa*".

¹¹ Or "espying the *Yakṣa*"; it will be seen from what is said below regarding Indra as "first seer of the *Yakṣa*" that "espying the *Yakṣa*" while it might well imply the vision of something ordinarily invisible by no means necessarily implies a disparagement of what is seen. Charpentier in J.R.A.S., 1930, pp. 335-345, argues that *naicaśākham* in RV., III. 53. 14, refers to "worshippers of the banyan tree", and that the cult was hateful to Aryans because of human sacrifices performed in connection with it; this last is refuted by Chattōpādhyāya, *ib.*, p. 891. Those to whom the designation *naicaśākha* could be applied are probably the same as the *arare ye te śākham upāsate* of AV., X. 7. 21, i.e., mortals as contrasted with the (*paro*) *janāḥ* and *devā*... *parojanāḥ* of AV., X. 7. 21 and 25.

did not recognize it, and said "What is this *Yakṣa*?" (*kim idam yakṣam*). Agni and Vāyu are unable to discover. Indra ran up to it, but "it vanished (*tiro'dadhe*) from him". He encounters the "woman" Umā Haimāvati, who tells him that it is the Brahman; and thus Indra was the first to know that "It is Brahman". In *ib.*, IV. 23-24 it is said of this Brahman-*Yakṣa* that "He considered, 'How now should these Deities make offering to me as I lie here outstretched (*uttānāya śayānāya*)?' He chose the Person as his means of procession (*prapadanāya*) and entered into him from East to West." Similarly in GB., I. 1, "Verily, the Brahman was this in the beginning, just the single Self-existent (*svayambhū*). It considered, 'I am the great *Yakṣa*, just one only (*mahad vai yakṣam tad ekam evāsmi*).¹² Come, let me measure out from myself a second Deity (*devam*) of like measure with myself'." ¹³ *Ib.*, I. 4 the *Yakṣa* accordingly disappears (*antar adhiyata*) and is replaced by Atharvan-Prajāpati, who is in his likeness in all respects, and whom he instructs to emanate and care for creatures.¹⁴ In JB., III. 203 the Prophets (*ṛṣayaḥ*) are anxious to get just a glimpse of the *Yakṣa* (*kim cid eva yakṣam paśyāma*). They said, "Now this infinite (*akūpārah*)¹⁵

¹² "That one", *tudekam*, the Supreme Identity of RV., X. 129. 2.

¹³ *Manmātrām dvītyaṁ devaṁ nirmame*. The manifested likeness of the Buddha to whom the designation "Great Person" is frequently and that of "*Yakṣa*" occasionally applied, is in the same way a *nirmāṇa-kāya* and *nimitta*, cf. my "*Nirmāṇa-kāya*", J.R.A.S., 1938.

¹⁴ In SA., XI. 1-2, "Prajāpati elevated the Person (*prajāpatir vā imam puruṣam udañcat*=RV., I. 21. 7 *varuṇo vanasyōrdhvam stūpam dadade*)... Saying, 'Mine is the Spirit', the Brahman entered in; and like a great green tree with moistened roots he stood, just so indeed he stood right up" (*samullāṣṭhau*). "He" must be the "Person", and it is plain that the Brahman is the animating principle, or, in other words, the *ātmanvat* *Yakṣa* in the great Tree of Life, of which the roots are surely "moist", since its stand "in the midst of the Sea" (RV., I. 182. 7. *mudhye arnasah*, AV., X. 7. 38, *mudhye...salilasya*).

¹⁵ A designation of the Primordial Ocean in RV., X. 109. 1; later of the Tortoise, avatāra of Viṣṇu, that supports the universe. Cf. MU., VI. 17, where the Brahman is "without end" (*ananta*).

Kāśyapa in the ocean, that is the Yakṣa". But it was not apparent to them (*nāvīr āsa*). They resort to Indra, who points it out to them. TB., III. 3. 12. 1 speaks of the primal Yakṣa as becoming a glowing (*tapo ha yakṣam prathamam sambabhūva*), as in AV., X. 7. 38 cited above. In what is evidently a version of the same story, although the word *yakṣam* is not found, AA., II. 4 = Ait. Up. 1. 1 relates that "Verily, the single Spirit, or Self (*ātman*) was this in the beginning, there was nothing else over against him...he formed (*mūrchayat*)¹⁶ the Person (*puruṣam*)". Entering into this Cosmic Man through the sagittal suture, and thus "born, he scanned all beings,¹⁷ to desery. He¹⁸ saw this very Person as the most extended (*tatamam*, cf. *uttānāya* in JUB., IV. 20) Brahman. 'I have seen it' (*īdan adarśam*), he said. Therefore is he called *Idam-dra* by name...esoterically, who is Indra (exoterically)". Finally, in BU., V. 4 it is said that "He who knows that first born Yakṣa (*yakṣam prathamajam*), to wit that Brahman is

not without the implication Ananta = Śeṣa). In the Brahmanas, Prajāpati has regularly two aspects, limited and unlimited (*parimīta*, *aparimīta*): *Akūpāra* = *apāra* (*ātman*) in BU., II. 4. 12 = *aparimīta*, "shoreless", without a bound.

¹⁶ "There are, verily, two aspects of Brahman, formed and unformed" (*mūrtam cāmūrtam ca*, BU., II. 3. 1 and MV., VI. 3; *mūrtam* from root *murch*, in causative forms "to give shape or substance", cf. *mūrti*, an ikon). "Formed and unformed" = "in a likeness and not in a likeness".

¹⁷ KU., IV. 6, "He who was born aforetime from the glowing, born aforetime from the waters, who is stationed indwelling the hidden (*guhya*, chamber of the heart, cf., the common equation *guhya*, *guhya*-*yakṣa*, and the expression *ātmanvat yakṣa* in AV., X. 8. 43), who gazed about him through beings, this, verily, is That", viz., the "Self-existent" (*Svayambhū* = Autogenes) of *ib.*, 1, and evidently also the Brahman-Yakṣa Self-existent in GB., I. 1 and the Great Yakṣa of AV., X. 7. 38.

¹⁸ The narrative is much abbreviated at this point. "He" can only be Indra. The implied identification of Indra with the Spirit come to birth is perfectly orthodox, cf. RV., V. 3. 1. "Indra art thou (viz., Agni, described as 'Varuṇa at birth') to the mortal worshipper", Indra is in fact Agni's "twin" (RV., VI. 59. 2, cf. X. 8. 7); the dual *Indrāgni* representing the union of Royal and Sacerdotal powers in the proceeding principle.

the Truth, conquers these worlds,"—evidently by analogy with Indra, who "first recognized" the Brahman-Yakṣa.¹⁹

To resume what has been said above: it is clear that in the scriptural tradition, *yakṣa* is virtually synonymous, or rather coincident in reference with Brahman, *Ātman*, *Puruṣa*, *Mṛtyu*, *Agni*, *Prajāpati*, *Manas*, etc., and designates²⁰ that single spiritual principle which assumes a multiplicity and diversity of aspects by its immanence in all things; being at the same time essentially invisible, and at the same time always manifesting, and in this sense recognizable. Almost the only English word that covers such meanings is also that which is the direct equivalent of *Ātman*, viz., "Spirit". This word, moreover, lends itself conveniently to usage in the plural, and whether in a good or a bad sense, cf. the Biblical "lying spirits". The alternative "(Holy) Ghost" in the

¹⁹ In SB., XI. 2. 3, 4-5, "name and aspect" (*nāma-rūpa*), the means of intellectual and sensitive cognition by which the Brahmanas, "descends into these worlds" (cf. BU., I. 4. 7) are described as "two great mysterious-powers...two great Yakṣas" (*abhve...yakṣe*). *Abhva* is properly "not-being", and can be equated with *asat*, non-being in a good, though awful, sense when praised as possessed by Varuṇa or Agni or the Maruts (RV., I. 24. 6; I. 168. 9 and 169. 3; II. 4. 5; VI. 4. 3), or in a dread sense when Heaven and Earth are besought to protect us from it, i.e., from annihilation or death, or when Indra or the Dawns or Agni drive away the "nonentity of darkness". Most of these meanings accord with those of *yakṣa* as a great unseen power, whether for good or evil. But *abhva* and *yakṣa* here are not used as if "name" and "aspect" denoted individuals so-called; taken together *abhve* and *yakṣe* means only "two mysterious and hidden powers".

²⁰ It is scarcely necessary to point out that the same names are often applied to the Deity under both aspects, *ab intra* and *ab extra*. In other words, there is always a first and a second God, essentially one, but respectively hidden and revealed, incorporeal and incarnate, one and many; as is explicit for Brahman in BU., II. 3. 1 and M.U., VI. 3, for *Mṛtyu* in SB., X. 5. 2, 16 and BU., I. 2. 4, for *Prajāpati* in SB., X. 1. 3. 10 and *Brahmanas* passim, for *Manas* in MU., VI. 3. 4,—just as in Christian usage, God and God-head, Son and Father, are both "God". The actual expression "first and second God", occurring in GB., I. 1, is most closely paralleled in Valentinian gnosticism, and in Augustine, *Ep., LXVI, ad., Mar., Deus Pater genuit alterum se*, cited by St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 39. 4 ad 4.

21 For a discussion of the meanings of Gk. *daimon* see Scott, *Hermetica*, II, pp. 278 ff. The essential meanings are "god", "fate", and "guardian spirit". In the Platonic view, a man's "good daimon" is the intellect (*nous* = *manas*) controlling his irrational impulses. He also (*Phædo*) speaks of the daimon as continuing to exercise its functions after the man's death. It must be borne in mind that the intellect in man is often identified with the spirit, and regarded as the spark of divinity in him. In Orphic and Pythagorean doctrine the higher, intellectual or spiritual part of the soul is an immortal daimon, temporarily incarnate. Plutarch describes the intellect or daimon as a being floating in a higher world but connected by a cord with the soul below (Vision of Timarchus, *De gen. Socr.*, 591 D f.). For "Hermes" (*Lib.*, X, 19a) "the soul is in some measure daimonic and divine: the gnostic soul when it departs from the body "is born a daimon", in a body of fire (*cf. tejasa in Māṇḍ.*, IV); only the lower soul, in which there is no intellect is subjected to retribution, according to its character, *sc. karma*, *cf. ib.*, 21 a where of the wicked man in whom the divine intellect is altogether wanting, nothing remains at death except the lower soul subject to retribution. "Human souls, when they have attained to a beginning of immortal life, change into daemons and thereafter pass on into the choral dance of the gods" (*Hermes, Lib.*, X, 7).

All this is consistent with an equation of *yakṣa* with daimon and both with "spirit". If the daimon's operation continues after death, that is to say in popular Indian terms, that the man "becomes a Yakṣa", or better that the *ātmanvat yakṣa* within him is what survives as "spirit" when the body and sensitive soul are unmade. Like the Indian *ātman*=brahman (-*yakṣa*), the intellectual daimon is essentially one, but many as it is apparently fragmented or distributed in us. Innumerable Indian texts speak of the Deity as "dividing himself" and thus "filling these worlds": what is said about the "cord" is simply a version (possibly, but by no means necessarily a borrowed version) of the *sūtrātman* doctrine known already to RV. It may be added that there can be good or bad *yakṣas*, so there are both good and bad daimons. We can say then that the referents of *yakṣa* in the Indian are almost identical with those of *daimon* in the Greek vocabulary.

BY K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

ONE of the Kalinga wars of the reign of Kulōttunga I is found mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kalingattupparaṇi*, composed by the poet *Jayaṅṇḍāṇ*, who lived in the king's reign and this was known to the Tamil world nearly seventy years ago as will be seen from what is noted below. Seven and forty years ago, the late Kanakasabhai Pillai, to whom the study of South Indian Antiquities had been a labour of love, wrote in the *Indian Antiquary* a very illuminating article on the value of the Tamil historical poem *Kalingattupparaṇi* of which he said several editions had been published at Madras, the earliest of the editions being that printed twenty years before. Besides, he referred to two MSS. of the poem in the Mackenzie Collection and the mention made of it in the Taylor's Catalogue. With characteristic ability he translated almost all the stanzas possessing a historical value, and also furnished a Romanised text of several of such stanzas. His acquaintance with the earlier editions and his remarks on the date of the earliest edition, which he told us was twenty years before (*i.e.*, seventy years back from now), is of use to us at present when copies of those editions are hardly available. Long before the Madras Epigraphical Department was started, the Kalinga war undertaken by the prime minister of Kulōttunga, described in the poem, and the genealogy of the Cōlas with their achievements furnished therein were well known to Tamil scholars. Thirty-two years ago the veteran epigraphist Venkayya collected together, in an Annual Report, all the available references about the Kalinga wars of the reign of Kulōttunga which were four in number, and by a careful consideration reduced them to two. As pointed out above, the earliest edition of the poem appeared seventy years ago and that seems to be by the Tamil scholar Mahāvidwān Subbaraya Mudaliyar.

Parts of the poem used to be prescribed, as text for the students of the Matriculation Examination by the Madras University and the growing importance of the melodious work induced the Tamil poet Suryanarayana Sastri to bring out another edition of it and this appeared in 1898. Recently another edition was published by Mr. Gopala Iyer.

While all the editions except the last omit to mention the name of the Kalinga king against whom the Cōla minister led the expedition, this omission is found supplied in Mr. Gopala Iyer's edition which gives Anantavarman in V. 63 of Canto XI in the place of 'Adipan Vīram', without giving any alternative reading, as has been done in some other places. "The difference is indeed very vital" as pointed out by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, "and one would certainly wish to know in this particular case the introduction of a proper name, on which manuscript the reading 'Anantapanman' which is not found in the two earlier editions, is based, and the age of that manuscript also. If indeed the name Anantapanman is found in a trustworthy early manuscript not available to Messrs. Mudaliyar and Sastri, it would be worth a consideration."

In the inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttuṅga, there are some pointed references to the Kalinga wars that were conducted in his reign. One of them occurs for the first time in the king's twenty-sixth year record. A second reference to a Kalinga war is described in great detail in the epigraphs of the forty-second year and after of the same reign, where it is clearly stated that the king himself "left his throne, crossed the Vēngimaṇḍalam in the North, set fire to Kalinga, destroyed in battle a number of chiefs and took possession of the seven Kalingas".

Quite recently Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has published in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, an article entitled "The Drākṣārāma Inscription of Kulōttuṅga I," which records the military achievements of one of the king's chief officers, variously named as Vaṇḍuvarāja, Pallavarāja, Tiruvaraṅga and the Crest jewel of the Śūdra family.

In editing it the author gives a succinct and very useful summary of the main facts relating to the Kalinga war as narrated in the *Kalingattupparani*, and proceeds to show that both the poem and the inscription under edition relate to one and the same war undertaken by the general of Kulōttuṅga I. He says, "It will be seen from this short summary of the *Kalingattupparani* that the account about the Kalinga war agrees with what is given in the inscription under publication. There does not appear to be any room for doubting that the chief referred to in the poem is identical with the one mentioned in the inscription and that the war described in both is the same. This being the case, the information furnished by the one is not only corroborated by the other but is greatly supplemented. The inscription gives the name of the chief as Vaṇḍuvarāja and Pallavarāja while the poem adds to these the names Karuṇākaran and Tonḍaimān, the latter being only a synonym of Pallavarāja. With Karuṇākara we may compare the epithet *dīna-nidhān-ekah* of the inscription. This work gives us the additional information that the chief was the lord of Vaṇḍai, Mallai and Mayilai and that he had invaded Ceylon. Both the book and the inscription declare that the chief invaded the Kalinga country at the command of the king, the former stating that the king was at Kāñchi while the chief successfully prosecuted the war and the latter adding that the chief reduced to ashes the whole of the Kalinga country, defeated the Gaṅga in battle and destroyed Dēvēndravarman and others with the help of Kōśala. Both the documents state that the chief set up a pillar of victory, the inscription specifying that it was on the borders of the Ōdra country."

Want of points of identity did not deter scholars from labouring hard to identify the Kalinga war described in the *Kalingattupparani* with one or another of the wars mentioned in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga. In this connection, we may point out that there is absolutely no mention made in the *prasastis* of Kulōttuṅga of the name of the general that invaded the Kalinga country and as such, the conclusions arrived

at regarding the identity are not entitled to any credence. The Drākṣārāma inscription, on the other hand, affords many a fact which would prove that the Kālīṅga war described in the poem and the one referred to in that inscription are identical. Both mention the name of the general that led the expedition. He is Vanḍuvarāja otherwise called Pallavarāja and Tonḍaimāṇ. Whereas the poem calls him by another name Karuṇākara, the inscription calls him *Dīna-nidhāna-ikaḥ*; the two expressions, it is needless to say, mean the same thing. Both the sources state that the general invaded the country on behalf of the king and unaccompanied by him. Lastly, it is said that the general achieved success and set up a pillar of victory in the borders of the Ōdra country.

Thus, the identity of the two wars being assured, the inscription by mentioning the Kālīṅga opponent by name Dēvēndravarman affords a clue as to when the invasion should have taken place. We know of no other king of the name of Dēvēndravarman ruling over any part of South India at the time than the Kālīṅga sovereign Rājarāja I, whose surname it was. This king having ascended the throne in A.D. 1070 and ceased to rule in A.D. 1078, the Kālīṅga war referred to in the inscription must have occurred before A.D. 1078. As such, it will be quite evident that this war must be entirely different from the one that took place in A.D. 1096, corresponding to the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga, wherein the first mention of the Kālīṅga war is made and certainly also of the second war noticed in the inscriptions dated in A.D. 1112 and after, corresponding to the forty-second year and later of the reign of Kulōttuṅga, wherein unlike the poem and the Drākṣārāma inscription the king himself is said to have led the expedition.

From the foregoing it would be clear that there were no less than three Kālīṅga wars mentioned in inscriptions as having been waged in the reign of Kulōttuṅga, one before A.D. 1078, another in about A.D. 1096 (the twenty-sixth year of the king's reign) and the third in about A.D. 1112 (the

forty-second year of reign), and that the Kālīṅga war mentioned in the *Kālīṅgattupparaṇi*, must be identical with the first of these wars.

The appearance of the name Anantavarman in the recent edition of Mr. Gopala Iyer in place of 'Adipan Vīram' of the earlier editions might, to a superficial observer, suggest that there were two wars waged by the same general, both in the absence of the king, against Kālīṅga, in one of which Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I was the Kālīṅga opponent and in the other his son Anantavarman. But this need not be. For if it were so, it is impossible that the poem whose express object was to sing the glorious achievements of its hero, would fail to mention his prior signal success in the same quarter against the opponent's father. For this reason we have to take it as pointed out by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, that there was but one war waged by the Cōḷa general against the Kālīṅgas and that it was against Dēvēndravarman, in which his son Anantavarman should have taken a prominent part, if the new reading Anantapanman is based upon any reliable old manuscript not available to the previous editors of the poem, Mahāvidwān Subbaraya Mudaliyar, Pandit Suryanarayana Sastri and Kanakasabhai Pillai.

In an article recently contributed to the *Journal of Oriental Research*,¹ Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri seeing that the conclusions which he says he had arrived at in his forthcoming volume on the Cōḷas, after a very careful consideration of all facts, that there were only two wars, had been emphatically disproved even before the appearance of the book, by the contents of the Drākṣārāma inscription, labours hard to maintain his position. In the course of the article we regret to have to observe that the contents of inscriptions have been mis-stated, authors have been mis-quoted and reliance has been placed upon materials which we ordinarily would hesitate to accept. His conclusions are inconsistent with historical facts, he questions the veracity of the *prāsasti*

¹ Vol. X, Pt. IV, pp. 295-301.

writers and cites as authorities dates which should be discarded without further consideration.

