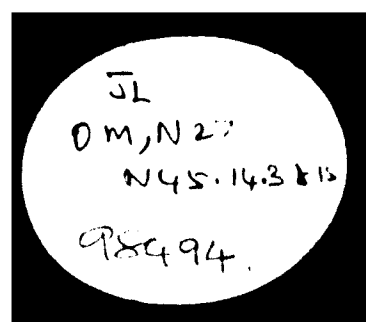




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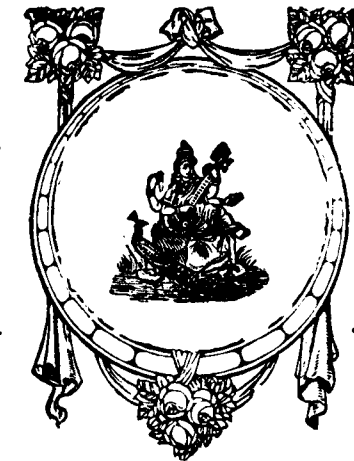
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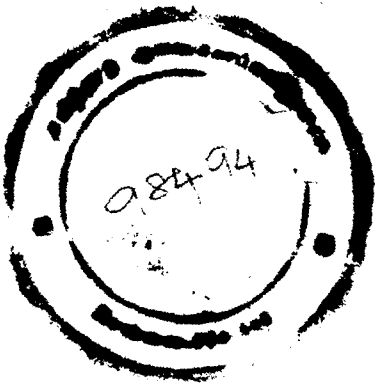
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## OUR FIRST PRESIDENT

The *Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute* and the *Journal of Oriental Research* published under its auspices have sustained an irreparable loss in the sad demise of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., D.LITT., LL.D., on Wednesday, the 17th April, 1946. India to-day mourns the loss of one of her greatest sons. The founding of the *Institute* was due largely to his wise guidance, his unswerving enthusiasm, and his deep love and admiration for the late Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri. It was his earnest appeal for funds, backed by his magnetic personality, that called forth a hearty response from many lovers of Indian culture and patrons of Oriental learning. Rightly, therefore, the Institute at its first general meeting unanimously chose him as its first President. With his characteristic modesty, he felt diffident to accept it and even expressed doubts as to his fitness for the place. But the members of the *Institute* with one voice acclaimed him as their worthy President. He was the finest flower of Indian culture and his heart instinctively throbbed with the keen appreciation of the high ethical ideals of India's glorious past. His love for Sanskrit and its literature was great and his study of ancient Indian classics was thorough and accurate. His mastery of the Sanskrit language, its idiom and grammar enabled him to enter into the true spirit of our great epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. During the short period of eighteen months as Agent in South Africa, he acted not only as the trusted ambassador of the Government of India, but also as the eloquent messenger of India's ancient heritage. His marvellous expositions of the fundamentals of India's culture and Philosophy made a deep impression on the South African whites, and served a great deal, to liquidate their unreasoned prejudice against Indians. Perhaps, his greatest contribution to the spread of Indian culture, was the memorable series of thirty lectures he delivered under the auspices of the Madras Sanskrit Academy in 1944-45 in the Madras Sanskrit College premises, on the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. These lectures rightly attracted huge audiences, every week. His exposition of the leading characters of the great epic was truly marvellous and made a deep abiding impression on the minds of his hearers. Time cannot efface from the memory of those who saw and listened, the silvery voice, the charming face lit with a benignant smile, the measured cadence of his accentuation, sweet as the flow of music of the Veena, his brilliant portrayal of the lofty ethical idealism of Rama, Sita and Hanuman, his faultless idiomatic English and his chiselled mellifluous parasology. On the day this series was finished, a grateful and admiring public



By *dharma* in this view, we have to understand *karma* or voluntary acts like sacrifices that are conducive to some good.<sup>1</sup> These acts, broadly speaking, are of two types: those that are *kāmya* or 'optional' and those that are *nitya* or 'obligatory'. It is clear that a similar distinction can be made in ordinary or secular activities also; and we shall use them as illustrations, though they may not be *dharma* in the strict sense of the term.

(1) *Kāmya-karma*: To start with a simple example from ordinary activities. Let us think of a doctor prescribing some medicine to a sick person. The doctor's instruction 'Take this medicine'<sup>2</sup> leads to a certain activity whose carrying out by the patient secures (or is expected to secure) for him the desired end, viz., restoration of health. The direction is conveyed by the imperative 'Take'; but the desire for the end sought is external to it, being prior to the direction. Here the act of taking the medicine (*dhātvartha*) is the means (*karaṇa*) to the attainment of the result (*phala*): the agent (*kartā*) in the act is the person who is ill; and the doctor's prescription indicates the fitness of the means to the realisation of the desired end (*iṣṭa-sāadhanatva*).

Similarly in the usually cited ritualistic example of the *jyotiṣṭoma*,<sup>3</sup> the sacrificial act or *yāga* is the means to the attainment of *svarga* or heavenly bliss;<sup>4</sup> the agent is one who is desirous of it and is otherwise qualified, according to the

1. यागादिरेव धर्मः Acts that lead to an evil result are, by contrast, termed *adharma*. The word *karma* is wider in its significance, and is applied to both *dharma* and *adharma*.

2. Cf. *Tarka-saṃgraha-dīpikā*: आरोग्यकामः भैषज्यपानं कुर्यात्.

3. ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत.

4. The term *svarga*, which once meant 'heaven', has no geographical significance in the later systems generally. It is usually explained as meaning 'unalloyed and continuous' or ideal bliss, though it often implies that it is to be experienced elsewhere

यत्र दुःखेन संभिन्नं न च प्रस्तमनन्तरम् ।

अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत्सुखं स्वःपदास्पदम् ॥

Cf. Sabara on Jaimini Sūtra, VI. i. 1.

scriptures, to offer that sacrifice;<sup>1</sup> and the imperative or, more strictly, the potential suffix<sup>2</sup> (*lin*) indicates the fitness of the means to the realisation of the desired end. But there is one important difference. In the previous example, the result that follows is directly traceable to the taking of the medicine; but here it is obvious that no such direct relation can exist between the act and the result, for one has to wait for the fruit of the sacrificial act performed in this life till after death. To bridge the intervening gulf between them is postulated an *apūrva* or some unseen power or capacity which endures in the agent until the result is attained.<sup>3</sup> This mediated causation of the desired end is a distinguishing feature of ritualistic activity, as compared with secular commands like that considered above. The *apūrva* here is described as a *kalpya* ('postulated'), which means that it is not expressly mentioned in the Vedic injunction but is only deduced from it.

(2) *Nitya-karma*: In both the above instances, it is the end that determines the activity. But there are activities secular as well as ritualistic with which no such result is explicitly associated. 'Fetch that book',<sup>4</sup> said by a teacher to his pupil (say), may be taken as an instance of the former type. 'One ought to worship the goddess of *sandhyā* every day'<sup>5</sup> may be given as an instance of activities which are similar in the sphere of ritual, for no end is mentioned in the scripture in their case as in that of optional deeds. But these commands also are followed by appropriate activities. So the question arises as to whether they serve any end or not. In accordance with the general principle admitted in this view, viz., that no voluntary activity is conceivable in the absence of an idea of a

1. The result is taken to follow necessarily, provided the rules of the sacrifice have all been carefully observed. The certainty of the result here distinguishes this activity from that in the above example.

2. For the sake of uniformity, we shall generally speak of the imperative suffix.

3. There are rites which yield their fruit in the present life; but, even in their case, an *apūrva* is assumed.

4. Strictly, this would be an instance of *naimittika-karma* and not of *nitya-karma*. But the distinction is of no importance in regard to the point under consideration here.

5. अहरहस्संध्यामुपासीत

suitable end, it is laid down that here also an end is intended, though it is not expressly stated. Ordinarily, that end is explained as the avoidance of some unwelcome result (*pratyavāya-parihāra*), which would follow if the behests were neglected. Thus all voluntary activity, according to this view, is prompted by the desire for an end.<sup>1</sup> The only distinction is that in activities of the first or *kāmya* type, the end is positive, while in those of the second or *nitya* type it is negative.

## II

The view that we propose to consider specifically in this article is that of the Prābhākara school of Mīmāṃsā.<sup>2</sup> In dealing with the present topic, the writers of that school begin with a discussion of optional deeds (*kāmya-karmas*) and then extend the conclusion reached in their case to that of obligatory deeds (*nitya-karmas*).<sup>3</sup> It will be better for our purpose here to reverse this order, and to take up the latter for first consideration. The previous view, as we have just stated, associates an end with obligatory deeds also, though there is no reference to it in the scriptural texts prescribing them. The Prābhākara school criticises it for doing so. The commands for which such *karmas* stand, it maintains, are meant to be carried out for their own sake and not for any end. Thus the mandate or *niyoga*, which is the meaning of the imperative suffix, becomes all important; and it is because this *niyoga* is identified with *dharma* that we described the latter as an intrinsic value according to this school. The *niyoga* or *dharma* is also named *kārya* ('duty'), inasmuch as the person commanded sets about accomplishing it under a sense of obligation (*mamedam kāryam iti*).

It is not merely that there is no scriptural warrant to associate any end with such deeds; to judge from the form of the injunction, there is no logical need either, it is added, for doing so. The only two elements necessary to make a mandate significant are (1) the person (or class of persons) to whom it

1. इष्टसाधनताज्ञानं प्रवर्तकम्.

2. The view of Kumārila differs from both this view and the previous one, but it is more like the latter than the former.

3. See e.g., PP. p. 192.

is addressed (*niyojya*)<sup>1</sup> and (2) its content (*viṣaya*).<sup>2</sup> That is, a mandate should indicate who is to obey it, and what particular act he should do to obey it. In the illustrative example of this type of *karma*, cited above from the scriptures, those who are to obey the behest are the three higher castes, and its content is the worshipping (*upa+ās*) of the goddess of *sāṃdhya*. When these two are known (the latter, with the necessary details), the mandate becomes fully intelligible and nothing else remains to be known. The application of this principle of interpretation to the corresponding secular activity instanced above, viz., 'Fetch that book' is clear. It is the pupil that is to obey, and he fulfils the command when he takes the book to the teacher. There is as little need to think of any end that the *niyojya* seeks in the one case as in the other.

These are not, however, the only types of *karma* taught in the Veda or are known to us in everyday life for there are, as we know, optional deeds also. Let us now consider the Vedic injunction about one of them, viz., the *jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice. Here there is a potential form (*yajeta*) which signifies a behest. But what is it that is to be accomplished (*sādhya*)? According to the previous view, it is *svarga*. But Prābhākara contends that there is nothing in the form of the verb itself to connect it with that end. This form (*yajeta*) consists of a root and a suffix. While the suffix connotes the command, the root, as in the previous example, points to the sacrifice as the content of that command. It is this command or *niyoga*, he says, that is principally to be carried out here also. But a mandate, as we have seen, needs not only a content to become significant, but also the *niyojya* to whom it is addressed; and it is to supply this need that the other expression, viz., *svarga-kāma* is used in the injunction. These two needs being supplied, the mandate becomes fully intelligible, and requires no further supplementation.

But the expression *svarga-kāma*, which defines the person addressed, involves a reference to an end, for it means 'he who seeks *svarga*'. The end, *as such*, may not be needed for the mandate to become significant; but it happens here to be

1. The *niyojya* is defined as follows:

नियोज्यस्स तु कार्ये यस्स्वकीयत्वेन बुध्यते (PP. p. 182).

2. Strictly, it is the content of the will (*kṛti*) to carry out the *niyoga*. See VR. iii. st. 15-7.

included in the description of the *niyojya*<sup>1</sup> and cannot therefore be dismissed as irrelevant to the injunction. It may not be required for making the mandate intelligible; but the idea of the *niyojya* will be incomplete without it. What then is the status of the *phala* here? The answer is that it is a *consequence* of the *niyoga* which is to be accomplished. That is to say, when the mandate is carried out, the end ensues as a matter of course.<sup>2</sup> But the *niyoga* or *dharma* is not therefore to be regarded as its means or operative cause (*karana*); it is only a necessary antecedent to it. Its operative cause is the sacrifice,<sup>3</sup> as in the other view, so that the *yāga* becomes the content of the command as well as the means to the *phala*. But the latter is only a secondary function it discharges, for unless the mandate is first accomplished through it, the *svarga* will not ensue. Further, this aspect of the *yāga*, viz., its serving as the means to *svarga* is not included in the injunction (*aśabda*), but is in the nature of a corollary (*aupādānika*) to it.<sup>4</sup> The result of describing *svarga* as a mere consequent, and not as the end directly aimed at, is that the *niyoga* occupies the foremost place in the injunctive situation here also as it does in obligatory deeds.<sup>5</sup> Thus we see that the Prābhākara school tries to assign the same central position to the *niyoga* in activities of both the types we are considering.

There is one other point to consider, viz., the exact nature of the *kārya* here or the meaning of the imperative suffix.<sup>6</sup> In the case of the secular activity mentioned above, the doctor's direction is carried out by taking the medicine. It is this act (*kriyā*) that, according to the present view, is the *kārya* there,

1. It is consequently described here as नियोज्यविशेषण.

Cf. PP. न हि फलं फलतयान्वीयते, किं त्वधिकारिविशेषणतया (p. 191).

2. फलसिद्धिस्तु नान्तरीयका (TR. p. 66).

3. VR. iii. st. 51-7.

4. VR. iii. st. 18. The word *jyotiṣṭomena*, with its instrumental suffix, occurring in the injunction, may suggest that this aspect also is expressly mentioned in it. But it is explained as appositional in character, and as meant to *specify* the sacrifice referred to in *yajeta*. See VR. iv. st. 74.

5. Cf. PP. आत्मसिद्धयनुकूलस्य नियोज्यस्य प्रसिद्धये ।

कुर्वत्स्वर्गादिकमपि प्रधानं कार्यमेव नः ॥ (p. 190).

and the result (*phala*) follows directly from it. But in the case of the sacrifice, the result is to accrue only in a future life, which necessarily entails a break between the action and its fruit. There is consequently a need for something to link them together; and it is the accomplishment of the latter that is signified by the suffix here. Hence we must give up the idea that it is the mere *act* that is always the *kārya* ('duty'), as we have hitherto implied, and assume in its stead an enduring something (*sthāyeva kincit*), which results from the sacrificial act and serves as the antecedent of the result.<sup>1</sup> It is this additional element and not, as in the previous view, the mere act that is meant by the term *dharma*. It is also called *apārva* (which literally means 'never before'), because it cannot be known except through the scriptures.<sup>2</sup> While in secular mandates, the imperative suffix thus stands for *kriyā-kārya* ('act-duty'), in Vedic mandates it does for *apārva-kārya* ('apārva-duty'). Both forms of *kārya* are the same, for both alike prompt activity.<sup>3</sup> The only distinction is that while the first is knowable empirically, the second is not. In other words, the conception of *dharma* is unique,<sup>4</sup> and so is the source of our knowledge of it.

But, if the potential ending or *līn*, as it is technically called, connotes what is unique and is altogether beyond our experience, it may be asked how we are able to know it. We interpret Vedic statements with our knowledge of the meanings of words we commonly use.<sup>5</sup> If the *līn* here means something wholly unknown to us, it amounts to saying that we cannot at all understand the Vedic injunctions containing words with this suffix. This objection is met by pointing out that not *all* the words in a sentence need to be previously known for understanding it. It will suffice if we know the majority of them. The sense of the remaining one or two words, we can generally

1. VR. i. st. 53-4

2. Cf. PP. क्रियादिभिन्नं यत्कार्यं वेद्यं मानान्तरैर्न तत् ।

अतो मानान्तरापूर्वमपूर्वमिति गीयते ॥ (p. 187).

3. कार्यताज्ञानं प्रवर्तकम्. See PP. p. 180. Contrast Note 14.

4. See PP. p. 192.

5. Cf. what is known as *loka-veda-nyāya* (Jaimini Sūtra, I. iii. 8-9, 30-5).

gather with the aid of those whose meanings we already know. It is thus that the meaning of the *lin* suffix has been ascertained to be *apūrva* in the sense explained. In the example we have selected, it is the expression *svarga-kāma* occurring in the sentence that leads, as already indicated, to this conclusion, viz., that the suffix cannot refer to the sacrificial act as the 'duty' to be done, because it is transient, but to something else which is accomplished by that act. That is the primary meaning (*vācyārtha*) of *lin*, because it is used in that sense in the Veda. The *apūrva* is accordingly described here as *vācyāpūrva* and, though bearing the same name, is distinguished from the *kalpyāpūrva* of the rival view. The suffix, no doubt, means the mere act as 'duty' (*kriyā-kārya*) in secular statements, but that is only its secondary sense (*lakṣyārtha*).<sup>1</sup> In other words, there is not, in the case of secular duties, the same kind of obligation as in that of the Vedic injunction. If we still speak of them as 'duties', it is only by courtesy that we do so. They have a utilitarian basis or presuppose some kind of explicit or implicit convention.<sup>2</sup>

### III

We may now summarise the differences between the two views, and conclude by making one or two general observations on them. To begin with optional deeds. In the injunction about the *jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice, the expression *svarga-kāma* represents, according to the first view, the agent in the act of sacrificing. The root in *yajeta*, the second word, denotes the rite as the means to *svarga* which is to be achieved; and the suffix signifies the fact that it brings about a good. It is this *yāga* that is *dharma* here, and it leads to *svarga* not directly but through what is described as *kalpyāpūrva*. According to the

1. PP. p. 196. Here we find the probable reason why, as above noted, the works of the Prābhākara school, in discussing this topic, begin with optional deeds. It is to explain the primary sense of *lin* first.

2. Cf. Śābara on Jaimini Sūtra, I. iii. 2. Here naturally arises the question whether moral duties are to be reckoned as *dharma* or not. The answer to this question depends upon what we exactly mean by 'moral duties'. Generally speaking, they fall, according to the orthodox view, under *dharma* since 'scripture' (*śāstra*), in its wider sense, comprehends *Smṛtis* and *śiṣṭācāra* which, together with the Veda, treat fully of morality.

second view, on the other hand, the first expression defines the *niyōjya*. The suffix in *yajeta* points to the mandate; and the root in it, to its content. It is this mandate or *apūrva*, which is to be carried out, that is *dharma* here and not the *yāga* as in the previous view. Owing to the characterisation of the *niyōjya* as *svarga-kāma*, the injunction involves a reference to *svarga* also; but this *phala*, which necessarily presupposes the accomplished *niyoga*, is explained as its consequence and therefore as not affecting its primacy. If we overlook for the moment the divergence in the meaning of *apūrva* in the two views, we may say that both recognise *apūrva* and *phala*, but that the emphasis they lay on them is quite different. More or less the same contrast is found between the two views in regard to obligatory deeds also; only while the one recognises an end (*phala*) in their case too, the other refuses to associate it with them in any sense.

We have stated that the end sought in all voluntary activity, according to the first view, is either pleasure or the avoidance of pain; and this may make the doctrine appear fundamentally hedonistic. Without entering into the details of this complicated question, we may state briefly that the objection does not stand for, though pleasure or happiness is represented as the aim of all voluntary activity, the pursuit of certain pleasure is condemned in unequivocal terms. Or, as we might put it otherwise, it is *śreyas* alone that is commended and not *preyas*.<sup>1</sup> The same conclusion follows also from the recognition here of 'prohibited deeds' (*pratiṣiddha-karma*), which include acts like inflicting injury on living beings (*himsā*), in addition to the two already mentioned, viz., optional and obligatory deeds. The criterion of *dharma* is not thus pleasure or happiness, but that which distinguishes between worthy and unworthy pleasures. As the majority of those who hold the present view, we may add, believe that unaided human reason cannot discover this distinction, they rest for a knowledge of it on scriptural teaching or revelation.

Unlike the above, the school of Prābhākara holds that, in judging the worth of activities coming under *dharma*, the ele-

1. Cf. Śābara on Jaimini Sūtra, I. i. 2:

य एव श्रेयस्करस्त एव धर्मशब्देनोच्यते.....यः पुरुषं

निश्श्रेयसेन संयुनक्ति स एव धर्मशब्देनोच्यते.

# VEDIC STUDIES : III. THE ROOT *SVAS*, *SUṢ*

BY

DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH

(Continued from Vol. XIV, page 294).

- (3) 1, 140, 5: <sup>1</sup>ād <sup>1</sup>asya <sup>1</sup>te <sup>1</sup>dhvasāyanto <sup>1</sup>vr̥therate  
<sup>1</sup>kṛṣṇam <sup>1</sup>abhvaṃ <sup>1</sup>mahi <sup>1</sup>varpaḥ <sup>1</sup>karikrataḥ |  
<sup>1</sup>yāt <sup>1</sup>sīm <sup>1</sup>māhīm <sup>1</sup>avāniṃ <sup>1</sup>prābhi <sup>1</sup>marmīśad  
<sup>1</sup>abhiśvasan <sup>1</sup>stanayann <sup>1</sup>eti <sup>1</sup>nānadat ||

"Then those (flames) of this (Agni) move swiftly forward destroying the black being and putting on great splendour when he goes caressing the wide earth, roaring, thundering, resounding". See VVSt. I, 204. Compare also 1, 65, 8; 10, 45, 4; 1, 94, 10; 1, 58, 2 and 4, which have all been cited above and which, like this verse, describe the forest-fire.

- (4) 5, 29, 4: <sup>1</sup>ād <sup>1</sup>rōdasī <sup>1</sup>vītarāṃ <sup>1</sup>vī <sup>1</sup>śkabhāyat  
<sup>1</sup>saṃvivvyānaś <sup>1</sup>cid <sup>1</sup>bhiyase <sup>1</sup>mṛgāṃ <sup>1</sup>kaḥ |  
<sup>1</sup>jīgartim <sup>1</sup>indro <sup>1</sup>apajārgurāṇaḥ  
<sup>1</sup>prati <sup>1</sup>śvasantam <sup>1</sup>ava <sup>1</sup>dānavam <sup>1</sup>han ||

"He then established firmly earth and heaven wide apart, even when wearing (them); he frightened the monster; spurning the swallower, Indra, opposing, smote the demon who was roaring".

*Jīgartim*, in pāda a, is a hap. leg., and I have followed Sāyaṇa (girantam ācchādayantam), Roth (Pw), Grassmann and Ludwig in deriving it from the root *gar* or *gir* 'to swallow' and interpreting it as above. It is possible however that it may be a derivative of *gar* or *gir* 'to invoke' and signify 'crying loudly'. Or, is it a proper name and denotes a demon like the name *suṣṇa*?

*apajārgurāṇaḥ*, in the same pāda, has been explained differently as *ācchādanād vimocayan* (Sāyaṇa), 'making him

## PART II] VEDIC STUDIES: III. THE ROOT *SVAS*, *SUṢ* 49

disgorge what had been swallowed' (Ludwig), 'swallowing' (Grassmann, *RV. Über.*), and 'threatening, spurning' (Roth) by the above-mentioned interpreters. The first three derive it from the root *gar* or *gir* 'to swallow', while Roth regards it as a derivative of the root *gur* (*guri udyamane*). In the above translation, I have followed the view of Roth; compare the use of *apagūrya* in 5, 32, 6:

<sup>1</sup>tyam <sup>1</sup>cid <sup>1</sup>itthā <sup>1</sup>katpayam <sup>1</sup>śāyānam <sup>1</sup>asūrye  
<sup>1</sup>tamasi <sup>1</sup>vāvr̥dhānam |  
<sup>1</sup>taṃ <sup>1</sup>cin <sup>1</sup>mandāno <sup>1</sup>vṛṣabhaḥ <sup>1</sup>sutasyoccat  
<sup>1</sup>indro <sup>1</sup>apagūryā <sup>1</sup>jaghāna.

It is the opinion of the above-named interpreters that *mṛgām*, in pāda b, like *dānavam* in d, refers to the demon Vṛtra who is referred to as *ahi* in the preceding verse: *tad dhi hatvāṃ mānuṣe gā āvindad ahann ahim papicān indro asya*.

In connection with pādas ab and Indra's 'wearing' of heaven and earth, compare 1, 173, 6: *sam vivrya indro vṛjanam na bhūmā bharti svadhāvān opasam ita dyām* "Indra wore the earth as (also) the middle world, the mighty one wears the sky as a head-ornament". Compare also 2, 17, 2: *śūro yō yutsu tantam parivryata śr̥ṣaṇi dyām mahinā praty amuñcata* 'the hero (Indra), who in battles, covered his body and, by his greatness, wore the heaven (as an ornament) on his head'; and 8, 14, 5: *yajñā indram avardhaya yad bhūmim cy avartayat cakrāṇā opasam divi* 'the sacrifice strengthened Indra so that he unrolled the earth and made a head-ornament of the sky'.

- (5) 8, 21, 11: <sup>1</sup>tvayā <sup>1</sup>ha <sup>1</sup>svid <sup>1</sup>yujā <sup>1</sup>vayam  
<sup>1</sup>prati <sup>1</sup>śvasantam <sup>1</sup>vṛṣabha <sup>1</sup>bruvimahi |  
<sup>1</sup>samsthe <sup>1</sup>janasya <sup>1</sup>gomataḥ ||

"(O) thou strong one, may we, with thee as companion, reply to the roaring one, in the encounter with people possessing cows".

*Pratibruvāmahi* 'may we reply' = 'may we overcome', as explained by Sāyaṇa (*nirākariṣyāmaḥ*). *samsthe janasya gomataḥ* seems to be a periphrasis for *gosātau* 'battle for cows'; *śvasantam* = *garjantam*, 'one who talks loudly'.

(6) 10, 94, 6: ugrā<sup>1</sup> i<sup>1</sup>va prava<sup>1</sup>hanta<sup>1</sup>ḥ samā<sup>1</sup>yamuḥ<sup>1</sup>  
 sāka<sup>1</sup>m yuktā<sup>1</sup> vṛṣa<sup>1</sup>ṇo bibh<sup>1</sup>rato dhura<sup>1</sup>ḥ |  
 ya<sup>1</sup>c ch<sup>1</sup>vasanto jagra<sup>1</sup>sānā<sup>1</sup> arā<sup>1</sup>viṣuḥ<sup>1</sup>  
 śṛ<sup>1</sup>ṇva eṣā<sup>1</sup>m protha<sup>1</sup>tho arva<sup>1</sup>tām i<sup>1</sup>va ||

"Like strong horses drawing (a chariot, they have exerted themselves; yoked together, the strong ones carry the poles. When they swallow (i.e., pound on the Soma shoots), making a loud sound, roaring, the sound made by them is heard like the neighing of horses".

This verse is addressed to the *grāvāṇaḥ*, the stones that press the juice from the stalks of the Soma plant. It is the opinion of the RV poets that the sound made by these pressing stones is very loud; and the author of hymn 10, 94 in which this verse occurs has said of them in vv. 4, 12 that they 'make the earth resound' (*āghoṣayantaḥ pṛthivīm upadibhiḥ*) and that they 'have rent heaven and earth with their roar' (*ā dyām ravena pṛthivīm aśuśravuḥ*). Compare also the expressions *ślokaṁ ghoṣaṁ bharatha*, *abhi krandanti*, *arāviṣuḥ* and *krośanti* used of them in vv. 1-4 of the same hymn, and likewise 5, 36, 4 explained below.

(7) 10, 48, 6: aha<sup>1</sup>m eta<sup>1</sup>n cha<sup>1</sup>svasato dvā<sup>1</sup>-dve<sup>1</sup>-  
 ndra<sup>1</sup>m ye vā<sup>1</sup>jra<sup>1</sup>m yudha<sup>1</sup>ye 'kr̥<sup>1</sup>ṇvata<sup>1</sup> |  
 āhva<sup>1</sup>yamānān<sup>1</sup> ava<sup>1</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>nmanā<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>m  
 dṛ<sup>1</sup>ḥā vada<sup>1</sup>nn anama<sup>1</sup>sya<sup>1</sup>ur nama<sup>1</sup>svina<sup>1</sup>ḥ ||

*dṛḥā vadan*, in pāda d, is an unusual combination of words and difficult to interpret. This expression occurs in 3, 30, 5 *utābhaye puruhūta śravobhir eko dṛḥam avado vṛtrahā san*, which too is addressed to Indra. Sāyaṇa explains this half-verse as *utaityāmantrāṇe | he indra puruhūta purubhir bahubhir yajvabhir āhūta | yad vā devair asurebhyo rakṣārtham bahu-vāram āhūta | śravobhir vīryair upetaḥ ekaḥ asahāyas tvam vṛtrahā vṛtra-śatror hantā san abhaye asurebhyah sakāśān mā bibhīteḥ devān prati yad vākyaṁ avadaḥ avocaḥ tad vākyaṁ dṛḥam satyam eva*, while Geldner, Grassmann and Ludwig translate it (RV. Über.) as "And, O thou that art much invoked, in fearlessness, thou hast, with renown, alone made a firm speech, as the killer of Vṛtra". "Then thou alone didst smite the solid fortress with might, without fear, as the killer

# PART II] VEDIC STUDIES: III. THE ROOT *SVAS*, *SUṢ* 51

of Vṛtra, O thou that art much invoked". "And, in security, O thou that art much invoked, thou didst, through thy glorious deeds, speak alone, as the killer of Vṛtra, what is infallible", respectively in their RV. Über. Pāla d of 10, 48, 6, on the other hand, is rendered as 'with a powerful shout, I unbending, those that bent' by Grassmann, and as 'forcefully addressing, [I.] the not-prayer, those that prayed' by Ludwig, while Sāyaṇa has explained it as *namasyur namanavato balān nāmayitvā anamasyur apranati-śilas san dṛḥā dṛḥāni bhaya-janakāni sthirāni vacanāni vadan*.

I am inclined to believe that Grassmann's interpretation of 3, 30, 5 is on right lines, and I therefore translate 10, 48, 6 as:

"These persons, who, talking loudly, challenging, made Indra and the vajra fight, did I smite with my weapon, making them bend, [I.] Indra, unbending, and shouting loudly at the solid (fortresses)."

Regarding the expression *dṛḥā vadan*, compare the sentence *gotrā gatām āṅgirasō gṛṇanti* 'the Aṅgirasas sing at the mountains of the cows, that is, speak loudly at the mountain-fortresses imprisoning the cows' in 6, 65, 5 (explained above) in which the poet continues with the words *cy arkeṇa bibhidur brāhmaṇa ca* 'they have, by means of a spell, a magic formula, split them open'. The word *dṛḥā* refers to the same mountain-fortresses or prisons; but there is, in 10, 48, 6, nothing to correspond to the sentence *cy arkeṇa bibhidur brāhmaṇa ca*. The expression *dṛḥā vadan* seems therefore to include the idea of 'breaking open' also; compare Grassmann's translation (cited above) of 3, 30, 5. The root *vad*, in *vacan*, does not signify 'to talk', but 'to make a loud sound', the sense which it has in the hymn 10, 94 addressed to the pressing stones.

(8) 1, 30, 16: śa<sup>1</sup>śvad<sup>1</sup> indra<sup>1</sup>ḥ pō<sup>1</sup>pruthad<sup>1</sup>bhir<sup>1</sup> jigā<sup>1</sup>ya  
 nā<sup>1</sup>nadadbhi<sup>1</sup>ḥ śa<sup>1</sup>śvasadbhir<sup>1</sup> dhanā<sup>1</sup>ni  
 sā<sup>1</sup> no hira<sup>1</sup>ṇyara<sup>1</sup>tham<sup>1</sup> dā<sup>1</sup>msā<sup>1</sup>nāvā<sup>1</sup>nt  
 sā<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup>ḥ sanitā<sup>1</sup> sanaye<sup>1</sup> sā<sup>1</sup> no 'dāt<sup>1</sup> .

Compare also the expression *ṛkṛabhir gōḥ* 'singing towards the cows' in 6, 32, 3 (explained above) and *pañūr vacobhir abhi yodhad indraḥ* in 6, 39, 2 (explained above).

"Again and again has Indra won riches with the shouting, roaring, loudly-crying (Aṅgirasas); the mighty one has given to us a chariot of gold as reward, be the rewarder to us, he to us."

There is no substantive in the verse in connection with the epithets *pōpruthadbhiḥ*, *nānadadbhiḥ*, *śāśvasadbhiḥ*; hence, Sāyaṇa, guided perhaps by the word *pōpruthadbhiḥ*, supplies the word *aśvaiḥ* after them in his commentary, and has been followed by Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner in their *RV. Über.*

But the root *pruth* is used in the RV in two passages only in connection with the horses, whereas it is used in five passages in connection with Agni (7, 3, 2: *prōthad āsvo nā yāvase viśyān*), the Soma juice (10, 115, 3: *indum prōthantam pravāpantam arṇavam*; 9, 98, 12: *apaprōthantaḥ sanutar huraścitaḥ*), the war-drum (6, 47, 30: *apa protha dundubhe ducchūnāitaḥ*), and the bull (10, 115, 2: *ino nā prōthamāno yuvāse vṛṣā*, with the sense of 'making a loud sound'). Again, there is no other passage<sup>1</sup> in the RV in which Indra is described as winning riches (or anything else) with horses. And thirdly, one of the verses referred to by Geldner in his note on this verse, namely, 6, 32, 3 (this has been explained above): *sā vahnibhir ṛkvabhir goṣu śāśvan mitājñubhiḥ pūrukrtvā jigāya | puraḥ purohā sakhibhiḥ sakhiyān dṛḥhā ruroja kavibhiḥ kavīḥ san* (note the occurrence of the words *jigāya* and *śāśvat* in this verse also) states that Indra, with the singing Aṅgirasas, won cows again and again after shattering the solid fortresses. It hence seems to me preferable to supply a word like *aṅgirobhiḥ* (or *sakhibhiḥ*, etc.) after *śāśvasadbhiḥ*, and to translate the verse as above.

