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Nathamuni: His Life and Times

By

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(*Annamalai University*)

I

THE Viśiṣṭādvaita system associated with the name of Bhagavān Rāmānuja advocates, on the philosophical side, a specific type of Absolutism, a kind of organic conception of Reality and inculcates, on the religious side, belief in a single Supreme God, who, from His unbounded mercy, saves those who are His ardent devotees. Though, in its final form, the system owes not a little to Rāmānuja, it is well to remember that both the theoretical and the practical teaching which have been so successfully synthesized in his system claim a venerable ancestry, each being traceable to the Vedas themselves. Of course, priority or posteriority is not a valid determinant of the philosophical soundness and the religious and moral satisfactoriness of a system. Even if it be granted, for the sake of argument, that the doctrine which goes by the name of the Rāmānuja school was initiated by him that would not in any way detract from its value. But, as a matter of fact, the system which was built up with such logical elaboration is of very ancient date. As Vedānta Deśika puts it.—

यतिश्चामृदृष्टं मतमिह नवीनं तदपि किं

ततः प्रागेवान्यद्वद तदपि किं वर्णनिकषे ।

निशाम्यन्तां यद्वो निजमतिरिस्कारविगमा-

निरातङ्गाः टङ्कद्रमिडगुहदेवप्रभृतयः ॥

Vedānta Deśika's *Yatirāja-Saptati*, St. 57.

A careful study of the ancient religious literature of the country will support the conclusion that the central philosophical teaching of the Upaniṣads as understood in early times, long before the *Vedānta-Sūtras* were composed, resembled Rāmānuja's view rather than that of Śaṅkara. There is a general consensus of opinion among scholars that the *Vedānta-Sūtras* themselves favour the interpretation put on them by Rāmānuja. In his interpretation of the *Vedānta-Sūtras*, Rāmānuja was influenced not a little by the views of several teachers of old (*pūrvācāryas*) and more particularly by those of Bodhāyana, Ṭanka, Dramiḍa and Yāmuna.

The religious doctrines associated with Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta trace their ancestry to the ancient Bhāgavata school, whose fundamental text was the *Ekāyana śākha*, a branch of the White Yajur Veda. The Bhāgavata cult, known also as the Sātvata or Pāñcarātra school, flourished in times long anterior to Jainism and Buddhism;¹ and it has exercised considerable influence on the shaping of those heterodox systems also.² An elaborate account of its doctrines is found in the *Nārāyaṇya* section of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Bhāgavad-Gītā* is a classical exposition of the doctrines of the Bhāgavata school.³

Till about the first or the second century B.C., the Bhāgavata religion was widely prevalent in the country, as is evident from the inscriptions found at Ghasundi, Besnagar and Nānāghāt Cave. But when Buddhism became a power in the land, for a time, the Hindu faiths suffered a set back. But the essentially atheistic and ascetic

1. Dr. Bühler says ". . . . the ancient Bhāgavata, Sātvata or Pāñcarātra sect devoted to the worship of Nārāyaṇa and his deified teacher Kṛṣṇa-Devaki-putra, dated from a period long anterior to the rise of the Jains in the 8th C. B.C." *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, p. 248. The worship of Kṛṣṇa seems to have been popular during the first centuries of the development of the Jaina creed." Prof. Jacobi. SBE. Vol. XXII, p. xxxi n.

2. "No one will claim to derive from Buddhism Vaiṣṇavism or the Yoga. Assuredly, Buddhism is the borrower." "To sum up, if there had not previously existed a religion made up of the doctrines of Yoga or Vaiṣṇavite legends of devotion to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, worshipped under the title of Bhagavat, Buddhism would not have come to birth at all." *The Indian Interpreter*, Jan. 1910, pp. 177-8.

3. एवमेष महान्धर्मस्ते पूर्व नृपोत्तम ।
कथितो हरिगीतासु समासविधिकल्पितः ॥

Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva, 346, 10.

See also *Gītā-Rahasya* p. 11: "Considering the similarity between the tradition of the Bhagavad-Gītā doctrine and of the Gītā religion, one is forced to admit that the Gītā is a book which supports the Bhāgavata religion . . ."

creeds of Buddhism and Jainism and their elaborate systems of scholastic philosophy could not appeal to men's minds for long.

In the early centuries of the Christian era there arose, side by side, the Vaiṣṇavite Saints, known as Ālvārs, persons immersed in the rapture of the love of God, and the Śaivite Saints, known as Nāyanmārs, who revealed in exquisite strains their characteristic religious experiences. In these saints we see Indian bhakti at its best. To save mankind from atheism and religious indifference and to throw open the doors of wisdom to all, without any distinction of caste, creed or sex, these stalwarts of the spirit tried the novel but effective experiment of expounding divine mysteries in Tamil, the speech of the common folk, the language which they knew best and which spoke to their hearts.

While these Tamil saints sought to quicken the religious sentiments of the common people and to reclaim them from rank atheism and the morass of asceticism, eminent Mīmāṃsakas like Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and great exponents of Vedānta philosophy like Śaṅkara dealt deadly blows at the philosophical teaching of the Buddhist schools. Unable to withstand this onslaught, Buddhism gradually declined.

Hinduism procured this victory over heretic schools at an enormous cost. For a time the Mīmāṃsakas who had helped to overthrow the enemy enjoyed great prestige; they attached much more importance to the sacrificial rites than to the gods themselves whom they were intended to propitiate. This meant the spread of the evils of ritualism and blind formalism and the drying up of the fresh springs of spiritual life. The ritualistic Mīmāṃsaka relegated the really philosophical portions of the Vedas, namely the Upaniṣads to a position of unimportance. The excessive emphasis which he laid on the Vedic ritual as a means of obtaining supreme blessedness promoted an illiberal spirit which kept out large sections of the people from either reading the Vedas or performing the ritual enjoined therein.

Advaitins like Śaṅkara, who with their vast learning and matchless dialectical skill were largely responsible for defeating the enemy, incorporated into their system many of the doctrines of their opponents. Their victory was, in a sense, pyrrhic, because they absorbed many of the doctrines of their opponents into their own system. By advocating the belief in a god who is but a phenomenal entity, and by describing the jīva as merely an appearance of the truly Real, the Advaitins were perilously near adopting the atheism and scepticism characteristic of Buddhist thought. The doctrine that the world is illusory (*mithyā*) reduces ethics and religion to the level of useful fictions. There was no

room for truly religious experience in the icy cold thought-system of the Advaitins. The view that the final state is beyond good and evil is an invitation to moral indifference. While the Mīmāṃsakas laid undue stress on rituals, the Advaitins went to the opposite extreme and insisted upon the need for the renunciation of all action (*karma-saṁnyāsa*). Speaking of these two extreme positions, Vedānta Deśika compares them humorously to Rāhu and Kabandha Mīmāṃsakas. The ritualistic Mīmāṃsaka rendered the Vedas headless by subordinating the Upaniṣads to the Karma-Kāṇḍa; while the Advaitins cut out the trunk of the Vedas by ignoring the importance of the Karma-Kāṇḍa.

मीमांसायाः कथन्धं कतिचन जगृह् राहुकल्पं शिरोऽन्ये ।

किन्तैरन्तर्विरोधप्रमुषितमतिभिर्बाह्यकल्पैर्भ्रमन्भिः ॥

Vedānta Deśika's *Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali*, st. 10.

The outlook for Hindu thought was not at all pleasant. It was at this juncture that Nāthamuni (9th Century) appeared upon the scene. His was indeed a difficult task. He had to contend against two classes of enemies—those who repudiated the Vedic authority and those who accepted the Vedas but interpreted them in devious ways. On the one hand, he had to fight against the atheism and scepticism of the Buddhists and the relativism of the Jains. On the other hand, he had to combat the doctrine of the absolute identity of the jīva with Brahman along with the view that God is merely a phenomenal entity. The soul caught up in the wild-fire of illusionism must be saved from extinction. The upaniṣadic view of Reality and the intensely religious conception of the world characteristic of the *bhakti* cult had to be synthesised. Further, the Pūrva and the Uttara Mīmāṃsās should, as of old, be brought together to form a single śāstra. While it was necessary to give a death-blow to ritualism in the form of sacrifices which had outgrown its original purpose and begun to deny God, it was equally necessary to insist upon the importance of moral endeavour. If devotion, service to humanity and selflessness should be permanent values in human life, and not wither away like the abstract moralism of the Buddhists, the firm foundation on which they are based must be made known.

In the ancient social system, certain sections had been excluded from the privileges of religious thought and teaching. The axe had to be laid at this religious exclusiveness which denies to women and the lower castes the privilege of knowing God and attaining the highest goal of life. The reconstruction of Vaiṣṇava thought and religion that Nāthamuni effected was as timely as it was sublime. A characteristic feature of this new phase of Vaiṣṇavism is that it drew nourishment from the

outpourings of the Ālvārs, which have been justly called the Tamil Veda. From this time onwards, the sources of authority for this system have been described as being two-fold, *Ubhaya-Vedānta*—the Vedas including the Upaniṣads and the songs of the Ālvārs.

Another important feature of Nāthamuni's system is the popularisation of the *prapatti-mārga*⁴ (the path of absolute self-surrender), which is conceived as demanding no caste status.

By his insistence on the importance of the Tamil hymns of the Ālvārs, his invitation to women and the lower castes to partake of the essence of Hindu religion and philosophy, and his exposition of the doctrine of self-surrender (*prapatti*), Nāthamuni contributed a great deal to the development of the new system as a universal religion.

Nāthamuni holds a very high place in the development of Viśiṣṭādvaitism. The debt it owes to him cannot be adequately estimated. In consideration of his manifold services to this system, Vedānta Deśika often describes Nāthamuni as its founder.

दृष्टेऽपहुत्यभावादनुमिति विषये लाघवस्यानुरोधा-

च्छास्त्रेणैवावसेये विहितविरहिते नास्तिकत्वप्रहाणात् ।

नाथोपज्ञं प्रवृत्तं बहुभिरुपचितं यामुनेयप्रबन्धै-

स्नातं सम्यग्यतीन्द्रैरिदमखिलतमः कर्शनं दर्शनं नः ॥

Vedānta Deśika's *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa*, Adraavyasara, st. 136.

“Our system of philosophy was started (on a new phase of its career) by Nāthamuni; it was considerably developed by the works of Yāmunācārya, and was greatly strengthened (i.e., rendered proof against assaults) by Rāmānuja. It is competent to dispel all kinds of ignorance (*tamas*); for it does not contradict perception. In its inferences, it has the great merit of economy of thought. It is in no way antagonistic to the spirit of the scriptures.”

II

Ranganāthācārya or Nāthamuni, as he is more usually known, was the first of the illustrious line of Vaiṣṇavite reformers who carried for-

4. “.....முன்னதவ நெறி முட்டிய நாதமுனி கழலே
நாளும் தொழு தெழுலோ நமக்கார் நிகர் நானிலத்தே”.

—*Rahasya-traya-sāra*.

ward and completed the work started by the Ālvārs of an earlier epoch. A native of Vīranārāyaṇapuram, the modern Maṇnargudi of the South Arcot district, he spent a great part of his life at Śrīrangam, the stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism in those days. He must have lived from about the middle of the 9th century A.D. to the middle of the tenth. The traditional account which assigns to him an incredibly long life extending over three hundred years is evidently a device to fill up the gap between the age of the Ālvārs and that of the Ācāryas.

The Anbil plates⁵ belonging to the reign of the Cola king, Parāntaka II, record the grant of land which the king made to a minister of his, Aniruddha by name, a native of Anbil. This officer and his ancestors are stated therein to have been famous for their learning, piety, philanthropy and intense devotion to God Ranganātha of Śrīrangam. The author of the Sanskrit verses which form the first part of these plates mentions himself as Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, son of Bhāṭṭa Datta "who was an ocean for the rivers of knowledge, a treasure of the gems of spotless qualities, who was a moon to the ocean of the family of Parāśara, and who was a bee at the lotus, namely the feet of Śrī Nātha."⁶ The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao⁷ has suggested that this Śrī Nātha may be identified with the Vaiṣṇava Ācārya, Nāthamuni. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri⁸ appears to be inclined to accept the suggestion. It must be said, however, that the word Śrīnātha would seem to mean rather the Lord of Lakṣmi than Nāthamuni.

Tradition has it that Nāthamuni once heard some visitors to his native place from the southern part of the presidency recite a hymn of ten verses composed by Saint Śaṭhakopa in praise of the Deity (Ārāvamudan) in the Vaiṣṇavite temple of Kumbakonam. He was captivated by the charm of their language and the grandeur of their thoughts. Finding from the concluding verse of the hymn that these constituted only ten out of a thousand verses composed by Saint Śaṭhakopa, Nātha-

5. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XV, No. 5.

6. विद्यानयम्बुराशिर्विमलतरयुगवातरत्नाकरो यः

पाराशर्यान्व(वा)याम्बुधिशिशिरकरो मष्टदत्ताभिधानः ।

तस्य श्रीनाथपादाबुरुहयुगलिकाष्टपदस्य प्रशस्ति

पुत्रश्रित्रा(र्थे) रम्यां समरचयदिमां माधवो मष्टयज्वा ॥

Ibid., p. 70 (Plate 8).

7. T. A. Gopinatha Rao: *The History of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas*, p. 30.

8. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Colas*, Vol. II, p. 477.

muni went to Kurugūr, the birth-place of the Saint and recovered all the works of Śaṭhakopa as also the compositions of other Ālvārs, set them to music and arranged them into four collections of about a thousand stanzas each. He instituted the practice of reciting these poems as part of the regular service in Viṣṇu temples, a practice which obtains to this day.

About his son, Īśvaramuni, we know little; but his grandson, Yāmunācārya, was a worthy successor of Nāthamuni in the task of systematising Viśiṣṭādvaita thought and rendering it proof against attack.

Two of the disciples⁹ who were whole-heartedly devoted to their master Nāthamuni, were his own nephews. It was to them that he first taught the Tamil hymns of the Ālvārs, having settled their musical modes. With a dialectical skill that was unsurpassed, they were able to vanquish their philosophical opponents and thus assist Nāthamuni in the task of consolidating Vaiṣṇavism.

There is an interesting anecdote connecting the life of Nāthamuni with the celebrated poet Kampan. The story is that Kampan, the future *Kavi-cakravartī* (Prince of Poets) composed his great poem, the Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa* at the residence of his patron Śadaiyappavallal, and published it at Śrīrangam before an assembly of pandits presided over by Nāthamuni. It would appear that the latter highly appreciated the great poetical qualities of that composition. It is also believed that, on this occasion, Nāthamuni composed a poem of over a hundred stanzas in honour of the Vaiṣṇavite Saint, Śaṭhakopa. It is extremely unlikely that this work *Śaṭhakoparandādi*, which bears the stamp of mediocre talent, was composed by Kampan. The story will have value only if there is truth in the tradition embodied in a Tamil verse to the effect that Kampan wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Ś 807, corresponding to A.D. 885. But all available information goes to show that Kampan flourished at a later epoch and that he was a contemporary of Oṭṭakūttan and Sekkilār, the author of *Peria Purāṇam*.

Another story has it that sometime after Nāthamuni recovered the works of the Ālvārs and set them to divine music, a musician sang some

9. காளம் வலம் புரியன்ன நற்காதலடியவர்க்கு
தாளம் வழங்கித் தமிழ் மறையின்னிசை தந்த
வள்ளல் மூளுந் தவநெறி மூட்டிய நாதமுனி கழலே
நானும் தொழு தெழுமோ நமக்கார் நிகர் நானிலத்தே.

Rahasya-traya-sāra.

of these hymns in the prescribed tune in the court of the Cola king of the day at his capital town, Gangaikonda-Colapuram, a city near Nāthamuni's birth-place. The king was not appreciative. But the musician went to Viranarayanapuram and sang in the same tune before the God of that place. Nāthamuni was delighted at the performance. On hearing this the Cola King was eager to know how what he considered an outlandish tune could have evoked so much appreciation from Sage Nātha. He paid a visit to the sage and sought an explanation for his preferring this tune. It is said that Nāthamuni showed to the king how the tune to which the hymns of the Ālvārs had been set was superior and incidentally gave evidence of his own capacity to tell the weights of bronze cymbals by hearing their sounds alone. A great difficulty in the way of accepting this story as genuine is that Gangaikonda-Colapuram was founded only in the time of Rajendra, who bore among other titles that of Gangaikonda-Cola. But we may take it that though the city was not known by that name it was even then an alternative capital of the Colas.

III

Though an eminent Tamil scholar, Nāthamuni has left no Tamil work of his own excepting a few memorial verses prefixed to the works of Śaṭhakopa, Viṣṇucitta and Mathurakavi. But the practice of reciting the works of the Ālvārs furnished an impetus for a critical study of the works of Śaṭhakopa and caused religious truths to percolate into the minds of the masses.

Nāthamuni composed two works *Nyāya-tattva* and *Yoga-Rahasya*, neither of which is now extant. As an adept in Yoga, he must have set forth the secrets of Yogic concentration in the *Yoga-Rahasya*. *Nyāya-tattva* was an authoritative, masterly and exhaustive treatise on Nyāya establishing views entirely in harmony with the Vedānta,¹⁰ but often at variance with those of Akṣapāda (Gautama)¹¹ and his followers. This treasure-house of philosophic wisdom has furnished the basis for the epoch-making writings of his grandson and spiritual suc-

10. उक्तं खलु नाथमुनिमिः वेदान्तानुकूलं न्यायशास्त्रं न्यायतत्त्वाभिधानेन ।
तच्च परिगृहीतं यामुनाचार्यादिभिः ॥

Tattva-muktā-kalāpa, p. 499.

11. भगवन्नाथमुनिमिः न्यायतत्त्वसमाह्वया ।
अवधीर्वाक्षपादादीन्यबन्धि न्यायपद्धतिः ॥

Nyāya-parīśuddhi, p. 8.

cessor, Yāmunācārya. The latter's *Ātmasiddhi* has been described as a concise exposition¹² of the views expounded at great length in the *Nyāya-tattva*.

A few extracts from this work found in Vedānta Deśika's *Nyāya-siddhāñjana*, *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa* and *Nyāya-parīśuddhi*, and in Bhagavān Rāmānuja's *Śrī-Bhāṣya* are all that we now have of this philosophic masterpiece. Even the few fragments that are now available bear eloquent testimony to Nāthamuni's philosophic acumen, dialectical skill and the encyclopaedic range of his learning. They also indicate that Nāthamuni advocated doctrines that are associated with the Rāmānuja school of Vedānta. He exposed, for example, the difficulties of the doctrine of māyā, which is the most vulnerable point in Advaita philosophy, in the following verses :—

ज्ञानरूपं परं ब्रह्म तन्निवर्त्यं मृषात्मकम् ।
अज्ञानं चेत्तिरस्क्रुयार्कः प्रभुस्तन्निवर्तने ॥
ज्ञानं ब्रह्मेति चेज्ज्ञानमज्ञानस्य निवर्तकम् ।
ब्रह्मवत्तत्काशत्वात्तदपि ह्यनिवर्तकम् ॥
ज्ञानं ब्रह्मेति विज्ञानमस्ति चेत्स्यात्प्रमेयता ।
ब्रह्मणोऽननुभूतित्वं त्वदुत्तयैव प्रसज्यते ॥

Nyāyatattva, quoted in *Śrī-Bhāṣya*, I. i. 1.

"If ignorance (*ajñāna*) which is illusory and which is to be dispelled by knowledge (*jñāna*) is said to cloud the Supreme Brahman who has consciousness for His essential nature, is there anyone competent to dispel *ajñāna*? Should it be argued that what dispels ignorance is the knowledge that Brahman is of the nature of consciousness (and that Brahman and *ajñāna* may co-exist), (it is replied) that such a knowledge being non-different from Brahman, cannot, anymore than the latter can, dispel ignorance. If it be contended that there may arise a knowledge that Brahman is of the nature of consciousness, then Brahman would be an object of knowledge; and it would follow, from your own account, that Brahman is mere (subjectless, objectless) consciousness."

That Nāthamuni advocated *Yathārtha-khyāti* in solving epistemological problems is learnt from *Ātmasiddhi*¹³ and from *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa*, *Buddhisara*, verse ten commencing with the words—

नाथैरुक्ता यथार्था विमतमतिरपि न्यायतत्त्वे ।

12. न्यायतत्त्वप्रकरणं ह्यात्मसिद्धिः । *Nyāya-siddhāñjana*, *Buddhipariccheda*, p. 274.

13. Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 34.

One of the doctrines peculiar to Viśiṣṭādvaita is its conception of *jñāna* *Jñāna* is conceived as being both a substance and a quality—a substance, since it is subject to change; a quality, since it is incapable of standing by itself, and since it is an attribute of finite souls and the Supreme Self. Hence it is called *dharma-bhūta-jñāna* (meaning literally 'attributive jñāna') and marked off from substantive *jñāna*. Finite souls and the Supreme Self are *jñāna* in the latter sense. That Nāthamuni subscribed to this view is learnt from the following passage:—

तत्र धर्मभूतज्ञानस्य द्रव्यत्वं न्यायतत्त्वात्मसिद्धिभाष्यादिसिद्धमनुसरतां तन्निष्ठस्मृत्याख्यविकारोत्पादकसंस्कारोऽपि तन्निष्ठः प्राप्तः अन्तरङ्गत्वाद्वाधाच्च ।

Nyāya-pariśuddhi, p. 366.

"On the view of those who, following *Nyāya-tattva*, *Ātma-siddhi*, *Śrī-Bhāṣya* and the like, maintain that *dharma-bhūta-jñāna* is a substance, impressions (*vāsanās*), leading to remembrance (*smṛti*), which is but a modification of *dharma-bhūta-jñāna*, must be said to dwell in *dharma-bhūta-jñāna* itself."

Discountenancing the view that *anubhava* (presentative cognition) has validity (*prāmāṇya*), while representative cognition has no *prāmāṇya*, Nāthamuni says, "Both of us alike maintain that presentative cognition (*anubhava*) and representative cognition (*smṛti*) agree in not being based on invalid sources of knowledge. There is no point in restricting the term *pramāṇa* to that which makes known what is hitherto unknown (and thereby denying validity to memory); for this qualification "what is hitherto unknown" does not serve to ward off any defect that would otherwise afflict the definition. Where is the illustrative example to bear out the contention that valid knowledge cannot arise in respect of what is already familiar? If you cite *smṛti* as an example, (we reply that) it cannot be, since that is the very thesis you have to establish (i.e., "smṛti lacks *prāmāṇya*"). If you adduce as example some other kind of knowledge, (we reply) we know of no such knowledge (i.e., a knowledge other than *smṛti*, not characterised by novelty and devoid of *prāmāṇya*)."

अप्रमाणमूलत्वं तूभयोरपि नास्ति; व्यभिचाराभावेनानधिगतार्थं प्रमाणमिति विशेषणस्यायुक्तत्वात् । प्रमिते प्रमित्यनुपपत्तिः क्व दृष्टा ? स्मृतौ चेत्, प्रतिज्ञैव दृष्टान्तः स्यात् ज्ञानान्तरे चेत्, ननु (न तु ?) जानामि ।

Nyāyatattva, Caturthādhikaraṇa, quoted in *Nyāya-pariśuddhi*, pp. 305-6.

As against the Buddhistic doctrine that pleasure and pain are modes of knowledge and the Vaiśeṣika view that they are the special qualities (*viśeṣagūṇa*) of the soul, Yāmunācārya advocates the view that pleasure and pain are nothing more than the flourishing (*prauṣkalya*) and the decaying (*vaikalya*) states of the internal sense (*manas*). In support of the view that pleasure and pain are respectively the tranquil and the disturbed states of the mind (*manas*) Yāmunācārya refers in his *Ātma-siddhi*¹⁴ to the sixth section known as *sukha-duḥkhādhikaraṇa* in *Pramāṭr-pāda* of *Nyāyatattva*.

यस्तु सुगतमतावलम्बी विज्ञानाभिन्नहेतुजतया तयोरपि तदन्तर्भावमभिमन्यते कण-
भक्षपक्षाश्रयणेन वा तयोरात्मविशेषगुणत्वं, ताभ्यां सुखदुःखाधिकरणं व्याचक्षीत ।

14. Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 90. For a fuller discussion see *Nyāya-siddhāntajana*, Buddhhipariccheda, p. 272.

Syntax—What it Means?*

By

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Syntax is interpreted in different ways. The root meaning of the word seems to be "arranging together" (Syn=together; taxein=to arrange, in Greek, Latin and French).¹ There are several scholars who divide syntax into separate departments viz., order, concord, government and cross-reference. Among such scholars is that famous Professor of Germanic Philology of Chicago, Mr. Bloomfield.² Mr. J. C. Nesfield, on the contrary, has devoted his entire attention in his English Grammar to the order of words in a sentence. He has besides remarked that divisions into concord and government are not useful in modern English, for it has lost several of its old inflexions.³ We ought therefore to be guarded in our use of the expression "syntax" in relation to any language. Professor A. H. Sayce,⁴ for instance, said "where there is elaborate formal grammar there may not be a rich syntax." In a similar manner, Professor Earle also said "syntax varies inversely in richness or poverty as accident is poor or rich." Considered in this way Tamil should not have a rich syntax, for there is elaborate formal grammar in it. It is said that in Sanskrit there is no rich syntax because of this reason.⁵ But writers such as Rhenius and Arden have given an elaborate syntax in their books relating to Tamil grammar. How then are we to reconcile the practice as we find in these grammarians with the theory that has been formulated by Sayce and Earle? There are two ways of reconciling this. They are either by means of saying that just as Greek in spite of its possession of elaborate formal grammar is still rich in syntax, Tamil despite its formal grammar possesses an elaborate syntax or by means of saying that what Sayce and Earle meant by "syntax" is "order" alone of words.

* A paper presented at the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference (Philology Section).

1. SKEATS: An Etymological Dictionary of English.
2. Language, p. 191.
3. Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis, Book IV, p. 150.
4. The Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 428.
5. SAYCE: The Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 392.

Tamil is not rich in syntax in the sense in which Mr. Sayce would say English is; that is to say, in the matter of the order of words in a sentence there are not many sanctions and taboos in Tamil. It is the order of words in English and Chinese that decides the meaning of words. For instance if the sentence "The Italian defeated the Ethiopian" is changed so as to read "The Ethiopian defeated the Italian," the contrary assertion is the result. Even so, if the Chinese sentence "ngō tá ni" is changed into "ni tá ngō," the inversion in order amounts to a reversal in meaning; for whereas the former means "I strike you," the latter means "You strike me."⁶ In Tamil a change in the order in similar connections would not interfere with the meaning of the sentence. For instance, "Āṅkilēyar Indiyāvai Āḷukīrār" and "Indiyāvai Āṅkilēyar Āḷukīrār" carry the same meaning (the Englishmen are ruling India). These Tamil sentences seem to run on parallel lines with the Latin expressions "pater filium amat" and "filium pater amat" which mean 'the father loves the son'.⁷ We might therefore say that if syntax means order alone Tamil is not rich in it.

But if syntax means, as is held by Leonard Bloomfield, concord, government and cross-reference, Tamil has it. Let us now see whether we have all these sub-divisions of syntax in Tamil. Tolkāppiyar in his rules in 'Kīḷavi ākkam' has given certain injunctions regarding the order of words. In one rule (No. 38) he has said that demonstrative pronouns should not precede "iyarpeyar" or real names to which they refer. In another rule (No. 41) he has said that surnames should precede real names (e.g. "muṇivan Ahattiyaṇ"). As some other instances of requirements of order we might mention the following:—

- (1) The adjective should precede the word it qualifies (e.g. "nalla paḷam"—good fruit).
- (2) The adverb should precede the verb it modifies (e.g. nanrāy uṇṭān—he ate well).
- (3) The verbal participle should precede the finite verb (e.g. Vantu pōṇān"—After coming he went).

The normal order of words in a Tamil sentence is supposed to be subject—object—verb—(soy). This is different from the English order⁸ which is subject—verb—object (svo). It is English, Scandinavian and Romanic that place the verb in the medial position. On the contrary, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Dravidian put the verb at the

6. cf. Dr. T. G. TUCKER: Natural History of Language, p. 121.

7. Vide BLOOMFIELD, p. 197.

8. OTTO JESPERSEN: Language, its nature, development, etc., p. 345.

final part of the sentence. We are told that if a deaf-mute is trained to communicate his ideas he puts the verb always at the end.⁹ This method therefore seems to be very natural.

As regards concord, the verb in Tamil must agree with the subject or the nominative in the matter of gender, number and person (e.g. "avaṇ pōkiṛāṇ," "avaḷ pōkiṛāl," "avar pōkiṛār"). This corresponds therefore to the concord we find in English "he goes" and "they go" and in Sanskrit "saha apatat" (=he fell) and "tē apatan" (=they fell). Government seems to be the predominating part of Tamil syntax. The first and second personal pronouns govern a plural verb of the first person (e.g. nāṇum nīyum pōvōm=you and I will go). The second and third personal pronouns govern a plural verb of the second (e.g. nīyum avaṇum pōṇir=He and you went). The first, second and third personal pronouns take a plural ending of the first (e.g. nāṇum nīyum avaṇum pōṇōm=He, You and I went). Two or more singular nominatives of the rational class govern an epicene plural (e.g. Kapilaṇum Paraṇaṇum vantār=Kapila and Paraṇa came). It is in respect of cases that government appears to be the most important feature in Tamil. The first and the eighth cases govern a verb (e.g. avaṇ vantaṇ=he came; makaḷē vā=Daughter, come). The fourth and the sixth cases take a noun (e.g. nōyḱku maruntu=medicine for disease; eṇatu kai=my hand); but the dative case can govern a verb too, as in "avaṇukkuk koḍuttāṇ" (=he gave him). In the fifth case, the ablative of direction takes a noun (e.g. Chidambarattin kiḷakku Aṇṇāmalainagar=Annamalainagar lies east of Chidambaram). The ablative of motion however as in "ūrin nīṅkiṇāṇ" (=left the city) takes a verb. The seventh case can govern either a verb or a noun (e.g. ūriṅkaṇ chēri=hamlet in the city; ūril vālḱiṇṛār=They live in the city).

There is no cross-reference in Tamil. "Puella cantat" in Latin literally means 'the girl—she sings.' In English it would be rendered thus: the girl sings. The Latin expression cantat can mean either 'she sings' or 'he sings' or 'it sings.' That it is 'she' and not 'it' or 'he' is brought out by the cross-reference 'puella.' There is no need in Tamil for such cross references.¹⁰

Thus out of the four sub-divisions of syntax, cross-reference could be easily eliminated in respect of the Tamil language. Order and concord do not appear to be totally essential. Tamil can dispense with 'order' because it is rich in cases. If English cannot dispense with it, it is because of the circumstance that it has lost the case—endings ex-

cept probably that of the genitive. We shall now see that in the following instances there is no order insisted upon in Tamil. We can indifferently say either "mūvar makaḷir" or "makaḷir mūvar"; but the order of the corresponding expression in English is strict: 'three women' and not 'women three'. English writers, being accustomed to a strict order in their language, imagine there is such an order in the languages they look at. That must be the reason why certain things, which do not constitute order, have been mentioned by Rhenius and Arden under the head of order in Tamil. For instance, the comparative is said to precede that which is compared¹¹ and as an instance "ivaṇiṇum avaṇ nalla-vaṇ" is given. This is only imaginary because we could very well say "avaṇ ivaṇiṇum nallavan" (=That man is better than this man). That is to say, that which is compared could precede the comparative. It is again said that the similitude precedes that which is similar.¹² "Sūryaṇaip pōla avaṇ pirakāsikḱiṛāṇ" is given as an instance. If the order is changed so that the sentence would read "avan sūryaṇaip pōla pirakāsikḱiṛāṇ," there should be no change in meaning. Thus, that which is similar can precede the similitude. These then should indicate that there is not much of "order" to talk of in Tamil.

As regards concord, we find that it exists in Tamil only so far as the verb is in agreement with the nominative in point of number and person. Other concords known to other languages are not found in Tamil. For instance, in Sanskrit "Kūśalaha Ramaha" would mean 'happy Rama' and "Kūśali Sītā" 'happy Sita'. Here the adjective is in concord with the substantive. There is no such concord in Tamil, for the corresponding expressions would be makḱiḱciyāṇa Rāmaṇ and "makḱiḱciyāṇa Sītai." That congruence, which plays a great part in many languages of the Indo-European family, has no place in Tamil is evident from the retention of the same form of adjectives all through the several genders, cases and numbers. In German, different congruence—forms are demanded in certain kinds of accompanying words. For instance the German expressions for 'cold wine,' 'cold milk' and 'cold water' are respectively "kalter wein," "kalte milch" and kaltes wasser". Since wein, milch and wasser are respectively masculine, feminine and neuter noun-forms, variations in the adjectival form affixed have taken place. Corresponding to all the three forms of the word for 'cold' there would stand in Tamil only one form, namely, kuḱirnta. Congruence forms because of considerations of number are found in English (e.g. this man; these men). There is no such concord in Tamil, for we say "inta maṇitaṇ" and "inta maṇitarkaḱ." Whereas again in English there is concord bet-

11. The Rev. A. H. ARDEN: A Grammar of the Tamil Language, p. 86.

12. *ibidem*.

9. Vide SAYCE: Vol. I, p. 436.

10. cf. BLOOMFIELD, p. 193.

ween the relative pronoun and that which it governs as in "he who spoke" and "that which cried," there is none in Tamil, for we say "pēciya maṇitaṇ" and "aḷuta kuḷavi." In Sanskrit we find that there is concord through every case between the adjective and the substantive; witness for instance the singular adjective "pāpa" (=evil) changing its form through every case even as the singular substantive "kāma" (=love) changes in the following paradigm :—

Nominative	pāpas	kāmas
Accusative	pāpam	kāmam
Instrumental	pāpena	kāmena
Dative	pāpāya	kāmāya
Ablative	pāpāt	kāmāt
Genitive	pāpasya	kāmasya
Locative	pāpe	kāme
Vocative	pāpa	kāma

In the Tamil, on the contrary, the corresponding adjectival expression would be retained as it is :—

Nomi.	tiya	Viruppam
Accu.	tiya	Viruppattai
Instru.	tiya	Viruppattāl
Dat.	tiya	Viruppattukku
Ab.	tiya	Viruppattin
Gen.	tiya	Viruppataḍu
Loc.	tiya	Viruppattil

Thus it is evident that there is no congruence in Tamil of the adjective with the various sub-classes of the noun.

In conclusion therefore we should say that of the four sub-divisions of syntax, "government" alone plays an important role in Tamil, that the range of "concord" is much less, that it is customary to talk of a certain "order" in Tamil and that "cross-reference" has no place.

The Indo-British Trade Agreement, 1939

By

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In accordance with the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1936 the Government of India gave notice to terminate the Ottawa Agreement and started negotiations for a fresh and favourable one. A body of unofficial advisers was constituted and for nearly three years talks dragged on. The divergence between the point of view of the Indian commercial interests and that of the British could not be easily bridged. But the Ottawa Agreement which should have ceased to exist long ago was allowed to operate until the conclusion and adoption of a new Indo-British trade agreement on the basis of Imperial preference. Indian industrialists and merchants were indignant that the Ottawa Pact was allowed to exist three full years after the explicit disapproval of the Legislature. The failure of several preliminary talks between India and England roused further suspicions. It was feared that political forces would operate to impose on India a new disadvantageous agreement. It was only during the early months of 1939 that an understanding could be finally arrived at. Yet, unfortunately, the new pact was introduced into the Legislative Assembly in a hurry and the public felt that enough time was not given for a detailed examination of the provisions of the Agreement. The new agreement is therefore born in an atmosphere of distrust and discontent. The criticisms levelled against it followed the similar lines of the debate when the Ottawa Pact came in for ratification. Amidst the controversies and criticisms one feature of this new pact is generally admitted i.e., the new Agreement is an improvement, however slight it may be, upon the old one which it displaces.

I. Concessions to India

India's exports of lac, raw jute, myrabolams, mica and Indian hemp—items which enjoyed free entry into the British market till now—are to continue to enjoy the privilege.

Bones, castor seed, coir yarn, cotton yarn, goat skins (raw and dried), gram, groundnut, hides and skins (undressed) linseed, magnisite, oil seed cake and meal, paraffin wax, sandalwood oil, soya beans and

spices etc., are to receive preferences at the rate of 10% *ad valorem* over foreign imports into United Kingdom market.

The pact secures for India a 15% preference for castor oil, linseed oil, cocoanut oil, groundnut oil, rape oil, seasamum oil, undressed leather and jute manufactures.

A 20% preference is granted to our coir mats, cotton manufactures, blankets, shawls, sacks and bags.

Preferences at specific rates are offered on magnesium chloride at 1sh. per cwt., on coffee at 9sh. 4d. per cwt., on tea at 2d. per lb., on rice husked and in the husk at 2sh. 3d. per lb., on hand-made carpets and rugs at 4sh. 6d. per sq. yard and on other kinds of carpets and rugs at 20% *ad valorem*.

Regarding tobacco the preference that existed before is to be continued. But if United Kingdom reduces the import duty on foreign tobacco below 2sh. 0½d. the margin of preference shall be equivalent to the full duty.

British textile imports into India are to receive the benefit of a lowered customs duty on condition that United Kingdom takes not less than 450,000 bales of India's cotton.

The British system of granting drawbacks is to be abolished with regard to groundnut, and modified regarding linseed, so that the real value of the preference enjoyed by Indian groundnut and linseed may be increased.

Before one examines the export side of the Pact the following must be kept in mind:—(1) The bulk of India's exports to United Kingdom is raw materials needed by any industrial country in the world. (2) Many items of export, like lac etc., are India's monopolies and hence free entry and preference may not be of any direct help to them. (3) If a foreign commodity imported into the United Kingdom market is very much different in quality from the Indian commodity and consequently sells as a non-competing one preference on such an item of India's export is not of any value. There are many commodities which India exports to United Kingdom, but which do not feel the direct competition of foreign imports into United Kingdom market. (4) Many of India's exports to United Kingdom suffer from keen competition from the British Empire countries and preference on these can only be useful in averting a possible danger and not in accomplishing some fresh and solid advantage. (5) Further, a large percentage of the British market is already captured by some Indian commodities and preference cannot be of any avail to such items in India's exports.

If one bears these ideas in mind it can be easily seen that only a few items in India's exports to United Kingdom normally require any

special treatment. Especially when United Kingdom and other European countries are engaged in huge armament programmes the need in those countries for Indian raw materials must be really great. It is evident therefore that as war clouds gather thick in Europe the necessity of safeguarding and cultivating external markets for India's raw materials can only be less. This is an important bargaining point in India's favour which was overlooked.

Some important articles examined. From the point of view of the above facts what do we find when we examine the concessions granted to India? The Commerce Member insisted that whatever preferences under the Ottawa Pact are retained, wherever unscheduled items are brought over to the scheduled list India has gained. No doubt some exports, e.g. goat-skins and chrome leather, have to be thankful to the Agreement but the fact remains that the advantage secured is only based on an implied threat by United Kingdom that duties on them may be raised at her will and as she likes. Actually the advantage accruing to India from this kind of concession is very little.

Now, a few important articles may be examined in the light of the present Pact.

Chrome leather has enjoyed the full benefit of exemption from a 30% duty levied upon the imports from foreign countries into United Kingdom markets. The new Pact secures the continuation of this advantage but guarantees only to the extent that the duty on foreign leather will not be reduced lower than 15%. No one can say that fresh gains have been secured here.

Regarding goat skins it can be found that since 1932-33 the British market has been favourably expanding. From 49 lakhs the value of India exports has risen to 95 lakhs in 1937-38. The safe-guarding of the United Kingdom market may be reckoned as an advantage to India's credit.

Tea accounts for 21 crores of India's exports to United Kingdom in 1937-38. Under the International Tea Restriction scheme export quotas were fixed (in 1933) for India, Ceylon and the Netherlands. Even if India is not given the preference of 2d. per lb. it will be the British people who suffer in consequence. Further, since the tea interests in India are predominantly British United Kingdom cannot be interested in cancelling the preferential treatment accorded. Preference for tea is therefore not a special achievement scored by India's bargainers.

Pig-iron enjoys free entry in United Kingdom. Since it is the most important raw material for the armament industries Britain would never

choose to levy duties on it. It is clear therefore that free entry for pig iron is as much an advantage to United Kingdom as it is for India.

In groundnuts, United Kingdom has been an expanding market in the recent past. British Empire countries are India's chief competitors and yet India's share in United Kingdom's groundnut imports has increased from 63% in 1936 to 80% in 1938. In 1935 India exported only 90,000 tons. The figures for the subsequent years are as follows: 110,000; 138,000; 253,000. This shows that under the operation of the Ottawa Pact United Kingdom has become a valuable market and the retention of preference is of substantial value. The withdrawal of the drawback on groundnut oil strengthens the concession obtained.

Linseed is another instance where India has scored an advantage. Since 1932 our linseed has made much headway in the British market. That Argentine has fallen back is clearly shown by the fact that from April 1938 to February 1939 United Kingdom has imported 251,000 tons of linseed from India while Argentine could send only 12,000. The gain is undoubtedly important for linseed.

Regarding jute manufactures the existing duty of 15% on cordage, cables, ropes and twine and 20% on sacks and bags are retained. In view of the persistent clamour from the Dundee manufacturers the retention of the existing status itself constitutes an advantage.

In 1932 Indian woollen carpets and rugs were allowed to enter the United Kingdom market free while the prevailing duty was 10%. In 1934 the duties were raised to 4/6d. on a square yard on hand knitted carpets while 20% *ad valorem* duty was imposed on others. The new Pact allows the 1934 modification to exist and to continue. India's chief competitors in carpets and rugs are Iran, Turkey, China and Belgium. It is possible to argue that the prices of Indian products are so high over those of other products that a 20% preference cannot operate in India's favour and that fashion and taste determine the prospects of carpets and rugs and not mere changes in the tariff. But since competition is getting very keen in the item the real potential value of a 20% cannot be neglected.

For tobacco, United Kingdom is the single largest market and in recent years the market was rapidly growing. India's exports of tobacco since 1935-36 are as follows:—

1935-36	.. 11,700,000 lbs.
1936-37	.. 13,200,000 lbs.
1937-38	.. 41,700,000 lbs.

While the great importance of the United Kingdom market is to be recognised it should be remembered that tobacco from Empire and

non-Empire countries have also made much headway in the United Kingdom. Yet in view of Empire competition and the growth of United Kingdom market the retention of concession is a gain for India.

The existing preference on Indian rice, i.e., 1d. per pound, has been reduced to ½d. a pound. India's exports of rice to United Kingdom is not considerable and after the separation of Burma, India's concern in rice export to United Kingdom is less. Indian rice which is sent to United Kingdom is of superior quality and it has an established place in that market. Therefore the decrease in the preference might not disturb India's position.

India is not a wheat exporting country, and in view of the enormous production in the world and accumulation of stocks India cannot even hope to become a wheat exporting country. The abolition of preference on wheat, in order to facilitate a trade agreement between United Kingdom and the United States of America, cannot affect us adversely.

Raw Cotton.—The Pact gives concession to the British textiles in Indian market in the form of reduction of import duties in return for a guarantee by United Kingdom that she would take not less than 450,000 bales of India cotton. Provision is made for exporting 500,000 bales in the year ending December 1939, 550,000 bales in the year ending 31st December 1940 and 600,000 bales for every subsequent year. Penalties are attached if United Kingdom failed to take the required quantity of cotton. The Pact empowers India to raise the duties on British piecegoods if United Kingdom failed to purchase the stipulated quantity of cotton. If United Kingdom takes more than the specified quantity she gets a reward by way of reduction of duties.

The crux of the present agreement is undoubtedly the link between the export of raw cotton and the import of British piecegoods into India on the basis of sliding scales and quotas. That Indian cotton requires a guaranteed market is unquestionable. In view of the fall in the off-take of our cotton by Japan it is indeed necessary to secure a safe market in United Kingdom. But the present agreement has actually secured very little to the cotton growers. According to the note submitted by the unofficial advisers and also according to the calculation of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, United Kingdom can easily take 6½ lakhs to 10 lakhs of bales per year while the Pact stipulates of United Kingdom only 400,000 bales which is less than the average off-take by United Kingdom for the past three years. Further there is no provision for the disposal of that variety of Indian cotton which really required a good market, viz., Bengal, Oomras, Berars, etc. The quality that United Kingdom agrees to take under the present arrangement requires no special guarantee and can find a favourable market any-

where in the world. The anxiety to find markets for Oomras, etc., still remains to be faced.

Taking India's exports as a whole, the value of preferential items is nearly 42 crores. Of this nearly 32 crores worth of exports do not require any special treatment in United Kingdom. At best only an insurance value can be claimed for them. The items which can be said to have benefited by the present pact are: Groundnut, the seeds group, chrome leather, tobacco, woollen carpets and rugs.

The value of the exports in benefited items can only be about 9 crores.

II. CONCESSIONS TO UNITED KINGDOM.

Turning to the concession given to United Kingdom, one should remember that the unofficial advisers rightly laid down certain fundamental principles to be adhered to in the conclusion of any trade agreement with United Kingdom. They are as follows:—(1) The Pact should not jeopardise any of India's domestic interests; (2) The preferences granted should be consistent with Indian tariff policy; (3) The Agreement should not injure India's trade relations with foreign countries; (4) The revenue of the Government of India should be properly safeguarded.

Since India is under no restriction to keep the import duties at their present level the concessions granted to United Kingdom cannot be operating against India's revenues. We must see how far the other principles have been remembered by the framers of the Pact.

Textiles.—The Pact calls upon the Indian Textile Industry to sacrifice its growth by guaranteeing a minimum market in India for British piecegoods in return for a minimum market in United Kingdom for India's cotton. It should be noted however, that while the concession granted to raw cotton falls far below the legitimate demands of India, the benefits given away to United Kingdom are very great. The reduction of import duties to 17½% *ad valorem* on printed goods, 15% on grey goods and 15% on other goods is indeed a heavy blow to Indian aspirations, and is not in any way compensated for by other advantages accruing to Indian agriculture. In 1936 the prevailing import duty on British piecegoods was 25%. It was then reduced to 20%. The present pact puts it at 15%. If the lowering of duties failed to help United Kingdom in capturing the guaranteed portion of the Indian market a further reduction of 2½% is also promised. And hence the duty may come even to 12½%. Thus within a brief period of three years the protection granted to Indian cotton industry is sought to be nullified by drastic reduction of import duties. While, on the one

hand, the minimum raw cotton to be taken by United Kingdom is fixed much lower than the average for the past three years, the minimum yardage granted to Britain is nearly 150 to 225 million yards more than the present imports. Recently United Kingdom has been fast losing the Indian market in textiles and so the high level of yardage allowed to United Kingdom, especially in the absence of an enquiry by the Tariff Board, implies a serious menace to Indian cotton manufacture. Further, Indian mills have also been engaged in the manufacture of those varieties of cloth where the competition from United Kingdom is keen. The present Pact closes the door against the expansion of manufacture of superior cloth in India.

Injustice to Japan.—If the link of raw cotton with piecegoods imports incorporated in the Agreement is compared to the off-take of our cotton by Japan and our consumption of Japanese textiles it is seen very clearly that Japan is made to take nearly thrice as much of our cotton as United Kingdom for a given yardage of cotton manufactures allowed into our market. This injustice in our treatment of Japan will displease her and troubles may arise when the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement comes to be renewed or modified.

Non-Textile Groups.—A 7½% preference is granted to British motor cars and accessories, motor cycles, chassis of omni-buses, motor vans and lorries. A 10% preference is given to certain classes of chemicals, drugs and medicines, cement, paints, colours, woollen carpets and rugs, shawls, iron and steel barbed wire, copper manufactures, refrigerators, sewing machines, electric appliances, wireless reception instruments, cycles, scientific and surgical instruments, loud-speakers and amplifiers, etc. A preference of Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per gallon is allowed on drugs and medicines containing spirit.

Though the number of heads under preferential list has been reduced considerably the position is still unsatisfactory from the point of view of Indian industrial aspirations. Preferences are withdrawn with regard to hardware, aluminium, brass, bronze, zinc, and other non-ferrous metals except copper, rubber manufactures, provisions, paper, stationery, some electrical appliances, some items under iron and steel, etc. The withdrawal of preferences for the above leaves room for Indian industries to grow and thrive. But the preferences given to British chemicals, paints, cement, iron and steel, drugs and medicines are bound to militate against the already advancing Indian industries.

Regarding the effect of the Pact on India's trade relations with non-Empire countries, it can be said that greater bargaining power is secured than was allowed by the Ottawa Agreement. Now only 12%

of the total imports come into the preferential field and the rest may be used for the conclusion of bi-lateral trade agreements with foreign countries. In machinery, hardware, iron and steel and paper India can give room for Germany while France may be negotiated with by giving room for her wine and spirits. The Pact allows a trade agreement with Ceylon and safeguards India's trade with the British colonies, protectorates, etc., though these are comparatively unimportant.

Another advantage worth mentioning is that the supplementary Agreement to the Ottawa Pact concluded in 1935 which laid down a number of restrictions on India's fiscal freedom is now cancelled. Hereafter British manufacturers cannot claim the right to appear before the Indian Tariff Board and demand a hearing.

CONCLUSION

It is never easy in a Trade Pact to balance the value of the benefit accruing to the two sides concerned. A policy of give and take has to be pursued with patience and wisdom. The present Agreement concedes enormously to British textiles and in return secures gain in the non-textile group of our imports. The Government's claim that Indian exports have gained phenomenally is obviously exaggerated. In fact, for a debtor country like India a trade agreement with a creditor like the United Kingdom must procure a minimum favourable balance in merchandise trade. The present Agreement is not calculated to obtain the required favourable balance with United Kingdom. The real gain reaped by her is much greater than what is suggested by the lowering of import duties on textiles because she enjoys exclusive privileges in Indian economy while India has no such advantages in United Kingdom. The invisible exports of United Kingdom to India by way of banking, insurance and shipping services are operating in United Kingdom's favour. The crying needs of India's shipping, banking and insurance interests are not met in the present Pact.

But whatever the advantages or the handicaps arising out of the new Pact it should be admitted that the present Pact is an improvement on the one it replaces. The Commerce Member has done his best under the limitations of India's constitutional position. If one has to choose between accepting this agreement and allowing the Ottawa Pact to continue for further years to come the choice is simple. Things may be bad to-day but they were worse yesterday. This is the chief merit and justification of the Indo-British Trade Agreement of 1939.

The Nayaks of Tanjore

By

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EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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CHAPTER IV.

ACHYUTAPPA NAYAKA (A.D. 1560, A.D. 1614)

Achyutappa Nayaka,¹ the son of Śevappa Nayaka, ascended the throne in A.D. 1580 on the death of his father. But his early connection with the administration of the kingdom and his joint rule as co-regent with his father which must have started, at least, from A.D. 1560 are best seen in his epigraphs; and the literary evidence records that he was appointed as Yuvaraja by his father in the latter part of his rule. He seems to have been named after Achyutarāya, the Vijayanagara emperor, by Śevappa, in gratitude to the Raya who was responsible for the foundation of the Tanjore Nayak line. Achyutappa Nayaka was also known as Chinna Śeva Achyuta² and Śevappa Achyuta.³ His queen was also called Mūrtimāmba. He had for his minister the famous Gōvinda Dikshita who had been appointed to that high office by his father in his last years. Gōvinda Dikshita played a prominent part in the administration of the country during the reigns of both Achyutappa and his son; and it may be said that his achievement was similar in character and effect to that of Mādhava Vidyāranya, in shaping and laying the foundations of the internal and foreign policies of the Tanjore Nayaks.

Achyutappa Nayaka had a long reign of fifty-three years including the period of his joint rule with his father which lasted for about twenty years. In his last days, following the foot-steps of his father, he also abdicated the throne in favour of his son; but this time the abdication and retirement were largely due to the advice of his minister. Achyutappa was a powerful ruler endowed with a keen intellect and a faculty for quick decision. He was ably assisted in his administrative work by his minister who was equally noted for his deep learning, wise diplomacy and statesmanship. If Achyutappa was a past-master in the art of warfare and in the use of weapons (śaṣṭra) his great minister was equally so in his knowledge of the śāṣṭras and when the

1. The inscriptions call him Achyutappa Nayaka with the epithet Ayya added to it, while the literary evidence refer to him as Achyuta.

2. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto III, Sl. 38.

3. 425 of 1928.

former won a name by his success in wars, the latter attained renown by his performance of sacrifices.⁴

The Nayak was deeply religious; and the *Sangita Sudhā* says that even from his boyhood he had been a great devotee of Lord Ranganātha; and he had become the ruler even in his youth.⁵ However, this single-hearted devotion to Ranganātha did not deter him from extending a liberal measure of his patronage to other creeds; and his numerous gifts made to Siva and Viṣṇu temples and to the Madhwa teacher, Vijayindra Tirtha, are remarkable instances of the catholicity of his religious outlook and his broadmindedness.

Achyutappa's reign was not one of continued peace, as his later years were marked by internal troubles and by wars with his neighbours and foreigners. The *Sāhityaratnākara* and the *Raghunāthābhyaṇudayam* refer indirectly to his wars against the Muhammadans and the Portuguese which he waged on behalf of his overlord, Venkatapati Raya (1584-1614), and the chief of Jaffna respectively.⁶ His epigraphs do not throw much light on his military achievements; but his reign on the whole seems to have been an eventful one. Achyutappa came to the throne when there prevailed peace and calm around, but abdicated at a critical time, when the land became involved in the throes of the great war of succession to the imperial throne, that broke out on the death of Venkatapati Raya.

Achyutappa continued the loyal policy of Sevappa Nayaka and maintained an attitude of unflinching loyalty to and co-operation with the Vijayanagara Emperors, viz., Śadāsivarāya, Tirumalarāya and his successors Srīranga and Venkatapati Raya.⁷ And it was this staunch

4. The *Tanjāvūri Aṇḍhra Rājalu Charitamū*, edited by Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri, Vavilla Press. In the Introduction it is said

त्रिणामाद्यन्तनुमाणी महीक्षिदीक्षितावुभौ ।

शस्त्रे शास्त्रे च निपुणौ आहवेपुहवे च ॥

Achyutappa the king, and Gōvinda Dikshita the first and the last names of Trināma, i.e., Achuta, Ananta and Gōvinda were noted for their knowledge of the śāstra and the śāstras.

5. *Sangita Sudhā*. Introduction by Gōvinda Dikshita.

आरभ्यवाल्यादतिभक्तिशाली मुदासदाऽश्वतरङ्गनाथम् ।

अवाप्यतञ्जापुरमप्रदीपः कौमार्येवाहतराज्यमारः ॥

6. *Raghunāthābhyaṇudayam*, VII, Sl. 49 and 50; *Sāhityaratnākara*, VII, Sl. 68-74.

7. 567 of 1902 dated 1567 A.D. and coming from Tiruvannāmalai records a gift made by Achyutappa Nayaka in the reign of Śadāsivarāya.

loyalty of Achyutappa towards his suzerains and his active co-operation with them in their wars that were responsible for the future hatred, enmity and warfare between Tanjore and Madura. He was mainly responsible for thwarting the schemes of the disloyal Madura and Gingee Nayaks and preventing their combination against the Raya. But for Achyutappa Nayak's hearty co-operation with Venkatapati Raya in the latter's war with Madura, while he was the viceroy of the South under Srīrangarāya, the southern viceroyalty would have broken away altogether from the Vijayanagara overlordship. Achyutappa was the mainstay of the integrity of the Vijayanagara Empire in the south; and the Raya largely relied upon the resources of the Tanjore Nayak for help at times of need. After the battle of Talikōta (Rakhastagdi) in A.D. 1565 which shattered the strength of the Hindu Empire, the southern feudatories took advantage of the crisis to aim at independence, withdrew their allegiance and withheld their tribute.⁸ However epoch-making the battle of Talikōta was, it did not mark the end of the empire as assumed by Mr. Sewell and others, but indicated only the beginning of a long process of decline. It took roughly another fifty years for the empire to be totally disintegrated; and in this period of decay sporadic attempts were made by the Rayas to recover their lost dominion and prestige and also to check the steady Muhammadan advance into South India. The Raichur Doab was no more the bone of contention between the Muhammadan and Hindu powers and the scene of action now shifted to the territories lying immediately to the north of the North Pennar river.⁹ The success of the Hindus in this period was mainly due to the exertions of Venkatapati Raya I. In the extreme south, however, the battle of Talikōta encouraged the Nayaks to entertain ideas of independence. Tanjore alone remained firm and unflinching in her loyal attitude throughout this period and she contributed in a large measure to the military successes of Venkatapati Raya. What Venkatapati Raya did to the cause of the Vijayanagara Empire in the north, that Achyutappa did in the south, in maintaining the unity and supremacy of that Empire. Both Venkatapati and Achyutappa ruled at a critical time and contributed to the maintenance of the strength of the empire, postponing the days of its disruption and the spread of Muham-

8. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, "The Nayaks of Madura," Introduction.

9. *The Climacteric of Talikōta* by Prof. R. Sathianatha Aiyar, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI (1927). The Muhammadan authorities support the view that the post-Talikōta history of Vijayanagar for half a century was not fundamentally different from its history before 1565.

madan dominance into the south. In all these wars, Achyutappa had the co-operation of his able minister, Gōvinda Dikshita; and in his later struggles he had also the willing assistance of his illustrious son, Raghunātha Nayaka.

Achyutappa Nayaka's early years of rule did not witness any Imperial expedition to the southward, nor the superimposition of a viceroy like Rāmarāja Viṭhaladēva Maharaya. Since the Raya was intensively engaged with the Muhammadan armies of Bijapur and Golkonda, the South was practically left without any serious intervention till the appointment of Venkatapati Raya as its Viceroy by Srīrangarāya.