In the very first para when referring² to the forty-second year inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I, the learned professor assigns to the Cōḷa army, the various achievements enumerated therein, instead of to the Cōḷa king as is definitely mentioned in the inscriptions. This initial deviation from the correct reading is not to be taken as having been made casually in a general way, but with a view to support the theories and conclusions he has arrived at. If such liberties are to be taken with clear and unambiguous expressions there is no knowing where he will not lead us to. Because it serves his purpose better, he changes the words used and begins to attack well-reasoned arguments. "After a very careful consideration of the evidence available" the Professor says he "has reached the conclusion that there were two Kalinga wars", and if we want to know his reasonings we must wait for his second volume on the Cōḷas for which there is but an advertisement. Till that work makes its appearance, we have to take this for granted. We would think that such references are unintelligible as mere statements cannot be arguments.

Professor Sastri being unable to follow how both the Drākṣārāma inscription and the Tamil poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* could refer to one and the same war, questions the correctness of Mr. Aiyer's demonstration that the war described in both the references is one and the same. In so doing he wishes to prove that Mr. S. Aiyer is wrong in identifying the

² We are very sorry to note that the Professor is unable to follow any good method of giving references. For instance, Notes 1 and 2 in the very first page run like this:—(1) *S.I.I.*, 372, 304 of 1907, 463 of 1911, etc. (2) *S.I.I.*, 608 of 1904, 41 of 1891, 363 of 1899, etc. Certainly any reader will not be able to find from these the inscriptions he requires, even though he is fortunate in having the eight volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions* on his shelf. It is to be noted that the inscriptions belonging to the collections of the department up to 1903 have been published and 'S. I. I.,' of his notes must refer to one of the eight volumes. The reader will not be able to know what he refers to by his simple *S.I.I.* in these notes. Such references are unintelligible.

two wars. For this he seeks to explain by quoting Mr. Aiyer in such a way as would make the ignorant reader readily believe in Mr. Sastri's conclusions. But a comparison of his extract with the original in Mr. Aiyer's article will disclose that Mr. Sastri has unfortunately omitted the last sentence, which also definitely decides the question and proves to be another obstacle in the way of the Professor. Suffice it here to say that the Professor appears to be rather unjust in having left half-quoted Mr. Aiyer's observations, for it has not conveyed the matter thoroughly, as has really been done in the article by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer. We have quoted already the particular passage for the benefit of our readers and marked the omitted sentence in italics.

Having omitted the last sentence, which is all important, Professor Sastri puts the question: "But what proof is there that the expedition sent by the king from Kāñchi was the one in which Dēvēndravarma was destroyed?" He evidently means that there were several expeditions sent by the king under the leadership of the same chieftain, from Kāñchi, the reasons for which are best known to himself. The Professor is bound to give proofs for the statement that there were several wars waged by the same chieftain. What proofs are there either in the poem or in the inscriptions for these? The Professor has made it plain that the invasions referred to in these two sources are different, by his having questioned Mr. Aiyer's identification. Having shown how the Professor's view is on all hands wrong, we question the right of the Professor to attribute to Kulōttuṅga the particular invasion and the conquest of Kalinga which is distinctly declared to be that of the general, both by the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the king's own Drākṣārāma inscription, the king taking no part in it. Can the Professor give a single instance of any other invasion of Kalinga by the same general—unaccompanied by the king? Does the Professor deny that the Kalinga war described in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* was undertaken by a general of Kulōttuṅga, not by Kulōttuṅga himself? Can the Professor deny that the war described in the Drākṣārāma inscription was

undertaken by the same general of Kulōttuṅga and not by the king himself?

In distinguishing the wars described in the inscriptions of the later years of Kulōttuṅga's reign, from the one described in the *Kaliṅgattupparāṇi*, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer gives a very definitely characteristic difference which settles beyond doubt the question whether the war mentioned in the *Parāṇi* was any that could be identified with those related in the later records? Mr. Aiyer says that "the book is quite positive about the king's stay at Kāñchi while the chief Vaṇḍaiyarkōṇ at his instance, invaded Kāliṅga, waged a deadly war, planted a pillar of victory there, returned with heaps of treasure and elephants and bestowed *Kaliṅgattupparāṇi* on him". "Verse 44 of Canto II (*Kaḍaitirappu*) states, in unambiguous words, that the king was at Kāñchi while the chief led the expedition to Kāliṅga and reduced it." This sure test, i.e., the statement that the king was at Kāñchi while the general obtaining his permission invaded Kāliṅga, is to Professor Sastri not a convincing reason and he deems Mr. Aiyer's argument as highly doubtful. We are unable to see on what grounds the war related in the *Parāṇi* could be the same as that mentioned in the later records of the king. Neither are we enlightened how the Professor says that Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer's argument is 'to say the least, highly doubtful' and that such a case "implies that the *praśastis* do not include any historical events in which the king had no personal part". We fail to see any argument here. The Professor adds as if in support of his statement, "Will he (Mr. Aiyer) not consider the possibility that the Court poets who composed the *praśastis*, gave their patrons credit, and rightly too for all the achievements by whomsoever effected in the course of the king's reign?" On his own assumptions, the consideration has resulted in instructing us that "it is not the way of the royal *praśastis* to divide the credit of particular achievements between the king and his subjects in the exact measure of truth". Professor Sastri's question and his answer concern one thing and the facts of the case sought to be explained thereby are different. Are

the Court poets lying knaves? The author of the poem *Kaliṅgattupparāṇi*, one of the poets of Kulōttuṅga's reign, says that the king was staying at Kāñchi when Karuṇākara Tōṇḍaimāṇ led the expedition of Kāliṅga and the Court poet who wrote the *praśastis* of the inscription of the forty-second year expressly states that the king "left his throne, crossed Vēṅgiṁḍalam in the North, set fire to Kāliṅga, destroyed in battle a number of chiefs and took possession of the seven Kāliṅgas", and makes no mention—not even a passing mention—of the chief Karuṇākara Tōṇḍaimāṇ. The author of the *Parāṇi* who was a no mean poet belonging to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, by not attributing to the king the conquest of Kāliṅgam, effected by Kulōttuṅga's chief, and the poet who composed the *praśasti* of the Drākṣārāma inscription of the same king, by assigning the Kāliṅga conquest to the chief himself, prove that it was not their way to attribute the credit of the achievements of the chiefs to their patrons. We may state that a king could claim for himself a conquest achieved by the general, but this certainly not when the king's own documents disclaim it and the book written in the king's own time definitely detaches the achievement and attributes it to the general independently. The reasons may be many and they are not revealed to us.³

Professor Sastri says, "The war against Anantavarman, Rājārāja's son, in which the Tōṇḍaimāṇ distinguished himself again, was still in the future when the Drākṣārāma inscription

³ It is worth while to draw the attention of our readers to the remarks made by Kanakasabhai Pillai in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1890, pp. 338-39, on the peculiarities of the author and his work *Kaliṅgattupparāṇi*. He says that the poem passes over the kings who succeeded Gaṅgaikondāṇ on the throne of the Cōlas before the accession of Kulōttuṅga because they do not come in the line of the ancestors of the latter. The author does not allude to the intervention of Vikramāditya VI, or to the deposition of his brother-in-law. This omission is obviously owing to the desire of the poet to avoid mention of any circumstances which might detract from the glory of the Cōla family. Such being the case there is a special significance, when the same author gives the credit of the Kāliṅga war to Kulōttuṅga's general.

was engraved in A.D. 1103". From the above statement of Prof. Sastri, we have to understand that he is referring to the Kalinga war described in the *Paraṇi*. If so, we have to connect this statement with what he had already said about it. For the benefit of the reader we reproduce them below:—

"We have a longer account in inscription from the forty-second year according to which the Cōḷa army⁴ crossed the Vēṅgi territory, destroyed the elephant corps that was sent by the enemy to oppose its march, spread fire across the enemy country of Kalingam, killed in the fight many powerful leaders of the Kalinga army, whose heads rolled on the battlefield, pecked by kites and in the end subdued the seven Kalingas."

"The longer account of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga dating from the forty-second regnal year related to the invasion which is celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, and in which Karuṇākara Tōṇḍaimāṇ covered himself with glory."

In these two quotations, be it noted, as we have already pointed out, the Professor to suit his own purposes has transferred the action of the king to the Cōḷa army. Prof. Sastri admits and wants the reader to believe that there were more wars than one in which Karuṇākara Tōṇḍaimāṇ distinguished himself, one of them being his campaign against Dēvēndravarmān in the earlier years of Kulōttuṅga's reign and the second being the one against Anantavarman which was still in the future when the Drākṣārāma inscription was engraved in A.D. 1103. Prof. Sastri gives a distorted version of the contents of the Kalinga war described in the inscriptions dated from the forty-second year of the king's reign. The misrepresentation consists in this. While the inscriptions state that the king left his throne at Kāñchi, crossed Vēṅgi, etc. Prof. Sastri substitutes the Cōḷa army for the king. This must have been made to justify his identification of this war with the one mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, the poem giving the lie direct to the identity, by stating that the king remained

⁴ Prof. Sastri is wrong here. The inscriptions only have 'king' instead of 'army'.

at Kāñchi while the chief undertook the expedition. The difficulty cannot be got over. Not being able to substantiate his wrong conclusions, which he says he had arrived at after a careful consideration of all facts, viz., that there were only two Kalinga wars during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, the Professor, as we have noted, unfortunately is misrepresenting and misquoting.

Professor Sastri cannot bring himself to agree with Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer when he has so convincingly proved the identity of the war mentioned in the Drākṣārāma inscription with the one described in the Tamil poem. So he repeats after some digression that Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer's conclusion is much more and that it is "that the war against Rājārāja was the war celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*". Professor Sastri continues, "Here he (Mr. Aiyer) comes across a textual difficulty in the poem". We are sorry to say that not only Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer but practically everybody else will meet with the same textual difficulty which Mr. Aiyer has so clearly brought to the notice of scholars while he discusses the problem.

The textual difficulty can best be presented to the reader in Mr. Aiyer's own words. He states, "With the help of a number of manuscripts, Mahāvidwān Subbaraya Mudaliyar brought out an earlier edition of this work which is now out of print. In it, as well as in the edition of the late V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri published several years afterwards in 1898, verse 63 of Canto XI has at the end of the first line the words 'Adipaṇ Vīram' which has been changed into 'Anantapanman' in the recent edition of Mr. N. Gopala Iyer; and there is no alternative reading given for it. The difference is indeed very vital and one would certainly wish to know in this particular case of the introduction of a proper name, on which manuscript the reading 'Anantapanman,' which is not found in the two earlier editions, is based and the age of the manuscript also. If indeed the name *Anantapanman* is found in a trustworthy early manuscript not available to Messrs. Mudaliyar and Sastri, it would be worth a consideration."

The edition of *Kalīngattupparāṇi* by Mr. N. Gopala Iyer is the latest, being comparatively of recent date. We must first say that he has not done the edition even the bare justice, which it so highly deserves. He does not give variant readings for the word in the verse in controversy or the manuscript authority on which he based his new reading '*Anantapanman*'. There has been two great editions of the book before him, giving variant reading and the authorities on which they rely. With the new reading before him and with the authoritative editions by his side, if Mr. Gopala Iyer is neither able to give authority for his reading nor the variant readings available, it will be of little surprise if we ignore the edition as untrustworthy and unreliable for purposes of historical research. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, is more considerate, and without neglecting the new reading, has taken the trouble of giving a very sound explanation for the discrepancy that has resulted on account of the new reading. In considering the problem of this textual difficulty, Mr. Iyer has shown the greatest consideration and has explained the discrepancy with an ingenuous suggestion, in keeping with all available facts of information and evidences of authority. But Prof. Sastri does not unhappily see this. He says that "the way in which Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer deals with the difficulty is somewhat surprising," "He attacks the reading, questions its correctness, and says it has no manuscript authority," and ends by saying that Mr. Aiyer "not being perhaps sure of his position here proceeds to offer an explanation on the basis that Anantavarman does occur in the verse." Here again, Prof. Sastri gives a twist or a turn. Mr. K. V. S. Aiyer or anybody else would certainly have pointed out the difference, and the lack of authority for the new reading given by Mr. N. Gopala Iyer. The latest edition is to be blamed and not Mr. Aiyer, for the absence of the variant readings and the authority for the new one. The Professor's assumption that Mr. S. Aiyer feeling that his position here was not sure, offers an explanation for the discrepancy, is utterly baseless. Mr. Aiyer has been sure of his position from the

first to the last and only offers to explain what the probable course of events should have been, if the reading *Anantapanman* given in Mr. Gopala Iyer's edition were to be found to have adequate manuscript authority of an early time. The honest attempt of Mr. Aiyer is unnecessarily suspected by Prof. Sastri, and it is unpardonable. We regret to observe that Professor Sastri is of mis-understanding even simple and plain statements. On the other hand, the Professor imputes motives and discerns positions for which there is no warrant. The Professor is also able to minimise grave omissions and faults, if they should suit his purpose. For example he says, "It is a little unfortunate that Pandit Gopala Iyer has omitted to give the variant readings for the important verse in which the name Anantavarman occurs." The omission of Mr. Gopala Iyer is, as will be accepted by one and all, *very serious and very unfortunate*. The Professor notes that "he (Mr. Iyer) does not seem to have come across any manuscript giving the reading". This is an instance of his gross misunderstanding and unjust imputations. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer is not examining MSS. of *Kalīngattupparāṇi* but is referring to the readings given for a particular passage in the printed editions of the book and has drawn attention to the fact that while the prior editors have given the reading *adipan vīram* these words are found replaced by *Anantapanman* in the latest publication. The change must certainly be surprising to anyone and more so when an editor, who has given variant readings in several places, has in this case, omitted to note anything. The omission to note the variant readings as Mr. Gopala Iyer has done may be due to oversight or as Prof. Nilakantha Sastri puts it "a little unfortunate", but that it is serious will be admitted by all with the solitary exception of Prof. Sastri. Any scientific editor of MSS. would not hesitate to discredit the reading if he is satisfied that the material on which it is written is on this side of fifty years, when a knowledge of the time of Anantavarman had been gained by the researches of Sewell, Hultzsch and others. A proper edition should state all MSS. readings this way and that. It is

hoped that some reliable person will try to note or make known the date of the MSS. which contains the new reading *Anantapanman*. For having pointed out the seriousness of the omission and the difference in the reading in the older editions and the new one Prof. Nilakantha Sastri writes that Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer "attacks the reading, questions its correctness and says that it has no manuscript authority." We would invite the Professor to quote from the article of Mr. Aiyer that he ever said that the reading of *Anantapanman* had no manuscript authority. We need not point out that it is one thing to say that the editor has omitted to give the manuscript authority and that it is another to say that it has no manuscript authority.

After having characterised Mr. Aiyer's method as surprising and Mr. Gopala Iyer's omission as a little unfortunate, the learned Professor proceeds to offer a novel explanation for the new reading. While Mr. Gopala Iyer stopped with giving the new reading *Anantapanman* (without citing the MSS. which supplied him this reading or noting down the other readings available), Prof. Nilakantha Sastri puts forth the plea that the prior reading *Adipan vīram* does not give much sense in the verse. We need not add any weight to this finding of Prof. Sastri, but can well rely upon the scholarship and attainment of Mahāvidwan Subbaraya Mudaliyar, Kanakasabhai Pillai and Suryanarayana Sastri who knew Tamil extraordinarily well and who did not pronounce any such judgment upon the words. Prof. Sastri puts up a case for preferring the new reading which is as curious as it is incredible. He assumes that one of the readings must have been the oldest, and must have been derived from the other, and he imputes to the ignorance of the scribe the alteration of the word *Anantapanman* into *Adipan vīram*. This is least likely. Except the first letter there is nothing common in the two readings. Let anybody write down the first word and try to derive the second out of it and he will find the impossibility of the suggestion at once. Taylor's and Mackenzie's MSS. were the sources of Kanakasabhai Pillai,

who published his text in 1890, which like those of Mahāvidwān Subbaraya Mudaliyar before him and Suryanarayana Sastri after him, give the reading *Adipan vīram*. The text as given by him in the *Indian Antiquary* stands thus :—

Antaramonṇariyāta vāḍa Kālīṅgar
Kulavēntan atipan vīram
Vēntarukan vekūḷiyināl veituyirttu
Kai puḍaittu viyarttu nōkki

The disquisition of Kanakasabhai Pillai is also decisive on the point and we shall end by quoting him. "Interesting as is the information that is contained in the poem, it is disappointing to find that the author is led away more by considerations of rhetorical embellishments and the conventional descriptions, than by a desire to chronicle full particulars of the historical event he has sought to perpetuate in the poem. For instance, he does not mention the name of the king of the seven Kālīṅgas, or of his capital, or the place where the final battle was fought and from which the Kālīṅga king was forced to fly. Nor does he give the pedigree of the Pallava king."⁵ At any rate, it is worth while ascertaining the age of the single manuscript which gives the new reading.

Proceeding, Prof. Sastri tries his hand at understanding the Drākṣārāma inscription, puts his ideas and thoughts into it and reconstructs a theory of the probable course of events that led up to the war with the Kālīṅga king. He likes somehow or other to have his own ideas maintained. He says, "Now these references to Dēvēndravarmān and the Kōsala forces are perhaps best explained by referring them to the campaign which Kulōttuṅga waged in the North as a crown prince, in the *Iḷaṅgōpparuvam*, as the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga put it." Kulōttuṅga having become king in A.D. 1070, he must have been crown prince only before that date, if ever he was a crown prince. The Eastern Gaṅga king Rājārāja having come to the throne in Ś. 992 (= A.D. 1070), i.e., the very year when Kulōttuṅga was also crowned on the

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, 1890, p. 337.

Cōla throne, there is the impossibility of referring Dēvēndra-varman to the period when Kulōttuṅga was crown prince (to use Prof. Sastri's words). Thus when Kulōttuṅga was crown prince (*Ṇaṅgōpparuvam*), there was no king of the name of Dēvēndra except the king of the Heavens. There are no evidences of his having been in the Cōla country before A.D. 1070 as crown prince. The crown prince of the Cōla country in the latter years of Virarājendra who reigned from A.D. 1062-1069, was Adhirājendradēva who actually succeeded Virarājendra, though it was only for a short period, and has left inscriptions both in the Cōla country and in Ceylon. If Kulōttuṅga was a crown prince he must have been in the Eastern Calukya country and succeeded it. But the records of the Eastern Cālukyas disclose to us that Rājarāja, the father of Kulōttuṅga, had appointed his brother Vijayāditya VII heir-apparent two or three years prior to his demise, and that he was actually succeeded by Vijayāditya VII, who ruled after him for a period of full fifteen years from A.D. 1062-1077.

Prof. Sastri says that in the early years of Kulōttuṅga's reign when he was busy in the South, "there were some fighting between the Cōla monarch and the Eastern Gaṅga ruler Rājarāja, at the end of which an amicable settlement was reached by which Kulōttuṅga married Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājarāja, and Vijayāditya was left in more or less peaceful possession of the Vēṅgi kingdom, becomes clear from the Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja." We do not know of any Eastern Gaṅga documents of Rājarāja's reign which reveal the strange facts contained here. This is certainly murdering history. On the other hand, we all know from one of his (Rājarāja's) own copper-plate grants (No. 4 of 1918-19), and from all the copper-plate grants of his son Chōḍagaṅga that he gained victory over the Cōlas, and married Rājasundari, the daughter of the Cōla king Rājendra, and also rescued Vijayāditya when he was troubled by the Cōlas. By this it is made very plain that it was Rājarāja of Kālīṅganagara who married Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājendra the Cōla king, and not that Kulōttuṅga

married Rājasundari, the daughter of the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja, as Professor Sastri puts it. It is absurd on the very face of it. To imagine that the Professor of one of the best universities in India, had committed the blunder unknowingly or inadvertently, is impossible, for he is definite in all the phrases and clauses that he has employed in the sentence and in the context. That he really believes in what he has pronounced is self-evident and it needs no further proof.