The Aṅgirasas, as we have already seen (see above), sing or shout loudly a spell of truth when shattering the fortress that imprison the cows; and these mountains, it is said in 10, 108, 7:

<sup>1</sup> Verses like 6, 25, 2: *anāśunā cid arvata indro jeta hitam dhanam* belong to a quite different category, and, naturally, do not enter into consideration in this connection.

*ayam nidhiḥ sarame adribudhno gobhir āśvebhir vāsubhir nyṛṣṭaḥ* ('this treasure at the bottom of the mountain, O Saramā, is embellished with cows, horses and wealth'), held not only cows, but also horses and wealth. Compare also what has been said above in connection with *draviṇa*, and *dhana*.

(9) 8, 93, 16: *śrutaṇi vo vṛtrahāntamaṇi  
pra śārdham carṣaṇinām |  
ā śuṣe rādhase mahē ||*

"I call loudly (Indra), renowned amongst you, valiant among all beings and best killer of enemies, for a great gift."

The vocative *praśardha* 'very valiant' occurs in 8, 4, 1:

*yadindra prāg apāg udaṇ nyag vā hūyāse nṛbhiḥ |  
simā purā nṛṣṭo asy ānave si praśardha turvaṣe.*

"When, O Indra, thou art called east, west, north or south by men, thou, impelled by men, stayest mostly with Ānava; O valiant one, thou stayest with Turvaṣa," while, on the other hand, the particle *pra* is, in no other RV verse, used in combination with the verb *śuṣ*. It seems therefore probable that *pra śārdham* in this verse is a corruption of *praśardham* (see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, 144). The meaning of *praśardham carṣaṇinām* would be 'most valiant among beings.' Compare with this the expressions *saṁrājāṁ carṣaṇinām* 'ruler of all beings' and *vṛṣabhāṁ carṣaṇinām*, 'best of all beings' that are applied to Agni and Bṛhaspati respectively in 3, 10, 1: *tvām agne manīṣinaḥ saṁrājāṁ carṣaṇinām | devāṁ mātāsa indhate sām adhvarē* and 3, 62, 6: *vṛṣabhāṁ carṣaṇinām viśvārūpam ādābhiyam | bṛhaspatiṁ vāreṇyam.*

In connection with *ā śuṣe rādhase*, compare 1, 17, 7: *indravaruṇā vām aham huve citrāya rādhase* 'I call you, O Indra and Varuṇa, for a beautiful gift.' Compare also 8, 34, 4: *ā tvā kavā ikāvase havante vājasdāye*. 'The Kanvas call thee now for aid and for the granting of wealth'; 8, 3, 5: *indram samīke vaxino havāmaha indram dhānasya sātaye* 'Longingly we cry for Indra in battles, for the granting of wealth.'

- (10) 1, 61, 10: asyēdevā śāvasā śuśāntam  
 vī vṛscad vajreṇa vṛtram indrah |  
 gā nā vrāṇā avānir amūñcad  
 abhi śravo dāvane śacetāḥ ||

"By his own strength, Indra cut the roaring Vṛtra with the thunderbolt; he frees the rivers, like the cows, that had been confined, for fame, with a mind to give".

Regarding the roar of Vṛtra, compare 1, 52, 10: *dyaus cid asyāmavān aheḥ svanād ayoyavīd bhiyasā vajra indra te vṛtrāsya yad badbadhānāsya rodasi māde sutāsya śārvasa 'bhinac chiraḥ*. "Even Heaven drew back in haste with fear from the shout of the *ahi*, when, O Indra, thy thunderbolt, in the intoxication of the pressed (Soma juice), cut off in an instant the head of Vṛtra who was oppressing the two worlds"; compare also 8, 96, 7 explained below :

- (11) 1, 147, 1: kathā te agne śucāyanta āyōr  
 dadāśūr vājebhir āśuśāṇāḥ |  
 ubhē yāt tokē tanaye dadhānā  
 ṛtāsya sāman raṇayanta devāḥ ||

"How, O Agni, did the glowing (sons of) Ayu, shouting with all their might, make offerings when the gods, conferring both sons and sons' sons, found delight in the song of *ṛta*."

I follow Geldner (*RV. Über.*) in supplying the word 'sons' after *āyōḥ* in pāda a. *śucāyantaḥ* 'glowing' = glowing with piety, fervour or *tapas* (see Geldner, *ibid.*); *āśuśāṇāḥ* 'shouting' = singing your praises loudly. Regarding the expression *vājebhir āśuśāṇāḥ*, see Pischel's footnote in *Ved. St.*, 1, 11.

In pāda c, *tanaye* seems to be a neuter dual (neuter gender due to the association of *tokē*) and the word *ubhē* to refer to *tokē* and *tanaye* as it does in 8, 103, 7: *ubhē tokē tanaye dasma viśpate pārṣi rādho maghonām*. "O thou mighty lord of the clans, thou givest to the liberal (sacrificers, our patrons) both sons and sons' sons and gifts". In the alternative, it can be regarded as locative singular, in which case the meaning of pāda c would be 'when conferring on (their) son both kinds of

offspring (i.e., sons and daughters)'. This is the view adopted by Geldner in his translation of the verse (*ibid.*); see however his note on p. 186.

- (12) 2, 19, 7: evā ta indrocatham ahema  
 śravasyā nā tmānā vājāyantaḥ |  
 āśyāma tat śāptam āśuśāṇā  
 nanāmo vādhar ādevasya pīyoh ||

"Thus have we, with a desire for wealth, sent you (this chant, O Indra, as those desirous of winning the prize (send horses). May we, crying out loudly, obtain the septenate; thou hast struck down (i.e., turned away) the weapon of the godless reviler."

As object of *āśuśāṇāḥ* must be understood the chant (*ucātha*) mentioned in pāda a. Regarding *śāptam*, it is difficult to say what the septenate of desired things is. According to Sāyaṇa, *śāptam* is the same as *sāptapadīnam* (*sakhyam*) or 'friendship'; and this view has been adopted by Ludwig and Geldner. Verses 5, 1, 5 and 6, 74, 1 mention *sāpta rātnā* while 1, 20, 7 refers to *sāptāni rātnāni*; and, according to Skandavāmin's commentary on 1, 2, 7, the seven jewels are either those mentioned in the verse

*chatram ratho maṇir bhāryā nidhir āśvo gajas tathā |*  
*etāni sāpta rātnāni pūrveṣām cakravartinām |*

or gold, silver, ruby, pearl, etc. Geldner also points out in his note (on p. 271) that the word *sāptam* (with accent on last syllable) occurs in v. 5 of hymn 8, 55 in which presents of seven kinds are mentioned.

It is the view of Roth (in the *PW*) and Grassmann that *sāpta* is derived from *sapti* and signifies 'prize' (*vāja*).

- (13) 4, 24, 4: kratūyānti kṣitāyo yōga ugrā-  
 śuśāṇāso mitho ārṇasātau |  
 sāṃ yād viśo vavṛtranta yudhniā  
 ād in nēma indrayante abhike ||

"O fierce one, the peoples shouting loudly at each other in the battle for water, are exerting themselves in the acquisition of wealth, while some clans, fighting, have acted like Vṛtra, others have acted like Indra in the encounter".

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| Skt.         | Tam.         |
|--------------|--------------|
| यान yāna     | ஆனம் āṇam    |
| योजना yōjanā | ஒசனை ōcaṇai  |
| युग yuga     | உகம் ukam    |
| यामल yāmala  | ஆமலம் āmaḷam |

5. Sanskrit य् (y) is sometimes changed to ச் (c) in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.           | Tam.           |
|------|----------------|----------------|
|      | कैकेयी kaikēyī | கைகேசி kaikēci |
|      | यक्षी yakṣī    | இசக்கி icakki  |
|      | यक्ष yakṣa     | சக்கன் cakkaṇ  |
|      | नियत niyata    | நிசதம் nicata  |
|      | याम yāma       | சாமம் cāmam    |
|      | योगिन् yōgin   | சோகி cōki      |
|      | यावक yāvaka    | சாவகன் cāvakaṇ |

6. Sometimes Sanskrit य् (y) is changed to க் (k) in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.             | Tam.                |
|------|------------------|---------------------|
|      | उत्तरीय uttariya | உத்தரிகம் uttarikam |
|      | अहल्या ahalyā    | அகலிகை akalikai     |

7. Sometimes Sanskrit य् (y) is changed to ன் (n) or ன் (ñ):—

| e.g. | Skt.      | Tam.          |
|------|-----------|---------------|
| (a)  | यम yama   | நமன் naman    |
|      | युग yuga  | நுகம் nukam   |
|      | योनि yōni | கோனி (?) nōṇi |
|      | Skt.      | Tam.          |
| (b)  | यम yama   | நாமன் ñaman   |
|      | नय naya   | நாயம் ñayam   |

The consonant र् (r).

The Sanskrit consonant र् (r) generally undergoes no change in Tamil; but when it begins the word, a prothetic अ (a), இ (i) or உ (u) is generally prefixed to the word in Tamil:—

PART I] PHONETIC CHANGES IN TAMIL WORDS

| e.g. | Skt.             | Tam.             |
|------|------------------|------------------|
|      | गुरु guru        | குரு kuru        |
|      | सरयू sarayū      | சரயு carayu      |
|      | श्रीधर śrīdhara  | சீதான் cītarāṇ   |
|      | चमरी camarī      | சமரி camari      |
|      | रव rava          | அரவம் aravam     |
|      | रवि ravi         | இரவி iravi       |
|      | रम्भा rambhā     | அரம்பை arampai   |
|      | रथ ratha         | இரதம் iratam     |
|      | रत्न ratna       | அரதனம் arataṇam  |
|      | रुक्मिणी rukmiṇī | உருமிணி uruppiṇi |

1. Initial र् (r) is sometimes dropped in Tamil as well as medial र् (r):—

| e.g. | Skt.            | Tam.           |
|------|-----------------|----------------|
|      | रुधिर rudhira   | உதிரம் utiram  |
|      | कुक्कुर kukkura | குக்கன் kukkaṇ |

2. र् (r) is sometimes changed to ல் (l) or ன் (l) in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.           | Tam.             |
|------|----------------|------------------|
|      | गरुड garuḍa    | கலுழன் kaluḷaṇ   |
|      | अगरु agaru     | அகில் akil       |
|      | कर्मार karmāra | கம்மாள் kammāḷaṇ |

The consonant ल् (l).

The Sanskrit consonant ल् (l) often undergoes no change. When it begins the word, it is preceded by a prothetic इ (i) or உ (u):—

| e.g. | Skt.           | Tam.           |
|------|----------------|----------------|
|      | लाम lābha      | இலாபம் ilāpam  |
|      | बिल bila       | பிலம் pilam    |
|      | मिथिला mithilā | மிதிலை mitilai |
|      | खलीन khalīna   | கலினம் kalinam |

*Āśuṣāṇāso mithaḥ* is equivalent to *nadantaḥ* and *pratinadantaḥ* in MBh. 6, 99, 18-20:

*bheri-mṛdaṅga-panavān nādayantaś ca puṣkarān |*  
*Pāṇḍavā abhyavartanta nadanto bhairavān svarān ||*  
*bheri-mṛdaṅga-śaṅkhānām dundubhinām ca nissvanaiḥ |*  
*utkruṣṭa-siṃhanādaiś ca valgitaiś ca prthagvidhaiḥ ||*  
*vayaṃ prati-nadantas tān agacchāma tvarānvitāḥ. ||*

Or should we supply *tvām* as object and interpret the expression as 'calling on thee loudly, (competing) against each other'? Compare the preceding verse *tām in naro vi hvayante samīke* . . . *tokasya tanayasya sālau* 'Men, competing, call on him alone in the battle for the winning of sons and sons' sons'. According to this interpretation, v. 4 would be a continuation of v. 3 and the two together signify that 'men, competing with each other, call loudly on Indra for aid in the battle for the winning of sons and in that for the winning of water'.

The word *avavṛtranta*, in c, is derived by Roth (in the PW) and Grassman (*Wort.*) from the root *vṛt*. This is the view of Sāyaṇa who explains pādas cd as *yad yadā yudhmāḥ | yodhayitryaḥ viśaḥ prajā abhike yuddhe | abhika iti saṁgrāmanāmatat | sam avavṛtranta samvartante parapaṇam saṁgacchante ādit tadānīm eva neme kecana bhāgyavanto yodhakāḥ indrayante yuddhe indram icchanti*. Geldner follows Sāyaṇa closely in the translation of both these pādas, and Ludwig in that of c only, explaining pāda d as 'then many show themselves Indras in the close fight'. Grassmann's translation of d is very similar; but pāda c is translated by him as 'when, in the close affray, the fighters form themselves into troops'. This seems to indicate that he regarded *avavṛtranta* as derived from the same root as *vṛā* and *vṛāta* 'troop', and that he had abandoned his former opinion about its being a derivative of the root *vṛt*. It is, in fact, very doubtful if *sam* + *vṛt* can signify 'to meet, to encounter'.

Now, the denominative root *indray* occurs in the RV in this one passage only; and there can be no doubt that, as opined by Ludwig and Grassmann, it means 'they behave, or act, like Indra'. Moreover, the RV is full of references to Indra's liberation of the rivers or waters that had been imprisoned by *Vṛtra*; and since pāda b explicitly mentions *arṇasāti* or 'battle for the winning of water', there can (it seems to me) be no doubt that *avavṛtranta* too is derived from a similar denominative root *vṛtrate* or *vṛtayate* and signifies 'they have behaved

like *Vṛtra*'. It is the third person plural of the 'pluperfect tense' (see Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 364, S. 494) and is similar in formation to *adadṛhanta*, and *atitṛṣanta* (see ibid. p. 365). The meaning of pādas cd is, 'While some clans fought, like *Vṛtra*, for confining or restricting the use of the waters, others, like Indra, fought to liberate the waters and extend their use.'

*sam* is an adverb and signifies 'together, at the same time' as in 8, 13, 2: *supārāḥ suśravastamaḥ sam apsuḥ* and 1, 64, 8: *kṣapa jinvantaḥ prṣatibhir ṛṣtibhiḥ sam it sabādhaḥ śavasāhi-manyavaḥ*.

(14) 5, 36, 4: *eṣa grāveva jaritā ta in-*  
*dreyarti vācam bṛhad āśuṣāṇaḥ |*  
*pra savyena maghavan yaṁsi rāyaḥ*  
*pra dakṣiṇid dharivo mā vi venah ||*

"Like the pressing stone, this singer, O Indra, raises the chant high, making a loud sound. O liberal one, thou givest riches with the left hand; do not, O thou with bay horses, be unfavourable with the right hand".

In respect of the comparison with the pressing stone, compare the observations under 10, 94, 6 explained above.

(15) 7, 93, 8: *etā agna āśuṣāṇāsa iṣṭir*  
*yuvoh śacābhy aśyāma vājān |*  
*mendro no viṣṇur marutaḥ pari khyan*  
*yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ ||*

"May we, calling loudly, O Agni, attain these desires, and riches, in the companionship of you two (sc. Indra and Agni). May not Indra, Viṣṇu and the Maruts overlook us: protect us always with (your) blessings".

Regarding *āśuṣāṇāsaḥ*, compare *manyamāno jōhacīmī* in 5, 4, 10: *yas tvā hṛdā kīrīṇā manyamāno martyaṁ martyo jōhacīmī | jātavedo yaśo asmāsu dhēhi prajābhir agne amṛtatām aśyām*. "I mortal, who praising with a song of praise, invoke immortal thee, O Jātavedas, confer famous wealth on us—may I, O Agni, attain immortality with (my) progeny" and 3, 11, 8: *pari viśvāni sudhitā gner aśyāma mānabhiḥ | viprāso jātavedasaḥ*. "May we, priests, obtain from Agni Jātavedas all benefits by means of (these) praises."

Besides the above, there are in the RV one verse, 1, 179, 4 (*lōpāmudrā vṛṣaṇam nī riṇāti dhīram ādhīrā dhayati śvasantam*) in which the participle *śvasantam*, and three verses, namely, 4, 1, 13 and 4, 2, 14; 16 in which the participle *śśuṣāna* occurs. These three verses have been explained above, while as for 1, 179, 4, it is plain that *śvasantam* signifies 'panting' here.

The words *śvasana*, *śvasivas*, *śvasatha* and *abhiśvas*, all derived from the root *śvas*, are found used in the following RV passages:

(16) 1, 54, 5: nī yād vṛṇākṣi śvasanasya mūrdhani  
śśuṣasya cid vrandino roruvat vanā |  
prācinena manasā barhaṇāvatā  
yād adyā cit kṛṇavaḥ kas tvā pari ||

This verse is addressed to Indra, and the interpretations that have been proposed by the exegetists vary widely from each other:

Yāska explains the first half briefly as *nivṛṇākṣi yac chvasanasya mūrdhani śabda-kāriṇaḥ | śśuṣasyādityasya śoṣayitū rorūyamāno vanānti vā vadheneti vā* in Nirukta 5, 16.

Durga, in his commentary on the Nirukta, explains the full verse as follows: *nivṛṇākṣi nivarṇayasi yat yas tvam he bhagavann indra megham hatvā śvasanasya śabdha-kāriṇaḥ vāyoḥ mūrdhani upari śśuṣasya cit śoṣayitur api bhagavataḥ ādityasya vrandinaḥ mṛdu-bhāva-kartuḥ | ādityena hi paripacyamānam samstabdham api badara-tindukādi mṛdū-bhavati tasmād asau vrandi | tasyāpy evam-karma-kāriṇo maṇḍalam praty ūrdhvam roruvat stanayitnu-śabdāṃ kurvāṇaḥ vanā vanāni vikṣipasi | ūrdhvam adhaśca vanāni udakāni vikṣipataḥ na te śakti-pratighāto 'stity abhiprāyaḥ | pakṣe vanā ity eṣa śabdo megha-vadheneti prayojyaḥ | udaka śabdaś caitasmin pakṣe 'dhyāhāryo nirvacanasambandhāt | prācinena prāg-añcitena adīnena tasmin karmaṇy abhimukhena manasā barhaṇāvatā himsāvatā yād adyācit adyatvepi tvam karma kṛṇavaḥ karoṣyeva asukaram anyaiḥ tasmād bravīmi kas tvā pari | konyas tvām upari vartate | tvam-eva sarva-bhūtāni parigrhya vartasa ity abhiprāyaḥ ||*

Similar are the explanations of Sāyaṇa in his RV commentary and of Skandasvāmin-Maheśvara in their scholium on the Nirukta.

The same Skandasvāmin's explanation however of this verse in his commentary on the RV varies from the above and reads as follows: *yat yasmāt nivṛṇākṣi niyamena hataṇvāsi | śvasanasya śvāsa-kāriṇaḥ mahā-śvāsasyety arthaḥ | mūrdhani mūrdhānaḥ mastakaṃ | śśuṣasya śśuṣa-nāmno 'surasya | vrandinaḥ atyanta-balavatvāt para-balānām mṛdū-kartuḥ | atyanta-balavatā ityarthah | roruvat śabdāṃ kurvan | vanā vana-śabdāḥ tikṣṇa-vacanah | tikṣṇena vajreṇa | vadha-vacanah sāmartyād vana-śabdah | vadhena prahārenetyarthah | prācinena prāg-añcitena gatena aparāṇ-mukhena | utsāhavatetyarthah | manasā | barhaṇāvatā vṛddhimatā himsāvatā vā | yat yasmāt | adyācit adyāpi kṛṇavaḥ karoṣi idṛśāni karmaṇi | tasmāt kasivāpari kas tavādhikaḥ kas tavopari | sarvasya tvam uparityarthah ||*

Grassmann (*RV. Über*): "When, raging, thou hurlest down the spear on the head of the panting, devouring Śuṣṇa, if with strong aspiring courage thou wouldst act even today, who is there that can hinder thee?"

Geldner (*RV. Über*.); "When, (treading) on the head of the panting already lying Śuṣṇa, thou, roaring, tearest down the trees with confident aspiring mind,—if thou wouldst do so even today, who will stop thee?"

Ludwig: "wenn du nider schlägst an des brausenden [Luftstroms] spitze des Śuṣṇa geschlossene haufen, gewaltig brüllend die walder, mit vorwärts-gerichtetem sinne, mit starkgefestigtem, [und] auch [bei dem], was heute du tun wirst, wer ist dabei dir?"

Now, as observed by Macdonell (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 160) Indra 'releases the waters shattering Śuṣṇa's forts (1, 51, 11) obtains the receptacle of waters (*kṛitī*) in smiting Śuṣṇa (Vāl. 3, 8) or wins heavenly (*svartalīḥ*) waters when he destroys the brood of Śuṣṇa (8, 40, 10)'; and as our verse mentions the smiting of Śuṣṇa Vāska and the other commentators named above seem to be right in holding that *vanā* signifies 'waters.'

Macdonell has also observed (*ibid.* p. 59) that 'conquering in the waters' (*apsujit*) is the exclusive attribute of Indra, and that 'Indra, being frequently described as slaying Vṛtra in the present or being invoked to do so, is regarded as constantly renewing the combat, which mythically represents the constant renewal of the natural phenomena'. This observation holds

good of the slaying of Śuṣṇa also; and in fact, it is the opinion of Sāyaṇa (*cp.* his explanation: *vāyunā sūrya-kiraṇaiś ca vṛṣṭā āpaḥ sūryasyopari punar avasthāpyante / tad eva avasthāpanam indraḥ karotīty ucyate/...yad yasmāt adyācit adyāpi kṛṇavaḥ gharma-kale sūryasyopari bhaumān rasān avasthāpayasi varṣāsu varṣayasi*) and of Skandasvāmin-Maheśvara (*op. cit.* *adyāpi kṛṇavaḥ karoṣy evedaṃ karma*) that pāda c refers to Indra's repetition, in the present, of the same exploits. I therefore translate the verse as follows:

"When thou smitest down on the head of the strong and roaring Śuṣṇa even, and when, shattering, thou drivest the waters, even now, with a forward-inclined and mighty spell, who is there by thy side?"

Regarding *śvasana*, note Yāska's explanation of it as *śabda-kārin* 'making a loud sound.'

*vanā*, in pāda b, should be construed as the object of both *roruvat* and of *kṛṇavaḥ*. The expression *roruvad vanā* occurs in pāda c (*akrandayo nadyo roruvad vanā*) of verse 1 also of this hymn and Roth regarded it (see Geldner, *RV. Über.*, p. 63, note on 1, 54, 1) as a participle of the root *ru* 'to shatter, to rend.' This meaning fits the context well in this verse; compare 1, 32, 1: *āhann āhim anv apas tatar da prā vakṣāṇā abhinat pārvatānām*. 'He (sc. Indra) killed the serpent, shattered the waters and pierced through the inwards of the mountains'; 6, 30, 5: *tvam apo vi dūro viśūcīr indra dṛlham arujah pārvatasya*. 'Thou, O Indra, hast shattered on all sides the waters and the doors, the solid fortress of the mountain'; and 4, 16, 8: *apo yad ādriṃ puruhūta dardah*. 'When thou didst shatter the waters and the mountain, O thou that art much invoked.' Compare also 3, 31, 5: *vīlāu salir abhi dhīrā atṛndan prācāhin-van manasā sapta viprah*. 'The seven bards bored the (waters) that were in the fortress and drove them out with a forward-turned spell' (see above); and note that Indra's killing of Śuṣṇa is mentioned in v. 8 (*sataḥ-sataḥ pratimānam puro-bhūr viśvā veda janimā hanti śuṣṇam*) which follows immediately vv. 5-7 (these verses form one group; see above), and that the words *prācā hinvan manasā* are parallel to the words *prācīnena manasā kṛṇavaḥ* of our verse.

In the alternative, it is possible to regard *roruvat* as the participle of *ru* 'to cry,' and to interpret it as 'roaring.' *vanā* would then be the object of *kṛṇavaḥ* only, while, as the object of *roruvat*, we have to understand the "spell" (*manas*) mentioned in pāda c.

Regarding *vanā kṛṇavaḥ*, compare also 10, 130, 9: *apo mahiḥ...indra yās tvam vytratiṛye cakariha* 'the mighty waters which, O Indra, thou didst drive forward on the occasion of the conquest of Vṛtra,' and likewise the observations above regarding *kaḥ*.

*manasā* =by means of a mantra or spell (of truth); see above.

The question *kas tvā pari* 'who is there by thy side?' is merely a rhetorical device adopted by the poet to state the fact that there was no one by the side of Indra to aid him in these exploits, and that Indra performed them single-handed. Compare the statements in v. 4 (*tvam divo bhataḥ sām kopayaḥ...*) and in v. 6 (*tvam āritā nāryam turvaśam yadum...*) of the same hymn where the poet lays stress on the word *tvam*; compare also likewise the other verses also of this hymn and note how the poet extols in this hymn the greatness of Indra only.

(17) 1, 140, 10: *asmākam agne maghāvatsu didihy  
adha śvasivān vṛṣabho damūnāḥ |  
avāsyā śīṣumatir adīder  
varmeva yutsu pariḥārbinurāṇah |*

"O Agni, shine on our liberal (patrons); thou art a roaring bull, friend of the house. Throwing down the (mothers) with children, thou, speeding, hast shone like armour in battles."

The meaning of the expression *avāsyā śīṣumatir* in pāda c is obscure. According to Oldenberg (*SBE.* 46, 145) the *śīṣumatir* are either (1) the mothers of Agni represented as a young child, or (2) the Waters which Agni leaves resting on the surface while he himself rises to heaven, or (3) the woods and plants which Agni burns and throws down, as it were. I am inclined to think that the reference is to the *arāṇis* that produce Agni by friction.

- (18) 8, 96, 7: *vṛtrasya tvā śvasathād īṣamāṇā*  
*viśve devā ajahur ye saklāyāḥ |*  
*marudbhir indra sakhyam te astv*  
*athemā viśvāḥ pṛtanā jayāsi ||*

"O Indra, the All-gods, who were your friends, forsook you and fled in haste from the roar of Vṛtra. Let there be friendship, O Indra, between you and the Maruts; then thou canst vanquish all these armies."

The incident referred to here is thus described in Ait. Br. 3, 20, 1-2:

Indro vai Vṛtram haniṣyan sarvā devatā abravīd: anu mopātiṣṭhadvam upa mā hvayadhvam iti | tatheti tam haniṣyanta ādravan | so 'ven:mām vai haniṣyanta ādrāvanti | hantemān bhīṣayā iti | tān abhi prāśvasīt | tasya śvasathād īṣamāṇā viśve devā adrahan | Maruto hainam nājahuḥ | prahara bhagavo jahi vīrayasvety evainam etām vācam vadanta upātiṣṭhanta | tad etad ṛṣiḥ paśyann abhyanūvāca *vṛtrasya tvā śvasathād īṣamāṇā...* || "Indra, verily, when about to slay Vṛtra said to all the gods: 'Keep close to me; call out to me (encouragingly).' Agreeing to this, they rushed forward to kill Vṛtra. He observed 'They are rushing forward to kill me; well, I shall frighten them.' He roared towards them; the All gods, fleeing in haste from his roar, ran away.<sup>1</sup> The Maruts however did not abandon him (Indra); they kept close to him, crying out, 'Smite, lord; kill, have courage.' Seeing this, the seer cried out, *vṛtrasya tvā...*"

Compare 6, 17, 10: *Yena nāvantam ahiṃ sam pinag ṛjīṣin* with which (thunderbolt) O strong one (Indra thou didst strike down the roaring *ahi* (Vṛtra)' and also Mbh., 3, 100, 13: *jñātvā balastham tridaśādhipam tu nanāda Vṛtro mahato ninādān | tasya praṇādena dharā diśaś ca kham dyaur nagās cāpi cacāla sarvam.*

1. Compare Mbh. 6, 92, 17: *bhūyaś ca vinanādogram krodhasampraktalocanaḥ | trāsāyāmāsa sainyāni yugānte jalado yathā* and *ibid.* 6, 93, 11-12: *tvaramāṇo Vṛkodaraḥ || prayayau simhānādena trāsayan sarva-pārthivān.*

- (19) 10, 92, 8: *sūraś cid ā harīto asya rīraṇad*  
*indrād ā kaścid bhayate taviyasah ||*  
*bhimāsya vṛṣṇo jatharād abhiśvaso*  
*divedive sāhurih stann ābādhitaḥ ||*

"He stopped the bay mares of this sun even. Every one is afraid of the stronger Indra, of the roar from the stomach of the fierce bull. The conquering one thunders every day unimpeded."

We have thus seen that in one passage (I. 179, 4) the root *śvas-śuṣ* signifies 'to pant, to breathe,' and that it has the meaning of 'to make a loud sound, to shout, to roar' in all the other RV passages in which verbal forms or participles of that root occur; and we have likewise seen that *śvas* has the latter meaning in the derivatives *śvasana*, *śvasitas*, *śvasatha*, and *abhiśvas* in the RV passages in which these words are used.

It is interesting to note in this connection the close parallel that is offered by the verb *phūt + kr* which occurs frequently in classical Sanskrit literature. The original meaning of *phūt + kr* is 'to breathe out, to blow'; and it has this sense in, for instance, the *Textus Simplicior* of the Pañcatantra (BSS ed. of Tantra I by Kielhorn, 1896), p. 83-1: *atha kecid vānarā vahnikāṇa-sadyśāni guñjā-phalāni vicitya vahni-vāñchayō phūtkurvantaḥ samantāt tasthuḥ*. From this meaning has developed that of 'to make a loud sound, to cry out loudly' which *phūt + kr* has in *ibid.* 30-2: *tataḥ kṣaṇāc cetanam labdhvā bhūyopī samutthāya phūtkartum ārabdhaḥ | bho āśūḍhabhūte kva mām vañcayitvā gato'si*; 35-11: *etasmim antare sū duṣṭā ūrdhva-bāhū vidhaya phūtkurvaṇi gṛhān niścakrāma*, and also in *ibid.* Tantra V (Bühler's ed. of 1891), p. 41-4: *te'pi tādṛyamānā eke mṛtā anye bhīṣma-mastakāḥ phūtkartum upacakramuḥ*. But while the lexicographers have recognised in the case of *phūt + kr* that it has the latter-mentioned meaning also (see Apte, PW, etc.), they have not done so in the case of the root *śvas-śuṣ*.

## ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ŚATAKATRAYĪ

BY

D. D. KOSAMBI.

In the course of preparation of a definitive critical edition of the *Satakas* [*nīti*, *śṛṅgāra*, *vairāgya*] ascribed to Bhartṛhari and familiar to every student of Sanskrit literature, the most puzzling of the many problems that arose was of the authorship. Of course, a view has been propounded, which we shall have to consider later on, that the *Satakas* are a mere anthology, so that discussing the author would be futile. But admitting for the moment the possibility of a unitary authorship, can anything be said about the author himself?

1. There are four major claimants, besides the actual author or authors of the *Satakatrayī* stanzas, for the honour of being labelled *the* Bhartṛhari, namely. (1) The 7th century grammarian known as author of the *Vākyapadīya*. (2) A king of Central India, of unknown date. (3) A pontiff of the Kānpāṭā sect of ascetic almsmen. (4) The pseudo-Bhartṛhari [or pair!] who wrote the *Viṣṇūśataka* and (or) the *Viṣṇuvṛtta*. The last of these may be disposed of very quickly, but the first three have legends that have overlapped or even overlaid each other; inasmuch as we have nothing better to go upon, these legends must be discussed in some detail. Before making the best of such doubtful evidence, the name itself may be considered for a moment.