Venkatapati had his capital at Chandragiri. In the north, Srīrangarāya was carrying on the struggle for Hindu independence against great odds from Penukonda (the Ghanagiri of the epigraphs), which had then become the capital. The powerful viceroy of Madura, it appears, did not send any help to the Emperor; and evidence is not wanting to prove his attempts at independence following the siege of Penukonda by the Muhammadan armies in A.D. 1579.¹⁰

It was the Adil Shah that first marched against Penukonda and blockaded it for three months in 1577. He was then forced to retire from the siege, though the Raya himself had retreated for safety to Chandragiri. In 1579 he advanced for a second time against Penukonda and began its siege. But he failed owing to a combination of the armies of Srīranga and Golkonda.¹¹ Tanjore's part in this imperial struggle is not known in detail; and in the absence of any contradictory evidence, we can safely conclude that her moral support at least was extended to the Raya at the time.

Achyutappa Nayaka had no difficulties to encounter so long as his father was alive. The first important event of his independent rule

10. *The Climacteric of Talikota*. This was the second time when Penukonda was besieged by the Muhammadans. The first took place in 1577; and the third in 1587.—Ed.

11. The Raya had deputed an envoy with magnificent presents to the Kutb Shah, 'soliciting his aid against their common enemy'; and it had always been "an understood principle with the Mahomedan Kings of the Deccan, not to invade the Beejanugger territories without the general consent of the whole." The Kutb Shah sent a general to skirmish and plunder the borders of the Bijapur territory and himself moved to the southward to the support of the Raya: "Their junction induced Ally Adil Shah to raise the siege of Beejanugger (Penukonda) and return to Bijapur." (Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, p. 435).

was the part, which he played in the war of Venkatapati Raya¹² in the battle of Vallamprākāra (the modern Vallam near Tanjore) against the Madura ruler, Virappa Nayaka (1572-1595). However, none of the records of Achyutappa Nayaka nor the literary evidence of the *Raghunāthābhyudāyam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara*, refer to this important war except the Pudukottai (Srīvilliputtūr, Ramnad District) plates of Ati-vīrarāma Srīvallabha and his cousin Varatūṅgarāma.¹³ The omission of this important battle in the Tanjore literature was perhaps due to the fact that both the *Raghunāthābhyudāyam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* which give an account of the Tanjore Nayaks, were written during the reign of Raghunātha only and in obvious praise of his victorious wars.¹⁴ Moreover, Tanjore's part in this war was not due to any hatred or personal grudge between her and the Madura ruler, Virappa Nayaka, but was only necessitated by the fact, that Tanjore being loyal to the Raya, she had to assist her imperial overlord in the latter's war upon another disloyal feudatory. And Tanjore could not but join Venkatapati I against Madura, as her own dominions were imperilled, and the battle at Vallam suggests the possibility of the Madura Nayak's attempts made to get possession of that place, as it was of strategic importance to Tanjore. The causes for this imperial invasion under Venkatapati Raya are not known; but it may be opined that Virappa Nayaka's victories over the Mābalivānāḍirāya chieftains of the extreme south, which might have excited in him a desire for independence, and his consequent refusal to pay the usual tribute to the Emperor Srīrangaraya consequent on the siege of Penukonda by the Bijapurians in A.D. 1579, were sufficient causes for the Raya's attempt to restore his authority over the south.¹⁵ Virappa Nayaka's epigraphs point to his early subordination to Srīrangarāya only till the year A.D. 1578¹⁶ and his inscriptions upto the year A.D. 1586 do

12. Venkatapati Raya I is called the II by some on the ground that Achyutārāya's son also was called Venkatādri. But others call him the I, since he was the first man of that name to assume the crown of the Empire and to have ruled as emperor.

13. 7 of Appendix A, 1906. *Report on South Indian Epigraphy and The Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I, pp. 61-68.

14. Both Rāmabhadraṁba and Yagnanārāyaṇa Dikshita were concerned in extolling the qualities and achievements of Raghunātha Nayaka who was their hero. However, a passing and indirect reference to the help rendered by Achyutappa is made by Rāmabhadraṁba when she speaks of Tanjore's early help to Venkatapati Raya, (Canto VII, Sl. 49).

15. *The Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 78-79 and foot notes No. 100 and 103. Also *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 285-6.

16. 663 of 1916.

not refer to his recognition of any overlord at all, as they were issued in his own name.¹⁷ Also, the battle itself being fought on the outskirts of the kingdom of Madura, suggests the open insubordination on the part of Madura Nayaka and his consequent attack upon Tanjore.

The Pudukottai plates, dated Saka 1505, and the cyclic year Subhānu, corresponding to A.D. 1583, refer to a gift of villages made by Ativirārāma Srivallabha and Varatungarāma at the request of one Tirumala Nayaka, an agent of Virappa Nayaka, after obtaining the latter's permission.¹⁸ Towards the end, the plates contain a reference to Tirumala Nayaka's achievements of killing a Basavarāja, a former refugee of his, and of his capturing the horses and elephants that fought on the battle field of Vallamprākāra. In this war the armies of Venkatapati, Viraraja and Achyutaraja are mentioned, and Venkatapati must undoubtedly refer to Venkatapati Raya since, in the preceding lines, the great Aliya Rāmarāja, the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagar under Śadāsivarāja, and who had died on the battle-field of Talikōta is mentioned. Besides, there was no other person called Venkatapati except this member, who had then been appointed by Tirumalarāja as the viceroy of the south. His contemporaries were Virappa Nayaka of Madura and Achyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore and the mention of these two, lend support to the assumption that the reference is to Venkatapati and to his victory over the Madura Nayaka. The validity of the plates has been questioned by some on the ground that, in A.D. 1583—the date of the plates under reference—there was no Venkatapati Raya on the Vijayanagar throne as his accession took place only in A.D. 1586. This argument is untenable since we find Venkatapati Raya ruling from Chandragiri as the viceroy of the south in A.D. 1583, and the Pudukottai Plates themselves contain references to this fact, when they call Aliya Rāmarāja of Talikōta fame, as Emperor and Venkatapati by his simple name alone without any royal attribute.¹⁹ This ordinary reference to

17. Absence of the name of overlords in the epigraphs of subordinates cannot be taken *ipso facto* to mean the independence of the latter. For instance the Tanjore epigraphs of Raghunātha Nayaka and his successor Vijayarāghava do not mention their overlords. But at the same time Tanjore's loyalty cannot be doubted as internal and external evidence are agreed on this point.

18. The Pudukottai plates: T. A. S. Vol. I. Virappa is called 'Virappa Kshōnī-pāla' here. Tirumala Nayaka calls himself as the right hand of Virappa. Verses 65 to 68.

19. The verses have *विख्यादलिय रामराजनृपतौ व्यापादिते* etc., and *ऋद्वेयोधकुलेन वेङ्कटपतेर्युद्धे* etc.

Venkatapati shows that at the time of Vallam battle, he was not the Emperor, but only a viceroy.

Since the plates²⁰ are dated in the beginning of (Chitrai) April A.D. 1583, the events referred to, must have happened in the previous cyclic year Chitrabānu, *i.e.*, in the beginning of the year A.D. 1583. The record referring to the death of one Basavarāja, who was perhaps a commander of Venkatapati, says that in that battle of Vallamprākāra, the armies of Viraraja were destroyed, while those of Achyutappa Nayaka (Achyuta Dharaṇīpati) fled from the field out of fear. Naturally the question would arise as to why Achyutappa's army should have taken to its heels while there was present, on the field of battle, Venkatapati, the victor. This is explained in the succeeding lines of the verse 164 which refer to Tirumala Nayaka's capture of the horses and elephants. The plates suggest that both Virappa Nayaka and Tirumala Nayaka were engaged in the battle and the latter must have

20. The Pudukottai Plates are dated Saka 1505 (Subhānu, Chitrai). See *Madras Report on South Indian Epigraphy* 1906, p. 54. 1909, p. 84. 1910, p. 91. 1912, p. 66. *The Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 101-2 and footnote on p. 101. *The Pāndyan Kingdom* by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 251. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara* by H. Heras, pp. 285-6. The plates contain some discrepancies. Verses 19 and 20 say that Srivallabha was crowned after the death of his brother Ativirārāma and V. 42 mentions that the gift was made in the 21st year of Ativirārāma Srivallabha which corresponded to Saka 1503. Ativirārāma is identified with Ativirārāma Srivallabha of the Tenkāsi Inscriptions which give him A.D. 1561 for his accession. But in A. D. 1583 there was no Varatungarāma, his cousin as his accession took place in A.D. 1586. Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 101, says that these plates must belong to Muttu Virappa Nayaka I (1603-1623) and not to Virappa Nayaka (1572-1595) as the latter continued the policy of subordination and loyalty towards the Vijayanagara emperors On page 81, he says in connection with Virappa's supremacy over the Tenkāsi Pāndyas, 'If the Pudukottai Plates of Sri Vallabha were issued in 1583, his relation towards the Pāndyas as overlord is clear.' But he is inclined to assign the plates to Muthu Virappa Nayaka when he says (page 101) 'Perhaps the expression armies of Vira Raja and Achyuta Raja' were loosely used for the forces of the loyalist party and of Raghunātha Nayaka. 'If the date (1583) is correct it is difficult to explain such a combination of contending parties in 1583 or before. Thus he would take the Vallam battle to refer to the Tōppūr engagement, in which the loyalists fought against Jaggarāja and the Madura ruler. However, casting doubt on the date of the Plates, he has assigned them to the reign of Virappa Nayaka, p. 344, No. 76. That the battle of Tōppūr is distinctly different from the Vallam battle is proved by the literary and internal evidence and Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's view that 'it is clear from this that the battle of Vallamprākāra referred to in the Pudukottai plates (of date 1582-3) cannot be taken to refer to the battle of Tōppūr' (p. 102, Note) will hold good until it is proved to the contrary by future research.

put up a strong and valiant fight. When Virappa's army was completely destroyed and when victory was won by Venkatapati, the Tanjore army must have retreated instead of advancing upon the enemy that might have escaped the disaster, and Tirumala Nayaka would have taken possession of the horses left behind. Otherwise, the flight of the Tanjore forces will mean that they must have also opposed Venkatapati along with Madura. For such an interpretation there is nothing to support even in the traditional accounts.

These foregoing facts show that there was a battle at Vallamprākāra in which Venkatapati and the Tanjore Nayaka took part against Virappa Nayaka, whom they defeated in the end. Thus the earliest attempt at independence on the part of the Madura Nayak was nipped in the bud with the hearty co-operation and timely help rendered by the loyal Tanjore ruler, Achyutappa Nayaka, but for whom, it may be said that the south would have had a different history in the 17th century. Perhaps it was to this timely help of Achyutappa, reference has been made in the work of Rāmabhadraṁba.²¹ Achyutappa continued the same loyalty and co-operated with Venkatapati in all his wars waged against Madura. It appears that Venkatapati had to teach the recalcitrant Nayak of Madura the salutary lesson of subordination and allegiance at least on two occasions.²² The exact nature of the part played by Tanjore

21. *Raghunāthābhyaṇḍayam*, cited before. Canto VII, Sl. 49.

बहुप्रकारैर्नृपतिप्रवेक प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतयो मदीयाः ।

सम्राट्ममीपु जगत्प्रसिद्धं खण्डीकृतास्ते खरखड्गवद्धया ॥

This verse is addressed to Achyutappa Nayaka by Venkatapati.

22. Prof. Sathiyanatha Aiyar (*The Nayaks of Madura*) says that there is nothing to doubt regarding the loyalty of Virappa Nayaka and his successors till the accession of Muthu Virappa Nayaka in A.D. 1609 and all the Vijayanagara wars must have happened in his reign i.e., 1609-1623. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that there were two more Vijayanagara invasions upon Madura besides the Vallam campaign in the reign of Venkatapati and in one of them, Venkatapati himself took the command in person. (*Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Introduction, p. 19 and *Chikkadēvarāya Vamśāvali* of Tirumalarāya, p. 302 and *Sources*, 248). According to him the second campaign was led by himself. (*The Nayaks of Madura*, Introduction, p. 17). He would place the victory of Mātla Ananta mentioned in the Sidhout Inscription dated A.D. 1605 either in A.D. 1583 or a little later (*Sources* p. 248 and foot note 2). Father Heras discountenances the value of the *Chikkadēvarāya Vamśāvali* and says that there were three invasions of Venkatapati, (1) Before 1595 (2) about 1599 when Venkata marched personally and another (3) about 1610 when Mātla Ananta defeated the Madura ruler. Father Heras quotes evidence from the letters of Anquetil du Perron, Father Du Jarric, Father Pimenta, Father Vico and Father Laerzio. (*Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Chapter XVII).

on these occasions is not known for certain, but there can possibly be no doubt as regards Achyutappa Nayaka's co-operation with the imperial forces. And this co-operation developed the germs of mutual distrust and hostility, growing between Tanjore and Madura; and evidently the latter was looking out for an opportunity to wreak vengeance upon Tanjore. But Virappa Nayaka could not effect any harm to his rival, so long as there was Venkatapati Raya to take up her cause. And so, even the second attempt made by Virappa in his last days (circa 1595) proved fruitless.²³ These two defeats sustained by Virappa had their natural consequences and for about a decade following his death, there occurred no open hostilities between Madura and Tanjore. Krishnappa Nayaka II (1595-1601) the successor of Virappa, and Muthu Krishnappa Nayaka (1601-1609) of Madura remained loyal to the empire; and besides, they had their own troubles in the Travancore and Marava countries respectively; and the reorganisation of the Marava country under the Śetupatis was made by Muthu Krishnappa Nayaka after bringing that territory to subjection and allegiance. Since troubles nearer home demanded their continued attention, it was not possible for the Madura Nayaks to indulge in hostile manifestations against Tanjore and the Empire. Two Jesuit letters, dated A.D. 1606 and A.D. 1608, refer to Muthu Krishnappa Nayaka's loyalty to the Empire and to his remittance of the usual tribute.²⁴

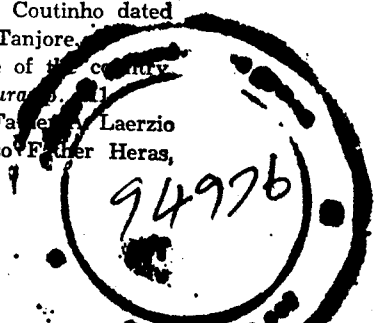
Muthu Virappa Nayaka, the son and successor of Muthu Krishnappa Nayaka, was the first ruler to exhibit his hostility towards Tanjore openly. He was a powerful ruler;²⁵ and he was the forerunner of Tirumala Nayaka in his policy of defying the imperial suzerain. He also appears to have pursued the aggressive policy of independence right from the beginning, since a Jesuit letter dated 25th November 1611²⁶ refers to a war which he waged with Tanjore. The letter says that Father Alberto Laerzio, in his tour on an inspection of the missionary centres of the

23. Father Heras (*Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, p. 342) says that this war was the result of Virappa Nayaka's refusal to pay the tribute as mentioned by Anquetil du Perron.

24. *The Aravidu Dynasty*, p. 358. 'Moreover in September, 1604, Venkata II received in audience a special envoy of the Nayak of Madura, as a Jesuit letter of the year 1906 (mistake for 1606) tells us.' The letter of Father Coutinho dated October 11th, 1608 refers to the tribute paid by both Madura and Tanjore.

25. Father Vico's letter speaks of him as the powerful prince of the country. Bertrand: *La Mission*, Vol. II, 254, quoted in the *Nayaks of Madura*.

26. Bertrand: *La Mission du Madure* II, p. 108. Letter from Father Laerzio to Father C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 25th A.D. 1611. Also Father Heras, p. 361.



land, was at San Thomē on the 22nd September 1611. When he was about to leave that place, the letter says that he was prevented from going, the reason being that there was a war then raging between the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore. Since the letter is dated the 25th of November 1611, it is probable that the war also must have come to an end sometime earlier, as otherwise, it is difficult to explain how he could have reached Cochin in full safety. We have no other evidence to refer to this war, in which Tanjore was directly involved. Neither the causes nor the results of this war are noticed or indicated in any of the Tanjore literature. Father Heras suggests, on the evidence of two Jesuit letters, that Achyutappa Nayaka's help to the Emperor in the previous year, i.e., A.D. 1610, against Madura must have been the cause for this feud between the two houses.²⁷ He thus notes the significance of this war:—"We

27. Father Heras says that Venkatapati's last war upon Madura took place in A.D. 1610 when Mātla Ananta might have held the supreme command, (*Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 360) as the latter is called 'the conqueror of the territory called Panchapāndya, i.e., the kingdom of Madura in an Inscription dated A.D. 1612-13 (Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty): *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*: Vol. I, p. 246). From the Sidhout Inscription of Mātla Ananta, (*Sources*), we know that his victory over the Nayak of Madura must have happened sometime earlier than A.D. 1605 the date of the epigraph. And so this inscription dated A.D. 1612-13, on which reliance is made by Father Heras must also refer to the same battle fought sometime before A.D. 1605 as there is no evidence to prove another war upon Madura by Venkatapati Raya in his last days. Moreover even the evidence contained in the Jesuit letters on which Father Heras bases his views, is not definite and conclusive if careful attention is bestowed upon their general meaning. Father Heras places two letters as evidence in support of a war in A.D. 1610. One of the letters written by Robert de Nobili is dated 12th December, A.D. 1610 (*Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 361) and it says 'A certain notable Pandāra said to one of my Christians *these last days* that the coming of the king of Bisnagar was the destruction of the Naiche, just as my stay in this country was the destruction of the Pandaras.' Father Heras says that 'the saying referred to in his letter proves evidently both that the war was over at the end of the same year, and that its result was satisfactory to the Vijayanagara Emperor,' and in support of this he quotes Father Vico's letter dated 30th August A.D. 1611. (Bertrand's *La Mission du Madure*, Vol. II, p. 124 and the *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 293). Again this letter says "The great Nayak of Madura and those of Tanjore and Gingee are themselves tributaries of Bisnagar, to whom they pay or have to pay each an annual tribute of six to ten million francs. But they are not punctual in paying it; often they postpone the payment; sometimes they even refuse it with insolence. In that case (the king of) Bisnagar comes or sends one of his generals, at the head of hundred thousand men, to make them pay all the arrears with interest. On these occasions which are frequent, it is again the poor people who pay for the fault of their princes, all the country is devastated, and the people are plundered or massacred." Father Heras concludes from this letter that 'the same (war) is meant by Father Vico' and quotes the last portion of the letter in support of his argument.

shall see that this feud between the two houses, that came to a head and burst in Venkata's reign, continued unabated till the extinction of one of them; and that very soon, just after the death of the Emperor, the Madura and Tanjore Nayaks again came to blows."

A careful and critical reading of the Jesuit letters quoted by Father Heras and the epigraphs²⁸ of the Madura Nayaks would clearly prove the impossibility of an imperial war with Madura in A.D. 1610 and so Achyutappa Nayaka's part in that war and against Madura as mentioned by Father Heras, is very highly improbable. Hence it is clear that the causes for a war between Tanjore and Madura mentioned in Father Laerzio's letter A.D. 1611 are to be traced somewhere else.

But a close reading of the contents of these two letters will show that the conclusions based upon them are not warranted and are baseless. They do not contain anything definite to show either a war or the refusal of the tribute by Madura in A.D. 1611 or even earlier. The italicised words clearly show that the statements made therein are only general observations made regarding the political situation. Father Nobili's letter embodies the observations made by a native to one of Nobili's followers regarding the general state of affairs then prevalent in the land. And Father Vico's letter contains his own personal observations and the loose words 'often' and 'sometimes' clearly indicate the possibility of only this interpretation. The phrases that 'they (the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee) are not punctual in paying it' and 'they postpone the payment' speak of the attitude of these Nayaks in general and they lend support only to this interpretation. Apart from this, too much stress cannot be laid upon the validity of these statements as they cannot withstand internal criticism. If Father Vico's letter is to be considered an authentic summary of the political history of the country, then it will mean that all the Nayaks were opposed to the Emperor in that year and not Madura alone as is surmised by Father Heras. And Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar's view, (*Nayaks of Madura*, p. 99) that Vico's letter refers to the Madura Nayak's withholding the tribute in that year, needs revision. The literary evidence proves the loyalty of Tanjore to the Empire and Tanjore's part in the Toppūr battle fought a few years after, only confirms their loyalty. The foregoing explanation shows that there could not have been any war between Venkatapati Raya and the Madura ruler in or about A.D. 1610.

[Father Heras says that Muttu Virappa of Madura, who succeeded Muttu Krishnappa in 1609, continued on good terms with Venkata II during the first years of his rule. An inscription of 1609 records that Venkatapati Raya made a gift of the village of Nagenalluru, on the north bank of the Kāveri, to Brahmans, at the request of Muttu Virappa and that in the records of the next year (1610) these friendly relations do not seem to have continued. This however, cannot mean that there was any open manifestation of hostility by the Madura Nayak towards his suzerain.—[Ed.]

28. Muthukrishnappa Nayaka's epigraphs show his loyalty to the Empire till his death in A.D. 1609 and "two records of Venkata I prove his authority in the Nayak dominions."

Muthu Virappa Nayaka's earliest attempt at independence probably began in the year A.D. 1610; and his first measure towards this aim was directed against Tanjore, the immediate neighbour, as she had always supported the cause of the empire to the detriment of the particular interests of the Madura Nayaks. Achyutappa Nayaka's part in the Vallam battle in A.D. 1583, in co-operation with Venkatapati Raya and against Madura, and his continued rancour must have been sufficient causes for this outbreak of hostilities. Perhaps Erumaikatti Nayaka's capture of some fortress and his victorious return to Madura, mentioned in a Jesuit letter dated 12th June, 1610, has reference to this note of a war.²⁹ The letter shows that Erumaikatti must have been a feudatory or subordinate of Muthu Virappa, and he must have captured some of the forts that belonged most probably to Tanjore. And it is said, that for this act he was shown favours by the Madura Nayaka. Since the capture of the forts and the consequent reduction of the Tanjore territories happened in A.D. 1610, there was evidently enough reason for Tanjore to enter into war with Madura in the following year, and it must have ended about October, A.D. 1611³⁰. But it is not known how the war was brought to a close. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that in this war 'the Empire government had taken no part, probably because it was involved in one of those periodical struggles against the aggressions of the Muhammadans from the North.'³¹ Achyutappa Nayak's plan to conquer the lands held by various rulers through his son, as mentioned by Yagnanārāyana Dikshita³² perhaps has a reference to this war.

Achyutappa's loyalty towards and co-operation with the Emperor have been mentioned already. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* confirms this, and refers to the help given by Achyutappa's son, Raghunātha to

29. The letter says (*Nayaks of Madura*, p. 100) 'that Hermecatti (Erumaikatti Nayaka).....distinguished himself by his bravery took some fortress by assault and returned victorious from the war. The great Nayak (of Madura) loaded him with honours and new favours.'

30. The letter is dated 25th November, A.D. 1611 and it refers to the stay of Father Laerzio in the College at San Thomé in September, on account of this war (also quoted above).

31. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 102, Note.

32. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto VI, Sloka 63.

जातुक्षमामथ विजापयितुं समस्तां नाना नरेन्द्रविभृतां निजनन्दनेन ।

संचिन्तयन्सन्तपतिः श्रवसोरतानीत् कोलाहलं भूपकुलाङ्गनानाम् ॥

Venkatapati Raya, in the latter's wars with the Muhammadans.³³ The authoress refers to the marching of the Tanjore army and to Raghunātha's arrival at Penukonda,, visiting on his way the capital city, Chandragiri. Raghunātha won the battle and the Muhammadan army was completely routed. Venkata is said to have acknowledged his services in open court and praised him for his great valour and courage, presenting him with numerous gifts.³⁴ This account is confirmed by the accounts of the Muhammadan historians, which refer to Venkatapati Raya's

33. Venkatapati appeared to have in breach of the treaties existing between his predecessor and the Sultan of Golkonda, removed according to Ferishta, his seat of Government from Chandragiri to Penukonda "situated on the Kootb Shahy frontier" and likewise made incursions into the latter territory. The Raya deputed Goparaj Timma, his minister, and Pavia Chetty his general, to the Kutb Shah, who had commenced a siege of Penukonda and now consented to an armistice. The Hindus took advantage of the consequent absence of the Muhammadans from the vicinity of the fort and contrived to introduce into it a large quantity of supplies and a large number of troops, horse, foot and musketeers under the famous Jadev Rao, Gulrang Chetty, Manup Raj and Papiiah Samywar. The subsequent siege operations of the Mussalmans were not effective and the Kutb Shah raised the siege and retreated to Golconda leaving his garrisons in Gandikotta, Nandyal and other places (1589). Venkatapati took advantage of this situation to keep the Raja of Udayagiri to make an incursion into the realms of the enemy and to plunder all the neighbouring districts as far as Kondavidu and the Krishna river. After some desultory operations, Venkatapati sent his whole army, amounting to about 100,000 troops under Yeltum Raj, Gulrang Chetty, Manup Raj, and others to recover Gandikotta from Sanjar Khan. Meanwhile a Golconda army under Murtaza Khan advanced to Cuddapah sacked the town and destroyed its temple. He defeated Yeltum Raj and Manup Raj in a severe action and forced them to fly. But the Hindus gathered up their forces once again and the Muslims found it impossible to engage them in a regular battle. At last, taking advantage of the encampment of the Muslim army in a black clayey soil (noted as lying between Cuddapah and Cumbum by J. Briggs, the translator of Ferishta) and of a momentary panic that seized them completely defeated them and destroyed their cavalry almost to a man; and only the bravery of Murtaza Khan could cover the retreat of the Mussalman army. In revenge the Kutb Shah despatched a large force under Etibar Khan Yezdy, the Governor of Kondavidu (hereafter called Murtazanagar) to advance against Penukonda. He was opposed by Narasa Nandaraj of Anantagiri (one of the most famous hill forts) but the latter had to retire from the field with a considerable loss. The Muslims advanced to Kālāhasti and plundered its shrine and ordered prayers to be read in its halls. Venkatapati, nothing daunted, invited the jaghirdars of the country around Kondavidu to revolt, while the Kutb Shahi Court was shaken by the appearance of a pretender. This is the gist of the narrative of the operations of the Mussalmans against Venkatapati Raya. On the whole the Hindu resistance proved itself to be well organised, formidable and successful.—[Ed.]

34. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Canto VIII, Sl. 43-70.

invasion of the Golkonda territories and the siege of Penukonda in A. D. 1589. The Muhammadan armies under Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah is said to have suffered a defeat and the Muhammadan historian himself notes that the Hindu forces became so numerous that the Muhammadan armies 'found it impossible to give them battle but confined their operations to plundering and cutting off supplies.'³⁵ The *Raghunāthābhīyudayam* says³⁶ that the Muhammadan armies on hearing the news of the coming of Raghunatha, got terrified and fled into the jungles; and it³⁷ also notes that the losses on the Muhammadan side were great. Raghunātha besides this, claims victory over a Murasa King, who was in possession of numerous forts like Ballālapura.³⁸ This decisive victory over the Muhammadans was so important as it gave the much needed relief for the Hindus, and for about a decade to come, the Hindu Empire was enjoying comparative peace under Venkatapati Raya, the last great monarch of Vijayanagar. It is not known whether Tanjore took any part in the subsequent invasions of the Emperor against Kondavīdu which is held to have taken place in the period between A.D. 1591 and A.D. 1603.

Raghunātha Nayaka before his return to Tanjore, is said to have performed a meritorious act of chivalry in securing the release of Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee from imprisonment with the sanction of the Emperor.³⁹ Krishnappa Nayaka is said to have given away his daughter in marriage to Raghunātha in appreciation of his services and out of gratitude.⁴⁰ Raghunātha's co-operation in this war of Venkatapati is clear proof of Tanjore's loyalty and she must have pursued the same policy throughout. But some of the letters of the Jesuit missionaries say that Tanjore was vacillating in her policy towards the empire, and she was not also punctual in her payment of tribute. Anquetil du Per-

ron⁴¹ says:—"Before 1595 the Naique of Tanjore, Madura and Gingi gave up all allegiance as they did not want to acknowledge as their sovereign one who had dethroned the legitimate king of Bisnaga." Father Coutinho in a letter dated 11th October, A.D. 1608 says that "the Naiques of Tangior and Madura sent their tribute consisting of 500 thousand cruzados and many sorts of presents to the king. In order to receive these the king dressed himself as on the days of great celebration with many ornaments of gold and precious stones." Father Coutinho says that he was present at the capital and witnessed this ceremony. He again mentions in another letter the insurgent attitude of Achyutappa Nayaka and says "that the rumour was that the king warred upon the Naichus of Tangaor, called Astapanaichus, (Achyutappa)" and the original says that "Venkata has a large army with many good generals in order to reconquer Kanchipuram, which city along with all the country around had surrendered to Astapanaichus the king of Tangior."⁴² This letter is dated 17th July, A.D. 1600 and it again says that there was no war and adds that "It is quite certain that the King does not think of that expedition any more, and Venkata's designs were checked by the death of Achyutappa Nayaka."⁴³ Father Heras says that since this letter is dated in A.D. 1600, the quarrel mentioned therein, must have taken place in A.D. 1598-9. Again Father Vico's letter dated A.D. 1611 speaks in general terms of the unpunctual remittances of the tribute of the Nayakas. The validity and faithfulness of these letters cannot be taken without adequate proof, since all the internal evidence supports Tanjore's loyalty.⁴⁴ The Jesuit letters, some of which were probably written by persons with a superficial knowledge of the political affairs, must be utilised only as a corrective to the internal evidence and not as superseding the latter since they were written by men who could not

35. Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. III, p. 454. Also '*Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*', p. 327.

36. *Raghunāthābhīyudayam*, Canto VII, Sl. 63.

37. *Raghunāthābhīyudayam*, Canto VII, Sl. 65. It is curious to note that the *Sāhityaratnākara* does not mention this event at all.

38. *Sources*, p. 285. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says 'the people of Morasanādu the district embracing the northern side of the North Arcot and the adjacent parts of the neighbouring districts. Can it be Bellary? Golkonda by the end of A.D. 1580 had conquered Guntur and parts of Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore. Climacteric of Talikota.

39. *Raghunāthābhīyudayam*, Canto VII, Sl. 72 and 73.

40. Subsequent events however, do not show that this marriage alliance could have been possible.

41. '*Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*,' p. 308.

42. Purchas, '*His Pilgrims*,' Vol. X, p. 222.

43. Purchas, '*His Pilgrims*,' Vol. X, Ibid.

44. '*The Aravidu Dynasty*,' p. 398. Father Heras says that Perron's reference to a war is misplaced. Tanjore's co-operation with the Emperor, Venkatapati, has been established fully by the literature of the Tanjore Nayaks and her prominent part in the war of succession that took place soon after the death of Venkatapati, also proves the same. Such being the circumstances, it is not possible to speak of Tanjore as obstinate and disobedient in the interim period. Father Coutinho's letter must in all probability refer to the revolt of the Nayak of Gingee and not to that of Tanjore (*The Aravidu Dynasty*, pp. 404-408) as there is nothing in the Tanjore literature to support the conquest of Kānchi which never belonged to Tanjore. However, Father Heras, who speaks of Tanjore's disloyalty on the basis of these Jesuit letters, produces the same evidence to prove the disloyalty of the Gingee Nayak as well.

have been, in all circumstances fully conversant with the inner politics and intrigues of the state. However, Venkatapati Raya's supremacy and hold over his southern viceroys are established by the numerous epigraphs found in the South.⁴⁵

The *Sāhityaratnākara* speaks of Achyutappa's victory over the Pārasikas at Negapatam.⁴⁶ The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* does not mention this war with the Portuguese, but refers to the later wars waged by Achyutappa Nayaka's son, Raghunātha against these Pārasikas. Nothing more is known about this event from the Tanjore literature, and the epigraphs of this ruler. What were the circumstances that led to this war upon the Pārasikas, who are called Paṇṇis by Rāmabhadra and who could have been no other than the Portuguese. The Pārasikas cannot be taken to mean Muhammadans or Moors since, the subsequent happenings that took place at Jaffna show that it was the Portuguese, who suffered a defeat at the hands of the Tanjore Nayak. The Portuguese were the first European settlers in India and they undertook missionary and proselytising work comparatively early in their Indian career. The conversion of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast to Catholicism by St. Francis Xavier, was their great achievement in this direction on the east coast. They had to encounter strong and continued opposition from the Vijayanagara rulers and their representatives, who disliked their missionary zeal. They also indulged in political intrigues and sometimes made use of their missionaries for this purpose. On the Coromandel Coast, San Thomē was next occupied, about the middle of the 16th century. San Thomē was for long associated with early Christianity and with the tradition of the activities of the Apostle Thomas in the Coromandel Coast. The Portuguese formed a settlement at the place in 1522, first with the object of rebuilding the chapel. Ferishta writing of the Portuguese says that in the year 963 A.H. (A.D. 1556) the Christians (Tarsas) were in possession of the forts of Hormuz, Muskat, Sumatra, Malacca, Mangalore, Negapatam, Barcelore, Ceylon and Bengal to the borders of China. They had also forts.⁴⁷ The settlement of Negapatam was an accomplished fact by the time of Śevappa Nayaka. The Portuguese, who had grown to considerable strength on

the Malabar Coast, and who had captured all the ports of Ceylon and Jaffna, had Negapatam as a halting place on their way to San Thomē. By the year A.D. 1586 the Portuguese had gained in strength and power and was put in charge of a separate governor. In that year Diogo Fernandez Penoa, the chief of that place, sent men and provisions to the help of his countrymen, who were then waging a war in Ceylon.⁴⁸ Father Pimenta, who visited Negapatam in A.D. 1597, says that 'many Portugals dwell there and many winter there, which come from the Coast of China, Bengala, Pegu and Malacca.' Du Jarric, another missionary, notes that Father Pimenta was invited by Achyutappa Nayaka and was given permission to build a church at Negapatam 'while another one was already started at Tranquebar'. Father Pimenta himself says that while he was at Negapatam, 'a place for five hundred ducats for a new residence of ours was purchased;' and he is said to have sent priests to Negapatam which was situated 'by the river side, having the sea to the west and was fitter for the functions of the Society.'⁴⁹ This information contained in the Jesuit letters and the internal evidence, though very meagre, make it clear that Negapatam was under effective Portuguese authority during the rule of the Nayaks. Achyutappa Nayak's victory over them has been referred to already but no detail is known about the war and the Portuguese sources do not give us any date. The Portuguese records refer to their interference into the affairs of Jaffna, whose king was opposed to them and their religion. The Portuguese became rulers of Ceylon on the death of Don Juan Dharmapala in A.D. 1597⁵⁰, who bequeathed to them by a deed executed in their favour, the whole island except Jaffna, whose ruler was not only opposed to, but inflicted much injury on the Christians. The Portuguese had to war with the Jaffnese ruler on a number of occasions till A.D. 1617 when the place finally passed into their hands. The *Sāhityaratnākara* and the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* refer to the Tanjore intervention on behalf of the Jaffnese ruler and against the Portuguese during the reign of Raghunātha Nayaka. And Achyutappa Nayaka's war with the Portuguese was in all probability undertaken on behalf of the Jaffnese in the

45. 334 of 1913 from Chidambaram, 91 of 1928 from Alagarkōil (Madura District), 36 of 1908 from Madura, 389 of 1918 from Shiyali (Tanjore District), 258 of 1916 from Srīmuṣṇam (South Arcot District) and 177 of 1926 from Pattukōttai. Robert Sewell says that Tanjore became independent in A.D. 1602.

46. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Sloka 68.

47. Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 584.

48. 'The Portuguese in India' F. C. Danvers, Vol. II, p. 76.

49. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 397 and 398.

50. A convention of Sinhalese delegates met after Dharmapala's death and agreed to recognise Philip II as the king of Ceylon, provided the Portuguese would guarantee on his behalf that the laws and customs of the Sinhalese should be maintained inviolable for ever"—Ed.

beginning of the 17th century; and the Pārasikas⁵¹ defeat at Negapatam perhaps refers to the beginning of the hostilities between the Nayaks and the Portuguese. The methods adopted by them in converting the people of the country to Christianity, and their generally bad treatment of the natives had made them very unpopular. The Dutch records show that both the rulers of Ceylon and Tanjore sought their help to drive away the Portuguese from the land.⁵² The Dutch in the beginning of the 17th century had established themselves at Tegnapatam between the mouths of the Gadilam and the Pennar rivers (circa, A.D. 1610) situated in the kingdom of the Nayak of Gingee; and the Dutch had made a request even earlier for the port of Triminipatam from the Nayak of Tanjore to which no reply was received upto 7th April, A.D. 1609.⁵³ However, the Dutch were rapidly growing in their strength and resources and their records prove their friendly attitude towards the Emperor, Venkatapati Raya from A.D. 1612 onwards.

The provenance of his epigraphs shows that Achyutappa kept intact his hold over the kingdom, as it was left to him by his father. His records are also found at other places as Tiru-uttarakōsamangai (Ramnad District) and Tiruvannāmalai and Nedungunram (North Arcot District). We have seen already that Śevappa's epigraphs also, are found both at Tiruvannāmalai and Nedungunram. The presence of the records

51. Father Heras says that the defeat was sustained by the Dutch. Mr. Sitaramayya, 'Tanjore Andhra Nayaka Charitramu' says that Raghunatha was sent against the Portuguese by Achyutappa Nayaka even on this occasion also.

52. However, Negapatam was held by the Portuguese till 1658 A.D.

53. The Dutch were carrying on negotiations with the Nayak of Tanjore seeking permission to carry on trade with Tanjore and to settle at Triminipatam (the modern Tirumalairajānpattanam) and the Portuguese maps (*Aravindu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*) also locate this port between Negapatam and Tranquebar. The Dutch wanted to get hold of this port since 'much was expected of the cloth trade of this place.' (Poonen, 'Dutch Beginnings,' Chapter VII). (The Dutch sought the permission of Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee to build a fort at Dēvanampatnam; and the necessary order was granted in 1608 (30th November). On receipt of the Nayaka's *olla* (cadian leaf embodying the grant) the Dutch began to build a small fort. The Portuguese persuaded Venkatapati Raya to send a messenger to the Nayak ordering him to expel the Dutch from his territory. Undaunted by this failure, the Dutch again sought permission from Krishnappa Nayaka to settle at Dēvanampatanam and at Krishnapuram (Porto Novo) then recently founded by the Nayaka. Again they were refused permission on account of the dissuasions of the Portuguese. Venkata had always ordered the Nayaka to act according to the demands of the Fathers and expel from his territories "the foes of the Portuguese who are better friends than the Dutch."—[Ed.]

of these two Nayaks at these places, and particularly at Nedungunram show that there must have existed some connection between the Nayaks and the latter place the exact nature of which is not known. The epigraphs of Śevappa Nayaka show that Nedungunram was their native place and the epigraphs point to their close associations and love for the place of their birth, and the temple there was enriched by their large gifts. 567 of 1902 from Tiruvannāmalai records the remission of some taxes in the villages belonging to the temple by the order of Achyutappa during the reign of Sadāsivarāya in A.D. 1567. The Tiru-uttarakōsamangai inscription which records a gift⁵⁴ made to the temple, must have been issued by the king in commemoration of his holy pilgrimage to Rāmēswaram. The ruler is said to have made a gift of a village in the Chōla country while he was at Rāmēswaram, and the Tanjore literature speaks of Achyutappa Nayaka's annual visits to Rameswaram (Sētu).

Achyutappa Nayaka's reign was one of comparative peace in spite of wars. The country, it appears, did not suffer either from the bad effects of prolonged warfare or from the evil consequences of invasion from outside. He seems to have been a patron of learning and devoted much of his resources to works of public utility, besides the building and repairing numerous temples. Achyutappa added to the gifts of his father made to the Tiruvannāmalai temple by setting up golden kalāsās on the gōpura built by his father.⁵⁵ The Siva temple at Tiruvidaimarudūr received a gift of a village, the income from which was to be utilised in celebrating the car festival of the goddess on the Ādipūram day⁵⁶. The Mārgasahāyēswarar temple at Mūvalūr (Mayavaram Taluk) where Śevappa made a gift of lands for the maintenance of a choultry, was also a recipient of a gift of lands from Achyutappa, the proceeds of which were to be spent in burning lamps in its shrine. Private benefactions also were encouraged and a record from Viḷanagar (Mayavaram Taluk) refers to the building of the *ardha* and the *mukha mantapas* (the central hall and the hall adjacent to the *sanctum sanctorum*) in stone, the expenses of which were met partly out of the palace funds and partly by private contributions.⁵⁷ This record is of interest as it refers to the Nayak's subsidy granted in favour of the temple. Another record dated in the year A.D. 1566⁵⁸ mentions a gift by Achyutappa

54. 84 of 1905, dated A.D. 1583.

55. 425 of 1928.

56. 84 of 1905 dated A.D. 1583.

57. 259 of 1913 dated Saka 1488.

58. 416 and 423 of 1918.

Nayaka of the village called Tiruvēṭkaḷam.^{58a} (South Arcot District) to the Tirumūlasthāna temple at Chidambaram, for the merit of the Vijayanagara king Tirumalarāya. The same temple received further endowments during his own life time; and two other epigraphs⁵⁹ refer to a gift of land and taxes accruing from the village called Perumaṅgalaṁ, made by one Aḷagapperumāl Pillai to Chidambārēswara for the merit of Achyutappa. Another record registers a gift of five villages made for the merit of the same Nayaka called here as the son of Aḍappam Chinna Śevappa Nayaka, to the temple at Little Conjeevaram during the reign of Srirangarāya.⁶⁰ 389 of 1928 dated A.D. 1588 refers to another gift of land made to the Panaipākkam temple (North Arcot District) by one Sēshagiri Ayyan, son of Giriappayyan who calls himself an agent of Achyutappa Nayaka.

Besides these royal gifts, the famous minister, Gōvinda Dīkshita (called Dikshitarayyan, out of respect in the epigraphs), also made large gifts and additions to temples. He is said to have constructed the Turaikāṭṭuvār maṇṭapa in Viḷanagar temple in the year A.D. 1608.⁶¹ The intimate and happy relations between the minister and the king and the high regard which the latter had for the former are best seen in two epigraphs⁶² which record a gift in money for the merit of Gōvinda Dīkshita made by Achyutappa himself.

Inscriptions also refer to the gifts made to communities apart from the temples. 22 of 1897 is the record of a charter given by the king to the community of goldsmiths in Tanjore exempting them from the payment of certain taxes in A.D. 1577. 426 of 1928 from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai dated A.D. 1590 registers the taxes fixed on the maṇṛādi living in the eastern street of that place at the rate of two paṇams for each taḷaik-kaṭṭu (groups of men) and one paṇam as kudippaṇam per annum on them. These inscriptions mention Venkatapati Raya.

Of all the temples that received large benefactions and gifts from him, the great Vishnu temple at Srirangam stands first and foremost. Gōvinda Dīkshita in the *Sangīta Sudhā*, Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita and Rāmabhadraṁba, all speak in glowing terms of Achyutappa's lavish gifts to Srirangam. He is said to have constructed the golden vimāna of the inmost shrine and presented the image of the god with a golden

58a. Part of the site of the village is now occupied by Annamalai University.

59. 380 of 1919 dated Saka 1493.

60. 380 of 1919 dated S. 1493.

61. 164 of 1925.

62. 119 of 1930 and 710 of 1904 dated A.D. 1588 and A.D. 1596 respectively.

crown studded with precious stones, a jewelled armour and a golden *simhāsana*. He is also said to have added to the gōpuras on the east, west and north of the temple, along with the construction of the 8th prākāra and several maṇṭapas. The flight of steps leading to the Cauvery and the garden attached to the temple were his other gifts. His inscriptions also confirm these presents.⁶³ He performed the great ceremony of gifts known as *Tulāpurushas* and *Hiraṇyagarbha dānas*⁶⁴ every year. He is said to have paid annual visits to Rāmēśwaram and built the gopuras of that temple. He claims to have fed a thousand Brahmans everyday. He built the Pushyamaṇṭapas, with steps leading to the Cauvery at Mayavaram, Tiruvidaimarudur, Kumbakonam and Tiruvādi. He also founded numerous agrahāras.⁶⁵ One remarkable act of public utility by which the Tanjore country has benefitted largely was the construction of a dam across the Cauvery near Tiruvādi⁶⁶ by which the irrigation facilities of the neighbourhood were largely improved. The *Rāghunāthābhyudaya* and the *Sāhityaratnākaram*

63. 410 of 1924 refers to a gift of a garden to Srirangam.

64. 426 of 1924 refers to his several gifts. Also *Sangīta Sudhā*, Slokas 38-44. It refers to his alms given to Gorayis (Bairagis) and to his gifts made to the temples at Kālahastī and Tirupati.

65. Rājachūdāmani Dīkshita in his *Rukmaniparinayam* says:—

मायूरमध्यार्चुन कुम्भघोण श्रीचंपकारण्य मुखस्थलेषु ।
महत्तरं मण्डपमाततान भतयामहत्या परमचुतेन्द्रः ॥
अग्रियाननेकानपि चाग्रहारनसी व्यतारीदवणी सुरेभ्यः ।
शौर्ये च धैर्येपि च दानकेल्या सभेनकश्चिधरणी भृतस्य ॥

quoted by Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri.

Rāṅgājamma in her *Maṇṇārudāsa Vilāsa* refers to his gifts to Srirangam, Rāmasētu and Śrīmushnam. 'Śrīmushna mukhya Visēṣha sṭhalambula śakala vaibavamula sagamjēse.' and mentions his charitable acts done to all the Vishnu temples of the Pāndya and Tundira countries as well.

66. 426 of 1924 dated cyclic Maṇmatha corresponding to A.D. 1596:—

कैकर्याणि कृतानियेन सकलान्यासंश्च रङ्गेशितु-
र्भूयः सद्यमहीधरेन्द्रतनया सेतुश्च येनोदधतः ।
कृत्वा मन्मथवत्सरे वृषभगे सितद्वादशी तिथ्यां
येन हिरण्यगर्भमवनौ श्रेष्ठत्वमासं महत् ॥
तत्तादक्षगुणोयमच्युत विभुः चैवष्प भूपात्मजः
श्रीमणिवष्णु विरिञ्जितार्थ महिते कल्याणसिन्धोस्तटे ।
नामेषश्चनदौ.....

(Inscription in the Pushyamaṇṭapa, Tiruvadi).

devote special chapters to the description of the land and its fertility under him, the land being termed a paddy forest (Śālivanam).

Achyutappa's patronage was impartially and generously extended to the three prominent faiths of the land, viz., the Saiva, Vaishnava and the Madhwa, and this is mentioned in the epigraphs and in the literature as well. The gift made to Vijayindra Tirtha by Srirangarāya on the request of Śevappa Nayaka appears to have been made by Achyutappa himself very early, perhaps soon after his appointment as Yuvarāja.⁶⁷

Achyutappa's last years saw the beginning of troubles caused by the rise of a powerful chief, Sōlaga, who was a subordinate of the Gingee Nayak and the ruler of Kōttaitivu situated at the mouth of the Coleroon and also by the Portuguese settlers on the coast. The king of Jaffna, who was opposed to the Portuguese was driven out of his country and he had to take refuge at the Nayak's court. To crown all, the great Emperor of Vijayanagara, Venkatapati Raya died leaving the throne to be disputed by two parties in a terrible civil war; and in this struggle, the loyalist party supporting the cause of

67. The Aruvilimangalam plates. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 12, p. 342. The plates record a gift of the village called Aruvilimangalam (also known as Achyuta-samudram and situated in the Nannilam Taluk of the Tanjore District) to the great Madhwa teacher Vijayindra Tirtha. Verses 40 to 45 say that this gift which was made by Achyutappa Nayaka earlier, was now ratified by the Vijayanagara Emperor, Srirangarāya at the request of Śevappa Nayaka, the father of Achyutappa. Vijayindra, the donee is said to have given away this village which was composed of sixty *vr̥ttis* to Brahmans for his own merit and for the merit of Śevappa and Achyutappa. Vijayindra Tirtha is said to have occupied the pontifical seat for fifty-five years, five months and sixteen days, i.e., from Saka 1461 to Saka 1517 (A.D. 1539 to 1595). His death in the cyclic year Manmatha would correspond to A.D. 1595-6. The importance of these plates consists in the fact that Achyutappa was closely associated with the administration of the government of his father and both of them were loyal feudatories of the Vijayanagara Empire. They also explain the royal patronage extended to the Madhwa religion. Vijayindra is said to have been a contemporary of the great Advaita scholar, Appayya Dikshita. The plates are dated in the cyclic year Dhātri and in the month of Āshāda. The chronogram Ratna, griha, payōdhindu ganitē Sakavastarē is taken to mean Saka 1499 equal to A.D. 1577-8 by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao and Mr. T. S. Kuppaswamy Sastri (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 342).

Sl. 40. कुमाराच्युतभूपेन दत्तपूर्वं विशेषतः ।

Sl. 41. वीर श्रीचैवम्पस्य विज्ञप्तिमनुपालयन् ।

Achyutappa is called here Kumāra Achyuta Bhūpa.

Chikkadēvarāya, the emperor's nephew who was nominated by Venkatapati himself, and the other taking up the cause of a putative son of Venkatapati. The former was led by Yāchama Nayaka, while Gobburī Jaggarāya, the Emperor's brother-in-law became the organiser and head of the disloyal group of chieftains. And the Tanjore Nayak, as a loyal feudatory was naturally drawn into this struggle. All the Tanjore literary evidence are unanimous in mentioning that Achyutappa, who was then old, thought it proper and best to leave the administration in the hands of his son Raghunātha, who had already won fame as a warrior in the Penukonda campaign and so he abdicated the throne in favour of his son so that he might take part in the campaign as a faithful vassal. It is also known that in this course the king was well advised by his minister, Gōvinda Dikshita, who played a prominent part in the administration of the country.

Achyutappa's abdication and Raghunātha's consequent assumption of the rulership of Tanjore are well established facts; but the question of the exact date of these events remains to be settled. The two historical poems of *Sāhityaratnākara* and the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* written during the reign of Raghunātha Nayaka contain different versions and so present us with some difficulty. Rāma-bhadrāmba would place the installation of Raghunātha as the Yuvarāja sometime before his participation in the campaign against the Kutub Shah, made on behalf of Venkatapati Raya, i.e., before A.D. 1589.⁶⁸ But her speaking about Raghunātha Nayaka's holding a war council at the capital soon after his return⁶⁹ would make us believe that Raghunātha was then the ruler. The *Sāhityaratnākara* would place the same appointment of Raghunātha as Yuvarāja some years later, i.e., about A.D. 1614 since its author says that this installation was made by Achyutappa Nayaka only on his hearing the news of the death of Venkatapati Raya and the war of succession.⁷⁰ All are agreed that Achyutappa lived on in retirement for sometime after this event. To add to these there are the Jesuit letters, which are definite in their assertions, regarding this question. Anquetil du Perron records that Achyutappa had resigned and given up the affairs some years before A.D. 1600.⁷¹ Father Pimenta who passed through the Tanjore country a little earlier (A.D. 1597 says that Achyutappa 'has lately renounced the world and prepared himself for death.'⁷² Father Heras concludes there-

68. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Canto VII.

69. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Canto VIII, Sloka 1

70. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto XII, Slokas 45-47.

71. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 399.

72. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 399 and Purchas X, p. 219.

from thus :—"Hence there can be no longer any doubt about the date of Achyutappa's renunciation and the year 1597 witnessed the coronation of Raghunātha"; and he tells the reader further that the account given in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* agrees fairly with that given by Father Pimenta and Anquetil du Perron, and 'according to this poem, Raghunātha was crowned Yuvarāja long before the civil war and the war with Ceylon.' Both Father Pimenta and Father du Jarric say that Achyutappa Nayaka retired to Srirangam "accompanied in that devotion by his seventy wives, all which were to be burned in the same fire with his Carkasee". And Father Coutinho writing from Chandragiri on July 17th, A.D. 1600 reports:—"This (Achyutappa Nayaka) died lately. His corpse, along with 370 wives still alive, was burnt in a big fire of sandalwood".⁷³ Father Heras relying exclusively on the evidence of these letters and denouncing the facts mentioned by Yagnanārāyana Dikshita says that in order 'to give some dramatic interest to his poem, he placed the renunciation of Achyutappa after the outbreak of the civil war, and the death of Venkata. Nothing could be farther from the truth'.⁷⁴

Turning to the evidence of epigraphy, we find that Raghunātha Nayaka had been associated with the administration of the kingdom at least from A.D. 1600. The Achyutamangalam inscription (Tanjore District)⁷⁵ dated in the cyclic year Śārvari and corresponding to A.D. 1600 is the earliest record which mentions Raghunātha Nayaka. Another record from Lālgudi bearing the same date refers to a gift made for the merit of Raghunātha Nayaka and Gōvinda Dikshita.⁷⁶ These two epigraphs show that the commencement of Raghunātha's part in the administration of the land must be placed in A.D. 1600. This date seems to be fairly settled since one of the epigraphs of Achyutappa bears the latest date A.D. 1596⁷⁷ and moreover the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* says that Raghunātha was installed as Yuvarāja before the Penukonda war, that is, before A.D. 1589; and it is also mentioned that Achyutappa received him on his victorious return, in great pomp and splendour. The epigraphical evidence confirms the testimony of the Jesuit letters that Raghunātha took charge of the government in A.D. 1600. But the epigraphs do not throw full light with regard to

73. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 400.

Father Coutinho says that the Nayaka went to Srirangam followed by 370 wives, while Father Pimenta mentions that they numbered only 70.

74. *The Aravidu Dynasty*, p. 400.

75. 412 of 1925.

76. 151 of 1928.

77. 426 of 1924.

the abdication of Achyutappa. The Jesuit evidence that he abdicated in or before A.D. 1600 and died at Srirangam, cannot be accepted in the light of authentic contemporary indigenous evidence contained in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara*, which definitely say that Achyutappa lived long after the installation of Raghunātha as the Yuvarāja. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* says that Raghunātha was made Yuvarāja (canto VII, slokas 34 and 40); but it does not speak of Achyutappa's abdication nor is there any implication that he died shortly afterwards. In fact a careful reading of a passage would show that Achyutappa must have lived on till A.D. 1617, since the passage refers to Raghunātha's paying his respects to his father after his return from the Tōppūr battle.⁷⁸ The *Sāhityaratnākara* contains no reference to Raghunātha's help given to Venkatapati Raya in his Penukonda campaign, but it records that Achyutappa's abdication was necessitated by the political circumstances of the times, such as the outbreak of a civil war following the death of Venkatapati in A.D. 1614 and the rise of Sōlaga and the Portuguese on the eastern coast. Achyutappa it is said here, was advised by his minister Gōvinda Dikshita to raise Raghunātha to the throne and the appointment of Raghunātha as the ruler must have taken place about A.D. 1614, when Achyutappa abdicated, on the receipt of the news of the death of the Vijayanagara emperor and its immediate consequences.⁷⁹ The *Sāhityaratnākara* says that Achyutappa retired after his abdication to Srirangam where he spent the rest of his days in the company of pandits.⁸⁰ These two different versions of the two contemporary works offer some difficulty. Mr. K. Sitaramayya says that these two versions are contradictory and in order to get over the difficulty he has glibly assumed that the account of *Sāhityaratnākara* is the more correct and reliable of the two. He says that the account given by Rāmabhadraṁba is not accurate and adds that she, being a mere courtesan of Raghunātha's court, might not have had the opportunity of knowing things in their correct historical sequence.⁸¹

78. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Canto XII, Sloka 83.

इति वादिनीषु हरिणेश्वरामणीश्वर राममद्रममिपूज्यमानसे ।

विनति तदाच्युत विमोः प्रकल्पयन्तुदतिष्ठेष शयनादुदारधीः ॥

If Achyutappa was dead the authoress would not have made mention of his name.

79. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Sloka 55. The news was communicated to Achyutappa while he was holding a war council with his minister and son in order to punish Sōlaga.

80. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto XII, Sloka 94. The reference to his retiring to Srirangam in the Jesuit letters earlier than this date, might refer to his annual visits made to Srirangam and Rāmēswaram.

81. *The Tanjore Andhra Nayaka Charitam*, p. 174.

If this view should be correct then one will have to leave out of account the part played by Raghunātha in the Penukonda campaign and which is confirmed even by the Muhammadan historians, on the ground that it is mentioned only by Rāmabhadraṁba and not by Yagna nārāyana Dikshita. And so his preference of the *Sāhityaratnākara* as the better source does not seem to be well established and so requires modification.

The facts mentioned in these two historical poems are not contradictory in reality, but on the other hand may be seen to be only complementary to each other, and the gaps left by the one are ably filled up by the other. Taking these two accounts together, it is possible to suggest that Raghunātha was made a Yuvarāja very early and that he ascended the throne only soon after the declaration of the war of succession to the Karnāṭaka throne. Rāmabhadraṁba referring to Raghunātha's appointment as Yuvarāja does not speak of Achyutappa's retirement. The *Sāhityaratnākara* refers to Achyutappa's desire early in his reign⁸² to appoint Raghunātha as the Yuvarāja; but the actual celebrations took place after the lapse of a number of years and just before Raghunātha Nayaka's starting on his *digvijaya*.⁸³ Achyutappa's retirement seems to have taken place immediately after that. But Rāmabhadraṁba does not refer at all to Achyutappa's retirement following the Yauvarājyābhishēka whereas Yagnanārāyana Dikshita places this immediately after the celebration. The aged king's retirement would be possible only after Raghunātha's coronation as king and not before that. Yagnanārāyana's mention of Raghunātha's great gifts like *Tulāpurushadāna* and *Mahābhūṭadāna* said to have been performed in connection with this ceremony and the absence of any reference to the same in Rāmabhadraṁba's account, show clearly that the former speaks of his actual coronation alone, while the latter mentions his appointment as Yuvarāja and then passes on in silence, only without making any reference to his coronation.⁸⁴ Hence the reference to

82. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto V, Sl. 49. The actual ceremony is mentioned only in Chapter XII.