Coming to the last para of his note of criticism, we see that Prof. Sastri says that "so far" he had "assumed with Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer that Dēvēndravarmān was identical with the Eastern Gaṅga ruler Rājarāja". Nobody ever asked the Professor to assume anything with Mr. Aiyer. At any rate, let it be noted that the above are the Professor's own views and not of Mr. Aiyer's showing. Then come Prof. Sastri's own assumptions. But before doing so he refers to a Gara inscription. He says, "The inscription is dated in the seventh year of Dēvēndravarmān and in a Śaka year indicated by the phrase *Śarasūrraraśmi*, this phrase is taken to mean Ś. 1005 or Ś. 1125. In either case the Dēvēndravarmān of the inscription cannot be the Eastern Gaṅga Rājarāja who came to the throne in Ś. 992." The Professor relies upon and quotes the ill-made-out date portion of an inscription of a king entitled Dēvēndravarmān evidently to show that there was a chief of that name other than the Kālīṅga contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I. The least that could be said of this is that a dying man would even catch at a straw. Inasmuch as he has cited the Gara inscription we shall have our say on it. The source of the Gara inscription is *A.R.*, 1933, p. 56. "The chronogram indicating the date of the inscription runs as follows: *Śakābde Śara sūrā rasmi gaṇite*. It is dated in the year seven and in the Śaka year 1005 denoted by the rather unusual chronogram....." (*A.R.*, 1933, p. 56). On this a note of Dr. N. P. C. appears on p. 57 of the same report and is also worth quoting. "As the inscription comes from the Ganjam District which was under the rule of Chōḍagaṅga at this time, it is not possible that there was another paramount

sovereign of the same dynasty ruling over the tract. So the chronogram has to be interpreted differently. As the word *rasmi* is used as an abbreviation of *Śitaraśmi* (Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 80), the date of the record may be Ś. 1125. No king who bore the name Dēvēndravarman is, however, known to be ruling at this period. But it may be noted that this date corresponds with the period of Rājarāja III whose surname Anantavarman is found in an inscription but not Dēvēndravarman." In the first solution, the reading is correctly given and in the second it is correctly stated that it is not possible that there was another paramount sovereign of the (Eastern Gaṅga) dynasty which was (in Ś. 1005) under Chōḍagaṅga. The second condemns the first solution of the chronogram puzzle and offers another and then rules that also out. Let it be noted further that both the attempts are concerned with words that are not in the inscription. The inscription has the words *sūrā* not *sūrya*, and *rasmi* not *raśmi*. Two solutions are offered for the chronogram puzzle contained in the lettering of *śarasūrrarasmi* of the Gara inscription. the first taking *śara* to mean five, and correcting what follows. viz., *sūrrarasmi* into *sūryaraśmi* and taking it to mean 1005. Two out of the four letters *sū rra ra smi*, the second and the last viz., *rra* and *smi* have been changed into *rya* and *śmi* for which there is no warrant, and therefore the solution is not concerned with the puzzle given. On the whole, the solution has resulted in the creation of a new sovereign of the name Dēvēndravarman over Kalinga with an initial year A.D. 1076 unknown to history and inscriptions before. The Gara inscription has been cited by Prof. Sastri to prove by its date the existence of a chief of the name Dēvēndravarman. A more frail material for support cannot be thought of. Its date portion contains a word puzzle, impossible of solution, and no solution has been advanced without changing the letters.

The mis-statements of the Professor are indeed a lagoon, and this series of his may chance to lead to the establishment of an untruth which could in no other way be done. By what he calls a careful consideration of all the facts known to him,

Prof. Nilakantha Sastri had reached the conclusion that there were only two wars in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, one mentioned in the twenty-sixth year records, and the other recorded in the forty-second year inscriptions and in the *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi*. Finding in the article of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, on the Drākṣārāma inscription of Kulōttuṅga, incontrovertible proofs afforded for an earlier and third war with the Kalingas in the year A.D. 1075-76, the Professor labours hard by every possible means and at last has brought forth a confused issue whose head or tail it is difficult to make out.

THE ARUNA PRAṆA AND THE ATHARVA VEDA*

BY N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU, M.A., L.T.

THE *Aruna Praṇa* which is believed to have great mystic significance and is prescribed for worship to Sūrya ordinarily on Sundays and especially for fixed periods as a remedial measure for any sick people occurs as the first *Praṇa* of the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*. In the arrangement of the material of the *Yajur Veda*, it is significant to note that this *Praṇa* follows the *Kātaka Praṇa*, which is a very highly mystic chapter in the *Yajur Veda*. What connects the *Aruna Praṇa* with the *Kātaka Praṇa*, is the continuation in the second part of *Aruna Praṇa* of the subject-matter dealt with in the *Kātaka* of a special form of ritualism known as the *Chayana*. These four *Praṇas*, the three *Kātakas* and the *Aruna Praṇa* deal with five Chayanas. The *Kātaka* describes (i) the Savitri Chayana, which incidentally develops the original *Savitri* mantra addressed to Sūrya, (ii) the *Naciketa Chayana*, which is later developed into the *Kātaka Upaniṣad*; (iii) the *Cāturhotriya Chayana*, which describes the *hotṛ* mantras, which are further elaborated in the third *Praṇa* of the *Āraṇyaka*, and (iv) the *Vaiṣvasrija Chayana*, which describes the order of the creation of the universe. The *Aruna Praṇa* in its latter portion deals with the *Aruna Kētuka Chayana*, but reference is given in the *Aruna Praṇa* to two more Chayanas, namely, the *Sattriya* and *Upānuvākya* which are based upon the rituals of the *Yajur Veda*. It is also in the *Aruna Praṇa* that the *Gāyatri* mantra is developed. The *Aruna Praṇa* also tells us the effect of the performances of different Chayanas. The *Sattriya Chayana* unites the performer with *Prājapati*, the *Savitri Chayana* with *Āditya*, the *Naciketa Chayana* with *Prāṇa*, the *Cātur-hotriya* with *Brahma*, the *Vaiṣvasrija* with the body, the *Upānuvākya* with this world, and the

Aruna-Kētuka unites the performer with the Sun, who illuminates this world and the world of Gods.

This apparently is the point which combines the second part of the *Aruna Praṇa* with the first part. As a matter of fact, the *Aruna Praṇa* falls into two distinct portions, the first part ending with the twenty-first *Anuvāka*, and the second part occupying *Anuvākas* 22 to 32. A critical student of the *Aruna Praṇa* could easily discover the distinction in the style and subject-matter between the first and the second parts of this *Praṇa*. The twenty-first *Anuvāka* repeats the verses at the beginning of the first *Anuvāka* and concludes giving the names of the seers, namely, *Kētu*, *Aruna* and *Vātaraṇa*. The twenty-second *Anuvāka* begins in a new style and this part of the *Praṇa* is discursive in its style and deals with the ritualistic formulæ unlike the first part which displays a unity of style and treatment.

One important feature of the *Aruna-Kētuka Chayana* is that, the conception of the brick as material for the *Chayana* is converted into imaginary bricks of water on the basis that *Agni* in the *Aruna Chayana* is in water. This gives the apparent connection between this *Chayana* with the water bricks in the second part of the *Praṇa* with the elaborate connection that is established between water and the Sun in the first part of the *Praṇa*.

The *ṇānti pāṭha* of this *Praṇa* and the importance attached to water together with the description of the whole universe of creation as emanating from water, connect, in an indisputable manner, the *Aruna Praṇa* and the *Atharva Veda*. It appears also to be clear that the first part of the *Aruna Praṇa* (*Anuvākas* 1 to 21) must have really been an appendix to or part of the *Atharva Veda* at first and that it must have been revised and enlarged with the inclusion of the second part dealing with the *Aruna Chayana* and the enlarged *Aruna Praṇa* must have been placed beside the *Kātaka Praṇa* of the *Yajur Veda* owing to the connection in the subject-matter, namely, Chayanas between the *Kātaka Praṇa* and the *Aruna Praṇa*. In this new form the *Aruna Praṇa* seems to have been made a part of the *Yajur Veda*.

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II

In the light of the above remarks it would be interesting to take a bird's eye view of the contents of the *Arupa Praṇa*.

Part I.—Anuvākas 1 to 21

Anuvāka 1—Prayer to water, Aushadhi (plant) and Saraswati.

Anuvāka 2—Sūrya, the Sun is described as the creator of time, the Lord of the year and the unseen eternity in Sūryamaṇḍala.

Anuvāka 3—Sūrya with his seven rays is described as the Lord of the Seasons, the six seasons of the year representing six rays of the Sun, which are seen in the six colours of Agni in the six seasons of the year.

Anuvākas 4 to 6—describe in detail the six seasons of the year, their deities and their characteristics.

Anuvāka 7—describes eight Sūryas of whom seven give light to this world and the eighth Sūrya known as Kaṣyapa is described as living on Mount Meru. It is this Kaṣyapa that gives light to the seven Suns of the world and the *Anuvāka* also describes the path to Meru and the exact position of the seven Suns. Of these seven Suns, only one illuminates this world in which we live.

Anuvāka 8—describes the greatness of Kaṣyapa and the evolution of time from water and also the evolution of the power of Sūrya to give light and ends with the praise of Agni.

Anuvāka 9—describes the eight forms of Agni and the colours of Agni consonant with the seasons of the year and proceeds to describe the attendant deities, namely, Vāyu, Gandharva Gaṇās, Gauri and the Marut. Gauri is described as being born from water. We may compare with this the popular idea that Lakṣmi is born from lotus which floats on water. It may also be noted here that the lotus leaf is important in the *Arupa Chayana* as will be seen in a latter *Anuvāka*.

Anuvāka 10—describes the Upāsana or prayer to this and the higher worlds, as well as to the Twins who give rain to both the worlds. The *Anuvāka* also describes the way in which the Sun causes the rain and ends in a comparison of these two worlds (*Bhu* and *Dyu*) as being as inseparable as day and night. Day and night give rise to Agni and Sūrya. Agni is associated with smoke and humidity, while Sūrya is associated with light and dew.

Anuvāka 11—describes the greatness of Sūrya and his importance. It is in this *Anuvāka* that the *Gāyatri* mantra is given. After stating that the stars presided over by the moon are hidden by the Sun during the day, as bone is covered by blood, this *Anuvāka* develops a Vedantic turn and equates Brahman with Sūrya. It praises the Brahma-jñāni and says that he who knows Brahman as the root and the universe as the branch of the tree of life fears not death. In this *Anuvāka* we also meet with the highly philosophic doctrine that pleasure and pain belong to the body, that the ego in man is attached to the soul in man only by contact which makes one think that he is the author of his actions.

Note.—*Anuvākas 1 to 11* develop in this manner four great ideas : (i) water is the beginning of the eternity of space and time, (ii) the Sun is the Lord of the World, (iii) the eternal Brahman is in the Sun and (iv) the ego of man and his soul are really one, namely, the Brahman. *Anuvākas 12 to 20* of this part are devoted to miscellaneous prayers to Sūrya and various deities.

Anuvāka 12—deals with the prayer to Indra, Agni and the Rudra Gaṇas.

Anuvāka 13—recites the prayer to the earth, the atmosphere, the sky and Aditi. The Paurāṇic account of Indra and Aditi and her eight sons are given in these two *Anuvākas*.

Anuvāka 14—gives the prayer to Sūrya and his seven attendants.

Anuvāka 15—gives the prayer to Sūrya as equivalent to eight *puruṣas*.

Anuvāka 16—gives the prayer to eight Suns.

Anuvāka 17—gives the prayer to Vāyu.

Anuvāka 18—describes Agni with the eight *puruṣas* in eight directions.

Anuvāka 19—gives the prayer to Sūrya and Indra.

Anuvāka 20—describes the distribution of deities and ends with a prayer for gifts from all Gods.

Anuvāka 21—gives the *gānti* or dedicatory verses in the reverse order and gives the names of the seers of the *Praṇa*.

III

Anuvāka twenty-two, which begins Part II of the *Aruṇa Praṇa*, describes the universality of water, makes Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Candra, Nakṣatra, Parjanya and Samvatsara, respectively the seats of water, says that this world is like a boat in water, that the essence of water created the worlds, and these together gave rise to the juice of Sōma with which *yagñas* are performed. This portion may be called the preface to this part. The *Anuvāka* then proceeds to describe the altar for the *Aruṇa-Kētuka Chayana*. A pit is filled with water and the fire is placed on this water in this *Chayana* alone unlike other *Chayanas*. The water bricks are placed round the fire. It also describes the use of the *Chayana* in other *yagñas* and *kratus*. It also gives the comparative merit of seven *Chayanas* and states the distinguishing feature of *Chayana* as consisting in the fact that in this ritual Agni is combined with water. *Anuvāka* twenty-three describes the creation of the universe from water. *Prajāpati*, the Lord of the Universe, is said to have been seated on the lotus leaf over the primordial water. When he thought of creating the world there arose, *Aruṇa*, *Kētu* and *Vātaraṇa* from his flesh, *Vaikhanasa* from his nails, *Vālakhilyas* from his hairs, and out of his vital essence arose the tortoise floating in water. With this may be compared the description in the *Atharva Veda* of the evolution of *Hiraṇya-Garbha*

from water and *Hiraṇya-Garbha* giving rise to the Sun known as *Vena* and of *Vena* evolving *Brahman* from whom were evolved the Gods, heavens, earth, etc., in the fourth *kanda*, first *Anuvāka*. The common point between these two descriptions of creation is in considering water as the first element from which all the universe was evolved. In this *Anuvāka* we are further told that the tortoise was the *Virāt-Puruṣa*, with the thousand heads and eyes (*cf. Puruṣa Sūkta*) who, by throwing water with his hands in various directions, created the whole universe. The *Anuvāka* ends by saying that as the world came from water, it lacked firmness and so *Prajāpati* entered the universe as its living force and made it firm. It may be noted that in the *Yajur Veda*, we always read of *Prajāpati* as the creator of the universe. Hence the account given here of the mystic beginnings of the world must relate to circumstances not conceived in the *Yajur Veda*. *Anuvāka* twenty-four describes the details of the ritual first performed by *Aruṇa*, *Kētu* and *Vātaraṇa*. For the purpose of the ritual, water is to be collected from six sources:—

(i) Rain water collected while it rains amidst sunshine, (ii) well water, (iii) water of a stagnant pool, (iv) running water, (v) pot water and (vi) spring water.

(With this may be compared *A.V.*, I. 6. 4.) “Weal for us the waters of the *plains* and weal be those of the *marshes*, weal for us the waters won by *digging*, and weal what are brought in a *vessel*, propitious to us those of the *Rain*” (*H.O.S.*, Vol. 7, p. 6).

Anuvāka twenty-five describes the placing of the lotus leaf, gold, a human image, a tortoise, minor vessels of water, five *chitis* and special bricks for the ritual. *Anuvāka* twenty-six relates the comparative merits of the five major *Chayanas* and the importance of the *Aruṇa-Kētuka Chayana* for the fulfilment of the various desires (with this may be compared the several rites in the *Atharva Veda* for the fulfilment of human desires). The *Anuvāka* closes with the relation of certain restrictions to be observed by the performer of this *Chayana*. *Anuvāka* twenty-seven is philosophic in its tone. Starting with a prayer

to the deities, an appeal is made to men to observe penance and attain *Swarga*, to concentrate on Paramātma, who is seated in the lotus of the heart and says that Brahman is in water and all blessings are to come to us from Brahman. Anuvākas twenty-eight, twenty-nine and thirty are devoted like Anuvākas twelve to twenty to prayers to Agni (Anuvāka twenty-eight), Parjanya (Anuvāka twenty-nine) and for long life, wealth, vitality, etc. (Anuvāka thirty).

IV

Anuvāka thirty-one describes a special ritual performed in honour of Vaisravaṇa (the brother of Kubēra) for increase of wealth. The Anuvāka gives the mantras and details of the ritual and ends with a *cānti* of its own. This is a self-contained Anuvāka and the ritual is described as an additional ritual performed at the end of Aruṇa-Kētuka Chayana. Anuvāka thirty-two, the last one, describes the *Vṛta* and the regulations to be observed by the performer of the Chayana and ends with giving the rules for the *adhyāyana* or recitation of the *Aruṇa Praṇa*. From the fact that the *Aruṇa Praṇa* alone in the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda* has the *cānti pāṭha* of the *Atharva Veda* and from the fact that the recital of the *Aruṇa Praṇa* is even now believed to have wonderful effect in giving remedy to sick persons, I am inclined to believe that this *Praṇa* must have originally belonged to the *Atharva Veda*. This view is strengthened by the fact that the first four verses of the *Aruṇa Praṇa* are addressed to “water” and that Saraswati is invoked as a Goddess. “सुमृडीकासरस्वती” water and *Saraswati* are associated together in T.A., Anuvāka nine; thus:—

गौरी सिमाय सलिलानितक्षति।

It says that all things born from water are measured by the Goddess *Gauri*, who is the same as the Goddess of speech *Saraswati*: “वाचोविशेषणम्”. In T.A., Anuvāka eight, we are also told that all “Time” is merged in “Water”.

काला आसुनिविशन्ते.

It is also very interesting and significant to notice that Anuvākas three to seven of the *Praṇa* are devoted to a description

of the seasons as created by their Lord, the Sun. In these verses the *Sun* is described as the *Lord* of “water” and the general trend of thought is that in the *Vasanta Rtu*, “water is clear,” that the heat of the *Greeshma Rtu* is followed by “rain”—a full supply of water to the world by the action of the *Sun* in the *Varsha Rtu*, that after the *Śarad Rtu* and *Hemanta Rtu*, all the water is dried up in the last or *Çigira Rtu* and when people find there is no water in the world and that water cannot be had of heaven even for the asking, *Agni*, the friend of men prays to the *Maruts* to give water and with the return of the monsoon in the new year, the *Sun* gives water and happiness again to men.

Cf.—T.A., I. *Aruṇa Praṇa*, Anuvāka four.

(i) दुर्भिक्षं देवलोकेषु ।

(iii) ता अग्निः पवमाना अन्वैक्षत ।

(ii) इहैद्वः स्वतपसः ।

Another significant fact that connects the *Aruṇa Praṇa* with the *Atharva Veda* is that in Anuvāka seven, we are told that *Sōma* made *Kacyapa*—the great eighth *Sun* on Mount Meru give heat and light to the seven suns—*Ārōga*, the *Sun*, who shines on our world, the three *Suns*—*Bhrāja*, *Patara* and *Patanga* on the world-side of Mount Meru, and the three suns—*Swarna*, *Jyōtishmān* and *Vipāśa* on the upper side of Mount Meru. So according to this, the supreme Lord that has made the seven *Suns* give heat and light to the Universe is *Sōma*.

(T.A., I. 7.)

ते अस्मैकश्यपाज्ज्योतिर्लभन्ते ।

तान्सोमः कश्यपादधि निर्दमति ।

भ्रस्ताकर्मकृदिवैवत् ॥

Compare with this the last, viz., sixteenth verse in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* of the *Atharva Veda*, XIX. 6. 16.

“Seven times seventy rays were born from the head of the Great God of King *Sōma*, when born out of *Puruṣa*”. (H.O.S., Vol. 8, p. 906.)