The form given in most MSS is Bhartṛhari. A common mislection is Bhartṛhara, even Bhatṛhari or Bhatṛhara; in the south, particularly in Telugu country or MSS influenced by Telugu sources, the name is pronounced and usually written Bhartṭulahari or Bhartṭṛlahari. Aufrecht, in his catalogue of Bodleian Sanskrit MSS reports the variant Bhartṛhema from MS No. 247. However, the name itself might be merely Hari, with a prefix; at least, Pūrṇasarasvatī, in his commentary *Vidyullatā* on the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, commenting on the compound *kalīpaya* gives parallels from the *Vairāgyaśataka* with the note *iti Harivacanāc ca*. Several MSS at the Scindia Oriental Institute of Ujjain (particularly the colophons of Nos. 669,

711, 6360, 782, 6064] give the author or translator into Marāṭhī as Harikavi, which has caused a good deal of confusion, but the most reasonable interpretation seems to be that Harikavi is merely the equivalent of Bhartṛharikavi. At the end of the first kāṇḍa of the *Vākyapadīya*, Hariṇṣabha occurs, taken again as a reference to the grammarian author Bhartṛhari, but here at least there is the possibility that this may indicate some Hariṇṣabha as having commented upon the first kāṇḍa while Heārāja, to whom the commentary on both the sections is ascribed, commented only upon the second section. Taking Hari as the name, the prefix *bhartṛ* of unknown honorific or dedicatory significance like the *bhā* of Bhāvivēka, Bhāmaha, Bhāraṇī, does not help much in dating the author. There are known with the same prefix, a kṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman [A.D. 284-9], son of Rudradāman II. Bhartṛsvāmin, author of the difficult grammatical poem *Rāṇapadha* or *Bhaṭṭikāṇya* belongs to the period 500-650, and is some times identified with the author of the *Satakatrayī* though only on the grounds that *Bhaṭṭi* in Prakrit is the equivalent of *Bhartṛ*. One Bhartṛprapañca flourished circa 500; Bhartṛyajña who commented upon Kātyāyana's *Śrautasūtras* before 800; Bhartṛiśvara [= *Bhartṛ* + *īśvara*] is cited by Umbeka in his commentary upon Kumārilabhāṭṭa. The anthologies contain verses by Bhartṛmeṭha or simply Meṭha, who wrote under the poet-king Mātṛgupta of Kaśmir; verses are also found ascribed to Bhartṛsārasvata. The prefix, by itself, cannot therefore date our poet, though it seems to show that the date could hardly be pushed back beyond the opening centuries of the Christian era.

2. *The Grammarian.* This particular Bhartṛhari is fairly easy to eliminate. He closes the long line of outstanding grammarians who shine from Pāṇini down, being the one able successor of Candragomin. Something definite of his life is known from the narrative of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim I-tsing [*A record of the Buddhist Religion...*, Trans. J. Takakusu, Oxford 1896] who travelled in these parts in A.D. 671-695. His narrative fixes the death of the grammarian Bhartṛhari as A.D. 651-2. I-tsing's account on pp. 178-180 with Max Muller's discussion on p. xiv identify this Bhartṛhari quite conclusively as the author of the *Vākyapadīya*. The only reason, however, for ascribing the *Satakas* to him seems to originate from I-tsing's statement [p. 179] that he became seven times a priest only to return to the laity. This is supposed to fit the

"dual personality of the Indian", forever oscillating between the two opposed poles of sensuous enjoyment and ascetic renunciation. Unfortunately for this sort of criticism, I-tsing speaks of his grammarian-monk with evident admiration because he left the monastery whenever he felt that the impure thoughts which entered his mind might sully its precincts. In fact, Bhartṛhari died a lay-brother, *upāsaka*. A voluptuary who came because of dissatisfaction and went back to enjoy himself would have been mentioned only with contempt, even if the monastic rules of the seventh century had been lax enough to permit him such constant alternation. Of course, there is no mention of the grammarian having composed the *Satakatrāyī*, or even one of the *Satakas*. To this must be added the fact that not only in the critical text under preparation where I have had to restore *juhvantam*, *ādhiḥyatama*, etc., but even in all the smoothest MS versions known of the *Satakas* there occur solecisms like *śikṣatu* which no strict grammarian could possibly tolerate, and one sees that the author of the *Vākya-pāḍīya* is an unlikely candidate for the honour. The same argument applies, incidentally, against the author of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, which is an epic poem deliberately written to illustrate grammatical forms, and read for that purpose rather than as poetry. Allowing for the maximum development any hard-working intellectual could be expected to achieve, it seems unlikely that a single mind could stretch from the formidable difficulties of Sanskrit grammar so ably handled in these works to the brilliant expression and loose syntax of the *Satakas*. At this point, one may as well dispose of the legend started by the learned but optimistic G. Bühler, who conjectured in answer to Takakusu's inquiry [p. 225] that the *Pei-na* which I-tsing stated to be the grammarian's best work might be the *Beḍārytti*, a commentary on the *Janmāmbhodhi*—supposedly a philosophical work of the type reported. The MS. of which the name prompted Bühler's conjecture is in the Bombay Government collection at the BORI, being No. 277 of 1873-4=381 of 1879-80. It has nothing whatever to do with Bhartṛhari, or grammar, or philosophy, or even poetry, being a work on astrology [*phalaḥyotiṣa*] written or copied in 1650 A.D. by a Jain called Rāmachandra, pupil of Sumatisūri.

My learned friend and former colleague Dr. V. V. Gokhale of the Fergusson College, Poona, has tentatively restored from

the original Chinese the stanza of Bhartṛhari reported by I-tsing [p. 179]; as

*rāgān nīvarte saṃsāram nīrlobhī cīṭaram tase  
katham etad dṛāyen' āsmi bālavat pariḥāsitaḥ*

Of the nearly 900 stanzas that I have found ascribed to our poet Bhartṛhari by various sources, not one approaches this remotely. Of the stanzas in the *Satakas*, just one, i.e., *mañih śāṃollīḍhaḥ* is utilized in the *Vākya-pāḍīya* commentary (II) by Helārāja, and then not specifically ascribed to any one.

3. *The King*. In the history of Tāranātha [Schieffner, *Tāranāthas Geschichte d. Buddhismus*, p. 195] there is a reference to a king of Mālava by this name, in the form Bhartṛhari [which is approximately the form still found in MSS from Rājputānā, i.e., Bharatarī or Bharathari]. This Bhartṛhari's sister was married to Govindandra, and the king himself descended from an old line, not then extinct, of Mālava kings. The time is given very approximately as that of Dharmakīrti's death or later; if the logician Dharmakīrti is meant, and any credence can be given to Tāranātha's vague narrative, the king Bhartṛhari must be taken as having lived not earlier than the end of the seventh century A. D. No further information about the king is given. However, the mention of the thaumaturge Jālandhara a page or two later shows that this Bhartṛhari is unquestionably connected with the next on our list.

4. *The Nātha Bhartṛhari*. George Weston Briggs's standard work *Gorakhnāth and the Kānpṛāṇa Yogis* [Calcutta, 1938] contains most of what is generally known about the sect, though very little occurs there which could be of any use in our problem. Some of the chronology is rather mixed, as the Vikramāditya whom Briggs [p. 244] puts at 1076-1126 would presumably be the hero of Bīlhaṇa's *Vikramādikāṭhacaritam*, ruler of Kalyāṇi and not Ujjain, certainly not the brother of our Bhartṛhari, who is mentioned as a poet long before that date. The one indigenous unutilized source-book I have been able to find is the *Naranāthabhaktisāra* [cited as *NNBS*], a Marāṭhī version of the unpublished *Gorakṣa Kīrtiyāgāra*. This rendering in *ori* metre covers 40 adhyāyas, and was promulgated in śaka 1741= 1819 A.D. by one Mālū Naraharī, son of Dhuṃḍī. The story of Bhartṛhari, one of the nine chief leaders of the Nātha sect is given mainly in adhyāyas 24-30 of the *NNBS*. The name supposedly means a begging bowl:

*bharatarī mhaṇatī bhikṣāpātrāsī* [NNBS 1-88; 24-11] perhaps related to the Hindi *bartan*. The hero was born of the seed of the deathless sage Maitrā Vāruṇī ejected into his almsbowl, which conceived thereby; none of the nine siddhas given in the final śloka of NNBS:

*Gorakṣa-Jālandhara-Carpatās ca  
Aḍḍaṅga-Kāñḍha-Machindarādyāḥ  
Courangi-Revāṇaka-Bhartri-sañjñā  
bhūmyām babhūvur nava-nāthasiddhāḥ*

was born of woman. Bhartri here is syncopated from Bhartṛhari. He was able to understand the language of animals, which enabled him to help Vikrama obtain the kingdom of Ujjain, for this, Vikrama regarded him as his brother [bandhū mānilā bhāvārtheṇ NNBS 27-61], and bestowed a kingdom upon him. Having lost his beloved consort Piṅgalā, Bhartṛhari remained incosolable upon the cremation ground till Gorakṣ-nātha turned up, restored not one but twenty-five identical Piṅgalās by his superhuman powers, so converted the king to asceticism whereby he assumed his place among the nine principal leaders (some lists show 84 and even more) of the sect.

The play *Bhartṛharinirveda* by Hariharopādhyāya shows how popular this theme of Bhartṛhari's renunciation is among modern poets, but there is no evidence—in spite of the marginal "bharathari" in MSS—to show that king Bhartṛhari or Nātha Bhartṛhari ever wrote any poetry. The palpably interpolated stanza '*yāṃ cintayāmi*' which is found in many Northern versions gives, according to all commentators of the *Śatakas*, a different reason for the renunciation. One would have imagined that the composers of the *Gorakṣa Kīrtiyāgāra* would have been literate enough to add Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas* to the triumphs of their sect, but there is no evidence to that effect. Of course, modern Nāthapanthīyas make up for this; for example, MS A<sub>3</sub> of my critical edition has the marginal dedications *Jālandhara* or *Nātha*. Rājendralal Mitra reported in his *Notices* [X, 3325] a MS of the *Vairāgyaśataka* with a commentary by Śrī Minā-nātha, who should be the Nāthasiddha of that name, perhaps identical with Matsyendra or Macchindernāth. Possibly, some of this is due to confusion with Central Indian kings of ancient days whose names began with Bhartṛ. Tod reports in his "Rājasthān" the tradition that the city of Bhartelwar was founded by king Bhartṛhari. Purohit Gopi Nath, in the preface

to his edition of the *Satakatrayī* speaks of the former residence and a *śamādhi* of Bhartṛhari at Alor, near Sehwan on the Indus [see also Sobhrāj Nirmaldas in the J. Sind Historical Soc. Vol. VII, Pts. 1-2, July 1944, pp. 1-5], where the royal ascetic is supposed to have lived in exile. I am told that at or near Alwar there is another funerary monument of Bhartṛhari, as a place of pilgrimage for Kāñḍhāṭṭha yogis; one more *śamādhi* is recorded by Briggs [p. 102] at Tilla, while followers of the sect have a shrine of some sort in Chunar fort though the cave of Bhartṛhari is shown near Ujjain. Apart from this extensive necrosis, we have the NNBS 40-94 tell us that the *siddhas* moved about openly till śaka 1710 [though NNBS records Bhartṛhari's birth at 3103 of the Kali era], and then disappeared into their secret places, Bhartṛhari's being pātāḷa; at the same time, several of them—not, apparently, including Bhartṛhari—took their leave of this earth in śaka 1900 [NNBS 23-173].

Naturally, all this does not enable us to date the Bhartṛhari concerned; the most we can conclude is that it is difficult for any ordinary mortal to extract historical information from the confused accounts of the Nāthapanthīya tradition. For the traditional association of Bhartṛhari with the Vikramāditya who is supposed to have established an era at 57 B.C., one can discover even less real support. Analysing the Vikrama tradition, it seems to me that the first Vikramāditya is the Gupta king of the 6th century, the actual era of about 57 B.C. dating less probably from the victory of a single great though unidentifiable king than from the approximate period of a popular Brahmanic revival which pushed back invaders all over the country. I base this upon a study of the two prophecies in the *Āraṇyaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* [adhyāyas 183-186 in V. S. Sukthankar's critical edition], combined with the account in the *Kalki purāṇa*, the story of the Jain acārya Kālaka, and finally the coincidence [as nearly as can be ascertained from the earliest recorded dates] of the Kalki and the Vikrama era. One can hardly look for the accurate placing of the younger brother of a historical fiction.

5. *The two pseudo-Bhartṛharis*. The fourth group may also be disposed of without any trouble. The *Vijayvṛtta* is Madras Government MS. D. no. 11983, bound together with what purports to be a sort of a commentary on it by one Mādhaṇa, the *Jadavvṛtta*, D. no. 11970. The ascription of the

former to Bhartṛhari rests upon the following stanza in the latter:

*upakṛtaye viṭavṛttam paṭumatir akaroj janasya  
bhartṛhariḥ  
jaḍamatinā jaḍavṛttam mādharanāmnā mayā tu  
racitam idam.*

The only stanza in the rather obscure *Viṭavṛtta* which I have been able to find anywhere else is the maṅgalācaraṇa, namely *nitambālasagāminyā*., which does occur as no. 10 in the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva (or rather ascribed to Vallabhadeva, for it seems to be virtually identical with the unpublished *Subhāṣitāvali* of Śrīvara in the BORI MS collection).

The *Vijñāṣataka* was published, as a work of Bhartṛhari, edited by Kṛṣṇaśāstrī Bhāuśāstrī Ghule at the Gorakṣaṇa Press, Nagpur 1897. The edition is long out of print, though one copy exists in the Bhandarkar collection at the BORI, while another was received on loan by courtesy of MM. V. V. Mirashi, Principal of the Morris College, Nagpur. This latter copy has [on the margin, in red ink] variants noted from the original MS, which MS itself is apparently the fourth *Śataka* of Bhartṛhari referred to without details in the preface to Hiralal's Catalogue of MSS in Central India. There is a current edition of the *Vijñāṣataka* published by the Gujerati Press, Bombay, first issued in 1905. Though the order of the stanzas [of which two are omitted altogether] and some minor readings differ, I have been unable to ascertain whether this edition derives from another MS or from a mere arbitrary rearrangement of the Nagpur edition, [the latter seems the likelier alternative,] and there is no reason to believe that any other MS of the *Vijñāṣataka* exists except the one owned by the Ghulē family at Nagpur. The Ghulē MS was found in the collection of the editor's great-grandfather Sadāśiva, in a rather damaged condition. A colophon claims the work for Bhartṛhari while himself believed it to be authentic on these grounds plus an occasional similarity of phrase with the *Śatakatrāyī*; to others however, including MM. Mirashi, [not to speak of myself], it seems clearly a late and not particularly able forgery. For our purpose, it suffices to note that not a single one of the stanzas of either the *Viṭavṛtta* or the *Vijñāṣataka* is found in any

MS of Bhartṛhari's *Śatakatrāyī* in spite of the fact that the MSS of the *Śatakatrāyī* that I have been able to collect show a total of well over 600 different stanzas; nor is any such stanza ascribed to Bhartṛhari in any anthology, no. 10 of the *Subhāṣitāvali* being labelled *Viṭavṛttasya*. Kṛṣṇamachariar reports a *Śāntipaddhaṭṭi* of Bhartṛhari published in Bombay, which I am unable to trace; it may be the *Śāntiśataka* of Śilhaṇa.

6. *The poet Bhartṛhari.* Nothing has been said in all the foregoing that can be regarded as a positive contribution to the authorship problem as regards the *Śatakatrāyī*. As for the *Śatakatrāyī* being an anthology, it will be seen from a paper of mine in the next issue of the JBBRAS that there is a substantial nucleus of the stanzas left after discarding those not found in all established versions. Though the work could not originally have been a *Śatakatrāyī*, there is some sort of a common source for all the extant MSS, so that at best one can say that the anthology is of stanzas ascribed to Bhartṛhari, though the compendium was probably made long after the author's death. Now a poet Bhartṛhari is mentioned in the literature, so that an attempt at tracing him might be worth while.

Somadeva, in the fourth *āścāsa* of his *Yāśastilakacampū* [959 A.D.] puts Bhartṛhari in the long list of the great poets, *mahākavis*, who spoke favourably of the almsman's life [Kāvya-mālā 70, II, p. 113]. Somadeva's list contains such great names as Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, but also some others of whom nothing is known; technically, a *mahākavi* must deal with an epic theme in a connected narrative poem, or drama, but we might waive the point here and take the epithet literally, because nothing is known of Bhartṛhari beyond [at most] the quasi-anthological *Śatakas*. Somadeva's is the earliest dated reference to a poet Bhartṛhari. Panit Bhiṣmacārya, in his *Mahānuḥbhāva* [old Marāṭhī] grammar of the 13th century gives an example of a simile "*jāisā bhartṛharicā vairāgya*", which is rather ambiguous, being more likely to refer to king Bhartṛhari's renunciation than to the author of the *Vairāgya-śataka*. If the king could be dated with or without reference to the date of Dharmakīrti and Gorakṣanāth as not decidedly earlier than the 13th century, we can dispose of the royal authorship of the *Śatakas* because there is an indisputable citation of our poet in the *Prabandhuḥcintāmaṇi* [1304 A.D.] of the Jain ācārya Merutuṅga. The legend repeated in the last section of

that work was unquestionably not of recent origin; it gains interest by containing elements of the combined sagas of our first three Bhartṛharis. That is, according to Merutuṅga, not Bhartṛhari but his father is a grammarian who worships Gaṇeśa and succeeds in obtaining at the risk of his own life direct grammatical instruction for six months from the divine teacher. He then returns to Ujjain, is cared for by a prostitute [veśyā] on whose doorstep he had fallen asleep during the night from exhaustion caused by the journey, has a disputation at court, and becomes famous as the outstanding grammarian. Then he marries four wives, one from each of the major castes, and has a son by each, the one begotten of the kṣatriya wife being Vikrama; Bhartṛhari is son of the lowest, the śūdra woman while the other two brothers are not named in this particular version. The poor outcast has to sit in a cellar below his socially admissible brothers and signal understanding by tugging at a rope leading to his teacher, who teaches Sanskrit to all four. In a fit of anger at Bhartṛhari's obtuseness the tutor calls him *re veśyaputra*, son of a whore, which may be only a term of abuse, but is reminiscent of the hospitable meretrix who sheltered the grammarian father. The narrative at this point is further obscured by the fact that the stanza *dānam bhogo nāśas* which is being explained by the pedagogue is unquestionably authentic in Bhartṛhari's Śatakas while the śloka *āyāśaśatalabdhasya* with which the cantankerous pupil Bhartṛhari is supposed to have countered occurs in the *Tantrākhyāyikā* without attribution, and is found in one of the two hundred odd MSS of the Śatakatrayī which I have personally examined, being reported in only one such MS anywhere, i.e. in Telang's MS A [Kāthavate].

The real importance of Merutuṅga's story derives from its concluding phrase *tena bhartṛharinā vairāgyaśatakādi prabandhāni bhāṣyāmsi cakrirc*. This must be the poet in whom we are interested, whatever the credibility of the legend, and we may be certain that the Vairāgyaśataka was well established by the 13th century A.D. while its author had become legendary, or such a report would not have gained currency. To anticipate what belongs to a later discussion, let us state that the Vairāgyaśataka comes out very badly stripped by the critical editor's work, not more than 30 stanzas being above suspicion while not more than about 55 could be included as authentic on the most generous canon of textual criticism. The other two

Śatakas are much better off with approximately 75 stanzas each.

As a matter of fact the Merutuṅga legend is also unreliable. P. von Bohnen cites in the preface to his edition of the Śatakas the authority of Colebrooke and a MS of Śivadāsa's *Uttālapañcaviṃśatī* to the effect that Bhartṛhari and Vikrama were sons of king Candragupta. Mr. Seshagiri Śāstri [Ind. Ant. I, 314] records an undocumented legend making Bhartṛhari the son of a Brahmin Candragupta, again with Vikrama the son by a kṣatriya wife, etc. The full legend can be found recorded in its southern version by K. V. Subrahmanya Śāstri, formerly Sanskrit Pandit at the Madura College, in his *Śaṅkarācāryacaritram*. Here the Merutuṅga story of the father is paralleled (except that the veśyā is replaced by a vaiśyā) but we see that the real strength of the tradition comes from the line of Indian grammarians, later connected with the origin of the Vedāntic doctrine. The father is the Brahmin Candrasarmā, reincarnation of Patañjali, he frees Gauḍapāda from a curse which turned him into a rākṣasa, learns the *mahābhāṣya*, transcribes it on leaves, and then reaches the royal court (presumably at Ujjain) to marry his four wives for the spread of the grammatical doctrine into all castes.

It seems to me that all the elements of the other parallel legends can be resolved here by identifying Candrasarmā or Candragupta with the grammarian Candragomin, while Bhartṛhari would be the Vākyapadīya author. This saga of the grammarians cannot be traced far back from written records, but one finds a good version in Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita's *Patañjalīcaritam* [Kāvyamālā 51] where the story is fairly well given along the lines just traced, and Bhartṛhari is called author of the *Vākyapadīya*, in viii-11, while viii-10 ascribes the three Śatakas to him. We are back again where we started.

7. *Minor legends.* A Bhartṛhari mentioned in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa can be our poet but not the king. The stanza is *jayanto bhartṛharaye lakṣaśvarṇena varṇayan; bhuktvā bhartṛharis tatra yogarūḍho vanam yayan*. The Bhartṛhari who would accept a hundred thousand pieces of gold from the unknown Jayanta, enjoy the bounty, and then betake himself to the forest as an ascetic would, if he existed, be rather the poet than the king. It is interesting to note that the *Nītisāra* section of the *Garuḍamahāpurāṇa* contains stanzas which occur

in the *Satakas*, but according to Dr. A. P. Karmarkar (to whom I owe both these paurāṇic references) the latter *purāṇa* in its present form belongs to the post-Madhvācārya period.

Eminent Jains usually identify the *Satakatrayī* author with that of the *Vākyapadiya*. This stand was taken at one time, though abandoned soon, by the veteran Jain scholar Śrī Nāthū-rāma Premī in the preface to his edition of Śubhacandra's *Jñānārṇava* [Rāyacandra-jaina-śāstramālā 5-7<sup>th</sup>, Bombay NSP 1907]. This preface gives on pp. 9-14, a Hindi translation of Śubhacandra's "biography" from the *Bhaktāmaracaritra* of Viśvabhūṣaṇa, pupil of Anantabhūṣaṇa, which make Śubhacandra and Bhartṛhari twin princes; Bhartṛhari takes to yogic practices, but is converted to Jainism by the superior powers of the twin. In support of Bhartṛhari having been a Jain, Śrī Premī cited the Vairāgyaśataka stanza

*ekākī niḥsṛjhaḥ śāntaḥ pañipātro digambaraḥ |*  
*kadā'ham sambhaviṣyāmi karmanirmālanakṣamaḥ ||*

Now, although we have a considerable number of unquestionably Jain MSS for the *Satakatrayī* critical apparatus, including many of the Dhanasāra version, this stanza never occurs as reported here. It is quite as authentic as any other, and one of the very few that has no real variants. But the correct reading of the third quarter is *kadā sambho bhaviṣyāmi*, the changed reading enables *digambaraḥ* to be taken as meaning Digambara Jain, but there is actually no MS evidence for it. Śrī Premī further reported [p. 4 of his preface] the *Rāhataḥkārya* as a work of Bhartṛhari, but cannot recall his source now. Not only have I been unable to find any notice of any such work by Bhartṛhari or anyone else, but the word *rāhata* does not seem to be Sanskrit at all. There is such a Hindi word meaning luxury or dissipation.

8. *Text criticism.* There is nothing left for it but what we can get about the author from the work itself, seeing that external evidence is so scanty as well as so confused. A favourite type of unsound argument is that of K. T. Telang, who concluded that Bhartṛhari was later than Kālidāsa but a good deal earlier than the sixth century! The arguments, given on p. xiii *et seq.* of Telang's preface to his edition (Bombay 1893) of the *Nīti* and *Vairāgya* are risible because he had not a critical text before him, either of the *Satakas* or of works like the *Pañcatantra*. This lack has been remedied in

later time, and we find in Edgerton's reconstruction of the oldest level of the *Pañcatantra* that a certain number of stanzas there are found in our texts. In particular *satyāṇṭā ca paraṣā* seems to be common to both. Though the grounds on which these stanzas were admitted by Edgerton's may not in all cases be the same as those on which we admit our own stanzas in the critical edition of the *Satakas*, it still seems reasonable to assume that the earliest genuine stanzas of the *Nītiśataka* date from the opening centuries of the Christian era, tentatively, not later than about the 3rd century. As for the stanza common to Kālidāsa and Bhartṛhari, *bhavantī namrās taratāḥ* which occurs in Śākuntala V as well as the *Nītiśataka* [all versions], we can then say that Kālidāsa must have taken it from the proverbs current in his day—which day would presumably be the Gupta period. The *Vākyapadiya* Bhartṛhari would be eliminated by this, and also the Nātha guru, whether identical with Tārānātha's king or not. The references to the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, to *śaka* maidens, to the Ardhanārī Śiva, are each open to objection as omitted in one or more well-determined versions; none of them can be used for dating the text as a whole.

There is nothing specifically Buddhist or Jainistic about the *Satakas*. It will, however, surprise most readers to learn that there is also nothing really Vedantic about them. The stanza *ekākī niḥsṛjhaḥ* is genuine, but the mention of Sambhu there is perfunctory; the Śaivite mangalācarana stanza *cūḍottamsitacāru-candrakalikā* is also genuine, but hardly deep Vedānta; dedication to some god or goddess of the sort is customary, though it says little about the actual religion of the writer. For example, the Buddhist Harṣa's *Nāgānanda* is charged with Gaurī worship. All the usually familiar vedāntic stanzas in Bhartṛhari, as for example most of those in the southern *paddhati* labelled *acādhātacaryā* drop out of any critical text based upon the evidence as a whole. The thoroughly vedāntic mangalācarana *dikkālādyanavacchinna* is also not original, though apparently a fairly early addition. One might as well call him a Vaiṣṇava because his name was Hari, or because of *itāḥ śrāpiti keśavaḥ*.

Looking at the verses as a whole, in any text, version, or recension, one is struck as was Winternitz [Geschichte d. Indischen Literatur III, 137], by the marked impression of unitary authorship. The truth of the matter is, obviously, that

in the *Śatakas*, but according to Dr. A. P. Karmarkar (to whom I owe both these paurāṇic references) the latter *purāṇa* in its present form belongs to the post-Madhvācārya period.

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8. *Text criticism.* There is nothing left for it but what we can get about the author from the work itself, seeing that external evidence is so scanty as well as so confused. A favourite type of unsound argument is that of K. T. Telang, who concluded that Bhartṛhari was later than Kālidāsa but a good deal earlier than the sixth century! The arguments, given on p. xiii *et seq.* of Telang's preface to his edition (Bombay 1893) of the *Nīti* and *Vairāgya* are risible because he had not a critical text before him, either of the *Śatakas* or of works like the *Pañcatantra*. This lack has been remedied in

later time, and we find in Edgerton's reconstruction of the oldest level of the *Pañcatantra* that a certain number of stanzas there are found in our texts. In particular *satyāṇṭā ca paṇṣā* seems to be common to both. Though the grounds on which these stanzas were admitted by Edgerton's may not in all cases be the same as those on which we admit our own stanzas in the critical edition of the *Śatakas*, it still seems reasonable to assume that the earliest genuine stanzas of the *Nītiśataka* date from the opening centuries of the Christian era, tentatively, not later than about the 3rd century. As for the stanza common to Kālidāsa and Bhartṛhari, *bhavanti namrās tarāṇaḥ* which occurs in *Śākuntala* V as well as the *Nītiśataka* [all versions], we can then say that Kālidāsa must have taken it from the proverbs current in his day—which day would presumably be the Gupta period. The *Vākyapadīya* Bhartṛhari would be eliminated by this, and also the Nātha guru, whether identical with Tāra-nātha's king or not. The references to the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, to *śaka* maidens, to the Ardhanārī Śiva, are each open to objection as omitted in one or more well-determined versions; none of them can be used for dating the text as a whole.

There is nothing specifically Buddhist or Jainistic about the *Śatakas*. It will, however, surprise most readers to learn that there is also nothing really Vedantic about them. The stanza *ekākī niḥspṛhaḥ* is genuine, but the mention of Śambhu there is perfunctory; the Śaivite mangalācarāṇa stanza *aiṇḍottamaśitacāru-candrakalikā* is also genuine, but hardly deep Vedānta; dedication to some god or goddess of the sort is customary, though it says little about the actual religion of the writer. For example, the Buddhist Harṣa's *Nāgavāṇḍa* is charged with Gaurī worship. All the usually familiar vedāntic stanzas in Bhartṛhari, as for example most of those in the southern *padddhati* labelled *avadhūtacaryā* drop out of any critical text based upon the evidence as a whole. The thoroughly vedāntic mangalācarāṇa *dikkalādyanaracchinna* is also not original, though apparently a fairly early addition. One might as well call him a Vaiṣṇava because his name was Hari, or because of *itaḥ śrapitī keśavaḥ*.

Looking at the verses as a whole, in any text, version, or recension, one is struck as was Winternitz [Geschichte d. Indischen Literatur III, 137], by the marked impression of unitary authorship. The truth of the matter is, obviously, that

a certain type of stanzas had been associated with the name of Bhartṛhari from the earliest times, and these attracted others by similitude (as in the case of the easily removed vedantic accretions) which rounded out the work. The only explanation for the remarkably divergent versions combined with the manifest desire in even the oldest (16th century) MSS to include all possible Bhartṛhari stanzas can come by assuming a later popularity for the work combined with early neglect. Taking only the authenticated stanzas, we find an unquestionable note of frustration dominant throughout: *boddhāro matsaragrastāḥ prabhavaḥ smayadūṣitāḥ, abodhopahatāś cānye jīrṇam aṅge subhaṣitam*.—The learned were consumed by jealousy, the lords of the earth by pride, and the rest too ignorant, so that the poet's epigrams had to wilt within him. The *vairāgya* desired by Bhartṛhari is always to be in the future conditional, not actually experienced, the *śṛṅgāra* again smacks less of a voluptuary's practice than unsatisfied desire taken out in literary exercise of the imagination.

The background of the poet's figures of speech and phraseology is unquestionably Brahmanical, though not in the sense of argumentative religious contrast with other sects. No king who had renounced would have given the advice of the stanza *agre gītaḥ*: "If before you you have the songs of accomplished southern poets and behind you the tinkle of ornaments worn by whisk-bearing attendant maidens, then be a glutton for worldly pleasures; if not, O! mind, hasten to enter into undisturbed contemplation". But the ordinarily Brahmanical turns are quite convincing: in *na kaccic caṇḍakopānām*, he says that the king's wrath burns even those who serve him as does the fire its officiating priest. If one has wealth, caste be consigned to the nether world: *jātir yātu rasātalam*. Why read the scriptures [*kim vedaiḥ smṛtibhiḥ purāṇapaṭhanaiḥ śāstrair mahāvistaraiḥ*] when everything but realization of the inner spiritual joy is mercenary [*vaṇigvṛttayaḥ*], shopkeeper's practices? When begging, the pious high-caste people whose doors are dark with the smoke of many sacrificial fires are to be approached by preference: *pūṇye grāme vane vā...ādāya nyāyagarbhadvijahutahutabhugdhūmadhūmropakaṇṭham*. Still restricting ourselves to reasonably well-confirmed stanzas, we can say that Bhartṛhari shows no acquaintance with any trade or profession except that of a hungry poet. The śloka *dinā dinamukhaiḥ* says, in effect: "If he did not visualize his wife

as seen by other men to be miserable, sad of countenance, always surrounded by pitiful, crying, hungry children, what man of self-respect would beg for the sake of his own accursed belly in quavering broken words that die in his very throat for fear of refusal?" It would not be surprising if such a writer had to await the rise of a considerable, Sanskrit-knowing, technically competent class before he could find his due measure of appreciation. He was aware of the poet's type of immortality:

*jayanti te sukṛtino rasasiddhāḥ karīṣvarāḥ  
nāsti yeṣāṃ yaśaḥkāye jarāmaraṇajanmabhīḥ*

This matches Horace's "Exegi monumentum aere perennius", and the fervent hope "Non omnis moriar, multaue pars mei, Vitabit Libitinam."

Yet, could he have foreseen the future, it must have been a peculiarly galling thought to him, after having suffered all the misery and shame that peeks through his verses, that far from living as an actual person in future ages, even his existence would one day be in doubt, to be thrashed out as a serious question in a painful and inconclusive manner by helpless scholars.

shape of a fish, chased the man through the seas and down into the waters and killed him and rescued the Vedas. Two interesting conjectures are permissible:

(a) The Aryans were recording their Knowledge, their history or rituals and procedures to enable successive generations to derive the full benefit of the accumulated wisdom of the ages. But when the non-Aryans began to steal their Knowledge and secrets of power, they immediately decided not to commit to writing anything of value. Hence the sudden disappearance of all kinds of records.

(b) The second conjecture is that the knowledge or Vedas stolen by Somaka found a way into ancient Egypt or Assyria and were preserved there as Papyri and Tablets respectively.

The story of the churning of the ocean by Devas and Dānavas to obtain ambrosia or immortal drink, occurs first in our Purāṇas. The story is now known to have a historical and pictorial basis in the records and sculptures of ancient Assyrians and Babylonians. The incorporation of the story and tradition into the Hindu Epics and tradition may be due to the usual custom of the ancient world to borrow and incorporate ideas, knowledge, traditions, procedures from the neighbouring or advanced cultures and peoples. Even a cursory perusal of the names and customs of the people of Ur of the Chaldeans is bound to impress one with the close resemblances between the two cultures and their legends.