83. Raghunātha's invasion against Sōlaga is mentioned only after his coronation, i.e., after A.D. 1614 and *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Slokas 61 and 62 show Achyutappa's determination to appoint Raghunātha, as his successor on the receipt of the Karnāṭaka news.

84. These discrepancies are easily understood if one thinks of the authors and their purposes in writing these poems. It was not their object to chronicle the events, but both of them were bent upon pleasing their hero and patron, the famous Raghunātha Nayaka.

Raghunātha's coronation in the *Sāhityaratnākara* is loosely worded and misnamed *Yuvarājyābhishēkam* instead of *Pattābishēka*. Subsequent events, like the invasion of the Sōlaga's territory and of Jaffna mentioned in these two works, support this conclusion. The way in which both have treated these two events, again gives support to the view already taken, that Rāmabhadraṁba and Yagnanārāyana speak of Raghunātha's installation as Yuvarāja and his coronation respectively.⁸⁵ As the other particulars agree in the main, and since the foreign policy of Achyutappa mentioned in them is confirmed by the Muhammadan historians like Ferishta, and the foreign evidence of Barradas, it is impossible either to overlook their importance or to accept the one at the expense of the other. The two, taken together give us a clear picture of the state of affairs then prevalent, and in the light of that evidence, it is not possible to give weight to the Jesuit letters. Since the internal evidence is well based with regard to the coronation of Raghunātha and the abdication of Achyutappa in or about A.D. 1614; the reference to Achyutappa's death in A.D. 1600 in the Jesuit letters stands condemned and cannot be taken seriously in the absence of further support.

Thus, it becomes clear that Raghunātha became Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) sometime before A.D. 1589; but his coronation which was accelerated by the political circumstances of the revolution after Venkata's death, took place about A.D. 1614 and this would prove that Achyutappa remained at Tanjore at least till the outbreak of hostilities between the loyalists and the rebel factions.

85. *Raghunāthābhīrudayam* describes his appointment as Yuvarāja in 5 slokas (Canto VII, Sloka 35 to 40) while Yagnanārāyana devotes two full chapters (Cantos XI and XII).

CHAPTER V.

RAGHUNĀTHA NAYAKA, A.D. 1600 TO A.D. 1634 (I)

Raghunātha Nayaka was the most illustrious of the Tanjore line of Nayaks, as well as the main prop of their fame and glory. His rule was one of peace as it marked the revival and development of the many-sided, cultural activities for which Tanjore had been famous through the ages. Literature and art flourished side by side; and Tanjore became under him the greatest seat of learning and culture of the time in South India and as well as the home of Carnatic music. The Nayak himself was a great scholar and the author of numerous works in Telugu and also a musician of high repute. He was given the distinguishing epithet of Abhinava Bhōja.¹ Several poets flourished at Tanjore under his royal patronage. His victories in war brought him great renown and honour and much prominence to Tanjore. Yagnanārāyana Dikshita, eulogising his reign, says that poverty left the country and Tanjore became the abode of Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth). The poets of the age have left behind glowing accounts of his rule and it is from them that we get incidentally some information about his ancestors also. It is certainly not an overstatement if it is said, that but for him, the history of the Tanjore Nayaks would have remained obscure and insignificant. But for him and his patronage of learning, the period of the Nayak rule in Tanjore would have been as mediocre as it was in Gingee. All the same, these accounts of Raghunātha's rule are not full and do not detail all the events of his reign, as they mostly stop with the description of his early conquests. He is called the establisher of the Karnāta and the Nēpāla (Jaffna) kings,² and a *Nēo Dāśa-ratī* (Rama) in building a bridge of boats across the ocean between the mainland of India and the Jaffnese coast of Ceylon, in his expedition against his Portuguese enemies.

Raghunātha by virtue of his victories and benefactions fully justified the high expectations of his grandfather, Śevappa. Gōvinda Dikshita says that Śevappa on seeing Raghunātha, then a boy, playing, expressed the idea that he was the fittest person to rule and it was through

him the fame of the Nayak's rule would be established.³ The same high praise is given to him by Achyutappa also, his father. The latter says that by his (Raghunātha's) birth alone he himself had attained to great honour and adds that his own birth did not bring anything of that kind to his own parents.⁴ The literary celebrities of his time also speak of Raghunātha in the same praiseful strain. These remarks and the sketches of his personal beauty and charm, given in their works, go to show that Raghunātha was a great and powerful ruler who may be favourably compared with the great Emperor of Vijayanagar, Krishnadēva Rāya.

Achyutappa appointed his son Raghunātha as Yuvarāja even early in his own reign, as he was fully convinced of his intelligence and capacity. It is sometimes held that Achyutappa had two sons and that Raghunātha, the more favoured of the two, got the throne by having his brother murdered.⁵ Father Heras, relying too much on the Portuguese letters and at the same time underrating the internal evidence, adduces some arguments to prove, not only the existence of a brother of Raghunātha Nayaka; but also the treacherous part played by him, in getting the throne. He says further, that 'Govinda Dikshita implies that Raghunātha was the eldest son of Achyutappa Nayaka', and cites Anquetil du Perron and Father Coutinho for additional support. Of these two, the former says 'that the eldest son of Achyutappa had been imprisoned by order of his father,' and this information is confirmed by Father Coutinho in his letter of July 17th, A.D. 1600 addressed to Father Pimenta. Father Heras adds that 'no reason for such an imprisonment is given; what is clear is the extreme predilection of Achyutappa for Raghunātha.'⁶ He also draws instances from the *Raghunāthā-bhyudayam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* to prove this extreme predilection of Achyutappa and Śevappa for Raghunātha, but he does not cite the authority from which he drew the conclusion, that 'Gōvinda Dikshita implies that he (Raghunātha) was the eldest son.' This view is untenable in the light of a critical study of the contemporary works; and the information contained in the Jesuit letters is rather curious and comes almost a surprise. There is no evidence to show either that Achyutappa had two sons or Raghunātha had his brother murdered just before or after his accession to the throne. Father Heras, however, holds that both Rāmabhadra and Yagnanārāyana Dikshita had concealed

1. *Vijayavilāsam*; padyam 53 has Abinava Bhōja birudānkudu.

2. *Sāhityaratnākara*: Canto II, Sloka 71.

Vijayavilāsam; Padyam 62 has 'Nēpāla Nripāla sthāpana.'

3. *Sangita Sudhā*:—"This child will become great and rule the whole kingdom and we shall become famous on his account."

4. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto VI, Sloka 34.

5. *The Aravīdu Dynasty*; Heras, p. 402.

6. *Ibid*, p. 401.

this fact. Nothing could be farther from the truth; and it is here that the full value of contemporary internal and external evidence which lies buried, becomes obvious. The *Raghunāthābhyudaya* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* alike say that Achyutappa was for long, without a child and add that he even did penance before Raghunātha was born to him and to Mūrtimāmba.⁷ Gōvinda Dikshita, in his introduction to the *Sangīta Sudhā*, speaks of Raghunātha only, as the son of Achyutappa and there is nothing even in the Telugu works as well, to imply or indicate that he had a brother. Vijayaraghava Nayaka in the genealogy given in his work, makes no reference to the existence of another son of Achyutappa, besides Raghunātha. Even the traditional accounts do not mention at all any brother of Raghunātha; and hence, in the face of these hard facts, the reference to Raghunātha's brother in the Jesuit letters is wholly misleading and unreliable and should have been based on a misconception.

The *Raghunāthābhyudaya* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* devote special chapters to detail his early life and education in the Sāstras, in Rājanīti, in the art of warfare, and in the use of various weapons. They give also a good pen-picture of the king's person, his broad forehead, long arms, broad chest, piercing eyes, pearl-like teeth and long moustaches (śmaśru) as dark as the clouds.⁸ Rāmabhadraṁba says that he was married to a Pāṇḍyan princess,⁹ while the *Sāhityaratnākara* says that he married a number of princesses. The *Ushāparināyam* says that his queens were Chenchā Lakshmaṁba and Kalāvati. Vijayarāghava Nayaka was his

7. *Raghunāthābhyudaya*; Canto VI, Sloka 29 to 51. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto IV. Achyutappa Nayaka's pilgrimage to Rāmēswaram perhaps has reference to this.

8. *Raghunāthābhyudaya*; Canto VII, Slokas 1 to 33: *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto VI, Sloka 39 to 69.

9. The reference to Raghunātha's marriage with a Pāṇḍyan princess is given much weight in the *Tanjore Gazetteer*, as it tries to connect this marriage with a Pāṇḍyan war in A.D. 1610. The Pāṇḍya who waged a war with Tanjore is said to have been Ativīrārāma, the feudatory of Virappa Nayaka of Madura. The *Gazetteer* (page 39) says that Tanjore suffered a defeat; and the Pāṇḍya in order to commemorate his victory named a port on the sea coast after him, and called it Adirāmpatnam (Ativīrārāmanpatnam) in the south-east corner of the Tanjore district. The Pāṇḍyan victory over Tanjore is not possible in the face of Tanjore's victory over Virappa Nayaka at Vallamprākāra; and besides, there was Venkatapati Rāya on the Vijayanagar throne wielding the strong arm of his suzerainty over all his vassals. Even assuming a Pāṇḍyan victory one cannot adequately explain the marriage of the Pāṇḍyan princess with the defeated Tanjore Nayak. The *District Gazetteer* speaks definitely of a defeat and not even of a peace. Mr. K. Sitaramayya rejects this and says that Adirāmpatnam must be the shortened name of Ādi-

son by his chief queen Kalāvati. The *Raghunāthābhyudaya Nāṭakam* by Vijayarāghava Nayaka calls Kalāvati as Pattampurāni. That Raghunātha had a number of wives, is mentioned in all the literary works and Rāmabhadraṁba calls herself as one of his numerous consorts. The reference to Kalāvati as the senior queen would imply the possibility of only one wife being the chief consort, while the rest must have been attached to the royal harem, and Rāmabhadraṁba perhaps means this, when she speaks of his other wives as *Kāṇṭa* and not *Mahishi* or *Rāni*.¹⁰

Raghunātha Nayaka's appointment as Yuvarāja, even while he was a youth, has been noticed already, and he was the joint ruler of the kingdom, along with his father, for a number of years. In that period, he distinguished himself in the wars of the Emperor, Venkatapati against Golkonda (1589), and even obtained laurels and high praise from the Raya, for the valuable help rendered to him. Raghunātha's fame as a great warrior came to be established soon after his victory at Penukonda. In the subsequent wars of Tanjore with Madura (circa A.D. 1611), Raghunātha should have played a prominent part; but of these we have no direct or detailed evidence. And Achyutappa's nomination of Raghunātha, as his successor and co-ruler, was the direct result of the troubles that were happening then. The *Raghunāthābhyudaya* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* both refer to the atrocities committed by one Sōḷaga and the troubles caused by the Portuguese, besides describing the war of suc-

rājēndrapatnam. The Pāṇḍyan marriage must evidently be taken as nothing but poetic.

[Further Note by the Editor.]

F. R. Hemingway, the editor of the *Gazetteer* says that the Pāṇḍyan king destroyed the Cauvery dam at the western end of the Tanjore dominion and that his power seems to have extended some distance into the south of the Tanjore district at this time. The attack was manifested on two flanks, one near the dam, and the other on the coast country round Point Calimere. He accepts the view that the war was followed by a marriage between Raghunātha and a Pāṇḍyan princess. Ativīrārāma Pāṇḍya, surnamed Śrīvallabha (1563—1605) and his cousin, Varatunga Rama (1588—1609?) were in subordinate alliance generally with the Nayaks of Madura and seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Aravīdu Rayas as well. Their jurisdiction seems to have been more in the southern part of the Madura Nayak dominion; and their active operations on the northern frontier of Madura, should require more evidence before deserving acceptance. Achutarāya seems also to have married a Pāṇḍyan princess. The marriage of Raghunātha to a Pāṇḍyan princess is at the best doubtful.

10. *Raghunāthābhyudaya*; Canto III, Sloka 5. Raghunātha is described as Krishna in the company of a thousand wives. '*Sahasra Kāṇṭājana*.'

cession consequent on the death of Venkatapati in A.D. 1614. And so, Raghunātha's association with his father and his subsequent coronation on the latter's abdication, were the outcome of political factors, but for which, Achyutappa might have continued on the throne for some time more. Moreover, Achyutappa having been in power from about A.D. 1560, should have also become feeble and so resigned the administrative charge of the land in the hands of his son.

Raghunātha, when he assumed the reins of government directly, had to face some difficulties that demanded his immediate attention, and the literary evidence shows that he set himself to this task without any delay. Good, but slightly discrepant, accounts of his military exploits are given both by Rāmabhadraṁba and Yagnanārāyana Dikshita; and to understand the sequence of the events aright, a close study of their conflicting accounts is useful. Rāmabhadraṁba says that a war council for concerting measures for immediate action was held by Raghunātha himself.¹¹ She further says that Raghunātha was informed of the atrocities committed by Sōlaga, by the Brahmans who had then assembled at his court, of the affairs of the Nēpāla kingdom by the Nēpāla ruler himself, who, it is said, had just then arrived at Tanjore and lastly of the Karnāta war of succession by some loyal feudatory nobles (*Karnāta bhūpa srayībhihi*) of the deceased Raya, Venkatapati.¹² Raghunātha, it is again said, promising his help to the Karnāta nobles, started at once on his campaign against the Sōlaga and other enemies, who were nearer home. Reference is made to his march first towards Kumbakonam on his way to the island fortress of Sōlaga at the mouth of the Coleroon; from there to the town of Jaffna and lastly his advance towards Toppūr near the Grand Anicut, before he returned to his capital. News of the arrival of the rebels led by Jaggarāya, near Toppūr and their breach of the great dam across the Cauvery, which were conveyed to him were the immediate causes for his onward march to Toppūr. Rāmabhadraṁba describes in great detail the battle of Toppūr and Raghunātha's part therein; and also his victorious return to Tanjore therefrom, crowned with laurels. Raghunātha is said to have planted a pillar of victory also on the field of battle, and his troops claim to have taken possession of the fort at Bhuvanagiri (in the Chidambaram taluk).

Yagnanārāyana Dikshita's account is not so full as it stops with Raghunātha's leaving his capital on a march upon his enemies; and it gives another version of the events, which differs in certain respects from

the account of Rāmabhadraṁba. According to him, a war council was held by Achyutappa Nayaka and it was attended both by Gōvinda Dikshita and Raghunātha, besides others. This summoning of the war cabinet was the direct outcome of the Nēpāla king's complaint; he had already arrived at Tanjore, having been driven away from his kingdom by the Portuguese.¹³ Gōvinda Dikshita is said to have informed his master of the atrocities of Sōlaga, the rise of the Pāndya and the Tundira rulers and lastly the war of succession following the death of Venkatapati.¹⁴ According to the author, these news were conveyed to the minister by a spy who was sent out to gather information.¹⁵ The author refers to the murder of Venkatapati's successor by Jaggarāya and his arrival at Srirangam. Reference is also made to Yāchama Nayaka's desire to come to the south,¹⁶ along with the rescued prince Rāma, who was the only survivor of the massacre and who was the second son of the murdered king of Vijayanagar; in order to receive help from Tanjore, as against the rebel Jaggarāya and his partisans. Jaggarāya is reported, in the meanwhile, to have reached Srirangam, where he was preparing for battle along with the Pāndyan King. Yagnanārāyana Dikshita then only describes the abdication of Achyutappa and the accession of Raghunātha. Again, another spy is introduced, who is said to have informed the new Nayak (Raghunātha) for a second time about the murder of Chikkadēvarāya by Jaggarāya and the latter's arrival at Srirangam, where he was joined by the Dramida, Chēra and the Pāndya kings. Yāchama Nayaka is mentioned again for the second time, but this time it is said, that he was then actually coming to the south accompanied by the Aravidu prince Rāma.¹⁷ Immediately after, Raghunātha was informed of Yāchama Nayaka's arrival and of the damage done to the Cauvery embankment by the enemies.¹⁸ Raghunātha, who was enraged at this news, is said to have resolved that he should first restore and instal the young prince Rāma, as the emperor of Karnāta, by his marching towards Kumbakonam; and then to crush Sōlaga and other enemies.¹⁹ Yagnanārāyana Dikshita stops at this place in his account but he gives a full description of the Tanjore army and its equipment. Thus Yagnanārāyana Dikshita's narration of events

11. *Raghunāthābhūdayam*, Canto VIII, Slokas 1 to 7.

12. *Raghunāthābhūdayam*, Canto VIII, Slokas 7, 14 and 23.

13. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto VI, Slokas 66-72.

14. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Slokas 14-60.

15. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Slokas 33, 36 and 55.

16. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Sloka 56.

परिग्रह तदात्मजं सयाचप्रभुरन्यैश्च समायियासतीह ।

17. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Sloka 76. आयातिसयाचमृपतिः

18. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Sloka 78. त्वामभ्यागमदेष सयाच महिः ।

19. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Sloka 80 and 81.

differs in important respects from that of Rāmabhadrāmba. The latter says that the king guaranteed his help to the loyal Karnātaka nobles and marched upon Sōlaga and the Nēpāla enemies. This is just possible and the expedition against these might have been undertaken by him. But it will be seen from the account of Yagnanārāyana Dikshita, that Raghunātha first installed prince Rāma, as the legitimate emperor at Kumbakōnam, then marched against Sōlaga, leaving at the sametime the powerful combination of the enemy forces under Jaggarāya, on the west of his dominion thus risking their attack on his own kingdom. When Rāmabhadrāmba says that Raghunātha passed through Kumbakōnam on his march against Sōlaga, Yagnanārāyana would make us understand that he went there to effect a junction with Rāma and to proclaim him as the King of Karnāta. Both of them refer to the damages caused to the Cauvery dam by the rebels led by Jaggarāya. Raghunātha's hastening to Toppūr from Jaffna was the result of his hearing this news according to Rāmabhadrāmba; and so, the victory over the Sōlaga and the Portuguese must have happened before the Toppūr battle. But according to the Dikshita, the same news was the cause of Raghunātha's leaving the capital for Kumbakōnam.

These two accounts are not, however, really so very contradictory as they appear to be at first sight, but are merely complementary to each other. And the historical sequence of these incidents can best be understood, if these narratives are studied in the light of internal evidence as well as of the facts contained in the letters of Barradas and the Portuguese missionaries. We have already referred to Yagnanārāyana Dikshita's confusion regarding the regular coronation of Raghunātha as ruler with his *Yauvarājyābhishēkam* and his omission of his participation in the Penukonda campaign. And this confusion may be said to continue throughout his narrative, which appears to have been compiled in a slipshod manner without due regard for historical sequence or the regular order of events. His account resembles more that of a mere chronicler of events, while Rāmabhadrāmba's version seems to be the more historically accurate and sequentially probable. However, the former's account gives greater detail and hence only a rearrangement in the sequence of facts alone is needed. The absence of unity and agreement in sequence in these two accounts, are largely due to the fact, that the compilers had in view different objects and motives. Of course, both are agreed in their attempt to praise their patron-king, but the methods employed by them differ.²⁰

20. Their object was not essentially to write a history of the period. Rāmabhadrāmba wrote her account mainly to exhibit her love and regard for Raghu-

The murder of Chikkadēvaraya, the rescue of his second son Rāma who was smuggled out of the prison in a bundle of washerman's clothes by the loyal Yāchama Nayaka, and the rise of Jaggarāya are all mentioned by both Rāmabhadrāmba²¹ and Yagnanārāyana and their accounts are confirmed by the narrative of Barradas. The latter says that both the armies of Yāchama Nayaka and Jaggarāya were assembled in the spacious plains surrounding Trichinopoly on December 12th, A.D. 1616.²² The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nayaka says that Raghunātha was then camping at Palamānēri, a village near Tanjore, in the month of August A.D. 1616 before he began his march upon Toppūr.²³ It is stated that Rāma, the prince, also accompanied him to the battle field. The Portuguese chroniclers of Ceylon refer to the success of the Tanjore forces in Jaffna, in the beginning of A.D. 1616. As both Rāmabhadrāmba and Yagnanārāyana place the invasion against Sōlaga as the first part of the campaign it is evident that the latter's defeat must have been effected before A.D. 1616. Barradas speaks of the loyalist party led by Yāchama and the rebel combination led by Jaggarāya and to their fight before they reached Trichinopoly.²⁴

nātha; while Yagnanārāyana Dikshita wrote his work with a different object altogether. He says that his attempt was to write a work on Sāhitya with particular reference to Alankāras, so that it may serve as a guide for others to follow (Canto I). The author also complains that poets with no knowledge of literature and its conventions had attempted works of this kind before and had received large presents from the king. Secondly, as a pupil of Raghunātha (Canto I, Sl. 62), he thought of showing his gratitude and indebtedness by writing this work; and above all he wanted to exhibit his own scholarship and literary attainments. Hence we find more than two chapters being devoted to the description of the seasons. Dr. T. R. Chintamani says that the treatment of this *kūvya* is largely modelled on the Tamil Kāvya (*Sāhityaratnākara*, Introduction). A reading of the work would show that the author, who complains of others' faults, is himself guilty of a 'dōsha' known as Pūṇarukti.

21. Rāmabhadrāmba does not mention the name of Yachama Nayaka. Yagnanārāyana calls him Yācha bhūpa and Yāchamahīpa.

22. *A Forgotten Empire*; pp. 222-230.

23. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 259.

24. *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 229. Yāchama Nayaka is said to have won a decisive victory over Jaggarāya and Barradas says that 'after this victory many of the nobles joined themselves to Yāchama Nayaka.

[Further Note by the Editor.]

Barradas explicitly states that "all came to him (Srīranga) to offer their allegiance except three," and these latter persons joined together and "swore never to do homage to the new king, but on the contrary to raise in his place the putative

Rāmabhadraṁba's account of Raghunātha's advance towards Toppūr must refer to this period (in 1616) when Yāchama had already arrived in the Cauvery Valley. Yagnanārāyaṇa Dikshita's mentioning Yāchama Nayaka's arrival at last, must also refer to the same time, since he speaks of the breach of the Cauvery dam effected by the enemies merely to prevent Yāchama from effecting a junction with his ally. The *Bahulāsvacharitam* of Dāmarla Veṅkaṭabhūpāla, gives an account of the route of Yāchama's march towards Toppūr,²⁵ but even from that it is

son of the deceased king." Śrīranga or Ranga II had, before his enthronement been in Tanjore where he made the acquaintance, according to Queyroz, of several Balas of Jaffnapatam. He raised these latter to various posts in his administration, shortly after his accession. Gobbūri Jaggarāya, the maternal uncle of the putative heir, Tima Nayaka and Makaraja were the chiefs who were opposed to Śrīranga. They were joined by the Dalavoy, and a minister who were alienated from Ranga and also by one Narparaju, also by Ravilla Venka and three others named Chenchu, Virappa and Yāchama. Then followed the coup by which the Dalavoy and Jaggarāya seized possession of Ranga and his family. This took place after Ranga had ruled for some time—a few months at the most. The coronation of the putative nephew was celebrated by Jaggarāya, who first treated Ranga with consideration; but put him into rigorous confinement when he tried to rise against the usurper. Barradas says that Ranga was now deserted by "all save one captain whose name was Echama Naique" and who was attempted to be cajoled and won over by Jaggarāya. Yāchama Nayak was unable to obtain any access to the imprisoned Ranga, but contrived to have one of his sons concealed in a bundle of soiled linen taken out to wash and thus brought over to his side, probably hoping to encourage his troops with the presence of the boy prince and also "perhaps in order to save the royal offspring in the case of a prospective regicide". After two futile attempts at escape, poor Ranga and all his other children were slaughtered though there is a discrepancy as to the method by which this holocaust was brought about. The Viceroy of Goa heard in December 1614 that Ranga had been killed in a short time before, perhaps in November. According to Barradas, Yāchama Nayak was infuriated by this atrocious crime and openly challenged Jaggarāya, offering battle to him. In the fight that followed, Yāchama attacked the enemy with such valour that Jaggarāya had to retreat, abandoning all the royal insignia. Yāchama Nayak proclaimed the surviving son of Ranga the rightful heir and king and soon he got the support of many of the nobles; while Jaggarāya fled to the jungles with 15,000 men only. The Nayak of Madura joined the army of Jaggarāya after this defeat. According to Barradas this first victory of Yāchama resulted in many of the captains joining Yāchama Nayak, so that in a short time his army had augmented to 50,000 fighting men; while Jaggarāya's forces had diminished to 15,000 (see Heras: *The Great Civil War of Vijayanagara* in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. V, pp. 164-88). Here Father Heras says that Sri Ranga himself had vainly renounced his rights on Venkata's death-bed as he was not willing to become the cause of bloodshed and the Portuguese Viceroy foresaw the coming civil war some years before.

25. Sources: *Bahulāsvacharitam*; p. 305.

not known whether Yāchama ever came to Kumbakonam at all. If reliance is based upon the *Sāhityaratnākara* then, it would mean that Yāchama Nayaka reached Toppūr from South Arcot, marching through the western portions of the Choia country; and the breach of the Cauvery dam which was effected by the rebels, in order to prevent his entry into the Tanjore country, easily explains this.²⁶ If this is correct, Raghunātha's going to Kumbakonam to instal Rāma as emperor, must be taken to mean his march from Tanjore eastwards to the same place on his way to the campaign against Sōlaga. Otherwise how could Raghunātha start on an expedition against his eastern enemies when there were enemies on the west prepared for battle? Diplomacy and prudent statesmanship would not justify such a course of action. Yagnanārāyaṇa's references to Yāchama Nayaka's 'desire to come' (समायियासति) to 'his coming' (आयाति), and lastly to 'his arrival' in the Tanjore country (अगमत्) exactly fits in with the account of Barradas. Yāchama Nayaka's arrival at Trichinopoly is dated towards the end of A.D. 1616, that is, two years after the declaration of hostilities between Jaggarāya and Yāchama Nayaka in the Karnāṭaka country. And Barradas says 'that the war continued these two years, fortune favouring now one side now the other.' Raghunātha's joining the army led by Yāchama Nayaka and Rāma, must be placed sometime before August A.D. 1616 when he was encamping near the village of Paḷamānēri.

Raghunātha Nayaka's first expedition began only after A.D. 1614, since the contemporary works say that he was informed of the news of the Karnāṭaka war of succession before he actually left his capital.²⁷

26. Sources: *Sāhityaratnākara*; p. 274.

27.

[Note by the Editor.]

The loyalist chiefs sent envoys to request the Nayak of Tanjore; and these demanded of Raghunātha "to rescue the empire *once more* from destruction, as he had done before in his youth, and to destroy the party of Jaggarāya" (Sarga VIII of the *Raghunāthābhīyudayam* of Rāmabhadraṁba, tells us that Raghunātha then told his ministers that the three tasks of destroying Sōlaga in the island, driving out the enemies of the Nēpāla (Jaffnese) king and celebrating the coronation of the new Karnāṭa emperor would constitute his *digvijaya*) Yāchama Nayak himself had wished to go to Tanjore for the same purpose. The *Sāhityaratnākara* (Sarga X) says that "after the Karnāṭa emperor had thus been murdered in his capital, his only surviving son, a child, had been rescued by the nobleman, Yācha, who, with other chiefs, was proceeding to Achyuta for help. Achyuta had to effect a junction with Yācha and the young emperor before the Pāṇḍya (the Nayak of Madura) and his allies met the troops of Jaggarāya at Srirangam as arranged

His victories over Sōlaga and the people of Jaffna were accomplished before the middle of A.D. 1616. In the meanwhile, the loyalist party led by Yāchama Nayaka and the rebel group led by Jaggarāya were both fighting, and Barradas tells us of the success won by Yāchama Nayaka and to his crowning of Rama as emperor before he came to the south. Jaggarāya's coming to the south, was the result of his earlier defeat sustained at the hands of Yāchama Nayaka. Raghunātha Nayaka's attention was first directed against the rebellious chief Sōlaga who is said to have been the ruler of an island (*Aṇṭarīpagataha*)²⁸ and *Aṇṭarīpavāsam*.²⁹ Sōlaga was causing much

between them. Then followed the abdication of Aeyuta on the advice of Gōvinda Dīkṣita and the coronation of Raghunātha, performed by the latter and the retirement of Achyuta to sacred Srirangam (*sarga* XII). Raghunātha heard from his spies of the news descriptive of the troops of the Pāndya and his confederates and was told that "the noble Yācha....requests to be assisted by you in the cause of your common master, the Karnāṭa emperor..... Hearing that Yācha and his army are proceeding towards you with the emperor's (Ranga's) son, (Rama) and that they may not effect a junction with your troops, the Pāndya King (Nayak of Madura) at the instance of Jaggarāya has cut the great anicut across the Kaveri On hearing this news, King Raghunātha decided to proceed to Kumbakonam to effect a junction with the emperor's son, Rama Raya, and celebrate his coronation at the place. The king then vowed that he would proceed against Sōlaga in his island and destroy him along with his relations. He would then proceed against the Pāndya and his allies.....would also destroy in battle Jaggarāya and his other allies, and with their skulls, reconstruct the anicut (*śētu*) across the Kaveri and put up there an inscription in memory of his great triumph there. Speaking thus, Raghunātha entrusted the whole management of the kingdom to his minister, Gōvinda Dīkṣita and in great anger ordered his army to get ready for the march. (*Sāhityaratnākara*: Sources: pp. 273-4).

Barradas implies that, in the course of the civil war the partisans of prince Rama were gaining strength; also a Jesuit letter of Malabar of 1617 would show an advance of the loyalists into the Madura kingdom, as its Nayak ravaged the whole country before retiring; and Father Heras adds:—"It was then most likely that at the instance of Jaggarāya, the Nayak of Madura cut the great anicut across the Kaveri in order to prevent their enemies to advance further south, as related in the *Sāhityaratnākara*." At the end of 1616, when Barradas finished his account, though some time previously the Nayak of Madura had mustered more soldiers and his enemies had to retreat northwards owing to scarcity of water, "the Naique of Tanjore though not so great, was, with the aid of the young king, getting the upper hand..... Indeed they are now assembled in the field in the large open plains of Trichinepali which may contain not only a hundred thousand soldiers as each of the parties has, but several millions of people."

28. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto VI, Sloka 24.

29. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Sloka 18.

trouble to the wayfarers and women and disobeyed the king's³⁰ orders. It is said that he forced thirsty people to drink heated lead and that he used to throw his prisoners to be devoured by well-trained crocodiles in his moat and to pass sharp needles into their bodies. He is compared to Rāvana of the great epic for his misdeeds, the only difference being that Sōlaga had only one head instead of ten. Rāmabhadraṁba adds that he was a worshipper of the god Bhairava and even Viṭhala himself could not conquer him.³¹ Gōvinda Dīkṣita told Raghunātha that he was backed up by the Portuguese as well (Parangis).³² Sōlaga was a feudatory of Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee and he is identified with Sālavaccha³³ by Father Heras. He was one of the two principal feudatories of Gingee, according to Father Pimenta, who also refers to Sōlaga's son visiting Krishnappa Nayaka and to the former's friendship with the Jesuits, on the evidence contained in a letter of Father Du Jarrie. Sōlaga was the ruler of the south eastern portions also of the kingdom of Gingee and his capital was Dēvikōttah (Tivukōttah, also called Jalkōta by the Muhammadan historians meaning, surrounded by water) an island fort at the mouth of the river Coleroon. According to Father Du Jarrie, he must have been an old man aged about eighty years and 'was a man of great authority among his subjects feared by everybody.' Father Pimenta who visited the Coromandel Coast about A.D. 1597, speaks of his trained crocodiles which were 'put in his river for his security' and this description agrees admirably with the account of Rāmabhadraṁba.³⁴ Father

30. The name of the king whose orders he defied is not mentioned. As Sōlaga was a feudatory of the Gingee Nayak, Raghunātha Nayaka could not claim any supremacy over him. Perhaps it refers to the Nayak's order not to trouble the people often.

31. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar suggests that Viṭhala must refer to Rāmarāja Viṭhala the foremost general of Sadāsivarāya who came to the south in 1546. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*; p. 286. Also *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto VIII, and *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto X.

32. *Sāhityaratnākara* refers to the Portuguese as Pārasikas by mistake while *Raghunāthābhyudayam* has Parangis.

33. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*; p. 407.

34.

[Note by the Editor.]

According to Yagnanārāyana Dīkṣita, Sōlaga was giving great trouble to the people of the neighbourhood and used to inflict inhuman punishments on the innocent people of the land; he would bind them up in empty sacks and after having them well beaten with pestles, would throw the sacks containing the men into the waters of his rivers to be devoured by the crocodiles. He would also subject the Kalamāl (perhaps Kallamārs) of Achyuta's territory to unheard of atrocities by passing sharp needles into the roots of their hairs. "These do not cover even a

Pimenta also speaks of his son³⁵ as a great supporter and friend of the Jesuit missionaries. The *Sāhityaratnākara* also refers to Raghunātha Nayak's march from his capital against Sōlaga with a huge and well equipped army composed of infantry (Batās), cavalry and elephantry leaving the administration of the kingdom in the hands of Gōvinda Dikshita.³⁶ The elephants were all well caparisoned and were also equipped with iron howdahs,³⁷ while the horses were mounted upon by soldiers who wore long turbans and carried with them bows and arrows. Camels are also mentioned as a component part of his army (उत्पङ्क्तयः). There were besides, a large number of Muhammadan soldiers in his train and also *Yavanas* who were perhaps Sinhalese troopers. The Tanjore army carried with them bows, arrows, swords and a weapon called *Nālikāyudham* having an *anālavarti* (fire wick).³⁸ The king was in armour and rode on a white elephant. Rāmabhadraṁba and Yagnanārāyaṇa Dikshita give a picturesque account of the Tanjore army and they also speak of a number of palanquins that accompanied the king. The former speaks of the materials used in erecting tents, besides provisions for the army and also vessels that were carried to the field of battle.³⁹ Boxes containing precious jewels were also removed from the capital and were taken along with the king, for safety. Yagnanārāyaṇa speaks of the camp followers, who carried along with them besides their

small portion of the cruelties practised by Sōlaga. If Achyuta were to subdue him and put an end to his atrocities, then the Portuguese (Pārasikas) could be easily subdued and the Nēpāla king once more raised to his throne." For these reasons Achyuta was told that since the Nayak of Madura had concluded alliances with Sōlaga and the king of Tundira (Nayak of Gingee) it would not be advisable on his part to fight with them at once.

Father Pimenta thus describes the Sōlaga:—"He is old and severe and hath caused crocodiles to be put in his river for his security charging them not to hurt his own people. They nevertheless killed a man; whereupon I know not by what arts he took two of them which were the malefactors and put chains round their necks and cast them into a miry place, there to be stoned by the people and to die of famine." His son, a boy of 14, became greatly attached to the Jesuits during Father Pimenta's stay at Gingee; and he took them from that place to the castle of his father who received them very kindly.

35. Yagnanārāyaṇa Dikshita refers to the sons and relatives of Sōlaga (Canto XIII, Sl. 81).

36. *Sāhityaratnākara*; XIII, Sl. 84.

37. *Sāhityaratnākara*; XIII, Sl. 86.

38. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto XV, Sl. 20.

39. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto VIII, Sl. 68-70.

weapons, medicinal herbs which had a good healing property of the wounds.⁴⁰ The army left the capital in full battle array and soon reached the town of Kumbakōnam⁴¹ and Raghunātha crossing the river Cauvery⁴² advanced towards the territory of Sōlaga. This rebellious chief was helped by the Portuguese and also by Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee.⁴³ Raghunātha crossing the river Coleroon, is said to have offered a severe fight and laid siege to his fort. The smoke emanating from the firing of the guns (*Agniyantrās*)⁴⁴ is said to have enveloped the whole island. Sōlaga, finding that he could not withstand the attack, quickly yielded. And Raghunātha Nayaka, after a short but sharp fight, took Sōlaga and his family as captives and threw him into prison. The Gin-

40. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto XVI, Sl. 23.

41. Yagnanārāyaṇa Dikshita also refers to his march upon Kumbakonam but mentions it in connection with (XIII, Sl. 80) Raghunātha's assurance given to the Karnāta nobles. This was undertaken according to the author to instal Rāma as the emperor of Karnāṭaka. We have seen earlier that this must refer to his expedition against Sōlaga.

42. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto VIII, Sl. 76 and 77.

43. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto VIII, Sl. 78 and 79 mention *Krishna Bhūpa*, as the king of Tundira. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar identifies Krishna Bhūpa with Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee.

[Further Note by the Editor.]

This Krishnappa was perhaps related to the chiefs, Sūrappa and Pōta Bhūpāla who were the Nayaks of Gingee before him. Anquetil du Perron states that he was a contemporary of Venkatapati and succeeded his father whose name, however, he does not mention. He escaped from prison, having been confined by his uncle and in the sequel, imprisoned the latter after putting out his eyes. In 1586 he rebelled against Venkata, who captured him and had him put in prison. Raghunātha, after his Pēnukonda campaign, interceded with Venkata on his behalf and secured his release. Krishnappa sealed his gratitude to Raghunātha by giving his daughter in marriage to him. During his imprisonment, Gingee was ruled by one Venkata, who was sent against him by Venkatapati Raya. Krishnappa was a wise and able ruler and his court and capital were well described by Father Pimenta who visited Gingee in A.D. 1597. He built Krishnapatam near Porto Novo. His feudatories were Sōlaga, the chief of Tiruvati and Lingama Nayak of Vellore. Krishnappa rebelled for a second time against the Raya in 1600 and war broke out between them in 1607. He had close relations with the Portuguese and the Dutch on the coast. He was also a staunch Vaishnava. For an account of his rule see *Histoire du Gingi* by C. S. Srinivasachari—traduit de l'anglais et annoté par Edmond Gaudart, Gouverneur en retraite (Pondicherry and Paris, 1940)—pp. 43-63.

44. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto VIII, Sl. 80.

gee Nayak, Krishnappa, is said to have fled from the scene of battle having become disheartened and terrified on Raghunātha's approach. The expedition against Sōlaga was a complete success for the Tanjore army which occupied his fort. This was the first victory for Raghunātha Nayaka; and Dr. S. K. Ayyangar says that this may be dated in A.D. 1615.⁴⁵

From Dēvikōttah, Raghunātha marched south along the sea-coast, towards Jaffna, whose king is mentioned by both the authors as having accompanied the Nayaka from the very beginning of his expedition. Passing through the modern Kāvēripattanam, where the Cauvery joins the sea⁴⁶ and crossing the sea (the gulf of Manaar) by means of a chain of boats (ṛāṭi), the Nayaka landed on the Jaffnese coast. Rāmabhadraṁba says that the army also crossed the channel with the aid of wooden floats. Raghunātha offered battle to the Portuguese, who, finding themselves exhausted in spite of the furious charge of their guns, fled for their lives; while a large number of them escaped by the sea in small ships. Raghunātha inflicted another crushing defeat upon the Portuguese and reinstated the Jaffnese ruler on his throne. This victory over the Portuguese of Jaffna must have happened before the battle of Toppūr and immediately after the capture of the fort of Dēvikōttah and hence the date of this campaign may be fixed approximately towards the close of A.D. 1615 or in the beginning of the year A.D. 1616.

Nothing more is known about this expedition and the internal evidence does not throw any light as to who was the Jaffnese King that sought the help of Raghunātha in his endeavour to regain his lost throne. Rāmabhadraṁba says⁴⁷ that a Nēpāla⁴⁸ king along with his relatives and assistants came to Raghunātha's court and represented to him his misfortune in being driven away from his capital. The Nēpāla ruler also seems to have narrated how Raghunātha Nayaka's ancestors were great supporters of his kingdom. We saw how some Balalas of Jaffna had been in Tanjore even before this time. 'The Parangis (Portuguese) had on several occasions been defeated by his ancestors and they had been waiting to wreak their vengeance upon the king of Nēpālā.' Rowing the

45. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 286, footnote.

46. *Raghunāthābhyaṇḍayam*; Canto IX, Sl. 7.

47. *Raghunāthābhyaṇḍayam*; Canto VIII, Sl. 13 to 22.

48. Nēpāla is identified with Jaffna as it is said that the country was surrounded by ocean and other particulars of the description of this country satisfy this identification.

seas in their ships, they now attacked his capital while he was away and captured the city called Vārdhikēya. And Raghunātha promised him help. The *Sāhityaratnākara* gives some additional information.⁴⁹ It refers to the arrival of the wives of the Jaffnese ruler at Tanjore, besides the latter; and here the enemies of the fugitive are called the Pārasikas by which term the Portuguese are meant. In another place, the same author calls the Jaffnese ruler as the Yavana king.⁵⁰ His name is mentioned as Pararājabhayaṅkara and his kingdom is said to have been surrounded on all sides by the ocean. That the Tanjore army was composed of Yavana soldiers will mean that it was composed of men from Jaffna.⁵¹ Raghunātha Nayaka's defeat of the Portuguese and his reinstatement of the Jaffna ruler on his throne are established beyond a shadow of doubt; but the question, as to who was the king that was re-anointed by him is not clear. The references to the city, called Vārdhikēya and the king Pararājabhayaṅkara do not take us far as they are not definite.

The literary evidence refers to the help given to the rulers of Jaffna during the time of Achyutappa Nayaka, and so, Raghunātha's intervention must refer to the help rendered a second time. To understand the Tanjore relations with Jaffna aright, it is necessary to have a grasp of the trend of the Jaffna politics of this period. A fair account of these political troubles is given in the Portuguese chronicles and also in the *Yālpāṇa Vaibava Mālai* of Mayilvāhana Puḷavar, composed in the beginning of the 17th century. They refer to the help given by the Nayak of Tanjore to the rulers of Jaffna even from the middle of the 16th century.⁵² In all

49. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto VI, Sl. 65-72.

50. *Sāhityaratnākara*; XV, Sl. 50 and 52. Yavana Bhūpati.

51. *Sāhityaratnākara*; XV, Sl. 35.

The above work says that the Jaffnese ruler stayed at Tanjore for sometime and he is said to have accompanied Raghunātha in his war upon Sōlaga. Sloka 50 has the word *Upaiti* which means "follows."

52. *Ancient Jaffna* in Tamil, by Mr. C. Rasanayagam, p. 96.

[Further Note by the Editor.]

Mr. Rasanayagam thinks that the Jaffnese king who went for help to Achyutappa of Tanjore must have been Saṅkili Kumara, who had murdered Arasakēsari, the regent uncle of the minor king and usurped the regency. The Portuguese drove him out and he returned with an army of Tanjore and established himself on the throne. The Portuguese then recognised him as king, but ultimately dethroned him and occupied Jaffna. Again, under Raghunātha Nayaka there was another personal appeal from the Jaffnese King for help.

these wars the powers on the Coromandel Coast do not seem to have fared well at all. In 1547, Śankili, Śegarājasēkharan, who is said to have joined the Sinhalese ruler Māyādunnē, the ruler of Sitawāka and the younger brother of Bhuvanēka Bāhu VII, and fought against the Portuguese; appears to have secured help from the Tanjore Nayaka. This must have happened during the reign of Śevappa Nayaka and the Portuguese seems to have won a victory on that occasion. Tanjore again interfered between A.D. 1570 and A.D. 1582, when Peria Pillai, Śegarājasēkharan was the king of Jaffna. He came to the throne with the help of the Portuguese general, De Castro, in A.D. 1570, but soon exhibited his innate hatred and hostility towards his allies by attacking their colony at Maṇṇār with the help of the Tanjore forces. The Tanjore army sustained a defeat for a second time. Peria Pillai's successor was one Puvirāja Paṇḍāram who, on his accession assumed the title of Pararājasēkharan. He was also opposed to the Portuguese and is said to have persecuted the Christians; and his attempts to capture Manaar from

Raghunātha crossed the sea by a bridge of boats, placed his own garrison in the island of Jaffna and celebrated the coronation of his ally. It is not certain whether Śankili went over to Tanjore for help for a second time and had himself crowned before Oliveira's forces came up and captured him, or "whether the story is a confused account of the help given to the prince of Rāmēsvaram on whose behalf the people of Jaffna revolted against the Portuguese." (*Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 386-87).

THE KINGS OF JAFFNA

According to the Rev. S. Gnānaprakāsar, O.M.I., of Jaffna (*Kings of Jaffna in the Portuguese Period*, 1920) the following kings reigned at Nallūr in Jaffna:—

- (1) Kanagasūriya, Segarājasēkaran 1467 A.D.
- (2) Pararājasēkaran—1478 A.D.
- (3) Śankili, Segarājasēkaran, 1519 A.D.
- (4) Puvi Rāja Paṇḍāram, Pararājasēkaran, 1561 A.D.
- (5) Kachi Nayinar—Pararājasēkaran (usurper) C. 1565 A.D.
- (6) Periya Pillai, Segarājasēkaran, C. 1570 A.D.
- (7) Puvi Rāja Paṇḍāram, Pararājasēkaran, C. 1582 A.D.
- (8) Hendarmana Singa, (Edirmaṇṇa Singha), Pararājasēkaran, 1591
- (9) A minor son under the regency of
 - (1) Arasakēsari—1615 A.D.
 - * (2) Śankili Kumāra—1617 A.D.
- (10) Oliveira, the Portuguese Governor—1620 A.D.

* There was some confusion between the two Śankilis in the *Yalpāna Vaibhava Mālai*.

them, on two occasions also ended in failure. The second attempt which took place in A.D. 1591 resulted in serious consequences. For then, he was attacked by the Portuguese general, Andre Furtado de Mendoza, who invaded Jaffna in October 1591, and quickly brought it under his control. Puvirāja Paṇḍāram was killed in the battle and the Portuguese installed the son of Peria Pillai, as the new ruler of Jaffna. This prince was known as Edirmaṇṇa Śinga with the title of Pararājasēkharan. He is said to have ruled from A.D. 1591 to 1615,⁵³ as a feudatory of the Portuguese and to have paid them an annual tribute. He was 'as might be expected, was extremely punctilious in showing his gratitude to the Portuguese, conferring many favours on them and treating them with much familiarity. Quite naturally, the latter were having it all their own way in the land.' This state of things did not satisfy the Mudaliars and chiefs of the kingdom and they soon formed a plot for placing on the throne a prince who was then at Ramancor (Rāmēswaram) and who was backed up by a select army of Moors, Badagas and Maravas under the protection of the Naique of Tanjore and the renegade Dom Joas Wimalaḍharma, King of Kandy.⁵⁴ The Portuguese on the other hand wanted to depose Wimalaḍharma, who, on ascending the throne of Kandy is said to have renounced his former religion of Christianity, oppressed his allies and persecuted the Christians.⁵⁵ The king of Jaffna Pararājasēkharan, on hearing of this intended attack and insurrection by the prince of Rāmēswaram, soon communicated it to the Portuguese captain of Manaar and the latter at once sent Manoel de Athaide with a body of men in seven ships to meet the Tanjore army. On the 26th of October A.D. 1592 Athaide charged the Tanjore forces and in the end was able to defeat them near Talaimannār.⁵⁶

From A.D. 1592 to A.D. 1615 there was peace in the land and Pararājasēkharan was allowed to rule without further trouble. The Portuguese had their own suspicion about his attitude towards them. Edir-

53. *The History of Jaffna under the Portuguese Period*, by Rev. S. Gnānaprakāsar O.M.I. He says that his death took place in A.D. 1615 while Mr. C. Rasanayagam would place it in the following year. *History of Jaffna in Tamil*, p. 120 and 116.

54. *Ibid.*, Rev. S. Gnānaprakāsar, pp. 49 and 50, and *History of Jaffna in Tamil*, pp. 118 and 119.

55. *The Portuguese in India* by F. C. Danvers, Vol. II, p. 98.

56. Rev. Gnānaprakāsar says that 'in all 400 Badagas were slain and 200 taken prisoners.'

manṇaśinga Ārya *alias* Pararājasēkhara—for that was his full name—shortly before his death, made his three-year-old son as his successor and appointed his own brother Arasakēsari Paṇḍāra as regent, until the time, the boy should come of age. This arrangement was communicated to the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa for ratification; but he died all on a sudden before the confirmatory order could reach Jaffna. The death of this ruler is dated A.D. 1615.⁵⁷ It is said that immediately after his death, one Saṅkili Kumāra of the royal family who was longing to usurp the throne, captured the government by putting an end to the lives of Arasakēsari Paṇḍāra the Regent, and Peria Pillai Arāchi a powerful chief. Saṅkili then became the Regent. The people of Jaffna became dismayed at the unexpected success of Saṅkili Kumāra, grew restless and rose in revolt. Chinṇa Migāpillai Arāchi, the son of Peria Pillai who was murdered by Saṅkili, went over to the mainland to seek the aid of the Portuguese against the usurper, who however managed to stay on. When Joao de Cruz Girao of Manaar came to Jaffna to give effect to the will executed by the late king Ediramaṇṇa Śinga, Saṅkili is said to have denied the truth of the will and to have proved it to be a fraud. Saṅkili was thus left undisturbed ruler, on his promise to pay the Portuguese the due tribute and to rule according to their wishes. Saṅkili kept up his word for some time; but soon internal troubles arose which enabled him to set at nought the Portuguese claim to overlordship by allowing the Badagas (people from the mainland) to pass through his kingdom on their way to Kandy. Again, he also became unpopular by his atrocities and cruel exactions. The news of his proposal to appoint his son-in-law as his successor, was received by the Jaffnese with indignation and they consequently rose in revolt. Even the intervention of the Portuguese captain of Manaar to bring about a truce between Saṅkili Kumāra and his subjects was of no use; and Saṅkili, being very much opposed by his own men, had to take refuge at Ūṟṭṭurai, a port on the Jaffnese Coast. It is said that his womenfolk had, in the interval, made their escape to the court of Tanjore to seek the Nayak's help in putting down the revolt of the Jaffnese people and the Portuguese, who had then joined them. At last Saṅkili seems to have regained his kingdom with the aid of the Tanjore Nayak's forces sent under one Khēm Nayak and of five thousand *lascarins* (Sinhalese warriors) led by one Varunakulat-

57. *The Portuguese in India*; by F. C. Danvers. The author places his death in 1617, Vol. II, p. 194. Mr. Rasanayagam (*History of Jaffna*) says that the confirmatory order from the Viceroy was issued on 13th May 1616, but it actually reached Jaffna towards the end of August of the same year.

tān.⁵⁸ Yagnanārāyana Dikshita's reference to the presence of the ladies of the Jaffnese king at the court of Raghunātha, perhaps indicates this appeal made by Saṅkili's women and Raghunātha Nayaka's claim to have re-established a king of Jaffna on the eve of the Toppūr battle must also refer to this victory won by his forces on behalf of Saṅkili, though the Portuguese chronicles do not refer to the part said to have been played by the Nayaka himself in person, but record the victory of the Tanjore forces.

Since Raghunātha Nayaka is said to have been in camp at Palamānēri in the cyclic year *Naḷa* and in the month of *Ādi* (Ashāda) corresponding to August A.D. 1616 on his way to Toppūr, the invasion of Jaffna must have taken place sometime before that date. The Rev. Gnānaprakāsar's date (1615) for the death of Ediramaṇṇa Śinga Pararājasēkharan the predecessor of Saṅkili, confirms A.D. 1616 as the date of the Jaffnese expedition.⁵⁹ The only point of conflict between the Tanjore and the Portuguese chronicles is that, while the former speaks of Raghunātha's presence in Jaffna in person, the latter mentions only his despatch of troops under one Khēm Nayak. Hence it is known for certain that it was Saṅkili Kumāra, who came to Tanjore for the Nayak's help and got subsequently back his lost kingdom through the latter's intervention. The reference made to the Jaffnese King as Pararājabhayankara (dread of enemy king) by Yagnanārāyana Dikshita, refers to Saṅkili himself. Pararājabhayankara could not be taken as referring to Pararājasēkhara on the ground that the Jaffnese rulers called themselves

58. *History of Jaffna*; p. 124. Also *Ancient Jaffna*; by Mr. C. Rasanayagam; Danvers, Vol. II, p. 206. The account given above is mainly drawn from the *History of Jaffna under the Portuguese*, *The Portuguese in India*, *History of Ceylon*, by H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon and the Portuguese Era*, by Dr. P. E. Pieris.

59. The dates of 1616 and 1617, given by Mr. Rasanayagam and Mr. Danvers will have to be abandoned in the light of Tanjore evidence. Raghunātha Nayaka's installation of Saṅkili as King, however, did not prove to have settled the matters finally. The Portuguese chronicles of Quiroz, Menezes and Faria Y Sousa refer to the sporadic attempts made by the Tanjore Nayak to regain Jaffna from the Portuguese, in whose hands the land has fallen about A.D. 1620. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar (*Sources*, p. 287, Footnote) fixes the date of Pararājasēkharan's death in A.D. 1617 following Mr. Danvers. Mr. C. Rasanayagam refers to the Tanjore help, on two occasions and he places Saṅkili Kumāra's reappointment during the reign of Achyutappa Nayaka. As regards the second which happened during the time of Raghunātha Nayaka according to him, the author himself is not sure whether it was made on behalf of Saṅkili for a second time, or in favour of a prince of Ramanacor, on whose behalf the Jaffnese revolted against the Portuguese. (*History of Jaffna* by C. Rasanayagam).

Pararājasēkharans and Śegarājasēkharans in the order of their accession. In that case we cannot adequately explain the title of Pararājasēkharan for Saṅkili, since his predecessor Edirmaṇṇasinga was called a Pararājasēkhara⁶⁰ but there was one predecessor, Arasakēsari, in the regency.

Raghunātha Nayaka is said to have marched to Toppūr⁶¹ from Jaffna as he was informed, at the latter place, of the troubles caused by the enemy chiefs led by Jaggarāya and the damage done to the Cauvery dam.⁶² The causes that led to this momentous war are mentioned both in the Tanjore literature and in the letter of Barradas.⁶³ Venkatapati Raya's death in A.D. 1614 saw the beginning of a crisis which soon assumed greater magnitude and began as a regular war of succession to the Karnatāka throne. Venkatapati Raya having no male heir to succeed him, appointed his nephew Sriranga *alias* Chikkadēvarāya as his successor at the time of his death, setting aside the claims of a child who was fraudulently palmed off on him as his son by one of his queens. It is said that Venkatapati could not do anything to proclaim the real origin of this putative son as he was very fond of his queen, who was the sister of Gobbūri Jaggarāya, the then governor of Kolar and its neighbouring parts under Venkatapati. Jaggarāya, who had already entertained an ambition to acquire the throne for himself, naturally took up the cause of this young child, whom he declared to be the rightful son of the deceased emperor, and proclaimed him king by putting an end to the life of Chikkadēvarāya and his family. Only the second son of Chikkadēvarāya called Rāma, was saved from this wholesale disaster by the skilful exertion, of a washerman who had the boy smuggled out from the prison along with his bundle of dirty linen, with the connivance of Vēlugōti Yāchama Nayaka, a loyal feudatory of the

60. The Jaffnese rulers had these titles added to their names on their accession. A Pararājasēkharan was usually succeeded by a Śegarājasēkharan like the Pāṇḍyas of the Second Empire who called themselves Jatāvarmans and Marāvarmans on their accession and the Cholas, Parakēsaris and Rājakēsaris.—See Dynastic List of the Jaffnese Kings in the Portuguese Era given above.—(Ed.)

61. Sources:—Dr. S. K. Ayyangar identifies this place with the modern Tōvūr or Tōhūr which is about two miles from the Grand Anicut on the southern bank of the Cauvery.

62. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto IX, Sl. 24 and 25.

63. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto XIII. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto XI and XIII. Barradas; *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 222-230.

late king and the founder of the present Venkatagiri royal house. Yāchama Nayaka as the sponsor of the claims of Rāma, the legal claimant to the throne, soon gained strength and opposed Jaggarāya. According to the account given by Barradas it appears that both the parties had come into collision in a series of engagements with varying success.⁶⁴ Jaggarāya's going over to the south was the result of a defeat which he sustained about the beginning of A.D. 1616; and he perhaps had the object of securing the co-operation of the southern governors to make a final bid for victory.⁶⁵ In this he was joined by the Nayaks of Gingee and Madura besides the Chēra king, who was a tributary of the Madura Nayaka. Tanjore alone remained loyal; her Nayak took up the cause of the legitimate successor, Ramarāya, along with Yāchama Nayaka. The Tanjore literature has no reference to this first success of Yāchama Nayaka referred to by Barradas. However his advance towards Tanjore was made probably with the object of destroying the coalition of rebel chiefs under Jaggarāya.

The Madura ruler who joined Jaggarāya was Muttuvirappa Nayaka (A.D. 1609 to A.D. 1623) and he, far from being loyal to the Empire, aimed at independence even very early; but he was not allowed to have a free hand in his attempt at independence as Venkatapati was a fairly strong ruler and was effectively helped by his loyal ally, the Tanjore Nayaka in maintaining the Imperial overlordship. By A.D. 1616 Muttuvirappa had grown powerful enough to rise in opposition and as a first mark of his hostile attitude, he changed his capital from Madura to Trichinopoly.⁶⁶ Father Leon Besse says that 'the Nayak of Madura removed his court and army to Trichinopoly in A.D. 1616 with the object of making war with the King of Tanjore' and Dr. S. K. Ayyangar says⁶⁷ that his change of capital seems to have been 'the direct result of the combination that culminated in the battle of Toppūr; and by A.D. 1616 the hostility between Madura and Tanjore had settled into a habitual kind of relation between the two Nayakships.' And it was this perpetual enmity with Tanjore that made Muttuvirappa join the rebels.⁶⁸

64. *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 229.

65. *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 230.

66. *La Mission du Madura*, p. 3 and *The Nayaks of Madura*; p. 103; Foot-note.

67. *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 103, Footnote.

68. Tanjore's loyalty to the empire and her co-operation with Venkatapati in the battle of Vallam against Madura, were sufficient causes for Madura's distrust and hatred.