भूर्जो देवस्य बृह्नो अंशवः
सप्तसप्ततीः । राहः सोमस्या जायन्त जायन्त जातस्य पुरुषादधि ॥

Again the prayer of *Aditi* in *A.V.*, VII. vi. is reproduced in the *Aruna Praṇa*, *A.V.*, VII. vi. 2, 3 being merely quoted by the first words सूत्रामाणं (*A.V.*, VII. vi. 3) मदीमुषु (*A.V.*, VII. vi. 2) and *A.V.*, VII. vi. i being fully quoted अद्रितिर्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्षम् । (*A.V.* VII. vi. 2, 3 alone are quoted in *T.S.*, IV. ii, among the *puronuvakyas* and *yājyas*, following the order of the *Atharva Veda*). (*A.V.*, VII. vi. 1, 2, 3 appear in the *Aruna Praṇa* as 3, 2, 1 and the fourth verse of *A.V.*, VII. vi is omitted.)

It is also significant that in the *Aruna-Ketuka Chayana*, a ritual formulated in the second part of the *Aruna Praṇa*, evidently a later addition of a ritual based on the analogy of the other *Chayanas* formulated in the *Kātaka*—viz., *Savitrachiti*, *Nachiketachiti*, *Chaturhotriyachiti* and *Vaiṣvasriachiti*, the main material for the performance of the *Chayana* is not fire but water which is called an *Agni*.

Cf. आपोवा अग्नेर्मिभूयाः । मियुनकान्भवति ॥

He who sees the oneness of water and fire becomes joined in the world (i.e., never separated from his life).

The twenty-third *Anuvāka* of *Aruna Praṇa* describes the creation of the whole world from water in great detail and the account given therein might be said to be the basis of the *Kūrma Purāṇa* of the later age. In the twenty-sixth *Anuvāka*, water is referred to as "medicinal" in its quality अपोवैभेषजम् (cf. use of water for *gānti udaka* in the *Atharva Veda* for healing all diseases). At the end of the 27th *Anuvāka*—water is invoked as the Goddess अपोदेवी: to bless the performer of rituals with *Swarga*, *Brahma-gnāna*, wealth, prosperity and offspring.

TRIPURA RAHAŚYA

BY M. S. VENKATARAMA IYER

(Continued from Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, page 190)

Chapter IV

Disgust for Worldly Enjoyments is Inculcated so that
Dispassion might be Developed

1-3. "On hearing the sweet words of her infatuated lover, who was all the time pressing her to his bosom, that stainless girl, wishing to teach him, smiled gently and spoke with good sense as follows: 'Listen to me, O Prince. It is not that I do not love you, only that I am trying to find what the greatest joy in life is which will never become distasteful. I am always searching for it, but have not attained it as yet.'

4. "Though always looking for it, I have not reached any definite decision, as is a woman's way. Will you not kindly tell me what exactly it is and so help me?"

5. Being thus coaxed, Hemachūda laughed derisively and told his beloved: 'Women are indeed silly.'

6-8. "For do not even the birds and beasts, nay the crawling insects, know what is good and what is bad? Otherwise, how are they guided in the pursuit of good, and how do they escape from bad? That which is pleasing is clearly good and that which is not so, is bad. What is there in it, my dear, that you are always given to thinking about it? Is it not silly?" Hearing her lover say so, Hemalekha continued:

9. "True that women are silly and cannot judge rightly. Therefore should I be taught by you. The right discernor.

10. "On being rightly taught by you, I shall stop thinking like that. Also, I shall then be able to share in your pleasures to your entire satisfaction.

11. "O King, subtle judge that you are, you have found happiness and misery to be the results of what is pleasing or otherwise.

12. "The same object yields pleasure or pain according to circumstances. Where is then the finality in your statement?"

13. "Take fire for example. Its results vary according to seasons, the places and its own size or intensity.

14. "It is agreeable in cold seasons and disagreeable in hot seasons. Pleasure and pain are, therefore, functions of seasons; similarly of latitudes or altitudes:

15. "Again, fire is good for people of certain constitutions only and not for others. Still again, pleasure and pain depend on circumstances.

16-17. "The same reasoning applies to cold, to riches, to sons, to wife, to kingdom and so on. See, how your father, the Maharaja, is daily worried even though he is surrounded by wife, children and wealth. Why do not others grieve like this? What has happened to enjoyments in his case? He is certainly on the look-out for happiness; are not his resources all directed to that end?

18. "No one seems to possess everything that is sufficient for happiness. The question arises: Cannot a man be happy, even with such limited means? I shall give you the answer.

19. "That cannot be happiness, my Lord, which is tinged with misery. Misery is of two kinds, external and internal.

20. "The former pertains to the body and is caused by the nerves, etc., the latter pertains to the mind and is caused by desire.

21. "Mental distraction is worse than physical pain and the whole world has fallen a victim to it. Desire is the seed of the tree of misery and never fails in its fruits.

22. "Overpowered by it, Indra and the Devas, though living in celestial regions of enjoyment and fed by nectar, are still slaves to it and work day and night according to its dictates.

23. "Respite gained by the fulfilment of one desire before another takes its place, is not happiness because the seeds of pain are still latent. Such respite is enjoyed by the insects also (which certainly do not typify perfect happiness).

24. "Yet is their enjoyment distinctly better than that of men because their desires are less complex.

25. "If it is happiness to have one desire among many fulfilled who will not be thus happy in this world?

26. "If a man, scalded all over, can find happiness by smearing unguents on himself, then everyone must be happy.

27. "A man is happy when embraced by his beloved; he is unhappy in the same act under other circumstances.

* * * * *

30. "Or do you mean to say that the enjoyment of man is enhanced by his sense of beauty?

31. "Beauty is only a mental concept, as is evident from the similar feeling in similar enjoyments of lovers in dreams. (I shall tell you a story to illustrate the point.) There was once a most handsome scion of a king—fairer than Cupid himself.

32. "He was wedded to an equally beautiful damsel and was very devoted to her.

33. "But she fell in love with a servant of the royal household who deceived the young prince very skillfully.

34. "This servant used to serve liquor in excess so that the prince got drunk and lost his senses; on retiring a wily harlot was sent to keep him company.

35-38. "The unchaste princess and the servant were then able to carry on; and the foolish prince was embracing the other woman in his intoxication. Yet he thought within himself that he was the happiest of men to have such an angel for his wife who was so devoted to him. After a long time, it happened that the servant in the pressure of work left the liquor on the prince's table and occupied himself otherwise. The prince did not drink as much as usual.

39-42. "Becoming voluptuous, he hastily retired to his bed-room, which was sumptuously furnished, and enjoyed himself with the strumpet, without recognising her in the heat of passion. After some time, he noticed that she was not his wife and on this confusion asked her 'where is my beloved wife?'

43-48. "She trembled in fear and remained silent. The prince who suspected foul play, flew into a rage and holding her by her hair drew his sword and thus threatened her, 'Speak the truth or your life will not be worth a moment's purchase.' Afraid of being killed, she confessed the whole truth taking him to the trysting-place of the princess. There he found her with her lovely and delicate body in close and loving embrace of the dark, ugly, loathsome savage who was his servant.....

51. "The prince was shocked at the sight.

52. "Shortly afterwards he pulled himself together and began to reflect as follows: 'Shame on me who am so addicted to drink !

53. "Shame on the fools infatuated with love for women. Women are like nothing but birds flitting above the tree tops.

54. "Ass that I was all the time loving her even more than life.

55. "Women are only good for the enjoyment of lecherous fools. He who loves them is a wild ass.

56. "Women's good faith is more fleeting than streaks of autumnal clouds.

57-59. "I had not till now understood the woman who, unfaithful to entirely devoted me, was in illicit love with a savage, all the time feigning love to me, like a prostitute to a lecherous fool.

60. "I did not in my drunkenness suspect her in the least; on the other hand, I believed that she was as much with me as my own shadow.

61-64. "Fie! is there a fool worse than myself, who was deceived by this ugly harlot at my side and enthralled by her professions of love? Again, what has the other woman found in preference to me in a loathsome brute!

65. "The prince then left society in disgust and retired into a forest." (Hemalekha continued). "So you see, O Prince, how beauty is only a concept of the mind.

66. "What pleasure you have in your apprehension of beauty in me, is sometimes even exceeded by others in their

love of their dear ones—be they fair or ugly. I will tell you what I think of it.

67. "The fair woman that appears as the object is only the reflection of the subtle concept already in the subjective mind.

68-69. "The mind draws an image of her beauty in conformity with its own repeated conceptions. The repeatedly drawn image becomes clearer and clearer until it appears solidly as the object. An attraction springs up (and enslaves the mind) by constant mental associations.

70. "The mind, becoming restless, stirs up the senses and seeks the fulfilment of its desires in the object; a composed mind is not excited even at the sight of the fairest.

71. "The reason for infatuation is the oft-repeated mental picture. Neither children nor self-controlled yogis are excited in the same way (because their minds do not dwell on such things).

72. "So whoever finds pleasure in anything, the beauty therein is only mental imagery.

73. "Ugly and loathsome women too are looked upon as delightful angels by their husbands.

74. "If the mind conceives anything as loathsome and not delightful, there will be no pleasure in such.

75. "Fie on human beings who appraise the foulest part of the body as the most delightful.

* * * * *

77. "Listen Prince! the idea of beauty lies in one's own desire innate in the mind.

78. "If, on the other hand, beauty is natural to the object of love, why is it not recognised by children too, as sweetness in edibles is recognised by them?

79-81. "The form, the stature and complexion of people differ in different countries and at different times; their ears may be long; their faces distorted; their teeth large; their nose prominent; bodies hirsute or smooth; their hair red, black, or golden, light or thick, smooth or curly; their complexions fair, dark, coppery, yellow or grey.

82. "All of them derive the same kind of pleasure as you, Prince !

83. "Even the most accomplished among men have fallen into the habit of seeking pleasure from woman, for all consider her the best hunting ground for delight.

84. "Similarly also a man's body is thought by woman to be the highest source of enjoyment. But consider the matter well, Prince !

85, 86. "Shaped of fat and flesh, fitted with blood, topped by the head, covered by skin, ribbed by bones, covered with hair, containing bile and phlegm, a pitcher of feces and urine, generated from semen and ova, and born from the womb, such is the body. Just think of it !

87. "Finding delight in such a thing, how are men any better than worms growing in offal ?

88. "My King ! Is not this body (pointing to herself) dear to you ? Think well over each part thereof.

89. "Analyse well and carefully what it is that forms your food materials with their different flavours, kinds and consistencies ?

90. "Every one knows how the consumed foods are finally ejected from the body.

91. "Such being the state of affairs in the world, tell me what is agreeable or otherwise.

"On hearing all this, Hemachūda developed disgust for earthly pleasures.

92. "He was amazed at the strange discourse he heard. He later pondered over all that Hemalekha had said.

93. "His disgust for earthly pleasures grew in volume and in force. He again and again discussed matters with his beloved so that he understood the ultimate truth.

94. "Then realising the pure consciousness inhering as the Self to be that self-same Tripura, he became aware of the One Self holding all, and was liberated.

95. "He was liberated while yet alive. His brother Manichūda and his father Muktachūda were both guided by him and were also liberated.

96. "The queen was guided by her daughter-in-law and was liberated ; so also did the ministers, chieftains and citizens gain wisdom.

97. "There was no one born in that city who remained ignorant. The city was like that of Brahma, the abode of happy, peaceful and contented people.

98. "It was known as Visala and became the most renowned on Earth, where even the parrots in the cages used to repeat : "Meditate, O Man, on the Self, the Absolute Consciousness devoid of objects ! There is naught else to know besides pure consciousness ; it is like the self-luminous mirror reflecting objects within.

100. "That same consciousness is also the objects, that is the subject, and that is all—the mobile and the immobile ; all else shine in its reflected light ; it shines of itself.

101. "Therefore, O Man, throw off delusion ! Think of that consciousness which is alone, illumining all and pervading all. Be of clear vision.

102-103. "Those holy saints Vamadeva and others having on one occasion heard these sacred words of the parrots, wondered at the wisdom of even the birds of that city and named it the *City of Wisdom*.

104. "The city is to-day still called by that name," Dattātreyā continued. "Association with the sages, O Rama, is thus the root cause of all that is auspicious and good.

105. "By association with Hemalekha, all people gained *jñāna* (wisdom). Know then, that *satsaṅga* (association with the wise) is alone the root cause of salvation.

Thus ends the Fourth Chapter on the fruits of *satsaṅga* in the Section of Hemachūda in *Tripura Rahasya*.

Chapter V

On Bondage and Release

1. Paraśurāma, on hearing the master's discourse on the greatness of *satsaṅga*, was highly pleased and continued to ask.

2. "You have truly said, O Lord, that *satsaṅga* is the harbingers of all that is worthy, and illustrated the fact with a story.

3. "One's enjoyments are determined by the quality of one's company. The highest good was accomplished by all owing to their association direct or indirect, with Hemalekha, though she was only a woman.

4. "I am anxious to hear how Hemachūda was further guided by her. Please tell me, Thou Lord of Mercy!"

5. Thus requested, Dattātreyā said to Paraśurāma: "Listen, O Bhārgava, I shall now continue the holy narrative.

6. "Having heard what she had to say, the enjoyments ceased to interest him, he developed a disgust for them, and became pensive.

7. "But the force of habit still remained with him. He was therefore unable either to enjoy himself or to desist all of a sudden.

8. "He was however too proud to confess his weakness to his beloved. Some time passed in this way.

9. "When his habits forced him into the old ways he was still mindful of his wife's words, so that he engaged himself in them with reluctance and shame.

10-11. "He repeatedly fell into his old ways by force of habit; and so often he became repentant, realising the evil of those ways and remembering his wife's wise words. His mind was thus moving to and fro, like a swing.

12. "Neither delicious foods, nor fine clothes, nor rich jewels, nor charming damsels nor caparisoned horses, nor even his dear friends continued to interest him.

13-14. "He became sad as if he had lost his all. He was unable to resist his habits at once nor was he willing to follow them knowingly. He grew pale and melancholy.

15. "Hemalekha always aware of the change in him, went to him in his private chamber and said, "How is it, my Lord, that you are not as cheerful as before?"

16. "You look sad. Why so? I do not see symptoms of any particular ailment in you.

17. "Doctors may hold out the fear of disease amidst the pleasures of life; diseases are due to loss of harmony in the three tempers of the body.

18. "Diseases remain latent in all bodies because disharmony of tempers cannot always be prevented.

19. "Tempers get displaced by food consumed, clothes worn, words uttered or heard, sights seen, objects contacted, changes of seasons and travel in different countries.

20. "Being inescapable, the dislocation of tempers need not claim one's constant attention. There are remedies prescribed for diseases arising from it.

21. "Medical science does not treat of invisible diseases. Now tell me, dear, why you are so sad."

22. "When Hemalekha had finished, the prince replied, 'I will tell you the cause of my misery. Listen to me, dear.

23. "What you said on the last occasion has barred all means of pleasure for me, so that I can now find nothing to make me happy.

24. "Just as a man under orders to be executed cannot relish the luxuries provided for him by the State, so also I do not relish anything.

25. "Just as a man is forced by royal command to do something in spite of himself, so also must I engage in old ways by force of habit. Now I ask you, dear, tell me how I can gain happiness."

26. "Being thus approached, Hemalekha thought: 'This dispassion is certainly due to my words.

27. "There is the seed of the highest good in that field where such symptoms appear. Had my well-calculated words not produced even the slightest turn in this direction, there would be no hope of emancipating him. This state of dispassion only arises in one with whose continued devotion Tripura inherent in the Heart as the Self, is well pleased.

"Thinking thus, that wise lady was eager to reveal wisdom to her husband.

30. "Keeping her own wisdom secret at the same time, she spoke with measured words: 'Listen Prince to the story of my own past.

31. "My mother formerly gave me a lady-in-waiting who was good by nature, but later associated with an undesirable friend.

32. "This friend was clever in creating new and wonderful things. I also without my mother's knowledge associated with her.

33. "That lady-in-waiting became very friendly with that undesirable companion, and I was obliged to do the same because I loved my friend more than life.

34. "For, I could not remain without her even for a second; so much did she enthrall me by her undoubted purity.

35. "Always loving my friend, I quickly became part of herself. She for her part was all the time close to her friend, a wicked strumpet, who was ever generating new and fascinating things.

36, 37. "My friend was fascinated by the pleasure of these luxuries and fell into the snares of her foolish and drunken man, who incessantly carried on with her. Though always in his firm grip and enjoyed by him, she never left me, nor did I abandon her. A son was born to her, a fool like his father.

39-41. "He grew up to a very restless young fellow, fully inheriting his father's dulness and his grandmother's wickedness and creativeness. This boy, *Master Inconstant* by name, was brought up and trained by his father, *Mr. Fool* and his mother *Madame Dark* (Ignorance), and he became skilled in their ways. He could negotiate the most difficult places with perfect ease and surmount obstacles in a trice.

42. "In this manner, my friend, though very good by nature, become afflicted and silly because of her association with wicked people.

43, 44. "What with love for her friend, devotion for her lover, and affection for her son, she began gradually to forsake me. But I could not break with her so easily.

45-46. "Not being self-reliant, I was dependent on her and so remained with her. Her husband, *Mr. Fool*, though always in enjoyment of her, mistook me for one of the same sort and tried to ravish me. But I was not what he took me to be. I am pure by nature and only led by her, for the time being.

47. "Even so, there was wide spread scandal about me in the world that I was always in *Fool's* hold.

48. "My friend, entrusting her son *Master Inconstant* to me, was always in the company of her lover.

49. "*Mr. Inconstant* grew up in my care and in due course married a wife with his mother's approval.

50. "*Unsteady* by name, she was ever restless and changeable and could put on different forms to please her husband's whim.

51. "By her wonderful capacity to change and by her exceeding skill and cleverness, she brought her husband completely under her control.

52. "*Mr. Inconstant* too used to fly hundreds of miles in a twinkling and return, go here, there and everywhere, but yet could find no rest.

53-54. "Whenever *Mr. Inconstant* wished to go anywhere and whatever he wanted to have in any measure, *Madam Unsteady* was ready to meet his desires changing herself accordingly and creating new environments to please her husband. She thus won his affections entirely.

55. "She bore him five sons who were devoted to their parents. Each one was skilled in his own way. They were also entrusted to my care by my friend.

56-61. "Out of love for my friend, I brought them up with care, and made them strong. Then those five sons of *Madam Unsteady* individually erected splendid palaces, invited their father to their homes and entertained him continually in turns. The eldest of them entertained him in his mansion with different kinds of sweet music, with incantations of the Vedas, the reading of scriptures, the humming sounds of bees, the twittering of birds and other sounds sweet to hear.

62-64. "The father was pleased with the son who arranged for still further sounds for him which were harsh, fearful and tumultuous like the roar of the lion, a peal of thunder, the raging of the sea, the rumblings of earthquakes, the cries of the lying-in-chambers, and the quarrels, moans and lamentations of many people.

65-67. "Invited by his second son, the father went to stay in his mansion. There he found soft seats, downy beds, fine clothes and some hard things, others hot or warm or cold, or refreshing things with various designs, and so on. He was pleased with the agreeable things and felt aversion to the disagreeable ones.

68. "Then going to the third son, he saw charming and variegated scenes, things red, white, brown, blue, yellow, pink, smoky grey, tawny, red-brown, black and spotted, others fat or lean, short or long, broad or round, bent or wavy, pleasing or horrible, nauseous, brilliant or savage, unsightly or captivating, some pleasing and others otherwise.

72. "The father was taken to the fourth son's mansion and there he had fruits and flowers to order. He had drinks, things to be licked, to be sucked, and to be masticated, juicy things, some refreshing like nectar, others sweet, sour, pungent or astringent, some decoctions of similar flavours, and so on. He tasted them all.

76-79. "The last son took the father to his home and treated him with fruits and flowers, with various scented grasses, herbs and things of different odours, sweet or putrescent, mild or acrid, others or stimulating or soporific and so on.