The Aśvins are the earliest physicians or surgeons mentioned in the Vedas, as the people who give first-aid on the battle-field and also relief to the maimed and the sick. The early medical tradition also gives them a very important place as teachers and practitioners of the science of life. They are later referred to as Aśvinikumāras, the sons or followers of the cult of Aśvins. They are heard of in many places and in different ages, or epochs. They were always youthful. Take up a book on the mythology and medicine of Ancient Greece, the cradle of European medicine, and the body of the horse and the head of human beings, are the repositories of wisdom and go about giving medicines and succour to people in distress. The God of Healing is Aesculapius, which sounds like and suggests Aśvinakula. The father of medicine was called Hippocrates and it is likely there were

many of that name before and after him. Hippo means horse and Crates signifies a man. Probably, Hippocrates belonged to a family who called themselves so, on account of their traditional devotion to the study and practice of medicine as the Aśvinikumāras did in India or it may be that he took this name after his wanderings in the Orient, in search of knowledge.

Not only the Gods of healing but also the votive offerings in the temples of Greece and the interpretation of dreams, bear close resemblance to Indian culture. But the most intriguing word is "Cos," the island of Cos, famous as the Greek centre of medical education and medical relief. Certainly, Kāśī on the Ganges was famous all over the ancient world as a centre of learning and medical education, even in the days of Buddha and Cos may be no other than an echo or borrowed name, to indicate a centre of knowledge and medical teaching. The practice of borrowing place names or names of heroes was an established custom even in those days.

The early medical texts of India are lost. The lectures of Ātreya, Professor of Medicine in the University of Takshila, were recorded by his six or eight pupils. Only the notes of one or two of his disciples (Agniveśa, Bhela) have survived and were later redacted by Caraka etc. These classics have all the characteristics of the early books of ancient India being discursive dialogues. But, the Suśruta Samhitā appears suddenly as a ripe and well arranged compendium and from the manner, method and contents, appears to be a much later production. Sanskrit Scholars and Puranic Pandits give it a hoary antiquity, some sending it back to Tretāyuga and Viśvāmitra, others placing it in the pre-Buddhistic era, while the more critical minds are not prepared to give it a date earlier than the first or second century A.D. It is also generally believed that Nāgārjuna edited and added to it the Uttara Tantra. Who this Nāgārjuna was and when he lived are still to be settled. But, from the advanced knowledge and practice of dissection of human body, and also from the systematised and simple manner, free from extravagant metaphysical and philosophical discussion, one would be inclined to think that the book is also not indigenous to India and that it was a new book imported into the country from the school of Alexandria, probably a work of Erasistras the greatest anatomist and surgeon of Pre-Christian era. The word Sistras has either by

## INDU, THE AUTHOR OF THE ANUNYĀSA

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN.

In his note 'Author of the Anunyanāsa' in the last issue of this Journal (Vol. XV, pt. 1, pp. 25-7), Sri K. Madhava Krishna Sarma has given extracts from the Paribhāṣāvṛtti of Śīradeva to show clearly that the general impression about Maitreyarakṣita being the author of the Anunyanāsa is wrong, that one Indu was the author of that work, and that not only were the two, Indu and (Maitreya) Rakṣita different persons, but these two writers differed from each other in their views.

The Durghaṭavṛtti composed by Śaraṇadeva in A.D. 1172 (TSS edn.) is a work earlier than Śīradeva's Paribhāṣāvṛtti, and the evidence of that work supports the finding of Sri Madhava Krishna Sarma. Śaraṇadeva quotes the Anunyanāsa fourteen times and Indu once. The point discussed in the second extract from Śīradeva made by Sri Madhava Krishna Sarma occurs in the Durghaṭavṛtti in two places, pp. 64 and 67. In the second instance, Indu<sup>1</sup> is expressly mentioned and Rakṣita is immediately referred to as differing from him. Dr. T. R. Chintamani draws my attention in this connection, to the separate mention of Anunyanāsa and Rakṣita as two distinct authorities by Ujjvaladatta also.<sup>2</sup>

1. Indu, the grammarian, is quoted in the Mādhaviya-dhātuvṛtti too, under Bhvādi, p. 667, Mysore edn.

2. See RASB. Catalogue, Vol. VI, Ms. No. 4360.

## HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN INDIA

*A few questions deserving further investigation and elucidation*

BY

DR. D. V. S. REDDY, *Madras Medical College, Corresponding Member, American Association for History of Medicine.*

Tradition, as well as the oldest Purāṇas, mentions Brahmā as the Fountain-head and source of all Knowledge, including the Āyurveda. The ancient Egyptians deified and worshipped, as the God of Healing, Imhotep. May it not be that Imhotep is only a corrupt form or variant of the pronunciation of the word Brahmadev? Brahma is also known as Dhātā and Thoth is one of the foremost Gods of ancient Egypt, where temples were built for the God, Thoth.

No reference can be traced to Dhanvantari in the early Vedic or Upanishadic literature. He appears first in the Epics, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata, etc. He is not mentioned in the older lists of the Founders and Teachers, of Āyurveda like Brahmā, Indra, Aśvins, Bharadvāja, Ātreya, etc. He is said to be the son of the King of Kāśī and was later regarded as one of the 24 Avatars of Viṣṇu and deified and worshipped, probably by a section, not willing to worship the older Vedic Deity of Healing, Rudra the Vaidyanātha. The usual explanation of the name is that he is one concerned with the healing of the wounds caused by the Bow (Dhanva) but the Sanskrit Scholars and philologists are not agreed on the derivation of the word or its meaning. One possibility is that about the beginning of the Christian era, or a little earlier, the frequent political and commercial contacts between India and Egypt might have brought into the country some habits, and knowledge as well as deities and traditions, amongst which one may be the importation of the Egyptian God of Healing, who was, by then, known as a human being, a vazier of the King, deified as the God of Healing. In all the pictures, the Egyptian God of Healing is represented as a person carrying a Bow and hence the name Dhanvan or Dhanvantar.

Ancient Vedic tradition and the Puranic story agree about the stealing of the Vedas by a Non-Āryan, called Somaka, probably a follower of the Cult of the Soma Juice or a scion of the Lunar Race. It is said that Viṣṇu took the

usage or by a deliberate change become *Suśruta*, not a farfetched or unimaginable variation, when one remembers the transformations the names of Hindu kings have undergone in the records of the Greek writers and the curious modifications that the Greek and foreign names have assumed in Indian records, history and languages. A well-known book on Medicine of the famous Roman writer Celsus might have been put into Sanskrit garb and in Indian setting. The first half of the word *Cel* disappears and the second half *Sus*, remains. Or a book of some foreign author was put into Sanskrit, on account of the novelty, utility and readableness of the book and given the attractive title *Suśrutam*, one that is good to hear. It may be that both factors might have been at work, in the naming of the work.

One of the famous books of the School of Salerno, *Regimen Sanitas* was used as a textbook in medieval Europe for centuries, on account of the wealth of ideas and the elegance of presentation of these ideas in the form of a poem, easily readable and memorised. The credit for introducing this book to Europe belongs to Constantine the Africanus, a scholar of Carthage, who studied in and then trekked through the Orient studying for 30 years and collecting books and translating them. The original of the *Regimen* may be no other than *Cāru Caryā*, beautiful living, a poem in Sanskrit written by Bhoja (or Kṣemendra) or the *Sūtrasthāna* of *Suśruta* or *Vāghbata* dealing with Principles of healthy living and personal hygiene.

## BOOK REVIEW

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF ANDHRA HISTORY by M. Somasekhara Sarma. Department of History. Economics and Politics. Andhra University. Price Rs. 2.

Very little is known of the History of the Telugu country during the period which immediately followed the downfall of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal at the close of the first quarter of the 14th century A.D. The Muhammadan historians, no doubt, occasionally lift the veil of obscurity and throw a ray of light which only serves to intensify the gloom. The present monograph brings to light for the first time several important facts unknown to students of South Indian History, and gives an authoritative account of the genesis and growth of a national movement which under the able leadership of the famous Musunuri chiefs Prolaya and Kapaya resulted in the overthrow and expulsion of the Muhammadans in Telingana and the re-establishment of Hindu independence not only in Andhra but also in the whole of South India. Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has laid all the students of Medieval South Indian History under a deep debt of gratitude by bringing to light new sources of information which lay hidden for centuries in the obscure corners of the country. Of the three copper plate charters, the Vilasa Grant of Prolaya Nayaka, Prolavaram grant of Kapaya Nayaka, and the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli (Appendices I, II, III) on which the monograph is chiefly based, the discovery and publication of the first two are due to his indefatigable activity. The monograph is divided into six sections. The first deals with the Muslim invasions of Telingana and the downfall of the Kakatiyas; the second gives a vivid account of the condition of the country under the rule of the Muhammad bin Tughluq; the third describes the Hindu reaction and the formation of a National league under the leadership of Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka; the fourth and fifth narrate the history of the war of independence and the reign of Kapaya Nayaka. These are supplemented by six appendices. In the first three are given the texts of the three inscriptions mentioned above; and the last is devoted to a discussion of the reign of Bahmany Sultan, Muhammad Shah I.

Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has dealt with the problem which he has undertaken to investigate in a masterly fashion. His intimate acquaintance with the sources of information has enabled him to bring to light facts which lay hidden in obscure corners and present a vivid picture of the activities of the Hindu League of Independence which succeeded within a short time in overthrowing the Muslim power. The events of the reign of the Kapaya Nayaka and his relations with the Velamas and the Sultans of the newly founded kingdom of Gulbarga are described here for the first time. The Monograph, small though it is, is a valuable contribution to South Indian History. The Andhra University deserves to be congratulated for securing the services of such a great scholar and investigator as Mr. Somasekhara Sarma and it is to be hoped that he will continue his investigations and enrich our knowledge of South Indian History.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.

## OBITUARY NOTICES

It is with very great sorrow that we record here the demise of some of our well-known Scholars, Panditas and Orientalists:

Dr. Heinrich Lüders of Berlin died on 7th May, 1943, from heart failure, and his wife fell down dead while returning from Berlin with some of her husband's manuscripts. Dr. Otto Stein of the Prague University was deported to Poland in October, 1942, where he and his wife died in April, 1943. On 6th October, 1944, at Edinburgh passed away Dr. A. B. Keith, a great authority on Dominion and Constitution Law and an Orientalist whose contributions on Sanskrit have been most voluminous. Among other eminent Orientalists whom we have lost during these darks years of the war are Mrs. Rhys Davids, E. H. Johnston, H. Zimmer, Sir Aurel Stein, Th. Sichenbatsky, Stanislaw Schayer and Carlo Formichi of Italy.

An eminent Orientalist whose demise South Indian scholars will greatly bemoan, Prof. G. Jonvean-Dubrenil of Pondichery, passed away in Paris on 14th July, 1945. To him we owe many a discovery in the field of South Indian archaeology and art.

On 23rd January, 1944, we lost Mahamahopādhyāya Arthaśāstra viśārada Dr. R. Shama Sastri of Mysore.

On 27th January, 1946, we lost one of our well-known anthropologists in the death of Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao at Bangalore.

Early this year, Sri P. P. S. Sastri, M.A., B.A. (Oxon), Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Madras, and sometime Curator of the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library passed away. He was a member of the old Committee of this Journal, and a Life Member of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute.

Other Indian Scholars and Panditas whom we have lost are Principal V. K. Rajwade of Poona, authority on Veda and Nirukta, Prof. Kokilesvar Sastri, Vedantic Scholar of Calcutta, Mahamahopādhyāya Tata Subbaraya Sastri, Principal of the Vizayanagaram Sanskrit College, Pandit N. Santanam Ayyar, editor of some Navya Nyāya books for the Adyar Library and T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar of Tanjore, author of some of the translations in the Adyar Library Series.

श्री:

## ॥ अथ अनुमानलक्षणम् ॥

साधनधर्मदर्शनात् साध्यधर्मविशिष्टे धर्मिणि बुद्धिरनुमानम् । व्याप्यं साधनम् ; व्यापकं साध्यम् ; व्याप्तिः अविनाभावः । सा चाविनाभावसंशब्दिता व्याप्तिः द्विविधा—अन्वयव्याप्तिर्व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिश्चेति । अन्वयमुखेन व्याप्तिरन्वयव्याप्तिः ; व्यतिरेकमुखेन व्याप्तिर्व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिः । साधनसद्भावे साध्यसद्भावोऽन्वयः ; साध्याभावे साधनाभावो व्यतिरेकः । अन्वयनियमोऽन्वयव्याप्तिः, साधनसद्भावे साध्यसद्भावनियमोऽन्वयव्याप्तिरित्यर्थः । साध्यसामान्येन साधनसामान्यस्यानुगम्यमानता यथा—यत्र धूमस्तत्राग्निरस्त्येवेत्यग्निना धूमस्यानुगम्यमानता । व्यतिरेकनियमो व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिः, साध्याभावे साधनाभावनियम इत्यर्थः । साधनसामान्याभावेन साध्यसामान्याभावस्यानुगम्यमानता यथा—यत्राग्निर्नास्ति तत्र धूमोऽपि नास्त्येवेति धूमाभावेनाग्न्यभावस्यानुगम्यमानता । तदेवं व्याप्यं साधनम् ; व्यापकं साध्यम् ; साधनमेव धर्मः साधनधर्मः ; साध्यमेव धर्मः साध्यधर्मः ; साधनधर्मदर्शनात् साध्यधर्मविशिष्टे धर्मिणि बुद्धिरनुमानम् । एतदुक्तं भवति फलतः—साधनधर्मविशिष्टधर्मोऽनुमानं साध्यधर्मविशिष्टधर्मिणि बुद्धिरनुमानमिति । यदि वा साधनं धर्मो यस्यासौ साधनधर्मः ; तस्य साधनधर्मणो दर्शनं साधनधर्मदर्शनम् ; तस्मात् साधनधर्मदर्शनात् साध्यधर्मविशिष्टे धर्मिणि बुद्धिरनुमानमिति कण्ठोक्तमेव । तदुक्तम्—

“ असिद्धेनैकदेशेन गम्यः सिद्धेन बोधकः ” इति ।

भाष्यकारेणाप्युक्तम्—

“ एकदेशदर्शनादेकदेशान्तरे असन्निकृष्टेऽयं बुद्धिः ” इति ।

द्विविधमनुमानं सामान्यतोदृष्टम्, विशेषतोदृष्टं च । नित्यानुमेयार्थविषयं सामान्यतोदृष्टम् ; यथा—देशान्तरप्राप्तिलिङ्गादादित्यनुमानम् । कार्यता[यात्] कारणानुमानं सामान्यतोदृष्टमिति केचित् । यथा—विद्युदादिकार्यदर्शनात् तत्कारणं किञ्चिदस्तीत्यनुमानम् । प्रत्यक्षयोग्यार्थविषयं विशेषतोदृष्टम् । यथा—धूमादग्न्यनुमानम् । विशिष्टलिङ्गेन विशिष्टलिङ्गयनुमानं विशेषतोदृष्टमिति केचित् । यथा—चन्दनधूमेन चन्दनाग्न्यनुमानम् । तत्पुनर्द्विविधम्—स्वार्थं परार्थं च । परोपदेशानपेक्षं स्वार्थम् ; परोपदेशापेक्षं तु परार्थमिति । परोपदेशस्तु पञ्चावयवं वाक्यम् । प्रतिशब्देत्दाहरणोपनयनिगमनान्यवयवाः । प्रतिशोपदेशनिदर्शनानुसन्धानप्रत्याज्ञाया अवयवा इत्यर्थः ॥

तत्र हेत्वाकाङ्क्षाजनकं पक्षवचनं प्रतिज्ञा । यथा—मिथ्या जागरितमिति । तृतीयापञ्चभ्योरन्यतरविभक्तयन्तं साधनवचनं हेतुः । यथा—दृश्यत्वेन दृश्यत्वादिति । स त्रिविधः—अन्वयव्यतिरेकी, केवलान्वयी, केवलव्यतिरेकी चेति । तत्र पञ्चरूपोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकी ; चतुरूपस्तु केवलान्वयी, केवलव्यतिरेकी च । नैतच्चतुरूपत्वमनयोर्लक्षणम्, किन्त्वन्वयव्यतिरेकिलक्षणस्य पञ्चरूपस्य व्यभिचारनिराकरणार्थमेतद्वचनम् । रूपाणि पुनः—पक्षधर्मत्वम्, सपक्षे सत्त्वम्, विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिः, अवाधितविषयत्वम्, असत्प्रतिपक्ष[क्षत्वं] चेति । प्रतिपिपादयिषितधर्मविशिष्टो धर्मो पक्षः ; तद्व्यापकत्वं हेतोः पक्षधर्मत्वम् । साध्यसमानधर्मा धर्मो सपक्षः, साध्यदृष्टान्तः सपक्ष इत्यर्थः ; तत्र वृत्तिमात्रं हेतोः सपक्षे सत्त्वम् । साध्यव्यावृत्तधर्मा धर्मो विपक्षः, वैधर्म्यदृष्टान्तो विपक्ष इत्यर्थः ; तस्मिन् हेतोरगमनं विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिः । प्रमाणाविरुद्धे प्रतिज्ञातार्थे वृत्तिरवाधितविषयत्वम् । साध्यतद्विपरीतयोः साधनस्य त्रिरूपत्वमसत्प्रतिपक्षत्वम्—एतानि पञ्चरूपाण्यन्वयव्यतिरेकिणो विद्यन्त इत्यन्वयव्यतिरेकी पञ्चरूपः । विपक्षाभावेन विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्त्यभावात् केवलान्वयी चतुरूपः । सपक्षाभावेन सपक्षवृत्त्यभावात् केवलव्यतिरेक्यपि चतुरूप एव । नैतदनयोर्लक्षणम्, किं तु पूर्वोक्तस्यान्वयव्यतिरेकिलक्षणस्य पञ्चरूपस्यातिव्यातिपरिहारार्थमेतद्वचनम्, लक्षणस्यानयोरेव वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् ; अन्यस्य च व्यभिचारित्वात् ॥

तत्रान्वयव्यतिरेकी द्विविधः—सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः, सपक्षव्यापकश्चेति । तत्र सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—मिथ्या जाग्रद्वेदो धर्मो, प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वात्, सप्त[स्वप्न]प्रपञ्चवदिति । सपक्षव्यापको यथा—मिथ्या जाग्रत्प्रपञ्चः, दृश्यत्वात्, स्वप्नप्रपञ्चवदिति । अथवा जन्मवदाकाशम्, अनित्यगुणाश्रयत्वादिति सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः । विभक्तत्वादिति सपक्षव्यापकः । पक्षव्यापकस्सपक्षवृत्तिरविद्यमानविपक्षः । केवलान्वयी, पूर्ववद् द्विविधः ; तद्यथा—विवादास्पदीभूतः कर्तृत्वादः परमार्थत आत्मधर्मो न भवति, दृश्यत्वादिति सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः, प्रसिद्धत्वादिति सपक्षव्यापकः ; पक्षव्यापको विद्यमानविपक्षोऽपि सपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तः केवलव्यतिरेकी यथा—वाङ्मनसगोचरातीतः प्रत्यगात्मा, बोद्धृत्वात् ; यस्तु वाङ्मनसगोचरातीतो न भवति स बोद्धापि न भवति, यथा घटादिरिति । प्रसङ्गद्वारेण वा—नेदं जीवच्छरीरं निरात्मकम् अप्राणादिमत्त्वप्रसङ्गात्, लोष्टवदिति । एतेन सर्वहेत्वाभासानामहेतुत्वमुक्तं भवति ॥

हेतुलक्षणरहिता हेतुवदवभासमाना हेत्वाभासाः । असिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तिकानध्यवसितकालात्ययापदिष्टप्रकरणसमप्रतिसाधना हेत्वाभासाः । तत्रानिश्चित-पक्षवृत्तिरसिद्धः । पक्षविपक्षयोरेव वर्तमानो विरुद्धः । पक्षत्रयवृत्तिरनैकान्तिकः । साध्यासाधकः पक्ष एव वर्तमानोऽनध्यवसितः । बाधितप्रतिज्ञानन्तरमुपन्यस्तः कालात्ययापदिष्टः । पक्षप्रतिपक्षयोस्त्रिरूपः प्रकरणसमः । एकत्र तुल्यलक्षणविरुद्धहेतु-द्वयोपनिपातो विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी सप्रतिसाधनः ॥

तत्रासिद्धो द्वादशविधः—स्वरूपासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थसत्यं द्वैतम्, स्वयंप्रभत्वात् । अधिकरणासिद्धो यथा—ब्रह्मवः पुरुषाः, सुखदुःखादीनां व्यवस्थितत्वात् । विशेषणासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थः प्रपञ्चः, स्वयंप्रभत्वे सति नानारसत्वात् । विशेष्यासिद्धो यथा—[परमार्थः प्रपञ्चः]नानारसत्वे सति स्वयंप्रभत्वात् । भागासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थः प्रपञ्चः, चाक्षुषत्वात् । आश्रयासिद्धो यथा—सन्ति परमाणवः, दृग्गुणादिक्रमेण कार्यारम्भकत्वात् । आश्रयैकदेशासिद्धिर्यथा—नित्या जीवेश्वरपरमाणवः, अनादित्वात् । व्यर्थविशेषणासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थसत्यं द्वैतम्, जडत्वे सत्यवाध्यत्वात् । व्यर्थविशेष्यासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थसत्यं द्वैतम्, अवाध्यत्वे सति जडत्वात् । सन्दिग्धासिद्धो यथा—धूमवाष्पादिविवेकानिश्चये कश्चिदग्निमानयं प्रदेशः, धूमवत्त्वात् । सन्दिग्धविशेषणासिद्धो यथा—अद्यापि क्लेशदूषितबुद्धी कणादाक्षपादौ, अद्याप्यनुत्पन्नतत्त्वज्ञानत्वे सति पुरुषत्वात् । सन्दिग्धविशेष्यासिद्धो यथा—अद्यापि क्लेशदूषितबुद्धी कणादाक्षपादौ, पुरुषत्वे सति सर्वदा तत्त्वज्ञानरहितत्वात् । एतेऽसिद्धभेदाः यदोभयवाद्यसिद्धत्वेन विवक्षितास्तदोभयासिद्धा भवन्ति । यदोभयवाद्य[यदान्यतरा]सिद्धत्वेन विवक्षितास्तदाः [विवक्षिताः]तदान्यतरासिद्धा भवन्तीति ॥

विरुद्धोऽष्टविधः । तत्र सति सपक्षे चत्वारो विरुद्धाः । पक्षविपक्षव्यापको यथा—सत्यं जागरितम्, अज्ञानकल्पितत्वात् । विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः पक्षव्यापको यथा—सत्यो जागरिततद्भेदो[तद्भेदो]धर्मो प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वात् । [सपक्ष]विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—सत्यं जागरितं धर्मि, प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वात् । पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्विपक्षव्यापको यथा—वाय्वाकाशे महाभूते न भवतः, स्पर्शवत्त्वात् । असति सपक्षे चत्वारो विरुद्धाः । पक्षविपक्षव्यापको यथा—विवादास्पदीभूतः कर्तृत्वादः परमार्थत आत्मधर्मः, प्रसिद्धत्वात् । पक्षविपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—विवादास्पदीभूतकर्तृत्वादि[तदिकं गतचिदाभासेन] परमार्थत आत्मधर्मः, धर्मफलत्वात् । पक्षव्यापको विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—विवादास्पदीभूतः कर्तृत्वादः परमार्थत आत्मधर्मः, कर्मफलत्वात् । विपक्षव्यापकः पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—सर्वं जडं चिदात्मानि कल्पितम्, अनादित्वात् । ननु चत्वार एव विरुद्धभेदाः, नान्ये, तेषामसिद्धलक्षणोपपन्नत्वेनासिद्धत्वम् ; नैष दोषः, उभय-लक्षणोपपन्नत्वेनोभयव्यवहारविषयत्वात् ; तुलायां प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारवत् ॥

अनैकान्तिकोऽष्टविधः । पक्षत्रयव्यापको यथा—सत्यं जागरितम्, प्रसिद्धत्वात् । पक्षव्यापकः सपक्षविपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—वैदैकसमधिगम्यः प्रत्यगात्मा, पुरुषार्थत्वात् । पक्षसपक्षव्यापको विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—गौरयम्, विपाणित्वात् । पक्षविपक्षव्यापकः सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—नायं गौः, विपाणित्वात् । पक्षत्रयैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—इन्द्रियाणि वाक्चक्षुःपाणिपादाः, ज[ज्ञा]नोत्पत्तौ साधकतमत्वात् । पक्षसपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्विपक्षव्यापको यथा—पृथिव्याकाशौ महाभूते, अमूर्तत्वात् । तत्र विपक्षत्वाभिमेते ब्रह्मणी सगुणनिर्गुणे । पक्षविपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः सपक्षव्यापको यथा—न महाभूते पृथिव्याकाशौ, अमूर्तत्वात् ॥

षोढानध्यवसितः । अविद्यमानसपक्षविपक्षः पक्षव्यापको यथा—सर्वे क्षणिकम्, रसत्वात् [सत्त्वात्] । अविद्यमानसपक्षविपक्षः पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—सर्वे क्षणिकम्, कार्यत्वात् । विद्यमानसपक्षविपक्षः पक्षव्यापको यथा—नित्या भूः, गन्धवत्त्वात् । विद्यमानसपक्षविपक्षः पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—नित्ये भूजले, गन्धवत्त्वात् । अविद्यमानविपक्षो विद्यमानसपक्षः पक्षव्यापको यथा—सर्वे जडं नित्यम्, बाध्यत्वात् । अविद्यमानविपक्षो विद्यमानसपक्षः पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—सर्वे जडं परमार्थसत्यम्, उत्पत्तिमत्त्वात् । अनध्यवसितोऽसाधारणानैकान्तिको नाम कश्चिदनैकान्तिकभेदो न पृथक् हेत्वाभास इति केचित् । अस्मिन्पक्षेऽपि विश्वायकत्वं संशयहेतुत्वं चानैकान्तिकसामान्यलक्षणं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

कालत्ययापदिष्टः षड्विधः । प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धो यथा—अनुष्णोऽग्निः, कार्यत्वात् । अनुमानविरुद्धो यथा—चक्षु रूपोपलब्धिं न करोति, इन्द्रियत्वात् । शास्त्रविरुद्धो यथा—अग्नीषोमीयादिनर्थहेतुः, प्राणिप्रमाणत्वात्, वृथाप्राणिहिंसनवत् । अर्थापत्तिविरुद्धो यथा—नायमग्निर्दाहशक्तिमान्, द्रव्यत्वात् आकाशवदिति । उपमानविरुद्धो यथा—नायं गवयो गोसदृशः, चतुष्पात्त्वात्, अश्ववदिति । योग्यानुपलब्धिविरुद्धो यथा—अश्वादयो विषाणिनः चतुष्पात्त्वात् गोवदिति । अनुभवविरुद्धो यथा—विवादास्पदीभूताः कामसंकल्पादयो मनोधर्मा न भवन्ति, जनिमत्त्वात्, घटवदिति ॥

प्रकरणसमस्योदाहरणम् यथा—नित्यः शब्दः, पक्षसपक्षयोरन्यतरत्वात्, सपक्षवदिति ॥

सप्रतिसाधनस्योदाहरणम्—बुद्धिपूर्वा वेदाः, वाक्यत्वात्, लौकिकवाक्यवत् । अबुद्धिपूर्वा वेदाः, अहरहर्व्यवहियमाणत्वे सत्यस्मर्यमाणकर्तृकत्वात्, आत्मवदिति ॥ सम्यग्दृष्टान्ताभिधानमुदाहरणम् । सम्यग्भिधानमुदाहरणमित्युक्ते प्रतिज्ञादे-रप्युदाहरणत्वप्रसङ्ग इति दृष्टान्तग्रहणम् । दृष्टान्ताभिधानमसम्यगप्यस्तीति सम्यग्ग्रहणम् । व्याप्तिग्रहणभूमिर्दृष्टान्तो यत्र स्थित्वान्वयव्यतिरेकिव्याप्तिग्रहणम् । यत्र लौकिकपरीक्ष-काणां बुद्धिसाम्यं दृष्टं स दृष्टान्तः, तस्य सम्यग्भिधानमुदाहरणम् । तद्विधम्—अन्वयमुखेन दृष्टान्ताभिधानं साधर्म्योदाहरणम्, यथा—मिथ्या जागरितं दृश्यत्वात् ; यद्दृश्यं तन्मिथ्या, यथा स्वप्नदृश्यमिति । व्यतिरेकमुखेन दृष्टान्ताभिधानं वैधर्म्यो-दाहरणम् ; यन्मिथ्या न भवति तद्दृश्यमपि न भवति, यथा ह्रस्वरूपमिति । एतेनोदाहरणाभासानामनुदाहरणत्वमुक्तं भवति ॥

उदाहरणलक्षणरहिता उदाहरणवदवभासमाना उदाहरणाभासाः ; ते च द्वादशविधाः—षट् साधर्म्योदाहरणाभासाः, तथा षड्वैधर्म्योदाहरणाभासा इति । मनसो नित्यत्वमात्रविशेषवादिवैशेषिकैकदेशीयः कश्चिद्वैशेषिकं प्रत्याह—अनित्यं मनः, मूर्तत्वादिति ; तस्मिन्नेव प्रयोगे सर्वेऽप्युदाहरणाभासाः प्रदर्श्यन्ते । यथा—

यद्यन्मूर्तं तत्तदनित्यं दृष्टम्, यथा परमाणुरिति तद्दृष्ट्या साध्यविकलम् । यथा कर्मेति साधनविकलम् । यथा आकाशमिति उभयविकलः । यथा वन्ध्यापुत्र इति आश्रयहीनः । घटवत् इति अनुगमः । यन्नित्यं तन्मूर्तं दृष्टमिति विपरीतानुगमः । अन्यौ तु वचनदोषौ । एते षट् साधर्म्योदाहरणाभासाः । यत्तु नित्यं तन्मूर्तमपि न भवति यथा परमाणुरिति साधनव्यावृत्तम् । यथा कर्मेति साध्यव्यावृत्तः । यथा घट इति उभयव्यावृत्तः । यथा वन्ध्यापुत्र इति आश्रयहीनः । आकाशवदित्यव्यावृत्तः । यन्मूर्तं न भवति तदनित्यं न भवति, यथाकाशमिति विपरीतव्यावृत्तः । अत्राप्यन्यौ वचनदोषौ । एते षड्वैधर्म्यो-दाहरणाभासा इति । अन्ये तु सन्देहमुखेनापरानष्टाबुदाहरणाभासान् दर्शयन्ति । सन्दिग्धसाध्यो यथा—महाराज्यं करिष्यत्येव राजपुत्रः, रसेम[सोम]वंश्यत्वात्, विवक्षित-राजपुत्रवत् । सन्दिग्धसाधनो यथा—नायं सर्वज्ञः, रागादिमत्त्वात्, अद्यागतपान्य-पुरुषवत् । सन्दिग्धोभयो यथा—गमिष्यति स्वर्गं विवक्षितः पुरुषः, समुपार्जितशुक्लधर्म-त्वात्, अद्यागतापरिचितपुरुषवत् । सन्दिग्धाश्रयो यथा—नायं सर्वज्ञः, बहुवक्तृ-त्वात्, भविष्यदेवपुत्रवत् । सन्दिग्धसाध्यव्यावृत्तो यथा—माहा[?]यो महाराज्यं न करिष्यति, स सोमवंश्यो न भवति, यथान्यो राजपुत्रः । सन्दिग्धसाधनव्यावृत्तो यथा—यः सर्वज्ञः स रागादिसहितः, यथा समस्तशास्त्रार्थज्ञः पुरुषः । सन्दिग्धोभय-व्यावृत्तो यथा—यस्स्वर्गं न गमिष्यति स समुपार्जितशुक्लधर्मोपि न भवति, दुष्टपुरुष-वत् । सन्दिग्धाश्रयो यथा—सस्सर्वज्ञः स बहुवक्तृपि न भवति, भविष्यदेवपुत्रवत् ॥

दृष्टान्ते प्रसिद्धाविनाभावस्य साधनस्य दृष्टान्तोपमानेन पक्षे व्याप्तिव्यापकं वचनमुपनयः । यथा[तथा] चेदं दृश्यं जागरितमिति साधर्म्योपनयः, तथादृश्यं न भवति इदं जागरितमिति वैधर्म्योपनयः ॥