Gōvinda Dikshita is said to have told his master that the Pāṇḍyan ruler (Nayak of Madura) and others were bearing ill-will and hatred towards Tanjore out of ignorance;⁶⁹ and Dr. S. K. Ayyangar again says that this combination of the Madura and Gingee Nayaks with Gobbūri Jaggarāya against the loyalists, was effected mainly with the object of overthrowing the Imperial control at this favourable juncture and this could be done only if the loyalists were crushed.⁷⁰ They seem to have done all they could to prevent the junction of Yāchama Nayaka, who was then coming towards Tanjore with Prince Rama to join Raghunātha Nayaka and the reference to the breaking off the Cauvery dam was perhaps their first act of destruction towards this aim. Rāmabhadra says that the damage to the dam was caused by the rulers of the west, while *Sāhityaratnākara* says that some one did it at the instigation of Jaggarāya.⁷¹ And Raghunātha is said to have remarked that he would reconstruct the dam with the skull pieces of his enemies.

An account of the battle of Toppūr is found in the *Raghunāthābhya-dayam*, the *Raghunāthābhya-daya Nātakam* by Vijayarāghava, the narrative by Barradas and the *Bahulāsvacharitam*.⁷² Barradas says that "Yachama Nayaka had with him fifty thousand men in his camp, while Jaggarāya with only fifteen thousand followers, fled into the jungles where he was joined by more people, so that the war has continued these two years, fortune favouring now one side, now the other. But the party of the young prince has always been gaining strength; the more so because, although the great Nayak of Madura—a page of betel to the King of Bisnagar—who pays a revenue every year of some say 600,000 pagodas and has under him many kings and nobles as vassals, such as he was of Travancore—took the side of Jaggarāya and sustained him against the Naique of Tanjaor. Yet, the latter though not so powerful is, with the aid of the young king, gradually getting the upper hand." Both Rāmabhadra and Yagnanārāyana Dikshita speak of the union of the Madura and Gingee rulers and the Pāṇḍyan chief of Tenkāsi with Jaggarāya, while the latter mentions also the Chēra

69. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Sl. 26.

70. *The Nayaks of Madura*; p. 104, Footnote.

71. *Raghunāthābhya-dayam*; Canto IX, Sl. 26. *Pāśchātyabhūmipatayaha* and *Sāhityaratnākaram*; Canto XIII, Sl. 78 and 83. Father Heras considers it likely that the Nayak of Madura did it at the instance of Jaggarāya—see Note by (Ed.).

72. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*; p. 305.

King⁷³ as among the rebel allies. The reference to the Dramida and the Maghadha kings is nothing but mere poetical rhetoric. Mysore seems to have held aloof from this war of succession.⁷⁴ The *Raghunāthābhya-dayam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* give a detailed account of the preparations made by Raghunātha Nayaka.⁷⁵ The Tanjore army was composed of elephantry, cavalry and infantry besides a corps of troopers. The elephants were all equipped with iron howdahs⁷⁶, each containing soldiers and the well caparisoned horses were all mounted by high-turbaned riders who carried with them bows and arrows. The soldiers also had with them broad swords and matchlocks (*Agniyan-trās*).⁷⁷ The infantry troops which were composed of Pāraśikas and Yavanas besides the natives, were armed with bows, arrows, spears and a deadly weapon called *Nālikāyudha*.⁷⁸ Yagnanārāyana Dikshita also refers to a small batch of young soldiers, who were recruited from the class of nobles of the land.⁷⁹

The reference to the Pāraśikas and Yavanas is rather inconclusive. Yagnanārāyana Dikshita uses the word Pāraśika to mean the Portuguese and the word Yavana must refer to the Jaffnese or Sinhalese since he speaks of the Jaffnese ruler as Yavanabhūpati.⁸⁰ Dr. S. K. Ayyangar⁸¹ and Mr. K. Sitaramayya following him say that the Pāraśikas must be taken to mean the Dutch and not the Portuguese, since Raghunātha had already shown his hostility towards them by driving them away from their coastal settlement in his kingdom. The

73. *Raghunāthābhya-dayam*; IX, Sl. 25 and 26. *Sāhityaratnākara*; X, Sl. 57 and XIII, Sl. 78. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar says 'the Nayak of Madura, the Nayak of Gingee, the Pāṇḍyas of Tinnevely, the Portuguese and perhaps even distant Travancore stood ranged on the side of the traitor.'

74. *The Nayaks of Madura*; Introduction, pp. 19 and 105, Note.

75. *Raghunāthābhya-dayam*; IX and X; *Sāhityaratnākara*; XIII and IV.

76. *Sāhityaratnākara*; XIII, Sl. 86 and 88.

77. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Sl. 8-10.

78. *Sāhityaratnākara*; XI, Sl. 20 and 21. The whole of Canto XIII is devoted to a description of the Tanjore army and the preparations made on the eve of the war. Unfortunately this description is taken to mean the enemies by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar. *Sources*, p. 273. However, a close reading of the Canto would show that it was the spy, who had arrived at Tanjore, saw these things before he met Raghunātha.

79. *Sāhityaratnākara*; XIII, Sl. 37.

80. *Sāhityaratnākara*; XV, Sl. 35 to 52.

81. *The Nayaks of Madura*; p. 124, Note.

employment of Dutch soldiers by the Tanjore Nayaka seems improbable in the light of the evidence furnished by the Dutch records. The Dutch at Pulicat to whom Venkatapati had issued a charter on the 24th April, A.D. 1610 permitting them to build a factory, were friendly with the Karnāṭaka Emperor. A second charter of the same Raya dated the 9th of June, A.D. 1612 was issued from Vellore to the Dutch in ratification of the first; and its last clause refers to a *cowle* granted by Jaggarāya, who was then the chief minister of Venkatapati and as well as the governor of Kōlar. Bāyammā or Vayyāmbika, Jaggarāya's sister and the chief consort of Venkatapati, is said to have given the Dutch, facilities for building the fort called Geldria at Pulicat. Moreover, the Dutch were not on unfriendly terms with the ruler of Gingee as they had established themselves at Tegnapatam by this time; but their hostility towards the Portuguese remained unabated. Above all, Hans de Haze, who came to Masulipatam on the 12th of November, A.D. 1616 to improve the Dutch prospects on the Coromandel Coast, is said to have followed a policy of strict non-intervention in the native affairs and in the war of succession that followed the death of Venkatapati. It is said that 'Haze thought it wise to remain neutral.' The English Factory Records tell us of the unsuccessful attempts made by the Dutch to found a factory in the kingdom of the Tanjore Nayak and these show the obvious improbability of the Dutch joining Tanjore against Jaggarāya.⁸²

The *Raghunāthabhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava says that Raghunātha was encamping at Palamānēri near Tanjore before he started for Toppur, the scene of the historic battle. It also gives a detailed account of the king's march towards Toppūr accompanied by bodies of officers and numerous followers. Raghunātha is said to have been mounted on an elephant under a white canopy, accompanied by his son, Rāmabhadra Nayaka. Puruṣhōttamayya and Narasappa (the two town Madālasīs) rode on the second elephant while Aṣṭappa (or Hastiappa) and Alagappa, the two other officers rode on the third elephant. They rode respectively before and behind Raghunātha. Rāmarāya the legitimate ruler is said to have also accompanied Raghunātha to the battle field. Vijayarāghava gives a long list of thirty-two officials and chiefs who went out to fight in company with Raghunātha. Among them Ōbala Rāju the uncle of the king,

82. *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*. The last days of Vijayanagar; by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. Also *The Dutch Beginnings in India* by T. I. Poonen, Madras University.

the chiefs of Kaluva, Cuddāpah, Palēla, Panta, Balamuri, Māndva and the Reddis of Kambam figure prominently.⁸³

83. Barradas refers to the Karnāṭaka nobles, who joined Yāchama Nayaka and supported the cause of Rāmarāya.

[Further Note by the Editor.]

The chiefs mentioned in the list given in the *Raghunāthabhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava Nayaka, are interesting as showing the distribution of feudal power in the country at the time.

- (1) Kōnēti Kondarāju.
- (2) Kaṭṭa Rangapa Rāju.
- (3) Kastūri Rāju.
- (4) Sampeta Nāga Rāju of Mittāpālem.
- (5) Rāma Rāju.
- (6) Raghunātha Rāju of Owk.
- (7) Māma, Ōbala Rāju.
- (8) Manuboli Rāju.
- (9) Srīrangapati Rāju.
- (10) Srīgiri Rāju.
- (11) Virarāghava Rāju.
- (12) Viṭhala Rāju.
- (13) Chitrāju of Nandela.
- (14) Nārāpa Rāju.
- (15) Kaṇḍanavol Rāju.
- (16) Gaḍi Timma Rāja.
- (17) The Chiefs of Kālurva.
- (18) The Chiefs of Cuddāpah.
- (19) The Pālela Chiefs.
- (20) The Panta Chiefs.
- (21) Srīpati Rāju and his mercenaries.
- (22) The Jūpalli people.
- (23) Dēsūr Reddi clans.
- (24) Mūrteppa.
- (25) Kumāra Rangayya.
- (26) Pāmināyanivāru.
- (27) The Balumūri chiefs.
- (28) The chiefs of Manduva.
- (29) The Reddis of Kambam, Koṇḍavidu and Koṇḍapalli.
- (30) Mallappa.
- (31) Mādana.
- (32) Perumāl Mudaliar.

These were the chiefs, who had joined the rightful prince after seeing his cause supported by the Nayak of Tanjore.

CHAPTER VI.

RAGHUNĀTHA NAYAKA (*Continued*).

Rāmabhadrāmba speaks of the matchless and gallant fight put up by the Tanjore forces. It is even said that Raghunātha himself took the field in person, when it was brought to his notice that his troops were not faring well at all.¹ In the battle, Jaggarāya fell dead, and his allies Mākarāju,² Rāvilla Venka and his general (Rāya Dalavāy) Cheṇcha took to their heels.³ The Nayak of Gingee and the disheartened Madura Nayaka are also said to have fled from the field, in order to save their lives. Rāmabhadrāmba again says that the losses on the enemy's side were great and Raghunātha generously pardoned the Madura ruler,⁴ when he and his allies surrendered to him. Raghunātha after winning the battle, is said to have proclaimed prince Rāma as the Emperor of Karnāta⁵; and it is further said that he planted a pillar of victory on the site of the battle-field in memorial thereof.⁶ From the subsequent account of Rāmabhadrāmba it is known for certain that the Toppūr battle did not bring to a close the hostilities between the loyalists and the rebels, as she says, that soon after this decisive engagement intelligence was received by the Tanjore Nayak, of the intended counter-combination of Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee and Yatirāja, the brother of Jaggarāya. Krishnappa is said to have collected together and reorganised his forces immediately after his flight from Toppūr, and once more advanced to fight the loyalists. Raghunātha now despatched his commander with a large army, to fight the Gingee Nayaka; and he himself was encamped at Tiruvaiyār awaiting the issue of this new advance. Soon Raghunātha was informed of the success of his army, which captured the fort of Bhuvanagiri on the N. Vellar river near Chidambaram and forced Krishnappa and his ally, Yatirāja, to retire from their positions. The Tanjore Nayak, thus

crowned with success and immortal glory, now returned to his capital where he was received with all honours by his loyal subjects.

From the references contained in the literary sources, the date of this important battle may be fixed within reasonable limits. Vijayarāghava, in his *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, says that Raghunātha was encamped at Palamānēri in the month of *Āshāda* (Ādi) of the Cyclic year *Nala*, corresponding to August A.D. 1616, before he started for Toppūr.⁷ Barradas writing on December 12, A.D. 1616, says that both the armies of Jaggarāya and Yāchama Nayaka 'are now assembled in the field in the large open plains of Trichinopoly not only the hundred thousand men that each party has, but as many as a million soldiers.' It is evident from these two records that the Toppūr battle must have been fought sometime earlier in A.D. 1617⁸; and the interval between August and December 1616 was probably spent in reconnaissances before the final struggle.

The important and far reaching consequences of this historic battle can hardly be over-estimated. His victory at Toppūr made Raghunātha supreme among his fellow Nayaks and the most powerful ruler of the southern kingdoms, and the crushing defeat sustained by the rulers of Madura and Gingee was so signal that it took years for them to recover their normal strength. The death of Jaggarāya shattered their fond hopes of achieving independence; and Muttu Virappa Nayaka of Madura never again entertained, either an openly hostile or even an impliedly aggressive attitude towards Tanjore till his death in A.D. 1627.⁹ Even Tirumala Nayaka, the brother and successor of Muttu Virappa, who ruled from A.D. 1623 to A.D. 1659 and who was the arch fomenter of disloyalty towards his suzerain, found himself helpless so long as there

7. *Aṇchita Nalavatsarāshāda Sudḍha pañchami Pushyārka Parigayōga muna Swamivaru Palavā(mā)nēri Nagara Nāmatīrtamu, Purānasravanāmbu Rāma vīgraha Pūja Rāmajapambu Sri Mūrti dānādhyā sēshadāna muluga vinchi Vijayambugalu Kanakshatāha Sri Vaishnavulo saṅga sira muna dālchi Aditya hridaya jāpānantara muna, etc., Raghunāthābhyudayam Nātakam.* Raghunātha is said to have left Palamānēri and offered battle the next day.

8. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar also places this battle early in 1617 A.D. and the accession of Rāmarāya took place in the latter part of that year. Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar. *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, p. 203. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 484. Father Rubino, the master of the College at San Thomé, in a letter dated 29th November, 1617 says that the war had not come to an end by that time. Perhaps he had in mind the subsequent operations against Krishnappa and Yatirāja.

9. *The Nayaks of Madura*: p. 112.

1. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; X, Sl. 25.
2. Mākarāju is identified with the chief of Kārvētinagar by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri. *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1911-12).
3. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; X.
4. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; X, Sl. 60 to 64.
5. *Raghunātha Vilāsa Nātakam*; 4th Anka.
6. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, X, Sl. 62. The *Rāmarājīyam* (*Sources*, pp. 243-44) also refers to this war and the success won by Yāchama Nayaka and Raghunātha Nayaka. The war is compared to the great Mahabharata War and Raghunātha is likened to Lord Krishna.

was Raghunātha ruling at Tanjore.¹⁰ The Toppūr battle was the last great war of Raghunātha; and the immediate result of it was the re-establishment of the diminished power of the Hindu Empire under Rāmarāya, with the consequent check it gave to further Muhammadan advance for the time being. Tanjore's victory once more asserted the supremacy of the Raya and helped to keep the disruptive and disintegrating forces of insubordination and disloyalty in complete check for a time.

The successful termination of these wars, however, did not prove, in fact to be the end of all troubles for Raghunātha, since the Portuguese accounts of Queiroz, Faria Y. Sousa and Sa. Y. Menezes refer to the subsequent invasions made by the Tanjore Nayak upon the Portuguese of Jaffna.¹¹ Śaṅkili Kumāra, who had been placed on the throne of Jaffna by Raghunātha Nayaka in the beginning of A.D. 1616, was not allowed to rule in peace for long. There were internal risings among the Jaffnese themselves, as they were not satisfied with his administration. They could not also reconcile themselves to Śaṅkili's coming to power with the help of the foreign Nayak of Tanjore. In addition to this, Śaṅkili, perhaps relying too much upon the Tanjore Nayak's support, began to defy the Portuguese supremacy by withholding the tribute due from him.¹² The accounts of the Portuguese say that he even went to the extent of helping the Kaṇḍyan king in the latter's efforts to drive away them from his land. The Kaṇḍyan king, who received this help must have been Māyādunnē who, it is said, was for sometimes a refugee at the court of Tanjore before he returned to Kaṇḍy towards the end of A.D. 1617¹³ and successfully overcame his rival, king Sēnāret. The Portuguese after defeating Māyādunnē and capturing his capital Meddegāma, turned upon Jaffna to punish Śaṅkili. De Sa Noronha was then the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa; and in A.D. 1619 he despatched his captain, Major Philippe de Oliveira, to deal effectively with the insubordi-

10. Tirumala's policy of conquest and insubordination began only after A.D. 1634, since in that year his subordination to Venkata II, is recorded in the Kūniyūr plates. Prof. Sathianatha Iyer says that his allegiance to Venkata 'could have only been nominal.' *Ibid.*, p. 126.

11. There is no reference to these wars of Tanjore in the internal literary evidence. Perhaps the defeats sustained by Tanjore are the reasons for this omission.

12. *History of Jaffna*, p. 124. Mr. Rasanayagam referring to the year of 1619 says that 'Śaṅkili had not paid it (tribute) these three years.'

13. *The Dutch power in Ceylon*; Dr. P. E. Pieris, p. 52. *History of Ceylon*; by H. W. Codrington, p. 111. Also *The Portuguese in India*; F. C. Danvers, Vol. II, p. 203.

nation of Jaffna with an army of 130 Portuguese and 3000 *lascarins* (Sinhalese soldiers). Śaṅkili suffered a complete defeat at Oliveira's hands; and when he tried to escape, he was taken prisoner and sent to Goa where he was subsequently put to death. Jaffna was immediately taken possession of by the Portuguese and Oliveira was appointed the first governor of the place, with the titles of Captain General and Major in A.D. 1619-20. However, a few attempts to recover the kingdom from the Portuguese were made in the following two years by the chief of the *Kareas* (Karaiyar—a class of fishermen on the Coromandel Coast to the south of the Gulf of Manaar) with the help of the Tanjore troops. Portuguese accounts refer to six such attempts made in the years 1620 and 1621; and we learn that in every one of these, the Tamil army sent by Tanjore seems to have sustained defeats.¹⁴

At first, the chief of the Karaiyars rose in revolt and offered resistance to the Portuguese, with the help of a large body of men from Tanjore. Oliveira is said to have defeated him near Nallūr and the Portuguese chronicles say, that the defeated Tamils 'fell like mosquitoes.' The second attempt was made by Dom Luis (*alias* Chinṇa Migapillai Arāchi), who tried to enthrone a prince of Ramanāṇḍr in Jaffna. He obtained the help of a thousand men, who went out in twelve *dhonies* from the Tanjore coast and landing at Talaimannār, offered battle to the Portuguese in its neighbourhood. On this occasion the Tanjore Nayak claims to have sent his captain, Khēm Nayak 'who had not long before assisted Śaṅkili'.¹⁵ He is mentioned by the name of Varuṇakulattān by Queiroz. Varuṇakulattān has been identified by the Rev. S. Gnānaprakāsar with Khēm Nayak and he says that it was perhaps his caste name. According to the *Tolkāppiyam*, the fisherfolk of the coast country worshipped the God of the Sea; and Varuṇakulattān (he of the tribe of Varuṇa's descendants) means evidently a chief of a clan of fishermen and sailors. Oliveira sent Antonio de Mota Galvao, with a body of two hundred men and secured another victory over the Tamils. In the meanwhile, the Captain General of Colombo viewed these developments with a great deal of concern and in all haste, he sent Luis Teixeira de Mecado 'of the Seven Corlas' with four companies and five hundred *lascarins*, to Oliveira's help. Teixeira's

14. This and the following account of Jaffna are largely based upon the *History of Jaffna*; by Mr. Rasanayagam, pp. 124-130; *History of Jaffna under the Portuguese period*; by Rev. S. Gnānaprakāsar, pp. 64-75; *The Portuguese in India*; by F. C. Danvers, pp. 204-207 and *A Short History of Ceylon*; by H. W. Codrington.

15. Faria Y. Sousa, c. IV, p. 151; and *History of Jaffna under the Portuguese*; by Rev. S. Gnānaprakāsar, p. 66.

advance, which 'was more like a race than a march,' was marked by many barbarous deeds and atrocities. It is said that 'he clove men with axes like trees, opened the wombs of women and put in their children snatched from their arms.' Chinna Migappillai Arāchi and the prince of Ramanaçōr were defeated and the latter is said to have surrendered to the visitors. The attempt made by a Mudaliar, nicknamed Das Maminhas (the heavy breasted) in this connection, was also a failure. Dom Luis, *alias* Chinna Migappillai Arāchi, escaped to India and persuaded the Nayak of Tanjore to make himself King of Jaffna. The Nayak again seems to have taken advantage of this opportunity of acquiring Jaffna, and so he sent a force consisting of two thousand Badagas across the waters. Hostilities were resumed in November 1620 with the determination 'to conquer the kingdom for the Nayak of Tanjore.' Oliveira, meeting the Tanjore army, was able to defeat it for a third time. 'The Tamils were driven back after a severe fight in which, Oliveira himself was wounded.' The Nayak of Tanjore, unmindful of these reverses, made a fresh attempt to take Jaffna 'by raising more Badagas still hoping to make himself master of Jaffnapatam'; and here again, the Tamil army 'met with a disastrous defeat from Oliveira's troops.' On the 2nd February A.D. 1621, Oliveira was at Nallūr. Soon intelligence was received that the Nayak of Tanjore 'was sending out a powerful army—this time not only to conquer Jaffna, which he claimed as his tributary fief, but also to colonise it with Indians.' Galvao, waited for the arrival of the Tanjore army at Point Pedro (Paruttiturai). The Tamil army was once again defeated by the Portuguese, who fell on the enemy and massacred them 'until they were weary of it.' This proved the last and the final attempt made by Raghunātha Nayaka to conquer the kingdom of Jaffna; and the Jaffnese, finding themselves helpless finally submitted to Portuguese domination.

Thus, it will be seen from the Portuguese accounts that Raghunātha Nayaka had to pursue a vigorous, but very unsuccessful foreign policy, in his attempts to recover the kingdom of Jaffna from the Portuguese hold for his protege, the prince of Ramanaçōr. The series of defeats sustained by his army at the hands of the Portuguese, must have compelled him to abandon all idea of overrunning Jaffna, after the failure of the last attempt that he made in A.D. 1621.

Nothing more is known regarding his foreign policy, as there occurred no more wars with the neighbouring kingdoms till the end of his reign. Raghunātha continued his old attitude of loyalty and co-operation towards his new suzerain Rama, as he pursued in the reign of Venkatapati Raya. He was the most powerful upholder of the unity of the Hindu Empire. The evidence of the Jesuit letters, on which Father

Heras bases his conclusion that 'Raghunātha's relation with Venkata are a little suspicious', is not easily sustainable, as it goes against the basic ideas of the Nayak's policy.¹⁶ The Jesuit letter in point says that Raghunātha was not only disloyal, but was actively engaged in opposing the Emperor, since it is recorded that about A.D. 1610 when Venkata was besieging the city of San Thomé, Raghunātha helped the Portuguese inhabitants of that place; and Raghunātha is also said to have received a letter in appreciation of his services to the Portuguese at San Thomé, from Dom Philip III, King of Spain and Portugal. The letter which is dated 20th February A.D. 1614, is said to have been sent to the Portuguese Viceroy, Azeveda, directing him to forward it to the Nayak. Father Heras continues:—'Unfortunately neither this letter nor a copy of it has hitherto reached our (Jesuits') hands. We know only that it was sent to the Bishop of Mylapore by whom it had to be despatched to Tanjore. "The letter of your Majesty to the Nayak of Tangaor (Tanjore)" says the Viceroy in his reply to the king, "is being sent to the Bishop (of Mylapore), who will hand it over to him." This letter of the Viceroy in reply to King Philip's letter, is dated 21st January A.D. 1613 and Father Heras asserts that the king's letter was sent to Mylapore. Evidently there must be a mistake in the transcription of the dates of these two letters; otherwise how could the Viceroy write a reply to the King some twelve months before, in anticipation of a letter from the latter, and which letter he is said to have actually received only after 20th February A.D. 1614. Moreover, the contention of Father Heras will not hold good in the light of internal criticism for, if Raghunātha Nayaka should have been hostile in his attitude towards Venkatapati in A.D. 1610, then how could he have taken part in the Toppūr battle which had for its avowed object, the restoration of the Vijayanagara throne to that line of heirs, which was nominated for succession by Venkatapati? But there is evidence to show that the Nayak of Gingee was not on friendly terms with Venkatapati and since the siege is said to have taken place at San Thomé, it is possible that the Gingee Nayak might have assisted the Portuguese. Besides, the Viceroy's despatch of the King's letter from Goa to the Bishop of Mylapore, instead of sending it to Negapatam (then a Portuguese settlement) to be delivered to the Nayak of Tanjore, might also lend support to the fact that the reference contained in the Jesuit letters, was largely due to the misconception and confusion of the political affairs prevailing in the Gingee country with those of the Nayaks of Tanjore. Above all, the subsequent wars of Raghunātha with the Portuguese in the years A.D. 1614 to A.D. 1621, clearly show that he could not have been so friendly at all towards them as to offer

16. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*; pp. 402 and 448.

free assistance. On either side, the evidence shows that Raghunātha's supposed insubordination and opposition to his overlord is only a figment of the misconceptions in the minds of the Jesuit fathers.

There is no doubt that his wars would have cost him a great deal of money and men; and the English Factory Records very naturally speak of his greed for wealth. What became of those conquered territories such as the dominion of Śōlaga, whether they were annexed to the Tanjore kingdom or not is not definitely known. Dēvikōttah was most probably annexed to the Tanjore kingdom, since a letter dated 1664 refers to the Tanjore Nayak's refusal to allow the English to establish a factory at Dēvikōttah.¹⁷ The Chronicles which refer to the imprisonment of Śōlaga and the Pāndyan king, say that the latter alone was released. What became of Śōlaga is not mentioned in them.¹⁸ In Negapatam the Portuguese continued to carry on their trade and it is surprising to note why they were not dislodged from the place on account of Raghunātha's obvious hostility towards them. Perhaps some sort of truce might have been effected between them, by which, security must have been assured to the Portuguese by the Nayaka; and this suggestion will remain tentative in character till we detect further evidence in this respect.

Raghunātha Nayaka's reign also witnessed the arrival of other European merchants like the Dutch, the Danes and the English on the coast. The Dutch, who had already made their appearance in the Eastern Seas and made a bid for a share in the trade of the Indian Ocean towards the close of the 16th century, were soon followed by other nations such as the Danes and the English. The Portuguese had already established themselves at San Thomé and Negapatam, while the Dutch had acquired Tegnapatam about A.D. 1610. There was keen rivalry between the Portuguese and the Dutch, who 'worked havoc to the Portuguese ships in the sea but on land the latter endeavoured by clandestine efforts to prevent the Dutch from getting a foothold.' However, the native powers sought the Dutch help to drive away the Portuguese; and the Dutch chronicles record that 'similar supplication for help from the Dutch of

17. *The English Factory Records*, 1661-64, p. 365.

18. An Inscription coming from Nodiyūr (Tanjore District: 200 of 1932) registers an annual grant of 30 *pon* made to one Vēdaṇḍichōlan of Śengilinādu as remuneration for the latter's services in having captured and killed a certain Pērichchi Śōlagan. Since the record contains only the Cyclic year Śōbakrit, the exact date is not easy to calculate. If Pērichchi Śōlagan can be identified with Śōlaga of Dēvikōttah, whom Raghunātha defeated and imprisoned, then the epigraph would have us understand, that he escaped from prison and fled for life. Vēdaṇḍi Chōlan might have captured this culprit while he was roaming about, and put an end to his life.

South Coromandel Coast against the Portuguese were made by the rulers of Jaffnapatam, Cochin and the Nayak of Tanjore.' The Dutch finding themselves much opposed by the Portuguese, made attempts to get a footing in the South. Bourgonji, the Dutch factor at Tegnapatam says in a letter dated 26th July A.D. 1610 that negotiations were carried on with the Nayak of Tanjore for securing a place called Triminipatam (Tirumalarāyanpattinam) and even though a *cowle* was expected from Tanjore to that effect 'no reply was received up to 7th April A.D. 1609.'¹⁹ He also says that 'much was expected of the cloth trade at Triminipatam situated in the Tanjore Nayak's country between Tegnapatam and Negapatam. It appears from this, that the earliest attempt of the Dutch to found a factory in the kingdom of Tanjore, proved unsuccessful. The English Factory Records also show that the Nayak of Tanjore was not for according permission to erect forts in favour of the Dutch 'who were earnest suitors to the Naick to his country'. The Nayak refused to have them 'live in his country' and had demolished 'what they had begun, saying he had heard how they encroached upon other princes' dominions and countries and therefore should not live in his.'²⁰

The annual return of the Portuguese and Dutch ships laden with large quantities of gold and commodities got as profits in the Eastern trade, stirred up the other enterprising nations of Europe to take to oceanic enterprise. The Danes and the French were the most important of them. The Danes appear to have visited the court of the Tanjore Nayak a few years earlier than the English. The first Danish settlement of Dansborg (Tranquebar) on the Coromandel Coast and in the kingdom of Raghunātha Nayaka, was founded on the 19th of November A.D. 1620 by Ove Geede, who was sent out to India as the commander of the first Danish fleet of four ships by King Christian IV of Denmark. But the first arrival of the Danes had already taken place sometime earlier when Roelant Crape, a Dutchman, in the Danish service 'was received with thirteen of his men graciously by Ragnādo (Raghunātha Nayaka) of Tanjore.'²¹ The foundation of the Danish settlement

19. *The Dutch Beginnings in India*, T. I. Poonen, Chapter VII.

Triminipatam is the modern Tirumalairājanpatnam situated in the Nannilam Taluk of the Tanjore District. It is located between Tranquebar and Negapatam in Linschoten's map. See also the map of India by Sanson d'Abbeville (1652).

20. *The English Factory Records*, Vol. II, (1622-23) p. 337.

21. J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 625. The Danish settlement of Tranquebar—Donald Ferqusson. The author disproves the date of 1612 assigned for the foundation of the Danish settlement of Tranquebar and mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer* as it is too early for it.

of Tranquebar took place by mere accident as it were. The Danish East India Company was started in Copenhagen (Denmark) under the patronage of King Christian IV, as early as A.D. 1616 but it took two years for the Company to fit out an eastern expedition. In their early voyages the Danish Company, for want of their own men with sufficient knowledge of the trade routes in the Indian Ocean, had to employ the services of the Dutchmen, who were available; and the sending out of two of their ships in the course of A.D. 1618 was largely due to the exertions of a Dutchman, Marcellus de Boschowver, who went on a political mission to Holland.²² Boschowver finding that he could get no help from the Dutch, as the Batavian government was preoccupied with their schemes regarding the acquisition of Moluccas, turned to Denmark in November 1617 which was now determined to set out an expedition in order to trade with the East, consequent of the successful end of their war with Sweden in A.D. 1603.²³ Boschowver on behalf of the Kandyan king negotiated a treaty with the king of Denmark with forged credentials. As a result of this treaty the 'Oeresund' started first with Roelant Crape on August A.D. 1618 and this was followed after three months by Ove Geede, who set out with four vessels, the 'David' and the 'Elephant' provided by the King and the 'Christian' and the 'Copenhagen' belonging to the Company. Roelant Crape reached the coast of Ceylon and informed the Kandyan King of the news of the forthcoming arrival of Ove Geede. Roelant Crape being persuaded by King Sēnāret of Kandy to enter into hostilities with the Portuguese, captured a number of small Portuguese junks laden with rice and arecanuts. The news of Crape's success soon reached the ears of Andre Boetelho de Costa, who was the Portuguese Governor of Jaffnapatam; and becoming enraged at this, he at once despatched six galleys 'to chastise the interlopers'. Crape, who was then anchoring near Karikal was suddenly attacked by the Portuguese fleet, and in his attempt to escape he was stranded near the coast. Crape taking along with him the remaining thirteen of his crew, swam across to the shore and made his way to

22. Boschowver, the Dutchman who was in Ceylon promised help to King Sēnāret of Kandy in the latter's attempt of driving the Portuguese out of his kingdom. He sailed to Tegnapatam A.D. 1613 to get help from the Dutch Factors there, but finding no help forthcoming, he sailed to Holland. Even there he could not get help from the Government and so to fulfil his promise given to Sēnāret, he negotiated with the King of Denmark using forged credentials since Sēnāret never gave him power to negotiate with the Danes. Boschowver, who sailed along with Ove Geede to the East, died on his way and the dead body was interned in Ceylon.

23. J.R.A.S., Vol. 30, p. 169. *The Danes in Ceylon*; Dr. P. E. Pieris.

Tanjore, where they were given protection by the Nayak. Ove Geede, landed in Ceylon in May A.D. 1620 and found to his great disappointment that the king of Kandy was then in friendly relations with the Portuguese and besides, Boschowver's credentials were also discovered to be unauthorised fabrications made, on his visit to king Sēnāret. However, Geede made use of the king's desire to win the Danes to his side, and made a treaty by which Trincomali was formally ceded to the Danish Crown. Geede then sailed towards the Coromandel Coast to know more about Crape of whose previous misfortune, he had heard already in Ceylon. Geede visited the court of Raghunātha Nayaka and concluded a treaty in November 1620 as between the Danish Company and the Nayak by which, Raghunātha permitted the Danes, without any objection on his part to supply materials, to build a fort at Tranquebar and to trade freely with his subjects. Geede appointing Henrick Hess to be the commandant of the fort and Crape to an equally important post, then sailed away.²⁴ The fort at Tranquebar constructed by Geede 'is a quaint old structure in the Gothic style and quite baronial in appearance in spite of modern restoration.'²⁵

The foregoing account clearly shows, that the arrival of the Danes in Tanjore and their founding a settlement in the Nayak's country happened without any previous plan; and the Nayak's help to Crape at the hour of distress when his life was in danger, his offering them help and permission to build a fort, are not without significance and importance in the history of the Eastern Commerce in general and in the Nayak's relation with the Portuguese in particular. Within a short time the Danes were able to gain ground and compete effectively with other European nations in the eastern market; and an English letter dated A.D. 1621²⁶ refers to their prosperity in trade. The letter records that 'this coast is not yet freed of all the Danes' and the building of a small fort at Tranquebar is also mentioned. By August 27, A.D. 1622 the fort at Tranquebar had been strengthened and fortified and President Fursland writing to the Directors of the English East India Company says 'that the Danes trade under the name of the English and are marvellously well used. He

24. Fenger: *The Tranquebar Mission*. This little book gives detailed information about the founders of Tranquebar which was known in an inscription of a Pandya, as Sadangapadi and subsequently as Tarangampadi (wave-village) —[Editor].

25. *The Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, 1912-13*, p. 69.

26. Letter from Methwold to the Company. *The English Factory Records*, Vol. I, Introduction and p. 266.

(Nayak of Tanjore) has given them a town and a place to build a castle which is finished and hath thirty-six pieces of ordnance mounted therein.²⁷

A similar attempt to establish a factory in the Nayak's territory was made by the English in the year A.D. 1624. But their negotiations ended in failure consequent upon the Nayak's demanding a large sum and a heavy rent as well, for their proposed factory at Karikal. About A.D. 1622 The English had their factories at Masulipatam and Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast; but the unprofitable trade carried on at the latter place led the Presidential Council at Bantam to order the dissolution of the Pulicat factory, on July 11, A.D. 1623.²⁸ Another reason that contributed for the immediate abandoning of Pulicat was the fact 'that Coromandel cloth will not be required in future as long as they discontinue their trade with Moluccas'. Another letter refers to the wrongs done by the Dutch to the English at Pulicat, as they were also in possession of that place under the patronage of the local governor Yatirāja, the brother of the rebel Jaggarāya, the victim of the Toppūr battle. The Dutch and the English at Pulicat made joint efforts to procure Indian cloth in sufficient quantities for purposes of export, but the Dutch appear to have insisted 'on the strict dividing of the cloths received in accordance with the respective proportions of the two Companies' investments, but making the English pay their full share of the expenses.' In A.D. 1622 information was sent to the Superior Council at Bantam that the Nayak of Tanjore was very desirous of opening trade with the English and this news was communicated to the Directors in England by Brockedon, the President of the English settlements in the East and also of the Council at Bantam, towards the close of A.D. 1623.

Brockedon in his letter²⁹ says that "the prince of Tanjore of those parts has often invited us to live in his country promising great privileges and favours and now by the *Ruby* (which reached the coast on November 23, from Batavia) there is come an Englishman Johnson, who came out master of one of the first Danish ships, who has been about 18 months at the Nayak's court as a pawn for the pepper first sent home by the Danes, who reports the Naick having heard the English to be a peaceable nation that seek not to encroach on other men's territories was earnest with him to move into us the favourable opinion he had for our nation and great desire that we should trade in his dominions

wherefore understanding that better cloth of all sorts is made there than at Pulicat and Masulipatam and pepper likewise to be gotten in reasonable quantities; we have resolved to send a ship thither within these three months to make trial what good may be done in those parts. The Portuguese have lived long in his country but without fortification, he taking their protection upon him and offers the like to us or to fortify as the Danes have done. The Dutch have been earnest suitors to the Nayak to fortify in his country and had begun a fort at Tegnapatam,³⁰ but the Nayak refuses to have them live in his country and has demolished what they had begun saying he had heard how they encroached upon other princes' dominions and countries and therefore should not live in his." The decision to send a ship to the coast of Tanjore was arrived at on the strength of a letter written by an Englishman, John Johnson of whom we have again an account preserved in a letter dated 4th March A.D. 1622,³¹ and written by Johnson himself. John Johnson came out to India in A.D. 1620 as a sailor in the *Christian* of the Danish fleet and found his way to the court of the Tanjore Nayak along with the Danes, when the latter negotiated with Raghunātha for obtaining Tranquebar. Soon, Johnson and another Englishman Richard Hatfield by name, found themselves stranded alone with no money or provisions to find their way home or to reach the nearest English factory. Johnson himself says in a despatch to the President that he was staying at Tanjore quite against his own will. In the same letter he wrote for money, giving information regarding the possibility of founding an English settlement in the Tanjore Nayak's country. He says 'the great Naick demands of men what the reason is that the English do not desire to trade in his land as well as the Portugal, saying that they shall have pepper and anything the land doth afford and likewise buy those commodities that they do bring with them as tin, lead, iron and red cloth is well sold. Little does our nation know how they are expected all this land, therefore the Danes do trade under the name of the English and are marvellous well used.....' In the following year, Johnson seems to have made his way from Tanjore to Masulipatam and thence reached to Batavia.³² He moved the President at Bantam to send a ship to Tanjore where the English, he said, would soon have a prosperous trade in pepper and large quantities of excellent calico. He also mentioned the Dutch attempts to establish a factory in Tanjore Nayak's territories and the refusal of the Nayak to allow them that freedom. These representations and the Nayak's anxiety to receive

27. *The English Factory Records*, edited by Sir Foster, Vol. II, p. 117.

28. *The English Factory Records*, Vol. II, Introduction, pp. 37 and 38.

29. Letter from President Brockedon from Batavia to the East India Company dated, December 14, A.D. 1623 *The English Factory Records*, Vol. II, p. 337.

30. Tegnapatam, the modern Fort St. David, belonged to the Nayak of Gingee and not to Tanjore.

31. *The English Factory Records*, Vol. II, p. 51.

32. *The English Factory Records*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 39.

them and grant them favourable terms tempted the English Council at Batavia to send a ship, the *Hart*, to the Nayak's port of Karikal under the captaincy of Thomas Bickley with Joseph Cockram, a member of the Council as 'chief factor' and four assistants.³³ The stock was fixed at 52,000 rials, 4/5 of which was to be invested in pepper and the rest in calicoes. A letter was also sent to the Nayak requesting his gracious treatment of the factors and the concession of necessary privileges. John Johnson went as pilot.³⁴

President Brockedon wrote on January 17, 1624 to the Company, of his intention to send the *Hart* to the place which the Danes have fortified on the Coast of Coromandel, saying that good clothes and paintings and store of pepper may be had in abundance. He had also referred to the invitation of the prince of that country and to the fact that the Danes in a week's time had laden 3 or 4 hundred tons of pepper, and that the Portuguese bought almost all their clothes in their country (Tanjore). Regarding the ruler of that country, he says 'he is accounted the most warlike prince in all those parts, an observer of justice and will protect all those that trade in his country.'³⁵ The *Hart* left Batavia on March 27, 1624 accompanied by the *Unity*, which was to go to Masulipatam. The President wrote also a personal letter to the ruler of Tanjore, which runs as follows:—"They trust that His Highness's letter to their agent at Masulipatam (lost by the latter's negligence) will excuse this abrupt coming to him before they could commend his gracious favours into their own sovereign and since they have learned by Mr. Johnson's relations his good inclination towards their nation, they have despatched the bearer Mr. Joseph Cockram with the aforesaid Johnson to offer their service in the accommodation of the commerce, that it may for ever remain inviolable a band of amity between the houses of Tanjore and Great Britain. Their intent is only to transport such commodities of his kingdom as can conveniently be spared to furnish, in return for such English and other goods as one wanted and one in their power to supply. They

33. They were George Brewen, John Cartwright, Richard Robinson and Edward Powell. George Brewen was to be left behind as principal of the proposed English factory on the Tanjore Coast.

34. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 39. Also Consultations held at Batavia, March 2, A.D. 1624.

35. *Consultations at Batavia*, Vol. III. The letter written by Raghunātha Nayaka inviting the English was conveyed to Thomas Mills at Masulipatam by Johnson. That the letter was not sent to Batavia is seen from the reprimands made by the President to Mills for keeping that letter.

do not doubt his Majesty's gracious favour for the grant of necessary privileges on which point the bearer is empowered to negotiate."³⁶

On the same day, the President also issued instructions to Joseph Cockram and others for setting up a factory at Tanjore. The letter containing those instructions is as follows:—"On arrival at Serical (Karikal) a *caul* (cowle for safe conduct) is to be procured from the governor before landing. Mr. Johnson or some other should next be sent to the Nayak to procure a farman 'that you may come safely unto him,' which being granted, you shall present him with our letters and such presents as we have sent and demand the grant of suitable privileges. The *Unity* is to be sent on to Masulipatam within 5 or 6 days of their arrival with advice of cloth likely to be procured at the new settlement. No attempt should be made to build a factory house until they should be satisfied that the trade is worth pursuing. 'The chief thing we aim at is the procuring of large quantities of pepper wherefore if pepper be extra ordinary dear or but little to be gotten, we hold it unfitting to remain there unless the place afford extraordinary good cloth and good cheap and that there be hopes to vend quantities of our English commodities which you are especially to inquire after.' 'To be cautious in landing goods until well assured of the Nayak's affection; also in giving credit to the Natives. We are informed there is a great *committie* (*kōmati*) in the Naick's country named Malaya³⁷ which we make account will be your merchant' and will undertake great matters. He showed himself very honest in his dealings with Mr. Mills at Pulicat, yet by dealing with inferior komatis, You shall better understand the market and know how to bargain with Malaya with more certainty.' To be especially careful in choosing good colours as there is much deceit in the red (the most usual colour); also in seeing that the goods correspond with the sample. Packing should not

36. *The English Factory Records*, Vol. III. A copy of this letter is found in the *Factory Records* at Java.

37. Mallai or Mallaya alias Chinniah or Chenana Chetti, was an influential merchant through whom the Dutch had been conducting their transactions with Indian traders, weavers, etc. The Dutch assisted Mallai, who had been made to supersede Damarla Venkatappa Nayak. some years later, i.e., after the founding of Madras; and he became after 1644 the effective master of the coast country round Madras. Mallai played the decayed Raya against the Dutch and vice versa. Mallai had a large body of soldiers under him and took part freely, frequently changing sides, in the struggles of the Raya, the advancing Muhammadans and the Europeans of the coast. One of his dependents was Seshadri Chetty of Porto Novo who subsequently rose to be the chief Indian merchant at Madras. Mallai had even a small fort at Tegnapatam. He was a prominent figure in the politics and trade of the coast for nearly half a century.—[Editor].

be carried on in moist weather while the clothes are still damp.³⁸ They must look vigilantly to the delivery of the goods at the time appointed, and must have packing materials prepared in time. Should the Nayak be very earnest for a piece of ordnance, they may spare him one of the ship's guns 'with all his furniture'. Keep good correspondence with the Danes and the Portugals, but trust them not and have as little conversation with the Portuguese as may be for, they are exceeding treacherous and will poison you if you eat with them. As our people by oweful (woeful) experience in Siam have made trail (trial) with the loss of their lives. Mr. Johnson may be left at the new factory or not as may be found expedient; but he is not to be trusted with the Company's cash. Two Portugal women and men sent in this ship are to be landed at Negapatam or San Thomé and an endeavour to be made to procure the release of Mrs. Forbisher. Should it be decided to leave a factory Mr. Brewen is to be chief, John Cartwright second and Richard Robinson third with four or five Englishmen. If sufficient pepper be not obtained the *Hart* should be despatched to the West Coast of Sumatra for a supply and so to Batavia. While in port the sailors are to be allowed 'four fresh meals the week either fish or flesh and if butter be dear let them have salt fish to eat with their rice.' You may entreat the Nayak's favour to bring from thence 15 bricklayers that have skill to lay 'plaster of Paris' (chunam) and fifteen coolies to labour which you shall buy though they cost 20 rials per piece or upward. And lade as much plaster of Paris (pallist) and tiles aboard the *Hart* as she can conveniently take in for, we shall have great occasion to use them. Private trade is to be rigorously suppressed." The same day John Bickley also received instructions for the voyage from the President which says, that the ship must stop at the Sunda Islands to cut wood for the intended factory at Serical (Karikal). "Mr. Johnson would guide them to the latter port. Authority to help the mariners and to help the merchants. Not to meddle with the Portuguese while in the ports of the Nayak but in going or coming he is to endeavour to capture any Portuguese vessels he may meet. A piece of ordnance to be given to the Nayak if necessary. The ship to go to Sumatra if lading of pepper cannot be obtained at Karikal. Thirty (blackmen) to be procured at the latter place. Not to remain beyond the end of September except in an emergency. To stand always on his guard. The sailors etc. are not to buy any goods at Karikal until the merchants have agreed with the kōmatis as to price." The President sent also presents, which were to be made over to the Nayak and they included two *Demiculverins*.

38. This clause was necessitated by the fact that the Factors at Jambai complained about the bad condition of the goods got from the coast. Vol. III, p. 12.

On May 21, A.D. 1624, the ships sighted Tegnapatam and the *Unity* shortly after, set sail to Masulipatam. The *Hart* coasting along the south, passed the Danish fort of Tranquebar and anchored at Karikal on May 23 1624. On the next day the Captain went ashore and was received by the governor of Karikal, who at once despatched to Tanjore the news of the arrival of the English ship. While the English were awaiting a reply, the Danes made two attempts to frighten them away, alleging that they held an exclusive concession from the Nayak for all the ports between Negapatam and Pulicat. Joseph Cockram and Bickley with courage returned defiant answers and the Danes themselves, immediately afterwards, sailed away quietly when the English captain hoisted the British flag. On June 8, in response to an invitation from the Nayak the English departed for Tanjore, where they were all given a warm reception both by the Nayak and his nobles and were 'by the Nayak by his own mouth promised free trade and that they should have the port of Karikal at an easy rate. But the Portuguese and the Danes were greatly against it and most cruel enemies.' The latter it is alleged gave the Nayak great bribes and when Cockram was confronted with a demand for a yearly payment of 7000 rials of eight, for permission to use the port of Karikal, he could not accept the outrageous demand and broke off the negotiations and returned to the *Hart* on July 9. The English were the less disposed to satisfy the Nayak's greed for money as they found the pepper of the country to be limited in quantity and of 'a very sort and that always much wet with fresh water in portage from the upland mountains.'

The *Hart* visiting Tranquebar and calling at Tegnapatam, anchored off Pondicherry on July 19. The Governor of the District came on board and invited Cockram to settle a factory in that port. Cockram is said to have told him, that the English would visit Pondicherry next year with the necessary permission to found a factory. The *Hart* sailed again on August 3 and four days later reached Masulipatam where the *Unity* lay, being condemned and not fit for further voyaging. Remaining there till October, the *Hart* reached Batavia on November 20, 1624. Johnson was blamed for deluding the English in the business of Tanjore and he was mulcted of his wages. But Johnson on his going to England and on making an appeal to the Board of Directors, got back his wages by justifying his action.³⁹

39. The foregoing account is drawn from the *English Factory Records* Vol. III, 1623-29. The English decided to send a ship to Pondicherry on January 12, 1625 but the troubles that ensued prevented further attention. A letter received by the Company in 1626 states that the Danes had intercepted for paintings (painted cloths). A Dutch letter from Pulicat written towards the close of 1625 mentions that the

From this account, it becomes evident that the first attempt of the English to get a foothold in the Tanjore Nayak's country for purposes of trade proved a lamentable failure. The causes that led to the despatch of the *Hart* to Tanjore, were to procure large quantities of pepper which was reported to be in abundance and to purchase cloth only if it is of 'good quantity and sort and also cheap.'⁴⁰ According to the report of Johnson 'sufficient quantity of pepper to lade the *Hart* may be had in three months at 18 rials per *bahar* (Bāram ?) of about 330 lbs.' And the reasons for the abandoning of the settlement at Karikal are recorded in John Goring's Diary, which refers to the country's yielding 'but little pepper of a very small sort and that always much wet with the fresh water in portage from the upland mountains.' The Nayak also, was found to be 'very covetous expecting very great presents yearly', besides the payment of 7000 rials as rent for the port of Karikal, which 'he would appoint for us.'⁴¹

Berckley's account of the same voyage contains valuable and interesting information. He says that the failure of the English was largely due to the intrigues of the Danes, who bribing the Nayak, poisoned his mind against them. Berckley adds that the Nayak's demanding 7,000 rials as rent was due to 'the Danes being the cause thereof.' 'As for the king, he cares not who it be that has his ports to rent so he may have them what he will demand for he is for all what you will give him and so are all his great men.' The rivalry of the Danes, who were enjoying a considerable amount of influence with the Tanjore Nayak, was the main cause for the failure of the English and the records show that the Danes had even gone to the extent of influencing the governor of Pondicherry, under the Nayak of Gingee, as to prevent the English from founding a factory there. The Factory Records of this period show that the trade of the Coromandel Coast was carried on in a large measure by one Malaya Chetti, a rich *kōmati*, who had his house and godown at Tegnapatam.

Raghunātha Nayaka's later years of rule were a period of comparative peace and tranquillity, marked by the absence of bloody wars and internal troubles. The kingdom did not seem to have suffered any dimi-

Danes had endeavoured to procure calicoes at *Pouls Cera* (Pondicherry) and Porto Novo and a subsequent letter says that the Danish merchants left at both places, had been imprisoned by the Nayak.

40. *The English Factory Records*, Vol. III, p. 12.

41. The English agreed to pay 3,000 rials of eight as rent for the port of Karikal.

nution in its extent and the presence of Raghunātha's epigraphs beyond the limits of the Tanjore district, show his rule and supremacy over the neighbouring territories. His powerful hand seems to have extended as far as Tirukkōshtiyūr in the Ramnad District,⁴² Lālgudi in the Trichinopoly District,⁴³ Gōvindavādi in the Chingleput District⁴⁴, Nedunḡunram and Nārattampūndi in the North Arcot District.⁴⁵ His records at Nedunḡunram where his ancestors and now his agent Śonādriayyan are said to have made gifts to the local temple show again the close association of the Tanjore Nayaks with that place. The presence of the Tanjore Nayaks' epigraphs and especially those of Raghunātha at Nedunḡunram has led the Government Epigraphist to suppose that Raghunātha 'was a governor under Venkata in some portions of the North and South Arcot Districts.' There is also another inscription⁴⁶ found at Nedunḡunram and it is dated in the cyclic year Tārana. The record which registers a gift of land to the temple of Dharmaputtirar at Nedunḡunram by the inhabitants of the village and by one Tiruvambala Pillai, who is termed as the deputy of Timma Nayak and the agent of the king, is issued in the name of Vijaya Raghunātha Nayaka. If Vijayaraghunātha Nayaka can be identified with Raghunātha Nayaka, then the cyclic year would correspond to A.D. 1584. In that case this record will be the earliest of Raghunātha's epigraphs. The Government Epigraphist has assigned this record to A.D. 1644 and in that case, it will refer to Vijayarāghava Nayaka. Since it is not known whether Vijayarāghava was also called Vijaya Raghunātha, the supposition of the Government Epigraphist, that Raghunātha was viceroy under Venkata would require further confirmation before it can be safely accepted. However, epigraphs of both Achyutappa and Raghunātha show that they had agents at Nedunḡunram.⁴⁷ Tiruvannāmalai, where we have Śevappa and Achyutappa's records has none of Raghunātha Nayaka.

The inscriptions of Raghunātha Nayaka refer to a number of agents, who were, in all probability, in charge of small administrative divisions. His great minister Gōvinda Dikshita, figures largely in his epigraphs and in one of them he is called Pradhāni and in another he is termed as the agent of the king.⁴⁸ Ellappa Nayaka, son of Mādaiya Nayaka is mention-

42. 308 of 1923 dated Saka 1529. Tirukkōshtiyūr.

43. 151 of 1928 from Nattamāṅgudi (Lalgudi Taluk).

44. 40 of 1923. Gōvindavādi.

45. 705 of 1904 from Nedunḡunram and 379 of 1925 from Nārattampūndi.

46. 112 of 1924. Also A.R.E. 1924 and 1925.

47. 705, 706 and 709 of 1904.

48. 331 of 1923 and 290 of 1927.

ed as one of his agents, in an inscription found at Achyutamangalam.⁴⁹ Achyutamangalam is perhaps the same village called Achyutasamudra *alias* Arivilimangalam which was given away as gift to Vijayindra Tirtha by Achyutappa Nayaka. One Narasingarāja, who made an assignment of thirty *pon* to the Nodiyūr temple from the amount payable to the palace by the villagers for worship of god, was another agent.⁵⁰ Kolundappar was a third agent of Raghunātha and he is said to have made provisions for feeding Brahmans and celebrating some festivals in the Tirukkōshthiyūr temple in A.D. 1607.⁵¹ Mādayya Nayaka, son of Mallappa Nayaka, was also his agent at Srivāṇṇiyam. He is said to have made a gift of certain taxes in favour of the dancing girls (*dēvaradiyār*) attached to the temple in lieu of services.⁵² Tattapillai was another agent⁵³ besides one Narasinga Dikshita, who is mentioned in an epigraph coming from Nārattampūndi and dated in A.D. 1614.⁵⁴ A record from Nāchchiārkoil⁵⁵ dated Saka 1540 is interesting as it refers to an official of the king called *Aṭṭavanai* (accountant). *Aṭṭavanai* Raṅgappayyan built a mantapa to the goddess, for the merit of Raghunātha Nayaka. Apart from these gifts made by the King's agents, the numerous benefactions made by the Nayaka himself are also known. An Inscription from Nārattampūndi (North Arcot District) dated A.D. 1604 and issued in the name of Venkatapati Raya, refers to a *sarvamānya* gift (free of all taxes) of an entire village called Kailāsapuram to god by Raghunātha, for his own merit.⁵⁶ Another record coming from Kōttūr (Mannargudi Taluk) registers a gift of ten *velis* of land by the same Nayaka and the purpose for which this grant was made, is not to be traced since it is damaged.⁵⁷ The epigraphs also stand testimony to his impartial patronage of Śiva and Vishnu temples and other religious faiths. Raghunātha is said to have honoured the great Madhwa teacher Sudhindra, the successor of Vijayindra, with Kanakābīshēkam (bathing in gold).⁵⁸ The patronage extended to Christian Frang merchants and their being allowed to settle at Negapatam and Tranquebar, show his broadmindedness and tolerance.

49. 412 of 1925.

50. 194 of 1932.

51. 308 of 1923.

52. 77 and 78 of 1911.

53. 57 of 1923.

54. 371 of 1925.

55. 286 of 1927.

56. 379 of 1925.

57. 465 of 1912.

58. *Sources: Rāghavēndra Vijayam; Canto II, Sl. 53.*

The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* refer in glowing terms to the numerous gifts made by him. Rāmabhadraṁba says that the water poured as libations in giving away the numerous gifts by the king (*dānōdhaka*) flowed down like a river, and she adds that the water thus poured out collected in the moat round the Tanjore fort. Yagnanārāyana Dikshita gives a detailed account of the many and costly gifts made by the Nayaka on the day of his coronation.⁵⁹ He says that he performed the *Tulāpurushadāna* (weighing against gold) twice and distributed them among the Brahmans. Gifts of precious stones and jewels were distributed even among those who were disabled. In addition he performed the great gifts called *Hiranyagarbha* and *Mahābhūtagata*: Cows made of gold were also given away as gifts and all paraphernalia that go to make kingship were also gifted away. Apart from this he also founded numerous *agraharas*, where he settled learned Brahmans well-versed in all the Vedas. The author says that his gifts even surpassed the presents mentioned in Hēmādri's *Dhānakāṇḍa* (a work enumerating the gifts to be made). Rāmabhadraṁba says that on every day he gave large and rich presents as soon as his morning prayer and worship were finished. Gōvinda Dikshita in his introduction to the *Sangīta Sudhā* says that Raghunātha often performed the *Tulāpurushadāna* and with his gifts the Brahmans felt happy. He also speaks of the *agraharas* founded by him and each was composed of a thousand families. Raghunātha is said to have fed countless Brahmans daily.⁶⁰ The temples also were carefully looked after. The *Sangīta Sudhā* and the *Tanjāvūri Andhra Rājula Charitamu* give credit to Raghunātha for building the Rāmaswamy temple at Kumbakonam.⁶¹ And the former adds that he also built temples for Rāma at Rāmēswaram and Srirangam. The gopura of Lord Kumbhakōṇēswara (Kumbhēswara) at Kumbakonam and a mantapa also are said to have been built by him. Raghunātha is praised for his interest in the celebration of Rathōtsavams (car festivals) to the gods Jalpēsa at Tiruvaiyar and Dhēpunātha at Paśupatikōil.⁶² It is also claimed that he added buildings to the temples of Srinivāsa sthala (identified with Uppiliyappan koil in the Kumbakonam Taluk) and Champēsa (Mannargudi).⁶³ He continued all the charities established by his predecessors and instituted many new ones.

59. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto XII, Sl. 62 to 93.

60. *Sangīta Sudhā*; Sl. 57 to 60.

61. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar says that the temple was built in commemoration of his victory and of the anointment of Rāmarāya as the rightful emperor.

62. *Sangīta Sudhā*; Sl. 54 to 56.

63. *Sources*; 268.

The literary works give a fine picture of Raghunātha Nayaka's towering personality,⁶⁴ his military exploits and literary attainments. Raghunātha was an expert in the art of sword play,⁶⁵ a fine marksman and a skilled master in the art of horse riding.⁶⁶ The remarkable skill with which he handled the various weapons of war is also spoken of very highly. His victories over his enemies stand as testimony to his military accomplishments. He was also a great scholar in letters (*sāhitya*) and music (*sangīta*) and a renowned poet in Sanskrit as well as in Telugu. He had also a profound and deep knowledge of Daṇḍanīti⁶⁷ (political science). The *Sāhityaratnākara* refers⁶⁸ to his early education when Raghunātha is said to have learnt the alphabets, by writing them on a board strewn with precious stones. Yagnanārāyana Dikshita says that Achyutappa Nayaka's putting Raghunātha to study at a very tender age was not very much liked by his queen Mūrtimāmba.⁶⁹ Raghunātha exhibited wonderful scholarship and learning and became famous as an author as well very early, and it is said that he was able to compose a Kāvya called *Pārijāthāpaharaṇam*, within two *yamas*. He is said to have written a good number of Kāvyas, Prabhandas and Yakshagānams in Sanskrit and Telugu. Rāmabhadraṁba says that he was unequalled in the art of verse-making and poetic composition and his knowledge of the various vrittās (meters) and prasthāvanas was well-founded.⁷⁰ The most important of his works in Telugu are *Pārijāthāpaharaṇam*, *Vālmīkīcharitam*, *Rukmaṇiparināya*, *Yakshagānam*, and *Rāmāyaṇam* while his Sanskrit works include *Sangīta Sudhā* and *Bhārata Sudhā*.⁷¹ He was also a great authority on the science of Music and is deemed to be the founder of Karnatic Music. The *Sāhityaratnākara* refers to his skill in playing different tunes on the Veena and which he learnt while a youth.⁷² The *Sangīta Sudhā* says that he was the author of new *rāgas* like Jayantasēna and new *tālas* like Rāmāṇḍa, and he also taught music to others. The authorship of the *Sangīta Sudhā*, an important work on Music, has not been definitely settled. Raghunātha is held to be the author of this work to which Gōvinda Dikshita wrote an introduction. Verses 71 to 76 of the introduction to the *Sangīta Sudhā* refer

64. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto VI, Sl. 43 to 60.

65. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto III, Sl. 27.

66. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto V.

67. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Canto VIII, Sl. 35 to 46.

68. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto V, Sl. 1 to 40.

69. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto IV, Sl. 66.

70. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*; Canto III, Sl. 13 to 16.

71. *Sangīta Sudhā*; Sl. 62 and 63. Also *Tanjavūri Āṇḍhra Rājula Charitamu*; Introduction by Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri.

72. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto V and VI, 10 to 28.

to Gōvinda Dikshita's request made to Raghunātha to write this treatise in *dvipada* metre and publish it so that, all might enjoy it. Veṅkata-makhi's reference in his *Chaturdaṇḍiprakāsika*, that *Sangīta Sudhā* was written by his father, Gōvinda Dikshita, at the request of Raghunātha, has led some to think that the whole was the work of the Dikshita himself,⁷³ but was given out in the name of the Nayaka. Neither of these views is impossible since both Raghunātha and Gōvinda Dikshita were reputed musicians and taking the two versions together it may be said without much fear of contradiction that the work was written by Raghunātha in collaboration with his minister, Gōvinda Dikshita. The work can claim the joint-authorship of the Nayak and his minister.

As Raghunātha himself was a renowned scholar, it is but natural that he should extend his patronage to other scholars and poets. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* speak in laudable terms of his patronage shown to men of letters. Numerous poets and poetesses flourished in his court. Raghunātha is called an ocean of learning where, the learning of pundits who were equally renowned; is said to have formed the rivers that flow into that ocean. Rāmabhadraṁba says that Tanjore became the seat of Vāṇi (goddess of learning) and even the small children of the royal harem were noted for their versatility and keen intellects. Yagnanārāyana Dikshita refers to the king's gifts and costly presents to the poets and musicians (*Kavi budha gāyakābhīmata Kalpataru*) and the Nayak is likened to the Kalpa tree noted for its large bounty. His benefactions to learning and patronage of pundits must have made his name so familiar in the land, as to attract other learned men to his court. Among them the visit of Koṇḍa Kōṇangi Kavi Chowdappa, the court *vidwan* of Mātla Anantarāja, to the court of Raghunātha is important⁷⁴ and the poet is said to have expressed his surprise and admiration of the remarkable talents of the literary men who fitted his court. Among the galaxy of his famous poets, the names of Gōvinda Dikshita, his two sons, Yagnanārāyana Dikshita and Veṅkatamakhi, *alias* Veṅkatādhwari, Rāja Chūdāmaṇi Dikshita, Bhāskara Dikshita and Kumāra Tātācharya,⁷⁵

73. *Chaturdaṇḍiprakāsika*.

74. *Tanjavūri Āṇḍhra Rājula Charitamu*, Vavilla Edition, Introduction, p. 28.

75. His active life extended from about A.D. 1575 to A.D. 1630, as gleaned from lithic records. He was the grandson of Tōlappācharya. He was the Rajaguru of the Imperial family and perhaps crowned Venkata II in 1630 (Saka 1552). He had also to his credit the gilding of the Anandanilaya Vimāna of Sri Venkatēśvara at Tirumalai and also the Kalyāṇakōṭi and Puṇyakōṭi Vimānas at Conjeevaram (see The Tirupati Davastanam Epigraphical Report by S. Subrahmanya Sastri (1930)—pp. 312-13).—[Editor].

Rāmabhadhrāmba and Madhurāvāṇi are important and they figure more prominently. Each has written a number of works. Yagnanārāyaṇa Dikshita says that his master was the Nayaka himself and the *Sāhityaratnākara* was written to record his gratitude and regard for his master from whom he learned the *Sāhityaśāra*.⁷⁶ He was well versed in Vēdānta, Tārka and Mimāṃsa.⁷⁷ Rāmabhadhrāmba the poetess, was also an equally gifted and talented scholar and writer, who was much favoured by the king. She bore the distinguishing titles of Śatālēkhini (one who could write a hundred verses) Samaśamayalēkhini and Aṣṭabhāṣhā lēkhini (one who knows and one who could write in eight languages) and one who had ascended the seat of literary domain (*Chaturvida Kavitaṇu pranīta Sāhitya Sāmrajya bhadra pitārūdhaha*).⁷⁸ She was the pupil of one, Kālayya.⁷⁹

This revival of literary activities must have reached its zenith in the latter part of Raghunātha's reign, when the country returned to peaceful conditions after a series of wars. Most of the works must have been written only after A.D. 1617. At any rate that the *Sāhityaratnākara*, the *Sangīta Sudhā* and the *Raghunāthābhyudaya* were written only during this period is evident from their contents. Rāmabhadhrāmba referring to Raghunātha's return to Tanjore after the battle of Toppūr speaks of his durbar that was held and was attended by numerous poets who were proficient in eight languages.⁸⁰ Mention is also made of the fact that the king sent regular despatches and news-letters from the field of battle to the capital, regarding the progress of his operations.⁸¹ The poets and poetesses are mentioned as writing the history of his wars in all possible languages.⁸² Since these works record his victories over the Pāṇḍya and other enemies, it is certain that they were composed only after 1617. Even though the *Sāhityaratnākara* is not available in its complete form, yet evidence is not wanting to prove that portions of the complete work were lost. Chēmakūru Venkata Kavi,

76. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto I, Sl. 62.

77. *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto I, Sl. 52. The author calls himself as one well versed in the Vēdas and Sāstras and belonging to the school of literature nurtured by the grace of Raghunātha Nayaka. (*Prauda Sri Raghunāthabhūpati Kripāspārīta bavōtsāhita sāmrajya nigamāgamārta nipunaha Sri Yagnanārāyanaha*. (Colophon).

78. *Raghunāthābhyudaya*; Colophon.

79. Kālayya refers to his pupil in his *Rājagōpālavilāsa*.

Also *Raghunāthābhyudaya*; Introduction, by Dr. T. R. Chintamani.

80. *Raghunāthābhyudaya*; Canto XI, Sl. 24 to 28.

81. *Raghunāthābhyudaya*; Canto XI, Sl. 54.

82. *Raghunāthābhyudaya*; Canto XI, Sl. 55 to 79.

the author of *Vijaya Vilāsam* dedicated to Raghunātha Nayaka, tells us that the great Nayaka took interest in theatricals and there was also a theatre in the royal palace in which plays were enacted in the Nayak's presence. The *Raghunāthābhyudaya* of Vijayarāghava Nayaka tells us that such plays were enacted in the palace theatre before the king, who was in the habit of holding very frequently pandita parishads, at which learned men as well as women, competed with one another in exhibiting their attainments. It is said that on those occasions, the king asked the poets to set śmasyas (the art of verse making with given words) to the young ladies assembled in the court. Rāmabhadhrāmba seems to have come out successful on one occasion.⁸³ It was during his glorious reign that the southern school of Telugu literature noted for its special contribution of the Yakshagāna type of drama had its origin. A great impetus was given to learning in all languages and in particular to Telugu and Sanskrit.

Raghunātha Nayaka was a great ruler, a profound scholar and a liberal patron. By his learning and patronage, wars and victories, he earned an immortal name and lasting glory. The *Vijayavilāsam* and the *Sāhityaratnākara* give him numerous titles and distinguishing birudas such as *Abhinava Bhōja*, *Sōlaga māna baṇjana*, *Nēpāla Nripāla sthāpana samara nissanka*, *Karnāṭaka prabhu sukha pradaha*, *Saurya dairyaha* and *Sāhitya Bhōja*.⁸⁴ If indigenous works give him so much praise for his learning and patronage of arts, contemporary foreign evidence gives him an equally high place among the powerful rulers of the land and praise his even handed administration of justice and protection of foreigners. If a foreigner should speak of Raghunātha 'as the most warlike prince in all those parts, an observer of justice and (one who) will protect all those that trade in his country,' no further testimony would be needed to show his greatness.⁸⁵ The same high praise is given to him by a later writer on Tanjore, who calls Raghunātha Nayaka as the 'Solomon of his age in wisdom and the Absalom of his time in personal beauty.'⁸⁶ An image bearing a torch in the Chakrapāniswāmi temple at Kumbakonam is taken to represent Raghunātha Nayaka, but this identification will have to remain provisional since authorities are not agreed. Some hold it that it represents

83. *Raghunāthābhyudaya*; Introduction.

84. *Vijayavilāsam*. Also *Sāhityaratnākara*; Canto II, Sl. 71.

85. *The English Factory Records*; Vol. III. Consultation at Batavia. Letter from President Brockedon to the East India Company, dated January 17, A.D. 1624.

86. *The Maratha Principality of Tanjore; the Eden of the South* by W. Hickey.

Achyutappa Nayaka, while still others conclude on a closer examination, that it must represent a Vaishnava devotee and nothing more.⁸⁷ The end of his reign will be considered in connection with the accession of Vijayarāghava Nayaka, his successor.

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE

A. U. J. in (Vol. IX No. 2)

ERRATA

Page.	Line	For	Read
229.	28.	Madura District: A Manual	Madura Country: A Manual.
230.	29.	and in the sequence of events	and the sequence of events
	33.	La Mission de Maduré	La Mission du Maduré
	36.	of the letters of of	of the letters of
234.	22.	Coromandel coast	Coromandel Coast
239.	30.	accession to Madura	accession at Madura
241.	10.	Kuppuswami Sastri in the Tanjore Gazetteer and accepted.	Kuppuswami Sastri and accepted in the Tanjore Gazetteer
244.			
Foot Note 23			
	Line 2	honorary affix	honorary suffix
Foot Note 23			
	Line 12.	neither more or less	neither more nor less.
247.	16.	Do.	Do.
248.			
Foot Note 31.			
	Line 13.	ननु राजलक्षणम्	ननु राज लक्षणम्.
249.	26.	Besides, there was the Chola ruler	Besides, there was no Chola ruler
251.	22.	probabilty	probability
252.	15.	Raghunāthabhyudayam,	Raghunāthabhyudayam ;

87. *The Tanjore Gazetteer*, p. 218 says that it resembles Achyutappa. See also V. Rangacharya; *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, 1235.

NĪTIMĀLĀ

By

NARĀYANĀRYA

Edited with Introduction and Notes

BY

R. RAMANUJACHARI

AND

K. SRINIVASACHARI

PREFACE

In preparing the text of *Nitimālā* for the press the following manuscripts have been collated :—

1. R. No. 3744—Paper—Devanāgarī script, belonging to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
2. A manuscript in Telugu script kindly supplied to us by Panditaraja D. T. Tatachariar, M.O.L., and Tarkarnava T. Viraraghavachariar .
3. A manuscript in Telugu script, belonging to the University Library, Annamalainagar.

These manuscripts are in fairly good condition and contain no lacuna. Suggestions of better readings have been given in brackets.

We wish to acknowledge our deep sense of gratitude to our friends, Panditaraja D. T. Tatachariar, M.O.L., and Tarkarnava T. Viraraghavachariar of the Śrī Venkateswara Sanskrit College, Tirupati, for securing us a manuscript copy of *Nitimālā* and making many valuable suggestions. Sri T. E. Viraraghavachariar, Professor, Raja's College of Sanskrit and Tamil Studies, Trivadi, has throughout taken a very kindly interest in this work and helped us in manifold ways. Sri P. S. Ramanujachari, Nyaya Siromani, has assisted us most willingly in copying the manuscript for the press, reading the proofs and preparing the index. To them we express our sincere thanks. We are very grateful to Professors M. R. Rajagopala Ayyangar, M.A., L.T., K. R. Applachariar, M.A., L.T. and V. A. Ramaswami Sastriar, M.A., for having read the Introduction and made several useful suggestions. We are thankful to Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppaswami Sastriar, M.A., L.T., I.E.S. (Retd.) for writing a Foreword to this work. Our grateful thanks are due also to our colleague Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, M.A., B.Com., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Editor of the Journal of the Annamalai University for the very helpful interest he has evinced in the publication of this treatise in the Journal.

We cannot adequately thank Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad, Kt., LL.D., Founder Pro-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, for the kind permission he has given us for dedicating this book to him.

Annamalainagar,
May 25, 1940.

R. R.
K. S.

FOREWORD

By

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.)

The handbooks on Viśiṣṭādvaita-Vedānta, which were hitherto available in print, are either too scrappy or too difficult. Śrī Rāmānuja's *Vedārthasaṁgraha* and Śrī Vedānta-Deśika's *Nyāyasiddhāṇḍana*, though they come under the category of *Prakaraṇas*, are difficult classics not quite suitable as introductory primers on Viśiṣṭādvaita. The *Yatīndra-matadīpikā* and the *Tattvatraya* are scrappy and are designed more as Primers of Viśiṣṭādvaita theology than as Primers of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy.

By publishing the *Nītimālā* of Nārāyaṇārya, with summaries in Sanskrit as well as English, Pandit Sri K. Srinivasacaryar of the Sanskrit department and Professor R. Ramanujachariar of the Philosophy department of the Annamalai University, have supplied a longfelt desideratum to all serious students of Vedānta-darśana. A sound knowledge of any one of the Vedāntic schools would be impossible without a critical and comparative study of Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita systems. In this connection, Śrī Nārāyaṇārya's *Nītimālā* would be of very great value as a reliable and easy introduction to the distinctive doctrines of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system in contrast with the comparable doctrines of the Advaita system. The characteristic features of the *Nītimālā* are that it is written in a lucid style and that, under ten convenient heads arranged in logical sequence, the crux of each important question at issue between the exponents of Advaita and of Viśiṣṭādvaita is brought out and explained in a masterly manner.

This work is now critically edited for the first time. The author—Śrī Nārāyaṇārya—is a high authority on Viśiṣṭādvaita, who flourished before Śrī Vedānta-Deśika, about the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. The two learned editors of this work deserve warm commendation for making the *Nītimālā* and such other Viśiṣṭādvaita works available in handy and carefully prepared editions, with all the up-to-date accompaniments of introduction, summary and index; and the world of scholars interested in Indian philosophy and Sanskrit learning would have very good reason to feel highly gratified that the enlightened academic facilities provided in the Annamalai University have made it possible for such good editions of good Sanskrit works to appear in rapid succession.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI,

Brahman is the Supreme Object of Enjoyment and is Infinite.

This description of Brahman has the sanction of the scriptures. Upaniṣadic texts, such as 'Raso vai saḥ,' proclaim that Brahman is the supreme object of enjoyment (*sarvānukūla*). That Brahman is not limited by space, time or objects (*deśa-kāla-vastu-pariccheda-rahita*) is evident from texts, such as "He is eternal, infinite and all-pervasive, and extremely subtle". That Brahman is possessed of infinite perfections and is not, therefore, limited by objects follows from passages like "He from whom speech turned back, along with mind (*manas*) without reaching Him." *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* declares that the Lord's qualities cannot be described even though all the divinities may gather together and attempt for years on end to describe them.

It may be contended that the description that Brahman is not limited by objects (*vastu-pariccheda-rahita*) really denies the existence of other objects besides Brahman; for, if objects existed apart from Brahman, they would be referred to as "This is a jar," "That is a cloth" and so forth; and Brahman would come to be marked off from these objects. In other words, Brahman would be limited by them. Further, as two or more objects cannot occupy the same space, Brahman cannot exist where other objects exist; and it would follow that Brahman is limited by space. But Nārāyaṇārya dismisses this contention as being unsustainable. He points out that the mere presence of other objects does not necessarily mean that Brahman is marked off from them. The presence of a balance or touchstone, for example, does not necessarily mean that a given lump of gold must have been weighed or assessed. There is little force in the argument that if objects existed apart from Brahman, He would be limited by space; for Brahman exists in those objects and also in the space occupied by them. Thus, the statement that Brahman is not limited by objects does not mean that He does not preclude the existence of other objects.

Brahman is Free from Evil.

Further, Brahman is free from all evils (*nirmala*); for the scriptures proclaim, "He is the Inner Ruler of all beings, is devoid of all evils, and is the one Supreme Deity, Nārāyaṇa", "He is greater than the great; no sorrows of any kind touch Him, who is the lord of all beings, high and low." *Nirmalatva* (the character of being free from evil) signifies either that Brahman is pure in Himself or that He is not tainted even though He is in contact with imperfect objects. Or it may mean that he is so holy that even the most impure purify themselves by listening to discourses on Him, by reflecting on His nature and singing His praises.

Brahman is Self-luminous Consciousness.

The ultimately real is a self-luminous consciousness; for the Upaniṣads describe Him as consciousness (*viñāna*), and as the light of all

lights (*jyotiṣām jyotiḥ*). To say that He is self-luminous (*svaprakāśa*) is to assert that He possesses *ananyādhīna prakāśa* (i.e., a *prakāśa* which does not depend upon anything other than itself). This *prakāśa* is not *prabhā* (rays of light); for, in that case, the lamp cannot be treated as self-luminous, since here the *prabhā* depends upon the lamp and not upon itself. *Prakāśa* cannot be treated as *prākāṣya*; for the Vedāntins do not admit the existence of *prākāṣya*.²⁶

Nor can *prakāśa* be identified with *jñāna*; since, in that case, Brahman would have to be at once the subject (*kartā*) and the object (*viṣaya*) of thought and discussion (*vyavahāra*) concerning Himself. Hence *prakāśa* must be defined as the quality of being conducive to thought and discussion. For its own sake, Brahman becomes, by its very existence, conducive to thought and discussion concerning Himself. In this sense, the *jīva* also is self-luminous. And knowledge may be described as self-luminous in the sense that it becomes, for the sake of its possessor (*āśraya*), and by its very existence, conducive to thought and discussion regarding itself.

Brahman Possesses Innumerable Auspicious Qualities.

Brahman possesses an infinity of auspicious qualities, such as knowledge (*jñāna*), strength (*bala*) and sovereignty (*aiśvarya*). This is evident from scriptural passages, such as "His wonderful power (*śakti*) is described as being manifold; *jñāna*, *bala*, *kriyā* and the like are His essential nature." It has already been shown that the Upaniṣads do not teach that Brahman is without qualities (*nirguṇa*). If Brahman had no qualities, the scriptures would not take pains to enumerate His qualities. Vedāntic texts declaring that He is free from evils (*apahata-pāpmā*) furnish the clue to the proper interpretation of the *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa* texts. Passages denying qualities to Brahman teach the absence of evil qualities; while texts attributing qualities to Brahman emphasise the presence of auspicious qualities. It is only on this basis that these two sets of texts could be satisfactorily harmonised.

The Cosmos is the Body of Brahman.

All the sentient and non-sentient objects constitute the body of Brahman. This doctrine that the world forms His body and that He

26. According to the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṃsā, when cognition of an object arises, the latter is affected in a particular way; it becomes illumined, manifested or is made known (*prakāśa-viśiṣṭa*). It is from this illumination or manifestedness (*prākāṣya* or *jñātatā*) that we infer that knowledge has previously arisen. Thus, it is held that consciousness is not perceived, but is inferred from its results. For a refutation of this view see Vedānta Deśika's *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa*, p. 394. See also *Sarvārthasiddhi*.

is the Inner Ruler of the world is unambiguously set forth in the celebrated *Antaryāmi Brāhmaṇa*, *Subāla Upaniṣad* and elsewhere. The *smṛtis* also support this view. "O Lord! this entire world is your body."²⁷ "All these form His body."²⁸ "All form the body of the Lord Viṣṇu."

The External World.

The nature of sentient beings is explained at length in the next chapter. Here the author examines non-sentient objects and classifies them under three heads—time (*kāla*), unmanifest matter (*avyakta*) and *paramākāśa*. Though time is infinite, it is divided into shorter durations, such as night and day. It is subject to modifications; and it is also responsible for the change of place and form found in all objects.

Avyakta possesses the three *guṇas*—*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. At the time of *pralaya*, it is in an extremely subtle state, devoid of names and forms and is inseparably bound up with Brahman. At creation, on account of the will of the Lord, it becomes separate from Him and assumes diverse forms such as intellect (*mahat*) and egoity (*aḥam-kāra*), and thereby, acquires different names.

Paramākāśa partakes exclusively of the *sattva* quality. It is eternal and free from even the slightest trace of evil. It is the abode of enjoyment (*bhoga-bhūmi*) for the Lord, the released souls (*mukta*) and those who have been ever free (*nitya*).

Objections to the View that the World is the Body of Brahman.

Objection may be taken to the view that the world composed of sentient and non-sentient objects constitutes the body of Brahman on the following grounds. For one thing Brahman is not subject to *karma*. Again, the scriptures assert that He is devoid of a body (*apāṇi, apāda*). Further, the world consisting of men and matter does not answer to the definition of body; for the body is usually defined either as the place wherein the soul experiences pleasure and pain (*bhogāyatana*), or as the seat of the senses (*indriyāśraya*). Moreover, though certain material objects may answer to this definition of body, they cannot be regarded as the body of the Infinite Self; because they are the outcome of the past deeds of finite souls.

The objector may add that, on the view that Brahman has the world of matter and souls for this body, He would, like the *jīva*, be subject

27. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, 120, 29.

28. *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*.

to pleasurable and painful experiences which are the inevitable consequences of the possession of a body.

Nārāyaṇārya's Reply.

Nārāyaṇārya meets these objections by saying that the scriptural texts which describe the world as His body are so clear on this point that they do not bear any other interpretation. Passages which say that Brahman has no body really assert that, unlike the body of the jīva, His body is not born of karma. Further, the definitions of the body as the place where the soul experiences pleasures and pains or as the seat of the senses are logically defective. The first definition is too broad; for the house wherein the person experiences pleasures would have to be treated as the body. The second is too narrow, since it excludes immovable objects which are described as the bodies of certain sinners. A proper definition applying equally to the bodies of all beings, gods, men, beasts, and birds, runs as follows. The body is that which a conscious entity controls, supports and uses for its own ends. Since the Supreme Self controls and sustains the world and since the world exists for His sake, He is proclaimed to be the Soul of the Cosmos, and the Cosmos is described as His body. Hence the scriptural statement, "He enters all beings and controls them from within; He is the self of All."

To the objection that if Brahman possessed a body, He would be subject to pleasures and pains, Nārāyaṇārya replies that Brahman is not afflicted by miseries, since He is free from karma. The oft-quoted *Muṇḍaka* text (III. i. 1) referring to the two birds sitting on the self-same tree declares that, while the jīva tastes the fruits of karma, the Lord merely looks on and shines as a resplendent being. Thus, it is subjection to karma, and not the mere association with a body, that accounts for miseries. It is significant that this passage not only declares that Brahman is not entangled in sorrows, but goes on to assert that He shines as a resplendent being (*abhicākaśīti*), by distributing pleasures and pains to the jīvas in accordance with their past deeds. Bhagavān Rāmānuja explains this point very clearly in his *Vedārthasaṃgraha* with the aid of a telling analogy. Though contact with the whip is common to the individual holding it and the person beaten therewith, it is a source of pain only to the latter. Even so, though contact with the body is common both to the Lord and to the finite self, it occasions misery only to the latter.

Reality is Threefold.

Since sentient and non-sentient objects constitute the body of Brahman, and since He is the embodied Self, it follows that men,

material objects and God are three distinct realities. As indicated already, *bheda* (difference) is no other than special features, such as *jāti* (generality).

The Nature of Difference.

The objector may ask: If the difference (*bheda*) of one object from another is *jāti* itself (e.g. if ghaṭa-*bheda*, distinction from pot, found in the cloth is clothness itself, paṭatva), how is the difference of one *jāti* (pot-ness) from another (cloth-ness) to be accounted for? In other words, the objector thinks that this view would land one in an infinite regress, since the distinction of one *jāti* from another must be the *jāti* of that *jāti*.

To this Nārāyaṇārya replies that, in regard to *jāti*, its very essence (*svarūpa*) constitutes *bheda*; for *jāti*, unlike its substrate, possesses no qualities. In other words, cow-ness (*gotva*) noticed in the cow marks it off from the horse and other animals. But what distinguishes 'cow-ness' (*gotva*) from 'horse-ness' (*aśvatva*) is not the presence of some feature in 'cow-ness'. Just as colour renders visible the object possessing the colour and also makes itself visible without the aid of some other colour, even so *jāti*, by itself, is responsible for thought and reference (*vyavahāra*) concerning itself and other entities.

Nārāyaṇārya proceeds to point out that *jāti* is nothing but configuration (*saṁsthāna*). There is little warrant for positing a separate entity called *jāti*, which is eternal and which is different from the several particulars, though present equally in each of them; for such an entity is never cognised. Further, there is little value in the contention that the cognition of a given feature (*ākāra*) persisting alike in several instances necessitates belief in *jāti* as a distinct entity. For at no time do we meet with a feature persisting in the several particulars. When the first instance of a class is met with, obviously, there cannot be cognition of a persistent feature, and when the second and subsequent instances are perceived, only the particular and a given shape are cognised. Moreover, as the particulars come and go, it is difficult to conceive of a *jāti* which is eternal, which is without parts and which resides in its fullness in each of the instances. Hence, it follows that there is no *jāti* distinct from configuration (*saṁsthāna*).

It may be objected that *saṁsthāna* cannot be treated as *jāti*. For the configuration (*saṁsthāna*) varies from instance to instance; and cannot, consequently, account for the identical cognition (*ekabuddhi*) and the use of the same term (*śabda*). Though no two cows agree in regard to their configuration, there arises the same cognition (*ekabuddhi*): "This is a cow," "That is a cow," "That other is a cow"

and so forth; and the same term 'cow' is applied to the several instances. The real explanation for the rise of this identical knowledge when several instances are observed must be sought in the nature of the instances themselves. There can be no difficulty in maintaining that different instances generate an identical knowledge; for it is commonly admitted that divergent factors, such as the visual apparatus, colour, light and mind (*manas*) produce a single result, viz., *jñāna*. Thus the nature of *jāti* is far from being clear. When that is so, *bheda* cannot be identified with *jāti*."

Nārāyaṇārya's reply to this line of argument is as follows:—Configuration (*saṁsthāna*) is itself *jāti*. Though the configuration is different in each of the particulars, on perceiving the second and subsequent instances we cognise a *saṁsthāna* similar to that previously known. It is this *saṁsthāna* which has been recognised to be similar to the one apprehended already that is responsible for the rise of identical knowledge (*ekabuddhi*) when the particulars possessing the *saṁsthāna* are met with. The persistence (*anuvṛtti*) of the *saṁsthāna* in the several particulars is apprehended when the second and subsequent instances are perceived.²⁹

By persistence (*anuvṛtti*) of *saṁsthānas* is meant the presence of closely similar configuration. Even those who accept *jāti* as different from *saṁsthāna* have to admit the similarity of *saṁsthānas* (i.e., *anuvṛtti*). For in explaining why cow-ness is not present in the *gavaya* which bears a resemblance to the cow, they must say that the *jāti* of the *gavaya* is not altogether similar to that of the cow perceived already. But it would be far simpler to say that there is no similarity of *saṁsthānas*, and hence no *gotva*. Therefore, *saṁsthāna* is the same as *jāti*, which, again, is identical with *bheda* (difference). Once this identity is proved, it readily follows that Brahman which has the world for His body is really different from it.

All Words Denoting Souls and Matter Refer to Brahman.

Since Brahman has souls and matter for His body, all words denoting the several souls and material objects ultimately signify also the Supreme Brahman, the Inner Self of all things. In the judgments—"The man knows," "The deva knows"—the words 'man' and 'deva' referring to the physical body ultimately refer to the soul; for the body cannot be a knower.

The opponent may contend that the instances cited would scarcely prove that all words referring to bodies also denote, as a general rule, the souls residing therein. If, in the present case, they are taken to

signify the soul it is only in a secondary sense, the primary meaning being unintelligible. Nārāyaṇārya's reply is that, since the essential nature of a body is to be an inseparable mode of the soul, words denoting the body must, even in a primary sense, denote the soul; even as terms referring to *jāti* and *guṇa* refer to their substrate.

The opponent may again urge that, if the body is an invariable mode, it must be always apprehended along with the soul; and since it is not so apprehended, in interpreting these words to mean the soul we are taking the secondary sense.

The reply is that if *jāti* and *vyakti*, *guṇa* (quality) and *guṇin* (substrate) are apprehended together it is not because they are invariably connected, but because both of them are visible. But in the case of the body and the soul, the former is perceptible while the latter is not. That is why they are not known together. Instances can be adduced in plenty to show that entities which are invariably connected need not be perceived together. Take, for example, earth (*pṛthvī*) and odour. Though they invariably go together, they need not be perceived together; for different sense organs are involved in their perception.

Exception may be taken to the view that souls (*cit*) and matter (*acit*) are the modes (*prakāra*) of Brahman on the following ground.—When a substance is the mode of another, the suffix *matup* must be employed to indicate the fact of the latter having the former as its mode. For example, when Devadatta wields a stick, he is spoken of as *danḍin* (the person wielding a stick) and not as *danḍa*. Similarly, if Brahman has *cit* and *acit* for His modes (*prakāra*), the suffix *matup* must be used to indicate that they are His modes. But scriptural statements like "Sarvam khalu idam Brahma" do not employ the suffix *matup*. On the contrary, Brahman is equated with the world. Therefore, it cannot be maintained that souls and matter are the modes of Brahman.

This objection is not insuperable. As Nārāyaṇārya pertinently points out substances like stick, ring and so on are perceived sometimes as modes of other objects, and sometimes independently. Hence the need, in their case, for the suffix *matup* whenever it has to be shown that they are modes. But in respect of *cit* and *acit* which are the inseparable modes of Brahman, there is no need of this suffix. Since souls and matter constitute the body of the Supreme Self, and since their essential nature is to be His invariable modes, all words denoting them do ultimately signify Brahman also. Hence the equation of all words denoting the several objects of the world with those signifying Brahman.

29. Śrī Bhāṣya, I, i. 1.

It is unreasonable to contend that while words have been learnt to denote several objects, this view rejected the primary sense of words and accepts the secondary meaning; for this view does not reject the significance of words. It merely states that these words refer to Brahman also.

Since non-sentient objects are said to acquire names and forms (*nāmarūpa*) on account of Brahman entering into them (*anupraveśa*) through the individual selves, words referring to material objects may well denote the Supreme Self who has entered into them. The *smṛti* passage—"Brahman is the ultimate meaning of all words."—clearly suggests that, while different words convey different meanings, their ultimate significance (*uttamam vācyam*) is Brahman Himself.³⁰ Bādarāyaṇa expresses the same idea in *Vedānta-Sūtra*, II. ii. 17:—*Carācaravyapāśrayas tu syāt tadvyapadeśo bhāktah tadbhāvabhāvit-vāt*. All terms referring to objects that move and those that do not move denote Brahman in a primary sense in so far as He has entered into all things and invested them with names and forms.

Thus, even though souls, matter and God are distinct realities, souls and matter are equated with God. Passages like "Tat tvam asi" and "Aham Brahma asmi" equate souls with God; while the text: "Sarvam khalu idam Brahma"—identifies matter with Brahman. Such an identification is wholly justified because Brahman has souls and matter for His body.

Brahman is Abinna-nimitta-upādāna-Kāraṇa.

Souls and matter are sometimes in a subtle state (*sūkṣma-avasthā*), devoid of distinctions of names and forms. Brahman, in association with *cit* and *acit* in a subtle state, is spoken of as the cause of the universe. Since the Upaniṣads declare that Brahman made the resolve "May I be many, and be born," it follows that Brahman is the efficient cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*) of the world. Passages like, "He made Himself manifold" assert that He is also the material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*) of the universe.

The Nyāya View.

The Naiyāyika may object to this view and argue as follows:—"Brahman associated with *cit* and *acit* cannot be the material cause of the cosmos; for what is considered as the material cause must be an entity subject to change; but souls and Īśvara are without change.

30. "Vacasām vācyam uttamam." Compare also "Vedaiś ca sarvair aham eva vedyah" Bh. Gītā.

Therefore, matter alone must be the material cause of the world. The Viśiṣṭādvaitin cannot argue that, when Brahman is described as the material cause of the world, what is really meant is this:—Matter which constitutes the body of the Lord is the material cause; for in that case his position would contradict the upaniṣadic texts describing Brahman as the *upādāna-kāraṇa*. Further, it would go against the Viśiṣṭādvaitic theory that the efficient and the material causes of the world are identical. Hence, it has to be maintained that, while *cit*, *acit* and Īśvara are distinct realities, Brahman is the efficient cause of the world, while matter is its material cause. This view is in conformity with everyday observation; for everywhere the material and the efficient causes are noticed to be different entities (e.g. threads and the weaver; clay and the potter; and so on). Besides, it is observed that the effect is produced by several factors which are smaller than itself in magnitude (e.g. the cloth is composed of many threads which are individually smaller than the cloth in size). Therefore, there is nothing strange in maintaining that countless infinitesimal atoms (*paramāṇūs*) are the material cause of the world."

There are two great difficulties in the way of the Nyāya theory.

(i) So long as the infinitesimal atoms are not conjoined, no effect can be produced; and yet the *paramāṇus*, being partless, cannot come into contact (*samyoga*) with one another. To obviate this difficulty, it has to be admitted that the atoms are composed of parts. But such an admission leads to a fresh difficulty; for the parts, being themselves effects, must, in their turn, depend upon the combination of parts; and so on *ad infinitum*.

(ii) Even if it is granted that partless atoms may combine together, they cannot account for this wide expanse of the world; for atoms which are indivisible and without dimensions cannot produce a world of vast dimensions.

To the first of these objections, the Naiyāyika replies that, just as the soul and the mind (*manas*) which are recognised as being partless, enter into contact, even so partless atoms may combine with one another. As for the second objection, the Naiyāyika thinks that the question: How can partless atoms produce a world which is of great magnitude? is meaningless. For it is directly perceived that the world which is the product of *paramāṇus* is of great magnitude.

Refutation of the Nyāya View.

Nārāyaṇārya dismisses the Nyāya theory as being wholly unsatisfactory. For one thing, there is no warrant for positing the existence of infinitesimal atoms. The Naiyāyika may urge that in-

infinitesimal atoms have to be posited as the ultimate cause of all objects; for causal factors which are small in magnitude produce an effect which is fairly large (e.g. several threads which are individually small in size produce a cloth of large dimensions); and these causal factors are themselves traceable to still smaller factors, and so on, until the process stops at the stage of *paramāṇus*. This argument, says Nārāyaṇārya, is unsound; because the effect is non-different from causal factors. In fact, the causal conditions themselves go by the name of the effect, when they assume a certain state (*avasthā*). The cloth, for instance, is merely an arrangement of threads. Popular judgments, such as "The cloth is merely the threads," and "The pot is only clay," establish that the cause and the effect are non-different.

Next Nārāyaṇārya points out that partless atoms cannot combine together and produce the world; for, if there is to be conjunction (*saṁyoga*), there must be its cause, namely, *karma*. Karma, in its turn, presupposes *adr̥ṣṭa* (unseen factor) residing either in souls or in the atoms. Since *adr̥ṣṭa* is eternal, its effect, viz., *saṁyoga*, must be eternal, and not occasional. In other words, there should be perpetual creation. The Naiyāyika may urge that, although *adr̥ṣṭa* is not occasional, yet it could produce its result only when it attains fruition. To this Nārāyaṇārya replies that it is too much to imagine that the countless *adr̥ṣṭas* of souls (or for that matter, of *paramāṇus*) attain fruition (*paripāka*) simultaneously and thus account for the conjunction of atoms resulting in the creation of the universe.

The Naiyāyika may again urge that, although *adr̥ṣṭa* is eternal, its result (i.e., *saṁyoga*) is occasional, since it is dependent upon God's will (*saṁkalpa*). Such a contention, says Nārāyaṇārya, has no force; for the Nyāya conception of an Īśvara whose existence is proved by reason has already been refuted. If the Naiyāyika could bring himself to accepting the view that God's existence is learnt from the scriptures, he ought also to accept the scriptural account of creation, and not root out the theory that material particles create the world.

Nārāyaṇārya further points out that the Naiyāyika has not explained how infinitesimal atoms could produce the wide expanse of the world. To escape this difficulty it may be admitted that atoms possess parts; but this admission would only lead to a fresh difficulty. The parts of the atoms would, in their turn, possess parts; and the latter, their parts, and so on *ad infinitum*. In that event, there would be no distinction between Mount Meru and the mustard seed; since all objects, big or small, would possess an unending series of parts.

Besides, since Brahman is possessed of infinite and wonderful powers, He could well be at once the material and the efficient cause

of the world. Just as the different objects of the world possess their specific characteristics, Brahman may possess a character, not met with in the objects of the world, viz., that of being at once the material and the efficient cause.

The Sāṅkhya Doctrine.

The Sāṅkhya contends that *prakṛti* which is perpetually in motion and which is independent of conscious control is the material cause of the universe. At creation (*śṛṣṭi*), *prakṛti*, influenced by the presence of the *puruṣa* near by, enters upon a course of heterogeneous evolution (*visadr̥ṣa-pariṇāma*) and produces *mahat* (the intellect) and the like. Even at the time of dissolution (*pralaya*), *prakṛti* is changing, but then, instead of assuming diverse forms such as *mahat* and *ahanūkāra*, it reproduces itself (*sadr̥ṣa-pariṇāma*).

Refutation of the Sāṅkhya Doctrine.

Nārāyaṇārya considers the Sāṅkhya account as far from being satisfactory, because it does not show how creation and dissolution could alternate. The belief that the contact of *puruṣa* with *prakṛti* suffices to set the latter on a career of creation is inadequate. For, as the *puruṣa* is devoid of action, good or evil (*niṣkriyā*), he could never be in contact (*saṁyoga*) with *prakṛti*.

The Sāṅkhya may urge that the conjunction needed for starting the process of creation is merely the presence of the *puruṣa* near *prakṛti* (*sannidhānamātra*). But this is no solution for the difficulty. Since the *puruṣa* is eternal and omnipresent, the condition necessary for evolution (i.e., *saṁyoga*) is always present and *prakṛti* must be always creative and dissolution would be impossible.

The suggestion that the past *karma* (*adr̥ṣṭa*) of souls accounts for the nearness of *puruṣa* to *prakṛti* is unacceptable. For, on the Sāṅkhyan hypothesis, the *puruṣa* is not an agent (*kartā*) and could consequently, have no *adr̥ṣṭa*. Even if it is admitted that the souls have *adr̥ṣṭa*, it requires extreme credulity to suppose that all souls have simultaneously engaged in similar actions which attain fruition at the same time and lead to a common result, viz., the creation of the universe. Hence it is impossible to subscribe to the view that *prakṛti* is the material cause of the universe. The more reasonable view is that the Omnipotent Brahman is at once the material and the efficient cause of the world.

Against this position it may be urged that, if the complex whole of reality (i.e., Brahman along with souls and matter) is the material cause of the world, it would be the effect as well; since the Vēdāntin advocates *sat-kārya-vāda* (the doctrine that the cause and the effect

are non-different). It would then follow that God and souls are both subject to modification. This criticism does not touch the Viśiṣṭādvaitic position; for God and soul may be changeless, and yet be an effect; even as ākāśa which is without change is considered an effect, in so far as it is one of the five elements constituting the body. To be an effect is merely to exist in a different state (*avasthā*). At creation, Brahman becomes the Inner Self of sentient and non-sentient entities existing in a gross state; and souls acquire knowledge that blossoms forth. Hence God and souls could reasonably be described as effect. But it must be noted that, when God and souls are said to pass from one state to another, it is only their form that changes, (*svabhāva-anya-thābhāva*), and not their essential nature (*svarūpa*). Change of essential nature (*svarūpa-anyathābhāva*) is noticed only in the case of material things and not in souls or God.

Thus, even though they are effects, God and souls do not cease to be eternal. The mere fact of their passing from one state to another will not make them non-eternal. There is no contradiction in maintaining that Brahman and souls are the material cause and that they are eternal.

Even though Brahman, souls and matter are the material cause and, as such, the effect also, there is no danger of their natures being mixed up (*svabhāva-saṁkara*). Just as, in a parti-coloured cloth made out of a mass of white, black and red threads, there is no mixing up of colours, the respective colours being noticed only in the corresponding parts, even so there is no mixing up of the several characteristics of God, souls and matter in the complex whole of reality. Scriptural passages like the following bear out this view. "From *prakṛti* which is termed *māyā*, the Supreme Self who directs *māyā* creates the world, while the other (i.e. the finite self) is over-powered and deluded by *māyā*."³¹

It may be asked: Why should Brahman alone be spoken of as the material cause, when in truth Brahman, souls and matter function in that capacity? The explanation is that, even though all the three form the material cause, Brahman is frequently referred to as the material cause, since souls and matter are the inseparable modes of Brahman, are dependent upon Brahman and constitute His body.

One merit of this theory is that it furnishes a satisfactory basis for reconciling conflicting upaniṣadic texts—those that speak of Brahman as being without any change, those that describe Him as the material

cause of the universe and those that refer to the world as having Brahman for its Self. Scriptural passages which regard ultimate reality as unitary and those which refer to it as being two-fold can be harmonised and shown to be appropriate only on this view. Texts dealing with meditation (*dhyāna*) and those revealing the nature of reality (*tattva*) alike agree in stating that reality is single, because Brahman has souls and matter for His body. Since the soul and the body are distinct from each other, Brahman, the Inner Self of all, is sometimes spoken of as distinct from souls and matter, which constitute His body.

7. THE NATURE OF THE FINITE SELF

(*Puruṣa-svarūpa-nirṇayādhikāra*).

In this chapter the author describes the *jīva* as a spiritual entity, distinct from the body, the senses and the like. It is self-luminous (*svayamprakāśa*) and eternally in possession of knowledge. Each *jīva* is a part (*aṁśa*) of the Supreme Self and an agent (*kartā*). The *jīvas* are many.³² Before establishing his own view, Nārāyaṇārya reviews rival doctrines regarding the self.

The Cārvāka Doctrine.

The Cārvāka denies the existence of a spiritual principle distinct from the body. Stated briefly, the contention of the Cārvāka is as follows:—The ātman who is the knower shines forth as 'I' (*aḥam*). Judgments, such as "I am stout", "I am lean", equating 'stout' and 'lean', which are bodily features, with 'I' (*aḥam*), the soul, indicate that the body is itself the soul. Knowledge, says he, is a property of the body, as is evident from the sentence "I know". There is appropriateness, he thinks, in considering the body to be the possessor of consciousness (*cetana*); for, unlike the jar which is admitted to be non-intelligent both by the materialist and by the believer in the self as an independent principle, the body functions as the seat of the senses (*indriyāśraya*).

The two objections that may be raised against this view are—
(i) If consciousness (*caitanya*) is a special quality (*viśeṣa-guṇa*) of the body, it must be present in its cause, namely, the particles of matter. But as the atoms are devoid of consciousness, the body constituted of

32. Compare—

Dehendriya-manah-prāṇa-dhībyo'nyoa'nanyasādhanaḥ |
Nityo vā'pi pratikṣetram ātmā binnaś svatas sukhī ||
Siddhītraya, Ātmasiddhi, p. 8. Annamalai University Philosophical Series.

31. *Śvet. Up.*, IV.9.

them cannot possess *caitanya*. (ii) If the atoms were to possess consciousness, there must be as many conscious entities (*cetana*) as there are atoms in the body. These objections are dismissed as being valueless, since they contradict perception (*pratyakṣa*) which is the only means of valid knowledge accepted by the materialist.

Refutation of the Cārvāka Doctrine.

Some of the counts in Nārāyaṇārya's indictment of the Cārvāka position may briefly be mentioned:—(i) How, Nārāyaṇārya asks, can the body which is cognised as something external (*parāk*) and referred to as 'this' (*idam*) be identified with the soul which is an inner principle (*pratyak*) and which appears as 'I' (*aham*)? (ii) If the 'I' were to signify the body, its parts must necessarily be apprehended when there is self-consciousness. But, as a matter of fact, even when the senses are under control and when self-consciousness arises there is no awareness of the organs of the body. (iii) Judgments such as "I am stout", "I am lean" refer not merely to the body, but also to a principle distinct therefrom. And hence the usage "my body", and not "I am the body".

The Cārvāka may suggest that the expression "my body", like the phrase "the body of the doll", has to be understood in a secondary sense (*aupacārika*), and not literally. But the Cārvāka forgets that the two cases are quite dissimilar. In the case of the doll, there is no body over and above the doll; hence the need for interpreting the expression "the body of the doll" in a secondary sense. The body is the doll itself. But in regard to the body of a sentient being, there is no such need for adopting a secondary significance.

The Cārvāka might ask:—If the body and the self are wholly disparate, how do they come to be identified at all? A possible explanation of this confusion is that of these two entities one is perceptible, while the other is not. If both were perceptible, their different features such as number, size and colour would make any confusion between them impossible. A second explanation is the self and the body resemble each other in one respect, viz., their activities are dependent upon desire. The self resembles, wills and infers only at the instance of its desires; the body too has its activities such as lying down, sitting and standing, determined by desires. The wise, however, avoid this confusion and realise that the soul is a knower (*jñātā*), is without parts (*niravayava*) and is distinct from the body.

The Doctrine that the Self is the Senses.

In order to escape the difficulties met with by the Cārvāka school in identifying the soul with the body, some have preferred to equate

it with the senses (*indriya*). If the "I" refers to the senses, their parts need not be known when self-consciousness arises. For they have neither qualities, such as visible colours, nor perceptible magnitude. And knowledge which is the result (*phala*) of the activity of the senses (*indriya-vyāpāra*) must, properly speaking, belong only to the senses, even as the results of sacrifice inhere in the person performing the sacrifice. That is why Satyatapas speaks of the 'seeing eye'.³³

Refutation of this View.

The theory that the senses are the soul cannot stand scrutiny. Do the senses function as the self individually or collectively? They cannot function individually; for, in that event, what one organ had perceived cannot be recollected by another. But such a recollection does exist. We do say "I touch what I saw yesterday". Nor can the second alternative be true; for, in the case, every object would have to be perceived by all the senses. Again, with the loss of any one of the organs, there would be no recollection of what has been cognised by that organ. Further, with the disappearance of any of the organs, the ātman would have to perish. But none of these consequences is true. Bearing in mind the fact that if he did not speak the truth, the person who interrogated would meet with death and that if he spoke the truth, it would be extreme cruelty to abandon one who had taken refuge, Satyatapas spoke like that. Satyatapas's words should not be considered as lending support to this argument.

The Doctrine that the Soul is Identical with Manas.

There is another school which identifies the soul with mind (*manas*), imagining that thereby it can get over the difficulties which beset the

33. See *Varāha-Purāṇa*, ch. 98, verses 1-26. One day when Satyatapas was engaged in meditation, a boar which was chased by a huntsman took refuge in the vicinity of the sage's hermitage. Presently the huntsman rushed in and inquired of the sage if he saw a boar nearby and said that if the animal could not be traced, he himself, his children and his dependant's would have to die of starvation. The sage found himself in a dilemma—if he furnished the information regarding the animal's hiding place, he would be guilty of the heinous sin of betraying one who had taken refuge; if he withheld the information, he would be responsible for the death of the hunter and his dependents. After a moments' reflection, Satyatapas replied, "Animals are endowed with eyes to see and tongue to speak. The eye that sees has no tongue to report on what it perceives; the tongue that speaks has no eye to see. Wherefore do you ask me?" Struck by the ingenuity of his speech, the boar and its pursuer appeared to the sage in their true form as Viṣṇu and Indra respectively and blessed him.

foregoing theories. But the stumbling-block in the way of this identification is that *manas* is really an instrument (*karana*) of knowledge, and cannot be treated as the agent (*kartā*) in acquiring knowledge.

The View that Prāṇa is the Soul.

Yet others treat the vital breath (*prāṇa*) as the soul. This view is dismissed by Nārāyaṇārya with the remark that *prāṇa* cannot possess consciousness (*caitanya*), any more than the air outside (*vāyu*).

The Advaitic Theory that Consciousness (saṁvit) is the Soul.

Instead of identifying the soul with material entities, such as the body (*deha*), senses (*indriya*), mind (*manas*) and vital breath (*prāṇa*), still others (the Advaitins) equate it with consciousness or knowledge (*saṁvit*), an immaterial principle (*ajāda*). Being self-luminous (*svaprakāśa*), according to this view, consciousness shines by its mere being. Consciousness, unlike the jar and other material objects, does not fail to shine and is eternal.

The Advaitin anticipates a possible objection to his view that consciousness is self-luminous. Just as the senses reveal objects without presenting themselves, even so knowledge by its very existence illumines objects like the jar, but does not manifest itself. The fact of knowledge having arisen is inferred from the peculiar illumination or manifestedness (*prākāṣya*) produced in the objects known. The Advaitin replies to this objection as follows: There is no such thing as *prākāṣya*, and it is possible to account for all cognition of objects and their uses in daily intercourse (*vyavahāra*) without postulating this mysterious principle. If the jar, for example, was not referred to or used before, it was because there was no previous knowledge of it and not because there was no *prākāṣya*. Again, consciousness (*saṁvit*), like the lamp, can never manifest objects without manifesting itself. The cognition "This is a jar" includes awareness of *saṁvit* also. That is why we say, "I know the jar", "I know the cloth", implying thereby that we are at once conscious of *saṁvit* and the object illumined by it. Therefore, *saṁvit*, being an immaterial principle, may well be identified with the *ātman*.

Refutation of the Advaitic Doctrine.

This view does not find favour with Nārāyaṇārya. His objections to it may be stated as follows. The judgment "I know the jar" clearly implies that *jñāna* is an attribute of, and not identical with, the inner principle "I". *Saṁvit*, *anubhūti* and *jñāna* are relative terms,

depending, for their full meaning, upon a reference to the knowing subject (*āśraya*) and the object known (*viśaya*). Hence *saṁvit* in itself cannot be the *ātman*. The *ātman* is distinct from the body, the senses, the mind (*manas*), the vital breath (*prāṇa*) and consciousness (*saṁvit*). It is the possessor of *jñāna*, as is evident from the statement "I know". All this is beautifully set forth in the Bālāki-Ajātaśatru episode in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.

How, the Advaitin may ask, can knowledge (*saṁvit*), an inner principle (*pratyak*), be equated with the 'I' (*ahamartha*), an external entity (*parāk*)? That knowledge is an inner principle (*pratyak*) will be readily conceded; for, unlike external objects, it never appears as 'this' (*idam*). Though it is not so obvious that the 'I' is *parāk*, a moment's reflection will show that it must be reckoned among external entities; since it shines only when knowledge is manifest even as objects in the outer world are revealed only when consciousness shines forth. The Advaitin may, thus, reiterate his conclusion that the soul is no other than knowledge itself, which is accepted as being self-luminous both by himself and the Viśiṣṭādvaitin.

Questioning the correctness of the premises on which the Advaitin takes his stand, the author establishes that it is the "I" (*ahamartha*), and not knowledge, that is self-luminous (*svaprakāśa*) in the strict sense of the term, and also *pratyak* (inner). Since the "I" (*ahamartha*) shines for its own sake, whereas knowledge (*jñāna*) shines for the sake of the soul, the former is the truly inward principle (*pratyak*), while the latter is not. Again *svaprakāśa* signifies 'shining forth for one's own sake'. Taken in this sense, the "I" (*ahamartha*) alone can be characterised as *svaprakāśa*. Knowledge, on the contrary, is not *svaprakāśa* in the strict sense of the term. For even though it shines without depending upon any extraneous factor, knowledge resembles external objects in shining for the sake of the self, and not for its own sake. If knowledge is usually described as being self-luminous, it is only by a figure of speech. Since it invariably appears as a quality of the "I", the truly inward principle (*pratyak*), *jñāna* is, in ordinary speech, said to be *svaprakāśa* and as being other than *parāk*.

If the "I" (*ahamartha*) is described as *svaprakāśa* in the sense that it does not depend upon *jñāna* for its *prakāśa* (manifestation), why, the Advaitin may ask, is not the "I" manifest when no objects are cognised?

The Siddhāntin points out that the Advaitin, who identifies eternal self-luminous consciousness (*saṁvit*) with the soul, has to explain why *saṁvit* is not manifest when no object is known. Perhaps his expla-

nation would be that *saṁvit* does manifest itself even then, but that its existence is not referred to, since at that time it is not in contact with the *ahamkāra* and external objects. A similar explanation, it is urged by Nārāyaṇārya, can be furnished by the Siddhāntin also.

Pursuing another line of argument, the Advaitin contends that the "I" (*ahamartha*) cannot be the *ātman*, which is universally accepted as being a changeless entity (*nirvikāra-vastu*). The character of being a knower (*jñātr̥tva*), that is, being an agent in the activity of *jñāna* (*jñāna-vyāpāra*), which is essentially a kind of change (*vikāra*), cannot be attributed to the *ātman*. If it were subject to this modification, the *ātman* would be degraded to the level of the non-sentient body. It follows, says the Advaitin, that *jñātr̥tva* is a quality illegitimately transferred (*adhyāsa*) to *jñāna*.

Characterising the opponent's argument as being unintelligible, the author says that *jñāna* is not an activity (*kriyā*) and that its possessor is not an agent (*kartā*). Like rays of light (*prabhā*), *jñāna* is a transparent substance; and it exists as an eternal attribute of *ātman*. Hence it is reasonable to regard *jñāna* as an attribute. It is ridiculous to maintain, he continues, that the *ātman* resembles the body in being devoid of *jñātr̥tva* and that *jñātr̥tva* is illegitimately transferred to *jñāna*. Being imperceptible (*adr̥śya*), *jñāna* cannot be the basis (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of this transference. Besides, this position involves the defect of mutual dependence (*parasparāśraya*). If *jñātr̥tva* is to be wrongly superposed, it must have been known before the *adhyāsa* is effected; and yet *jñātr̥tva* is realised only after *adhyāsa*. To escape this difficulty, the Advaitin may say that *jñātr̥tva* is not realised after *adhyāsa*, but that it already existed in the *antaḥkaraṇa* and that it is superimposed on *jñāna* which is changeless. Nārāyaṇārya meets this by saying that he has already established that the self is not mere knowledge and that there is no warrant for believing in a *jñāna* whereon *jñātr̥tva* could be superimposed. He goes on to say that, on the view that the "I" (*ahamartha*) is wrongly transferred to *jñāna*, there must arise the cognition "I am knowledge", even as the shell is known as silver. But such a cognition never arises. Rejecting the Advaitic view as untenable, he concludes that the soul is the possessor of eternal *jñāna* and is the self-luminous entity known as "I".

Possible Objections to Nārāyaṇārya's View.

This conception of the soul possessing eternal knowledge as its attribute may be criticized in several ways. How can *jñāna*, it may be asked, be characterised as everlasting in the face of the familiar experience that it has an origin (*utpatti*) and a destruction (*nāśa*)? If knowledge is eternal, no useful function could be assigned to the

senses as instruments of knowledge. Moreover, the scriptures assert that knowledge is absent in sleep (*suṣupti*).

The Author's Reply to Objections.

Nārāyaṇārya states in answer that the scriptures teach that knowledge is eternal. For example "The self is an eternal knower," "The knowledge of the knower is never lost". Knowledge is not newly acquired by the self; even as lustre is not freshly acquired by the gem when it is polished. The removal of impurities merely helps to reveal the lustre which was already inherent in it. Reference to the origin (*utpatti*) and the destruction (*nāśa*) of knowledge merely signifies the presence and the absence respectively of the contact of knowledge with objects. Similarly, scriptural texts speaking of the absence of knowledge in sleep denote that at that time there is no contact with the objects of the world outside. Though knowledge is eternal, it is obscured by karma during the period of mundane existence; hence, in the samsāric state, knowledge uses the senses (*indriya*) as its channel for proceeding outward and getting into contact with external objects. The senses are not, therefore, unnecessary. Since knowledge is said to proceed outward, it must necessarily be a substance, and not a quality.