In this manner, he enjoyed himself uninterruptedly, one way or another, in one mansion or another, being pleased with some and repulsed by others.

80. "The sons too were so devoted to their father that they would not touch anything themselves in his absence.

81. "But *Mr. Inconstant* not only enjoyed himself thoroughly in his sons' mansions, but also stole away things from them and shared them in secret with his dear wife, *Madam Unsteady*, in his own home, unknown to his sons.

83. "Later, one *Vorax* fell in love with *Mr. Inconstant* and he wedded her; they became very devoted to each other, *Mr. Inconstant* loved *Madam Vorax* heart and soul.

84-87. "He used to fetch enormous provisions for her, she consumed them all in a moment and was still hungry for more; therefore she kept her husband always on his legs, to

collect her food; and he too was incessantly in quest of provisions for her. She was not satisfied with the service of the father and his five sons put together, but wanted still more. Such was her insatiable hunger. She used to order all of them about for her needs. In a short time she gave birth to two sons.

88. "They were *Master Flaming-mouth* the elder and *Master Mean* the younger—both of course very dear to their mother.

89-91. "Whenever *Mr. Inconstant* sought *Madam Vorax* in privacy, his body was burnt by the wrathsome flames of *Master Flaming-mouth*; being thus afflicted, he fell down unconscious.

"Again, whenever he fondled the younger son out of his love, he was hated by all the world and he himself became as if dead. *Mr. Inconstant* thus experienced untold misery.

92. "Then my companion good by nature, was herself afflicted because of her son *Mr. Inconstant's* grief."

93-95. "Being also associated with her two grandsons, *Master Flaming-mouth* and *Master Mean*, she became quite miserable and gave way under the public odium. I too, dear, collapsed in sympathy with her. Thus passed several years until *Mr. Inconstant* dominated by *Madam Vorax* lost all initiative and was entirely in her hands.

96-107. "He was foredoomed and betook himself to the city of ten gates. There he lived with *Madam Vorax*, his sons and his mother, always seeking pleasure but only sharing misery day and night. Burnt by the wrath of *Flaming-mouth* and treated with contempt by *Master Mean*, he swung hither and thither greatly agitated. He went into the homes of his other five sons but was only perplexed, without being happy. My companion too was so affected by her son's plight that she again collapsed, and yet she continued to live in the same city. *Madam Vorax* with her two boys *Masters Flaming-mouth* and *Mean* was being fed by *Madam Dark*—her husband's grandma, and by *Mr. Fool*, her father-in-law. She got on well with her co-wife *Madam Unsteady* and was

even intimate with her. (Ingratiating herself with all of them), she completely dominated her husband *Inconstant*.

I too continued to live there because of my love for my friend. Otherwise, none of them could remain in the town without me who was their protectress, though I was moribund owing to my friend's moribundity.

"I was sometimes suppressed by *Madam Dark*, was made a fool by *Mr. Fool*, became inconstant on account of *Mr. Inconstant*, grew unsteady with *Madam Unsteady*, contacted wrath with *Flaming-mouth* and looked contemptible with *Master Mean*. I reflected within myself all the moods of my friend, for she would have died if I had left her even a minute. Because of my company, the common people always misjudged me for a strumpet, whereas discriminating men could see that I have always remained pure.

108-111. "For that Supreme Good One, my mother, is ever pure and clear, more extensive than space, and subtler than the subtlest; she is omniscient, yet of limited knowledge; she works all yet remains inactive; she holds all, herself being unsupported; all depend on her and she is independent; all forms are hers; but she is formless; all belong to her but she is unattached; though illumining all, she is not known to any one under any circumstances; she is Bliss yet not blissful; she has no father nor mother; innumerable are her daughters, like me.

112-113. "My sisters are as many as the waves on the sea. All of them, O Prince, are just like me involved in their companions' affairs. Though sharing the lives of my friends, I am in possession of the most potent spell, by virtue of which I am also exactly like my mother in nature.

114. (The tale is resumed.)

115. "When my friend's son retired to rest, he always slept soundly on the lap of his mother as *Mr. Inconstant* was asleep, all others, including his sons, were also asleep, for no one could remain awake."

116. "On such occasions, the city was guarded by *Mr. Motion*, the intimate friend of *Mr. Inconstant*, who was always moving to and fro by two upper gateways.

117. "My friend, the mother of *Mr. Inconstant*, then went with him to her wicked friend—the same as her mother-in-law watched the whole sleeping family.

118. "I used to seek my mother in that interval and remain blissful in her fond embrace. But I was obliged to return to the city simultaneously with the walking of the sleepers.

119. "This *Mr. Motion*, the friend of *Mr. Inconstant*, is most powerful and keeps them all alive.

120-121. "Though single, he multiplies himself, manifests as the city and citizens, pervades them all, protects and holds them.

122. "Without him, they would all be scattered and lost like pearls without the string of the necklace.

123. "He is the bond between the inmates and myself; empowered by me, he serves in the city as the string in a necklace.

124. "If that city decays, he collects the inmates together, leads them to another and remains their master.

125-131. "In this way *Mr. Inconstant* rules over cities always, he himself remaining under the sway of his friend. Though supported by such a powerful friend, though born of such a virtuous mother and brought up by me, he is never otherwise than miserable, because he is tossed about by his two wives and several sons. He is torn asunder by his sons and finds not the least pleasure but only intense misery. Tempted by *Madam Unsteady*, he grieves; ordered about by *Madam Vorax*, he runs about in search of food for her; Stricken by *Flaming-mouth* he burns with rage, loses his sense and is baffled; approaching *Master Mean*, he is openly despised and reviled by others and becomes as one dead under shame of odium."

132-134. "Already of disreputable heredity, and now infatuated by love for, and tossed about by, his wicked wives and sons, he has been living with them in all kinds of places, good or bad, in forests with woods or thorny bushes and infested with wild beasts, in deserts burning hot, in icy tracts pierced by cold, in putrid ditches or in dark holes and so on.

135. "Again and again my friend was stricken with grief on account of her son's calamities and nearly died with sorrow.

136. "I too, though sane and clear by nature, dear, got involved in the affairs of her family and became sad also.

137. "Who can hope for even the least happiness in bad company? One may as well seek to quench his thirst by drinking water from a mirage.

138. "Engulfed in sorrow, my friend once sought me in private.

139. "Advised by me, she soon gained a good husband, killed her own son and imprisoned his sons.

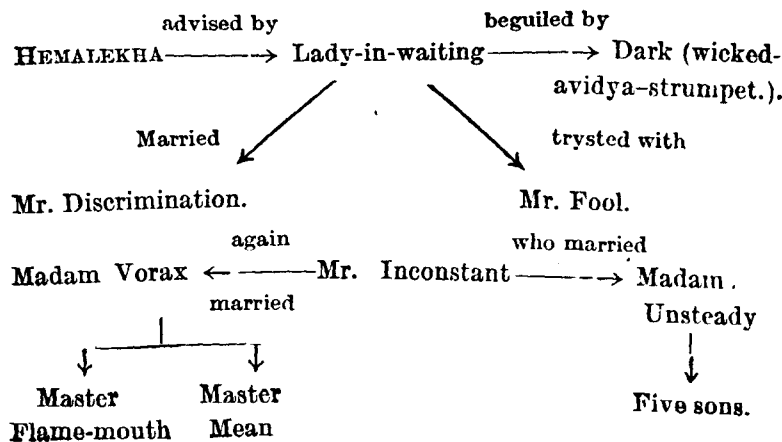
140. "Then accompanied by me, she quickly gained my mother's presence, and being pure, she often embraced my mother.

141. "She at once dived in the sea of Bliss and became Bliss itself. In the same manner, you too can conquer over your wrong ways which are only accretions.

142. "Then my Lord, attain the mother and gain eternal happiness. I have now related to you, my Lord, my own experience the pedestal of Bliss.

Thus ends the Chapter on Bondage in the Section of Hemachūda in *Tripura Rahaśya*.

MOTHER (Bliss Eternal).



Chapter VI

On the Merits of Faith for Gaining the Goal and on the Harmfulness of Dry Polemics

श्रद्धा श्रेयः सु साधनं । कुतर्कस्यानर्थलाभः इति.

1. Hemachūda was astonished at the fantastic tale of his beloved. Being ignorant, he smiled derisively at the tale and asked that wise princess :

2. "My dear, what you have been saying seems to be nothing but invention. Your words have no relation to facts and are altogether meaningless.

3. "You are certainly the daughter of an *Apsaras* (celestial damsel), and brought up by Rsi Vyāgrapāda in the forest; you are still young and not yet fully grown.

4. "But you talk as if you were several generations old. Your long-winded speech is like that of a girl possessed and not in her senses.

5. "I cannot believe that rigmarole. Tell me where your companion is and who is the son she killed.

6. "Where are those cities? What is the significance of your story? Where is your friend?

7. "I know nothing of your lady-in-waiting. You may ask my mother if you like. There is no other lady besides your mother-in-law in my father's place.

8. "Tell me quickly where such a lady is to be found and where her son's sons are. I think your tale is a mad h like the tale of a barren woman's son.

9-11. "A clown once related a story that a barren woman's son mounted a chariot reflected in a mirror and decorated with silver taken from the sheem of mother-of-pearls, armed himself with weapons made of human horn, fought in the battle field of the sky, killed the future king, subdued the city of aerial hosts and enjoyed himself with dream maidens on the banks of the waters of a mirage.

12. "I take your words to mean something similar. They can never be the truth." After listening to the words of her lover, the wise girl continued :

13. "Lord, how can you say that my parable is meaningless? Words from the lips of those like me can never be nonsense.

14. "Falsehood undermines the effects of one's penance; so how can it be suspected in virtuous people? How can such a one be stainless and numbered among the sages?

15. "Moreover, one who entertains an earnest seeker with hollow or false words, will not prosper in this world nor advance in the next.

16. "Listen, Prince. A purblind man cannot have his eye-sight restored by merely hearing the prescription read.

17. "He is a fool who misjudges good precepts for falsehood. Do you think, my dear, that I, your wife, would deceive you with a myth when you are so much in earnest?

18-19. "Reason well and carefully examine these apparent untruths of mine. Is not an intelligent man accustomed to judge big things in the world by verifying a few details in them? I now present you my credentials.

20. "Some things used to please you before. Why did they cease to do so, after you heard me on the last occasion?

21. "My words brought about dispassion; they are similarly bound to do so even more in future. How else can it be? Judge your own statements from these facts.

22. "Listen to me, King, with an unsophisticated and clear intellect. Mistrust in a well-wisher's words is the surest way to ruin.

23. "Faith is like a fond mother who can never fail to save her trusting son from dangerous situations. There is no doubt of it.

24. "The fool who has no faith in his well-wisher's words is forsaken by prosperity, happiness and fame. A man who is always suspicious can never gain anything worth while.

25. "Confidence holds the world and nourishes all. How can a babe thrive if it has no confidence in its mother?

26. "How can a lover gain pleasure if he does not trust his beloved? Similarly, how is the aged parent to be happy who has no confidence in his sons?

27. "Would the husbandman till the land, if he had no confidence? Mutual distrust will put an end to all transactions.

28. "How can humanity exist without universal confidence? If you should say, on the other hand, that it is the law of cause and effect, I will tell you; listen to me.

29. "People believe in the law that such a cause produces such a result. Is that not faith?

30. "So then, a man will not dare to breathe in the absence of *Sraddha* (faith) for fear of pathogenic infection, and consequently perish. Therefore believe before you aspire for supreme beatitude.

31. "If again, Prince, you hesitate to depend on an incompetent person, as you may think me to be, that is because you believe that a certain end must be accomplished.

32. "How else can the desired end be approached? Hearing his beloved's arguments, Hemachūda said to the fair speaker:

33. "If faith should be placed in any one, my dear, it should certainly be placed on those worthy of it, in order that one's ends may be served.

34-35. "He who is bent on the highest good should never trust an incompetent person. Otherwise, he comes to grief like a fish attracted by the tempting bait at the end of a fishing line. Therefore, faith can only be put in the worthy and not in the unworthy.

36. "Fishes and all those men who have ruined themselves in the one way and prospered in the other, can verify my statement.

37. "I can only believe you therefore after full ascertainment of your worth; not otherwise. Why then do you ask me if the desired end can be approached?" (*vide* sloka 32 *ante*.)

38. After hearing him, Hemalekha replied: "Listen, Prince, to what I am going to say now.

39. "I answer your point. How is one to be judged, whether he is good or bad?

40. "Is it by reference to accepted standards? What is the authority behind such standards? Are the authors themselves worthy or unworthy? In this way, there will be no end to argument.

41. "Moreover, the observer's competence must be taken into account. (Thus too there will be no finality reached.) Therefore life moves by faith only.

42-45. "I shall tell you the rationale of reaching the Supreme Goal by means of faith. Be attentive. People will not gain anything, either during their life-time or after death, by endless discussions or blind acceptance. Of the two, however, there is hope for the latter and there is none for the former."

(The following anecdote illustrates the point.)

"Once there lived a saint, by name Kauśika, on the Sahya Hill near the banks of the Godaveri.

46. "He was serene, pure, pious, having knowledge of the Supreme Truth. Several disciples attended on him.

47. "Once when the master had gone out, the disciples started to discuss philosophy, according to their own lights.

48. "There appeared on the scene a brahmin of great intellect and wide learning, Soonga by name, who successfully refuted all their arguments by his skill in logic.

49-50. "He was a man without faith and without conviction, but an able debater. When they said that the truth must be ascertained by reference to some standard, he argued on the basis of an unending series of standards and refuted them.

51-55. "He rounded off his speech with the following: 'Listen, you Brahmins, standards are not applicable for ascertaining merits or demerits and so arriving at the truth. For erroneous standards are no good as tests. To start with, their correctness must be established. Other standards are required to check them. Are they in their turn infallible? Proceeding in this way, no finality can be reached. Therefore no tests are possible. Ascertainment of Truth being impossible without being tested, nothing can therefore be Truth. This enunciation itself cannot be true, nor the enunciator either. What

then is the decision arrived at? That all are nothing, void. This too cannot be supported by reliable facts; hence, the statement that all are void ends in void also."

56. Hearing his discourse, some of them were impressed by the force of Soonga's logic and became scholiasts of the void.

57-60. "They got lost in the maze of their philosophy. The discriminating ones among the hearers placed Soonga's arguments before their master and were enlightened by him. Thus they gained peace and happiness. Therefore, beware of acrid polemics parading as logic. Use it in the manner in which the holy books have done. That way lies salvation". Thus addressed by that eminent heroine, Hemachūda was greatly astonished and said: 'My dear, I did not realise your sublimity earlier.

61. "Blessed are you that you are so wise! Blessed am I that I have fallen into your company. You say that *faith* bestows the highest good. How does it do so?

62-63. "Where is *faith* expedient, and where not? The scriptures differ in their teachings; the teachers differ among themselves; the commentaries similarly differ from one another; to add to this, one's reasoning is no guide. Which of them is to be followed and which rejected?

64. "Each one stamps his own views with the seal of authority and condemns the rest, not only as worthless but also as harmful, my dear!

65. "That being the case, I cannot decide for myself. What you condemned as the school of the void turns round on others and attacks them.

66. "Why should not that school be respected? It has its own adherents and its own system of philosophy. Explain to me, dear, all these things clearly. They must indeed be already clear to you."

Thus ends the Chapter VI on *Sraddha* (Faith) in Hemachūda Section in *Tripura Rahaśya*.

ELEPHANT LORE IN PALLAVA HISTORY

BY DR. C. MINAKSHI, M.A., PH.D.

GAJA ŚĀSTRA or Elephantology dealing on the different aspects of elephants, their capture, taming, training, etc., has been specially patronised by kings in ancient India. Its inclusion among other sciences of study is well justified by the great use to which the elephant has been put not only in the State paraphernalia but also in the military equipment of ancient Indian Royalty.

It is interesting to observe that learned treatises on this subject have been written by eminent scholars of which to enumerate a few :—(1) *Hastyāyurvêda*, a most ancient standard work ascribed to one Pālakāpya; (2) *Matanga-līla* of Nīlakaṇṭha, which treats extensively on the elephant sport; and for which a valuable translation into English from the original Sanskrit by Professor Egerton of the Yale University has recently been published; and (3) *Mriga Pakṣi Śāstra* by a Jain author named Hamsadēva, another informative work extant on this subject which gives a classificatory account of the thirteen kinds of elephants.

Besides the abovementioned works, references and allusions to elephant hunting and elephant breeding are found in Sanskrit *Kāvya*s frequently.

On the basis of epigraphical evidences we find that a few of the Pallava Rulers¹ evinced a very great interest in the study of elephantology. One of these kings Rājasimha is described as *Śrī Ibhavidyādaraḥ* (he who possesses the knowledge of elephants)², *Śrī Ibhavatsarajaḥ* (he who resembles the king of the Vatsa Country in the knowledge of the elephants)³ and *Śrī Vārāṇa Bhagadattaḥ* (he who resembles Bhagadatta in the knowledge of elephants).⁴

¹ The Pallavas ruled over Deccan and South India between the third and the ninth centuries A.D. with their capital at Kāñchi (Conjeevaram) and their Sea Port town at Māmallapuram (Seven Pagodas).

² *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 19, No. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20, No. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21, No. 54.

The term 'Ibha' found in the above names denotes one of the thirteen kinds of elephants about which the *Mriga Pakṣi Śāstra* describes as below :—“These kinds of elephants are black in colour and moderate in size. They are always a little bad in temper and have coarse bodies and their cries are like thunder. They are easily trainable. They run fast with pride. They withstand rain, heavy winds, hot sun and fatigue and work well. They are pioneers of the war in destroying enemies and thus get fame to their masters. They will always run terribly fast at the slightest inspiration. They are good watch guards at the palace gates, tents and other places if they are kept. Their eyes are blood-red when hunting.”⁵

The reference to the king of the Vatsa Country made above is to Udayana, the husband of Vāsavadatta, who is well known in Sanskrit literature as one greatly proficient in elephant craft and the comparison of Rājasimha to Udayana is but appropriate. And the reference again to Bhagadatta made above is to a king of Pragyōtiṣa about whom frequent references occur in the *Mahābhārata* associating him always with elephants and describing him as one who 'fought riding on his elephant *Supraṭika*'.⁶

One of the successors of Rājasimha, Nandivarman Pallava Malla was equally interested in elephant lore. His craze for the possession of excellent elephants is well attested by the fact that after his victories over his contemporary kings of the Ganga Dynasty, he is reported to have carried away as war trophy a beautiful elephant named Paṭṭavardhana.⁷

Ganga history is full of references to the love of their monarchs for elephants. Śrī Puruṣa Muttarasa, contemporary of Nandivarman Pallava Malla, was the author of an important work on elephants entitled *Gaja Śāstra*. Śrīmāra, Śrī Puruṣa's son, wrote the *Gajāṣṭaka* which was of such

⁵ *Mriga-Pakṣi Śāstra*, translated by M. Sundaracharya, p. 22.

⁶ *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, by S. Sorenson, p. 113.

⁷ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part V, p. 520.

poetical merit that it is said ' if it was imparted to a deaf mute it would make him speak '. It is not surprising therefore that the Ganga kings possessed some rare elephants, one of them being the Paṭṭavardhana, which was so very avidly captured by the victorious conqueror Nandivarman of the Pallava Dynasty.

As in the case of the Paṭṭavardhana, elephants of outstanding merit were distinguished by attractive and significant names. To cite an example, the war elephant of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I was known as Arivāraṇa—warding off enemies.

Rājasimha, whose love for elephants has already been observed, has also earned for himself the title of *Gandhahastī* (the scent elephant)⁸. An inquiry into this name reveals the existence of elephants which smelt and which had belonged to the classification called *Bhadragaja*. And this class of elephants had always received special favour in the hands of the kings of ancient India not only for their intelligence and easy docility but also for their fame as bringers of prosperity to its owner.