उपनयानन्तरं सहेतुकं प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्वचनं निगमनम् । तस्मिन्मिथ्यैव जागरितमिति । न चेदमसाधनाङ्गं निगमनम्, विपक्षे बाधकप्रमाण-सद्भावसूचकत्वादस्य । न च विपक्षे बाधकमन्तरेण साध्यावधारणं संभवति ; तथा चोक्तम् “विमृश्य पक्षप्रतिपक्षाभ्यामर्थवधारणं निर्णयः” इति । पक्षप्रतिपक्षाभ्यामिति साधनदूषणाभ्यामित्यर्थः । तस्मान्निगमनप्रतिपाद्यार्थसद्भावादस्ति निगमनम् । ब्रह्म-वित्समये निगमनं नास्तीति चेन्न, यत आह—

“हेतूक्तितः प्रतिज्ञायाः सिद्धार्थाया यदुत्तरम् ।

वचो निगमनं तत् स्याद्वाक्यस्यावयवोऽन्तर्भाक् ॥” इति ।

भाष्यकारोऽप्याह “निगमनस्थानीयं मैत्रेयीब्राह्मणम्” इत्यादि । ततः शाबरमपि भाष्यमुपनयनिगमनसद्भावं सूचयति । “ननु सर्व एव निरालम्बनः प्रत्ययः ; प्रत्ययस्य हि निरालम्बनतास्वभाव उपलक्षितः स्वप्ने । जाग्रतोऽपि स्तम्भ इति वा कुड्य इति वा प्रत्ययापेक्षा भवति । तस्मात् सोऽपि निरालम्बन एव” इति निदर्शनात् । स एष परमो न्यायः यद्विप्रतिपन्नं पुरुषं प्रति पञ्चावयवं वाक्यम् । तत्सापेक्षं परार्थानुमानम् । एवं स्वार्थं परार्थं च द्विविधमनुमानम् ॥

“विशेषेऽनुगमाभावः सामान्ये सिद्धसादृश्यता” इति चार्वाकस्य यः पर्यनुयोगः, सोऽग्निधूमजात्याक्रान्ताकारेण व्यक्त्योरेव व्याप्यव्यापकभावाभ्युपगमेन गम्यगमकभावाभ्युपगमाच्च निरस्तः ॥

अन्ये पुनः प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानमाहुः—पूर्ववत्, शेषवत्, सामान्यतोदृष्टं चेति । तत्र पूर्ववत्—पूर्वं कारणम् ; पूर्वमस्यास्तीति पूर्ववत्, कारणवदित्येतत् ; कारणेन कार्यानुमानम्—यथा विशिष्टमेधोव्रतिदर्शनाद् भविष्यति वृष्टिरिति । शेषवत् कार्यवत् ; शेषोऽस्यास्तीति शेषवत् ; उक्ताकारणादन्येन शेषेण कार्येण कारणानुमानम्—यथा नदीपूरविशेषाद् भूद् वृष्टिरिति । कार्यकारणयोरन्यतरदर्शनादन्यतरप्रतिपत्तिः सामान्यतोदृष्टम्—यथा सवितुरुदयगिरिर्मूर्धनि दृष्टस्यास्तगिरिर्मस्तके दर्शनाद् वज्रयानुमानम् । तथा च मनुरस्यानुमानत्रयस्य सद्भावं दर्शयति, प्रातिपूर्वकत्वात् प्रतिषेधस्य—

“आदीदिदं तमोभूतमप्रज्ञातमलक्षणम् ।

अप्रतर्क्यमविज्ञेयं प्रसुप्तमिव सर्वतः ॥” इति ॥

अत्राप्रज्ञातमिति प्रत्यक्षप्रतिषेधः । अलक्षणमिति पूर्ववदनुमाननिषेधः । अप्रतर्क्यमिति शेषवदनुमाननिषेधः । अविज्ञेयमिति सामान्यतोदृष्टनिषेधः । एतच्चानुमानत्रयं व्याप्तिबलात् ॥

अत्राह—का पुनरियं व्याप्तिः? किंच तस्यां प्रमाणम्? उच्यते । व्याप्तिरविनाभावः; अन्वयव्यतिरेकौ च तस्यां प्रमाणम् । कः पुनरविनाभावः—अग्निस्वरूपम्, आहोस्विद्वस्वरूपम्, अथवा तयोः कार्यकारणभावः, किं वा तत्त्वान्तरम्? यदा तत्त्वान्तरं तदापि किं स्वतन्त्रम्, उत तदाश्रयम्? यदा तदाश्रयम्, तदापि किमन्याश्रयम्, उत धूमाश्रयम्, आहोस्विदुभयाश्रयम्—इति विकल्पः । अन्वयव्यतिरेकावपि किं प्रत्यक्षान्तर्भूतौ, आहोस्विदनुमानान्तर्भूतौ, अथवार्थापत्त्यात्मकौ—इति तत्रापि विकल्पः । उच्यते । धूमाश्रय एव कश्चिदमोऽविनाभाव इति वदामः । स च नात्यन्तमभिन्नः, नाप्यत्यन्तं भिन्नः, किंतु तदात्मक एव कश्चिन्नियमविशेषः, तथा प्रतीतेः । न चैतयोः कार्यकारणभावोऽस्य धूमैकनिष्ठत्वात्, कार्यकारणभावस्य चोभयनिष्ठत्वात् ; तस्मात्तत्त्वान्तरमविनाभावः । न च स्वतन्त्रः, नाभ्युपगतः, धूमैकतन्त्रत्वात् ; अन्वयव्यतिरेकौ च तत्र प्रमाणम्, प्रत्यक्षान्तर्भूतावनुमानान्तर्भूतवार्थापर्यन्तर्भूतौ वा विरोधाभावात् । प्रत्यक्षान्तर्भावपक्षे भूयोर्दर्शनसंस्कारसहितार्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगाद्व्याप्तिविज्ञानोत्पत्तिरिति योजनीयत्वम् ; वैशेषिकादिवत् अन्वयव्यतिरेकयोर्मानसप्रत्यक्षान्तर्भावानभ्युपगमात् । अन्यथासिद्धिप्रयोजकसंशयावन्वयव्यतिरेकदूषणम् ; तदभावे तयोरौत्सर्गिकं प्रामाण्यमनपवादं भवति प्रत्यक्षान्तर्भावपक्षे । अर्थव[अर्थाप]-

र्यन्तर्भावपक्षे पुनरन्यथासिद्धार[व]र्थापत्तिरेव नास्तीति प्रापकाभावादेव कार्याभावः, न प्रतिबन्धकसद्भावात् । अनुमानत्वपक्षेऽप्यन्यथासिद्धावेवान्वयव्यतिरेकौ व्याप्यादिलिङ्गमिति व्याप्याभावादेव व्याप्तिज्ञानलक्षणकार्याभावः, न प्रतिबन्धकसद्भावात् । अन्यथासिद्धिर्यथाग्निसामीप्यात् पाषाणधूमयोः ; क्वचित् तत्तन्त्रत्वाद् यथा धूमपैङ्गल्ययोः ; क्वचिदेककारणकार्यत्वाद् यथा भस्मधूमयोः ; कार्यकारणत्वाद् यथा पितामहपौत्रयोः ; क्वचित्कारणेन समानाश्रयत्वात् अकारणस्य कार्यान्वयव्यतिरेकयोरन्यथासिद्धिः, यथा गुरुत्वात्, पाषाणस्य पतने पाषाणगतरूपादिना तदीयपतनान्वयव्यतिरेकयोः ; क्वचित्कारणप्रतिबन्धकाभावत्वाद् तस्य कार्येण सहान्वयव्यतिरेकयोरन्यथासिद्धिः, यथा मणिमन्वाद्यभावस्य धूमेन सह । क्वचित्प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् तस्य कार्येण सह अन्वयव्यतिरेकयोरन्यथासिद्धिः, यथा प्रतिमन्त्रस्य धूमेन सहेति । एवंप्रकारमप्युक्तं प्रयोजकसंशयस्योदाहरणम् ॥

मन्त्रार्थवादानामन्यपरत्वात् विषमक्षणादिवाक्यवयथाश्रुतेऽर्थे न प्रामाण्यमिति मीमांसकेनोक्ते वेदान्तवाद्याह—सन्दिग्धं प्रयोजकम् ; किं प्रमाणान्तरेण बाधाद्विषमक्षणादिवाक्यस्य यथाश्रुतेऽर्थेऽप्रामाण्यम्, आहोस्विदन्यपरत्वाद् इति । तदेवमन्यथासिद्धिप्रयोजकसंशयाभावेऽन्वयव्यतिरेकौ व्याप्यादिग्रहणानिमित्तमिति सिद्धम् । अतोऽनुमानात्मकत्वमेवान्वयव्यतिरेकयोरस्मदर्शने । कस्मात्? आप्तवचनात् । तथाहि भगवत्पादीयवचनम्—

“अन्वयव्यतिरेकौ हि पदार्थस्य पदस्य च ।

स्यादेतदहमित्यत्र युक्तिरेवावधारणा ॥” इति ।

युक्तिरत्रानुमानलक्षणा, न पुनस्तर्कः ; अन्यत्रान्वयव्यतिरेकयोः स्पष्टमनुमानशब्दौ[ब्द]निर्देशात् ; तथाह्यन्वयव्यतिरेकौ प्रकृत्याह—

“अनुमानप्रदीपेन हित्वा सर्वाननात्मनः ।

संसारैकावलम्बिन्या तदभावं धियेप्सति ॥”

इति वार्तिककारः । तस्मादुपपन्नं व्याप्तिग्रहणम् ॥

अत्र केचिदाहुः । त्रिरूपाणि त्रीण्येव लिङ्गानि—अनुपलब्धिः स्वभावः कार्यं चेति । परार्थानुमानवाक्यं च हेतुदाहरणावयवद्रव्यात्मकमिच्छन्ति । तेषां स्वार्थानुमानं तावदुपन्यस्यते—त्रिरूपालिङ्गादर्थदृक् स्वार्थानुमानम् । तत्रापि प्रथममनुपलब्धिः यथा—न प्रदेशविशेषे क्वचिद् घट उपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तस्यानुपलब्धेरिति । स्वभावस्योदाहरणं यथा—वृक्षोऽयं शिशपात्वादिति । कार्यस्योदाहरणं यथा—अग्निरत्र धूमादिति । अत्र द्वे वस्तुसद्भावसाधने स्वभावः कार्यं चेति ; अनुपलब्धिस्तु प्रतिषेधहेतुः । इति स्वार्थानुमानम् ॥

अथ परार्थानुमानम्—त्रिरूपालिङ्गाख्यानं परार्थानुमानं कारणे कार्योपचारात् । तद् द्विविधं प्रयोगभेदाद्, साधर्म्यवत् वैधर्म्यवच्च । नानयोरर्थतः कश्चिद्भेदः, अन्यत्र प्रयोगभेदात् ; तत्र साधर्म्यवत् ; यदुपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तं सन्नोपलभ्यते तदसत् ; यथा—

खरस्य विषाणम्; नोपलभ्यते च कचिदेव प्रदेशविशेष उपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तो घट इत्यनुप-  
लब्धिप्रयोगः । तथा स्वभावहेतोः प्रयोगः—यत्सत् तत्सर्वमानित्यम्, यथा घटादि;  
सच्च विवादास्पदीभूतमिति । तथा यदुत्पत्तिमत् तदनित्यम्, यथा घटादि; उत्पत्ति-  
मच्च विवादास्पदीभूतमिति । तथा यत्कृतकं तदनित्यम्, यथा घटादि; कृतकं च  
विवादास्पदीभूतमिति । कार्यहेतोः प्रयोगः; यत्र धूमस्तत्राग्निः यथा महानसादौ;  
अस्ति चेह धूम इति । वैधर्म्यवतः प्रयोगः; यत्सदु[यदु]पलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तं  
तदुपलभ्य इति, [प्राप्तं सदुपलभ्यते तत् सत्] यथा नीलादिविशेषः; न  
चैवमिहोपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तस्य घटस्योपलब्धिरित्येषोऽनुपलब्धिप्रयोगः । नित्ये नास्ति  
सत्त्वमुत्पत्तिमत्त्वं कृतकत्वं वा । असंश्च [संश्च] शब्द उत्पत्तिमान् कृतको वेति  
वैधर्म्यवतः स्वभावहेतोरेव प्रयोगः । असत्यमौ न भवत्येव धूमः । अत्र चास्तीति  
कार्यहेतोर्वैधर्म्यवतः प्रयोगः । तदेतदसत्; स्वभावादित्यविलक्षणस्य कृत्तिको-  
दयस्य रोहिण्युदयलिङ्गत्वदर्शनात् । न हि कृत्तिकोदयो रोहिण्युदयस्य स्वभावः; नापि  
कार्यम्; नाप्यनुपलब्धिः; प्रमाणाभावात्; तथापि कृत्तिकोदयो रोहिण्युदयस्य लिङ्गं  
दृश्यते; तस्मादेव न त्रीण्येव लिङ्गानीति । त्रिरूपाण्येवेति एतदप्यसत्, पाञ्चरूप्य-  
चातुरूप्ययोर्दशितत्वात् । परार्थानुमानवाक्यस्य द्वयवयवनियमाभ्युपगमोऽप्यनुपपन्नः,  
पञ्चावयवत्वदर्शनात् । तस्मादन्येन[तस्मात् येन]प्राप्तं पञ्चरूपं चतुरूपं वा । तत्तु लिङ्गमिति  
नियमः; न त्रयं चतुष्टयं वेति । परार्थानुमानवाक्यं च पञ्चावयवमिति स्थितम् ॥

केचित्पुनर्वैदान्तपक्षेऽपि त्रिरूपमेव लिङ्गं व्यवयवं च वाक्यमिच्छन्ति ।  
त्रिरूपत्वे लिङ्गस्य ज्योतिर्ब्राह्मणगतं सुरेश्वरस्य वार्तिकं गमकमाहुः—

“सहोपलम्भसंस्कारात् पुनर्दीर्घैकदर्शनात् ।

सानुमासंभवस्तत्र व्यभिचाराय चेन्न हि ॥” इति ।

व्यवयवत्वं च वाक्यस्य, कर्ममीमांसावार्तिककारपरित्यागे कारणाभावादिति ।  
तथा सति असिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तिकप्रतिसाधनाश्रित्य एव हेत्वाभासाः । प्रकरणसमस्य  
सप्रतिसाधनेऽन्तर्भावः, अनध्यवसितस्य चानैकान्तिकेऽन्तर्भावः; प्रत्यक्षाविरुद्धत्वादि  
प्रतिज्ञादोषो न हेतुदोषः; ततश्च कालात्ययापदिष्टो नाम हेत्वाभासो नास्ति, कालात्य-  
यापदिष्टस्यानध्यवसितवदनैकान्तिकेऽन्तर्भावात्; किंतु षट् प्रतिज्ञाभासाः—  
प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धः, अनुमानविरुद्धः, शास्त्रविरुद्धः, अर्थापत्तिविरुद्धः, योग्यानुपलब्धि-  
विरुद्धः, अनुभवविरुद्धश्चेति । अत्र च पक्षे केवलान्वयिनोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकिमध्येऽन्तर्भा-  
वोऽपि [वः वि] पक्षाभावादेव विपक्षाद्वयावृत्तेर्व्यतिरेकसद्भावात् । केवलव्यतिरेकिणो  
गमकत्वमेव नास्ति “सहोपलम्भसंस्कारात् पुनर्दीर्घैकदर्शनात्” इत्यनुमानलक्षण-  
विधानात् । कथं पुनर्वैदान्तग्रन्थेष्वपीत [वीत] हेतुप्राचुर्यदर्शनम् ? बाह्यतार्किकमुक्-  
विधानार्थं नैयायिकपक्षप्रसिद्धव्यतिरेकहेत्वङ्गीकरणवादेन तदुपन्यासात् तत्प्राचुर्यदर्शन-  
मित्यस्मिन् पक्षे योजयितव्यमित्यलं प्रसङ्गेन । तस्मादनुमानमपि न व्यभिचरति ॥

॥ अनुमानलक्षणं समाप्तम् ॥

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## SCIENCE AND REALITY

BY

P. NAGARAJA RAO.



### I

We live in an age whose intellectual environment is largely determined by science. Science in some manner or other has affected and influenced our world view. The different schools of contemporary philosophical thought have found the sanction for their tenets in science. Science has come to stay as the spiritual diet and climate of our age.

When we talk of science and its impact on society, we have two definite and distinct contributions of science in view. Scientific technique has helped us to devise ways and means to reduce drudgery and has knit the universe into a close home. It has created an interdependent world. The manifold advantages, which science has showered on us, have almost become a matter of commonplace talk. "We can talk across continents and oceans, install television sets in the home, hear the Big-Ben striking at North Borneo, make photographs speak and sing and invent X-rays, which are the windows through which we observe and snapshot our insides, roads are made of rubber, crops are ripened by electricity, hair is waved by electric current, distance melts and aeroplane girdles the earth." In short, science has transformed the habits of human life in a revolutionary manner.

All the servants of humanity are of one opinion in praising the benefits of scientific technique. The one serious limitation of scientific technique is that the power science has invested us with is being used for anti-social ends. We ought not to be indifferent to good ends. The power science has invested us with like all other powers is neutral and its ethical character is determined by the end it subserves. Hence the fear of machine-civilization. Hence the dread of the civilization that is mechanically efficient and ethically indifferent. The machines, which science devised to serve as means to good life, have usurped the place of the ends. What was merely a camp-follower has come into command of the army. The central defect of modern

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All Communications should be addressed to the Correspondent, Journal of  
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best enables us to give sufficiently probable results and not absolutely certain truths. Science is not final. The jurisdiction of science is limited. It can only tackle what is determinable in terms of quantity. What the scientist cannot measure, is not necessarily non-existent. Reality as such contains much more than what science can know. The intuitions of value, the significance of love, the irresistible attraction of beauty, etc., cannot be known by the methods of science. Science has to forge new instruments to deal with these aspects of reality. The non-existence of instruments should never lead to the ignoring of those entities. The scientist abstracts only the mathematically determinable world. The scientifically indeterminable elements go under the name of values (Truth, Beauty and Goodness). Values, according to the scientific humanist, are ways of feeling. Their existence is granted but not their metaphysical ultimacy. The plenary purpose of science, according to the master scientists, is not the manipulating knowledge we have about a thing. Such a knowledge gives us power over a thing and we go on perpetually meddling with it. Possession of power begets love of greater power. The power impulse is the source of corruption. "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely," wrote Acton in his epitaph on human history. "All Great Men", he added, "are bad". There is a way of knowing a thing in a manner other than the manipulative fashion. That method gives us the contemplative type of knowledge. It produces in us an attitude of mind, which gives us the feeling of ecstasy. Science, in fact, began with this function. The ancient bards of Greece treated Nature as their bride. The contemplative type of knowledge gives us a frame of mind, which can be characterised as humanistic. The sober calculations of Mathematics and Physics drive home the limitations under which the human being has to live in this world. The human being very well knows that the stamp of mortality is set on everything human. But still he feels that man, though an impotent crawling creature in this petty planet, is still free in the field of thought to create and cherish ideals. It is out of this vision and freedom that the man has created the world of art, literature and science. This is what Russell characterises as the *Free-man's worship*. Human life is something definite which has to be lived in the light of these values. The late novelist Galsworthy gives expression to this view of life in the

following telling words: In this incomprehensible world full of the savage and the stupid and the suffering, with monstrous contrasts and the most queer happenings, we ought not to fly to another world for compensation. We should never lose even in tragedy that unconscious rapture and pre-possession with that entrancing occupation which we call life. We must say "Sufficient unto the earth is the beauty and the meaning thereof." A self-satisfied humanism with a reasonable faith in the cult of science is the purpose of life.

### III

A great many European Philosophers of to-day have directed their attention to the study of the philosophy of values. Considerable part of modern literature on philosophy is an enquiry of the metaphysical status and import of the three great traditional values: Truth, Beauty and Goodness. The philosophy of values has come to stay as the religion of the enlightened in the place of the traditional religion.

These value philosophies point out the serious limitations of science and hold the view that science tells us little about somethings and there are no things about which it tells everything. The immeasurable and the indeterminable in reality are not tackled by science. Science cannot explain the nature of human mind. Human mind is purposive and science deals only with mechanistic causation. Science has no use for teleology. Science cannot provide reasons for the why of phenomena. Science, in short, describes and does not explain. Explanation implies purpose. Purpose has ceased to be a scientific concept. The very pre-supposition of science is the mechanical mode of treating factors. It proceeds on the assumption that every event is mechanically caused by the preceding events or set of events. It cannot countenance the arbitrary introduction of purpose and goal. *The scientific scheme is defective, because it leaves out of account Mind and Values.*

Any attempt at an interpretation of reality must be in terms of principles other than nature. Prof. A. N. Whitehead, the subtle metaphysician, has pointed out conclusively the defects of a scientific interpretation of reality. Whitehead states that the notion of force, or stress as something which operates between bodies is fundamental in the scheme of Newtonian

Physics. The Newtonian scheme does not tell us *why there should be stress or why force should operate*. The motion of bodies is said to be not arbitrary but determined by definite laws, *e.g.*, law of gravitation. The motion may not be arbitrary but the laws are. Why should there be just these particular laws and not others. These facts point out that a few bits of matter moving in space cannot furnish reason for their existence. The central defect of science, in the words of Whitehead is, "Newton in discovering the laws which governed the movements of matter, while leaving the laws themselves as arbitrary, unexplained facts, illustrated a great philosophical truth that *a dead Nature can give no reason*. All ultimate reasons are in terms of aim at value."

Further Whitehead holds that the scientific scheme excludes purpose and values; so it is not able to give a self-clear explanation of reality.

Thirdly, the logical principles which science assumes such as induction, the law of contradiction and other mathematical principles, etc., to prove the validity of results arrived at by science have to be explained in terms other than scientific categories. Sense perception does not provide the data for their interpretation. This necessitates the assumption of values and mind.

The limitations of science and its methods have led to the re-interpretation of reality. Reality for the value-philosophers consists not only of objects that are known through the methods of science but also objects that are intuited. The intuited objects are values. They are Truth, Beauty and Goodness. They are upheld as ultimate and not instrumental. They are objective and not subjective. They are aspects of reality that have to be intuited. Plato describes them as forms. Scientific methods do not help us to realise the vision of the values.

The contemporary mood is expressing itself in the denial of values. Values are denounced as figments of our imagination. Truth along with other values are treated as subjective hallucination. Their reality is refuted because they are not visible and tangible. The moral value, Good, is explained in terms of convenience, utility and pleasurable sensation. They hold with Hamlet that there is nothing good or bad but thinking makes it so. Beauty is explained as a

matter of taste. The idea of God and religion is interpreted as the dopes created by man to mitigate his loneliness.

Such a subjectivist account of values is neither correct nor is it calculated to usher in an era of civilization. The doubting and discrediting of values is symptomatic of the decay of civilization. Those who believe in the existence of values have taken great pains to establish the objective and intrinsic nature of values. The proof for the existence of the objectivity of values is not conclusive. The dangers of subjectivism are legion. "The statement or the truth, if we call it such, that all truths are subjective is itself subjective". The mere presence of the enormous diversity of opinions about the beauty of a picture is regarded by some as an argument in favour of the subjective view. It is not so. Everybody does differentiate between a good and a better picture. Further it is absurd to assess beauty by counting heads. That would be reducing beauty to a statistical computation. One fails to see why beauty as a quality belonging to a thing be denied when other qualities like weight, volume, etc., are not denied. If this quality is a projection of the human mind let the others too be. The subjectivist view of values logically leads to solipsism. The inter-subjective intercourse is enough evidence against solipsism. Solipsism suggests that we know only our own mental states, a conclusion revolting to commonsense. These facts point out that the value, Beauty, is intrinsic and not a projection of the human view. It is an aspect of reality. It is an intrinsic and not an instrumental value.

The Good, the chief moral value, is explained in terms of social approval and individual expediency. The Good is not an instrumental value as it is mistaken to be. There are no doubt a great many values that are instrumental, such as, health, wealth, power, etc.

The chief obstruction towards the acceptance of the ultimate nature of the values is hedonism. Hedonism holds the view that the only value man pursues is pleasure. Pleasure in some form or other is the main-spring of human activity. Men seek pleasure sometimes with a long-term range in view. That is why they sacrifice immediate pleasures and put up with a little discomfort for a time. The apparent altruistic activities and martyrdoms are interpreted in this light by the hedonists.

John Stuart Mill introduced some refinement in the doctrine of hedonism. He introduced differences in the qualities of pleasure. He said it is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied.

Before establishing the ultimate nature of values one has necessarily to refute the hedonist doctrine in its various forms. If hedonism is valid, the ultimate value will be pleasure. No direct disproof of this doctrine is possible but by an appeal to one's introspection one is able to see the weakness of this doctrine. We do not always act after balancing the results of the alternative courses of action in terms of pleasure. We most often act on impulse. Further we desire specific ends and not pleasure. Pleasure results as a consequence. The hedonist theory puts the cart before the horse. We desire specific things and pleasure accrues later on. Pleasure or happiness is a by-product. It is not an end pursued directly. The qualitative element introduced by Mill is ambiguous. What is a high quality pleasure? Certainly not more intense pleasure, because such a position would only be equivalent to greater quantity of pleasure. The distinction sought to be maintained disappears. The word 'high' introduces some standard other than pleasure. Happiness, in the words of Aldous Huxley, is like coke, something you get as a by-product in the process of making something else. Aristotle defined happiness as the bloom on the cheek of a young man. Happiness will elude you, if you seek it. "It is like a flower that surprises you, a song which you hear as you pass the hedge, rising suddenly."

Once that pleasure is proved to be a by-product and not an ultimate value, the traditional values, Truth, Beauty and Goodness emerge out as intrinsic, objective and ultimate. These values are said to be plural by the modern pluralist philosophers. The intuition of these values is said to result in a state of mind which is held to be the ideal of human life.

Christianity in the west and theistic schools of Vedānta in India have regarded that the greatest value is the Deity. In the Deity the traditional values are said to be concretised. According to Rāmānuja, the greatest theologian of India, 'Lord is the abode of infinite number of auspicious attributes' and fellowship with him (Mokṣa) is the supreme value of life.

Sāṅkarādvaita in the east and Absolution in the west have held that the supreme value is Brahman. The conscious

realisation of the true nature of the self, which is apparently individualised into different centres on account of the functioning of *nescience*, is the supreme value of life. Modern philosophically-minded scientists have found that science has led them to the conclusion and affirmed the existence of this great value, i.e., Brahman experience. Prof. Eddington holds the view that Physics gives us knowledge not of things in themselves but of the responses which are made to things by various measuring machines. The subject-matter of exact science consists of pointer readings and similar indications. The scientific nature of the universe does not conform to the objects in the external world. The world-picture depicted by Physics is a world of symbols. "Science has nothing to say about the intrinsic nature of the atom. The atom like everything else is a schedule of pointer-readings. The real background is the spiritual substratum." The knowledge that science gives us about the external world is the result of the interpretation of the human mind and the data received through the senses. There is an element of construction. Science gives us a knowledge of the external world, as construed and constructed by the human mind, Eddington says that the scientific view of the world is a type of *selective* subjectivist view. These serious limitations do not warrant the dogmatic assertion of the realist philosopher that the external world is objectively real. It is the efficiency of the human mind that is responsible for the picture of the external world described by the scientists. Prof. A. N. Whitehead writes, "Nature gets credit which should, in truth, be reserved for ourselves, the rose for its scent, the nightingale for its song and the sun for its radiance. The poets are entirely mistaken. They should address their lyrics to themselves and should turn them into odes of self-congratulation on the excellence of the human mind." Hindu thought does not merely stop with the plurality of selves but tries to explain the plurality as due to the cosmic delusion (Māyā) and transcends even the limitations of an affirmative theology. It sees the greatest value in the one Brahman without a second. It is the value of values and the truth of truths. It is the secondless entity. It is knowledge, bliss and existence. It is no other than the delusively identified plural selves.

## VAJRALĒPA AND WOOD-PRESERVATION

BY

DR. K. GODA VARMA,  
University, Trivandrum.

In the ancient sanskrit works on Arhitecture, mention is made of several Lēpas intended to be used as cements and plasters. The frequent references to Vajralēpa in the literary works of Sanskrit and the occurrence of the word in its original or metamorphosed form in the sense of an adamantine cement in almost all languages of India from the Nēpālī in the North to the Malayālam in the South, show that Lēpas like Vajralēpa were once widely used throughout India. The passages found in Vikramōrvaśīya, Uttararāmacarita and Mālatī-mādhava as

‘अम्महे ! वज्रलेपघटितमिव मे हस्तयुगलं न समर्थास्म्यपनेतुम्’<sup>1</sup>

‘दृढवज्रलेपनिबन्धनिश्चलमत्र हतजीवितं मां मन्दभागिनीं परित्यजति’<sup>2</sup>  
and ‘प्रत्युत्तेव च वज्रलेपघटितेवान्तर्निखातेव च’<sup>3</sup>

respectively go to prove clearly that Vajralēpa is a kind of cement, things glued by means of which are as difficult to separate as a diamond. Further, Varāhamihira in his Brhatsamhitā while discussing the use of Vajralēpa states that it is to be applied hot on Prāsāda (palatial mansions), Harmya (large buildings of wealthy persons), Liṅga Pratimā (images), Kuḍya (walls) and Kūpa (wells). cf.

‘प्रासादहर्म्यवलभीलिङ्गप्रतिमासु कुड्यकूपेषु ।

सन्तप्तो दातव्यो वर्षसहस्रायुतस्यायी ॥’<sup>4</sup>

Somehow or other an opinion has gained ground in Kēraḷa that Vajralēpa has something to do with wood-preservation.

1. Act III.
2. Act IV.
3. Act V, Śloka 10.
4. Chapter LVII, Śloka 4.

But the references cited evidently indicate that Vajralēpa has no connexion with Dārusamskāra and that it is a cement employed for the purpose of joining together steadfastly Iṣṭakās and stones, or a plaster for walls, etc. In Śilparatna Part I, it is explicitly stated that Vajralēpa is a particular kind of Sudhā or plaster. The inclusion of it in the chapter dealing with Sudhā or various kinds of plasters, coming, of course, after Śilālakṣaṇa and Iṣṭakāvidhi, is itself sufficient proof to show that it refers to Śilās and Iṣṭakās only. It may also be noted that Dāruprakaraṇa or the chapter discussing wood follows the Sudhāprakaraṇa. If Vajralēpa could be used on wood also, it should have been mentioned only after the Dāruprakaraṇa. The Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra by Bhōjadēva lays it down that Vajralēpa is to be used in joining together pipes (probably clay pipes) carrying water to bath-houses in Palaces. The cement is to be applied around the connexion of two pipes. If once or twice applied it is calculated to fix the pipes strongly so that the water in the pipe will, in no circumstances, drip or ooze out. The following are the lines relating to Vajralēpa found in the above treatise:—

“सुश्लिष्टनाडिकाग्रे स्तम्भतुलाभित्तिसंश्रिते परितः ।

सम्यक् कृत्वा दृढतरविलेपनं वज्रलेपाद्यैः ॥

.... ....

दृढसन्धिबन्धहेतोः स तत्र देयो द्विशः कदाचिद्वा ।”<sup>1</sup>

As regards the preparation of Vajralēpa and other Kalkas or tenacious pastes which yield similar results the following references may be quoted.

1. वज्रलेपकल्क (Vajralēpa-kalka).

“आमं तिन्दुकमामं कपित्थकं पुष्पमपि शाल्मल्याः ।

बीजानि सल्लकीनां धन्वनवल्को वचा चेति ॥

एतैः सलिलद्रोणैः काथयितव्योऽष्टभागशेषश्च ।

अवतार्योऽस्य च कल्को द्रव्यैरेतैः समनुयोज्यः ॥

श्रीवासकरसगुग्गुलुभल्लातककुन्दुरूकसर्जरसैः ।

अतसीबिल्वैश्च यतः कल्कोऽयं वज्रलेपाख्यः ॥”<sup>2</sup>

1. Chapter XXXI, Ślokas 130 and 132.
2. Chapter LVII, Ślokas 1, 2 and 3.

Sixteen Iḍaṅgalis of water containing sixteen Palas each of the unripe fruit of tinduka (panacci), the unripe fruit of kapit-thaka (vilār tree), the flower of śālmālī (muḷ-ilavu), the seeds of sallakī (īnta), the barks of the dhanvana<sup>1</sup> tree and vacā (vaśambu) have to be boiled down to 2 Iḍaṅgalis, and in the kaśāya thus prepared a Kalka made of 2 Palas each of śrīvāsaka (tiruvaṭṭappaśa) rasa (mercury), guggulu, bhallā-taka (cerkuru), Kunduruka, sarjarasa (ceñcalya) and the seeds of atasī and bilva (agaśi, and kūvala) should be mixed well. The Kalka, as its name signifies, will be as hard as adamant.