Once it is established that knowledge is eternal, the Buddhist doctrine that the self is consciousness changing every moment (*kṣaṇika-vijñāna*) stands condemned.

The Souls Infinite in Number.

According to the Viśiṣṭādvaitic theory, the souls are many and each self is distinct from others. "He who is unitary, supremely conscious and truly eternal among a host of eternal conscious entities...."³⁴ Passages like these unequivocally declare that the released souls (*mukta*) and those in bondage (*samsārin*) are different and infinite in number. The divergencies in the pleasures and sufferings of men also point to the plurality of souls.

The Soul is Anu.

Some scriptural passages³⁵ referring to the *jīva*'s passing out (*utkrānti*) of the body, proceeding towards certain places (*gati*) and returning to the world (*āgati*) imply that it is atomic (*anu*) and not all-pervasive (*vibhu*). There are also passages which explicitly assert that

34. Śvet. Up., VI.12.

35. Brh. Up., IV, iv. 2; Kaus. Up., I, 9; and Brh. Up., VI, iv. 6.

the soul is atomic. For example: "The self which is atomic and in which *prāṇa* exists in a fivefold form is to be understood by the mind which has been purified."³⁶ Though atomic, the soul has no difficulty in experiencing what happens in any part of the body. Just as a lamp placed in one part of the room sends out rays of light all round and illumines the entire room, the soul located in one part of the body becomes aware of what is happening in every part of the body with the aid of its knowledge.³⁷ On the view that the soul is all-pervasive (*vibhu*), all souls would be everywhere. But the fact that no one is ever found to declare another's body as his own is a clear testimony to the view that the soul is atomic.

The Soul an Amśa of Brahman.

Upaniṣadic texts contrast the nature of Brahman and that of the *jīva*. The Lord is the controller (*niyantā*); the *jīva*, the controlled; the Lord is omniscient (*sarvajña*); the *jīva* is endowed only with fragmentary knowledge (*kiñcijña*). How then, it may be asked, can the soul be treated as the *amśa* of the Lord? The reply is by *amśa* is meant the part of a complex whole and not the part of the self-same object. The qualification (*viśeṣaṇa*) is an *amśa* of the complex whole (*viśiṣṭa-dravya*). In a complex whole we do distinguish between the qualification (*viśeṣaṇāmśa*) and the entity possessing the qualification (*viśeṣyāmśa*). On the basis of *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya-bhāva* it is possible to justify all reference to the *jīva* as an *amśa* of the Lord. In other words, on the basis of the relation of the embodied soul and the embodiment, the *jīva* may quite well be treated as an *amśa* of Brahman. The *jīva* cannot be considered to be an *amśa* of the Lord in any other sense.

On the view that Brahman and the *jīva* are related as master and servant, there must be difficulty in treating the soul as a part of God; since the master and the servant are wholly distinct from each other.

Those who maintain that the *jīva* is a phenomenal appearance of Brahman are confronted with the same difficulty; for the *jīva* is phenomenal (*aparamārtha*) and cannot be a part of absolute Reality.

The Bhedābhedavādin too must find it hard to render intelligible the doctrine that the *jīva* is an *amśa* of Brahman. For, on the hypothesis that Brahman itself under the influence of *upādhi* becomes the *jīva*, the defects of the *jīva* would have to be attributed to Brahman.

36. *Mund. Up.*, III.i.9.

37. Compare *Vedānta-Sūtra*, II, iii. 26 and IV. iv. 15.

The Bhedābhedavādin might urge that just as the impurities found in spaces limited by jars and the like do not infect cosmic space, the imperfections of the *jīva*, who is no other than Brahman limited by *upādhis*, do not afflict Brahman. But this analogy is unhelpful; because formless Brahman cannot be said to be limited by *upādhis*. Further, in the analogy cited space is not limited by jars and the like, but is in contact with them. And if Brahman is, likewise, in contact with *upādhi*, the imperfections flowing from them would certainly afflict Brahman. Vedāntic texts teaching that Brahman is taintless would be contradicted. Thus on his philosophical presuppositions, the Bhedābhedavādin cannot show how the soul can be an *amśa* of Brahman.

As the advocates of the doctrine of *śakti-vikṣepa* speak of Brahman as the *amśin* and the *jīva* as the *amśa* on the basis of soul-body relation, the author has no quarrel with them on this point. Thus it has been shown that the *jīva* is an *amśa* of the Lord.

The Soul is an Agent.

The soul is an agent (*kartā*); otherwise scriptural injunctions prescribing sacrificial duties and meditation (*upāsana*) for the attainment respectively of heaven and mokṣa would become pointless. The Vedic mandates cannot be addressed to those who are devoid of agency. According to a *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* text (IV. iii. 12) the self, in the state of sleep, "goes wherever he likes." The same upaniṣad in an earlier chapter, speaks of the soul as taking to himself, with the aid of his intelligence, the intelligence of the senses, and as moving about in his own body as he pleases (II. i. 17-18). Thus the self is explicitly declared to be the agent in activities such as taking and moving about.

Certain *śruti* and *smṛti* passages seem to support the view that *prakṛti* is the source of all activity and that the *puruṣa* is only an enjoyer. For example, the *Taittirīya* text—*Vijñānam yajñam tanute karmāṇi tanute*—speaks of *vijñāna* as the agent in sacred and secular duties. Again, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (Ch. III, verse 27) declares that the self deluded by *ahamkāra* looks upon himself as the agent in all activities which are brought about by the *guṇas* of *prakṛti*. In the face of these, how, it may be asked, is the soul to be considered the agent? The reply is that the term *vijñāna* occurring in the *Taittirīya* text refers to the soul and not to *buddhi*; for *buddhi*, which is non-intelligent, cannot be directed to do this or that. Further, the *Gītā* verse cited only shows that the activity of the *jīva* depends upon five factors of which the self is but one; and he is specifically mentioned by the name *kartā*. Hence, he who views the isolated self as an agent has no true insight.

8. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VIDHI

(Vidhi-svarūpa-nirṇayādhikāra)

After a critical consideration of the Bhāṭṭa and the Prābhākara conceptions of *vidhi* (injunction), Nārāyaṇārya establishes the thesis that *vidhi* is the command of any trustworthy person (*āpta*) interested in our welfare (*hita-kāma*).

The View that Vidhi is Śabda-Bhāvanā.

The Bhāṭṭas maintain that *vidhi* is *śabda-bhāvanā*. Their arguments may be stated as follows:—*Vidhi* (literally what prompts a person to act) must be *śabdha-bhāvanā*, since the latter prompts actions directed to certain ends. From the consciousness of meaning arising from words, every word must be inferred to have an activity (*vyāpāra*), called *abhidhā*. In the case of mandatory suffixes—the Sanskrit *lin* and the like—the activity is signified by these suffixes themselves; and it is termed *bhāvanā* or *pravartanā*, since it brings into being or initiates activity (*pravṛtti*).

Of the several objections that may be raised against this theory, the first is that this activity (*abhidhā*) cannot be attributed to *śabda*; for the latter is either a quality or a substance. If *śabda* is a quality, it cannot have an activity; for activity cannot be attributed to a quality. If *śabda* is a substance, it cannot enter upon activity; since it is all-pervasive.

The Bhāṭṭas meet this objection by pointing out that *śabda* may be a quality and yet possess an activity. Take for example, they say, the text “*Arunayā ekahāyanyā pingākṣyā gavā somam krīṇāti.*” Here the activity of marking off a particular animal from the rest is attributed to redness (*ārunya*). Even on the view that *śabda* is an all-pervasive substance, *śabda* may, like the self, possess action. Change of place (*parispanda*) may be impossible; but modal changes may be attributed to *śabda*.

Another objection to the Bhāṭṭa view is as follows:—*Abhidhā* has to be defined as the knowledge of *śabda* (word); for it is only the word known that gives rise to awareness of meaning. But the knowledge of a word cannot be considered its activity (*vyāpāra*).

In reply to this, the Bhāṭṭas state that action (*vyāpāra*) is the occasional feature (*dharma*) with whose aid an object is able to produce its effect. If this is admitted, it is easy to demonstrate, say the Bhāṭṭas, that knowledge can be treated as an activity. The potential suffix *lin*, by being known, becomes responsible for human activity.

Yet another difficulty in the way of attributing to *śabda* an activity called *abhidhā* and conceived as a form of knowledge (*jñāna*) is as follows: If this view were correct, *śabda* would have to be at once the agent (*kartā*) and the object (*karma*) in the self-same activity, namely, knowledge. The statement: *Śabda reveals meaning* (*śabdaḥ artham abhidhatte*) indicates that *śabda* is an agent in knowledge. Again the proposition “I know *śabda*” (*śabdam jñāmi*) shows that *śabda* is the object (*karma*) of knowledge. How can *śabda* be at once the agent (*kartā*) and the object (*karma*) in an identical activity?

The Bhāṭṭas brush aside this objection and argue as follows:—“An identical act viewed from the stand-point of the different results achieved may have different objects (*karma*). What figures as *karma* in a given act considered as leading to one result may function as the agent (*kartā*) in the same act treated as accomplishing another result. Take the proposition “He raises and lowers the axe”. The axe is the object (*karma*) in the act of raising and lowering. But consider the statement “The axe splits the firewood into two”. The axe functions as the agent in the same act, now called *chinatti*, in the light of the result namely, cutting into two. Similarly, in the self-same activity called *abhidhā* there may be different objects (*karma*) in connection with its diverse results. In respect of the production of human activity, the same act is referred to as *bhāvanā*; and it has human activity for its *karma*. E.g., “*Śabda gives rise to human activity.*” In respect of human activity, the self-same *abhidhā* is termed *pravartanā*; and it has *puruṣa* (man) for its object. E.g., “*Śabda prompts the puruṣa to act.*” Thus, a given activity is called *jñāti*, when the result aimed at is the manifestation of objects (*viśaya-prakāśa*). Here the *śabda* associated with manifestation is the object. E.g. *śabdam jñāti*. The same activity goes by the name of *abhidhāti*, when the end in view is the awareness of meaning (*artha-pratīti*); in this case, the meaning (*artha*) constitutes the object. E.g. *śabdaḥ artham abhidhāti*. That very activity is referred to as *bhāvayati*, when the goal sought is initiation of activity, and it has activity (*pravṛtti*) for its object. E.g. *pravṛttim bhāvayati*. The self-same activity may also be designated *pravartayati* when the end in view is *pravṛtti*; here the *puruṣa* associated with *pravṛtti* is the object (*karma*).”

A further difficulty in the way of the Bhāṭṭa theory is this. Even granting that *śabda* has *abhidhā* for its activity, the latter cannot generate action, for what leads to an action is the consciousness that it is the means to the realisation of desires (*samīhita-sāadhanatā-jñāna*). Moreover, there is no need to distinguish *lin* from other words and maintain that *abhidā* is the very significance of *lin*.

The Bhāṭṭa reply is: True *iṣṭa-sādhana-tā-jñāna* leads to activity, but it is wrong to suppose that the *abhidhā* of words does not prompt action. For soon after listening to commands actions ensue indicating thereby that *liṅ* denotes an activity which is termed *abhidhā* and which is very different from the activity of other words. As for the last objection, the Bhāṭṭas reply that there is nothing to prevent the *vyāpāra* of a word from being the very significance of that word.

Refutation of the Bhāṭṭa View.

Nārāyaṇārya thinks that there is no warrant for the belief that *śabda* possesses an activity known as *abhidhā*. It is unreasonable to contend, says Nārāyaṇārya, that the very significance of words expressing commands testifies to its existence; for *liṅ* is nowhere understood to have such a significance. Nor is it convincing, says he, to maintain that the presence of such an activity is inferred from the fact that when commands are listened to, action follows; for all that this could prove is that *liṅ* leads to action. From the fact that a person undertakes an action it could not be said that he must have listened to *liṅ*. When the very existence of *liṅ* which has generated action cannot be inferred from the latter, it must be even more impossible to prove the existence of a mysterious *abhidhā* said to be possessed by words.

The author next points out that activity is of two kinds—effort (*prayatna*) and movement (*parispanda*)—and that *śabda* can engage in neither of these. Being non-sentient, *śabda* cannot put forth effort; and being a quality, it cannot move. The Bhāṭṭas cited the example of the text “Arunayā ekahāyanyā pingākṣyā . . .” to show that a quality may enter upon activity. But this is unsatisfactory, because, in the example adduced, a *vyāpāra* has not been attributed to a quality.³⁸

The Bhāṭṭa contention that the activity called *abhidhā* is the knowledge of the word (*śabda*) is untenable; for *jñāna* is a quality of the self, and can never be an activity of *śabda*.

The proposition—“*Śabdah artham abhidhatte*”—does not show that, in the *vyāpāra* known as *abhidhā*, *śabda* is the agent; for *abhidhā*, being identical with knowledge, can only reside in the self, and never in *śabda*. By identifying *abhidhā* with *prākāṣya* one may attempt to show that *abhidhā* may well reside in *śabda*. But this attempt is foredoomed to failure; because there is no such thing as *prākāṣya*.

Nārāyaṇārya further points out that, if *liṅ* can denote *abhidhā* directly, without the aid of some other *vyāpāra*, then *śabda* may well convey meanings directly, without the aid of *abhidhā*.

38. *Śrī-Bhāṣya*, I. i. 13.

He also shows that just as knowledge manifests objects without the intervention of any *vyāpāra*, words also may convey meaning without the aid of any *vyāpāra*. In commenting on the expression ‘buddhijanma’ occurring in *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, Kumārila says that knowledge reveals objects by the mere fact of its origination and not with the aid of any other activity.

Besides, even granting that there is *śabda-bhāvanā*, it cannot be *vidhi*, for it does not prompt action. Though repeated often, *śabda* would not prompt action, so long as there is no *iṣṭa-sādhana-tā-jñāna*. Thus the conception of a *śabda-bhāvanā*, which has *puruṣa-pravṛtti* for its *sādhya* (what is to be accomplished), *liṅ-jñāna* for its *sādhana* (means) and *prāśastya-jñāna* for its *itikartavyatā* (instrumental cause), stands condemned.

The Prābhākara View.

According to the Prābhākara school, what prompts a person to act is the consciousness that it is something to be accomplished (*kārya*) by him. All persons, whether they act at the instance of others or at their own instance prompted by love, anger or fear, enter upon activity when there arises the consciousness that it is their duty to do so (*kāryatā-jñāna*). Since *kārya* (what has to be accomplished) is the direct cause of activity, other factors being merely casual circumstances, *kārya*, which is the significance of *liṅ*, must be treated as *vidhi*. In worldly affairs this *kārya*, which depends for its existence upon human effort (*kṛti*), is found to be no other than action (*kriyā*). But in the case of Vedic injunctions, like “He that desires heaven should sacrifice,” the significance of the command cannot be *kārya*, which is of the nature of action. For he who desires heaven finds it difficult to imagine how action, which is momentary, could be the means of heavenly bliss to be secured in the distant future. Therefore, he concludes that the *kārya* which is the significance of Vedic commands must be very different from *kriyā* and that it must persist till the goal is reached. For the reason that it is not something met with in everyday experience, it is called *apūrva*. Since it directs the *puruṣa* towards itself, it is also termed *niyoga*.

As vedic injunctions are thus proved to signify *kārya* of this unique kind, it is only in a secondary sense that injunctions to secular duty refer to *kārya* understood as *kriyā*. Once it is demonstrated that *liṅ* signifies only *niyoga*, it follows that even in Vedic injunctions referring to actions, which bear no fruit and obligatory duties of an occasional character, *liṅ* denotes only *niyoga*.

Refutation of the Prābhākara View.

The main counts in Nārāyaṇārya's indictment of the Prābhākara view are the following:—(1) the *Prābhākara* notion of *kārya* is unintelligible. For it must be either what is accomplished by effort (*kṛti-sādhya*) or the goal of effort (*kṛtyudddeśya*) or both these at once. But it cannot be the first, since, on that alternative, sacrifice also would have to be treated as *kārya*. Nor can it be the second; as, on that view, heaven would have to be considered *kārya*. Nor yet can it be the third; for the *kārya* which the Prābhākara speaks of cannot be the goal of endeavour. 'Goal of endeavour' signifies the end to secure which a person starts on a course of action; and this end is either the attainment of pleasure or the avoidance of pain. But *kārya* is neither of these. Hence it cannot be the goal of endeavour.

Should the Prābhākara contend that, though heaven is the end aimed at, *niyoga* may be treated as the goal of endeavour in so far as it leads to heaven, Nārāyaṇārya replies that it only amounts to equating *kārya* or *niyoga* with *iṣṭasādhana* (the means for obtaining objects of desire).

(2) *Kārya* cannot be the meaning of *vidhi*; since knowledge of *kārya* is not responsible for activity. Even when there is the knowledge that a certain thing ought to be done, action may not follow.

(3) The Prābhākara argued that after one hears the injunction "He who desires heaven should sacrifice" there arises the consciousness "This is to be performed by me (*mama idam kāryam*)," and that this consciousness, coming, as it does, soon after hearing the injunction, must be the import of that *vidhi*. This argument is fallacious; for all that the *vidhi* conveys is that sacrifice is the means for the realisation of heaven. The consciousness "This is something to be undertaken by me" is a desire; and it forms no part of the significance of *vidhi*.

(4) There is no point in the contention that, since action is momentary, it cannot be the means for the realisation of heaven; and that, therefore, something other than *kriyā*, viz., *niyoga*, must be posited. It will be shown presently that sacrifice itself is the means for heaven and that there is no need to posit *niyoga*.

The Views of Nārāyaṇārya.

Nārāyaṇārya's view may be stated as follows:—*Niyoga* (the command of the trustworthy person interested in our welfare), *vidhi* (injunction) and *pravartanā* are interchangeable terms. The boy notices that commands issue from the teacher and are followed by

certain activities on the part of the pupils. As a result of frequent experience of this kind, the utterance of certain words and some actions get associated in his mind. So that, after some time, whenever he hears certain words some ideas are involuntarily recalled to mind. It is only at a subsequent stage that he wishes to know why certain words are related to certain meanings and learns that words have the potency (*śakti*) to signify certain meanings. Thus, even before a person understands the power of words to signify meanings, he learns their significance. That is why the Buddhist theory that *śabda* is a variety of inference stands condemned. Only when the universal connection between two things has been grasped would it be possible to infer one from the other. Since the meanings of words are understood even before the nature of the relation between words and meanings is ascertained, it would be impossible to maintain that the knowledge obtained from words is inferential knowledge.

It may be asked whether the suffix *līn* and *pravartanā* have been experienced together to enable the mind to recall one from the other. Nārāyaṇārya answers this question in the affirmative and says that, when the boy finds the pupil entering upon some activity on hearing the master's command, he learns that the master wished that the pupil should act in a specific way and, therefore, issued the command. When the boy wishes to induce others to act, he adopts the same procedure and is directly aware of the *pravartanā* existing in himself. From this he readily infers that all persons must be using commands to induce action of one sort or another in others. Hence, it follows that *līn* signifies the command of the trustworthy person (*āpta*).

The objector may say that if the potential suffix *līn* signifies what induces a person to perform activities calculated to securing his well-being (*hita*), it would follow that scriptural texts are the composition of some *puruṣa* (*pauruṣeya*); for *hita-pravartanā* is understood, in everyday life, from the utterances of the trustworthy person himself or from those of his agent.

Nārāyaṇārya replies as follows:—Even when a king does not directly communicate his orders to his subjects and does not even cause his ministers to do so, the latter may understand his mind and tell the subjects that the king expects them to do certain things. And the subjects may take them to be the king's orders and obey them. Similarly, the Vedic texts, without being the utterances of God or of his agents, may yet be taken to be the Lord's mandates.

The objector may again urge that the foregoing only shows that Vedic duties are the injunctions of the Lord; and that it does not indicate that they have to be performed. To this Nārāyaṇārya replies

that there are texts describing these injunctions as the commands of the Lord, that they have to be obeyed, and that neglect of these duties entails punishment. The following passages may be cited as examples:—A *Taittirīya* text commencing with the words “After imparting instruction in the Veda, the preceptor enjoins the pupil to to practise certain virtues” ends by saying that these are the commands of the Lord, the advice of persons interested in our welfare and that they are the essence of the Vedic teaching.³⁹ A text from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* Upaniṣad declares, “Verily, O Gārgi! men become subject to, and praise those who, realising that *dāna* and the like are the commands of the Imperishable, give gifts (*dāna*); the divinities praise the sacrificer; and the ancestral deities (*pitṛs*) praise those who perform the *darvī-homa*”.⁴⁰

The doctrine that Vedic injunctions are the commands of the Lord does not, in the least, contradict the view that the Vedas are eternal (*nitya*). Though the Vedic passage—“*Agnīd agnīn vihara*”—is the command of the *adhvaryu* to *Āgnīdhra*, the Veda does not cease to be eternal. Likewise, vedic injunctions may be the command of the Lord, and yet be eternal.

The Mīmāṃsakas argue that, since the sacrifice is momentary, it cannot lead to heaven and that, therefore, an *apūrva* which could lead to the fruit of sacrifice has to be posited. But this is needless; for the Lord Himself who is pleased at finding the sacrificer obeying His command as also the divinities, such as Agni and Indra, who receive the sacrificial offering, may grant the fruits. So the sacrifice itself may lead to the fruits thereof. It may be asked: How can the divinities be spoken of as receiving sacrificial offering and as distributing the fruits thereof in the face of scriptural statements to the effect that the Supreme Self Himself receives these offerings and rewards the sacrificer? The reply is that, since the divinities are after all His subordinates (*aṅga*) and constitute His body, what pleases them pleases the Supreme Self too. Their enjoyment constitutes His enjoyment. The scriptures declare that the Supreme Self who is worshipped by sacrifices and meditation (*upāsana*) distributes heavenly enjoyment (*bhoga*) and final release (*apavarga*). If the divinities are usually spoken of as dispensing rewards, it is because the Lord has conferred upon them the power of rewarding men for sacrificial duties. Hence, Nārāyaṇārya concludes that in ordinary life *vidhi* constitutes the

39. Tait. Up. I. 11.

40. Bṛh. Up., III.viii, 8.

command of the person issuing the instruction; and that in the Veda, *vidhi* signifies the command of the Lord. Nārāyaṇārya claims for his theory the support of *Śrī-Bhāṣya*.

9. ON THE NATURE OF THE MEANS TO MOKṢA

(*Niśreyasa-sādhana-nirṇayādhikāra*)

Introductory.

Although there is consensus of opinion making *vedana* (knowledge) the means for the attainment of transcendental felicity (*mokṣa*), philosophers have held divergent views regarding the precise nature of *vedana*. Some treat it as knowledge afforded by Upaniṣadic texts (*vākya-janya-jñāna*). Others think that it denotes the combination of *sāṅkhya* and *yoga* (*sāṅkhya-yoga-samuccaya*). But Nārāyaṇārya supports the view that *vedana* is *bhakti* resulting from the seven-fold factors of purity arising from partaking good food (*viveka*), non-attachment to objects of desire (*vimoka*) repeated meditation on the blessed form of the Lord (*abhyāsa*), the performance of the five-fold *yajñas* and the like (*kriyā*), virtues such as wishing well to all, straightforwardness, mercy, non-injury, gift, and not coveting another's property (*kalyāṇa*), not feeling depressed over the loss of things and persons held near and dear (*anavasāda*), and the absence of undue elation (*anuddharṣa*).

The View that Vedana is Vākya-janya-jñāna.

Upaniṣadic texts, such as “The knower of Brahman crosses sorrow,” proclaim that knowledge of the nature of ultimate reality obtained from the Vedānta is the means of *mokṣa* which is no other than cessation of *avidyā* (*avidyā-nivṛtti*). In the mind purified by the performance of sacrificial duties, Vedāntic texts generate the knowledge that is capable of terminating ignorance concerning the nature of Brahman. Till the undesirable activities of the senses, inner and outer, cease, this knowledge of Brahman does not bear fruit.

Acquisition of right knowledge consists of three stages—*śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana*. *Śravaṇa* refers to the first stage when the aspirant learns from a competent guru the meaning of the different Vedāntic texts. *Manana* stands for the stages when the pupil reflects upon what he has been taught in order to rid the mind of the doubt (*asāmbhāvanā*) that the truth conveyed may not be right. *Nididhyāsana* is meditation upon the identity between the *jīva* and Brahman designed to eradicate long established habits of thought (*viparīta-bhāvanā*) and to secure the conviction that the truth cannot

be anything else. When this meditation is continued for long, the knowledge obtained from the upaniṣadic texts (*vākya-janya-jñāna*) becomes direct intuition of Brahman (*aparokṣa-sākṣātkāra*) competent to terminate *ajñāna* and its products, root and branch.

A possible objection to the Advaitic view is that *śabda* (scriptural testimony) cannot generate intuitive perception (*śākṣātkāra* or *aparokṣa-jñāna*). The Advaitins meet this objection by pointing out that whether *śabda* generates *parokṣa-jñāna* or *aparokṣa-jñāna* would depend upon the nature of the object known (*prameya*). When *śabda* dispels *ajñāna* concerning the existence of material objects, such as jars, they are not manifested at once. Not being self-luminous, they could shine only when some *pramāṇa* or other operates. On the contrary, when the *avidyā* concerning the self-luminous Ātman is dispelled, the self shines without the aid of any of the *pramāṇas*. Hence, in the case of the Self or Ātman, *śabda* generates direct, intuitive perception (*aparokṣa-jñāna*).

Meditation (*dhyāna*) cannot, says the Advaitin, terminate *avidyā*; for *samsāra* which is essentially unreal can be dispelled by knowledge arising from the *pramāṇas*, and not by meditation (*dhyāna*).

Refutation of the Advaitic View.

Nārāyaṇārya rejects the Advaitic view on the following grounds:
(i) Since scriptural texts, such as "The Self (Ātman) is to be seen" and "The Self (Ātman) is to be known," prescribe meditation (*dhyāna*) on the Self as the means to mokṣa, and since the knowledge born of scriptural texts cannot be enjoined (*vidheya*), knowledge arising from scriptures cannot be the means for attaining final release. Cessation of *avidyā* can never result from mere acquaintance with the import of Vedāntic texts.

(ii) There is little force in the Advaitic contention that knowledge afforded by Vedāntic texts does not bear fruit immediately, and that it dispels *avidyā* only after all the obstacles have been removed with the aid of *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididdhyāsana*. For the obstacles preventing *vākya-janya-jñāna* from producing its result immediately are, on the Advaitic theory, illusory (*mithyā*), and must, therefore, disappear the moment knowledge of reality arises.

The Advaitin may seek to defend his position by saying that the obstacles may persist even when *vākya-janya-jñāna* has arisen, just as the cognition of two moons persists even when the conviction has arisen that there is but a single moon.

But this line of defence, says Nārāyaṇārya, is weak. The analogy is unhelpful, because the cognition of two moons is caused by some defect in the visual apparatus which is real and which is removable by an ointment. So long as the defect is not rectified (i.e., so long as the cause of the illusory perception of the double moon exists), the illusion is bound to persist, even after the conviction has arisen that the moon is single. Unlike the defect in the eye, the obstacles preventing the removal of *avidyā* are illusory and are, therefore, bound to cease the moment *vākya-janya-jñāna* arises.

The Advaitin may suggest that the knowledge which is capable of terminating the obstacles arises only at the completion of the stages of *manana* and *nididdhyāsana* when the doubt (*asambhāvanā*) concerning the correctness of the teaching imparted by the *guru* is resolved, and when long-established habits of thought (*viparīta-bhāvanā*) which are opposed to this teaching are broken. They might also add that when knowledge of Vedāntic texts dawns upon the mind, it does dispel *avidyā* forthwith. But this suggestion has no value; because when the causal factors necessary for *vākya-janya-jñāna* are present, it must arise immediately, and cannot wait for *manana* and *nididdhyāsana*.

(iii) The Advaitic view that *śabda* (Vedāntic text) generates intuitive apprehension (*aparokṣa-jñāna*) runs counter to experience. It is not open to the Advaitin to contend that *śabda* may produce *parokṣa-jñāna* or *aparokṣa-jñāna* according to the thing known; for, on his view, the Ātman is not an object of knowledge (*prameya*).

The Advaitin may urge that, although the Ātman is not really an object of knowledge, still it may be considered as such (i.e., as a *prameya*) in a secondary sense, in so far as the knowledge furnished by the *pramāṇas* dispels ignorance concerning the Ātman. To this Nārāyaṇārya replies that ignorance (*ajñāna*) concerning the Ātman must either be the Ātma-svarūpa itself or must have the Ātman for its basis (*āśraya*), and that it has already been shown that it cannot be either of these. Hence the Ātman cannot be called a *prameya* even in a secondary sense.

(iv) Since *samsāra* is real, and not phenomenal, the Advaitin cannot justly contend that knowledge arising from the *pramāṇas*, and not *dhyāna*, is competent to dispel *samsāra*.

(v) The texts cited by the Advaitin in support of the view that *vākya-janya-jñāna* is the means to mokṣa bear a different interpretation. Take, for example, the passage: "Those who practise *yāma* and the like, acquiring true knowledge of reality from the upaniṣadic texts, following the path of self-surrender (*nyāsa*), and

attaining mental purification, attain the Lord in the *Brahma-loka* and are freed from bondage to *samsāra*.”⁴¹ Since self-surrender which arises after the understanding of the Vedāntic texts is also regarded as the means, *vākya-janya-jñāna* is not, by itself, the direct means of liberation.

Sāṅkhya-Yoga Samuccaya Vāda.

Some advocate the view that *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* are the conjoint means of release from bondage. They interpret *Sāṅkhya* to mean ‘the determination of the nature of reality’ (*tattvānām avadhāraṇam*). It includes two phases—*śravaṇa* and *manana*. *Yoga*, too, is twofold—*jñāna-yoga* and *karma-yoga*. Of these, *jñāna-yoga* is divisible into two forms—*sambhūti* and *vināśa*. *Sambhūti* is meditation on reality conceived as possessing qualities (*saviśeṣa-dhyāna*). *Vināśa* is meditation on reality looked upon as having no qualities (*nirviśeṣa-dhyāna*). *Karma-yoga* is accomplished through speech (*vāk*), body (*kāya*) and external objects. It entails the performance of duties which please the Lord, the avoidance of all other actions and the renunciation of the fruits of actions.

The view that *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* are together the means of attaining mokṣa is said to be based on scriptural texts like the following.—“The universal cause is attainable by *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga*”⁴² (*tat kāraṇam sāṅkhya-yogādi gamyam*). Of the two varieties of yoga—*jñāna-yoga* and *karma-yoga*—the ascetics (*parivrājakas*) follow the former alone, while the rest have to practise both. And in every case, *jñāna-yoga* includes both *sambhūti* and *vināśa*. The following are some of the texts which seem to support this view.—“He who knows *vidyā* (*jñāna*) and *avidyā* (*karma*) conjointly, after crossing *samsāra* with the aid of *avidyā*, acquires immortality (*amṛta*) with the help of *vidyā*”.

Vidyāñca avidyāñca yas tad vedo' bhayam saha |
Avidyayā mṛtyum tīrtvā vidyayā 'mṛtamaśnute ||⁴³

“He who knows *sambhūti* and *vināśa* conjointly, after crossing *samsāra* (*mṛtyu*) with the aid of *vināśa*, attains immortality (*amṛta*) with the help of *sambhūti*.”

Sambhūtiñca vināśañca yas tad vedo' bhayam saha |
Vināśena mṛtyum tīrtvā sambhūtyā 'mṛtamaśnute ||⁴⁴

41. *Tait. Up.*, X, 22.

42. *Svet. Up.*, VI, 13.

43. *Īśa. Up.*, 11.

44. *Īśa. Up.*, 14.

Refutation of Sāṅkhya-yoga Samuccaya Vāda.

Sāṅkhya and *yoga* cannot be considered the conjoint means of liberation; for, as Nārāyaṇārya points out, scriptural texts not only declare that *vedana* is the means for achieving mokṣa, but also deny that there are other means therefor. Take, for example, the following text—“Knowing Him thus, he becomes immortal”⁴⁵

Further, the text—“*Tat kāraṇam sāṅkhya-yogādi gamyam*”—does not mean that Brahman is attainable by *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* as understood by the advocate of *Samuccaya-vāda*, but really asserts that Brahman is to be intuited by *jñāna-yoga* and *karma-yoga*.

Moreover, the passage—“*Vidyāñca avidyāñca yas tad vedo' bhayam saha . . .*” does not bear out the view that *vidyā* and *avidyā* are conjointly the means for an identical goal, namely, mokṣa. For it states explicitly that *vidyā* leads to immortality; while *avidyā*, meaning what is other than *vidyā* (i.e., *karma*, prescribed duties), terminates the past deeds (*karma*) which prevent the rise of true knowledge. It is thus clear that *vidyā* alone is the real means for mokṣa.

Similarly, the text—“*Sambhūti vināśañca yas tad vedo' bhayam saha . . .*” does not declare that *sambhūti* and *vināśa* are the joint means of mokṣa; for they subserve different ends. Besides, the terms *sambhūti* and *vināśa* do not refer, as the advocate of *Samuccaya-vāda* thinks, to *saviśeṣa-dhyāna* and *nirviśeṣa-dhyāna* respectively. *Sambhūti*, which literally denotes ‘fullness’ or ‘perfection’, here signifies, in a secondary sense, *vidyā*, in so far as *vidyā* is the means of attaining perfection. Likewise, the word *vināśa* which literally signifies that which perishes, refers, in a secondary sense, to *karma*, since the results brought on by *karma* are perishable. There is nothing in the text which could even remotely favour the interpretation that *sambhūti* and *vināśa* stand respectively for *saviśeṣa* and *nirviśeṣa dhyānas*.

The Viśiṣṭādvaita Doctrine.

On the strength of upaniṣadic passages like—“The knower of Brahman attains the Supreme.”⁴⁶—the Viśiṣṭādvaitin maintains that *vedana* is the means of release. *Vedana*, otherwise known as *bhakti* (loving devotion), is different from, and is the result of, the knowledge afforded by Vedāntic texts (*vākya-janya-jñāna*). It originates only in the mind (*manas*) which has been cleansed of its impurities by *viveka*, *vimoka*, *abhyāsa*, *kriyā*, *kalyāṇa anavasāda* and *anuddharṣa*. *Vedana* is referred to by terms, such as *dhyāna*, *upāsana* and *dhruvānusmṛti*; and it

45. *Puruṣa-Sūkta*.

46. *Tait. Up.*, II.1.1.

is akin to intuitive perception (*sākṣātkāra*). It is in itself exceedingly blissful, because the object of devotion is the very embodiment of bliss.

This interpretation of the meaning of *vedana* has the full support of the scriptures. That *vedana* is not to be confounded with *vākya-janya-jñāna* (knowledge born of scriptural texts) is taught in passages, such as "Having understood (the import of the upaniṣadic texts), he meditates on it"⁴⁷ (*anuvidya vijānāti*), and "Having known it, let him practise meditation"⁴⁸ (*vijñāya prajñām kurvīta*). Here the expression 'having understood' and 'having known' (*anuvidya*, *vijñāya*) merely refer to *vākya-janya-jñāna*; while the statements 'he meditates on it' and 'let him practise meditation' (*vijānāti*, *prajñām kurvīta*) enjoin meditation.

Brahmanandī has shown that *vedana* is gained only with the aid of *viveka*, *vimoka*, *abhyāsa*, *kriyā*, *kalyāṇa*, *anavasāda* and *anuddharṣa*. The scripture is explicit on the point that it is only the mind that has been rendered pure that intuitively apprehends the Real. E.g. "With the mind purified." and "It is seen by the mind ennobled." *Viveka* is mental purity obtained by excluding from the body impure food. *Vimoka* is non-attachment to objects of desire. *Abhyāsa* denotes repeated meditation on God. *Kriyā* signifies the performance of the duties appropriate to a person's station in life. *Kalyāṇa* means the practice of virtues like straightforwardness, truthfulness, non-injury and charity. *Anavasāda* is freedom from despondency even in the presence of the most trying and gloomy situations. *Anuddharṣa* is the opposite character; it signifies freedom from elation in the presence of situations productive of joy.

Since *dhyāna* (meditation), *upāsana* (worship) and *dhruvānusmṛti* (steady remembrance) are spoken of in different places in the upaniṣads as the means of liberation, and since the scriptures refuse to recognise anything except *vedana* as the path of release, it necessarily follows that *dhyāna*, *upāsana* and *dhruvānusmṛti* are synonymous with the term *vedana*.

The fact that *vedana*, which is akin to intuitive apprehension, becomes direct and immediate perception (*sākṣātkāra*) of Reality is learnt from texts such as the following:—"When he directly perceives Him who is of the golden hue. . . ." and "When He is seen. . . ."

Passages like the following:—"He is attained only by him whom He chooses; and he reveals His form only to him (whom he chooses)"⁴⁹—teach that *vedana* is of the nature of loving devotion (*bhakti*). Thus it is evident that *vedana* which is the means of mokṣa is knowledge which partakes of the nature of loving devotion (*bhakti*).

47. Chānd. Up., VIII.xii.6.

48. Bṛh. Up., VI.iv.21.

49. Kath. Up., II.23.

Exception may be taken to the view that *bhakti* is the means of release on the ground that, in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and elsewhere, *karma* is held out as the means therefor. In one place, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* declares that persons like Janaka attained the perfected state only by traversing the path of *karma*. Elsewhere it is stated that the Lord Viṣṇu is worshipped only by him who performs the duties appropriate to his caste and station in life, and that no other form of worship pleases the Lord.

But this objection is lacking in force; for the verse quoted from the *Bhagavad-Gītā* does not state that *karma* is the means of transcendental felicity (*nīśreyas*); but it only asserts that persons like King Janaka attained *siddhi* by following *karma-yoga*. This *siddhi* really denotes *jñāna-yoga*; for there are passages declaring that *karma* is the means of *jñāna-yoga* and that *mokṣa*, which is of the nature of the realisation of Brahman, is attained by supreme devotion (*para-bhakti*). Again, the statement that the performance of caste duties alone pleases the Lord and that nothing else moves Him contains not even the faintest suggestion that the performance of duties procures release directly.

The objector may say that since *upāsana* is said to be responsible for rooting out demerits (*pāpa-kṣaya*), it cannot be considered the means of liberation. He may add that *upāsana* cannot be the means at once for the removal of demerits and the realisation of mokṣa; for it is a well-known dictum that each *karma* has but a single result. He may go on to state that *upāsana*, unlike *jyotiṣṭoma* and so forth which can be performed several times and which may, on each performance, bear a different fruit, cannot be performed more than once. For *upāsana* is of the nature of steady and uninterrupted meditation continued till the hour when the soul parts once and for all from the body.

In reply to this objection, Nārāyaṇārya cites the authority of Āpastamba for saying that even action performed but once may bear more fruits than one. Moreover, since the meditation has the Supreme Lord Himself for its object there is nothing of value which it cannot secure. Several passages may be cited to prove that the loving contemplation of the Lord leads to diverse results, such as the destruction of demerits (*pāpakṣaya*), the access to *arcirādi-mārga* and the attainment of Brahman.

Prapatti-mārga.

In addition to *bhakti* the Viśiṣṭādvaitin accepts another path to liberation known as *prapatti*. *Nivedana*, *nikṣepa*, *nyāsa* and *prapadana* are alternative names for *prapatti*.

What leads to the supreme goal of life (*apavarga*) or to lesser benefits like heaven (*abhyudaya*) is termed *dharma*. It is of two kinds— (i) *siddha* (what exists as a fact, i.e. God) and (ii) *sādhya* (what has to be accomplished, i.e., sacrifice, gift and the like). There is nothing novel in speaking of God as an ever present means (*siddhopāya*) of release; for *śruti* and *smṛti* texts actually describe Him as *Dharma*. E.g. “..... Krishna, the ancient *Dharma* (*sanātana dharma*);” “Desirous of attaining mokṣa, I take refuge in Him who created the four-faced Brahmā and passed the Vedas on to him.” Thus, the Lord Himself may be adopted as the means to mokṣa. To adopt Him as the means is to surrender oneself to Him with the fervent prayer that as one is ignorant, sinful and unable to save oneself, the Lord Himself must, from out of His unbounded mercy, be one’s saviour.

While *bhakti-mārga* is to be followed only by persons who are qualified to study the Veda and who are mentally and spiritually fitted for undertaking the long and arduous process of training which *bhakti* involves, salvation along the path of self-surrender is open to all without distinction of caste or rank. Persons who cannot enter upon the path of *bhakti* either because they lack the necessary qualification (*adhikāra*) or because they do not possess the requisite mental and spiritual development and those who are unable to bear even for a minute longer the suffering of *samsāra* and are therefore intensely desirous of attaining Brahman immediately fling themselves on God’s compassion with the firm faith (*mahāviśvāsa*) that He will save. The Lord overlooks the faults of the devotee and saves him from the distress of *samsāra*.

10. THE NATURE OF MOKṢA

(*Niśreyasa-svarūpa-nirṇayādhikāra*)

Introductory.

The nature of the ultimate goal of life, *mokṣa*, has been differently conceived by the different systems of Indian thought. Nārāyaṇārya passes in review the Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, Jaina, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Prābhākara, Bhāṭṭa, Advaita and Bhedā-bheda views on this question and finally expounds the Viśiṣṭādvaitic conception of *mokṣa*.

The Buddhist View.

Of the two types of Buddhist idealism, the school known as Mādhyamika thinks that liberation consists in becoming vacuity (*śūnya*) by continual meditation on reality as vacuity (*śūnya*). The other type designated as the Yogācāra school considers *mokṣa* to be the state when the stream of consciousness or succession of ideas (*viññāna-santāna*) is

no longer artificially sundered into subject and object. This state is to be won by meditation on reality as momentary and as constituted of *sva-lakṣaṇas*, each of which is unique and describable only as itself.

Refutation of the Buddhist View.

The gravamen of charge against these conceptions of liberation is they are inconsistent with the Buddhist denial of a self persisting through the states of *samsāra* and release; for the notion of release implies previous bondage of the self as a distinct entity.

The Jaina Doctrine.

According to Jainism, salvation consists in reaching the top of the universe, known as *lokākāśa*. It is attained by the person, who, by right knowledge (*samyag-darśana*) and right conduct (*samyak-cāritra*), becomes free from bondage to karma and shines in his pristine purity.

Refutation of the Jaina Doctrine.

The Jaina account of liberation is unintelligible, because it implies that the soul proceeds and reaches the heights called *lokākāśa*. But the self, which is in its essential nature unchanging cannot proceed anywhere. Nor is it said by them that there is some other conscious entity ordaining its movement.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika View.

The ideal of life as represented by the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* is one wherein the soul is divested of all its specific qualities (*viśeṣa-guṇa*), such as *jñāna*, pain and pleasure.

Refutation of the Nyāya View.

The main defect of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* view is that it virtually amounts to stating that the self is destroyed at release; for then it is bereft of all experience. No one would ever care for a *mokṣa* of this barren sort. The *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* may perhaps argue that, as *mokṣa* denotes complete absence of miseries, it may become an object of human aspiration. But this argument has no value; for so long as it is held that the released soul does not realise its freedom from the travails of *samsāra*, a goal of that nature will never be sought by man. Does any one, asks Nārāyaṇārya, treat the absence of miseries on the part of a block of stone or wood as a *puruṣārtha*?

The Mīmāṃsā Doctrine.

Since the Prābhākara school of *Mīmāṃsā* defines *mokṣa* in a manner very similar to that of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*, the criticisms levelled

against the latter apply with equal force to the former. The Bhāṭṭa school, however, maintains that mokṣa is a state of bliss (*ānanda*)⁵⁰ brought on by knowledge born of *manas*.

Criticism of the Bhāṭṭa View.

Lacking the necessary equipment of senses and the like and being unconnected with objects, the released soul must be denied knowledge and pleasure which depend respectively on the possession of instruments, such as the senses, and on contact with objects. How, then, can the Bhāṭṭas treat mokṣa as the experience of bliss resulting from *jñāna* when they deny the necessary instruments and objects?

Bhāṭṭas may suggest in reply that the self is, in itself, pleasurable (*anukūla*) and that *manas* is eternally present and that consequently, the self may well experience pleasure in the state of liberation. But this suggestion, says Nārāyaṇārya, is valueless; because, even though *manas* is eternal, there can be no conjunction between the self and *manas*; for conjunction presupposes activity in one or both the relata and there could be no activity in either of these all-pervasive substances (*manas* being vibhu in their view). And even granting that knowledge and pleasure can arise in mokṣa, the Bhāṭṭa position is not free from defects. Since what originates must perish sooner or later, mokṣa would be impermanent.

Examination of the Advaitic View.

According to the Advaitins, mokṣa is the cessation of *avidyā* (*avidyā-nivṛtti*). Nārāyaṇārya subjects this view to severe scrutiny and raises several objections to it. For one thing, if *avidyā-nivṛtti* signifies the destruction or negation of *avidyā*, then *avidyā* will always persist alongside of Brahman in one form or another thereby militating against the absolute monism of the Advaitins. For negation whether it be anterior negation (*prāg-abhāva*) or subsequent negation (*dhvaṃśābhāva*), denotes existence of the object in question in a different form. The anterior negation of the jar, for example, refers to its existence as clay; while the subsequent negation of the jar signifies its existence as potsherd.

To obviate this difficulty, the Advaitin may urge that *avidyā* is no substance (*dravya*) and that, therefore, its negation cannot mean its existence in some form or other. But this is no escape, because, if *avidyā*

50. The interpreters of Kumārila are not agreed on this point. While some Mimāṃsakas, like the authors of *Māna-meyodaya*, maintain that mokṣa is a state of bliss, others like Pārthasārathi have questioned this interpretation and described mokṣa negatively as involving neither pleasure nor pain. See *Śāstra-Dīpikā*, pp. 126-8.

is not a substance, the world (*prapañca*) which is its handiwork cannot be a substance.

Again, if the Advaitin argues that *avidyā-nivṛtti* is Brahman itself, and not something distinct therefrom, Nārāyaṇārya replies that, as Brahman is eternal, knowledge of reality would be unnecessary for attaining Brahman. Moreover, since, on this view *avidyā-nivṛtti* is eternal, bondage which is the product of *avidyā* would for ever be impossible.

Nārāyaṇārya next points out that, if mokṣa were to signify the cessation of *avidyā*, it would be a negative result (*abhāva*) and, as such, it could not be an object of human endeavour (*puruṣārtha*); for none ever seeks a purely negative goal. If the Advaitin says that mokṣa means the removal of pain (*duḥkha-nivṛtti*) and that it may well be a *puruṣārtha*, Nārāyaṇārya replies that he has already shown that *duḥkha-nivṛtti* cannot be a *puruṣārtha*.

Recognising the difficulty involved in conceiving mokṣa in a purely negative manner, the Advaitin may seek to give it positive content by urging that *avidyā-nivṛtti* is not, in itself, the goal, but that mokṣa consists in the appearance of Brahman in its true form as bliss consequent upon the removal of *avidyā*. This contention is unhelpful; because the manifestation of Brahman in its true form presupposes earlier obscuration (*tirodhāna*). And Brahman which is without distinctions of any kind and which is self-luminous can, at no time, be clouded.

And it has already been shown that, consistently with his philosophical position, the Advaitin cannot maintain that Brahman is of the nature of bliss. Even if it is conceded that Brahman is of the nature of bliss and that it manifests itself in this form when *avidyā* terminates, it would not follow that this could be a *puruṣārtha*. For it is most natural for a man to entertain the desire for happiness. He would scarcely say "let me manifest myself; let me be myself."

The Advaitin may urge that it is the direct experience of bliss that is sought. To this Nārāyaṇārya replies that experience necessarily presupposes an experiencer and that the admission of an agent amounts to abandoning the rigorous monism of the Advaitin.

Refutation of the Bhedābheda Doctrine.

Those who believe that the *jīva* is no other than Brahman under limiting conditions (*upādhi*) maintain that mokṣa is the state when Brahman is freed from these limiting adjuncts. In other words, mokṣa consists in the *jīva* becoming Brahman.

Nārāyaṇārya rejects this view as unsatisfactory for various reasons. What, he asks, does 'becoming Brahman' mean? If it signifies the dis-

appearance of limiting adjuncts (*upādhi*), it would, he says, be a purely negative result, and could not, for reasons already assigned, be considered the goal of life. If, however, it is interpreted positively to refer to the *jīva* who is associated with *upādhi* being identical with Brahman who is not so associated with *upādhis*, Nārāyaṇārya replies that he has already refuted the theory that the *jīva* is Brahman limited by *upādhis*.

Nārāyaṇārya further asks: Is the identity of the *jīva* with Brahman an ever-present fact? Or, is it acquired after the *upādhis* have been removed with the aid of knowledge of Reality? If it is the former, there would be no need to adopt any means for securing mokṣa. If it is the latter, the *jīva* must be either similar to Brahman, or must be distinct therefrom in the state of *samsāra* but later, at *mukti*, it must become identical with Brahman. The first alternative would militate against the monistic hypothesis of the Bhedābheda-vādin. The second alternative is equally unacceptable because an entity distinct from Brahman could never become identical with it.

Moreover, śruti and smṛti texts may be adduced in plenty to show that, at release, the *jīva* does not become one with Brahman. In view of this, the scriptural text—"The knower of Brahman becomes Brahman Himself"—must be interpreted to mean that the released soul attains to such similarity with Brahman as would justify his being called Brahman Himself.

The Viśiṣṭādvaitic View.

According to the Viśiṣṭādvaitin, mokṣa consists in the eternal, illimitable and direct experience of Brahman who holds absolute sovereignty over the natural and the supernatural domains. This experience is obtained only by the person who, by constant worship, pleases the Lord, and gets rid, with the aid of the Lord's grace (*prasāda*), of all his merits and demerits (*puṇya* and *pāpa*). Even as straw and the like cannot stand before fire and are forthwith consumed by the flames, the good and bad deeds of the devotee melt away before the grace of the Lord. Just as water particles standing over the lotus leaf have no contact therewith, the past karma of the true devotee does not touch him any longer. With the load of karma thus lifted, he traverses the path of the gods (*devayāna*) wherein angels, such as Arcis, conduct the pilgrim on his onward march, and on reaching the Supreme Light (*Param Jyotis*), he shines in his true nature. Qualities, such as freedom from evil, which have so long been obscured by *avidyā* in the shape of karma, now shine forth. Except in the matter of the creation and sustenance of the world, which are the exclusive prerogatives of Brahman, the released soul becomes similar (*parama-sāmya*) to Brahman.

Unlike heavenly enjoyment which is impermanent, the experience of Brahman is everlasting. He who attains release never again returns to mundane existence. Since the soul exists for the sake of the Lord (i.e., since he is the *śeṣa*, and the Lord, the *śeṣin*), consistently with his true nature, he places himself at the disposal of the Lord, bows his will to that of the Lord and finds service (*kainkarya*) to Him a source of infinite joy (*rasāvaha*).

Several charges have been levelled against this view. For one thing, it has been said that, while the worship (*upāsana*) of *Saguṇa-Brahman* enables the self to attain similarity with Brahman, meditation upon Brahman in its true nature as a qualityless entity (*nirguṇa*) leads to a more ultimate goal, namely, oneness with Brahman itself. Nārāyaṇārya's reply to this charge is that worship of a qualityless Brahman (*nirguṇopāsana*) is impossible. The descriptions of the several *vidyās* (forms of worship) set forth in the scriptures uniformly end by stating that Brahman possesses qualities, such as bliss (*ānanda*). Further, he has already shown that Brahman is *saguṇa* and not *nirguṇa*.

A second charge is that if liberation is a state of enjoyment, the released soul must be characterised by love or attachment (*rāga*), and must necessarily reap its consequence, namely, pain (*duḥkha*). This criticism, says Nārāyaṇārya, goes wide of the mark; for it supposes that every kind of love is the harbinger of pain. The fact is that it is only the love that arises from subjection to karma that brings pain in its train. Far from causing misery, love of God enhances our joy.

A third objection takes the following form.—"The *jīva*, caught up in the wildfire of *samsāric* life, longs for escape from miseries and for the securing of happiness. For this purpose, he undertakes a long and arduous life of self-discipline only to find himself confronted with a life of eternal service and dependence. Is this not a case of labour wholly lost? All service is necessarily taxing and painful in its consequence. Further, in worldly life independence is praised as a thing of value, and dependence condemned. The scriptures too denounce in strong terms the life of servitude and dependence. A mokṣa of this kind must, therefore, be scarcely different from *samsāra*."

Nārāyaṇārya's reply is that the *jīva* is not baulked of his hopes of attaining bliss in mokṣa. On the contrary, he does attain what he has striven for. It is an error to imagine that in every case service is painful. When the scriptures condemn service they really decry only the service that brings trivial results (*alpa phala*) and misery, and service rendered to undesirable persons. If the scriptures made a

sweeping condemnation of all service, there would be no room for laudable forms of service, such as helpfulness to the *guru*. Likewise dependence (*pāratantrya*) is not an evil in every case. Thus it is to be concluded that service to, and dependence on, the Lord are certainly a source of joy.

श्रीः

॥ श्रीमते रामानुजाय नमः ॥

भूमिका.

श्रीमन्नारायणार्थप्रतिभाद्रविणनिक्षेपायमाणं नीतिमालाभिधानं प्रबन्धरत्नमिदं जीवित-
मिव जागर्ति श्रीमद्विशिष्टाद्वैतसिद्धान्तस्य । आदर्शविमलोऽयं प्रबन्धः नातिसंक्षेपविस्तर-
रमणीयैः प्रस्फुटार्थैः वाक्यजालैः न केवलं कुशाग्रधिषणानाम्, अपि तु मृदुप्रज्ञानामपि हृदय-
मावर्जयतीति नेदमनुभवापेतं वचनम् । तदेतत्प्रबन्धरत्नमियता कालेन केवलं श्रवणपथगोचरं
भूत्वा, दिष्ट्येदानीं दृष्टिपथमवतीर्णं विद्वज्जनानुभाव्यं भवतीति महदिदं पण्डितमण्डलीभागधेयम् ।
एतत्प्रबन्धप्रणेतारो नारायणार्याः कदा कतमं देशमलमकुर्वन्निति अदसीयैः अन्यदीयैर्वा
वचनैर्नेदन्तया निर्णेतुं शक्यते; अथापि श्रीभाष्यकारसिद्धान्तस्यैव तत्र तत्र श्रीभाष्य-
वाक्यान्नुदाहृत्य व्यवस्थापनात्, श्रीमद्वेदान्तदेशिकगुरुवर्यैः स्वप्रबन्धेष्वेतन्नीतिमालावाक्यानां
भूयिष्ठमुदाहरणाच्चेमे आचार्याः श्रीभाष्यकाराणामर्वाचीनाः श्रीमन्निगमान्तमहागुरुणां प्राची-
नाश्चेति सामान्यतो निर्णये मन्यामहे न विमर्शका विप्रतिपद्येरन्निति । तथा हि—श्रीम-
न्यायसिद्धाञ्जने जडद्रव्यपरिच्छेदे¹ ‘यत्तु नीतिमालायां नारायणार्यैरुक्तं “ज्ञानस्य तु
परात्त्वाभावमात्रमेव न तु प्रत्यक्तवम्” इति ।’ तथा तत्रैव परिच्छेदे² ‘नारायणार्यैस्तु
सम्भूतिविनाशशब्दौ फलद्वारा लक्षणया विद्याकर्मविषयावुक्तौ “विदुषो विद्यासाध्यस्याप-
वर्गस्य सम्यग्भिवृद्धिरूपत्वात्” इत्यादिना’ इति । एवमीश्वरपरिच्छेदे³ ‘अयमेवार्थः
नारायणार्यैरप्युक्तः “गुणैरियत्ताराहित्याद्वस्तुना अपरिच्छिन्नत्वञ्चावगम्यते” इति’ इति ।

1. न्याय सिद्धा Śrī Vaiṣṇava Siddhānta Grantha Ratnamālā Edition, Madras पुट 16.

2. न्याय सिद्धा (Madras edition) पुट 162, 163.

3. न्याय सिद्धा (Madras edition) पुट 212.

तत्रैवाद्रव्यपरिच्छेदे^४ 'यत्तु नारायणार्यैरुक्तं "संस्थानमेव जातिः तत्प्रतिपिण्डं भिन्नत्वेऽपि द्वितीयादिपिण्डेषु सौसादृश्यात्प्रतिसन्धीयमानं स्वाश्रयेषु वस्तुषु एकबुद्धिशब्दनिबन्धनं भवति । इति' एवं 'देवप्रीत्यादिकं वा' इति^५ तत्त्वमुक्ताकलापश्लोकस्य व्याख्या-नावसरे 'आप्तस्य हितकामस्य नियोगं केचिदूर्चिरे' इति नारायणार्याणामुक्तिः सर्वार्थसिद्धौ प्रस्तूयते । तथा तत्रैव 'आप्तस्याहुर्नियोगं हितमभिलषितं केऽपि भाष्याशयस्थम्' इत्यत्र सर्वार्थसिद्धौ^६ 'स्वपक्षनिष्ठानामेव केषाञ्चिदीश्वरनियोगरूपविधिपक्षं विविच्य दर्शयति' इत्य-वतरणदर्शनात् श्लोके केचित्पदेन नारायणार्या अभिप्रेता इति स्पष्टमवगम्यते । एवं न्याय-परिशुद्धावधि^७ 'नारायणार्यैस्त्वेवमुक्तम्' इत्यारभ्य 'आप्तस्य हितकामस्य नियोगं केचि-दूर्चिरे । भाष्यकारोऽपि भगवानेतदेवान्वमन्यत' इति नीतिमालावचनमनूयते । तथा 'विध्युक्त्याधीत्य वेदान्' इति सारावलीश्लोकस्य^८ व्याख्याने चिन्तामणौ कुमारवरददेशिकः वचनमिदमुदाहरति ।

एवं मीमांसापादुकायां^९ 'सूत्रोक्तं नूनमन्यत्' इति श्लोके नारायणार्यास्सबहुमानं निर्दिश्यन्ते वेदान्तगुरुभिः । अतो निश्चयमिदं वक्तुं शक्यते श्रीभाष्यकारसिद्धान्तनिष्ठा

4. न्याय सिद्धा (Madras edition) पृष्ठ 375.