It is well known that the bass-reliefs and sculptures of the Pallavas display a great deal of originality and skill. In the execution of animal sculptures, the Pallava sculptures are unrivalled. The bass-reliefs of elephant families portrayed on the rock at Māmallapuram are the most realistic and exquisite specimens. One of them represents a standing elephant with another behind it with its trunk bent and held aloft while a calf is seen kneeling with its tender trunk resting on the ground immediately below the standing elephant.

There is another interesting example of a monolithic elephant, standing next to a shrine popularly known as the *Sahādēva Ratha* at Māmallapuram. And this elephant is life-like in appearance and very imposing and grand.

Yet another group of elephants found on the relief depicting the descent of the *Ganga* in the same place is extremely realistic and amply illustrates the superb skill and knowledge of the Pallava sculptors in the field of elephantology.

⁸ *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 21, No. 48.



One of the Elephant Families at Māmallapuram

DIVINITY OF WOMAN IN HINDU THOUGHT

BY SRI. M. R. LAKSHAMMA, B.A.

IN India, as everywhere else, man made the law ; but in no other country, has the Poet or the Philosopher, or the Householder bowed down before the sacred Wifehood and noble Motherhood in such utter reverence ; in no other country has woman set us such an exalted ideal of selfless love, and unremitting toil, and has so well-nigh attained that ideal.

Since to her, life meant a response to divine ordinance, a response at once receptive and submissive, since her religious rights proved the degree of her social importance, we will first examine the place of woman glorified into goddesses in the Hindu Pantheon, and then her place in the Hindu Culture, from R̥g Vedic times down to the modern period.

The religion of the Āryans in the early phases of their settlement was one adopted to the needs of a military aristocracy. It was characterised by the worship of great Father gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra and Agni.

However, the glorious natural phenomenon of the East impressed these war-like tribes with growing wonder and reverence. Hence all that is beauteous in Nature, the gay dawn, the star-lit night, the majestic rivers, the bounteous Earth, came to be deified into female divinities ; all that is lofty and noble in conception, like Faith, Freedom, Sacred word, Devotion were symbolised by feminine personifications.

Thus, while the male gods, whose one common attribute is power, are vividly portrayed, fervently invoked and greatly feared by the ancient Āryans, the female divinities, characterised by beauty and graciousness, “glimmer afar”.

A few of them are invoked though infrequently :—Ushā is looked upon as a bestower of wealth and boons, Rātri, the

benevolent Night, protects them from wolves and thieves, Aranyāni, the forest maiden, is so gentle that she will hurt naught living. Aditi cleanses men of all sins. The poet even sees in Ushā and Aditi the "mother of all gods". Once or twice indeed, power, solely an attribute of the gods, is conferred on goddesses also. Aditi is said to be "the supporter of the Universe," an epithet generally enjoyed only by Varuṇa and Mitra. "Vāc bends the bow of Rudra against the unbeliever: she has penetrated Heaven and Earth—her home is in the waters." But these are supposed to be later thoughts, for the Āryans were, as has been said, patriarchal in religion.

It was the same state in the life of women, they were not degraded slaves, yet they were subject to the wishes of the men-folk. In the absence of slave-women, they had to turn out plenty of house work, milking cows, churning the butter-milk, looking after the needs for sacrifices and so on. The early Vedic woman was busy in her home. But she was not unhappy, because her marriage was rendered indissoluble and the later dire doom of widows was unknown to her and she herself was to be regarded by her husband as a heavenly gift. The ideal set before her was¹ "to be gentle of mind, bright of countenance, bearing heroes, honouring gods, and dispensing joy":— just the type that Mussolini would like the Italian women to be, and that Hitler is urging the German women to emulate. The wives took active part in sacrificial rites. They collected the sacred grass and soma plants; surrounded by their attendants they decorated the sanctuary with flowers.² "Then the rays of Agni, casting their brilliancy upon her, and covering her with an aureole, she thence received the title of devi (*div* = to shine)."

As the Āryans moved eastward, as their culture began to mingle all unconsciously as it were, with that of the Dravidians, a two-fold change was effected resulting in

- (1) the rise of goddesses with increased power, wisdom and personality and

¹ Ragozin, *Vedic India*, p. 372.

² Bader, *Women in Ancient India*, p. 9.

- (2) the widening of women's outlook and the manifestation of their capabilities.

We will examine this change in detail.

Saraswati, originally connected with the river of the same name, was now identified with Bhārati, who was worshipped by the Bharata tribe. She also became the wife of Brahma and was herself regarded as a goddess of poetry and learning, a kind of Minerva of the Hindu Pantheon.

Gāyatri was another wife of wise Brahma. She was the presiding deity of the sacred hymns.

Sitā, the Ṛg Vedic goddess of Furrow, becomes in *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* the wife of Soma, and recovered the three Vedas from him.

Vāc was identified with *Brahma-vidyā*, the sacred word, which in conjunction with sacred meaning produced all creation.

Umā, originally a goddess of Mountain, now meant an impersonation of divine wisdom. According to *Kena Upanishad*, it was she who taught Indra, Agni and Vāyu the knowledge of the "Brahman".

Saranyu, who may have developed from Uṣas, now fashioned the trident of Śiva and the discus of Viṣṇu.

Gangā, the divinity of the holy river, is the cleanser of sins and the giver of immortality, and descended to Earth for the same purpose from the toe of Viṣṇu.³

Prithvi of the Ṛg Veda is not a Great Mother in the Egyptian sense. But Durgā of the early epic period is. Kālī, another form of Durgā, in the words of Mackenzie⁴ is "as vengeful and blood-thirsty as the Scottish Callich, and the Egyptian Hathor. Kālī later replaced the Vedic king of the gods as a successful demon-slayer. As the Egyptian Ra went forth to restrain Hathor, so did Śiva hasten to the battlefield flooded by gore to prevail upon his spouse Kālī, to spare the remnant of her enemies." Kālī is invoked by the Pāṇḍavas several times.

³ Mackenzie, *Indian Myth and Legend*, p. 130.

⁴ Mackenzie, *ibid.*, p. xli.

Lakṣmī, the original Śrī, also gained prominence, though she is not so fierce as Kālī. She is depicted as the Lady ruling over the world, all-pervading and omniscient like Viṣṇu. She has four arms, a fair shape and is seated on a lotus.

Probably this Mother-Goddess worship and the rise of the goddesses into prominence was due to the influence exercised by the Dravidians. Sir John Marshall found a number of figurines in the Indus Valley which are representatives of Mother Goddess. These might have been the origin of the awesome Durgā cult of Śakti worship.

We will now pass on to the second change mentioned :

We hear of women taking active interest in sacred learning. Gārgi Vācaspati held philosophical discussions with Yāgñavalkya ; Sulabhā was another Paṇḍitā. [Draupadi was conferred the epithet "Brahma Vādinī". While Kātyāyanī is the old type of wife, "Kātyāyanī had only such knowledge as women have," Maitrēyī is of a rare new type, one who would fain make inquiries about the nature of God and Ātman until silenced by her Guru, as Maitrēyī was, by being threatened that her head will fall off if she tried to know too much.]

There were also unmarried *tāpasis* practising austerities in secluded places. Śabarī of Rāmāyaṇa is an instance, and also Svayamprabhā, who clad in bark, lived in a cave practising strict austerities. Mention is made later by Megasthenes,⁵ how "in the case of Sramanas, women also are permitted to share in the philosophic life, on the condition of observing sexual continence like men".

Women of Kṣatriya clan now become intelligent and brave companions of their men-folk. The story is told of how Kaikeyi accompanied Daśaratha in his warfare, and how her skill saved him from death. Satyawati guided the state affairs in times of distress, Kuntī's advice was law to her sons, including the one whom she deserted, Karna. Princesses were allowed considerable amount of choice in choosing their

⁵ Hopkins, *Religions of India*.

husbands. Draupadi boldly asserted in the open assemblage that she would not marry a son of a charioteer, Sāvitrī had made up her mind to wed Satyavān at all hazards, while Damayanti had determined to have Nala as her husband and none but Nala.

The wives of Ṛṣis generally led an exemplary life. Their dresses were simple, their minds calm, their thoughts pious and exalted. These holy women kindly tended their guests, and were motherly towards the youths who studied in their *āśram*. Such were Anasūyā, Lōpā-mudrā and Arundhatī. The last-mentioned is believed to have become the Krittika star in the end, and the newly married bride is shown the star and asked to cherish chastity like the immortal Arundhatī.

Yes, there were indeed "Devis". When men addressed them by this term, it was not a mockery. At that time woman was not considered as goods for sale. She was titled as "house mistress". After marriage we have to admire "the moral and honourable constitution of the relation of the sexes, which enjoined monogamy on the husband (generally), and visited with heavy penalties the infidelity of the wife, and which recognised the equality of the two sexes, and the sanctity of marriage, in the high position which it assigned to the mother within the domestic circle."

The high cultural attainment of women facilitated by the fact that, a large number of slave-women, *dāsīs* (probably Dravidian women captured in war), toiled at the household tasks, giving ample time for the noble women to pick up accomplishments and to become well-versed in sacred learning. The wives of the Ṛṣis were considerably helped by the students who flocked to their *āśram*. Freedom from drudgery, for any live nation, means golden age of its culture ; similarly freedom from drudgery, coupled with the association with learned minds, enabled princesses like Sītā, Draupadi and Damayanti, Brahmin women like Arundhati and Anasūyā, talk about the principles of *Dharma*, *Nyāya* and *Nīti* with the utmost ease and ample understanding.

And they were not afraid, when times of crisis impended, to give out their opinions. Draupadi,⁶ as Vyāsa delineated her, "is strong in body and in mind—she shows the energy and strength of her character when she is gambled away, of course in her absence, and is afterwards brought to the gaming hall as a slave. Without losing courage at her desperate condition she tries to ascertain her legal position in a manner which shows that she knows law and *śāstra* well enough. She is often called Brahmavādinī and Paṇḍitā by the poet and seems to have been a well-educated lady. She discusses the political situations with her husbands in their exile and is often consulted by them and gives fearless advice at all councils of the family. During her trials at Virātā's house she behaves courageously and emerges out of the trial unscathed and triumphant by the energy of her will and the strength of her virtue." Even gentle Sitā helps Rāma to decide in cases of "to be or not to be".

No wonder then, Manu should have exclaimed like this—

"Yatra nāryas tu pūjyante ramante tatra dēvatāh
Yatraitās tu na pūjyante sarvās tatraphalāh kriyāh.
Striyah śriyaś cha geheshu na viśeshosti kāschanā"

—*Manusmṛti*, IX, 26.

and also

"Mātru-dēvō-bhava"

—*Taittiriya Upanishad*.

In fact, the remark of Tacitus about the Teutonic conception of women is well applicable here. "They hold that there is in her something Divine."

These famous women were actually divinised as the myths and legends will show :

- (i) they were given, generally, divine origin ;
- (ii) they were recipients of divine favours and could work miracles ;
- (iii) like those of the goddesses, their failings and weaknesses cannot be questioned.

⁶ Vaidya's *Epic India*, p. 99.

Divine Origin.—Sitā was an incarnation of Lakṣmi. Sāvitrī was the gift of Gāyatrī, Tapatī, the daughter of Sūrya. In Draupadi there was an *amśa* of Durgā. Śākuntalā was the offspring of an *apsaras*.

Divine Favours.—Sāvitrī, by her piety, walked behind Yama into the Nether regions, and brought her husband alive. Sitā came out unscathed through the fire ordeal, when Draupadi cried for help she received immediate succour from Kṛṣṇa. She was also given a magic food vessel by Sūrya which liberated her from the task of cooking. Kunti could summon at her will Sūrya, Indra and Vāyu to advise her, so could Satyawatī get Vyāsa to appear before her, King Pausyā's wife was so holy that she was visible only to those that were clean in body and in mind.

The power of inflicting curses was another of their divine powers. Lōpā-mudrā cursed Indra for offending her. King Kalmāshapāda it is said once killed a Brahman, and ate him, the Brahman's wife was grief stricken, and every drop of tear that fell from her eye blazed forth into bright fire and burnt the surrounding forest. She then cursed the king and immolated herself in the fire. Kadru cursed her own sons, the Nāgās, because they proved unhelpful and disobedient. Dēvayāni cursed Kacha for having refused to marry her.—

—*Mahābhārata*, *Ādi Parva*.

All these goddesses who had been raised on to a high pedestal and allowed a separate cult of their own, all the semi-divine heroines, and wise women, all of them receded into the background at the development of Buddhism.⁷ Jainism preached "the world is greatly troubled by women. People say that women are vessels of pleasures. But this leads them to pain, to delusion, to *Death* and to *Hell*." Buddha looked upon woman as the temptress when⁸ Ānanda asks how a monk should act in the presence of a woman. Buddha says 'avoid to look at her,' but if it be necessary to look 'do not speak to

⁷ Hopkins, *Religions of India*.

⁸ *Ibid*.

her', but if it be necessary to speak 'then keep wide awake, Ānanda.' His views were modified later on, and the order of nuns was allowed.

The time has come when woman is more like a slave, never aspiring to a more exalted position, content with her lot however soullessly degrading it might be. This change is illustrated in the *Mahābhārata* itself.

Draupadi is made to express what an Ideal woman should be like in *Vana-Parva*. This passage is an interpolation by Sauti.

"Leaving aside pride and anger", says she to Satyabhāmā, "I always serve my husbands with their other wives. I am always afraid of speaking a bad word, standing in a bad manner, sitting in a bad position, and going to a bad place and I avoid guessing the intentions of my husbands....I do not take food before my husband or sleep before he goes to bed...I do not take what my husband does not drink or eat or like—I serve my husbands as though they are infuriated serpents. I do not try to excel them or eat or do better than they—In fact, I work day and night in the discharge of these burdensome duties of the family regardless of my own happiness."⁹

The changed picture fits in with the *slokas* of Manu :

"*Asvatantrāḥ striyaḥ kāryāḥ puruṣaiḥ svair divā niśam.*"

—*Manusmṛti*, IX, 2.

The woman was placed by Manu by religious analogy on the level of Śūdras at the lowest step of the social scale.¹⁰ "He did not recognise woman's right to lift up her soul to God and to purify herself by penance—Instead of sanctifying her by the worship of immutable Perfection, he debased her by the exclusive adoration of a creature similar to herself and subject likewise to the weakness of humanity."

A wife's god is her husband¹¹ "The wife's religious service is not concerned with feasts to Manus, with sacrifice to the

⁹ Vaidya, *Epic India*, p. 100.

¹⁰ Bader, *Women in Ancient India*, p. 17.

¹¹ Hopkins, *Religions of India*.

gods nor with studying the Veda. In all these she has no part. Her religion is to serve her husband and to die if worthy of the honour, on his funeral pyre."

The woman attained divinity, if at all, through *Pāṭivratya* (devotion to husband) and through emulating the example of Sati, who immolated herself in fire rather than hear her husband slandered. Even the legends reflect the new ideal set before women. Draupadi obtained the magic vessel because her prayers pleased the Sun God, but Anasūyā was able to work miracles and actually stop the Sun from rising because of her *Pāṭivratya*.

A Brahmanic revival followed Buddhism. But the Hindus did not find again the golden mean of their ancestors with regard to women.

This period, which is termed the Classical Sanskrit period witnessed both greatness and abasement of womanhood. She was honoured because she regarded her husband as a god and never swerved from her duties. Such a woman becomes the support of the world, nay the world is preserved by these women, according to a passage from *Harivamśa*.

But she was also¹² "tyrannized over, for from her misalliance or corruption would come the crumbling away of the Brahmanic constitution.—Men saw the genius of evil in her and cast her at the feet of a master."

Legends and myths do reflect the same fears. The goddesses sometimes are pictured as somewhat too tyrannising, Saraswati curses her own husband, Brahma, so that he could only be worshipped once a year. A trinity of goddesses was formed as a rival to the trinity of gods. Kālī now rivals Śiva in power and ferocity. When Śiva advises her to desist, she heeds not, when he lies down among her victims, Kālī dances over the battlefield and leaps on her husband's body. Diti, Kaśyapa's wife, plots against noble Indra.

Kālidāsa might have dedicated his treatise on prosody, to a woman. Armed Yavānis might have formed a Royal

¹² Bader, *Women in Ancient India*, p. 332.

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Guard. But though the poets have bestowed elegant praises on them, the heroines of Harṣa, Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, remarkable for their purity and abregation of all self, lack that proud grandeur which is so deeply impressed upon the primitive heroines. Śākuntalā of the *Mahābhārata* is a woman of some spirit. She argues with Dushyanta about her legal position, when he turns a deaf ear to her, she is moved deeply and in proud defiance tells him¹³ "Learn besides, Dushyanta, even without thy assistance, will my son reign one day over the world which extends its frontiers to the four seas." What a pale, shadow of the primitive Śākuntalā the heroine of Kālidāsa is! Just a rough word, and like the delicate jasmine she will wilt away.

Then came the Muslim inroads, and their consequent settlement. The Brahmanical or Hindu edifice sustained a great shock, it would have tottered if the woman, the mainstay of the family, had been less pure, or less under control. "The women of Chittor—without one to shrink or to draw back, preserved for all time the memory of Rajput honour and the exaltation of Rajput womanhood." The Rajputs, devout worshippers of Kālī, believed that the Devī manifested in his own mother, in his wife and in all women. The Rajput women thus exercised a healthy influence on society in spite of the seclusion in which they were kept. They even fought in battles.

In the South, there grew up in the fourteenth century a Hindu Empire. The position of women in the Vijayanagar Empire was quite satisfactory, we hear of learned queens (like Gangā Devī), women scribes, women wrestlers and so on. *Purdah* was not observed.

Towards the latter half of the sixteenth century there grew up another Hindu Empire under Śivāji—women, cows and Brahmins were greatly revered in this regime. Bhavānī was their guardian angel and the Mahrattas even to-day revere

¹³ *Mahābhārata, Ādi-Parva.*

the memory of brave queens like Ahalya Bai Holkar and Jhansi Lakṣmi Bai as the *amśa* of this guardian angel.

Malabar has always been in the rule of a matriarchal society.

These were but cases, few and sparsely interspersed in time and space. The rest of India came face to face with the curbing hand of Islam, the higher castes had to rigidly, even fanatically, guard their culture, against a terrible destructive agent. If woman trods away from the path of virtue, she would work havoc in the family for her influence was hidden and unceasing. The few who did enter the harem of the Muslims were looked down with the greatest contempt by the Hindus. The birth of girls was to them displeasing, the girls of the higher classes were kept secluded, a Muslim poet's advice to his daughter—to sit with her back to the door lest any man should by chance see her—was carried to the letter by women of the Hindu nobility.

Religion by no means helped to elevate the status of women. The Śakti cult, and the Rādhā cult of Vaiṣṇavism, led to certain forms of worship known as "Left-hand", worships which gave rise to some altogether disgusting corruptions confined to a small body of persons.

The other notable cults of the period, Śankarācārya's Śaivism, Rāmānujācārya's Vaiṣṇavism, Chaitanya's Kṛṣṇaism, Kabir's Rāmaism, etc., all preached monotheism, though the consorts of the respective gods were to be invoked and worshipped by the way. Mira Bai and Sakku Bai were women of that rare type which tried to realize God through devotion and not through the medium of the husbands. But their example was rarely emulated.

So we come to the British period; early marriage was common, the custom of dowry came into prominence. The cruel immolation of the widows ceased, but the lot of the widows was still pitiable. To the eyes of the Westerners, the plight of the women seemed to be one of utter degradation, without a single redeeming feature.