(b) Silparatna describes the preparation of Vajralēpa in a different way:—

“पूर्वं दशं करालं मधुघृतकदलीनालिकेरांबुमाष-

व्योषं लाक्षाकषायस्तनजलधिगुलत्रैफलांसि वेवम् ।

वृद्धान्यंशुकमेण स्फुटशशिधवलं चूर्णयुक्तं शतांशं

पिष्टं सर्वं यथावद्वति परसुधा वज्रलेपस्तथैव ॥”<sup>2</sup>

Two parts each of Karāla (a mixture of oil and the resin of *Shorea Robusta* i. e. black marut), madhu (honey), ghṛta (ghee), the juice of the rind of the plantain tree, coconut water, māśa and vyōṣa (the three hot substances namely dry ginger, long pepper and black pepper i. e. (trikaṭu) or two parts of lākṣākāśāya (a decoction made out of lākṣā i. e. Kolarakku two parts of gula (Sarkarā) and seven parts of triphala-water (kaśāya prepared of triphala<sup>3</sup>), if heated by a powerful fire, 100 parts of cūrṇa or lime being thrown into it gradually in the process of heating, and the whole decoction be mixed well will produce a paste of colour of the sportless moon. This is the supreme of all pastes. The same preparation is known by the name of Vajrālēpa also.

(c) The following method of preparing Vajralēpa is described in Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra:—

“लाक्षासर्जरसदृषन्मेषविषाणोत्थचूर्णसम्मिश्रम् ।

अतसीकरञ्जतैलप्रविगाढो वज्रलेपः स्यात् ॥”<sup>4</sup>

1. Cf. ‘धन्वनो रक्तकुसुमो धनुवृक्षो महाबलः’

2. Part I, Chapter XIV, Śloka 74.

3. Kaṭukkā, Nellikkā & Tānikkā,

4. Chapter XVI, Śloka 13.

Two palas each of the powders of Lākṣā (Kolarakku), sarjarasa (ceñcalyam), Drṣad (pārakkallu) and the horn of sheep well mixed with two Iḍaṅgalis each of the oils of Atasī (agaśi) and Karañja (uñṇu) will produce the paste known as Vajralēpa.

## 2. वज्रकल्क (Vajrakalka)

“लाक्षाकुन्दुरुगुगुलुहृद्भूमकपित्थविल्वमध्यानि ।

नागबलाफलतिन्दुकमदनफलमधूकमञ्जिष्ठाः ॥

सर्जरसामलकफलानि चेति कल्कः कृतो द्वितीयोऽयम् ।

वज्राख्यः प्रथमगुणैरयमपि तेष्वेव कार्येषु ॥”<sup>1</sup>

The Kaśāya used for the preparation of Vajrakalka is the same as that laid down for Vajralēpakalka [see above 1 (a).] In the Kaśāya a mixture of two palas each of the powders of Lākṣā (Kolarakku), Kunduru (Kunirikkam), Guggulu, Gṛha-dhūma (pukayara), Kapittha (viḷāṅkā), Vilvamadhya (Kū-vaḷakkāccoru), Nāgabālāphala (fruit of ānakkuruntōṭṭi), Tin-duka (panaccikkā), Madanaphala (wild Kārakkā), Madhūka (irippayari), Manjiṣṭhā (mañcattippōṭi) sarjarasa (ceñcalyam) Āmalakaphala (nellikkā) be thrown into it and pounded well, Vajrakalka is obtained. This also can be used heated for the same purpose as Vajralēpa.

Note: The pulp of fruits mentioned above is to be dried in the sun before they are powdered.

## 3. वज्रतरकल्क (Vajratarakalka)

“गोमहिषाजविषाणैः खरोमणा महिषचर्मगव्यैश्च ।

निंबकपित्थरसैः सह वज्रतरो नाम कल्कोऽन्यः ॥”<sup>2</sup>

Equal quantities of powders of the horns of cow, buffalo and sheep, the hair of ass, the skins of buffalo and cow, the seeds of Nimba (veppu), Kapittha (viḷāṅkā) and Rasa (mercury) be mixed with the Kaśāya mentioned for Vajralēpakalka and stirred properly will yield what is known as Vajratarakalka. The use of this Kalka is also like that of Vajralēpa.

4. वज्रसङ्घातयोग (Vajrasaṅghātayōga). This yōga is recommended by Maya to be employed as a plaster or

1. Bṛhatsamhitā, Chapter LVII, Śloka 5 and 6.

2. Bṛhatsamhitā, Chapter LVII, Śloka 7.

cement and this is considered to be the best of its kind.

“अथौ सीसकमागाः कांस्यस्य द्वौ तु रीतिकाभागः ।

मयकथितो योगोऽयं विज्ञेयो वज्रसङ्घातः ॥”<sup>1</sup>

A Lēpa prepared out of a mixture of melted sisaka (Kārīyam), Kāmsya (bellmetal) and Rītikā (brass) in the proportion of 8:2:1.

It is evident from what has been observed above that Vajralēpakalka, Vajrakalka, Vajratarakalka and Vajrasaṅghatayōga are definitely intended to be used as cements or plasters in the construction of houses, stone images, wells, etc., and that they have no connexion whatever with the preservation or strengthening of wood. The expression वर्षसहस्रायुतस्थायी<sup>2</sup> meaning that the paste is calculated to last four thousands of years has been wrongly interpreted in the sense that the Lēpas, if coated over timber or any other substance, will help towards its preservation or non-decay.

In the ancient sanskrit works on Architecture which will be found for the most part to have been produced in North India, we do not come across any device for the preservation or strengthening of wood. This may be due to the fact that stones and Iṣṭakās were employed on a larger scale in many parts of India than wood, which latter could not be got in plenty except in countries abounding in forests. In Kēraḷa, however, it will be seen that carpenters have from time immemorial been employing various devices in the matter of the preservation or non-decay as well as the strengthening of wood or timber. Although no information on this could be got from the published books on architecture, the devices long resorted to by successive generations of carpenters in our country after due and laborious experimentation are calculated to shed considerable light on the subject.

Trees have been classified by architects into four different groups, namely अन्तःसार (having core inside, āññīli i. e. jungle jack tree etc.), त्वचिसार (having core outside, Palm tree, Coconut tree etc.), सकलसार (having core both inside and

1. Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Chapter LVII, Śloka 8.

2. do. do. Śloka 4.

outside. Teak etc.), निःसार (having no core inside or outside, Ilavu, Pāla etc.). Further the duration of different kinds of wood has also been observed by experts in Architecture. Teak Karintakara, Jack tree, Ilaññī, Konna etc. are supposed to last for 1000 years even without any treatment. Likewise Ayani, Vēñña, Kariññāli etc. will keep for 500 years. By special medicinal treatment, the longevity or duration of timber could be increased. Lēpas and other devices are prescribed also for strengthening feeble kinds of timber. Images etc. which are usually made of light wood with a view to facilitate carving purposes can also be preserved for a long time without any damage by the application of lēpas or through special kinds of treatments laid down. Apart from the above, there are also ways and means to prevent white ants and other insects eating away the timber and to destroy small germs which live inside the timber causing a lot of destruction to it. Some of the treatments that have been in practice in Kēraḷa with regard to Dārusaṃskāra are given below:—

#### Treatment of timber.<sup>1</sup>

1. The timber of trees having sweet saps as Mango-tree, Coconut-tree etc. if treated for some time in salt water will become stronger.
2. Timber of feeble kinds of trees as Mango-tree will gain more strength and last longer if dried by smoke (preferably the smoke of Cocoanut shell) after their being besmeared with the lēpa made by mixing lime (Kummāyam) with the oil of maravaṭṭikkā.
3. All timbers will last for thousands of years without any damage if they are coated with lēpa prepared of pounded mercury mixed with the juice of betel leaves.
4. For the preservation of images and carvings on light-wood a lēpa known as Kunturukkalēpa is enjoined. The details of the preparation of this lēpa are not known.
5. Timber destitute of strength stewed in water in which are dissolved caustic soda and common salt will be made strong so as to endure fine carving work.

1. I owe the information given under this section to Mr. K. Neelakanthan Asari of Perinad.

6. Timber of trees yielding oil as Teak and Āññili if fumigated after their being anointed with oil of Punnakkā or maravaṭṭikkā will never perish.

7. Timber of any kind smeared over with an ointment or coating prepared by mixing common salt and Turmeric in the oil of Punnakkā will be free from all kinds of destruction.

Note: The ointment should be heated before its application. If the process is repeated 4 or 5 times, the timber is sure to acquire immense strength.

8. An ointment made by mixing soot with oil of Maravaṭṭikkā or Punnakkā will make any timber unusually hard and durable.

9. Timber which is dried in the sun after being besmeared with the sap issuing from Panaccikkā, will become very strong and endure for a long time.

10. Timber stewed in water in which the shells or husks of cashewnut have been soaked, will never be subject to destruction by white ants etc. and will keep hard for many years.

11. Furniture, planks etc., if dried in the sun after their being coated over seven times with the lēpa made by mixing blue vitriol in the Kaṣāya prepared with the cashewnut shells will be longstanding.

12. Red arsenic (manayola) mixed with the Kaṣāya prepared with the bark of the Payin tree will serve the purpose of of a varnish for finished articles.

## THE VIRŪPĀKṢA VASANTOTSAVA CAMPŪ OF AHOBALA

(A 'Vijayanagara-kāvya')

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH. D.

Some years back I took a copy of a Campū Kāvya called the Virūpākṣa Vasantotsava, by a poet named Ahobala, from a manuscript with Dr. N. Venkataramanayya; my original was itself a transcript from a manuscript lent to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi. The work is of some importance to students of Vijayanagar history and of the literature produced by writers attached to the Vijayanagar rulers, and I am thankful to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya for interesting me in this work and suggesting to me many of the identifications proposed in this paper.

### The Author

We know that one Ahobala is the author of this Campū from the introductory verse at the beginning of the last chapter described in the manuscript as "Uttara turya kāṇḍa". In this verse, Ahobala says that he composes the poem at the request of the chief of Pāṇḍipattana. The poet is describing the festival of God Virūpākṣa to this chief:

श्रीपद्मेश्वरथोत्सवाश्रितकथामेतां सपूर्वक्षणां

श्रुत्वा पामुडिपट्टनाधिपमहाभोगीश्वरः सादरम् ।

सुप्रीतः पुनरादिदेश तमिमं विप्रं ततः किं परं

ब्रूहीति स्वयमेवमुत्तरमयं प्राह द्विजोऽहोबलः ॥

(p. 78, Writer's Transcript)

This Pāṇḍipattana is in Anantapur Dt. and the Śiva in this place is called Bhogīśvara. There seems to be a śleṣa here between the chief and the deity in his place. Ahobala was evidently attached to the court of this chief.

### The Date of The Work

The work must have been produced during the time of Haribara I. Vidyaranya is mentioned as taking part in the

festival described in the poem. Though the king of Vidyānagara (Vijayanagara) is described as Cakavarttin by the poet, the mention of a number of chiefs holding lordship over the neighbouring parts shows that the poet was writing at a time when Vijayanagara was yet a young power.

*The Chiefs Described in the works*

While there is yet some time for the actual starting of the temple car, somebody standing in the crowd asks a poet by his side to describe to him the several kings who had come to see the festival.

(1) The first king to be described thus is the Lord of the City established by Vidyāranya Yati, i.e. of Vidyānagara.

विद्यारण्ययतीन्द्रनिर्मितपुरश्रीचक्रवर्ती नृपः । p. 19.

As suggested above, this is Harihara I. He is described as belonging to the Somavamśa (राजान्ववायोद्भवः । सोमान्वयपयः-पारावारमुधाकरः), a Śaiva by faith (—शैवागमसिद्धविभूतिकृततिर्यकपुण्ड्राङ्कित-ललाटपट्टः) and as stationed in his mansion in the street in front of the temple. It is also mentioned here that he is the lord of Mahisurapura and Candraśaila.

महीसुरपुरेशत्वं चन्द्रशैलाधिरोहणम् । p. 20.

Candraśaila is Candragiri or Candragutti and Mahisurapura may stand for Mysore. The king of Vidyānagara takes part in the conduct of the car-festival of God Virūpākṣa, by giving the first pull to the car.

(2) The Chief described next is called the Kāśmīrabhūpālā, who is described as an Aśvapati. It is possible to take his name to be Mitra. The poet describes him as a devotee of God Virūpākṣa.

—विविधवर्णविचित्रानेकसुलक्षणोत्तमाश्रपतिः \* \* \*  
अन्वर्थमित्रनामा निजकुलदैवत श्रीविरूपाक्षदेव महोत्सवावलोकनाय समागतोऽयं \* \* \* काश्मीरभूपालः । pp. 21-22.

It is difficult to identify this king or the place where he was ruling.

(3) Śrīrāśideśa Adhipati is the third chief to be described. He is first among the devotees of the God of Pampānagara and he was stationed in the very first place there.

—श्रीराशिदेशाधिपतिः \* \* \* आत्मीयपम्पापतिभक्ताप्रेसस्व-  
सूचनायेव अत्र रथायामग्निमप्रासादनिवासो भवति । p. 23.

Śrīrāśi is Śīrasī in North Canara. Both at the beginning of the description of the festival and at its end, the author mentions this Śīrasī chief as being in charge of the Janāśraya or Choultry at Pampānagara and the free feasting (Annasatra) of the Brāhmaṇas who gather for the festival. It is just probable that as a subordinate of the ruler of Vidyānagara, the Śīrasī chief was directed to be in charge of the Satra, but from the author mentioning this chief at two places as the *first devotee* of God Pampāpati, it may be inferred that from the time previous to the founding of Vidyānagara and the new empire, the Śīrasī chief was the patron-king of Pampānagara and its temple of Pampāmbikā and Virūpākṣa.

(4) The poet then describes some of the kings standing in two rows near the car. The first of these is the Chief of Mokṣapura, a devotee of Malleśvara, surrounded by his court poets.

स मोक्षपुरदेवराट् विजयते स मल्लेश्वरप्रसाद..... । p. 23.

Mokṣapura where there is a Malleśvara temple is Mokṣagundam in Kurnool Dt.

(5) The chief of Bellary, devotee of Siddharāmeśvara and a savant and patron of letters is next described:

—श्रीसिद्धराम प्रसादानुगत \* \* \*  
बलारिनगराधीश्वरः \* \* \* p. 24.

(6) The chief of Rāyadurga in Bellary District, one of the Senāpatis of the king of Vidyānagara, comes next.

राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरसार्वभौम-  
विद्यापुरेश्वरमहानरदेवमीलेः ।

सेनापतित्वविरुदाङ्कित एष भूपः

श्रीराजदुर्गनगराधिपतिप्रवीरः ॥ p. 24.

(7) The poet describes then the Kirāta or Vanecara (Boya) hunter-chief of Citraśilā, i.e. Chitaldrug, dark in complexion, come to see the festival with all his hunters and dogs. Some of his subordinates had brought in their hands presents of pearls.

\* \* \* मुक्ताफलसोपायनकरैः \* सामन्तपतिभिः \* \*  
 अभिः \* \* शबरमटैः \* \* कृष्णः \* \* चित्रशिलानगराधीश्वरः \* \*  
 वनेचरवंशसंभूतः \* \* | pp. 24-5.

(8) The next is evidently the chief of Harihara; he is described as 'Harapurādhipa'

—समस्तशरणार्थिनां हरपुराधिपो वर्तते | p. 25.

(9) The chief of Bhujāṅganagara who is a Brāhmaṇa is described next. He is a devotee of Mahādeva at Mallārigiri.

—मल्लारिगिरिमहादेवानुगृहीतः \* \* \* भुजङ्गनगराधिपो भूदेवः | p. 26.

Mr. P. B. Deśai of the Epigraphy Office, Madras, informs that there is a place called Devaragudda in Dharwar Dt. where there is a hill and a Liṅga called Mallāri.

(10) The chief of Lakṣmaṇeśvara in Dharwar Dt. is then described in a verse. Reference is made here to the legend that even as Rāma established a Śiva shrine at Rāmeśvara, Lakṣmaṇa established a Śiva shrine at Lakṣmaṇeśvara.

(11) The next is also a Brāhmaṇa chief of Dambalapura near Kapotagiri. Kapotagiri is the Kappagudde hills in Dharwar Dt. which extend up to Bijapur. Dambalapura is Dambal in Bijapur Dt. This chief is a man of much importance and he is stationed in a mansion facing the palace of the king of Vidyānagara. As he is described to be an author, we shall return to him again when we notice the literary material in this Campū.

\* \* विद्वत्प्रभुः \* \* कपोतगिरिसन्निहितदम्बलपुरदेशाधिपतिः विद्यानगरेश्वरराजाधिराजनरपतिसमप्रिष्ठितप्रसादामिमुखतयेव पम्पानगराधिकारिणा विनिर्दिष्टमहासौधोपरि विजयनेतराम् | p. 27.

(12) The last to be mentioned is the chief of Vaniśanagara which may be Belagamve.

सन्त्यन्येऽपि च वंशनामनगरीनाथप्रमुख्या नृपाः |

Besides these chiefs, we meet also in this Campū with the son of the minister of the Śirasī chief. He figures in the last chapter (the Uttaraturyakāṇḍa) and, along with a poet, goes to the forest on the other side of the Tuṅgabhadra for sight-seeing.

\* \* सादरमात्ममित्रेण श्रीराशिदेशाधिपामात्यपुत्रेण समाहूतः \* \*  
 p. 81.

Another person mentioned in the Campū is the Brāhmaṇa chief minister, Nānā, of the Aśvapati who was previously once mentioned. The passage describing him seems to refer to Mahānagara as his capital and a rhapsody on his exploits being sung by some minstrels during the festival.

\* \* अश्वपत्यमात्यमुख्यनानाख्यपरशुरामावतार \* \* महानगर-  
 सुखवसति \* \* शृङ्गारसप्रधानविचित्रचरित्र \* \* \* | p. 170.  
 The Aśvapati referred to here is evidently the Kāśmīrabhūpāla previously described.

Places mentioned in the Campū

The Campū frequently refers to the capital of the Cakravartin, i.e., Harihara. In all these places, the city is called uniformly Vidyānagara, never as Vijayanagara. But towards the close of the work, there is a comic substory in which however the poet uniformly calls the place Vijayanagara. When the poet in the work describes the kings and begins with the Cakravartin he refers to him as the lord of the city created by Śrī Vidyāranya

श्रीविद्यारण्ययतीन्द्रनिर्मितपुरश्रीचक्रवर्ती नृपः |

In a later context, when the author describes the melting of the crowd on one side and the coming in of fresh crowds from the adjacent parts, he refers to Vidyānagara, along with Kamalāpura, as the newly founded cities.

श्रीविद्याकमलानवीनपुरतो भूयस्समागच्छतान् | p. 80.

Earlier, when the temple drum is beat to indicate the starting of the car festival, the author says that, through this beat of drum, the temple town of Pampā seemed to announce to its neighbours Vidyānagara, Kamalāpura and the like that the festival had started.

तत्र मुखरितिदिङ्मुखेन महादेवमहाभेरिका \* \* विद्यानगर-  
 कमलापुरादिलोकानात्मेश्वरयोत्सवः समारब्ध इत्यवोधयदिव पम्पाम्बिकानगरी |  
 p. 16.

Of course the locality called Pampānagara where the temple of Pampā and Virūpākṣa is situated is mentioned again and again. The river Tuṅgabhadra close by is also frequently

spoken of in the work. The work speaks of the great eastern tower of the temple, the Mataṅga hills and boulder there, just in front, at some distance from the temple, the image of a bull (Nandin) near that boulder and the habitation of heretics mentioned as Bauddhas (but probably Jainas) beyond that Nandin-image and the hills, and royal mansions and choultries in front and near the temple.

*The Aśvattha and Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa*

While describing, in one of the early contexts, the various religious services at which Brāhmaṇas officiate for the benefit of the pilgrims, the author mentions that the Brāhmaṇa would take some pilgrims round the Aśvattha tree in which resides the 'Great Soul', Mahāpuruṣa, Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa. When detailing in a latter context the several places from which crowds gathered for the festival, the author refers to this Aśvattha tree as 'the old white Aśvattha' पुराणश्वेताश्वत्थ, the abode of Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa; and from this passage it would appear that this great old white Peepal of Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa was at some distance from the Pampāmbikā temple. The story of this Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa (Śingiri Bhaṭṭa) is told in the *Rāya Vācaka*: Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa (Śingiri Bhaṭṭa) was a Brahmarakṣas whom Vidyāranya met on his way to Benares; on Vidyāranya's return from Benares for the work of establishing Vidyānagara, Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa told him that he would move down to the neighbourhood of the city to be founded and be a guardian over the dynasty of kings of that new city. It is this 'Spirit' of the Mahāpuruṣa Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa that the Campū refers to, in the two places noted above.

1. कचिजनैस्साकमश्चत्वास्तव्यमहापुरुषश्रीगुरु(गिरि)भट्टार्यप्रदक्षिणकरणेन \* \* p. 7.

2. श्रीगिरिभट्टार्याध्यासितपुरातनश्वेताश्वत्थादिदूरतीर्थस्थलगतश्च \* \*  
p. 16.

Two other sacred spots about the temple at Pampānagara are also mentioned by the author: 1. The deity Guñjā Mādhava whose idol is in a very secret place and 2. the shrine of Pātāla Virūpākṣa, evidently in a cavelike place.

कचिदतिरहस्यनिवसद्गुह्यामाधवपातालविरूपाक्षादि etc. p. 7.

In the night following the car festival, a rich merchant provided for the lighting of lamps (Dīpālī) on the adjoining hills. In this connection, the work mentions the hills of Ṛśyamūka, Mataṅga and Hemakūṭa.

*On the other side of the river*

In the latter chapter describing the hunt-festival, the son of the minister of the Śirasī chief and a poet cross the Tuṅgabhadrā to the Anegonḍī side and wander in the forest there. In the forest, they cross the Hanumad river which is a tributary of the Tuṅgabhadrā. The Hanumad river flows by the side of the Ṛśyamūka hills which the two climb up to enjoy the sight of this river. From the river they reach a hamlet and taking direction from the inhabitants there, the two pass through a passage between two boulders and reach the place called Kiṣkindhā; there they see a boulder at the mouth of a cave, which is the place called the Vāli bhāṇḍāra. When starting on this sight-seeing expedition, the Brāhmaṇa poet refers to a Śivakṣetra at a distance of five krośas from Pampānagara.

\* \* पुष्पफलप्रापकपञ्चक्रोशात्मकाध्वपरिणामपरिमितशिवक्षेत्र-  
यात्रालाभबुद्धयैव \* \* | pp. 81-82.

At the end of the festival of Virūpākṣa at Pampā, the author says that while part of the pilgrim crowd left for their homes, part proposed to make a stay at Vidyānagara to enable them to see also the car festival of God Raṅganātha in the cave temple in Kiṣkindhā, i.e. in Anegonḍī.

केचित्तु किष्किन्धाचलविलान्तस्थितरङ्गनाथरोत्सवदिदृक्षया विद्यानगर-  
मगमन् । p. 162.

*Coins*

Thrice the Campū refers to the gift of Dakṣiṇā (pp. 2, 11 and 149). In the first instance, the coin referred to may be of gold or silver, for the metal is mentioned as Kāladhauta. In the second and third instances, it is gold with the stamp of the Vidyānagara emblem, the boar (Mahāvarāha Mudrā).

*About the Temple of Pampā and Virūpākṣa*

While giving the idol of Virūpākṣa a dip, the Avabhṛta snāna, in the waters of the Tuṅgabhadrā, the Arcaka asks the people gathered there to have close darśan of the faint lines of Cakra, Padma etc. on the hands of the image. The Arcaka

tells people also of the local legend (Māhātmya) that the image of Virūpākṣa was worshipped in the past by Hariścandra and the sages (p. 118), a legend, which, I am told, is referred to in an inscription also. While describing the forest, the Brāhmaṇa poet accompanying the minister's son institutes a comparison between the forest and Pampāmbikā; i.e., the image of Goddess Pampā, from which we gather that the idol of Pampā is in the form of one doing penance, with jaṭā and valkālā. The image of Pampāmbikā is said to be in gold and the Goddess is described as presiding over the Brahmapuṇḍa.

कचिद् ब्रह्मकुण्डाधिदेवतायाः सुवर्णमूर्त्याः पम्पाम्बिकाया वृत्तकथनेन ।

p. 7.

Besides the Utsavavighraha of Virūpākṣa, a Mūlavighraha of a Śivaliṅga is referred to, for which daily Abhiṣeka takes place. There seems to have been the custom of couples praying to Goddess Pampā for progeny, going to the festival and staying in the holy place for a time during the festival (Kṣetravāsa). In one place, Virūpākṣa mahākṣetra, i.e., Pampānagara, is called Dakṣiṇa Kāśī Kṣetra and it is said that Śiva is imparting the Tāraka Mantra in that place to all beings without exception.

अथास्मिन् उत्तरकाशीसदृक्षदक्षिणकाश्याख्याविरूपाक्षमहाक्षेत्रे साक्षाज्जगद्गुरुक्रियमाणप्राणिमात्रसाधारणतारकोपदेशेन । p. 16.

#### Literary information

1. As has already been referred to, the Campū describes sage Vidyāranya as taking part in the Virūpākṣa car festival. The first reference to Vidyāranya in this work is to his founding the city of Vidyānagara.

विद्यारण्यतीन्द्रनिर्मितपुरश्रीचक्रवर्ती नृपः ।

After the idols had been placed in the car, sage Vidyāranya also mounted up the car and took his seat there with his pupils and the sage got down after the car reached back its original place and the idols were brought down. This shows that Vidyāranya occupied a position next only to that of God Virūpākṣa.

ततो विद्यारण्याभिधयतिवरे भूसुरगुरौ

समान्द्रे शिष्यैः सह रथमिमं हार्यसदृशम् । etc. p. 28.

ततो द्विजराजशेखरगुरुभूमण्डलाचार्यवर्यविद्यारण्यमुनिवर्ययतीश्वरचरणेषु  
शिष्यैः सह ततोऽवरुह्य पुरोगतेषु । p. 44.

2. The next important personage figuring in this Campū who interests a student of literature is the already-noted chief of Dambalpur near the Kappaguide hills. This Brāhmaṇa chief is described in a long passage from which we learn that this person was an author. Unfortunately this Campū always refrains from giving the names of persons. We glean that this Dambal chief belonged to the family of a Śrinivāsa Dikṣita who performed all the rites prescribed by Bodhāyana, was the pupil of one Sadgurūpādhyāya who was a devotee of Venkaṭācalapati Śrinivāsa and enjoyed the Sarvamānya of Gadādhara-pura agrahāra, was a great Śaiva, wrote in the midst of his daily worship of Śiva many works on Śiva like the *Śiva Nāṭaka* and who evidently wrote also the *Vedāntādhikaraṇaratna-mālikā* and the *Vaidikācāranirṇaya*.

अयं तावन्निजकुलदैवतवेङ्कटाचलपति [क] श्रीनिवासमूर्तिचरणसरोरुह-  
परिचर्याचरणसमासादितात्मैकभोग्यसकलस्थिरवृत्तिकलितगदाधरपुराग्रहारदेशा-  
धिपत्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मी-प्रसन्नवारदेवताकटाक्षवीक्षणावाप्तसद्गुरुपाध्यायाध्यापित-<sup>1</sup>  
सलक्षणसाङ्गस्वाध्यायसत्काव्यरूपकालङ्कारशास्त्रजातार्णवविचारमथनसमुदीर्णार्थानु-  
भवामृतनिरन्तरास्वादजनितपरमानन्दभरभरितस्वान्तनितान्तचिन्तनोपस्थिताद्वैत-  
सिद्धान्तवेदान्ताधिकरणरत्नमालिकालङ्कृतवाक्यान्याति(वाक्खद्योत) प्रकाश-  
निराकृतारातिदुर्मततिमिरनिकरो भगवद्बोधायनमहर्षिदृष्टस्वगृह्यसूत्रबोधितस्मार्तानु-  
गतश्रौताग्निष्टोमादिकतुशतानुष्ठाननिर्मलीकृतान्तःकरणदीक्षितश्रोत्रियात्मीयपरंपरा-  
गतभूदेवश्रीनिवासान्वयसंभवोऽवरोधवधूजनावशेषसंरक्षितसमरभयागतसामन्त-  
महीपतिकृतसाप्तपदीनः दीनोद्धरणपरः नित्यात्याज्यपार्थिवशिवपूजावसरप्रणीत-  
शिवनाटकादिप्रबन्धः वैदिकाचारनिर्णयादिसमस्तसुग्रन्थकोशसङ्ग्रहलालसो  
.....विद्वत्प्रभुः वदान्यशिरोमणिः कपोतगिरिसन्निहितदंबलपुरदेशाधिपतिः  
..... । pp. 26-7

The Gadādhara-pura agrahāra to which the Guru of the author-chief may be taken to have belonged may be somewhere near Venkaṭāpuram in Dharwar Dt. This Venkaṭāpuram is also famous as Tirupati and Sadgurūpādhyāya, the Guru, is

1. The Anvaya is not quite clear.

also described in the above passage as a devote of Veṅkaṭācala Śrīnivāsa.

We know that the Vedāntādhikaraṇaratnamālikā which seems to be ascribed here to the chief is usually ascribed to Bhāratī Tīrtha (Ānandāśrama edn.). Of the chief's ancestor Śrīnivāsa, we know nothing. The Śivanāṭaka of the chief is not available. There are many works of the name Vaidikācāranirṇaya and until we know our chief's name we cannot identify his Vaidikācāranirṇaya. In the next chapter again, during a discussion about Śiva's sports with Apsaras-damsels, reference is made to Jayadeva and other poets who dramatised the romantic sports of Gods and to plays of this nature like the Śivanāṭaka and the Śivāṣṭapadī.

\* \* महेश्वरविचित्रचरित्रवर्णनेन शिवनाटकशिवाष्टपद्यादिप्रबन्धाः  
पूर्वैः अपूर्वैश्च जयदेवादिकैः महाकाविभिः व्यरच्यन्त विरच्यन्ते च । p. 102.

The Śivanāṭaka here mentioned is evidently the same as that referred to previously as a work of the Dambal chief.

3. Jayadeva referred to here is the author of the Gīta Govinda. We know of a later Śivāṣṭapadī, but not yet of a Śivāṣṭapadī earlier than the time of this Campū.

4. When the son of the minister of Śirasī and his poet-friend go into the Anegonḍi forest, the later recounts to the former the greatness of the Bilva tree otherwise called the Śrīvrkṣa. The poet explains how the Śrī Vrṣa is a Śaiva tree, how according to the Skandapurāṇa, Lakṣmī is Gaurī, and that according to the interpretation of great Śaivas like Haradattācārya and Dikṣita, it is Śiva who is glorified in the Puruṣasūkta.

‘शिवाङ्गमण्डलारूढां गौरीं लक्ष्मीमुपास्महे ।’

इति वाक्येन रुद्राणी लक्ष्मीरित्यभिधीयते ॥

अत एव शैवाग्रेसरहरदत्ताचार्यदीक्षितेन्द्रादिविबुधाः ‘पुरुषो वै रुद्रः’ ‘पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम्’ इत्यादिश्रुतिविद्यमानपुरुषपदवाच्यपुरुषप्रतिपादकं सूक्तं पुरुषसूक्तं शिवपरमेवैत्यभिधाय \* \*

स्कान्दात्पुराणवचनात् पूर्वाचार्यादिसंमतेः । \* \* pp. 87-88.

The poet then refers to a legend in the Śivarahasya according to which Lakṣmī created this tree to propitiate Śiva with its

Dalas and that after attaining her object, offered the tree to Him.

शिवरहस्ये तु क्षीरसागरकन्यका etc. p. 88

We know of a Haradattācārya who is quoted in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha, p. 61, (Ānandāśrama edn.), in the Nakuliśapāsupatadarśana section, with whom the Haradattācārya mentioned as a great Śaiva authority in this Campū may be identical. We are not able to identify the Dikṣita whom the Campū mentions as another great Śaiva authority.

5. There is the following verse on p. 107 :

महादेवोऽर्धनारीशो भवानीति शिवैतयोः ।

नित्यसम्बन्ध एवास्ति विद्याशङ्करयोरिव ॥

It is just possible there is a veiled hint here at sage Vidyāśaṅkara.

6. There are references in the work to Śaṅkara's Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya (p. 35) and also twice to the opening verse of Śaṅkara's Saundaryalaharī (pp. 106 and 114).

## II

The Virūpākṣa Vasantotsava Campū is a work in four chapters (kāṇḍas); the first two chapters and the beginning of the third chapter are lost; the manuscript available to us contains most part of the third chapter and the whole of the fourth chapter. The first three chapters seem to go together under the name Pūrvakāṇḍa, for the last, the fourth chapter is described as “Uttaraḥ Turya Kāṇḍaḥ”. The work describes the Mādhava Navarātra, the nine days Spring Festival, of God Virūpākṣa. The first three chapters take the festival up to the car-dragging, which takes place on the Paurṇamī. In the fourth chapter forming the Uttara Kāṇḍa, we have the Hunt-festival, Mṛgayotsava, God Virūpākṣa going on hunt in the Anegonḍi forests described; this Mṛgayotsava takes place on the Pratipat; that night, the festival of God's sports with Apsarasas is also described. On the Dvitiyā following is the festival of estrangement between Virūpākṣa and Pampā, and then reconciliation and marriage. The festivals close with Avabhṛtha. The fourth chapter describes the festival from the Hunt to the Avabhṛtha. In the first two chapters which are not available, the author must have described the festival from its beginning (Dhvajārohaṇa etc.) up to the day of Car-dragging. One of the early festivals before the car-dragging is the procession of

God on a lion-vāhana which is referred to in Ch. three (p. 13 पञ्चाननोत्सवदिनादारभ्य).