5. देवप्रीत्यादिकं वा विदितमिह विधिप्रत्ययस्यास्तु वाच्यं
नात्रान्योन्याश्रयो न श्रुतपरिहरणं नापि क्लृप्तिर्गिरिष्ठा ।

प्राधान्यं स्याच्च किञ्चिन्वृत्तमजननयात्सिद्धमेतच्च शास्त्रे-

रित्थं त्वर्थाविरोधेऽप्यतिगिरिमभयान्नेप्यते शब्दशक्तिः ॥

Tatva-Muktā-Kalāpa पृष्ठ 680, Prof. Ramamiśra Śāstri, edition, Benares.

6. Tatva-Muktā-Kalāpa पृष्ठ 684.

7. न्याय परि (Memorial edition, Madras) पृष्ठ 283.

8. अधिकरणसारावली श्लो. २०.

9. सूत्रोक्तं नूनमन्यद्विदुश्च च मिथो व्याहृतं वृत्तिकाराः
प्राज्ञैर्नारायणार्यैस्तदिह विदधिरे सम्मतास्सूत्रभेदाः ।

सामाचार्योक्तिरेषा समरमुखगता तत्र सत्सङ्गृहीतेः

नत्वा तुत्वेनमाह द्रमिडशूरपि ब्रह्मविद्वाक्यभाष्यम् ॥ मी. पा. श्लो. ११.

नारायणार्याः श्रीमन्निगमान्तगुरुणां प्राचीनाश्चेति । कचिदेतेषां नारायणार्याणां सिद्धान्त-मननमन्यमाना अपि निगमान्तगुरुवः तत्र तत्र सबहुमानमेतानाचार्यान्निर्दिशन्तः स्वीयमाद-रातिशयमाविष्कुर्वन्ति ।

एते च नारायणार्याः जैमिनीयानि मीमांसासूत्राणि पौनरुक्त्यादिदोषदूषितानि मन्वानाः सङ्गृह्य सूत्राण्यन्यानि प्राचीकशन्निति पादुकापरित्राणे कुमारवरददेशिकाः प्रतिपा-दयन्ति । तथा हि—'सूत्रोक्तं नूनमन्यत्' इति पादुकाश्लोके इमानि परित्राणवाक्यानि^{१०} 'अत एव प्राज्ञा नारायणार्याः परिमितगभीराणि परस्परविरोधादिरहितानि सूत्राणि प्रणीय, अधिकरणानां पञ्चशतीमेव मीमांसाशास्त्रमाचक्षते । अन्यानि पुनरधिकरणानि पौनरुक्त्यादि-दोषदूषितान्यकथयन् यत्तु प्राज्ञैर्नारायणार्यैस्सङ्गृह्य कथनं न तज्जैमिनीयवचन-दूषणायते । जैमिनिर्हि मन्दामन्दसकलशिष्यसंवित्तिसौकर्यार्थं मन्दप्रयोजनान्यधिकरणानि पृथगनुकथयान्नकार । नारायणार्यास्तु प्रौढविद्वज्जनपरिग्रहाभिसन्धिना प्रधानार्थप्रकाशनेन तुल्यन्यायतया सर्वमप्यर्थजातं परिमितेन ग्रन्थसन्दर्भेण प्राचीकशन्निति द्वयोरप्यैकरस्यसिद्धि-रिति न विरोधगन्धः' इति । अतश्चेदमवगम्यते यदेते नारायणार्या न केवलमुत्तरमीमांसायां पूर्वमीमांसायामप्यनितरसाधारणेन पाण्डित्यविमर्शयोः प्रकर्षेण व्यराजन्त इति । परन्तु एतेषां मीमांसासङ्ग्रहः प्रौढविद्वज्जनहृदयङ्गमः नाद्य यावदस्माकं चक्षुर्विषयमवतरति । हन्त ! श्रीभगवद्रामानुजसिद्धान्तस्य अथवा सर्वस्य सिद्धान्तस्य इदमेकं शोचनीयं वैशसं यद्वह्नां प्राचामाचार्यवर्याणां प्रबन्धाः भाग्यवैषम्यादस्माकं श्रोतुमपि दुर्लभतां गमिता इति ।

नारायणार्यनामकः कश्चिद्वीताभाष्यकर्ता श्रीमन्निगमान्तगुरुभिः तात्पर्यचन्द्रिकायां न्यायपरिशुद्धौ चोदाह्रियते । यथा तात्पर्यचन्द्रिकायां^{११} 'अनियतधर्मपरित्यागोऽत्र विवक्षित इति नारायणार्यव्याख्यायामपि नानुष्ठानविरोधः' इति । यथा वा न्यायपरिशुद्धौ^{१२}

10. मी. पा. (edited by Navanitam Krishnamachariar), grantha script पृष्ठ 16.

11. गी. भा. Ananda Press, पृष्ठ 947.

12. न्याय परि. (Memorial edition) पृष्ठ 101.

‘उक्तञ्च नारायणार्यैः भगवद्गीताभाष्ये ‘प्रसिद्धमपि विज्ञानं वादे यो नाम निहते । स सदस्यैर्नियन्तव्यो व्यवस्था नान्यथा यतः’ इति । नीतिमालाकर्तारस्तु नारायणार्याः नूनमेतस्मादन्य एव भवितुमर्हन्ति ; यत एते सर्वार्थसिद्धौ निगमान्तगुरुभिः स्वपक्षनिष्ठत्वेन व्यपदिश्यन्ते¹³ । गीताभाष्यप्रणेतारस्तु नारायणार्याः सिद्धान्ततीर्थकरेभ्यः पृथक्कृत्य पिशाचरन्तिदेवशङ्करयादवादिमध्ये गीताभाष्यतात्पर्यचन्द्रिकायां¹⁴ तैरेव निगमान्तगुरुभिः परिगण्यन्ते । यथा ‘पिशाचरन्तिदेवगुप्तशङ्करयादवप्रकाशभास्करनारायणार्ययज्ञस्वामिप्रभृतिभिः स्वं स्वं मतमास्थितैः परश्चतैः भाष्यकृद्भिः अस्मत्सिद्धान्ततीर्थकरैश्च भगवद्यामुनाचार्यभाष्यकारादिभिरविगीतपरिगृहीतोऽयमत्र सारार्थः’ इति ।

श्रीपाञ्चरात्ररक्षायां नित्यानुष्ठानस्थापनाधिकारे ‘भाष्यकाराव्यवहितशिष्यैः वज्जिवंशेश्वरैः श्रीरङ्गनारायणाचार्यैः’ इत्यारभ्य काश्चन कारिका उदाहृताः¹⁵ । एतेऽपि श्रीरङ्गनारायणाचार्याः नीतिमालाप्रणेतृभ्यो नारायणार्येभ्यो व्यतिरिच्यन्त एव ; यत एते ‘वज्जिवंशेश्वराः श्रीरङ्गनारायणाचार्याः’ इति सोपपदं निर्दिश्यन्ते । नीतिमालाकर्तारस्तु निरूपपदं नारायणार्या इत्येव तत्र तत्र व्यपदिश्यन्ते । अत एव नीतिमालाकर्तुः नारायणार्याद्व्यवर्तयितुं ‘श्रीभाष्यकाराव्यवहितशिष्यैः वज्जिवंशेश्वरैः श्रीरङ्गनारायणाचार्यैः’ इति निर्दिशन्ति निगमान्तगुरुवः । *வாங்குபுரத்து நம்பி* इति भाषायां प्रसिद्धाः श्रीरङ्गनारायणाचार्याः पाञ्चरात्ररक्षायामसकृदुदाहृतानां नारायणमुनीनां गुरुव इति सुस्पष्टमवगम्यते ; यतस्तत्रैव नित्यव्याख्यानाधिकारे नारायणमुनीन्प्रकृत्य ‘तद्गुरुभिः वज्जिवंशेश्वरैः’ इति प्रतिपादितमस्ति ।

13. cf. स्वपक्षनिष्ठानामेव केषाञ्चित् ईश्वरनियोगरूपविधिपक्षं विविच्य दर्शयति । सर्वार्थसिद्धिः पुट ६८४. Page 684.

ईश्वरनियोग एव विधिरिति पक्षः नारायणार्याणामेवेति तैरेवान्यत्र सर्वार्थसिद्धौ न्यायपरिशुद्धौ च प्रतिपाद्यते । Cf. भूमिका पुट २.

14. गी. मा. पुट 952.

15. श्रीपाञ्च-रक्षा (edited by Raghavachariar, Madras, Grantha Script) पुट ३०.

श्रीः

नीतिमालाविषयानुक्रमणी.

पु.

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पु.

द्वितीयो वादः

सर्वशब्दानां कार्यार्थ एव व्युत्पत्तिसिद्धरूपे ब्रह्मणि न वेदान्तवाक्यानां
प्रामाण्यमिति पूर्वपक्षः

सिद्धार्थेऽपि व्युत्पत्तिप्रदर्शनम्		८
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जगत्कर्तुरनुमानसिद्धत्वान्न तत्र वेदान्तानां प्रामाण्यमिति पूर्वपक्षः		१०-१०
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निमित्तोपादानशक्त्यादियुक्तं सङ्कल्पेन युगपदेव जगत्सृष्टं च ब्रह्म शास्त्रैकप्रमाणकमिति समर्थनम्		१२
प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिपरत्वाभावेन वेदान्तानामप्रामाण्यमिति पूर्वपक्षः		१२
शास्त्रस्य प्रयोजनपर्यवसानावश्यम्भावसमर्थनम्		१३
प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिविरहिणामपि वाक्यानां प्रयोजनपर्यवसायित्वसमर्थनम्		१३
ब्रह्मपरवाक्यानामेव साक्षात्प्रयोजनपर्यवसानमिति निगमनम्		१३

तृतीयो वादः

सच्चिदानन्दस्वरूपमविद्यातिरोहितञ्च ब्रह्म विविधाध्यासोपादानमिति पूर्वपक्षः.....		१४
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प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वानुमानभङ्गः		१८
‘ सत्यं ज्ञानम् ’ इति वाक्यस्याखण्डार्थपरत्वपूर्वपक्षः		१८
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‘ सत्यं ज्ञानम् ’ इति वाक्ये विशिष्टैक्यमेव सामानाधिकरण्यावसेयमिति प्रतिपादनम्		१८-१९
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भेदस्वरूपविवेचनमुखेन तस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वसमर्थनं, तन्निरासश्च		२०
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श्रुत्यर्थापत्त्यनुमानप्रत्यक्षादिभिः प्रमाणैरविद्या सिद्धयतीति पूर्वपक्षः		२१-२२
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अविद्याया आश्रयाद्यनुपपत्तिप्रदर्शनम्		२३
अविद्याया निवर्त्यत्वानुपपत्तिप्रदर्शनम्		२३-२४

पु.

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ब्रह्मणोऽधिष्ठानत्वासम्भवनिरूपणम्		”

चतुर्थो वादः

भोक्तृभोग्यादिरूपेण ब्रह्म परिणमतीति पूर्वपक्षोपन्यासः		२६
कार्यकारणयोरनन्यत्वप्रतिपादनमुखेन ब्रह्मानन्यत्वप्रतिपादनं जगतः		”
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TEXTUAL READINGS.

Page	Line	Reading in the book	Variant Reading.
1	1	श्रीधरमच्युतम्	श्रीधरमग्रिमम्
4	10	मविरोधयन्नेव	मवबोधयन्नेव हि
5	11	परमपुरुषाराधन	परमपुरुषसमाराधन
9	3	साक्षात्कारेण	साक्षात्कारेण वा
”	16	तेषु तेषु तेषां	तेषु तेष्वर्थेषु तेषां
11	2	कल्पनीयम्	कल्पनीयम् ; न त्वनुपपन्नं विरुद्धं च कल्पनीयम् .
”	11	शरीराद्युपकरणवान्	शरीरिन्द्रियाद्युपकरणवान्
14	8	देवोऽयं मनुष्योऽयं	देवोऽहम् , मनुष्योऽहम् .
16	1	त्यभिधीयते	त्यवगम्यते
”	8	सामञ्जस्यात्	सामर्थ्यात्
17	22	श्रुत्यन्यथानुपपत्त्या	श्रुत्यर्थापत्त्या
18	7	इदमेव	इदमेव वाक्यं
19	13	प्रतियोगिस्मरण	प्रतियोगिग्रहणस्मरण
”	14	सम्भवति	भवति
”	18	भाव्यभयहेतु	भाव्युभयव्यवहारहेतु
”	24	श्रयणीयः	श्रयणीयम्
20	13	संस्थानेन	साक्षादिसंस्थानेन
21	3	व्यावृत्तता	व्यावृत्तिः
”	9	याथात्म्य	याथार्थ्य
”	13	नुपपत्त्या	नुपपत्त्या च
23	8	ज्ञानसिद्धिः	ज्ञानं सिद्धयति
”	18	भासार्थमज्ञान	भासार्थं हि अज्ञान
24	3	दोषानतिवृत्तिः	दोषानुवृत्तिः
63	76	ज्ञानेन निवर्त्यते	ज्ञानेन तन्निवर्त्यते

NOTES.

Page 30. Line 11.

Cf. Jigñāsādhikaraṇa in *Śrī Bhāṣya*

“निरस्ताखिलदुःखोऽहमनन्तानन्दभाक् स्वराट् ।
भवेयमिति मोक्षार्थी श्रवणादौ प्रवर्तते ॥
अहमर्थविनाशश्चेन्मोक्ष इत्यध्यवस्यति ।
अपसर्पेदसौ मोक्षकथा प्रस्तावगन्धतः ॥
मयि नष्टेऽपि मत्तोऽन्या काचित् श्रितिरवस्थिता ।
इति तत्प्राप्तये यत्नः कस्यापि न भविष्यति ॥”

Compare also *Siddhitraya* of Yāmunācārya, pp. 60-1 (Annamalai University Edition).

“नहि मयि नष्टेऽपि कोऽपि प्रकाशः स्थास्यतीति कश्चित्प्रेक्षावान्प्रयस्यति ॥”

Page 44. Line 7.

Cf. Vedānta Deśika's *Tātparyā Candrikā*, an elaborate commentary on *Gītā Bhāṣya* by Bhagavān Rāmānuja.

“नच लोके निमित्तोपादानभेददर्शनमात्राद्विरोधः ; लौकिककारणविलक्षणत्वा-
च्छ्रुतिसिद्धस्य ब्रह्मणः अन्ततो वैशेषिकादिभिरपि घटेश्वरगतसंयोगविभागद्वित्वपृथक्त्वादि-
कार्येष्वीश्वरस्यैव निमित्तत्वमुपादानत्वं चाभ्युपगतमिति नास्मन्मते दोषः । तथा बुद्धिपूर्वक-
स्वसुखोत्पादनादावपि द्रष्टव्यम् ॥”

Page 47, Line 20.

Cf. Vedānta Deśika's *Paramatabhaṅga* in the chapter *Lokāyatika Bhaṅga*—

“ஆகையால் பலவாய் கரணங்களாய் தோற்றுக்கிற வஸ்துக்களில் காட்டில்
வயிதிரிக்குண ஆத்மா பரத்யகூதன். கண் காணுகின்றது செவி கேளாகின்றது
என்றபுப்போலே சொல்லும் வ்யபदेशங்களும் உபசாரத்தாலே என்னுமிடம் என்
கண் காணுகின்றதென்கையாலே சிद्धம், சலதபாவின் வாக்யம் ஶரணாஶரணாமிசங்கி
யாலே அந்யபரம் ॥”

Page 59.

For a refutation of the Bhāṭṭa view see Vedānta Deśika's *Seśvara Mīmāṃsā*, p. 15

“तथा च शाबरमुत्त्वमायितम्” etc.

“यत्तु शब्दभावेनेति कुमारिलकुसुतिः” etc.

BHĀVANĀVIVEKA

BY

MAṆḌANAMISRA

WITH

VIṢAMAGRANTHIBHEDIKA

BY

NĀRĀYAṆA

Edited with Introduction

BY

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नैतत्सारम्—

कार्यं विभागसंयोगलक्षणं चलतीति धीः ।

१आलम्बतां ततो नान्यो विशेषो गम्यते^२स्थितात् ॥ १७ ॥

स खलु परिस्पन्दोऽक्षगोचरः पूर्वोत्तरदेश^३विभागसंयोगफलो-

एतद्वृषयितुमाह—नैतत्सारम्—

कार्यं विभागसंयोगलक्षणं चलतीति धीः ।

आलम्बते(तां) ततो नान्यो विशेषो गम्यते स्थितात् ॥ (इति) ॥

अयमर्थः—भवत्वाश्रयव्यतिरिक्तमालम्बनं चलतिप्रत्ययस्य, तथापि न पूर्वोत्तर-देशविभागसंयोगातिरिक्तं किञ्चिदस्ति तद्वेतुभूतं परिस्पन्दाख्यं वस्तु । किन्तु(न्तु त)त्कार्य-त्वाभिमतौ देशसंयोगविभागौ चलतीति प्रत्ययो गोचरयति । न च स्थितादस्थितस्य विशेषः ततोऽन्य उपलभ्यत इति श्लोकस्यार्थः ।

एतमेवार्थं स्पष्टीकरोति—स खल्वित्यादिना । स खलु परिस्पन्दोऽक्षगोचरो-ऽभ्युपगम्यमानः पूर्वोत्तरदेशविभागसंयोगफलोऽभ्युपगम्यते परिस्पन्दवादिना । तथा च सति तावेव संयोगविभागौ उभयवादिसंप्रतिपन्नौ विषयीकरोत्ये(त्वे)ष चलतिप्रत्ययः, न तद्वेतुत्वेनाभिमतं परिस्पन्दाख्यमर्थान्तरम्, एकतरवाचसिद्धेः । ननु न वस्तु सत्ता-मात्रेण प्रतीतेर्विषयभावं प्रतिपद्यते, किन्तु तदनुविद्धतया । न (च) चलतीतिप्रत्यये संयोगविभागयोरनुवेधोऽस्ति । तत्र कथं तद्विषयभावः इत्याशङ्क्याह—न खल्विति । अयमर्थः—पूर्वोत्तरदेशविभागसंयोगावप्रतिपद्यमानः पुरुषश्चलतीति न प्रतिपद्यते, किन्तु

१. आलम्बते—क, ख.

२. लक्ष्यते—क, ख, ग, घ, ङ.

३. देशसंयोगविभागफलः—ग, घ; संयोग-फल-ङ

ऽभ्युपगम्यते^१ । तथा च तावेव^२ गोचरयत्वेऽपि प्रत्ययः । न खलु पूर्वो-
त्तरदेशानोपादाने अप्रतिपद्यमानश्चलतीति बुध्यते । न च स्थिता-
न्निपुणतोऽपि निरूपयद्भिरन्यो विशेषः^३ चलतीति लक्ष्यते^४ ।

ननु^५ चलित्वा स्थितोऽपि संयोगविभागवानेव^६, न चलतीति

प्रतिपद्यमान एवेति । यदि पुनः संयोगविभागौ न चलतीतिप्रत्ययस्य विषयो
स्याताम्, तदा तदप्रतिपत्तावपि चलतीतिप्रत्ययः उदी(दि)यात् । न चोदेति । तस्मादव-
गम्यते पूर्वोत्तरदेशविभागसंयोगविषयः चलतीतिप्रत्ययः इत्यक्षरचतुष्टयाधिकस्य श्लोक-
पूर्वार्धस्यार्थः ।

ननु संयोगविभागयोः चलतीतिप्रतीतौ प्रतीतिः चलत्यर्थव्यतिरिक्तयोरपि सतोः
तस्माहचर्यनियमादुपपद्यते । अतश्चलतिप्रत्ययविषयस्ताभ्यामन्य एवेत्याशङ्क्य उत्तरतया
वि(अव)शिष्टश्लोकैकदेशं व्याचष्टे—न च स्थितादिति । अस्ति तावत्स्थिता^७ दस्थितस्य
कश्चिद्विशेषः । स च पर्यालोच्यमानः संयोगविभागाभ्यामन्यो^{१०} न गम्यते । व्यतिरेके
निश्चिते तस्माहचर्यात्प्रतीतौ प्रतीतिरिति वक्तुं वा शक्येत । न च व्यतिरेको निश्चितः,
^{११}प्रमाणभावादिति ।

इदानीं चलतिप्रत्ययस्य संयोगविभागमात्रालम्बनत्वपक्षेऽतिप्रसङ्गं चोदयति—ननु
चलित्वा स्थितोऽपीति । अयमर्थः—चलित्वा स्थितोऽपि देवदत्तः पूर्वोत्तरदेशविभागसंयोग-

१. अभ्युपेयते—ख, ख, ग, ड.

२. गोचरयत्वे—क, ख.

३. पूर्वोत्तरदेशापादानो—ड.

४. न्यो व्यापारः—ग, घ, ड.

५. लभ्यते—क.

६. चलित्वा—ग, घ, ड.

७. 'एव' नास्ति—ग, घ, ड.

८. अतश्चलतिः—छ.

९. दितिः । तस्य—च.

१०. न्योज्य—छ.

११. प्रमाणभावादिति—च.

गम्यते । अन्यतरकर्मजन्मनोश्च संयोगविभागयोर्द्विष्टत्वेनोभयत्र^१-
क्रियाप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गः । स्थाणुश्चेनयोर्विभागमात्रम्, एकत्र समुदितयो-
स्तद्धेतुत्वमिति चेत्—अन्यतरकर्मजन्मनोरुभयोरपि^२ प्रसङ्गः ; यदा
स्थाणुरेकेन श्येनेन संयुज्यते^३ अन्यतश्च वियुज्यते । न च क्रमविशेष-

वानेवेति चलतीति प्रतीयते । न च प्रतीयते । किञ्च, यत्रान्यतरकर्मजन्मानौ संयोगविभागौ,
यथा स्थाणुश्चेनयोः, तत्र स्थाणौ श्येने चोभयत्रापि चलतीतिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गः । न हि स्थाणु-
श्चलतीति प्रतीयते, किन्तु श्येन एवेति । तदेतदाह—अन्यतरकर्मजन्मनोरित्यादिना ।
तत्र शङ्कते—स्थाणुश्चेनयोरित्यादिना । अयमभिप्रायः—संयोगविभागमात्रालम्बनत्वेऽपि
चलतिप्रत्ययस्य न स्थाणौ प्रसङ्गः, संयोगविभागयोः समुदितयोस्तत्राभावात्, विभागमात्रस्यैव
भावात् । तथाहि—उत्पत्तिरित्येने तेन विभागमात्रं स्थाणोर्भवति, न तु देशान्तरसंयोगः ।
न तु विभागमात्रं चलतीति प्रत्ययस्यालम्बनम्, आश्रयान्तरसमवेतसंयोगसहितं वा, किन्त्वे-
कत्राश्रये समुदितयोस्तत्संयोगविभागयोश्चलतिप्रत्ययविषयत्वमिति । एवमाशङ्कं दर्शयित्वा उत्तर-
माह—अन्यतरकर्मजन्मनोरिति । अन्यतरस्य संयोगविभागौ यदा समुदिता(व)न्यतर-
स्मिन्नुत्पद्येते, तदा तत्रापि चलतिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गः । एतदेवोदाहरणनिष्ठं दर्शयति—यदा स्थाणु-
रिति । यदा स्थाणुरेकेन श्येनेन संयुज्यते, श्येनान्तराच्च वियुज्यते, तदा^४ श्येनकर्मजन्मानौ
संयोगविभागौ स्थाणौ समुदितौ विद्येते इति स्थाणुश्चलतीति प्रत्ययः प्रसज्येत ।
ननु क्रमविशेषवन्तौ संयोगविभागौ^५ चलतीति प्रत्ययस्यालम्बनम् । तथाहि—पूर्व-
देशविभागपुरस्सरोत्तरदेशसंयोगवांश्चलतीति प्रतीयते । ततो युगपच्छ्येनद्वय(विभाग)संयोगवति
स्थाणौ न तत्प्रसङ्ग इत्याशङ्क्याह—न च क्रमविशेषवन्ताविति । विशिष्टक्रमोपेतौ संयोगविभागौ

१. नोभयक्रिया—ग, घ, ड.

२. 'अपि' नास्ति—ग, घ, ड.

३. 'अन्यतश्च वियुज्यते'—नास्ति—ड.

४. यथा—च.

५. 'तदा'—नास्ति—च.

६. चलतिप्रत्ययस्य—छ.

वन्तौ तदालम्बनम् । पुरःसंयुक्त^१श्येनान्तरविभागपुरस्सरेऽपि श्ये-
नान्तर संयोगेऽभावात् ।

उच्यते—

अच्छिन्नोत्पत्तयो देशविशेषत्यागसङ्गमाः ।

^२तद्गोचराः पदार्थानामाकाशो देश इष्यते ॥ १८ ॥

न खलु संयोगविभागमात्रे^३ चलतीति प्रत्ययः । अपित्व^४-
विच्छिन्नोत्पादसंयोगविभागप्रबन्धे^५ । स्थिते च तदभावः । नच

चलतिप्रत्ययस्यालम्बनमित्येतदपि न युक्तम् । कुतः ? पूर्वसंयुक्तश्येनान्तरविभागपुरस्सर-
श्येनान्तरसंयोगो यदा भवति स्थाणोः, तदापि चलतिप्रत्ययस्याभावात् । तस्मान्न संयोग-
विभागालम्बनश्चलतिप्रत्यय इति ॥

अस्योत्तरमाह—उच्यते—

^६अच्छिन्नोत्पत्तयो देशविशेषत्यागसङ्गमाः ।

^७तद्गोचराः पदार्थानामाकाशो देश इष्यते ॥ (इति) ॥

अयमर्थः—न संयोगविभागमात्रं चलतिप्रत्ययस्यालम्बनम् । नचार्थान्तरम्, किन्तु
त एव संयोगविभागा अच्छिन्नोत्पत्तयस्तस्य गोचराः । चलित्वा स्थिते च तेषामेवंविशिष्टा-
नामभावान्न चलतिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गः । सर्वेषामेव पदार्थानामाकाशं देशसंयोगमात्रात् । (देशः।

१. श्येनविभाग—क, ग, घ, ङ.

२. तद्गोचरः—क, ख; तद्गोचर—ग, घ, ङ.

३. माने—क, ख.

४. अच्छिन्नो—क, ख.

५. प्रबन्धः—ग, घ, ङ.

६. अच्छिन्नोत्पत्तय इति—च.

७. आकाशं—छ.

८. आकाशं देशः न संयोगमात्रात्—च ;

^९स्थाणौ देशविशेषविषयौ ^{१०}संयोगविभागौ ; संयोगिमात्रस्या^{११}देश-
त्वात् । नहि श्येनौ स्थाणोर्देशाविति प्रतीयन्ति लौकिकाः । आकाश
एव तु सकलदेशिपदार्थानां देश इति प्रतीमः । अतस्तत्प्रदेश-
संयोगविभागावेव तदालम्बनमिति स्थाणौ न प्रसङ्गः ॥

ननु व्योम्नोऽप्रत्यक्षत्वाद्वायुवनस्पतिसंयोग^{१२}विभागवत्त-
त्संयोगविभागानां प्रत्यक्षावृत्तित्वेनानैन्द्रियकत्वा^{१३}दिन्द्रियजन्मनः
^{१४}प्रत्यक्षस्य विषयता न युक्ता ।

तत्संयोगविभागाभ्यामेव ‘चलति’ इति प्रत्ययः । न संयोगविभागमात्रात् । अत-
^{१५}स्थाणौ श्येनसंयोगविभागवत्यपि^{१६} आकाशेन संयोगविभागयोरभावात्(तद्देशसंयोग(विभाग):
विषयत्वाच्चलतिप्रत्ययस्य न प्रसङ्ग इति । तदेव प्रपञ्चयति—न खल्वित्यादिना प्रसङ्ग इत्यन्तेन ।
नात्र तिरोहितमिव किञ्चिदस्ति ।

सकलपदार्थानामाकाशं देशः, तत्संयोगविभागाश्च चलतिप्रत्ययविषया इत्युक्ते चोद-
यति—ननु व्योम्न^{१७} इति । अयमभिप्रायः—आकाशस्य रूपादिरहितत्वेनाप्रत्यक्षत्वात्त-
त्संयोगविभागानामपि प्रत्यक्षत्वमयुक्तम्, ^{१८}प्रत्यक्षाप्रत्यक्षवृत्तिवात्, यथा वायुवनस्पतिसंयोग-
विभागानाम् । चलतिप्रत्ययश्चेन्द्रियान्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधानादैन्द्रियकः । अतोऽस्य न तद्विष-
यता युक्तेति ।

१. स्थाणोः देशविषयोः—क. ख.

२. ‘संयोगविभागौ’ इत्यादिः ‘तत्प्रदेश’

इत्यन्तो ग्रन्थः क, ख. मातृकयोर्न दृश्यते.

३. स्यादृष्टत्वात्—ङ.

४. ‘विभाग’ नास्ति—क, ख, ङ.

५. त्वादिति च जन्मनः—ख.

६. प्रत्ययस्य—ग, घ, ङ.

७. स्थाणोः—च.

८. ‘अपि’ नास्ति—छ.

९. व्योम इति—छ.

१०. प्रत्यक्षात् प्रत्यक्ष—छ.

न न^१ युक्ता । अन्यथा—

कथं गम्येत वयसो नियता^२धारदेशता ।

चलतोऽक्षातिवृत्ताश्चेद्विहायोदेशसङ्गमाः^४ ॥ १९ ॥

‘अप्रत्यक्षत्वे हि नभोविभागसंयोगादीनां कथं पतति पतत्रिणि^७ देशभेदाधिकरणज्ञानम् ? क्रियया कारणेन कार्यानुमानादिति चेत्—न ; नियतदेशाधिकरणप्रतीतिः । इह प्राप्तः^८ नेह इति^९ नियतप्रत्ययो न देशविशेषसंयोगाप्रत्यक्षतायामवकल्पते । वियद्विततालोक^{१०} निवहभेदादुपपन्न^{११} इति चेत्—स^{१२} एव तर्ह्याकाशदेश इति^{१३} तद्वर्तिसंयोगविभागौ प्रत्यक्षौ ।

अत्रोत्तरमाह—नन युक्ता । अन्यथा—

कथं गम्येत वयसो नियताधारदेशता ।

चलतोऽक्षातिवृत्ताश्चेद्विहायोदेशसङ्गमाः ॥ (इति) ॥

अयमभिप्रायः—अप्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि नभसः तत्संयोगविभागानां प्रत्यक्षत्वमेष्टव्यम् । अन्यथा कथं गम्येत इह प्राप्त इति । अत्र हि इह प्राप्त इति नभोभागेन संयोगः पतत्रिणोऽवगम्यते । तच्च नोपपद्यते, यदि विहायोदेशसङ्गमाः आकाशदेशसंयोगाः अक्षातिवृत्ताः इन्द्रियागोचराः भवेयुरिति । एतद्व्याचष्टे—अप्रत्यक्षेत्यादिना । तत्र शङ्कते—^{१५}क्रियया

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| १. ननु युक्ता—ग, घ, ङ. अयं नास्ति—
ख मातृकायाम्. | ८. देशधारताप्र—क, ख. देशधारप्र—
ग, घ, ङ. |
| २. अपदेशता—ग, घ, ङ. | ९. प्राप्तौ—क. |
| ३. अक्षातिवृत्ताश्चेत्—ग, घ, ङ. | १०. ‘नियतप्रत्ययो’ नास्ति—ख. |
| ४. सङ्गमात्—क, ख. | ११. निचयावयव निबन्धनत्वात्—ग, घ, ङ. |
| ५. प्रत्यक्षत्वे—क, ख. | १२. मिति—ख, ग, घ, ङ. |
| ६. नभोविभागसंयोगादीनां कथं पतति—ख. | १३. ‘स एव तर्ह्याकाशदेशः’ इति नास्ति—क. |
| ७. देशविशेषा—क, ख. | १४. तद्वृत्ति—क, ख. |
| | १५. क्रियाकारणेनेति—च. |

अपि च—प्रत्यक्षाप्रत्यक्ष^१वृत्त्योरपि संयोगविभागयोः सिद्धयोः प्रत्यक्षत्वकल्पना युक्ता, ^२न त्वसिद्धस्य कर्मणः । ताभ्यामेव तर्हि

कारणेनेति । अयमाशयः—क्रिया संयोगविभागयोः हेतुभूता प्रत्यक्षगृहीता स्वकार्याणां संयोगविभागानां अनुमाने लिङ्गं भवति, ततश्च इह प्राप्त इति देशविषयमनुमानमिति नोक्तदोष इति । एतन्निराकरोति—न नियतदेशाधिकरणप्रतीतेरिति । इह प्राप्तो नेह इति न विशिष्टदेशसंबन्धनियतः प्रत्ययो विशिष्टदेशनियतपदार्थाश्रितसंयोगाप्रत्यक्षतायामवकल्पते । पुनश्शङ्कते—वियद्विततालोकनिवहभेदादुपपन्न इति चेदिति । वियत्याकाशे विततो यः आलोकनिवहः, तस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वात्तत्संयोगस्यापि प्रत्यक्षत्वोपपत्तेः तद्वेदादेव इह प्राप्तो नेह इति प्रत्यय उपपन्न इति चेदिति । परिहरति—स एव तर्हीति । इहेति प्रत्ययस्यालोकनिवहो विषयश्चेत् स एवाकाशदेश इति तद्वर्तिसंयोगविभागौ प्रत्यक्षाविति ॥ यद्यप्याकाशसंयोगविषय एव इहेति प्रत्ययः, आकाशं चाप्रत्यक्षम्, तथापि तत्संयोगविभागानामेव चलतिप्रत्ययालम्बनत्वं ग्रहीतुं युक्तम्, न तद्यतिरिक्तस्य कर्मण [एव] इति ।

एतदेव हेत्वन्तरेण द्रढयति—अपि चेत्यादिना । अयमर्थः—देशसंयोगविभागयोस्सद्भावस्तावत्^३सिद्धः । प्रत्यक्षाप्रत्यक्षवृत्तित्वेन तु प्रत्यक्षत्वमेव सन्दीत्य(न्दिह्य)मानं वर्तते । कर्मणः पुनस्सद्भावोऽप्यसिद्धः । दूरे प्रत्यक्षता । तत्र कर्मणः स्वरूपप्रत्यक्षत्वद्वयकल्पनातस्सिद्धयोः संयोगविभागयोः प्रत्यक्षत्वमात्रकल्पनं वरम्, लाघवादित्यभिप्रायः । एवं क्रियायाः प्रत्यक्षत्वे निराकृते तत्सद्भावं संयोगविभागकार्यलिङ्गकेनानुमानेन समर्थयतां मतमनुभाष्य(ष)ते—ताभ्यां तर्हीत्यादिना । भवतु संयोगविभागावेव प्रत्यक्षौ, न क्रिया । ^४तान्तु संयोगविभागाभ्यां लिङ्गाभ्यामनुमिमीमहे । कथं पुनः संयोगविभागयोः क्रियां प्रति हेतुत्वमित्याशङ्क्याह—कादाचित्कयोरहेतुत्वानुपपत्तेरिति । संयोगविभागौ

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| १. वृत्त्यो—ख. | ४. ताभ्यान्तु—च |
| २. न त्वसिद्धस्य—ख. | ५. पत्तिरिति—च. |
| ३. सिद्धप्रत्यक्षा—च. | |

संयोगविभागाभ्यां क्रियामनुमिमीमहे, कादाचित्कयोरहेतुत्वानुपपत्तेः । कादाचित्कत्वादेव चाश्रयमात्रहेतुत्वायोगात् हेत्वन्तरापेक्षणात् ।

नैतत्सारम्; यतः—

नित्यत्वे सर्वदा जन्म स्यात्संयोगविभागयोः ।

अनित्यत्वेऽस्य यो हेतुस्तयोरेवास्तु तेन किम् ॥ २० ॥

तद्वि कर्म संयोगविभागाभ्यां नित्यमनित्यं वा अनुमीयते । नित्यत्वे हेतुसन्निधानाद्वेत्वन्तरानपेक्षत्वाच्च सदा संयोगविभागो-

तावत्कादाचित्कौ, न नित्यौ । अतस्तयोरहेतुत्वं नोपपद्यते । भवितव्यमन्येन केनचिद्धेतुना । भवतु कादाचित्कत्वाद्धेतुमात्रापेक्षा संयोगविभागयोः । हेतुत्वं च *तदाश्रयस्यैवाश्रीयताम् । तत्र कथं तद्व्यतिरेकिणी क्रिया अनुमीयते इत्येतामाशङ्कामपनेतुमाह—कादाचित्कत्वादिति । आश्रयमात्रहेतुत्वानुपपत्तौ सिद्धायां यदनयोः कादाचित्कत्वम्, ततः कादाचित्कत्वादाश्रयव्यतिरिक्तस्य हेतोरनुमातुं शक्यत्वादानुमेया क्रिया । कथं तर्थाश्रयमात्रस्य हेतुत्वानुपपत्तिः ? उच्यते । सत्यप्याश्रये कदाचिदेव संयोगविभागावुत्पद्येते, न सर्वदा । अतो न तन्मात्रहेतुकौ । यश्च तद्व्यतिरिक्तो हेतुः तयोः, सा क्रियेत्युच्यते ।

एतन्निराकरोति—नैतत्सारम्—(यतः)

नित्यत्वे सर्वदा जन्म स्यात्संयोगविभागयोः ।

अनित्यत्वेऽस्य यो हेतुस्तयोरेवास्तु तेन किम् ॥

यत्संयोगविभागाभ्यामनुमातुमिष्टं कर्म तस्य नित्यत्वं वा स्यात्, अनित्यत्वं वा । नित्यत्वे सर्वदा तत्कार्यत्वाभिमतयोः संयोगविभागयोर्जन्म स्यात् । न चास्ति । अनित्यत्वे अस्यापि

१. त्वादेवाश्रयहेतुत्वानुपपत्तेः तन्मात्रहेतुत्वानुपयोगात्—ख.

२. तस्य हेतुः—क, ख.

३. धानाचदन्यानपेक्षणात्सर्वदा—क, ख.

४. तदाश्रित—च.

त्पादप्रसङ्गः । अनित्यत्वे तु^१ तस्यापि हेतुमत्त्वात्तद्वेत्वभिमतत्वादेव तत्सिद्धिरिति^२ किमन्तर्गडुना कर्मणा ।

यस्तु मन्यते—नित्यत्वादन्तरङ्गत्वाच्च कर्मैव कारणं संयोगविभागयोः, न प्रयत्नादि^३, बहिरङ्गत्वात्^४ व्यभिचारित्वाच्च । तथाहि—कर्मैकार्थसमवायिनः संयोगविभागसंस्काराः । कर्मणि च सति

कर्मणोऽन्यो हेतुरन्वेष्ट्यः पूर्वोक्तेन न्यायेन । तथा च सति यः कर्मणो हेतुत्वेनाभिमतोऽर्थः स तयोरेव संयोगविभागयोर्हेतुरस्तु, किमन्तराले कल्पितेन कर्मणा । अमुमेवार्थं स्पष्टीकरोति—तद्वीत्यादिना कर्मणेत्यन्तेन ग्रन्थेन ।

कर्मणो यो हेतुरभिप्रेतः स संयोगविभागयोरेवास्तु, *न कर्म तयोः कारणमित्युक्ते शङ्कते—^५न नित्यत्वा (यस्तु मन्यते—नित्यत्वा) दित्यादिना । अयमर्थः—कर्मैव संयोगविभागयोः कारणम्, न तत्कारणत्वाभिमतः प्रयत्नादिः । नित्यं हि कर्म अन्तरङ्गम् । नित्यत्वं कार्याव्यभिचारित्वमभिप्रेतम् । अन्तरङ्गत्वं च कार्यैणैकार्थसमवायः । अतो नित्यत्वादन्तरङ्गत्वाच्च कर्मैव कारणम् ; न प्रयत्नादिः (दि), वैपरीत्यात्, यतस्तद्वहिरङ्गम्, व्यभिचारि च । तथाहीत्यादिना कर्मणो नित्यत्वमन्तरङ्गत्वञ्च दर्शयति । यस्मिन्करचरणादौ कर्मणस्समवायः, तस्मिन्नेव संयोगविभागसंस्काराणामपीत्यन्तरङ्गत्वम् । अत्र संस्कारशब्देन इष्वादिसमवायिनो वेगादेर्ग्रहणम् । तस्य च संयोगविभागाभ्यां तुल्यन्यायत्वात्पासङ्गिकमभिवानम् । कर्मणि च सतीत्यादिना कर्मणो नित्यत्वं दर्शयति । कर्मणि सति नियमेन संयोगविभागयोर्भावः । ततः कार्यं प्रति कर्म न व्यभिचरति । ननु कर्मणि सति नियोगतः^६ कार्यभावः कुतो ज्ञायते इत्याशङ्क्याह—कार्यानुमितस्येति । यः कार्यैणैवानुमीयते हेतुः प्रमाणान्तरस्यागोचरः,^७ कार्यभावे तस्य सत्तायां प्रमाणं नास्ति । कार्यैकगम्यस्य कार्यभावे

१. 'तु' नास्ति—क, ख.

२. किन्तर्गधुना कर्मणा—क, ख. किमन्तर्गत-गडुना—ङ.

३. प्रयत्नादिः—ग, घ, ङ.

४. व्यभिचाराच्च—क, ख.

५. 'न' नास्ति—ङ.

६. 'न' नास्ति—ङ.

७. कार्यभावः—ङ.

८. अगोचरं—च.

नियोगतस्तत्सद्भावः, कार्यानुमितस्य हेतोस्तदभावे सत्ताप्रमाणा-
भावात् । प्रयत्नस्त्वात्मस्थः । सत्यपि च प्रयत्ने बहुषु संयुक्तेषु
कश्चिदेव प्रयत्नादेशान्तरं प्राप्नोति ।

स वक्तव्यः—

प्रसिद्धस्यान्तरङ्गत्वान्नित्यत्वाद्धेतुता भवेत् ।

अकारणत्वमन्यस्य यदि कर्म ततः कथम् ॥ २१ ॥

बहुसमवधाने हि नित्यत्वान्तरङ्गत्वाभ्यां प्रसिद्धसद्भावं वस्तु

प्रमाणाभावादभाव एव कर्मणोऽवसीयत इति न तस्य कार्यं प्रति व्यभिचार इति । प्रयत्न-
स्त्वात्मसमवायित्वाद्बहिरङ्गं न भिन्नाधिकरणस्य कार्यस्य कारणं भवितुमर्हतीत्यर्थः । प्रयत्नस्य
कार्यं प्रति व्यभिचारं दर्शयति—सत्यपि च आत्मस्थे प्रयत्ने बहुषु शरीरावयवेषु प्रयत्नवता
आत्मना संयुक्तेषु कश्चिदेवैकः शरीरावयवः संयोगविभागकार्यवान् भवति, न सर्वः । अतो
व्यभिचारी प्रयत्नो न हेतुर्भवितुमर्हति—इति ।

एवं पराभिप्रायमाशङ्क्योत्तरमाह—स वक्तव्य इति । ‘यस्तु मन्यते’ इत्यत्र यच्छब्देन
‘स वक्तव्यः’ इत्यत्र तच्छब्दस्य संबन्धः ।

प्रसिद्धस्यान्तरङ्गत्वान्नित्यत्वाद्धेतुता भवेत् ।

अकारणत्वमन्यस्य यदि कर्म ततः कथम् ॥ इति ॥

नित्यत्वान्तरङ्गत्वाभ्यां हेतुभ्यां प्रसिद्धसद्भावस्य वस्तुनः हेतुत्वमात्रमेवानेकपदार्थसन्नि-

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| १. ‘नियोगतः’ इत्यादिः ‘कश्चिदेव’ इत्यन्तो
ग्रन्थः नास्ति—क, ख. मातृकयोः । | ३. कश्चिदेव—ग, घ, ङ. |
| २. तत्कार्या—ग, घ. | ४. निर्देशात्—क, ख. |
| | ५. सभाववस्तु—ख. |

हेतुरिति व्यवस्थाप्यते, नत्वप्रसिद्धसद्भावस्य कल्पना । तद्विपरीत-
स्य हेतुत्वमनुपपन्नमिति, तादृशमप्रसिद्धसद्भावमपि परिकल्प्यत
इति यदि मतम्, हन्त तर्हि कर्मणोऽपि तदकारणमापतति ।

अथ मतं व्यधिकरणमपि सम्बन्धात् कुतश्चिच्च प्रतिबन्धाद्
दृष्टव्यभिचारमपि तत्कर्मणः कारणम्, संयोगविभागाभ्यां किम-

धानकृतसन्देहापोहनेन व्यवस्थापयितुं युक्तम्, न पुनरप्रसिद्धसद्भावस्य वस्तुनः स्वरूपसिद्धि-
रपीति । यदि मन्येत व्यभिचारिणो बहिरङ्गस्य च कारणत्वं न संभवतीति अप्रसिद्धसद्भाव-
मपि कर्म कारणं कल्प्यत इति । तदेतदनुपपन्नम् । कर्मणोऽपि पूर्वोक्तेन न्यायेन ततः
प्रयत्नादिकारणादुत्पत्त्यनुपपत्तिप्रसङ्गादिति । एतद्विवृणोति—बहुसमवधाने इत्यादिना ।
अयमर्थः—यत्रैकं प्रसिद्धसद्भावं वस्तु केनचित्कार्येणान्वयव्यतिरेकि भवति, बहवश्चान्ये पदार्थाः
सन्निहिता भवन्ति, तत्रेदमेवास्य कारणं नान्यत् सन्निधानाविशेषेऽपीति विवेकमात्रं नित्यत्वान्त-
रङ्गत्वाभ्यां शक्यावधारणम्, न पुनरप्रसिद्धसद्भावस्य सद्भावकल्पना इति श्लोकपूर्वार्थस्यार्थः ॥
उत्तरार्धं व्याचष्टे—तद्विपरीतस्येत्यादिना^{१०} हन्त तर्हीत्यतः^{११} प्राक्तनग्रन्थेन परमतमनुभाष्योत्तर-
मुत्तरेणापत्तीति (तीत्यन्तेनाह ?) इति विभागः ।

पुनश्शङ्कते—अथ मतमिति । यद्यपि प्रयत्नादि व्यधिकरणमात्मस्थत्वात् तथापि
तत्कर्मणः कारणं भवत्येव, सम्बन्धान्तरस्य भावात्^{१३} [संबन्धोऽस्ति] । अन्यथा
सर्वव्यापारोच्छेदप्रसङ्गात् । ततश्च तद्द्वारकः शरीराश्रितेन [न] कर्मणा आत्मस्थस्य प्रयत्नादेः

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| १. विविच्यते—ख. | ८. विभागादिभिः—ख. |
| २. सत्त्वभावस्य कल्पनात्—ख. | ९. पोहेन—ङ. |
| ३. मसिद्धसत्त्वभाव—ख. | १०. रीतेत्यादिना—च |
| ४. ‘मतं’—नास्ति—क, ख, ग, घ, ङ. | ११. प्राक्तनेन—ङ. |
| ५. संबन्धात् केनचित् कुतश्चित्—ग, घ. | १२. मुत्तरेणा ... यद्यपि—ख. |
| ६. ‘च’—नास्ति—ख. | १३. भावात् ... व्यापारोच्छेद—ख. |
| ७. ‘तत्’—नास्ति—ख. | |

पराद्धम्? ^१येन ^२दृष्टं कारणं परित्यज्यादृष्टं मृग्यते । प्रायेण च कर्महेतवः संयोगविभागैकाधिकरणा इति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् ।

हेतुसत्ता च कार्येण ततः प्रागनुमीयते ।

वर्तमानावभासः स्यान्न ^३क्रियाधिगमस्ततः ॥ २२ ॥

कार्योपजननं प्रत्यनन्तर^४कालीनं ^५हेतुसत्त्वं तदुपयोगि, न

सम्बन्धोऽस्तीति तस्य तत्कारणत्वमुपपद्यत इति न बहिरङ्गत्वविरोधः । न चापि व्यभिच^६-
रित्वविरोधः, यतः कारणस्य कार्यव्यभिचारः कुतश्चित्प्रतिबन्धादुपपद्यते—यथा दहनेन्धन-
संयोगस्य धूमकारणस्य मन्त्रादिप्रतिबन्धात्कार्यस्य व्यभिचारः, तथेहापि प्रयत्नाश्रयेणात्मना
सम्बन्धे सर्वशरीरावयवानां समाने सत्यपि कर्त्तृकर्मणोऽनुदयः^७ कुतश्चिददृष्टात्प्रतिबन्धा-
दुपपद्यत इति । हन्त तर्हि भवतैव भवन्मतं परित्यक्तम् ! भवदुक्तेनैव न्यायेन प्रयत्नादेः
संयोगादिकार्यहेतुत्वस्यापि संभावितत्वात् कर्मकल्पनायाः प्रमाणाभावात् ॥

इतश्च संयोगविभागाल्पकार्यानुमेयक्रिया न संभवतोऽप्याह—

हेतुसत्ता च कार्येण ततः प्रागनुमीयते ।

वर्तमानावभासस्यात्र क्रियाविधिगमस्ततः ॥ (इति) ॥

कार्योदयात्प्राक्कालसंबन्धिनो हेतुसत्ता अनुमीयते, न कार्यकालसंबन्धिनी । ततश्च
चलतीति प्रत्ययः न वर्तमानाकारो भवेत्, भवति च । तस्मात् नासौ संयोगादिकार्यलिङ्ग-
जन्मेति श्लोकस्यार्थः ।

अस्यैव प्रपञ्चः कार्योपजननमित्यादिः । अस्यायमर्थः—यत्कार्यपूर्वक्षणवर्ति हेतोः

१. यत्—ख, ड.

२. दृष्टं परित्यज्यादृष्टं/करणं कल्प्यते—क, ख.

३. क्रियावगम—ड.

४. कालं—क, ग, घ, ड.

५. 'हेतुसत्त्वं' इत्यादिः 'कार्यकालं' इत्यन्तो
ग्रन्थो नास्ति—ड.

६. चारित्व—छ.

७. अनुदयं—छ.

कार्यकालम्^१, तस्य तदा सिद्धत्वात् । अतः ^२कार्येण कारणमनुमि-
मानः ^३तत्प्राक्कालमेवानुमिमीते, न वर्तमानकालम् । तथा च फल-
लिङ्गात्मजन्मा^४ ततः प्राक्कालक्रियागोचरः प्रत्ययो न ^५वर्तमानाव-
ग्रहः स्यात् ।

सत्त्वम् तदेव कार्योत्पत्तौ उपयोगि, न कार्यसमकालीनम्, तदा कार्यस्य सिद्धत्वात् साध्या-
वस्थस्यैव च तस्य कारणापेक्षणात्, अन्यथा अतिप्रसङ्गात् । अतः कार्यपूर्वक्षणवर्तिकारण-
सत्त्वं कार्येणानुमीयते इति श्लोकपूर्वार्थस्यार्थः । ननु च प्राक्कालीनमेव हेतुसत्त्वं
फललिङ्गेनानुमीयताम्^६, किमेतावता हीयते ? सर्वथा संयोगविभागलक्षणफललिङ्गानुमेया
क्रिया सिध्यतीत्याशङ्कोत्तरतया उत्तरार्धाविष्करणायाह—तथा चेति । यद्ययं क्रियाप्रत्ययः
फललिङ्गजन्य(न्म)तया ततः प्राक्कालक्रियाविषय इष्यते, तदा न कदाचिदपि वर्तमानाकारः
स्यात् । नचैवमस्ति । तस्मान्न फलानुमेया क्रिया ॥

ननु चलतिप्रत्ययस्य संयोगविभागविषयत्वाद्वर्तमानाकारत्वमुपपद्यते । क्रियाज्ञानं
ह्यन्यदेव संयोगविभागप्रभवम्^७, तच्च न वर्तमानाकारम्—इति । अत्रोच्यते । यदि चलति-
प्रत्ययातिरेकेणान्यः क्रियाग्राही प्रत्यय उपलभ्येत, तदा स्यादेतच्चोद्यम् । नच तदस्ति । अत-
श्चलतिप्रत्ययस्य वर्तमानाकारत्वे क्रियाप्रत्ययो न वर्तमानाकार इति न^८ शक्यं वक्तुम् ।
तस्मान्नानुमेया क्रिया कार्येण ॥

कारणस्य वर्तमानतया अनुमानानुपपत्तौ अनुपपत्त्यभावो हेतुः सामान्येन पूर्वमुक्तः^९
[इति] ; इदानीं कार्यक्षणे कारणस्याभावनिश्चयादपि न वर्तमानतया अनुमानं शक्यत इति
प्रकृते विशेषतोऽनुपपत्तिप्रदर्शनायाह—अपि च—

१. कालः—ख.

२. कार्येणमनु—क, ग, घ, ड.

३. तत्प्राक्कालं—क, ग, घ, ड. 'अतः'

इत्यादिः 'काल' मिलन्तो ग्रन्थः नास्ति—ड.

४. जन्म तत्प्राक्कालं—क.

५. वर्तमानाकारग्रहः—ड.

६. मीयते—च.

७. विभागलिङ्गप्रभवम्—छ.

८. 'न' नास्ति—च.

९. युक्तमिति—च.

अपि च—

संयोगान्तं वर्तमानं तत उन्नीयते कथम् ।

विभागतो मीयमानं स्थाणावप्येतदापतेत् ॥ २३ ॥

संयोगान्तं^१ कर्म संयोगोत्पादज्ञानक्षणोत्तरकालमनुमीय^२-
मानं न वर्तमानम् । संयोगविभागौ तु वर्तमानौ । ^३ज्ञानानुरूपश्च

संयोगान्तं वर्तमानं तत उन्नीयते कथम् ।

विभागतो मीयमानं स्थाणावप्येतदापतेत् ॥ (इति) ॥

अयमाशयः—किं संयोगादेव केवलादनुमातुमिष्टं कर्म, किं वा केवलाद्विभागात्, अथवाभाभ्यामपि संयोगविभागाभ्याम् ? यदि तावत्केवलात्संयोगात् उभाभ्यां समुदिताभ्यां वा अनुमीयेत, तदा न वर्तमानमनुमातुं शक्यम् । संयोगोत्पत्तिजज्ञानक्षणद्वयोत्तरक्षणे ह्यनुमानज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । अनुत्पन्नस्याज्ञातस्य च लिङ्गत्वानुपपत्तेः । तस्याच्चावस्थायां न कर्म वर्तमानम्, तस्य फलोत्पत्तिमात्रापरिगृह्यत्वात् उत्तरक्षणेऽवस्थानाभावात् । अथ विभागमुत्पाद्य संयोगोत्पत्तिपर्यन्तं कर्म तिष्ठतीति विभागक्षणे वर्तमानमेवेति विभागादेव केवलात्तस्यानुमानं मन्यते सः, तदा स्थाणावपि श्येन इव तद्विभागवति कर्मानुमानप्रसङ्ग इति तात्पर्यम् ।

अत्रैषा अक्षरयोजना । *संयोगा(गोऽ)न्तोऽवधिर्धस्य तत्संयोगान्तं प्रकृतं कर्म तत् ततः संयोगाल्लिङ्गात् कथं वर्तमानम् उन्नीयते अनुमीयते ? न कथञ्चिदपि वर्तमानतया अनुमातुं शक्यते । विभागतो हेतोरनुमीयमानं कर्माभ्युपगम्यमानं स्थाणावप्यनुमेयमापतेदिति ।

एतदेव विवृणोति—संयोगान्तमित्यादिना । ननु संयोगविभागविषयत्वेऽपि क्रियाप्रत्ययस्यैतत् *दृषणं समानमेवेत्याशङ्क्याह—संयोगविभागौ त्विति । तुशब्देन शङ्कामपा-

१. संयोगान्तकर्म—क, ख.

२. काले मीय—क, ख.

३. ज्ञानरूपात्—क, ख. ज्ञानरूपात्—ग, घ, ङ.

४. संयोगान्तो विधिः—च. गान्तोऽवधिः—ङ.

५. यस्यैकदृषणं—च.

विषयो न तद्विपरीतः । तस्मात्तयोरेव चलतीतिप्रत्ययविषयता, न तु कर्मणः ।

अथ विभागानुमेय^४त्वात्तमुपजनय्य *आसंयोगोत्पादं व्यवस्थानाद्वर्तमानमनुमीयत इति । तदसत् । स्थाणावपि प्रसङ्गात्, विभागस्य तुल्यत्वात् । *तत् गुणविशेष एव धातूपादानः क्रिया,

करोति । न चलतिप्रत्ययस्य संयोगविभागविषयत्वे वर्तमानाकारत्वविरोधः, तयोर्वर्तमानत्वात्, ज्ञानस्य तत्कार्यलिङ्गप्रभवत्वानभ्युपगमात् एककालत्वोपपत्तेः । नन्ववर्तमानमपि कर्म वर्तमानाकारस्य प्रत्ययस्य विषयः स्यादित्याशङ्क्याह—ज्ञानानुरूप इति । यदाकारोऽयं (रो यः) प्रत्ययः तस्य तदाकार एव विषयो भवति न तद्विपरीतः, अन्यथा भ्रमत्वप्रसङ्गात् । नचास्य भ्रमत्वमस्ति, तद्धेतुद्वयाभावादिति । तस्मादित्युपसंहरति ।

श्लोकोत्तरार्धव्यावर्त्यामाशङ्कां दर्शयति—अथेत्यादिना अनुमीयते इत्यन्तेन ग्रन्थेन । अस्यायमर्थः—पूर्वदेशविभागमुत्पाद्योत्तरदेशसंयोगोत्पत्तिपर्यन्तमवस्थानं कर्मणोऽस्तीति विभागक्षणे वर्तमानमेव । अतो विभागेन केवलेन वर्तमानमेव कर्मानुमीयत इति । तन्निराकरणार्थं तयोत्तरार्धं व्याचष्टे—तदसदित्यादिना तुल्यत्वादित्यन्तेन ग्रन्थेन । इदानीं संयोगविभागादिगुणविशेषविलक्षणक्रियापदार्थाभावमुपपादितमुपसंहरति—तद्गुणविशेष एवेत्यादिना अभिषेय (यः स्यात्) इत्यन्तेन ग्रन्थेन । अस्यायमर्थः—(तत्) तस्माद्यथोक्तेन न्यायेन, गुणविशेष एव

१. न तु—क, ग, घ, ङ.