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It must be said however, to the credit of the Hindus, that

the self-abnegation of women had its own recompensations—times were such that women had to be jealously guarded in their homes, but they were not unnecessarily ill-treated. The name of mother is placed before that of father, nay the mother is to be more revered than a thousand fathers. “The unflinching veneration that son gives to his widowed mother is no small recompense for her sacrifice to a sacred duty. Widowhood is recognised by all as a state divinely imposed—of austerity and atonement.”

When born, woman's birth may be cursed, but she is generally brought up with due care and love. She is deprived of religious rights, but she has imposed some on herself, she has to be obedient to her husband, but she also counsels him; she has to be, when old, subject to the rule of her son, but she also governs him by her “ardent piety, spiritual and ascetic tenderness, complete abnegation of herself, unlimited devotion to her family and a boundless need of love.”¹⁴ Her life is one round of service but “the humility of it is elevated by the ever-present sense of Divine ordinance.” If a sculptor were to carve the goddess of Duty in marble, the women will be like so many plaster-cast models of that divinity.

It remains to be seen how the impact of Western civilization will act upon this Ideal.

Before we conclude, we must examine the women of the lower classes, the Śūdra women, who form the bulk of the population, which has a strong strain of Dravidian and other aboriginal descent in its formation. They all believe in the Mother Goddesses as manifested in their local representatives, the Grāmadēvatā. As Marshall writes about it, “In no country in the world has the worship of the Divine Mother been from time immemorial so deep-rooted and ubiquitous as in India. Her shrines are found in every town and hamlet throughout the length and breadth of the land—every village has its own particular goddess, to whom rich and poor alike look for protection, and whose worship often takes the place

of every other creed—she is much to be dreaded as the *Magna Mater*, but it is she who wards off evil spirits, who is the author of fertility, dispenser of life and giver of all things.”

These agricultural and labour class women—Mahar women, Koli fish wives, Bhil women, Gond women, Śūdra women of Deccan, labour without respite in the hard fields at their husbands' sides and bear children, and do the house work besides. “Their hardships are recognized and their pleasures shared. They stand side by side with their men-folk, comrades by their service. They hold themselves upright, not without the pride of service, and to the eye that comprehends, they have even a rough attraction like a picture of Millet, in their sturdy strength, earthy and fruitful.” They were aptly referred to by their men-folk as “The Light of their Huts”. It is a pity that Hindu thought has dwelt but little on the ways and means of improving these women.

¹⁴ Bader, *Women in Ancient India*, p. 333.

DRAVIDIC SANDHI

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

(Continued from Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, p. 110)

The Evolution of these Augments

THE structural forms of the augments given in the first column of the Table (see above) are those which have been demarcated as augments by Tam. grammatical tradition. It should be noted that these forms need not necessarily represent in *all* types the primary or original structure, with reference to the cognate augments of other speeches.

The demarcation of morphological units like these is based in each language on the circumstances prevailing therein and on the outlook of the grammatical tradition in each.—I have already pointed out above how in Tamil the so-called augments *-akk-* and *-ikk-* are grammatical abstractions, *-on-* (in stems like *kô-on-*) owes its *o* to the influence of the *-ô* of the nominal base, and *-vat't'r-* of Tolkâppiyam embodies *-v* on account of “false splitting”.

The Tam. augments *-in-*, *-an-*, *-am-* and *-ân-* have been isolated as such because they appear “annexed” as independent elements to bases. Tam. *-at't'(r)-* (in instances like *avai-y-at't'r'-*) and *-att-* (in instances like *reyil-att-*) look like being “independent” elements “annexed” to bases; but the question whether *-a* (of *-at't'-* and *-att-*) originally belongs to them is clouded in doubt.

Kannaḍa has demarcated on the the same principle the augments *-in-* [Śmd, 108, 109; Śs, 262 to 264], *-ar-* [Śmd, 110; Śs, 266, 267] and *-an-* [Śmd, 110; Śs, 265]. Kannaḍa recognises only the augment *-d-* corresponding to Tam. *-att-* [Śs, 261]. The Telugu cognates of the augments that I have considered in this essay are *-n-* (which I have related to Tam. *-in-* in view of the types in which it occurs in Tel.), *-i-* (of *cêt-*, etc.) and *-t-* (of *vât-*). Among these, only *-n-* in compounds like *pâmu-n-emmaḷu* is recognised as an augment by AC.

Telugu grammatical tradition does not recognize the *aforesaid* *-i-* or *-t-* strictly as “augments”.

In view of the difference in the attitude of the different grammatical traditions it is necessary to see whether by the application of rigid phonetic rules it is possible to indicate the “original” structure of these cognate elements.

(1) Tam. *-in-*, Kann. *-in-*, Tel. *-n-* :—So far as one can say now, *-in-* appears as an “independent” element in Tam., Mal. and Kann. Tel. *-n-* in instances like those adduced in the table above is very probably related to *-in-*; but it is not possible to give *absolute* proof that *-in-* was the original form, or that Tel. *-n-* was “derived from” *-in-*.

(2) Tam. *-an-*, Tel. *-an-* :—The structure of Tel. *dân-* when compared to its cognate stem *ad-an-*, particularly with reference to the accent-shift and sound-displacement of Telugu, makes a reconstruction of an older form in Tel. like *ad-an-* possible. Hence not only is there a relationship, but *-an-* seems to have been common to both the speeches.

My postulate that *-an-* may be related to Kann. *-ar-* is based on the factors that I have referred to in my HAP; and in view of the general phonological changes of Dravidian, *-an-* may have to be considered as original and *-ar-* as derivative from it (on account of the *sandhi* junction of *-n-* of *-an-* with other sounds). This suggestion regarding *-an-* and Kann. *-ar-* is therefore purely a tentative one.

(3) Tam. *-at't'r-*, Kann. *-ar-*, Tel. *-t-* (in *vât-*) :—The comparison of cognate forms shows more or less clearly that the sounds *-t't'-* of Tam., *-r-* of Kann. and *-t-* of Tel. in these instances are related. Further, I have suggested (in my HAP) that *-t't'* of Tam. and *-r-* of Kann. may have been two parallel developments of the *sandhi* meeting of a sound *-n* (such as is met with in the Tam. augment *-an*) and a plosive following, and that Tel. *-t-* (in *vât-*, *vît-*) may have been the development of a long voiceless alveolar plosive *t't'* (such as is met with in Tamil). This reconstruction of a pre-historic change leaves many gaps, but it is the only one that may fit in with the materials available.

Whether *-a* of Tam. *-at't'* originally belongs to the augmental element is a matter on which no definitive opinion is possible; if really an augment like *-an-* (as in Tam. *ad-an-*) was originally active in the Tam. non-rational demonstrative plurals also (cf. Tel. *vân-*), and if (as pointed out above) the *-n* of this *-an* meeting a plosive following produced *-t't'* in Tam. and *-r-* in Kann., then one might postulate that *-a* of Tam. *-at't'r-* and of Kann. *-ar-* was part of the augment itself.

(4) Tam. *-att-*, Kann. *-d-*, Tel. *-t-* (as in *cêt-*):—The Tamil grammatical tradition has isolated *-att-* mainly (I think) because *-att* appears as an “independent” element in inflexional stems like *veyil-att-*, *vaḷi-y-att-* where *-att-* is “annexed” to nominal bases.

In the inflexional stems *maratt-*, *n'ilatt-* of “neuter” nouns, the *-att-* is not “annexed” to “independent” nominal stems; and so long as the phonetic change giving rise to *-att-* in these latter-mentioned instances is not satisfactorily explained one could never be sure of the primary or original structure of what now passes for *-att-*, especially since it is quite possible that *-att-* was “wrongly” split up from instances like *maratt-* and analogically used in *veyil-att-*, *vaḷi-y-att-*, *vin-n-att-*, etc.

The procedure of Tolkāppiyam, Eḷuttu, to account for inflexional forms like *maratt-* is the following:—*-att-* is prescribed as the augment for nouns like *maram* in *sūtra* 186; the dropping of *-m* (of *maram*, etc.) is prescribed by 134; and the *-a* of *-att-* is required to be elided by 126. I think that Tol. is not envisaging here any actual process of phonetic change, but merely prescribes *sūtras* for the elision of certain sounds to account for *maratt-*, having once already assumed *-att-* as the augment. Nor is it helpful to say that *-att-* is an *âdêśa* for *-am*; for a statement like this only describes a state of affairs, but fails to explain it.

Caldwell's arguments (*Comp. Gr.*, pp. 258, 262) based on the view that *-att-* and *-am-* of the nouns are variants of the demonstrative neuter *adu* do not appeal to me, for the reason that he (like Kittel and Gundert) misses no opportunity of

requisitioning demonstratives *adu*, *idu* and *udu* for explaining diverse forms.

It may be argued that an affix *-adu* (which *may* or *may not* have been related to the demonstrative *adu*) was active in Old Tam. as a sixth case suffix [TC] and that a connection may reasonably be suggested for this *-adu* with *-att-*, the inflexional increment; but no ancient analogy is available in Tamil *sandhi* for a phonetic change like *maram + adu = maratt-*.

Though no suggestion regarding the origin of this prehistoric change would be absolutely satisfactory, I would suggest that, just as the inflexional forms *ât't'*- (of *âru* ‘river’), *kât't'*- (of *kâḍu* ‘jungle’) may be explained as being due to the meeting of *r* and *ḍ* (of the bases) with a “neuter” affix *-t-* (see my HAP), it may not be wrong to postulate that an element *-t-* meeting *-m* (of bases like *maram*) may have (according to Tam. *sandhi* rules regulating the meeting of *-m* and *-t-* in “casal” contexts) led to the elision of *-m* and the production of long *tt*.

In this view, then, *-att-* may have been “wrongly split-up” from forms like *maratt-* and employed analogically in *veyil-att-*, etc.

(5) The augment *-am-* has an independent existence in a number of word-compounds contemplated in TE, 245, 284 (*arai*), 337 (*egin*), 366, 387 (only optionally), 416, 417, and in 418 (*êraṅgôḷ*, *put't'rambaḷaṅjôṟu*, etc., which two are word-compounds involving bases other than names of trees).

It may be noted that there exists also a mere nasal augment (in word-compounds), which augment appears as a *varga* nasal before *k-*, *c-*, *t-*, *p-*. These word-compounds are envisaged in TE, 218, 263, 279, 283, 284 [*panaṅgây*, *âviraṅgôḍu*] and 364.

The alternance envisaged in TE, 387 [*kumiḷan'dôḷ* beside *kumiḷ-n'-dôḷ*] and in 366 [*pīraṅgôḍu* beside *pīr-n-gôḍu*] suggests a connection between the augment *-am-* and the mere nasal at least in a few instances. Phonetically, the literary *sandhi* rules of Tamil (cf. TE, 130, 144, 315, 324, 326) normally “permit” the production of the respective *varga* nasals

before *k-*, *c-*, *t-*, *p-*, only when *-m* meets these plosives, though there are two instances in Tolkâppiyam, Eḷuttu, which envisage the production of *ṇ* as a result of the meeting of the point-alveolar *-n* [=ṇr] and *k-* following :—*tēṇ-guḍam* [342] beside *tēn-kuḍam* and *tēr-kuḍam*; *cāttāṇgot't'ran* [351]. Normally, therefore, the *sandhi* rules of literary Tamil, referred to in TE, 130, 144, 315, 326 and 324, would explain the *varga* nasal, only as the result of the junction of *-m* and plosives following. What I have stated in *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 24 (in the second column under Tamil), in so far as it concerns the meeting of the point-nasal *-n* and plosives following (other than those referred to in sections 1 and 2 of the same table), only adverts to a *colloquial* change in Tamil.

Corrigenda to Q.J.M.S., Vol. 28, pages 94–110.

Page	Line	For	Read
94	5	<i>padināḷgu</i>	<i>padināḷku</i>
95	Footnote, last line	...sounding...	...sandhi...
96	20	particles	elements
97	6	"	"
98	10	adjectival	qualificatory
"	12	ablative	combinative
99	4	Delete some	
"	5	with final <i>u</i> ...	with final <i>u</i> and after <i>ēḷ</i> ...
"	5	"eight"	"ten".
103	22	-ad-	-d-
104	1	(2) -ad-	(2) -d-
"	12	-ad-	-d-
"	19	...final - <i>du</i> or - <i>ttu</i> of demonstrative origin ;	...final non-rational - <i>du</i> , - <i>tu</i> , - <i>ttu</i> ;
"	20	...final - <i>du</i> , - <i>tu</i> or - <i>ttu</i> of demonstrative origin ;	final non-rational - <i>du</i> , - <i>tu</i> or - <i>ttu</i> ;
"	21	...final - <i>du</i> of demonstrative origin ;	final non-rational affix - <i>du</i> ;
"	29	...these demonstratives...	these non-rational affixes.....
105	7	-an-	-aṇ-
"	22	<i>gurramunāku</i>	<i>gurramu-n-a-ku</i>
"	35	...of <i>vāt</i> -,...	...of <i>vāt</i> -,...
106	11	-(a) <i>d</i> ...	-d-
107	27	...and -(a) <i>d</i> -,...	...and - <i>t</i> -,...
110	Fourth column (Kann.) first line	Only as an inflexional augment...	Cf. - <i>d</i> - as an inflexional augment.....

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS*

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ROUMANIA is a principality of South Eastern Europe formed by the Union of the Turkish Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. The people of this principality are mostly of Slavonic origin. They narrate many interesting folk-tales among which is the following ætiological bird-myth :—

Why the Wood-pecker has a Long Beak ?

Once upon a time, there lived a woman with a long nose with which she sniffed everybody's pots and pans. At this, God became angry with her and gave her a bag full of midges, beetles and other insects and told her not to open it on any account whatever. After she had gone a little way, her inquisitiveness got the better of her, and she opened the bag, whereupon the midges and other insects escaped from the bag. She caught some of them and put them inside the bag. But the others she could not recapture. At this, God became angry with her and inquired : "Where are the midges and beetles and other insects which I gave you ?" But the woman could not produce them. At this God cursed her and metamorphosed her into the wood-pecker who has a long beak saying : "From this time forth, you will go about picking up all kinds of insects." Her long nose has become the bird's long beak.†

The scientific name of the wood-pecker is not known to me.

But from an analysis of the foregoing bird-myth we find that—

(a) The Roumanians are keen observers of the peculiarities of birds.

(b) Seeing that the wood-pecker possesses a long beak and being unable to explain the physical causes which have produced this, they have invented this myth to account for its origin.

(c) The myth evidences that women are usually inquisitive and that their inquisitiveness has led to disastrous results.

(d) God's anger is just and very rightly punished the woman for violating His instructions.

(e) The myth teaches us the grand moral lesson that we should not violate God's ordinances.

* No. LII. "On a Roumanian Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the European Woodpecker's Long Beak."

† Vide *Folk-Tales of All Nations*, edited by F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931. Pages 842-843.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS*

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE Sausage Tree, which belongs to the order *Bignoniaceae*, is known to the botanists under the name of *Kigelia pinnata*. It was first introduced into the Bombay Presidency from the seeds of a single fruit which was picked up by a sailor. It is now cultivated all over India.

It is indigenous in Abyssinia and Nubia and grows as far south as Natal. It is an alien tree which has now found a secure footing in India.

It is an umbrageous but coarse-looking tree which attains to a great size. Its drooping branches are destitute of foliage to a great length but, at the extremities thereof, burst into masses of opposite leaves. Its inflorescence is a huge candelabrum of very wrinkled, ochreous and striped bells with a deep maroon-coloured lining against which the characteristic lyre-shaped filaments, each terminating in a large anther, stand out very distinctly. These flower-stalks are often seven feet long and will hang for a long time before putting forth a single bloom; and each flower is so twisted that it turns upwards. These flowers are very malodorous and attract hordes of beetle and other flies.

The fleshy-smelling flowers are succeeded by large-sized gourd-like fruits, which measure from one to two feet long and resemble Bologna sausages. They are filled with pulp containing many round seeds.

In 1926, while I was staying with Professor Satkari Mitra, M.A., of the Carmichael College, Rangpur, I saw a good many of these Sausage Trees (*Kigelia pinnata*) growing by the sides of the avenue which runs through the park-like compound of that College. I then saw that the servants in Professor Mitra's household burnt the gourd-like fruits of this tree as fuel in the hearth within their hut. But the lady-writer Miss Ida

Colthurst says that these gourd-like fruits, after being cut into halves and roasted over the fire, are used as poultices in cases of rheumatism and other ailments.

In Natal, the Sausage Tree (*Kigelia pinnata*) was looked upon as one of the most sacred trees of the South African natives and, before the establishment there of the civilized government of the Europeans, many weird religious ceremonies used to be performed under its distorted branches. It is further stated that, even at the present day, poles made of the wood of this tree, are erected as objects of special veneration before the houses occupied by the native chieftains.†

From a study of the foregoing description of the religious beliefs which the South African natives entertained about the Sausage Tree, we find that—

- (1) The natives of Natal in South Africa were Animists, that is to say, they believed that each natural object was inhabited by an invisible and supernatural being.
- (2) As the natural corollary to this belief, they also believed that the Sausage Tree (*Kigelia pinnata*) was inhabited by an invisible spirit which required to be propitiated by worship and offerings.
- (3) Most likely, the presiding deity or spirit of the *Kigelia pinnata* required the performance of bloody rites which, perhaps, included the offering of human sacrifices. (It is a pity that Miss Ida Colthurst has not given us the details of the weird religious ceremonies that were performed under this tree.)
- (4) The poles made of the wood of the *Kigelia pinnata* are erected before the houses of the native chieftains most likely under the influence of the belief that the presiding spirit of the living tree will also dwell in these poles.
- (5) The spirit dwelling in these poles is, most likely, supposed to exercise a beneficent influence upon the native chiefs and their subjects.

† Vide *Familiar Flowering Trees in India*, by Ida Colthurst. (Calcutta and Simla: Thacker Spink & Co., 1924.) Pages 107-108.

* No. XXX. "The African Worship of the Sausage Tree."

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, 28th January 1938

RAJASEVASAKTA S. HIRIANNAIYA, M.A., B.L.

in the Chair

THE Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held at the Daly Memorial Hall on Friday, the 28th January 1938, with Rajasevasakta S. Hiriannaiya, M.A., B.L., in the Chair.

In welcoming the distinguished Chairman of the evening, the President of the Society, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao referred to his high literary and scholarly attainments which under the cares of office were hidden in a bushel and he congratulated the members of the Mythic Society on being successful in getting their Chairman out of his retired abode. Mr. Hiriannaiya was a genuine Mysorean, belonged to a most respected family in the State, had devoted a whole life to the service of his country and he was confident that they would soon be listening with rapt attention to a most brilliant address. He further hoped that they could hereafter expect their distinguished Chairman to take an active interest in their affairs. He offered a hearty welcome to him and requested him to conduct the proceedings of the day.

* * *

Mr. S. Srikantaya, General Secretary and Treasurer, then presented the following Report for the year 1936-37:—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1936-37

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you this evening a Report of the Society's activities during the year 1936-37.

Our Patron His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore returned from a tour in Europe completely restored to health and has been interesting himself in the welfare of his subjects and in all nation-building activities as before.

Membership.—Membership of the Society continues steady and there are 375 members on the rolls. Members who are in arrears are requested to pay them early. We hope that in the current year every member will introduce to the Society at least one new member and thus help us to carry on the work of the Society in a satisfactory manner.

Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Karnataka Prachya Vidya Vaibhava Mahamahopadyaya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, Retired Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore and a Vice-President of the Mythic Society, left us in great sorrow and passed into eternal sleep. A great scholar of international reputation, his deep learning and his mastery of many languages were well known and recognized on all hands. By his work he made a name for himself in the field of Indology and spread the name of Mysore throughout the world. In his death, Mysore has lost a devout student, a sound scholar and a literary figure of considerable eminence and we deplore his loss.