Poet Ahobala occasionally attempts at Bāṇa-effects in the Gadya portions. Though he echoes Bāṇa and some other poets also here and there, generally speaking, he writes a natural and easy style. He is at his best when he begins to satirise the foibles of the choultry manger. He can also be very minute in his observation and portrayal of men and things. We know of a number of small things of interest by going through this Campū, the distribution of boiled grain (Caṇaka) and Guḍodaka Pānaka, the antiquity of the expressions 'Hara Hara Mahādeva' and 'Namaḥ Pārvatīpataye' and others which can be gleaned from the summary given below.

#### *A Summary of the Campū*

As our manuscript opens we find people gathered for the car festival (Rathotsava); the car is got ready and the Śaiva-ācāryas consecrate the car, perform the necessary homa and offer Bali to the Bhūtas. Feasting of Brāhmaṇas go on; wet clothes serve as canopies over the heads of the Brāhmaṇas feasting there. After the feast, they get pieces of Kaladhautā coin as Dakṣiṇā. The pilgrims who have come for the festival stay in tents (Paṭamaṇṭapas). The tents (paṭamaṇṭapas) are frequently mentioned. The visitors receive also, after the feast, sandal, fans, and cool drinking water.

The occasion is exploited by avaricious Brāhmaṇas to make money by various devices. Firstly there is the Brāhmaṇa in charge of the choultry established there in Pampānagara by the Śīrasī chief. The Brāhmaṇa is avaricious and makes money out of the supplies; he fills the choultry with his own kinsmen who had come there even on the first day of the festival. He is always busy making hay during the festive days. Without the knowledge of the temple officers, he slips into the temple promising the rich merchant-pilgrims that he would conduct Abhiṣeka for the Pampāpati Liṅga. He makes a pretence of an Abhiṣeka and in the middle is called away by a pupil of his father-in-law. As he rushes out of the temple, he is caught by the Śīrasī chief and the manager of the temple (Parapati). The merchants (Vaiśyas) who had asked him to do the Abhiṣeka and Pūjā and had paid him for the services as well as for Prasāda such as the Pañcāmṛta, now besiege him; The Brāh-

maṇa is in a fix to know from which Vaiśya he took the fees; there is a miserly merchant who joins the crowd and falsely alleges that he had also given money for Pañcāmṛtaprasāda. The chief and the temple manager try to examine the case while the call again comes for the Brāhmaṇa to hurry for a Dampati-pūjā, upon which the chief asks the Brāhmaṇa in what manifold ways he makes money. The Brāhmaṇa frankly relates his ways to the chief; he would put on his body, without even bathing, stripes of ash, go to the river-side for reciting the Saṅkalpa for the bathers of all castes and especially for Vaiśyas and Sūdras; he would receive fees or beg; he would just get some wet clothes as fees in services, and these he would sell away; would conduct Tarpaṇas and Āma śrāddhas; would sometimes snatch his dues and at other times, lend petty cash; would pose as a yogin; would perform the Abhiṣeka of Śivaliṅga; would take pilgrims round the old Peepal tree of Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa, the shrines of Guṇjā Mādhava, Pātāla Virūpakṣa and Pampāmbikā; would expound the greatness of Mother Goddess; would receive presents from ladies, would conduct Pūjā in the temple of Pampāpati; and would hang about the abodes of the wealthy visitors. As the Brāhmaṇa is narrating these, another student calls him for the Dampati-pūjā. While the Parapati wants to punish the Brāhmaṇa, the chief excuses him asking him to behave better. After the Dampati-pūjā feast, a gold piece with the stamp of a big boar—कनकशकलमुद्रितमहावराहम्—is given to him as Dakṣiṇā.

The Kṣatriyas also use the occasion to take in exchange articles of value brought from other parts of the land. Spreading their wares under the cloth-canopies, the Vaiśyas make money at the bazaars there. The Sūdras make money by serving the rich gathered there.

The crowds mount house-tops, trees and boulders. Couples have come there to live at the holy place from the beginning of the festival, praying for progeny. Women-folk of this group of pilgrims get upon the great eastern Gopura of the temple and take seats on the second floor there. Courtezans get up the balconies and turrets and men and women crowd the choultries. A glimpse is here given of the scope for love-affairs at festival-times.

Yogins who have gathered there are then described. A temple officer, with a staff in his hand, now issues out and

orders a servant to beat the drum. The drum beat at Pampānagara seems to call out for the people of the adjacent Vidyānagara and Kamalāpura. People gather for the festival in their best dress, ornaments and flowers, from places far and near, like the locality of the Peepal tree of Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa. Trees, buildings, boulders, the hills of Hemakūṭa and Mataṅga, all these are filled with people. The small details to be noted when people hurry out for a festival are very minutely and graphically described by the author.

At that time some one in the crowd asks a poet standing by his side to describe to him the several kings who are attending the festival; the poet describes the Cakravartin ruling at the city founded by sage Vidyāranya, the Aśvapati Kāśmīra Bhūpāla, the chief of Śirasī, the chief of Mokṣagundam, the chief of Bellary, the chief of Rāyadurga, the Boya chief of Chitaldrug, the chief of Harapura, the chief of Bhujāṅganagara, the chief of Lakṣmaṇeśvara, the Brāhmaṇa chief of Dambal and the chief of Belagamve; the poet gets in return for describing these chiefs a jewel ring.

Even as he was describing, the poet had advanced towards the car; the Parapati is now asking people to go about their Pradakṣiṇas quickly. The idols of Śiva and Pārvaṭī are brought out on the Trikūṭapīṭha; prasāda is distributed, the idols are placed on the ground and worshipped; boiled grains and sweet drinks are now given to the crowd. The idols are then lifted up and placed in the car. The author says that 'devotion' was the rope of the car, Vedas its horses and the car itself, Brahman. The devotees raise up their hands in Añjali and the idols are set on a jewel-seat.

Then sage Vidyāranya goes up with his pupils and takes his seat on the car. The devotees offer cocoanuts to the car, meditate upon the car itself as Śiva and drag it. The Parapati makes a call for dragging the car, but the car moves not. Thereupon the king of Vidyānagara is requested to come down. The king comes from his mansion where he was standing, makes offerings to the car, prostrates before it and requesting it to move, gives a pull.<sup>1</sup> The car now moves. Devotees cry out God's names and clap their hands. Trumpets are blown

1. For the custom of the king going to the car and starting it on its course, see also the Rāyavācaka, p. 4.

and drums, beat. This main car is being dragged by Brāhmaṇas.

There is another chariot endowed by a rich merchant named Pampārya on which a duplicate of the deities is mounted; this car is dragged by the rest of the devotees gathered. There is a race between the two cars. During the dragging of the car, those at the ropes are attended upon by people with fans and cool water. The Brāhmaṇas take slight rest in the middle, reciting Veda or engaging themselves in Śāstravāda. The car reaches the boulder on the Mataṅga hill in front of the temple, where there is the image of a Nandin; the devotees drop the ropes and cry out God's names. The car does not go further; heretics (called in the Campū, Bauddhas) live in the place beyond that hill and Nandin stationed there seems to prevent Śiva from going into the region of the heretics.

The heretics are then described; they gather there to ridicule Śiva but are hounded out in no time. Heretic merchants come there to sell their goods, are all successfully deceived and made to flee from that place; the heretics had gathered some adherents among the lower classes; some of these adherents also flee, while the rest forsake the heretics and fall at the feet of Śiva.

The devotees shout 'Namah Pārvatīpataye' and 'Hara Hara Mahādeva', and go round the car; the ropes of the car are removed and tied to the other side and the Ācaka above turns the idols in the opposite direction, making them now face the temple tower.

It is evening; some who are in a hurry rush home. The car starts on its return journey; a man falls down in the crowd and is removed. The two cars move. There is a description of Śiva going in the car. Sun sets and some people go away. There is a description of the sunset. Though it is time now for the Brāhmaṇas to worship Sandhyā, they resolve to take the car to its destination first. Torches are now lit. The Moon rises and is described by the author. The cars reach their original places. The Brāhmaṇas prostrate before the car and go to their Sandhyāvandana, desiring to have the Darśana of the

1. Really cannot proceed further; the distance thus covered by the car from the temple tower to the Mataṅga boulder is just a furlong.

Mūlasthāna Liṅga after Sandhyāvandana prayers. Those who dragged the other car buy and eat sweets and go to their places. The king of Vidyānagara goes round the car thrice, takes prasāda and, saluted by the other chiefs, he leaves for his city on an elephant.

After pūjā and distribution of Prasāda, the idols are brought down; sage Vidyāranya gets down with his pupils and departs.

A rich merchant provides a Dīpāvali for the occasion and the adjoining hills of R̥syamūka, Mataṅga and Hemakūṭa shine now with lights. Brāhmaṇas return after Sandhyāvandana and extol Śiva.

The idols are taken into the temple; they reach the Yāga-śālā where Kumbha-ārtikya is performed for the idols to remove Dṛṣṭidoṣa. Courtezans then offer Ārtikya in a gold pot. The idols are taken into the Yajñāśālā and are worshipped. After placing watches, the Parapati also goes home. At his house he honours Brāhmaṇas with sandal, pan etc. Every house honours the Brāhmaṇas. On the moonlit sands of the river, groups gather and honour Brāhmaṇas.

Some of the Brāhmaṇas who are poets enjoy the moonlight and break into verses.

Description of a love-story in the moonlit night now starts. A couple has come to the holy place of Pampā praying for progeny, but instead of keeping to his wife's side that night, the husband leaves his tent and spends his time witnessing a religious play going on at that place. The pining lady denounces for some pages the moon and the cool breeze. A Sakhī meets the husband and tells him the plight of his pining beloved (6 pages). The Sakhī describes how happily couples come to the festival, enjoy themselves; she mentions here some people enjoying the sight of monkeys playing in the great eastern gopura of the temple. The Sakhī bears back a message to the lady and finally the couple come together. Their meeting, talking together and enjoining each other's company take many pages. The next day dawns and the husband leaves for bath. The lady prays to God Virūpākṣa for progeny. Through her mouth the author of the Campū bestows blessings on those that attend or read or speak about Virūpākṣa's Vasantotsava. There is a good omen that this couple would get progeny and

the husband decides to feast Brāhmaṇas. The wife prepares the feast.

Here ends the Third Kāṇḍa called Rathotsāha of the Virūpākṣadeva Campū describing the Vasantotsava.

*The Uttara Turya Kāṇḍa.*

The first verse says that the author Ahobala is describing in the form of this Campū the car-festival of God Pampāpati for the sake of the chief of Pāmuḍipaṭṭana.

The car-dragging was on the Paurṇamī; the Pratipat follows: it is the day of the festival of God's Hunt, Mṛgayotsava; the God of Hemakūṭācala leaves for hunt on that day on a horse-vāhana, singly, without Pārvatī. People gather to see this festival, while some who consider only the car-festival important have an early meal, buy some articles and prepare to go away. There is a graphic description of the behaviour of a dispersing crowd. Newer crowds were however coming from the two newly established cities, Vidyānagara and Kamalāpura.

The Hunt is the Uttarāṅga of the car-festival. Śivadvijas offer Bali to the Astra Devatā and start the festival. The crowds refresh themselves with cool water.

While there is yet sometime for the car-festival to begin, the son of the minister of the Śirasī chief suggests to a Brāhmaṇa poet standing by his side that they might spend the time by crossing the river and going about the forest on the other side of the river. The poet agrees because of the prospect of seeing the great Śiva temple which is on the other side of the river at a distance of five krośas. On the other side of the river, it is all forest after a short distance. The Brāhmaṇa is afraid and prays to God Virūpākṣa to save him from wild beasts. From that place, the summit of the Hemakūṭa hill is slightly visible. The poet describes the sights of the forest to the minister's son.

The two come upon a Bilva tree; the minister's son asks how that tree which is called Śrī Vṛkṣa or Lakṣmī Vṛkṣa became a tree sacred to Śiva. The poet explains quoting the Skandapurāṇa, Haradattācārya, a Dīkṣita and the Śivarahasya. The Skānda-quotation is to show that Lakṣmī means Pārvatī; Haradattācārya and Dīkṣita are cited to show that Puruṣa means Śiva and that the Puruṣa Sūkta is on Śiva; the Śivarahasya story says that Lakṣmī worshipped Śiva with the leaves

of the Bilva tree, praying to Him that she should win the love of Viṣṇu; after getting a place on Viṣṇu's chest, Lakṣmī offered the Bilva tree itself to Śiva. The three "Dalas" of the Bilva represent Śiva's three eyes. In fact, the Bilva tree shows the identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu and Pārvatī and Lakṣmī. The fruits of a Bilva tree represent the Śivaliṅga; by going round a Bilva tree, one attains the merit of worshipping Śiva. The two then touch the tree and go round it.

They then walk up and reach the Hanumad river; to enjoy the beauty of the sight, the minister's son drags the poet to the top of the adjoining hill of R̥ṣyamūka, from where they could see the Virūpākṣa temple also. From there, they reach a hamlet, and directed by its inhabitants, they go towards Kiṣkindhā. They reach Kiṣkindhā through a passage between two huge boulders and at the mouth of a cave, they see a boulder; it is called Vālibhāṇḍāra. The ministers's son enjoys himself for a time by jumping about the boulders. Reminded of the hunt-festival, the two rush back. After they cross the Hanumad river, a tiger crosses their path. The frightened poet prays to God Virūpākṣa, who suddenly appears on horse, in the dress of a horseman of the king and saves the two. (Meantime the idol of Virūpākṣa on the horse-vāhana had started for the hunt-festival.) The poet extols the saviour as God when the latter gives the poet a signet-ring with the name of 'Virūpākṣa-deva'. The poet requests the saviour to escort them safely up to the Tuṅgabhadra. On reaching the river, the divine escort vanishes. The poet now understands it is God himself who saved them, and the ring with God's name also confirms. They cross the river and stop for Sandhyāvandana.

They overhear at that time the voice of Śiva sporting with Apsaras-women; the latter entreat him for company; God creates the seasons there, takes manifold forms and justifying His name Kāmeśvara, sings and enjoys Himself. The author adds that it is usual for poets to describe the love-sports of Gods and cites Jayadeva, the Śivanāṭaka and the Śivāṣṭapadī. In this Līlā, river Gaṅgā asks Śiva to give her a lift and Śiva bears her on His head. Taking leave of the ladies, Śiva rushes back to Pārvatī whom He has now neglected for a time. As He rushes past, the poet and the minister's son recognise Him and then proceed to the street in front of the temple where Śiva's idol in Hunter's form is stationed.

Now takes place the enactment of the festival of Pārvatī in anger. Śiva's paraphernalia is lifted by Pārvatī's servants. Śiva runs after Pārvatī who rushes into the temple. The idol of Pārvatī is hidden in the Yajñasālā behind a curtain, and it is ordered that neither Śiva nor any of his men should be allowed in. Śiva and party come; sweets are hurled like stones by the two parties. Śiva forces his entry, but does not go beyond the curtain. Poets now sing verses on the difference that has arisen between Śiva and Pārvatī. Reference is made to the opening verse of Śaṅkara's Saundaryalaharī which says that without Śakti, Śiva cannot do anything. There seems to be a veiled reference here to sage Vidyāśaṅkara also.

After the distribution of Prasāda, the Arcakas and others leave the place in charge of watchmen. In the night there was the exposition of a Harakathā.

The next day was Dvitiyā and the last day of the festival. Those who previously desired to leave for their homes, decide to prolong their stay.

Śiva's difference with Pārvatī continues and the drama is staged in all its detail. There is knocking of doors and two persons quarrelling within in the roles of Śiva and Pārvatī. The author Ahobala devotes some pages to the repartees of the two. Pārvatī comes round in the end; the door to her chamber is now opened and the idol of Śiva is rushed in; the two idols are then seated on the same Pīṭha.

Then comes off the festival of the marriage between Śiva and Pārvatī. As a part of that marriage Vasanta Mādhava is worshipped. Saffron-water is dashed on people.

The last item of the Spring festivities is the Avabhṛthasnāna of the idols in the Tuṅgabhadra, in the moonlit night. When the idol of Śiva is made bare for the dip, the priest asks the people to have close darśana and note the faint marks of Lotus, Cakra, etc. on the palm of the idol which once Hariścandra and the sages had worshipped. The Dikṣita Arcakas dip the Triśūla Astra Deva in the water; Vedapārāyaṇa follows. The idols are taken back to the temple, and every house on the way makes offerings. Temple dancers head the procession.

Meantime, at a street corner, a rhapsody on the exploits of one Nānā, the Brāhmaṇa minister of the Aśvapati king, was going on. Crowds rush to see the idols from that place.

The idols enter the temple. The flag-staff is worshipped and the Gods requested to present themselves in the Dhvaja are given leave to depart. The banner-cloth with the painting of Nandin is then brought down.

The king offers his final worship and leaves with his retinue. While others go away to rest, the temple priests are able to take only a short rest, for there is the daily festival (Nityotsava) to be carried on.

Some part of the crowd now decides to leave Pampānagara after the noonday meal. The author Ahobala now comes back to his favourite theme of satirising the choultry-manager. The relatives of this miserly Brāhmaṇa start for their places when somebody tells them that visitors to a holy place should leave only after the midday meal. They squat again, but the choultry-brāhmaṇa pretends to be seriously ill. One of the pupils of the choultry-Brāhmaṇa's father-in-law now narrates the funny story of a miser who outwitted God Śiva; in this story, the name Vijayanagara occurs often. At the end of this rather long sub-story, the Śirasī chief is said to have sanctioned provisions for the free feasting on that day also, on hearing which the choultry-manager is cured of his illness.

Most of the people then leave Pampāpura. Some however go to Vidyānagara proposing to stay there for some time to enable them to witness the car-festival of God Raṅganātha in the cave-temple of Kiṣkindhā.

At the bidding of the Parapati, the Arcaka performs Samprokṣaṇa according to the Āgamas. Thus this Vasantotsava takes place every year.

Thus ends the Uttara Turya Kāṇḍa of the Virūpākṣa Deva Campū describing the Lord's Vasanta-festival.

### III

#### THE HUMOROUS SUB-STORY AT THE END OF THE WORK.

A miserly Brāhmaṇa once came to Vijayanagara with his wife; for some years he was getting on as a guest in one house after another till the householders of Vijayanagar got fed up with the fellow and threw him out. Unwilling to take up a house and run a householder's life himself, the miser, with his wife, resorted to the temple of Śiva, and promising the temple priest there that he would be taking care of the temple-lamps, he got permission to

live in the temple. He directed his wife to do sundry services like carrying water in richmen's houses and earn money. Besides working in the temple, the miser made himself available for Pañcāṅga-consultations and for the conduct of daily domestic pūjās in some houses where he had his food also frequently. Being a miser he was afraid of any addition to his family, but gradually however he came to feel that a son was necessary to give him merit in the other world. He would not spend some pleasant time with his wife and even the *pan* which she brought from the town on her return from work, he would sell away. One day he made up his mind to pray to Śiva for progeny. Śiva spoke to Pārvatī and the two decided to give him progeny. It was the Mahālayapakṣa and after a heavy feast at a Sakṛt Mahālayaśrāddha, the miser was in deep sleep in the night in the temple. God induced the couple to come together, but the Brāhmaṇa regretted that he gave way to the temptation in a forbidden season and in forbidden premises. He began ill-treating his pregnant wife, but God consoled her with an incorporeal voice that a son excelling the father would be born to the lady. The parents were slightly disturbed because, if it were to be a girl child, they could take money for the marriage. A son was born to them, looking just like his father. The Brāhmaṇa himself without outside help, conducted all the saṃskāras for his son. Child in hand, the mother would go out and beg oil etc. at the bidding of her husband. She soon resumed her menial services at richmen's houses and her husband was carefully hoarding all the monies earned by them both under the ground. He then went out begging for money for the son's upanayana and, depositing underground that money also, had a ceremony performed quietly by himself in the temple. Once a regular Brahmacārin, the boy went out for Bhikṣā and became an adept in the arts of his father. People christened the son Parama Lobhi Bhaṭṭāraka and he grew to be thirty years old. Whereupon the mother desired to see her son married and told her husband about her desire. The miserly father at once thought of the expenses of a son's marriage and bemoaned a son's birth. When the wife began to press again, the miser said that they could arrange for their son's marriage only in a family similar to their own; he did not like most of the Brāhmaṇa families known to him, for some had spent their self-earned money to build houses for themselves, some ate at their own expense and some put on silks and ornaments, some, though eating in other's houses, spent for their *pan*, and some were even addicted to making gifts. He therefore found that there was no Brāhmaṇa to equal himself. But the wife did not despair of finding a Brāhmaṇa family equal to theirs and asked her husband to go out on tour and find

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such a family. The miser spent many months pretending to look up an auspicious day for starting but had to start finally. He took only some quantity of flour for his sustenance during his wanderings. Whenever he saw Brāhmaṇas eating rich food or living happily or chewing *pān*, he would loath their sight. He wandered widely and for many days, cursing himself for beggery a son. He reached a river and sat there to refresh himself. Just a little flour was peeping out where the piece of cloth with the flour was tied; he appeased his hunger with that bit of flour and water. As he was resting there after this 'feast', he saw on the same river-bank another Brāhmaṇa also who was appeasing his hunger in a much cleverer way; he just held up his bag of food in the sun, and drank the water marked by the shadow of the bag. 'There really was a Brāhmaṇa, one better than himself', thought the miser. The only anxiety was that he should have a daughter and should not be a Sagotra. For his part, the stranger had decided not to talk to the miser of Vijayanagara, for the latter had gone to the extent of utilising a particle of flour for his food. The miser of Vijayanagara however would not leave him and the two learnt about each other. The new miser was from Rāḍhā in Gauḍa, known by the name Atilobhin, and wandering about in search of a sufficiently miserly son-in-law. The old miser promised that his son could also perform the feat of simply drinking, for food, the water marked by the shadow of a parcel of food. The old miser extolled his daughter that as a child she drank off her mother's breast only a few drops of milk. The marriage was then fixed; neither party was to buy any clothes or ornaments for the other; the two parties are each to eat at its own expense; and so that the public might not laugh at such a marriage, they should conduct the function on that river-bank itself where they met; the birds would furnish the necessary music; the sylvan flowers would waft enough fragrance and besides, no vessels were needed when leaves were in plenty on the riverside; flowers and fruits also were in abundance and between themselves the two fathers could themselves officiate also as the priests. Beyond their friendship, no other honours were to be exchanged on the marriage occasion. The girl to be married was called Āśā.

The miser of Vijayanagara returned to his wife and showed her first how he had brought back the flour without using it for his food. He informed his wife and son about the marriage and asked both to go about severally and beg for money to have the marriage done. He himself did his share of that begging. The son extracted donation even from poor people. The father begged for decent marital clothes from a munificent man and without

keeping them for the marriage, sold them, since they were too costly for their status. The two parties met on the river side and put up two huts. The marriage was conducted.

Śiva, at that time, came there with Pārvatī to enjoy the fun of this marriage. They appeared on the riverside as an aged Brāhmaṇa couple. The two misers were perturbed to see people coming even to that forlorn spot. The aged Brāhmaṇa told them that he had come especially to attend the marriage and receive some Dakṣiṇā from them. The miser of Vijayanagara frankly protested that, having sought a manforsaken place for the marriage, in his fear of guests, he should be left alone and not troubled like that. The aged man threatened to do Satyāgraha if he was not given something. The miser made the counter-threat that they themselves were all on hunger-strike. The aged men would not go even then and the miser told him that, if the aged man would call on him again after their return to the city, he would just see if anything could be given. God took a promise of gift from the miser and then insisted on being fed; but the miser informed that they were all on fast. In the night, when the aged couple was asleep, the two misers finished the remaining rites of the marriage, like *Seṣahoma*, and left for their respective places. The miser of Vijayanagara could not escape the aged man who caught him the next morning. The miser said "Come after some days; I shall see if I could give you something". And the aged Brāhmaṇa said: "We shall follow you till you give." As they crossed a village on the way, the miser tried to get rid of the old man but could not. They all reached Vijayanagara, and as soon as the miser settled down again in his temple, the old man began pressing for the gift. The miser replied that he could give the old man something by earning in the course of a few days. Though the miser's wife was for getting rid of the old couple by giving them a little, the miser decided to deceive them. The old couple went about the town narrating their adventure, the marriage on the river bank and the rest, and making the people roar in laughter. Though some merchants were willing to gratify the old couple by giving them whatever they wanted, Śiva who was in the old man's role, wanted to take a gift only from the miser.

When the old man called again for his gift, the miser had stretched himself as a corpse with his wife weeping by his side, determined not to move even a finger though people might mount his body on the pyre. Śiva came and telling the wife that he was a doctor and would bring her husband back to life, examined the miser's pulse. He diagnosed the suffering as *Sannipāta* and

getting burning firewood, scarched the miser's feet. The miser moved not; Śiva said that the man was dead and that since his son was not near by, He would himself cremate the miser's body. Placed on the burning pyre, the miser still moved not. The gods above told Śiva that he was rather cruel in persuing a man like that. Śiva now assumed His form and said, 'O Brāhmaṇa, miser, you need not give me any gift; I am defeated; you have won, rise up now. I am Śiva, Pampāpati, ask of me whatever you want'. And immediately the miser sprang up from the pyre and made obeisance to Śiva who blessed him.

## PHONETIC CHANGES IN TAMIL WORDS BORROWED FROM CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

BY

M. R. RAJAGOPALA IYENGAR, M.A., L.T.,

### II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Since the publication of my article on "Phonetic Changes in Tamil Words Borrowed from Classical Sanskrit", my attention has been drawn to an article entitled "The Sanskritic Element in the Vocabularies of the Dravidian Languages" (No. III Dravidic Studies, University of Madras) by Mr. S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai. On reading it I find that the following generalizations of mine had already been made by Mr. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai and I hasten to acknowledge the fact. I regret I had not read the booklet before I sent my article for publication:---

|          |                       |                          |
|----------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Page 177 | Journal of O. R. 1939 | the change of Skt अ to ञ |
| " 178    | " "                   | " of अ followed by to अ  |
| " 178    | " "                   | " of अ to ञ              |
| " 184    | " "                   | " of इ to अ              |
| " 185    | " "                   | " of इ to ञ              |
| " 187    | " "                   | " of उ to ञ              |
| " 187    | " "                   | " of उ to ञ              |
| " 190    | " "                   | " of ऋ to २              |
| " 191    | " "                   | " of ऐ to ३              |
| " 191    | " "                   | " of ऐ to ञ              |
| " 192    | " "                   | " of ओ to ४              |
| " 193    | " "                   | " of औ to ५              |
| " 193    | " "                   | " of औ to ४              |

Since Tamil has no counterparts for many of the consonantal letters in Sanskrit, it becomes necessary to change the consonants in Sanskrit loan-words to suit the Tamil script. Even when corresponding letters exist in the Tamil alphabet, the phonetic system of Tamil requires the modification of certain consonants before the words containing them can

become current in Tamil usage. In this section an attempt is made to study these changes of consonants. The change in Tamil is indicated by the change in the script and not in the sound, though the letter, corresponds, in many cases, to the change in the sound. It is difficult to state definitely and dogmatically what the sound-values of the Tamil letters க, ச, ட, த and ப are in modern Tamil, when they appear in combination with other letters, and when they appear in the beginning, middle or end of a word. How, for example, is the initial க in கக்கை to be pronounced? Is it *k* or *g* (Sanskrit क or ग)? A large number of people whose mother-tongue is Tamil pronounce it as *g* as in Sanskrit ग, but many pronounce it also as *k* (kaṅgai). There is, however, no difficulty in regard to the sound-value of initial க in native Tamil words like கட்டில், காடி, கீரை, குங்கு and the like. Invariably initial க has the sound of *k* (Sanskrit क). Similarly when the consonant is doubled in the middle of a Tamil word, there is no doubt that it is pronounced as *k* as in the words கக்கரம், கக்கிரர், கெக்கு and so on. When க occurs medially in vocalic combinations as in அகம், it seems to have the sound of the aspirate *h*, though there are people who pronounce it as *k* and even as *g*. When க follows the corresponding nasal sound ங as in கங்கு, பங்கு, செங்கோல், etc., the sound heard in the pronunciation of many Tamilians at the present day seems to approximate to the voiced stop *g* as in the English word *go*. The phonetic rendering of the words would be śaṅgu (or caṅgu) pāṅgi, śeṅgōl (or ceṅgōl). The pronunciation of ச transliterated as *c* by the editors of *the Tamil Lexicon* presents even greater difficulties. Initial ச as in சட்டி, சேவகன் and சோம்பேறி seems to have the sound of *ś* as in Sanskrit śānti and śīla, but one sometimes hears it pronounced as caṭṭi with the sound *c* as in Sanskrit चक. When ச is doubled in the middle of a word, there is no doubt that it has the sound of *c* as in the words பச்சை, கச்சேரி and நிச்சயம். The sound is the same as the Sanskrit च. Differences of pronunciation occur, however, when ச follows the corresponding nasal ஞ (ñ). How is காஞ்சேபரம் to be pronounced? Some pronounce the ச as *cī* with the च sound. Many pronounce it as ஜி (jī) giving it the sound of *j* as in Sanskrit जय. In பஞ்சு, கஞ்சி and முஞ்சு the sound heard approximates most often to *j* (ஜ). ச in vocalic combinations seems to be pronounced as *ś* E.g. பாசி (pāśi) and காசு (kāśu). The letter

ட should not begin a Tamil word, though in recent times such words as டமாரம் have been imported, and can occur only medially. When it is doubled as in கட்டை, பாட்டு and கோட்டி, the pronunciation is that of *t*, the voiceless stop as in Sanskrit पट and may be rendered phonetically into kaṭṭai, pāṭṭa and koṭṭi. But what is its sound in vocalic combinations? In words like படை and தடியன், is the sound that of the voiced stop *d* or the voiceless *t*? The majority of Tamilians pronounce it as *d* (voiced), but occasionally one hears also the *t* sound. The letter த seems to have different sounds according to circumstance. Initial த, in native Tamil words like தண்ணீர், திண்கூர், தூண் and தோகை is always pronounced as *t* (Skt. त) but in words borrowed from Sanskrit like தேவி, துரோகம், தாது, and தோனி, one hears it pronounced differently by different people. Many pronounce it as *d* (voiced) (Skt. द) and quite a large number pronounce it as *t* (voiceless) like the த in தண்ணீர். The sound of த in காது seems to be neither the voiceless *t* nor the voiced *d*, but the aspirated *th* or *dh* that of *th* in the English word *then*. Similarly ப answers for different sounds in words like பாட்டு and அரம்பை. Initial ப in native Tamil words is generally pronounced as a voiceless stop *p* as in பாட்டு (pāṭṭu). In words of Sanskrit origin like பந்தம் (पन्थ) and பிம்பம் (विम्ब), though the voiceless pronunciation is not uncommon, many pronounce it also as voiced *b*, probably because of a knowledge of their Sanskrit derivation; medial ப, when doubled, has invariably the voiceless *p* sound as சுப்பை. When ப follows the corresponding nasal ம as in அரம்பை, the commonest pronunciation is the voiced *b* (arambai). The difficulty of deciding the sound values of these consonants becomes even greater when we find that they are pronounced differently in different Tamil areas and by different castes or groups of Tamil-speaking people even in the same area. In view of these difficulties I have thought it best in this section to indicate the change in the consonants of loan words by giving the Tamil letters into which they are modified and not by the phonetic symbols of the sounds which vary according to places and persons.

No mention is made here of changes in Sanskrit words when they merely follow the rules of Tamil sandhi as in அல் அம்பம் and அலா ஆன்மா.

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As has been already stated, the changes in simple consonants have been set forth elaborately by the author of *Nannūl* and only a few more remain to be added.

*The consonant क् (k).*

Sanskrit क् generally remains unchanged except when it is member of a conjunct consonant.

ख् (kh), ग् (g) and घ् (gh) for which there are no corresponding letters in the Tamil alphabet are changed to क् (k) in Tamil (*Nannūl*).

| e.g. | Skt.           | ख् (kh) | Tam.            |
|------|----------------|---------|-----------------|
|      | खलीन khalīna   |         | कलीनम् kalīnam  |
|      | शिखा śikhā     |         | सिका cikai      |
|      | अखिल akhila    |         | अकिल akil       |
|      | शतमख śatamakha |         | शतकम् catamakam |
| e.g. | Skt.           | ग (g)   | Tam.            |
|      | गुरु guru      |         | कुरु kuru       |
|      | गति gati       |         | कति kati        |
|      | Skt.           | घ (gh)  | Tam.            |
|      | घन ghana       |         | कणम् kaṇam      |
|      | घट ghaṭa       |         | कटम् kaṭam      |

As छ् never begins a Sanskrit word except in technical books and as it occurs only as the first or second member of a conjunct consonant, its change in Tamil will be considered in the third section which treats of conjunct consonants.