२. 'तु' नास्ति—ख.

३. मेयत्वं तमुप—क, ख.

४. आसंयोगादवस्थानात्—ङ. संयोगोत्पादावस्थानात्—ख.

५. तस्मादृषणं—ग, घ, ङ.

६. दानक्रिया—ख.

न तु तदतिरिच्यमानात्मा क्रियापदार्थः, यः प्रत्ययस्य धातोर्वा अभिधेयः स्यात् ।

यदप्यनुमानम्—यत्सर्वेषु साधनेषु सन्निहितेषु सत्सु कदाचित्पचतीति प्रत्ययो भवतीति । तन्न—

सिद्धेर्गुणविशेषेण पचतीत्यपि संविदः ।

क्रियापदार्थस्यान्यस्य नानुमानं प्रकल्पते ॥ २४ ॥

धात्वभिधेयः क्रियाव्यवहारगोचरः केनचिदुपाधिना, न ततस्तत्त्वान्तरं क्रियापदार्थः, यः प्रत्ययस्यार्थो धातोर्वेति विचार्येत । सिद्धे हि धर्मिणि धर्माणां विचारः प्रवर्तते इति ।

इदानीं क्रियावादिना क्रियासद्भावसाधनायोपन्यस्तमनुमानं दूषणायानुभाषते—
यद्य(द)भीत्यादिना भवतीत्यन्तेन ग्रन्थेन । अयमर्थः—पचतीत्येष प्रत्ययः धर्मित्वेनोपादीयते, कर्त्रादिसकलकारकव्यतिरिक्तार्थान्तरालम्बन इति साध्यो धर्मः । तेषु सन्निहितेष्वपि कदाचिदेवोत्पद्यमानत्वात् । यस्मिन्प्रतीयमानेऽर्थे यः कदाचिदेव प्रत्यय उत्पद्यते, स तदतिरिक्तार्थालम्बनो दृष्टः—यथा सतोरपि दण्डदेवदत्तयोः कदाचिदेवोत्पद्यमानो दण्डीति प्रत्ययः तदतिरिक्ततत्संबन्धालम्बन इति । यच्च सर्वातिरिक्तं तत्संबन्धि पचतिप्रत्ययालम्बनम्, तत्कमेति । एतद्दूषयितुमाह—तत्र(न)—

सिद्धेर्गुणविशेषेण पचतीत्यपि संविदः ।

क्रियापदार्थस्यान्यस्य नानुमानं प्रकल्पते ॥ (इति) ॥

१. न तदतिरिच्यमाना इति चापदार्थः—ख.

न तु तदतिरिच्यमानः—ङ.

२. 'यः' नास्ति—ख.

३. सन्निहितेषु साधनेषु कदाचित् पचतीत्येतत्—ख.

४. विशेषणं—ख.

५. लप्ति—ङ.

६. प्रवर्तते—क, ख; प्रकल्पते—ग, घ, ङ.

७. लम्बनभूतं—ङ.

८. विशेषणेति—ख.

यः खलु तण्डुलावयवेषु विभागलक्षणः प्रशिथिलसंयोगलक्षणो वा गुणभेदस्तस्य सन्निहितेष्वपि साधनेषु कदाचिद्भावात्तन्निबन्धनः पचतीति प्रत्यय इति न तत्र क्रियापदार्थानुमानं युक्तम् ।

तत एव तर्हि गुणविशेषात्कादाचित्कात्तदस्तु । अन्यथा

अयमर्थः—किं पचतीति प्रत्ययस्य सर्वकारकातिरिक्तं किञ्चिदालम्बनमस्तीत्येतावन्मात्रं साध्यते, किं वा क्रियापदार्थं आलम्बनमिति ? आद्ये कल्पे सिद्धसाध्यताप्रसङ्गः, सर्वकारकातिरिक्तस्य गुणविशेषस्य पचतिप्रत्ययालम्बनत्वस्याभ्युपगमात् । अथ गुणविशेषस्यालम्बनत्वानुपपत्त्या पारिशेष्यात्क्रियापदार्थसिद्धिरित्यभिप्रायः, सोऽपि न समोचीनः, चलतीति प्रत्ययस्य(स्येव) पचतीति प्रत्ययस्यापि गुणविशेषेणोपपत्तेः । द्वितीये तु कल्पे दृष्टान्ताभावः नहि कचिदपि क्रियालम्बनः कश्चित्प्रत्ययः क्रियापलापवादिनः प्रसिद्धोऽस्ति, येन दृष्टान्तः स्यात् । अतो गुणविशेषातिरिक्तस्य क्रियापदार्थस्यानुमानं न प्रकल्पत इति श्लोकस्य तात्पर्यार्थः । नात्राक्षरवैषम्यमस्ति । यो गुणविशेषः पचतिप्रत्ययस्योपपादकोऽभिप्रेतः तस्य स्वरूपनिरूपणद्वारेण तदुपपादकत्वोपपादनायाह—यः खल्वित्यादि । अस्ति तावत्तण्डुलानां स्थास्युदरवर्तिनि वारिणि सूक्ष्मैरग्न्यवयवैः व्याप्तैः विपरिवर्तमानानामवयवेषु विभागलक्षणो गुणविशेषः प्रशिथिलसंयोगलक्षणश्च । १ तयोश्च सत्स्वपि साधनेषु कदाचिदेव भावात् कादाचित्कस्य २ च पचतीति प्रत्ययस्य विषयत्वोपपत्तेः न तद्व्यतिरिक्तस्य क्रियापदार्थस्यानुमानं युक्तमिति ।

पुनः क्रियानुमानवाद्याह—तत एवेत्यादि । अयमर्थः—मा भूत्पचतीति प्रत्ययात्कि-

१. लक्षणो वा शिथिल—ख.

२. अवयवसंयोग—ग, ङ.

३. पचतीत्यपि—क, ग, घ, ङ.

४. 'न' नास्ति—क, ग, घ, ङ.

५. ततः—ख.

६. क्रियानुमानं—क.

७. विशेषणो—ख.

८. व्याप्ते—ख.

९. 'तयोश्च' नास्ति—ख.

१०. 'च' नास्ति—ख.

साधनसन्निधिमात्र एवैष स्यात् । न, ^१कर्मण्यपि तथा प्रसङ्गात् ;
कर्मान्तरानुमाने चानवस्थाप्रसङ्गात् ;^२ अग्निसंयोगस्य च^३ क्रमेण
भावात् प्रकृष्यमाणत्वाच्च तद्धेतोर्न^४ तस्य साधनसन्निधिमात्र एव
भावः । तस्यैव तर्हि संयोगस्य कारणं कर्मेति चेत्—न, प्रयत्नादेरेव
कर्महेतोस्तद्धेतुत्वात् ।

यानुमानम्, तस्य गुणविशेषेणैवोपपत्तेः । येन गुणविशेषेण तस्योपपत्तिर्निरूपिता, तत एव
गुणविशेषात्क्रियानुमानमस्तु, तस्य क्रियाप्रभवत्वात् । यदि पुनरस्य क्रियाप्रभवत्वं नाङ्गी-
क्रियते साधनसन्निधिमात्रनिबन्धनत्वञ्चाभ्युपगम्यते, तदा ^५साधनसन्निधिमात्र एव(ष) भावः
स्यात् । न चास्ति । अतः क्रियानुमानं युक्तमेवेति । एतन्निराकरोति—नेत्यादिना ।
अयमर्थः—न गुणविशेषादपि हेतोः कर्मानुमानं युक्तम्, कर्मण्यपि तथा प्रसङ्गात् । नहि
कर्मापि साधनसन्निधिमात्र एव भवति । अतस्तत्रापि कर्मान्तरमनुमेयं स्यात् । कर्मा(न्तरा)-
नुमाने चानवस्थाप्रसङ्गात् । यत्पुनरुक्तं क्रियानुमानवादिनः(ना)—क्रियानपेक्षत्वे पक्ष-
प्रत्ययस्यालम्बनाभिमतस्य गुणविशेषस्य साधनसन्निधिमात्र एव भावप्रसङ्ग इति । तत्राह—
अग्निसंयोगस्येति । योऽयमग्निसंयोगः तण्डुलावयवानाम्, स तेषां विभागलक्षणगुणविशेषस्य
हेतुः । स च क्रमेण भवति, क्रमेण च प्रकृष्यते । त(त)स्तस्य तद्वा(द्धे)तोः क्रमेण भावात्
प्रकृष्यमाणत्वाच्च न तस्य साधनसन्निधिमात्र एव भावप्रसङ्ग इति । क्रियानुमानवादिनो
मतं शङ्कते—तस्यैव तर्हिति । यद्यग्निसंयोगलक्षणो गुणविशेष एव तण्डुलावयवसमवायिनो
गुणविशेषस्य कारणम्, (न) कर्म, (तर्हि) तस्यैवाग्निसंयोगस्य कादाचित्कस्य कारणम्
कर्मेति । एवं क्रियावादिनो मतमाशङ्क्योत्तरमाह—न, प्रयत्नादेरित्यादिना । अयमर्थः—
कर्मवादिना कर्महेतुत्वाभिमतो यः प्रयत्नादिः तस्यैव तद्धेतुत्वोपपत्तेः (न) कर्मकल्पनायां
प्रमाणमस्तीति ।

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| १. कर्मणापि तथाभावप्रसंगात्—क, ख. | ३. 'च' नास्ति—क, ख, ग; 'तु'—ङ. |
| कर्मणोऽपि तथा प्रसंगात्—ग, घ, ङ. | ४. 'न' नास्ति—क, ख. |
| २. अनवस्थापातात्—क, ख, ग, घ, ङ. | ५. 'साधन'—नास्ति—च. |

तदित्थं यागादिव्यतिरिक्तभावनाभावात्—

यागेन भावयेत्स्वर्गमित्यर्थः परिकल्पितः ।

स्वर्गकामस्य यागे तु नियोगः सम्प्रतीयते ॥ २५ ॥

सत्यां ^१हि भावनायां यागस्य करणत्वम्, ^२कर्मापेक्षित्वाच्च

इदानीं भावनानिराकरणस्य फलं दर्शयति—तदित्थं यागादिव्यतिरिक्तभावना-
भावात्—

यागेन भावयेत्स्वर्गमित्यर्थः परिकल्पितः ३ ।

स्वर्गकामस्य यागे तु नियोगः सम्प्रतीयते ॥ इति ॥

तस्मादेवमुक्तन्यायेन भावनाया यागादिव्यतिरिक्ताया अभावात् यागेन स्वर्गं भावयेदि-
त्येषोऽर्थः पुरुषोत्प्रेक्षामात्रप्रभवः^४, न शब्दार्थः । कस्तर्हि शब्दार्थः ? स्वर्गकामस्य
यागे तु नियोग इति ।

एतदेव प्रपञ्चयति—सत्यां हीत्यादिना । यदि धात्वर्थव्यतिरिक्ता भावना शब्द-
प्रतिपाद्या विद्यते, तदा तदपेक्षया यागस्य करणत्वम् स्वर्गस्य कर्मत्वं चावधार्येत ।
कथम् ? भावनाया भाव्यापेक्षणीत्वात् या भाव्यं प्रत्यपेक्षा तथा हेतुभूतया स्वर्गस्य
कर्मत्वावधारणम् । ननु स्वर्गकाम इति पुरुषविशेषणत्वेन निर्दिष्टस्य स्वर्गस्य स्वर्गं
कुर्यादिति साध्यत्वेनानिर्दिष्टस्य कथं सत्यामपि भावनायां भाव्यत्वेन सम्बन्ध इत्या-

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| १. 'हि'—नास्ति—ङ. | ३. कल्पयते—ङ. |
| २. करणत्वं कर्मापेक्षायां पुरुष—ग, घ. | ४. प्रधानो—च. |
| कर्मपेक्षणीयत्वात् यस्यापेक्षायां—ङ. | |

तस्यापेक्षायां पुरुषविशेषणस्यापि १ इष्टेः सामर्थ्यात्कर्मत्वमवधार्यते । तदभावे तु मन्दान्विप्रलब्धुमेष २ परिकल्पननिमित्तो वाक्यार्थो— यागेन भावयेत्स्वर्गमिति ३ । पुरुषविशेषस्य ४ तु नियोगो यागे ५ व- गम्यते ।

शङ्कापाकरणायाह ६—पुरुषविशेषणस्यापीत्यादिना । पुरुषविशेषणस्यापि इष्टेः इष्ट्यमाणस्य स्वर्गादिः(देः) सामर्थ्यात् वस्तुसामर्थ्यात् इष्टसंयुक्तवाक्यगतेष्टानिष्टपदार्थयोरनन्यार्थत्वाव- गमात्(योरनन्यार्थत्वावगमात्?) असत्यपि भावनासाध्यताप्रतिपादके शब्दे साध्यत्व- मवधार्यते आख्यातेन प्राधान्येन प्रतिपादितायां भावनायां विद्यमानायाम् । तस्यास्त्व- भावे पूर्वोक्तन्यायबलान्निश्चिते का(मन्दा)न्विप्रलब्धुमेष भवता स्वमनीषिकयोत्प्रेक्ष्य परिकल्पितो वाक्यार्थो—‘यागेन भावयेत्स्वर्गम्’ इति । एवं श्लोकस्य पूर्वार्थं व्याख्यायोत्तरार्धमधुना व्याचष्टे—पुरुषविशेषस्येत्यादिना । स्वर्गकामनाविशिष्टस्य पुरुषस्य यागे नियोगोऽवगम्यते, न तु स्वर्गसाध्यत्वमित्यर्थः ।

ननु नियोगसामर्थ्यादेव स्वर्गसाध्यत्वं सिध्यति असत्यामपि भावनायाम् । कथम् ? विधिर्हि नियोगः । स च पुरुषप्रेरणात्मकः परम्परयाप्यपुरुषार्थे स्वात्मानमलभमानः स्वविष- यस्य यागादेः पुरुषार्थस्वर्गसाध्यत्वमुपकल्पयति । उक्तं हि—

‘विधातुं तमतिक्रम्य स्वर्गदिस्साध्यतेष्यते ।’

इति विध्यधीनं स्वर्गादिसाध्यत्वज्ञानम् । विधिवृत्तिविद्धिस्तथा ७ विधिविवेकारम्भेऽप्युक्तम्—

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| १. इष्टस्य—क. स्व ; स्वर्गस्येष्टस्य—ग, | ४. तु—नास्ति—क, ग, घ, ङ. |
| घ, ङ. | ५. यागे गम्यते—ग, घ, ङ. |
| २. कल्पोऽपरिमितो—क. कल्पोऽपरिचितो— | ६. पहरणायाह—च. |
| ख. | ७. ‘विधि’—नास्ति—च. |
| ३. ‘इति’—नास्ति—ग, घ, ङ. | |

‘साधने पुरुषार्थस्य सञ्ज्ञिरन्ते त्रयीविदः ।

बोधं १ विधिसमायत्तमतः स प्रविविच्यते ॥’ इति ॥

अत्रोच्यते—सत्यं विधिनिबन्धनं पुरुषार्थसाध्यत्वज्ञानम् ; विधिरेव तु भावनाया अभावे न सिध्यति, तस्य २ सविषयत्वात्, अभावार्थस्य च विषयत्वानुपपत्तेः । अतो विधि- स्वरूपलाभाय भावना अपेक्षिता ॥

नन्वेवन्तर्हि भावनाया भाव्यापेक्षिणीत्वं स्वर्गसाध्यत्वसिद्धौ हंतुत्वेनोक्तं विरुध्येत, तस्या विध्यधीनत्वात् । नैतदेवम्, सामान्यविशेषभेदेन व्यवस्थोपपत्तेः । साध्यसामान्य- सिद्धिर्हि भावनाधीना, पुरुषार्थरूपसाध्यविशेषसिद्धिर्विधिनिबन्धना । भावना हि भाव्यमात्र- मपेक्षते नैकान्ततः पुरुषार्थमेव, विधिसम्बन्धात् पुरुषार्थरूपे भाव्यविशेषे नियम्यते । तथा आह—

‘विधावनाश्रिते साध्यः पुरुषार्थो न लभ्यते ।’ इति ॥

नन्वेवन्तर्हि साध्यविशेषसिद्धिहेतुर्विधिरेव सामान्यसिद्धिमाक्षिपति, सामान्यसिद्धि- मन्तरेण विशेषसिद्धयनुपपत्तेः । अतो नार्थो भावनया । न ; उक्तोत्तरत्वात् । उक्तं हि—विषेस्त्व- रूपमेव भावनापेक्षमिति ॥ यच्च भावनाकांक्षानिबन्धनं स्वर्गादिसाध्यत्वज्ञानमुक्तम् तद्भावनायाः प्राधान्यमङ्गीकृत्योक्तम्—प्रधानाकांक्षावशवर्ती हि पदार्थान्तरसम्बन्ध इति । अपि च, प्रेषणाध्येषणानुमोदनेष्टसाधनताप्रभेदः पुरुषप्रेरणात्मको विधिलोके लिङ्गार्थस्समधिगतः । स एव वेदेऽपि तदर्थो ग्राह्यः, नान्यः । तत्र तावच्छ्रेयसाधनतालक्षणो विशेषो नासत्यां भावनायां संभवति । नहि साधनं (श्रेयसाधनं) ४ साधनं विना सिध्यति । ५ साधनं च भावना । अतो भावनाया अभावे श्रेयसाधनरूपस्य विधेरसंभवात् प्रैषादयः परिशिष्यन्ते ।

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| १. विधी—ङ. | ४. साधनां—ङ. |
| २. सविषय—ङ. | ५. साधना—ङ. |
| ३. सामग्री—च. | |

१ तस्मिंस्त्वनुष्ठितं स्वर्गादिफलं स्वतोऽन्यतो वा कुतश्चिद्वि-
ध्यति, २ नैव वा; ३ नत्वयमर्थः शक्योऽभ्युपगन्तुम् ।

ननु पुरुषविशेषणमप्येतन्न सम्भवति, अयोगान्ययोगाल-

ते च पुरुषवर्मा वेदस्यार्थवत्त्वेन (वेदार्थत्वेन) परिगृह्यमाणाः पौरुषेयत्वं बलादापादयन्ति ।
तत्र वेदस्य प्रामाण्यमेवास्त्वामियात्, कुतः स्वर्गादिसाध्यत्वसिद्धिरित्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन ॥

प्रकृतमनुसरामः । ननु असति स्वर्गस्य यागसाध्यत्वे कामनायोगादवगम्यमानसाध्यत्वं
विरुध्येतेत्याशङ्क्याह—तस्मिंस्त्वनुष्ठित इति । तस्मिन् यागेऽनुष्ठिते स्वर्गादिफलं स्वत एव
विना कारणेन भविष्यतीति गृह्यताम् । ननु कादाचित्कस्य अकारण(ण)कस्योत्पत्तिरनुप-
पन्नेत्याशङ्कामपनेतुमाह—अन्यतो वा कुतश्चिदिति । अन्यतो वा यागव्यतिरिक्तात्
कुतश्चिदकारणाद्विष्यतीति कल्पयामि । अन्यदपि कारणं नोपलभ्यते । अकारणञ्च
कार्यजन्म न संभवति । तत्र स्वर्गस्य यागसाध्यत्वाभावे जन्मैव न संभवतीत्याशङ्क्याह—
नैवेति । नैव वा भविष्यति ५ स्वर्गादिः, नत्वनवगम्यमानो यागेन भावयेत्स्वर्गमित्येषोऽर्थः
शक्योऽभ्युपगन्तुमिति ।

तत्र भावनावादी चोदयति—नन्विति । एतत्स्वर्गकामत्वं पुरुषविशेषणमपि न
संभवति । कुतः? व्यवच्छेदफलं हि विशेषणम् । व्यवच्छेदश्च त्रिविधः व्यवच्छेद्यभेदात्—
अयोगव्यवच्छेदोऽत्यन्तायोगव्यवच्छेदोऽन्ययोगव्यवच्छेदश्चेति । एषामन्यतमः स्वर्गकामत्व-
विशेषणफलत्वेनाभ्युपगन्तव्यः; स्वर्गः काम्य एव भवति नाकाम्य इत्ययोगव्यवच्छेदः, स्वर्गः
काम्यो ६ भवत्येव न (न) भवतीत्यन्ययोगव्यवच्छेदः, स्वर्ग एव काम्यो नान्य इत्यन्ययोग-
व्यवच्छेदः । एषामन्यतमोऽप्यत्र न भवति । कथम्? यदि तावदिहायोगव्यवच्छेद आश्रीयते

१. तस्मिंश्चातु—क, ग, घ, ङ.

२. नैव वायमर्थः—ङ.

३. नत्वमर्थः शक्योऽभ्युपगन्तुम्—ख.

४. मेव न—क, ग, घ, ङ.

५. स्वर्गादि—ङ.

६. एव भवति न न भवती—च.

न्तायोगानामन्यतमस्यापि १ व्यवच्छेदासंभवात् । जात्या च २ तस्या-
भावात् ।

साध्यत्वमपि ३ तर्ह्यनुपपन्नम्, स्वर्गस्य तथा अनिर्देशात्,

स्वर्गः काम्य एवास्य भवति नाकाम्यः कदाचिदित्येवं रूपः, सोऽत्र न संभवति, ईदृशस्य
कस्यचिदसंभवात् । न ४ हि कश्चिदपि सदा स्वर्गं कामयतेऽनुष्ठाता, सुषुप्त्याद्यवस्थासु
कामनानुपपत्तेः । नाप्यन्ययोगव्यवच्छेदः संभवति । नहि कस्यचित्पुरुषस्य स्वर्ग एव कामना
नियतो(ता) भवति, अन्नपानादिविषयोन्तरकामनाया अप्यवश्यंभावित्वात् । नाप्यत्यन्ता-
योगव्यवच्छेदसंभवति, अत्यन्तायोगस्यात्यन्तमप्राप्तत्वात् । नहि कस्यचिदपि स्वर्गकामनया
अत्यन्तमयोगसंभवति । सर्वो हि जन्ममरणान्तराले कदाचित्स्वर्गादि कामयत एवेति । अतः
पुरुषविशेषणत्वमपि स्वर्गकामत्वं(त्वे) न सम्भवति । ननु स्वर्गकामत्वं नाम जातिरस्ति
ब्राह्मण्यादिवत् । अतस्तस्य विशेषणत्वे नोक्तदोष इत्याशङ्क्याह—जात्या चेत्यादि । कामना-
योगनिमित्त(ता)स्य शब्दस्य पुरुषेषु वृत्तिः । न स्वर्गकामत्वं नाम जातिरस्तीत्यर्थः ।

एवं भावनावादिना चोदिते पुरुषविशेषणत्ववादी प्रतिवक्ति—साध्यत्वमित्यादिना ।
भवत्पक्षेऽप्यनुपपत्तिः समाना, यतः साध्यत्वमपि स्वर्गस्य न सिध्यति । कुत इति चेत्,
तत्राह—तथा अनिर्देशादिति । स्वर्गमिति साध्यत्वेन निर्देशाभावादित्यर्थः । ननु साध्यत्वेन
निर्देशाभावेऽपि सामर्थ्यात्स्वर्गस्य भावनायां भाव्यत्वेन संबन्धः सिध्यतीत्याशङ्क्याह—
विशेषणस्यैव चार्थात् (भावना)संबन्धाभ्युपगमादिति । अयमर्थः—पुरुषविशेषणस्य ५ सतः
स्वर्गकामपदार्थस्यार्थाद्भावनासम्बन्धोऽभ्युपगम्यते नाविशेषणस्य । विशेषणत्वं च भव ६ तैवापा-

१. तस्यापि—ख.

२. तत्त्वमाव्यात्—ख.

३. तस्यानुप—ख.

४. 'हि'—नास्ति—च.

५. स्यैव सतः—ङ.

६. तैवोपाकृतम्—ङ.

विशेषणस्यैव ^१चार्थाद्भावनासम्बन्धाभ्युपगमात् । वर्तमानेच्छा-
विशेषणत्वमितरस्याप्यविरुद्धम् ।

न, फलनिमित्तयोरन्यतरापत्तेः । निमित्तत्वे च यावज्जीव-
^२श्रुत्युपसंहारे तदानर्थक्यम्^३, अनुपसंहारे त्वेतस्याः ।

कृतम् । तत्र कथं स्वर्गस्य साध्यत्वसिद्धिरिति । यस्य स्वर्गे कामना वर्तते स स्वर्गकामः
इति वर्तमानायाः स्वर्गेच्छाया विशेषणत्वे न कश्चिद्विरोधः । अतो विशेषणस्यैव ^४सतोऽर्था-
द्भावनासम्बन्धः सिध्यतीत्याशङ्क्याह—वर्तमानेच्छेत्यादि । इतरस्य नियोगवादिनः पक्षेऽपि
यदास्य स्वर्गकामना वर्तते तदा नियोग इत्यविरुद्ध एष निर्वाह इत्यर्थः ।

एवमुभयोरपि पक्षयोः समानौ चोद्यपरिहाराविति नियोगवादिनोक्ते पुनर्भाविनावादी
विशेषविवक्षया आह—न, फलनिमित्तयोरित्यादिना । (न) वर्तमानेच्छाविशेषणत्वं भवत्पक्षे-
ऽवकल्पते । कथम् ? फलनिमित्तयोरन्यतरापत्तेः । तथाहि—यदिदं काम्यमानं स्वर्गादि
पुरुषविशेषणभूतम् तेन फलेन वा निमित्तेन वा अन्यतरेण भवितव्यम् । दृश्यते हि
द्वय्यपीयं गतिः नियोज्यविशेषणस्य, यथा—‘आरोग्यकामो मितमश्नीयात्’ इत्यादावारोग्यस्य
फलत्वम् ; यथा च—गृहदाहादेः क्षामवत्यादौ निमित्तत्वम् । न चैवंजातीयकविशेषण-
स्यान्या गतिरुपलभ्यते । तत्र तावत्स्वर्गादेः फलत्वं भवता नाभ्युपगम्यते । मा भूत्फलत्वम्,
निमित्तत्वे को विरोधः इत्याशङ्क्याह—निमित्तत्वे चेत्यादि । अयमर्थः—अस्ति तावत्
‘यावज्जीवमाग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्’, यावज्जीवं दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत’ इत्येवमाद्या जीवन-
निमित्ता श्रुतिः, तस्य(स्याः) स्वर्गकामनयोपसंहारो वा स्यात् अनुपसंहारो वा । उपसंहारपक्षे
तदानर्थक्यम्, [ए]तस्या जीवनश्रुतेरानर्थक्यम् । कथम् ? एवं हि तदा अर्थस्यात्—स्वर्ग-
कामस्सन् यदा जीवति तदा यजेतेति । तत्र कामश्रुत्यैव जीवनमर्थाक्षिप्तं प्रतीयते, जीवत

१. ‘च’-नास्ति—ख. स्यैवार्था भावना—ङ. ३. —र्थक्यम्, संहारे विशेषणश्रुतेरेतस्याः—ख.
२. श्रुत्यासंहारे—ख. ४. सतो—ख.

स्यात्तावदेष नित्येषु परिहारो ^१नानित्येषु । ^२अपि चानर्थक्यं
स्यादित्यनर्थो नावगन्तुं शक्यत इत्युक्तम् । पुनरुपदेशाद्वा स्वर्ग-
कामः पुनः प्रयोक्ष्यत इति नानर्थक्यम् ।

एव कामनोपपत्तेः । अतो जीवनश्रुतिरनर्थक्यैव स्यात् । अनुपसंहारपक्षे दूषणमाह—
अनुपसंहारे (तु) ^३एतस्या इति । अनुपसंहारपक्षे ^४एतस्याः कामश्रुतेः । आनर्थक्यमित्यनु-
षज्यते । कथं पुनरनुपसंहारे कामश्रुतेरानर्थक्यम् ? । उच्यते । एवं हि तदा अर्थस्यात्—
स्वर्गकामो यजेत जीवन्त्यजेत इति । तत्र जीवनश्रुत्या सामान्यप्रवृत्तया कामिनोऽप्युपसङ्ग-
हात् तस्यापि तथैव प्रवृत्तिसिद्धेः किं कामश्रुत्या प्रयोजनम् ।

एवं भावनावादिना स्वर्गकामनाया निमित्तत्वे निराकृते पुनरपि पुरुषनियोगवाद्याह—
स्यात्तावदित्यादि । एष कामनाया निमित्तत्वस्य परिहारो निराकरणम् नित्येष्वेव स्यात्,
येष्वग्निहोत्रदर्शपूर्णमासादिष्वन्यथा नित्यत्वं श्रुत्या प्राप्तम् । येषु त्वन्या नित्यत्वप्राप्तिका
श्रुतिर्नास्ति पशुकामग्रामकामादिनिमित्तसम्बन्धिषु कर्मसु, तत्रैष परिहारो नावकांशं लभते ।
नहि तत्र जीवनश्रुत्युपसंहारानुपसंहारविकल्पोऽवसरी । तस्मान्न सार्वत्रिकोऽयं परिहार इति ।
ननु मा भूदनित्येष्वेष परिहारः, नित्येषु तु पूर्वोक्तेन न्यायेन निमित्तपक्षे श्रुतेरानर्थक्यं
भवत्येव । अतः काम्यश्रुतयो भाव्यविशेषसमर्पणपरा एव भवितुमर्हन्तीत्याशङ्क्याह—
अपि चेति । आनर्थक्यं भवतीत्येतावता नाप्रतीयमानोऽर्थोऽभ्युपगन्तुं शक्यते । नहि स्वर्ग-
कामपदस्य स्वर्गस्य भाव्यत्वाभिधाने सामर्थ्यमस्ति । नाप्यर्थात्तस्य भाव्यत्वसिद्धिः अप्र-
सिद्धायां भावनायां सम्भवति । तत्प्रसिद्धिश्च पुरस्तान्निरस्ता । अतो ^५भवत्वानर्थक्यं
कामश्रुतेः । किं कुर्मः ? नैतावता अनवगम्यमानोऽर्थोऽवगम्यत इति शक्यते वक्तुमिति ।
इदानीमानर्थक्यपरिहारोऽपि कथञ्चिच्छक्यत इत्याह—पुनरुपदेशेत्यादि । यावज्जीव-

१. न कान्येषु—क, ख. ३. एकस्या—ख.
२. अपि च नानर्थक्यमित्यर्थः शक्योऽवगन्तु- ४. एकस्याः—ख.
मित्युक्तम्—क, ख. अपि चानर्थक्य- ५. ‘यजेत’-नास्ति—ङ.
मित्यर्थो नावगन्तुं शक्यते इत्युक्तम्—ङ. ६. भावनानर्थक्यं—ख.

‘बुद्ध्वैतदेवं भगवान्ददर्श खलु बादरिः ।

न द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारव्यतिरिक्तेऽस्ति शेषता ॥ २६ ॥

द्रव्यगुणयोः खलु योग्यता । अतः कारकविभक्तितो वा

श्रुत्यैव स्वर्गकामस्याप्यनुष्ठाने प्राप्ते स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति पुनरुपदेशसामर्थ्यात्स्वर्गकामः पुनरपि यः (प्रयो)क्ष्यत इति स्वर्गकामस्य पुनःप्रयोगप्रापणपरीः कामश्रुतयोऽर्थवत्य एवेत्य-
नवथम् ।

प्रतिपादितमर्थं बादर्याचार्यमतानुसारेण द्रव्यत्राह—

बुद्ध्वैतदेवं भगवान्ददर्श खलु बादरिः ।

न द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारव्यतिरिक्तेऽस्ति शेषता ॥ इति ॥

एतद्भावनाया निष्प्रमाणकत्वं ज्ञात्वा भगवान्बादरिः द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारेभ्यो व्यतिरिक्ते शेषता नास्तीति मेने । द्रव्यं ब्रीह्यादि, गुणोऽरुणमादिः संस्कारोऽवघातादिः^३ तेष्वेव यागा-
दि(याग)क्रियणादिकायां क्रियायां शेषभावः । यत्तु तेभ्यो व्यतिरिक्तं यागः, फलं, पुरुष-
श्चेति त्रयम् तत्र शेषभावो नास्ति—न यागस्य फलशेषभावः, नापि फलस्य पुरुषशेषभावः,
नापि पुरुषस्य ब्रीह्यादिद्रव्यवैलक्षण्येन फलस्वामितया कर्मणि शेषभाव इति ।

एतदेव विवृणोति—द्रव्यगुणयोरित्यादिना । द्रव्यं ब्रीह्यादि, गुणोऽरुणमादिः, तयोः
क्रियायां यागक्रियणादिकायां शेषभावोऽवगम्यत इति व्यवहितेन संबन्धः । तयोः शेषभावः
योग्यत्वात्कारकविभक्तितो वेति हेतुद्वयं विकल्पेनोक्तम् । तत्र योग्यत्वमिति सामर्थ्यमुच्यते ।
अस्ति हि सामर्थ्यं द्रव्यगुणयोः सिद्धस्वभावत्वात्साध्यस्वभावां क्रियां निर्वर्तयितुम् । अतः
क्रियानिर्वर्तनसामर्थ्याद्द्रव्यगुणयोः क्रियां प्रति शेषभावोऽवगम्यते । कारकविभक्तिरिति करण-

१. बुद्ध्वैतमेव—ख.

२. खलु नित्ययोर्योगः, ततः—क, ख.

३. तादिस्येष्वेव—छ.

४. क्रियणादि—च.

क्रियायां शेषभावोऽवगम्यते^१ । संस्कारोऽपि सम्मार्गादिः^२ शब्दतो
वस्तुतो वा कर्मसम्बन्धी, तत्र आपन्नशेषत्वः तन्मुखेन^३ क्रियायां
शेषभावं यायात् ।

विभक्तिस्तृतीयेह गृह्यते । श्रूयते हि सा ‘ब्रीहिभिर्यजेत’, ‘अरुणया क्रीणाति’ इति । सा च
प्रातिपदिकार्थस्य साधकतमत्वमभिधाना क्रियां प्रति शेषभावमवगमयतीति । भवत्वेवं द्रव्य-
गुणयोः शेषभावावगमः, संस्कारस्य कथमित्यत आह—संस्कारोऽपीत्यादि । यस्तु सम्मार्गावि-
घातादिसंस्कारः सोऽपि क्रियायां शेषभावं यायादिति सम्बन्धः, तत्र हेत्वपेक्षायामुक्तम्—
कर्मसम्बन्धीति । यतोऽसौ संस्कारोऽवघातादिः ब्रीह्यादिकर्मसम्बन्धीति । अस्य कर्मसम्बन्धे
हेतुद्वयं विकल्पेनोक्तम्—शब्दतो वस्तुतो वेति । द्वितीयाविभक्तिरिह शब्द इत्युच्यते ।
श्रूयते हि सा ‘ग्रहं सम्मार्ष्टि’, ‘ब्रीहीनवहन्ति’ इति । सा च प्रातिपदिकार्थस्येप्सिततमत्वं
प्रकाशयन्ती क्रियां प्रति प्राधान्यं गमयति । वस्तुत इति—वस्तुस्वभावादित्यर्थः ।
सकर्मकोऽयमवघातादिः संस्कारः, सकर्मकस्य च कर्मनिष्ठतास्वभावः, अतो वस्तुस्वभावादपि
‘स’ कर्मसम्बन्धी । भवतु संस्कार्येण ब्रीह्यादिना संस्कारस्यावघातादेः सम्बन्धः ।
कथमेतावता यागादिक्रियाशेषभाव इत्यपेक्षायामुक्तम्—तत्रेत्यादि । ब्रीह्यादिसंस्कार्यद्रव्यशेष-
भूतोऽवघातादिः^४ संस्कारः, तन्मुखेन—प्रधानभूतब्रीह्यादिमुखेन—क्रियाशेषभावः(वं) प्रतिपद्यत
इति संस्कारविशिष्टस्य ब्रीह्यादेर्यागादिक्रियाशेषभावः । नच विशेषणस्य संस्कारस्य शेषभाव-
मन्तरेण तद्विशिष्टस्य शेषभाव उपपद्यत इति ।

१. भावो गम्यते—ग, घ, ङ.

२. शब्दतो वा—घ.

३. आपन्नशेषत्वं—क. प्रतिपन्नशेषत्वं—ग,
घ, ङ.

४. क्रियां यायात्—ग, घ, ङ.

५. ‘स’—नास्ति—च.

६. संस्कारः तज्ज्ञापनप्रधानभूतब्रीह्यादिब्रीह्या-
मित्येन क्रियाशेषभावं प्रतिपद्यतइतिसंस्कार-
विशिष्टस्य ब्रीह्यादेः यागादिक्रियाहेतुभू-
... .. नच विशेषणस्य—छ.

१यागस्तु प्रकृत्या २अकर्मको देवताकर्मको वा कथं स्वर्गेण सम्बध्येत? भावनाकर्मणा ३ तेन तद्व्यवहितः संबध्येत । सा च नास्तीति ४ मन्यमानो भगवान्बादरिर्द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारेष्वेव ५ शेषभाव इति मेने—इति ६ पूर्वः पक्षः ॥

एवं द्रव्यगुणसंस्काराणां शेषभावमुपपाद्येदानीं व्यतिरिक्ते* शेषता नास्तीत्युक्त-मुपपादयितुमाह—यागस्त्वित्यादि । यागस्तु न कथञ्चिदपि स्वर्गेण सम्बध्येत । कथम्? न तावच्छब्दतोऽवगम्यते सम्बन्धः ; तत्प्रतिपादकशब्दाभावात् । नापि वस्तुतः, यतः स्वभावेनाकर्मको यागो द्रव्यत्यागसङ्करूपः, देवताकर्मको वा देवपूजालक्षणत्वात् । ७सर्वथापि न स्वर्गकर्मकः । अतो वस्तुतोऽपि न यागः स्वर्गेण सम्बध्येत । एतेन फलपुरुषयोरपि शेषभावो निरस्तः, यागसाध्यः स्वर्गभावा(वना)सम्भवापेक्षत्वात्तस्येति । ननु सत्यामपि भावनायां भावनैव स्वर्गेण सम्बध्यते न यागः । तत्र किमिदमुच्यते बुद्धवैतदेवमि(ती)त्याशङ्क्याह—(भावनाकर्मणा इत्यादि । अयं भावः—) यदि तु भावना भवेत् तदा तदाकाङ्क्षावशात्स्वर्गस्य भाव्यत्वमवगम्यते । ततश्च भावनाकर्मणा सतः स्वर्गेण भावनाव्यवहितो यागः सम्बध्येत । यद्यपि साक्षात् सम्बध्यते तथापि भावनायां करणत्वेन तद्व्यवहितः स्वर्गेणापि सम्बध्यते, सा च भावना पूर्वोक्तेन न्यायेन नास्तीति भगवान्बादरिः द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारेष्वेव शेषभाव इति मेने इति । उक्तं हि—‘द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारेषु बादरिः’ इति ॥

इति भावनाविवेकटीकायां नारायणविरचितायां १० विषमग्रन्थ(न्थ)भेदिकाख्यायां पूर्वपक्षप्रकरणं समाप्तम् ॥

१. यागादिस्तु—ग, घ, ङ.

२. अकर्मो—ख.

३. ‘तु’—अधिकं वर्तते—क, ख.

४. मन्यमानो बादरिराचार्यो—क, ख.

५. मन्यमानो भगवान्—घ, ङ.

६. शेषभावं मेने—ग, घ, ङ.

६. ‘पूर्वः पक्षः’ नास्ति—ग, घ, ङ.

७. सर्वदा—च.

८. संबध्येत—छ.

९. स्वर्गभावात् भावापेक्षत्वात्तस्येति—छ.

१०. विरचितायां पूर्वपक्षः समाप्तः ।—छ.



DR. RAJA SIR ANNAMALAI CHETTIAR KT., LL.D.,
Pro-Chancellor

University Notes

OUR CHANCELLOR:

On the retirement of His Excellency Lord Erskine, G.C.I.E., in March, 1940, His Excellency Captain the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Oswald James Hope who succeeded to the Governorship became our Chancellor. Lord Erskine was taking a very kind interest in this University throughout his period of office and we are sure that the same kindness and solicitude will be extended to us by our new Chancellor.

OUR PRO-CHANCELLOR:

His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to nominate our Pro-Chancellor to the central Legislative Assembly. We tender our most hearty congratulations to our Pro-Chancellor.

OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR:

The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar P.C., C.H., LL.D., our Vice-Chancellor has announced his decision to retire from office with effect from the 27th June, 1940. It has been a rare piece of good fortune to have a man of his eminence as our Vice-Chancellor. In one of the previous issues of the Journal we have dealt in detail on the Services rendered to our country by this great son of India. He came to us with a vast fund of experience culled from many fields and many climes and a wisdom that has been gained by years of loving labour. Undoubtedly our University profited considerably during the years of his stewardship. He has brought this University into the main current of Indian life and thought and we are deeply thankful to him for all that he has done to the University. His retirement is a great loss to this University and we hope that his solicitude and affection for the University will continue even in his retirement.

We cannot conclude this note better than by quoting in full the Address presented to him by the members of the University Staff on the eve of his retirement:

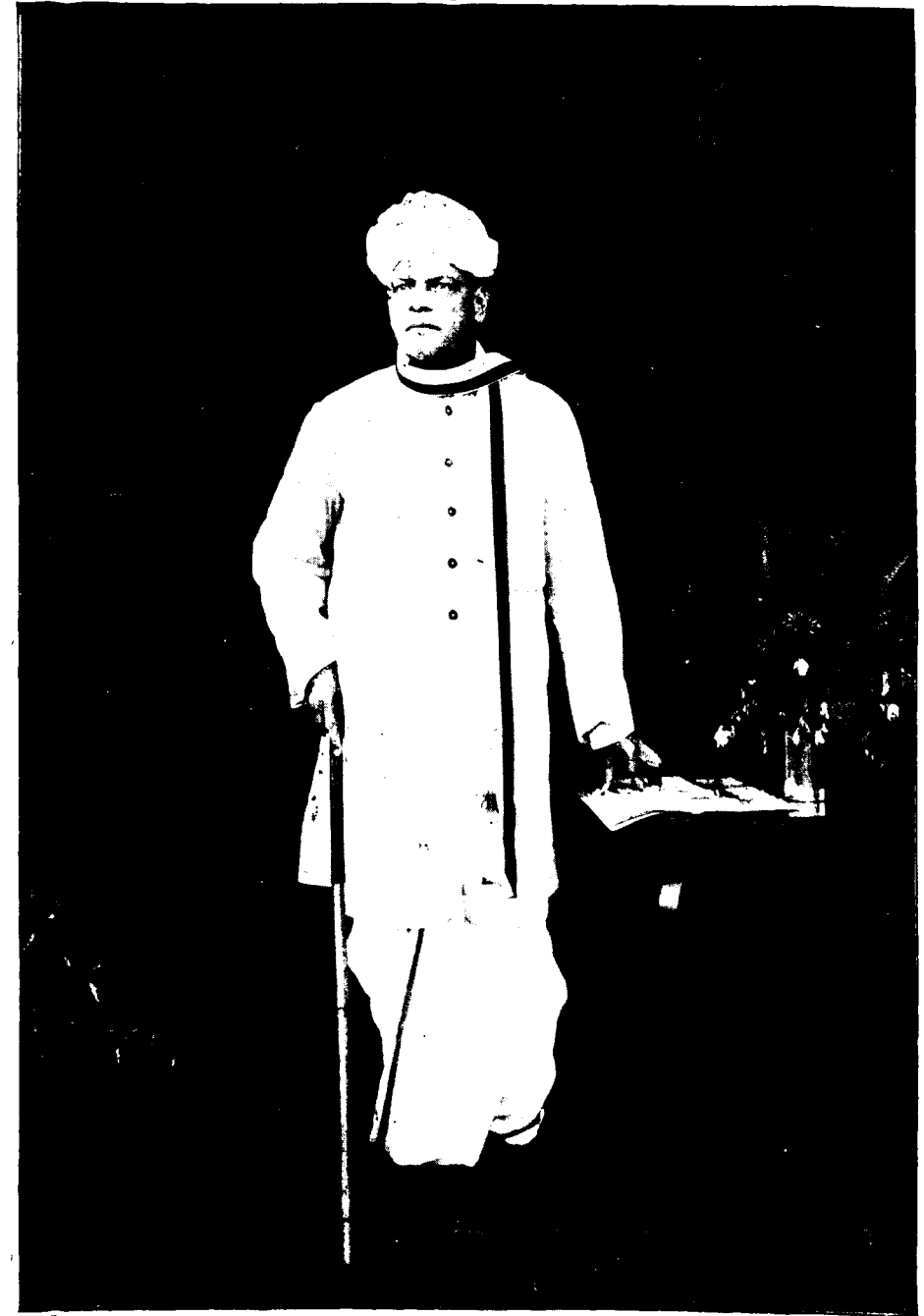
Five years have fled, five short years, since that proud day in the summer of 1935 when we welcomed you to this place and commended ourselves to your care and guidance. Long before that, indeed, as early as 1929, you had been promised to us and we had all but obtained you. But if, in that matter, the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor of the Uni-

versity proposed, the Government of India disposed. East Africa was the gainer by our loss. Your assumption of office here was deferred. But luckily, deferred only it was. It came off at last and our hearts rejoiced.

Short indeed has been the time during which you presided over the destinies of this University. But how useful to all, how glorious! You came, you saw, you improved. You have made the institution a place of universal knowledge. You gave our Department of Natural Science free scope to expand. You stabilised our Department of Philosophy. You have developed the Institute of Music. You have made the Tamil Research Institute permanent. The residents of the Hostel enjoy to-day the benefit of real Reading Rooms. Knowledge, to their eyes, rich with the spoils of time is made week after week to unroll her ample page. To you we owe the unique feature of our week-end talks. But the Library, we should say, has been your special favourite. The very brick walls and wooden shelves have become alive, as it were, at your magic touch; and as the tomes pour in, day after day, the louder the call for room, the readier the supply of it. Under your inspiration the library staff have realised more than ever that their function is to help readers to books and that books exist to be read.

You have made Annamalainagar really a place of universal learning. Scholars flock to it from all quarters. Their number has more than doubled itself in these five years, and so has the accommodation in the Hostel. In your choice of the new teachers, there is a good proportion of the alumni of our University. Augustus found Rome brick and left it marble; you found Annamalainagar a town and are to-day leaving it a city.

Beloved Sir, these concrete services we can recount and perhaps even presume to appraise. But how can we evaluate that noblest of all services that we have received at your hands—the sublime example of the spirit of service and sacrifice you have placed before us? In these days, for *nothing* have you given to the University your invaluable services. "Is there any provision in your Laws for an Honorary Vice-Chancellor?" you asked, and being told there was, "An Honorary Vice-Chancellor then I am" you declared. "Which University in the world would not give *anything*, to be under the stewardship of Mr. Sastri?" asked the Mahatma the other day, and each one of us said to himself in answer. "We are to-day under his stewardship, and we give nothing for it." And then the courtesy, the easy affability, the patience and forbearance that you have always exercised, have made the Vice-Chancellor's Bungalow a school of liberal education for us.



THE RT. HON'BLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI. P.C., C.H., LL.D.,
Vice-Chancellor (1935-40)

You have also given us an enhanced status in the academic world. In all gatherings of educationists in India, we, as Mr. Sastriar's colleagues, are assured of distinguished seats and honoured places.

We would gladly and earnestly beg that the day of our parting be put off at least by a year. But we have not got the heart to do so, seeing that your health cries for rest. We shall, at all times, profit by the examples and precepts you have given us these five years. We now pray, and shall ever pray, for a long life of health and strength for you, that the world might long draw on your experience and wisdom. We promise to give a good account of ourselves as your trusted colleagues and admiring disciples.

OUR EX-VICE-CHANCELLOR:

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan who was our Vice-Chancellor from 1929-1935 has been appointed Adviser to the Secretary of State for India. We heartily congratulate him on his attaining this unique position.

* * * * *

The Madras University has awarded the Degree of Doctor of Science to Mr. A. Narasinga Rao, M.A., L.T., Professor of Mathematics for his thesis.

We heartily congratulate Dr. A. Narasinga Rao on this distinction he has won.

* * * * *

Sri P. Vaidyanathan, M.A., Research Scholar in Economics was awarded a research scholarship by the University of Sydney, Australia. The Syndicate of this University has granted him a fellowship to enable him to prosecute his studies at Sydney.

* * * * *

Sri P. Panchapakasa Sastriar has been awarded the Degree of Master of Oriental Learning and Sri T. Appanna and Sri T. P. Palaniappa Pillai, the Degree of Bachelor of Oriental Learning by the Madras University.

FOUNDER'S DAY:

The Tenth Founder's Day was celebrated on the 30th September 1939. Sri T. T. Krishnamachariar, B.A., M.L.A., delivered the Address.

* * * * *

CONVOCATION:

The Ninth Annual Convocation of the University was held on Friday the 6th October, 1939. Dr. Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, LL.D., Kt., of Chettinad, Pro-Chancellor of the University presided. Mr. H. C. Papworth, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Presidency College, Madras, delivered the Address to the graduates of the year.

* * * * *

PUBLICATIONS:

The following books were published during the year:

Tamil Text-Book on Chemistry Vol. I By Sri N. Ananthavaidyanathan, M.A.

Nyayakulisa by Prof. R. Ramanujachariar and Sri K. Srinivasachariar.

Report on the working of Prohibition in Salem District by Sri C. Jagannathachari, M.A., M.Litt.

Jagannatha Panditha by Sri V. A. Ramaswami Sastriar, M.A.

Philosophy of Aesthetic Pleasure by Sri P. Panchapakesa Sastriar, M.O.L.

The Madras Agriculturist Relief Act—A study by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Nayudu and Sri P. Vaidyanathan, M.A.

The Syndicate has sanctioned the publication of the following books:

History of Gingee By Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachariar, M.A.

History of Tamil Literature By Sri Mahavidan R. Raghava Ayyangar.

The Nayaks of Tanjore By Sri V. Vridhagirisan, M.A., M.Litt.

Text-books on Physics in Tamil By Sri R. K. Visvanathan, M.A.

* * * * *

TEXT-BOOKS IN TAMIL:

Arrangements have been made with the Heads of Departments of Study for the preparation of suitable text-books in Tamil on the following subjects of study under Part III of the Intermediate:

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| 1. History. | 4. Botany. |
| 2. Economics. | 5. Zoology. |
| 3. Geometry. | 6. Educational Psychology. |

* * * * *

RESEARCH DEGREES:

The following candidates were awarded M.Litt. and M.Sc. Degree at the last Convocation:

Name	Degree	Subject
Sri N. V. Mallaiya, M.A.	M.Litt.	Sanskrit
Sri Kopparti Venkata Rao, M.A.	"	Economics
Sri V. Sitaraman B.Sc.	M.Sc.	Mathematics
Sri S. Aravamudhachari, B.A.	"	Chemistry
Sri K. Ganapathi, B.Sc.	"	"
Sri A. S. Narayanaswami, B.Sc. (Hons.).	"	Physics

* * * * *

The following candidates were declared qualified for the award of M.Sc. Degree.

Sri S. R. Govindarajan,	M.Sc.	Physics
Sri V. K. Srinivasan	"	Botany

The following candidates have been registered for the M.Litt., M.Sc. and Ph.D. Degrees:—

Sri N. V. Mallaiya, M.A., M.Litt.	Ph.D.	Sanskrit
Sri C. Jagannathachari, M.A., M.Litt.	Ph.D.	Economics
Sri S. Tiruvengadaitan, B.A. (Hons.)	M.Litt.	Economics
Sri D. Krishna Ayyar, B.Sc.	M.Sc.	Physics
Sri C. S. Krishnamurti, B.A.	M.Litt.	Economics
Sri V. S. Govindarajan, B.Sc.	M.Sc.	Chemistry
Sri S. Krishnamurti, B.Sc.	"	"
Sri S. Ramaswami, B.Sc.	"	"

Sri C. R. Srinivasan.	M.Sc.	Botany
Sri C. K. Srinivasan, B.A. (Hons.)	M.Litt.	History
Sri T. S. Balasubrahmanyam, B.Sc.	M.Sc.	Botany
Sri R. Lakshminarasimhan, B.A. (Hons.).	M.Litt.	History

* * * * *

HONOURS COURSES IN BOTANY :

The Syndicate has sanctioned the proposal for starting Honours Courses in Botany from July next.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Brown University, Rhode Island :

Selected topics in function theory of a complex variable by Otto Syasz.

Theory of abstract spaces by David Tamarkin

The Service

Lingnan Science Journal, Vol. 19, No. 1.

The Modern Student

The Empire Times

Madras Y.M.C.A. Bulletin

Subodin

Indian Swarajya

The Journal of the Greater India Society

A Journal of Indian Renaissance

Rektorwechsel an der Universitet Leipzig

Travaux de l'Institut Mathematique de Tbilissi I

Academie des Sciences de l'U. R. S. S.—Filial Georgienne

On the Devonian Coelacanthids of Germany with special reference to the Dermal Skeletar (Stockholm).

Ethnology, Folklore and Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.

E. A. Weiss : Einfuhrung in die Liniengeometrie und Kinematik

Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society

Osaka Imperial University : Collected papers from the Faculty of Science

Series A Mathematics Vol. V.

B Physics " " "

C Chemistry " " "

Man in India, Volume XVIII, Decr. '39

Spolia Zeylanica.

Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society.

Scripta Mathematica.

Gram Udyog Patrika.

Hamburgische Universitat-Reden.

Report of the South Indian National Association and Ranade Library.

Kungl Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Handlingar Tredje Serien Band 14 Nos. 1 to 3.

1. Das Wachstum der Korperlange des Menschen.

2. Studies in the Gems Astelia Banks Et Solander.

3. Examen Rosarum Sneciae Granskringavden Svenska Florans Rosa-Former.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (Contd.)

Etudes sur un probleme de Majoration.
The Journal of the Madras Geographical Association.
Wealth and Welfare.
Hermathena : Literature, Science and Philosophy.
The Indian Historical Quarterly.
Annales de Universite de Paris, July-Oct. '39
New Indian Antiquary.
The Modern Education Society, Poona, Annual Report.
Madras Youngmen.
The Jaina Antiquary, Vol. IV, No. 11.
The Alcyonarian Genus Bathyalcyon (Stockholm) Band 16, No. 5.
Litorale Amphipoden des Trophischen Pazifiks Band 16, No. 6.
Aminoff (G) etc., Uber Die Oxydation Von Zinkblende-Einkrinstallen,
An Hand Von Elektroneninterferenzen Studiert.
Nagaripracharani Patrika.
Indian Academy of Sciences—Abstracts of papers.
The Commercial Review.
The Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
Indian photography and cinematography
The Rural India

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Hindustan Review.
Half Yearly Journal of the Mysore University.
Economica, London.
Philosophical Quarterly.
Journal of the Indian Chemical Society.
Reading University Gazette.
Mysore Economic Journal.
Chemical Abstracts, Easton Pa.
The Punjab University Gazette.
Journal of the Bombay University.
Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
Publications by the Oriental Library, Baroda.
Publications by Kungl. Universitetes Bibliotek, Uppsala, Sweden
Publications by Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai, Japan.
Journal of the Madras University.
Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient—
Hanoi (Indo-China).
Djwa—Java-Institute, Jogjakarta, Java.
Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal—Annual Report and
Monographs
Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy.
Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
Indian Culture.
Scripta Mathematica.
Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Review of Philosophy and Religion.
Publications of the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural relations with
foreign countries, Russia.
Proceedings of the Durham Philosophical Society, Newcastle.
Collected papers from the Faculty of Science, Osaka.
Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society.
Science and Culture, Calcutta.
Indian Co-operative Review, Madras.
Epigraphica Indica.
Spolia Zeylanica.
Publications of the R. Swedish Academy of Sciences, Stockholm.
Bijdragen Tot De Taal, Land-En Volkenkunde Van Nederland.
Indie-s-Gravenhage.

EXCHANGE LIST (Contd.)

Monthly Weather Report, Poona.
 Scientific Reports of the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research.
 The Aryan Path.
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 Journal of the Madras Geographical Association.
 Man in India
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 Publications by the Industrial Intelligence and Research Bureau
 Simla
 The Mathematics Teacher, New York.
 Duke Mathematical Journal
 Publications of the Brown University, U.S.A.
 Transactions of Tbilissian Mathematical Institute, Russia
 Lingnan Science Journal
 London University Gazette
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16. Report on the Working of Prohibition in Salem.	C. Jagannathachari, M.A., M.Litt.	

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 Annamalainagar.

17. The University Journal. Editor Dr. B. V. Narayanasvami Naidu.
 Annual Subscription Rs. 7-0-0 (Internal) 10s. (Foreign)

In the Press :—

A Text-book in Tamil on Chemistry (Vol. II). Mr. N. Anantavaidyanathan.
 A Text-book in Tamil on Physics. Mr. R. K. Visvanathan.
 The History of Gingee. Rao Saheb Prof. C. S. Srinivasachariar.
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