Dr. Herman Jacobi, a great Indologist, an authority on Jainism and a well-known orientalist; Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, a reputed scholar of Behar and Editor of the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*; Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson, the well-known American Indologist, an ardent student of Comparative Philosophy and Sanskrit, attached to the Colombia University as the Emeritus Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages and Literature and President of the American Oriental Society; Mr. W. Waddington of Coimbatore; Dr. B. G. S. Acharya of Mysore and Lucknow; Mr. K. Krishnamacharya of Tirupati and Mr. D. N. Sirur of Bangalore passed away during the year. May their souls rest in peace!

Meetings.—Of the ten ordinary meetings held during the year at which interesting lectures were delivered, "Census Contribution to Racial Analysis of India: A Valuation"—by Dr. G. S. Ghurye of the Bombay University, "Ajanta and Ellora: Sculpture and Painting"—by Prof. B. M. Srikantia of the Mysore University, and "The Making of Mysore"—by Mr. S. Srikantaya, "System of Education in France",

"Folklore, Music and Dance" and "Indian Interests in Europe After the War"—by Prof. K. L. N. Rao of the Paris University, "Buddhism"—by Rajadharmaprasakta A. S. R. Chari, "Can there be Universal Brotherhood"—by Mrs. Shirin Fozdar and "The Life and Teaching of Zoroaster"—by Diwan Bahadur T. Bhujanga Rao may be mentioned.

Finance.—The total receipts for the year including an opening balance of Rs. 147-14-10 was Rs. 3,800-13-10 as against Rs. 2,946-3-4 in the previous year. A part of the receipts is accounted for by realisations of subscriptions from V.P.Ps. during the year, but really belonging to the previous year, and a Life-Membership donation. The total expenditure was Rs. 3,268-3-10 as against Rs. 2,798-4-6, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 532-10-0, and includes expenditure incurred for repairs and purchase of furniture. Our reserve fund stands at the face value of Rs. 11,850-0-0 and the bills outstanding at the end of June 1937 amounted to Rs. 1,112-11-0 which were recently discharged by an overdraft on the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. The overdraft stands at Rs. 557-10-8 to 31st December 1937 while we have paid a sum of over Rs. 2,000 for printing to the Bangalore Press.

We are grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore for restoring the temporary grant from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per mensem on a temporary basis for a period of an year and a half from January 1937. We hope this will be made permanent and augmented so as to enable us to carry on our work in a satisfactory manner. We also appeal for public philanthropy in support of our activities which are greatly appreciated in all parts of the world where the name of Mysore is getting better known. Funds are required to provide book cases to keep the numerous volumes and to erect a suitable structure to house the vastly growing Library. Our thanks are due to Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam of the Bank of Mysore, Ltd., who continues to audit the accounts in an honorary capacity, for the past ten years.

Reading Room.—The total number of visitors to the Free Reading Room attached to the Society is 3,345 as against

3,237 last year. A large number of visitors go away without signing in the Visitors' Book and it is prayed that visitors will be pleased to sign in the Visitors' Book before departing. Daily and weekly papers are being placed on the table while important and learned periodicals which are being bound and preserved are easily available to the visitors also who make good use of them.

Library.—The Library of the Mythic Society possesses many rare and valuable books relating to historical and oriental research. Scholars from outside the State come to the Society for study and make use of the books in the Library. A few books were purchased and some others received by presentation during the year under review. Our work in the acquisition of learned periodicals and reports of Archæological and Epigraphical Departments continues though not in the manner we would wish. We appeal to all those interested in the work of this Institution to present the Library with books and periodicals dealing in all branches of antiquarian study. We are under great obligation to the Government of India; the several Provincial administrations in India and Burma; the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore, Cochin and Gwalior; the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta, Annamalai, Benares and Dacca and various other authors and publishers for sending their publications for accession to the Library and for review in the *Journal*.

Journal.—The *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* continues to maintain the high standard set for it by its promoters. Double numbers had to be published for a short time for causes beyond our control and from 1937-38 we have begun to issue the *QJMS* as before in separate parts, punctually.

Exchanges.—Our exchanges exceed a hundred amongst which are included all the learned periodicals of the world. They are carefully bound and preserved in the Library for reference and study.

Daly Memorial Hall.—The Daly Memorial Hall and the premises continue to be maintained in proper repair and good

condition. The Hall is in constant demand by other institutions both in Bangalore City and Cantonment.

General.—The Committee congratulate Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., on the well-merited distinction of “Commander Associate” conferred on him by the Committee of St. John’s Church of Jerusalem; Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer on becoming a “Sachivottama” of the Order of the Conch of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore; Sir D’Arcy Reilly, Chief Justice of the High Court of Mysore, on the “Knighthood” bestowed on him by His Majesty the King-Emperor; Prof. M. Hiriyantha, M.A., of Mysore on the title of “Samskruta Seva Dhurina” conferred on him by the Madras Sanskrit Academy and Rajamantrapravina N. Madhava Rao, Rajadharmaprasakta K. Shankaranarayana Rao, Rajasevanipuna S. Shamanna, Rajadharmaprasakta A. S. R. Chari, Rajakaryaprasakta N. S. Subba Rao and Lokasevasakta Rao Bahadur B. K. Garudachar on the respective titles conferred on them.

We beg to express our deep gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the Government of India, and the British Resident in Mysore for their continued sympathy and support.

In proposing the adoption of the Report, the President suggested that the thanks of the Society to their Secretary, Mr. Srikantaya, should be recorded for the very able and successful manner in which he was managing its affairs and their appreciation of the work of the Staff should also be noted. Mr. D. Venkataramaiah in seconding the adoption of the Report with these suggestions remarked that greater enthusiasm should be evinced by members in the work of the Society and steps should be taken to popularise their work. He further said that greater facilities should be given to members for borrowing books. The Secretary replying to the above said that though their Library was purely a non-lending library, nevertheless books were actually lent out to scholars engaged in research and that researchers from Bombay and Madras were

going to Bangalore for quiet study and research in the premises of the Society. The Report was then put to vote with this addition and duly adopted.

* * *

Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao was re-elected President for the ensuing year, on the proposal being put from the Chair was carried with acclamation.

In proposing for election the following Office-bearers of the Society, Rajadharmaprasakta Justice Shankaranarayana Rao referred to the services rendered by their present Secretary Mr. Srikantaya and congratulated the Society on being able to secure such an excellent Committee as he had proposed to carry on their work during the year. Mr. D. Venkataramaiah heartily seconded the proposition. Rajacharithavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao in the course of his remarks suggested that the Committee should renew their efforts to have its work recognised for research purposes by the University. The following Office-bearers were duly elected.

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1937-38

President :

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A.

Vice-Presidents :

Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.,
C.St.J.

Rajadharmaprasakta Diwan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer, B.A., B.L.

Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L.

Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur K. R. Srinivas-
iengar, M.A.

Rajasabhabhushana K. Chandy, B.A.

Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.Sc., F.Inst.P.

Sir D’Arcy Reilly.

Arthasastravisharada Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. R.
Shama Sastry, B.A., Ph.D.

Rajamantrapravina S. P. Rajagopalachari, B.A., B.L.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

Editors :

S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

K. Devanathachariar, M.A.

*Branch Secretaries :**Ethnology*—Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Haya-
vadana Rao, B.A., B.L.*Religion*—Rev. Fr. A. Ambuzzi, S.J., M.A. (Cantab.),
F.R.H.S., D.D.*History*—Rev. Fr. C. Browne, M.A.*Folk-lore*—B. Puttaiya, B.A.*Committee :*The above *ex-officio* and Messrs.

A. V. Ramanathan, B.A.

Rajakaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao, M.A. (Cantab.),
Bar-at-Law.

E. G. McAlpine, M.A., J.P.

Prof. A. R. Wadia, B.A., Bar-at-Law.

Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt.

Rajasevanipuna S. Shamanna, B.A.

Prof. B. M. Srikantia, M.A., B.L.

Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, M.D.

J. R. Isaac, B.A., M.B.E.

Rev. Fr. D. Ferrolli, S.J., D.Sc., D.D.

V. T. Tirunaraniengar, M.A.

* * *

The Chairman of the Meeting, Rajasevasakta S. Hiriannaiya,
then delivered the following address :—

“ GENTLEMEN,

A few days ago Rao Bahadur Shama Rao surprised me with a request that I should preside over this meeting of the Mythic Society. I am not a student of history, or of antiquities and my ignorance in matters relating to our ancient culture is, I am sorry to confess, colossal. If nevertheless you see me in the chair this evening it is because Mr. Shama Rao would

not take a “ NO ”. The responsibility therefore is entirely his. My duty is only to render my sincerest thanks to him and the Members of the Committee for the honour they have done me.

Before proceeding further, I crave your permission to associate myself with the Secretary of the Society in his attribute to the work and memory of the late Rao Bahadur Mahamahopadhyaya R. Narasimhachar. His scholarship in Kannada and in the field of antiquarian research was as profound as it is rare and he combined it with an even rarer quality—the modesty of the true scholar. By his contributions to Kannada literature and research Mr. Narasimhachar has laid every Kannada lover under a deep debt of gratitude.

An illustrious predecessor in this chair remarked at one of these annual meetings, in a jocular vein, that the members of the Mythic Society were trying to learn and remember those things which the rest of the world had agreed to forget! More recently, another illustrious son of India—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,—writing, in one of his letters to his favourite daughter, has made these remarks :—

“ The past brings us many gifts ; indeed, all that we have to-day of culture, civilization, science, or knowledge of some aspects of the truth is a gift of the distant or recent past to us. It is right that we acknowledge our obligations to the past. But the past does not exhaust our duty or obligation. We owe a duty to the future also and perhaps that obligation is even greater than the one we owe to the past.”

There can be no truer or more just estimate of the relative values of the past and present.

To be always looking to the past—be it ever so glorious—is, I fear, like a man getting into a reminiscent mood, a sign sometimes of failing powers! Our gaze, whether of the young or of the old, should be fixed on the future and not solely on the past which is dead and gone beyond recall.

But to say this is not to ignore the importance of the past or its value to the present. Every nation should take a pride, a legitimate patriotic pride in the glory and achievements of

its ancestors, in the cultural heritage to which it has succeeded and it should be its endeavour to add to it, enrich it, enable it, and pass it on to its successors. The youth of a country should not be allowed to grow in ignorance of its great inheritance. I wish to emphasise this because it came as a surprise to some of us that the Mysore S.S.L.C. Examination Board proposed a year ago to drop Indian History altogether from the compulsory group of studies for that examination while retaining English History and what they termed World History on biographical lines. That is to say, our boys and girls were to read about Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon and Wellington and possibly Mussolini and Hitler but not about Asoka, Prithviraj, Shivaji, Akbar, Tagore or Gandhi. They were not to be taught anything about the heroism, chivalry and the romantic adventures of the Rajputs, the glories of Ajanta and Halebid, the great masterpieces in Sanskrit literature or about the daring philosophical speculations enshrined in the eternal Vedas and Upanishads. I do not know why the Board made this extraordinary proposal—whether they acted on the principle that a nation would be happy if it had no history or wished to make our youths internationally minded to train them for membership of that august body—the League of Nations!

Happily, this proposal was not approved and Indian History has been restored though somewhat grudgingly into the curriculum. The scholars for whose labours this Society provides a platform and a medium are adding to our knowledge of India's past history and culture and the minds of our young boys and girls should be fed on such literature which nurtures and strengthens feelings of love and attachment to the motherland.

We have realised that civilization, knowledge and culture are an organic growth with the fibres of the past woven inextricably into their texture. Whether history repeats itself or not, certain fundamental problems are apt to confront humanity again and again in different forms and guises and in the solution of such problems past history may sometimes furnish us with valuable guidance. For instance—from the

earliest times Hindu Kings welcomed into their territory immigrants from foreign countries, Parsees from Persia, Christians and Jews from Palestine, Arabs, Europeans, etc. I say nothing about the political wisdom or unwisdom of this step but what I wish to point out is that these rulers gave shelter to the immigrants, treated them with hospitality and kindness, allowed them to observe their own religion and even endowed their places of worships with generous gifts of land and money and this at a time when the idea of toleration was practically unknown in Europe. It required a civil war and a revolution for this idea to receive some recognition even in England, the home of political and religious freedom. Now, has not the example of our ancient rulers a lesson for the world to-day? Nations are getting ready for another world war and in our own country communities are at strife and except by the free adoption of the sublime principle of toleration by each nation and community there can be no end to the ill-will and hate which are disfiguring the world to-day.

Let me illustrate by another example how we may profit from the past. The teachings of Lord Buddha on *Ahimsa* inspired Mahatma Gandhi with faith in non-violence as a solution for the political and social evils of the present day. Whether this new technique will be accepted by all nations and communities in the world and whether its unilateral observance may not lead to disaster are matters on which there will be differences of opinion; but there is no doubt that it has met with some success and has impressed the imagination of some of the most thoughtful minds of the West. If this new idea succeeds even partially, the past culture of India will have made a great contribution for real world pacification.

We may take yet another instance, this time from the domain of literature. Some years ago I happened to read the modern one act plays in English. I believe this kind of drama was first published at the beginning of this century. In some of these plays the authors have exhibited an abundance of incident, intrigue, comedy, characterisation, moral issues and deep tragic emotion which would justify

us in classing them among the most artistic literary productions. They are singularly free from the fantastic imagery and the tiresome speeches of the classical drama. What was my surprise when I subsequently learnt that a forgotten Sanskrit poet—his works have been unearthed only recently—had, centuries ago, anticipated this literary form? The example of this famous poet is already influencing our budding authors in Kannada and I have no doubt that one act plays of real merit will soon enrich our literature.

In this way the past has its own contributions to make to human progress and it is valuable work that the members of this Society are doing in adding to our knowledge of the ancient culture of India. God-speed to their labours!

When we think of this Society it is impossible not to think at the same time of its great founder, the late Father Tabard. Who that had seen him can forget that picturesque and genial personality? As has aptly been said and the saying bears saying again "Father Tabard was the Mythic Society and the Mythic Society was Father Tabard". Meeting in this Hall we are irresistibly reminded of another great man who took a very keen interest in this Society and rendered great help to Father Tabard in promoting its work and whose name this Hall is intended to perpetuate. We in Mysore have other reasons also to remember Col. Sir Hugh Daly with gratitude. He was an ideal political officer and his services to Mysore in connection with the Mysore Treaty, the protracted and highly controversial negotiations between Madras and Mysore over the sharing of the Cauvery Waters, the University Scheme and in many other matters of delicacy and importance will never be forgotten.

And, lastly, I must not omit to mention the name of our honoured President who has worthily succeeded to the Chair of Father Tabard. Mr. Shama Rao was the first to give us a connected outline of the history of Mysore and recently at an age when he might well have rested on his oars, he has published a more detailed and up-to-date history of Modern Mysore. It is a monument of industry and research and every

Mysorean owes him a debt of gratitude. But we would thank him especially for having rescued the memory of an illustrious prince from undeserved censure. The name of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar is to this day cherished with great affection throughout Mysore for his many noble and humane qualities, his generosity, deep religious devotion, munificent patronage of the liberal arts and letters and above all his calm serenity under trying misfortunes. He had an invincible faith in the justness of his cause and by unremittent efforts against heavy odds—sometimes desperate odds—he had the satisfaction of winning back his kingdom, though not for himself, at least for his successors. It is therefore to him that we the people of Mysore owe the privilege, the proud and inestimable privilege of being able to call ourselves to-day the citizens of the Ramarajya of Mysore.

* * *

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1. Subscriptions ..	..	..	..	819	11	0
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Government of Mysore ..	..	..	..	1,750	0	0
Government of India ..	..	..	..	300	0	0
3. Interest and Dividends ..	..	..	..	484	2	0
4. Recovery from Staff ..	..	..	..	288	0	0
5. Sale of Reprints ..	..	..	..	6	2	0
6. Miscellaneous ..	..	..	..	5	0	0
TOTAL ..				3,652	15	0
Opening Balance ..				147	14	10
GRAND TOTAL ..				3,800	13	10

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Bicycle Account ..	..	..	..	77	10	0
Garden ..	..	..	..	221	12	0
Premises (Repairs and Furniture) ..	..	..	..	30	5	0
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Printing ..	..	..	..	255	2	6
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8. Miscellaneous ..	..	..	..	147	13	3
TOTAL ..				3,268	3	10
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GRAND TOTAL ..				3,800	13	10

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T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM,
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NOTES

Bālacarita-nāṭaka—A Note

(PROF. K. R. PISHAROTI, M.A.)

IN the notes to my translation of the *Bālacarita*, published in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vols. XXV, No. 4, and XXVI, Nos. 1-4, I have pointed out how this drama affords ample scope for acting, as the professional actors of Kēraḷa act it. This aspect is made very clear by a further piece of information which I have now received from Mr. Paramēśvara Ṣākyār of Irinjalakuda, the premier actor of the day.

The immemorial stage practice of the Ṣākyārs gives the *Bālacarita* a unique place amongst the dramas acted by them, according to the indigenous method. When a Ṣākyār, after his schooling is over in the theory and practice of acting, makes his *debut*, he is to act the *Nāndi-Ślōka* of this drama; and it is only after he has acted this *Ślōka* does he become qualified for orthodox acting. Similarly, when a theatre is newly constructed, the first drama to be staged therein is the *Bālacarita*. This partiality is carried forward even as regards the premier musical instrument of the Ṣākyār: for, when a *Milavu* is newly constructed—this may be of metal or granite or even of mud or clay—this has to be sounded for the first time in connection with the staging of the *Bālacarita*. Thus from the point of view of the actor, the theatre and the musical instrument, the first of the dramas to be staged is the *Bālacarita*.

This is certainly an interesting fact from the point of view of our stage practice. This stage preference for the *Bālacarita* cannot certainly have arisen from the literary or dramatic merits of the drama itself, as we have already noticed in our notes. The question, then, deserves to be asked: what is this preference due to?

The local stage traditions would have it that the stage practice, as it now obtains among the Ṣākyārs, was devised for them by Kulaśekhara Perumāḷ with the aid of his minister Tolan, who was himself a great dramatist. And our Ṣākyār

says that this preference for the *Bālacarita* has been handed down from that remote antiquity, *i.e.*, from the middle of the eighth century A.D. If this tradition might mean anything, it would only mean that the *Bālacarita* was a stage popular drama even from that time. We have elsewhere stated that *Vaiṣṇavism* was first introduced into Kēraḷa by the predecessor and namesake of this royal dramatist, Kulaśekhara, the author of *Śrī Mukundamāla*, and the first Vaiṣṇavite temple in all Kēraḷa must have been the Śrī Kulaśekhara-puram temple, founded by this Perumāḷ in the suburbs of Cranganore. The popularity of the *Bālacarita* must have been due to the fact that it deals with the life and doings of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*. This would show that the *Bālacarita* was in existence even at the dawn of the eighth century A.D. and was a favourite drama with the Vaiṣṇavites as tending to popularise the *Kṛṣṇa* cult.

It may here be noticed that there are extant no other dramas which glorify *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*. An enthusiast of the *Bhasa theory*—and this we are not—may argue from this and say that the *Kamsavadha*, mentioned by Patañjali, may refer to this drama as a whole or in part; and its authorship might therefore be ascribed to the ancient author Bhasa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa. But we refrain from going to that extent. We would only say that so far as the *Kēraḷa-nāṭaka-cakra* is concerned, the *Bālacarita* is the earliest drama and the first to be staged by the Ṣākyārs, according to the technique devised by Kulaśekhara, the dramatist.

TRIPPUNITHURA, }
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K. R. PISHAROTI.

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