क्, (k) ख् (kh) ग् (g) and घ् (gh) may change into क् in some words:—

| Skt.       | Tam.      |
|------------|-----------|
| माघी māghī | मासि māsi |

*The simple consonant च् (c).*

1. च् (c) remains generally unchanged:—

| e.g. | Skt.        | Tam.           |
|------|-------------|----------------|
|      | चूर्ण cūrṇa | कूर्णम् cūrṇam |

*Skt. Tam.*

चेटी cēṭī செடி cēṭi

रुचि ruci ருசி uruci

2. In a few words च् (c) is changed to क् (k):—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.           |
|------|--------------|----------------|
|      | चमरी camarī  | कमरी kamari    |
|      | चिञ्चा ciñcā | किञ्चम् kiñcam |

3. च् (c) is sometimes changed also to य् (y):—

| e.g. | Skt.       | Tam.          |
|------|------------|---------------|
|      | कुच kuca   | कूयम् kuyam   |
|      | वचन vacana | वयनम् vayanam |

4. च् (c) in Sanskrit words is sometimes changed to ङ् (ṅ) in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.     | Tam.    |
|------|----------|---------|
|      | नीच nīca | नीन nīṅ |

*The consonant छ् (ch).*

1. छ् (ch) for which there is no corresponding letter in Tamil is changed to च् (c) (*Nannūl*):—

| e.g. | Skt.           | Tam.         |
|------|----------------|--------------|
|      | छल chala       | चलम् calam   |
|      | छन्दस् chandas | चन्दै candai |
|      | छाया chāyā     | चायै cāyai   |

*The consonant ज् (j).*

1. ज् (j) for which there is no corresponding letter in the Tamil alphabet is usually changed to च् (c) (*Nannūl*):—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.           |
|------|--------------|----------------|
|      | जल jala      | चलम् calam     |
|      | वाजिन् vājīn | वासि vāci      |
|      | जड jaḍa      | चटम् caṭam     |
|      | जह् jahnu    | चन्नु cannu    |
|      | जातक jātaka  | चाटकम् cātakam |

2. ज् (j) in Sanskrit words is sometimes changed to ञ् (ñ) in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.     | Tam.        |
|------|----------|-------------|
|      | जाल jāla | ஞாலம் nālam |

3. ज् (j) is sometimes changed also to य् (y) (vide change of ज् to य्) (Nannūl):—

| e.g. | Skt.               | Tam.                    |
|------|--------------------|-------------------------|
|      | राजा rājā          | ராயன் rāyan             |
|      | अज aja             | அயன் ayan               |
|      | भुज bhuja          | புயம் puyam             |
|      | अम्बुज ambuja      | அம்புயம் ampuyam        |
|      | पङ्कज paṅkaja      | பங்கயம் paṅkayam        |
|      | जामदग्नि jāmadaṅni | இயமங்கியார் iyamaṅkiyār |
|      | गज gaja            | கயம் kayam              |

The consonant झ् (jh).

झ् (jh) for which there is no counterpart in Tamil is changed to ञ् (c) just like ज् (Nannūl):—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.           |
|------|--------------|----------------|
|      | झटा jhaṭā    | சடை caṭai      |
|      | झटिल jhaṭila | சடிலம் caṭilam |

The consonant ञ् (ñ).

The Sanskrit consonant ञ् (ñ) does not occur except as the first member of a conjunct consonant and will therefore be treated in section III.

The consonant ट् (ṭ).

ट् (ṭ) generally remains unchanged in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.       | Tam.       |
|------|------------|------------|
|      | अटवी aṭavī | அடவி aṭavi |
|      | तटित taṭit | தடி taṭi   |

| Skt.        | Tam.         |
|-------------|--------------|
| चेटी cēṭi   | சேடி cēṭi    |
| हाटक hāṭaka | ஆடகம் āṭakam |

1. When ट् (ṭ) begins a Sanskrit word, it is generally preceded by a prothetic इ (i) when taken into Tamil (Nannūl):—

| e.g. | Skt.       | Tam.            |
|------|------------|-----------------|
|      | टङ्क ṭaṅkā | இடங்கம் iṭaṅkam |

The consonant ट् (ṭh).

As there is no letter in Tamil corresponding to the Sanskrit letter ट् (ṭh), ट् (ṭh) is invariably changed to ட் (ṭ) (Nannūl):—

| e.g. | Skt.             | Tam.             |
|------|------------------|------------------|
|      | कठोर kaṭhōra     | கடுரம் kaṭūram   |
|      | रामठ rāmaṭha     | இராமடம் irāmaṭam |
|      | कण्ठिका kaṇṭhikā | கண்டிகை kaṇṭikai |

The consonant ड् (ḍ).

1. Just like ट् (ṭh), ड् (ḍ) for which there is no corresponding letter in Tamil is changed to ட் (ṭ) (Nannūl):—

| e.g. | Skt.           | Tam.               |
|------|----------------|--------------------|
|      | खण्ड khaṇḍa    | கண்டி kaṇḍu        |
|      | गण्डीव gaṇḍīva | காண்டிவம் kaṇḍivam |

2. The Sanskrit ड् (ḍ) is sometimes changed to ञ् (ḷ):—

| e.g. | Skt.             | Tam.            |
|------|------------------|-----------------|
|      | नीड nīḍa         | நீளம் nīḷam     |
|      | चूडामणि cūdāmaṇi | சூளமணி cūḷamaṇi |

3. In a few instances ड् (ḍ) is changed to ञ् (ḷ):—

| e.g. | Skt.          | Tam.           |
|------|---------------|----------------|
|      | गरुड garuḍa   | கலுடன் kaluḷaṇ |
|      | पीडा pīḍa     | பீடை pīḷai     |
|      | चूडिका cūdīkā | சூழி cūḷi      |
|      | नाडि nāḍi     | நாழி nāḷi      |

4. Initial इ (d) is preceded by a prothetic इ (i) when changed to ळ (t) (Nannūl) :—

| e.g. | Skt.        | Tam.           |
|------|-------------|----------------|
|      | इम्भ ḍambha | இம்பம் itampam |

The consonant इ (dh).

इ (dh) in Sanskrit words is changed to ळ (t) when they are borrowed in Tamil (Nannūl) :—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.        |
|------|--------------|-------------|
|      | मुढ mūḍha    | முடன் mūṭaṇ |
|      | दढ ḍaḍha     | திடம் tiṭam |
|      | आषाढी āṣāḍhī | ஆடி āḍi     |

The consonant ण (ṇ).

Sanskrit ण (ṇ) does not undergo any change in Tamil :—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.           |
|------|--------------|----------------|
|      | श्रेणि śreṇi | செணி eṇi       |
|      | शोण śōṇa     | சோணை cōṇai     |
|      | चूर्ण cūrṇa  | சுண்ணம் cuṇṇam |

The consonant त (t).

Sanskrit त (t), initial, medial, or final, generally remains unchanged :—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.          |
|------|--------------|---------------|
|      | तपः tapas    | தவம் tavam    |
|      | तनया tanayā  | தனையு tanayai |
|      | पातकी pātakī | பதகி pataki   |
|      | हेति hēti    | ஐதி ēti       |
|      | गति gati     | கதி kati      |

1. त (t) is sometimes changed to ञ (c) in Tamil :—

| e.g. | Skt.             | Tam.             |
|------|------------------|------------------|
|      | तुण्डा tuṇḍā     | சுண்டி cuṇḍi     |
|      | तिक्षिरि tittiri | திக்சிரி cicciri |
|      | पित्त pitta      | பிச்சன் piccaṇ   |

2. Final त (t) in Sanskrit words is usually dropped in Tamil :—

Skt. तटित् becomes Tam. தடி.

The consonant थ (th).

The consonant थ (th) for which there is no corresponding letter in Tamil becomes த் (t) in Tamil (Nannūl) :—

| e.g. | Skt.        | Tam.           |
|------|-------------|----------------|
|      | यूथ yūtha   | உதம் utam      |
|      | रथ ratha    | இரதம் iratam   |
|      | कथा kathā   | கதை katai      |
|      | शपथ śapatha | சுரதம் capatam |

The consonant द (d).

So also द (d) for which there is no counterpart in the Tamil alphabet is changed to த் (t) (Nannūl) :—

| e.g. | Skt.                  | Tam.             |
|------|-----------------------|------------------|
|      | दुकूल dukūla          | துகில் tukil     |
|      | दासी dāsī (a servant) | தாசி tāti (maid) |
|      | देव daivam            | தேவு tēvu        |
|      | हृदय hr̥daya          | இதயம் itayam     |

The consonant ध (dh).

1. As might be expected ध (dh) becomes in Tamil த் (t) (Nannūl) :—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.             |
|------|--------------|------------------|
|      | विधि vidhi   | விதி viti        |
|      | धर्म dharma  | தருமம் tarumam   |
|      | धनुस् dhanus | தனு taṇu         |
|      | औषध auṣadha  | அவிழ்தம் aviltam |

2. There are also instances of Sanskrit ध (dh) being changed to ञ (c) in Tamil :—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.        |
|------|--------------|-------------|
|      | धारा dhārā   | சாரை cārai  |
|      | ध्यान dhyāna | சாணம் cāṇam |

The consonant न् (n).

1. The Sanskrit consonant न् (n) generally remains unchanged in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.            | Tam.               |
|------|-----------------|--------------------|
|      | नास्तिक nāstika | நாத்திகம் nāttikam |
|      | ज्ञान jñāna     | ஞானம் jñānam       |
|      | शासन śāsana     | சாசனம் cāṇanam     |
|      | जानकी jānakī    | சனகி caṇaki        |

2. न् (n) is sometimes changed to ण् (ṇ).

| Skt.     | Tam.        |
|----------|-------------|
| नाल nāla | ஞாலம் ṇālam |

3. Final न् (n) in Sanskrit words is often dropped in Tamil:—

| Skt.         | Tam.      |
|--------------|-----------|
| करिन् karin  | கரி kari  |
| वाजिन् vājin | வாசி vāci |

The consonant प् (p).

1. The Sanskrit consonant प् (p) generally remains unchanged in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.           | Tam.           |
|------|----------------|----------------|
|      | पङ्क्ति paṅkti | பத்தி patti    |
|      | पित्त pitta    | பிச்சன் piccan |
|      | लिपि lipi      | இலிபி ilipi    |

2. Sanskrit प् (p) is sometimes dropped in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.                | Tam.          |
|------|---------------------|---------------|
|      | कच्छप kacchapa      | கச்சம் kaccam |
|      | रूप rūpa > உருவம் > | உரு uru       |

3. प् (p) in a Sanskrit word is often changed to வ் (v) in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.               | Tam.           |
|------|--------------------|----------------|
|      | सुपर्ण suparṇa     | உவணன் uvaṇan   |
|      | उपाध्याय upādhyāya | உவாத்தி uvātti |
|      | अपटी apaṭi         | அவடி avaṭi     |
|      | दीपिका dīpikā      | தீவிகை tivikai |
|      | तपस् tapas         | தவம் tavam     |
|      | रूप rūpa           | உருவம் uruvam  |
|      | पादप pādapa        | பாதவம் pātavam |
|      | वापी vāpī          | வாவி vāvi      |
|      | आपण āpaṇa          | ஆவணம் āvaṇam   |

4. प् (p) in a Sanskrit word is sometimes changed to த் (t) in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.            | Tam.             |
|------|-----------------|------------------|
|      | पिप्पली pippalī | தீப்பிலி tippili |

The consonants फ् (ph), ब् (b) भ् (bh).

As there are no letters in Tamil corresponding to the Sanskrit फ् (ph) ब् (b) and भ् (bh), they are generally changed to ப் (p) in Tamil (Naṇṇūl):—

फ् (ph).

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.       |
|------|--------------|------------|
|      | फणिन् phaṇin | பணி paṇi   |
|      | फल phala     | பயன் payan |

ब् (b)

| e.g. | Skt.        | Tam.            |
|------|-------------|-----------------|
|      | बन्ध bandha | பந்தம் pantam   |
|      | क्लीब klīḇa | கிலீபம் kilīpam |
|      | बिल bila    | பிலம் pilam     |

| Skt.         | म् (bh) | Tam.           |
|--------------|---------|----------------|
| रम्भा rambhā |         | அரம்பை arampai |
| लभ labha     |         | இலாபம் ilāpam  |
| ऋषभ ṛṣabha   |         | இடபம் itapam   |
| भुवन bhuvana |         | புவனம் puvaṇam |
| लोभ lōbha    |         | உலோபம் ulōpa   |

1. व् and भ् (b & bh) are sometimes changed to ल् (v) in Tamil just like प् (p) (see before) :—

| e.g. | Skt.                 | व् (b).  | Tam.                                                            |
|------|----------------------|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
|      | वाधा bādhā           |          | வாதை vātai                                                      |
|      | महाबलि mahābali      |          | மாவலி māvali                                                    |
|      | विम्ब bimba          |          | விம்பம் vimbam                                                  |
|      |                      | म् (bh). |                                                                 |
|      | सभा sabhā            |          | அவை avai                                                        |
|      | ऋषभ ṛṣabha           |          | இடபம் itavam (initial ॠ being dropped)                          |
|      | नाभि nābhi           |          | நாவி nāvi                                                       |
|      | वल्लभ vallabha       |          | வல்லவன் vallavan                                                |
|      | नभस् nabhas          |          | நவம் navam                                                      |
|      | अभिसारिका abhisārikā |          | அவிசாரி avicāri (with a degradation in the meaning of the word) |

The consonant म् (m).

The Sanskrit consonant म् (m) generally remains unchanged in Tamil :—

| e.g. | Skt.             | Tam.                  |
|------|------------------|-----------------------|
|      | सुमित्रा sumitrā | சுமித்திரை cumittirai |
|      | हिम hima         | இமம் imam             |
|      | मत्स्य matsya    | மச்சம் maccam         |

| Skt.        | Tam.      |
|-------------|-----------|
| क्षमा kṣamā | கமை kamaī |

1. Like प् क् व् and भ्, (p, ph, b, & bh) म् (m is sometimes changed to व् v).

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.                              |
|------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
|      | चमरी camarī  | சவரி cavari<br>also சவரி kavari   |
|      | दमन damana   | தவனம் tavanam<br>(மயர்க்கொழுந்து) |
|      | दामनी dāmanī | தாவணி tāvaṇi                      |

The consonant य (y).

1. The Sanskrit consonant य (y) often remains unchanged in Tamil :—

| e.g. | Skt.        | Tam.         |
|------|-------------|--------------|
|      | योग yōga    | யோகு yōku    |
|      | तनया tanayā | தனைய tanayai |
|      | छाया chāyā  | சாயை cāyai   |

2. Initial य् (y) is changed into c(ச) presumably through confusion due to faulty pronunciation.

| e.g. | Skt.       | Tam.            |
|------|------------|-----------------|
|      | यम yama    | எமன் eman       |
|      | यज्ञ yajña | எக்கியம் ekkiam |

3. Initial य् (y) in words beginning with य (ya) is often preceded by prothetic इ (i) or ए (u) in Tamil :—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.             |
|------|--------------|------------------|
|      | यक्ष yakṣa   | இயக்கன் iyakkan  |
|      | यम yama      | இயமன் iyaman     |
|      | युद्ध yuddha | உயுத்தம் uyuttam |
|      | योग yōga     | உயோகம் uyōkam    |

4. Initial य (y) of the first syllable य (ya) of a Sanskrit word is often dropped in Tamil :—

| e.g. | Skt.         | Tam.       |
|------|--------------|------------|
|      | यूथ yūtha    | உதம் ūtam  |
|      | युक्ति yukti | உத்தி utti |

| <i>Skt.</i>  | <i>Tam.</i>  |
|--------------|--------------|
| यान yāna     | ஆணம் āṇam    |
| योजना yōjanā | ஒசனை ōcaṇai  |
| युग yuga     | உகம் ukam    |
| यामल yāmala  | ஆமலம் āmaḷam |

5. Sanskrit य् (y) is sometimes changed to ச் (c) in Tamil:—

| <i>e.g.</i> | <i>Skt.</i>    | <i>Tam.</i>    |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|
|             | कैकेयी kaikēyī | கைகேசி kaikēci |
|             | यक्षी yakṣī    | இசக்கி icakki  |
|             | यक्ष yakṣa     | சக்கன் cakkan  |
|             | नियत niyata    | நிசதம் nicata  |
|             | याम yāma       | சாமம் cāmam    |
|             | योगिन् yōgin   | சோகி cōki      |
|             | यावक yāvaka    | சாவகன் cāvakan |

6. Sometimes Sanskrit य् (y) is changed to க் (k) in Tamil:—

| <i>e.g.</i> | <i>Skt.</i>      | <i>Tam.</i>         |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------|
|             | उत्तरीय uttariya | உத்தரிகம் uttarikam |
|             | अहल्या ahalyā    | அகலிகை akalikai     |

7. Sometimes Sanskrit य् (y) is changed to ன் (n) or ன் (ñ):—

| <i>e.g.</i> | <i>Skt.</i> | <i>Tam.</i>   |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| (a)         | यम yama     | நமன் naman    |
|             | युग yuga    | நுகம் nukam   |
|             | योनि yōni   | கோனி (?) nōni |
|             | <i>Skt.</i> | <i>Tam.</i>   |
| (b)         | यम yama     | நாமன் ñaman   |
|             | नय naya     | நாயம் ñayam   |

The consonant र् (r).

The Sanskrit consonant र् (r) generally undergoes no change in Tamil; but when it begins the word, a prothetic अ (a), इ (i) or ए (u) is generally prefixed to the word in Tamil:—

| e.g. | Skt.             | Tam.               |
|------|------------------|--------------------|
|      | गुरु guru        | குரு kuru          |
|      | सरयू sarayū      | சரயு carayu        |
|      | श्रीधर śrīdhara  | சீதான் cītarāṇ     |
|      | चमरी camarī      | சமரி camarī        |
|      | रव rava          | அரவம் aravam       |
|      | रवि ravi         | இரவி iravi         |
|      | रम्भा rambhā     | அரம்பை arampai     |
|      | रथ ratha         | இரதம் iratam       |
|      | रत्न ratna       | அரதனம் arataṇam    |
|      | रुक्मिणी rukmiṇī | உருப்பிணி uruppiṇi |

1. Initial र् (r) is sometimes dropped in Tamil as well as medial र् (r) :—

| e.g. | Skt.            | Tam.           |
|------|-----------------|----------------|
|      | रुधिर rudhira   | உதிரம் utiram  |
|      | कुक्कुर kukkura | குக்கன் kukkan |

2. र् (r) is sometimes changed to ल (l) or ल (l) in Tamil :—

| e.g. | Skt.           | Tam.             |
|------|----------------|------------------|
|      | गरुड garuḍa    | கலுழன் kaluḷaṇ   |
|      | अगरु agaru     | அகில் akil       |
|      | कर्मार karmāra | கம்மாள் kammālāṇ |

The consonant ल (l).

The Sanskrit consonant ल (l) often undergoes no change. When it begins the word, it is preceded by a prothetic इ (i) or ए (u) :—

| e.g. | Skt.           | Tam.           |
|------|----------------|----------------|
|      | लभ lābha       | இலாபம் ilāpam  |
|      | बिल bila       | பிலம் pilam    |
|      | मिथिला mithilā | மிதிலை mitilai |
|      | खलीन khalīna   | கலினம் kalinam |

| Skt.           | Tam.                |
|----------------|---------------------|
| लक्षणा lakṣaṇā | இலக்கண ilakkaṇai    |
| लक्ष्य lakṣya  | இலக்கியம் ilakkiyam |
| लोम lōbha      | உலோபம் ulōpam       |

1. Sanskrit ल् (l) is sometimes changed to र (r) in Tamil:—

| e.g. Skt.       | Tam.              |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| लक्षा lākṣā     | அரக்கு arakku     |
| हरिताल haritāla | அரிதாரம் aritāram |

2. Sanskrit ल् (l) is sometimes changed to ल (l) in Tamil:—

| e.g. Skt.      | Tam.                      |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| व्याल vyāla    | வியாலம் viyālam (serpent) |
| प्रवाल pravāla | பாவலம் pavalam            |
| फल phala       | பழம் paḷam                |
| स्थाली         | தாழி tāḷi                 |

3. Sanskrit ल् (l) is also occasionally changed to य (y) in Tamil:—

| e.g. Skt. | Tam.                       |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| शैल śaila | சையம் caiyam               |
| फल phala  | { பயன் payan<br>பயம் payam |

The consonant व् (v)

1. Sanskrit व् (v) generally remains unchanged:—

| e.g. Skt.      | Tam.           |
|----------------|----------------|
| विष viṣa       | விடம் viṭam    |
| विधि vidhi     | விதி viti      |
| वेष vēṣa       | வேடம் vēṭam    |
| रवि ravi       | இரவி iravi     |
| प्रवाल pravāla | பாவலம் pavalam |

| Skt.       | Tam.         |
|------------|--------------|
| रव rava    | அரவம் aravam |
| अटवी aṭavī | அடவி aṭavi   |

The consonant श् (ś)

1. Sanskrit श् (ś) becomes ச (c) (Nannūl):—

| e.g. Skt.     | Tam.               |
|---------------|--------------------|
| शैल śaila     | சைலம் cailam       |
| शाला śālā     | சாலை cālai         |
| कौशिक kauśika | கவுசிகன் kavucikan |

2. Sanskrit श् (ś) is sometimes changed to य (y) (Nannūl):—

| e.g. Skt.           | Tam.              |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| दशरथ daśaratha      | தயராதன் tayaratan |
| देश dēśa            | தேயம் tēyam       |
| कुश kuśa            | சூயம்             |
| वश vaśam            | வயம் vayam        |
| विशाल viśākha       | வியாகம் viyākam   |
| श्मशान śmaśāna      | மயானம் mayāṇam    |
| आकाश ākāśa          | ஆகாயம் ākāyam     |
| उशीर uśīra (cuscus) | உயிர் uyir        |
| कुशल kuśala         | சூயலன் kuyalan    |
| आश्लेष āślēṣa       | ஆயிலியம் āyiliyam |
| कलश kalaśa          | கலயம் kalayam     |

3. Initial श् (ś) in Sanskrit words is sometimes dropped in Tamil (cf. initial स (s) (Dravidic Studies):—

| e.g. Skt.       | Tam.         |
|-----------------|--------------|
| शरण śaraṇa      | அரணம் araṇam |
| श्रावणी śrāvaṇī | அவணி āvaṇi   |
| श्रोणा śrōṇā    | ஒணம் oṇam    |

| Skt.                | Tam.             |
|---------------------|------------------|
| शकुली śaṣkuli       | அக்குலி akkuli   |
| श्रेणी śrēṇī        | எணி ēṇi          |
| श्रविष्ठा śraviṣṭhā | அவிட்டம் aviṭṭam |

*The consonant ॠ (ṣ)*

1. As there is no letter in Tamil corresponding to ॠ (ṣa) ॠ (ṣ) in Sanskrit words is changed to ட (ṭ) in Tamil (Nanṇūl) :-

| e.g. Skt.  | Tam.        |
|------------|-------------|
| विष viṣa   | விடம் viṭam |
| मेघ mēṣa   | மேடம் mēṭam |
| भाषा bhāṣā | பாடை pāṭai  |
| वेष vēṣa   | வேடம் vēṭam |
| उषा uṣā    | உடை utai    |

2. Sanskrit ॠ (ṣ) is sometimes changed to ச (c) in Tamil (Dravidic Studies) :-

| e.g. Skt.        | Tam.                   |
|------------------|------------------------|
| अभिलाषा abhilāṣā | அபிலாசை apilācai       |
| वेष vēṣa         | வேசம் vēcam            |
| दोष dōṣa         | தோசம் tōcam            |
| रोष rōṣa         | உரோசம் urōcam          |
| विषय viṣaya      | விசயம் vicayam         |
| मोषक mōṣaka      | மோசகன் mōcakan (thief) |
| षण्मुख ṣaṇmukha  | சண்முகன் caṇmukan      |

*The consonant ॡ (ś)*

1. As there is no letter in Tamil corresponding to Sanskrit ॡ (ś) it is generally changed to ச (c) (Nanṇūl) :-

| e.g. Skt.   | Tam.         |
|-------------|--------------|
| सार sāra    | சாரu cāru    |
| असूया asūyā | அசூயை acuyai |

| Skt.          | Tam.           |
|---------------|----------------|
| सुबाहु subāhu | சுவாகு cuvāku  |
| वासव vāsava   | வாசவன் vācavan |

2. Initial स् (s) in Sanskrit words is often dropped in Tamil as has been noted by several philologists :-

| e.g. Skt.        | Tam.              |
|------------------|-------------------|
| सन्ध्या sandhyā  | அந்தி anti        |
| सभा sabhā        | அவை avai          |
| सुपर्ण suparṇa   | உவாணன் uvāṇan     |
| समय samaya       | அமயம் amayam      |
| सूची sūcī        | உனி ūci           |
| समर samara       | அமர் amar         |
| सीस sīsa         | சயம் iyam         |
| सिन्धुज sindhuja | இந்துப்பு intuppu |

3. Initial स् (s) in Sanskrit words beginning with conjunct consonants is always dropped :- (See also conjunct consonants).

| e.g. Skt.       | Tam.          |
|-----------------|---------------|
| स्थल sthala     | தலம் talam    |
| स्थूण sthūṇa    | தூண் tūṇ      |
| स्तन stana      | தனம் taṇam    |
| स्फटिक sphaṭika | படிசை paṭikam |

4. Sanskrit स् (s) is sometimes changed to த (t) (Nanṇūl) :-

| e.g. Skt.                     | Tam.         |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| दासी dāsī (a servant<br>maid) | தாதி tāti    |
| रस rasa                       | இரதம் iratam |
| राक्षस rākṣasa                | இராக்ஷன்     |
| आसन āsana                     | ஆதனம் āṭaṇam |
| मास māsa                      | மாதம் mātam  |

## Final consonants in Sanskrit words.

It may be stated as a general rule that, in the attempt to simplify and smoothen the pronunciation of Sanskrit loan words, Tamil often drops the final consonants, especially स् (s), त् (t) and न् (n) :—

| e.g. Skt.    | Tam.      |
|--------------|-----------|
| हविस् havis  | அவி avi   |
| धनुस् dhanus | தனு taṇu  |
| आशिस् āśis   | ஆசி āci   |
| तटित् taṭit  | தடி taṭi  |
| वाजिन् vājin | வாசி vāci |
| करिन् karin  | கரி kari  |

(vide final स् (s) before).

## III. संयुक्ताक्षराणि (Conjunct consonants).

1. (a) When य् (y), र् (r) and ल् (l) are the second members of a conjunct consonant occurring in a Sanskrit word, इ (i) is generally inserted after the first member when the word is taken into Tamil (medial anaptyxis), (Nannūl) :—

| e.g. Skt.         | Tam.               |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| (1) काव्य kāvya   | காவியம் kāviyam    |
| (2) वक्र vakra    | வக்கிரம் vakkiram  |
| (3) शुक्ल śukla   | சுக்கிலம் cukkilam |
| (4) व्याधि vyādhi | வியாதி viyāti      |

It may be noted that in (2) and (3) the first member is also doubled. This doubling occurs whenever the first member is क् (k), च् (c), त् (t) or प् (p).

| e.g. Skt.              | Tam.                      |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| (b) रुक्मिणी rukmiṇī   | உருக்குமிணி urukkumiṇi    |
| (Pkt. रुप्णिणी ruppiṇī | Tam. உருப்பிணி uruppiṇi). |

2. When र् (r) is the first member of a conjunct consonant in a Sanskrit word, it is changed to रु (ru) by the insertion of anaptyctic ए (u) (Nannūl) :—

| e.g. Skt.              | Tam.                |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| (1) कर्म karma         | கருமம் karumam      |
| (2) दुर्वासाः durvāsāḥ | துருவாசன் turuvācaṇ |
| (3) अर्क arka          | அருக்கன் arukkan    |
| (4) दर्भ darbha        | தருபம் tarupam      |
| (5) अर्चना arcanā      | அருச்சனை aruccanai  |
| (6) अर्थ artha         | அருத்தம் aruttam    |

Observe the doubling of क् (k), च् (c), त् (t), प् (p) [म् (bh) being changed to प् (p)].

3. When श् (ś) is the first member of a conjunct consonant and व् (v) the second in a Sanskrit word, an anaptyctic ए (u) is inserted after it when the word is taken into Tamil :—

| e.g. Skt.              | Tam.                                |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| विश्व viśva            | விசுவம் vicuvam                     |
| विश्वामित्र viśvāmītra | விசுவாமித்திரன் vicuvāmitti-<br>raṇ |
| अश्व aśva              | அசுவம் acuvam                       |
| ईश्वर īśvara           | ஈசுவரன் īcuvaran                    |

3. When न् (n) is the second member of a conjunct consonant, अ (a) is inserted before it (Nannūl) :—

| e.g. Skt.  | Tam.            |
|------------|-----------------|
| रत्न ratna | அரதனம் arataṇam |

4. If a Sanskrit word begins with a conjunct consonant, one of the two members is generally dropped in Tamil :—

(a) In the following examples, the first member is dropped :—

| e.g. Skt.   | Tam.      |
|-------------|-----------|
| व्याल vyāla | யாளி yāli |

| Skt.            | Tam.              |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| ज्योतिष jyōtiṣa | யோசியம் yōciyam   |
| स्तन्य stanya   | தன்னியம் taṇṇiyam |
| श्मशान śmaśāna  | மயானம் mayāṇam    |
| व्यूह vyūha     | யூகம் yūkam       |
| त्वक् tvak      | வக்கு vakku       |

For the dropping of initial श् (ś) and स् (s), see before.

(b) The second member is dropped in the following:—

| e.g. Skt.       | Tam.           |
|-----------------|----------------|
| क्षमा kṣamā     | கமை kamai      |
| प्राकृत् prākṛt | பாகதம் pākatam |
| क्षण kṣaṇa      | கணம் kaṇam     |
| ज्वर jvara      | சுரம் curam    |

(c) Sometimes both the members of the conjunct consonant are dropped:—

| e.g. Skt.          | Tam.             |
|--------------------|------------------|
| श्रोण śrōṇa        | ஒணம் ōṇam        |
| श्रविष्ठ śraviṣṭha | அவிட்டம் avittam |
| श्रेणि śrēṇi       | ஏணி ēṇi          |

5. As a general rule the two members of a conjunct consonant are assimilated when the word is taken into Tamil; either the first member is changed to the second or vice versa:—

(a) In the following examples the first member is changed to the second:—

| e.g. Skt.           | Tam.               |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| हस्त hasta          | அத்தம் attam       |
| अब्धि abdhi         | அத்தி atti         |
| जह्नु Jahnu         | சன்னு cannu        |
| वसिष्ठ vasiṣṭha     | வசிட்டன் vacittan  |
| काकुत्स्थ kākutstha | காகுத்தன் kākuttan |
| युक्ति yukti        | உத்தி utti         |
| चूर्ण cūrṇa         | சுண்ணம் cuṇṇam     |

| Skt.            | Tam.                       |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| अप्सरस् apsaras | அச்சரசு accaracu (स् > ச்) |
| मुक्ता muktā    | முத்து muttu               |
| तक्ष takṣa      | தச்சன் taccan (प् > ச்)    |
| पत्नी patnī     | பன்னி panṇi                |
| आर्य ārya       | அய்யன் ayyan               |
| कर्मार karmāra  | கம்மானன் kaṇmāṇan          |

(b) In the following examples the second member is assimilated to the first:—

| e.g. Skt.               | Tam.                   |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| दक्ष dakṣa              | தக்கன் takkan          |
| रक्षस् rakṣas           | அரக்கன் arakkan        |
| सकलत्री sakalatṛi       | சக்களத்தி cakkalatti   |
| मृत्यु mṛtyu            | மிருத்து miruttu       |
| विद्या vidyā            | வித்தை vittai          |
| अयोध्या ayōdhyā         | அயோத்தி ayōtti         |
| अक्षत akṣata            | அக்கதம் akkatam        |
| विष्णु viṣṇu            | விட்டு vittu (प् > ட்) |
| भीष्म bhīṣma > bhitma > | வீட்டுமன் (vittuman)   |

(c) In the following words the law of assimilation illustrated as in the examples given above:—

| e.g. Skt.    | Tam.                                                     |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| विद्या vidyā | விச்சை viccai य (y) being changed to च (c) (ride before) |
| वाद्य vādya  | வாச்சியம் vācciyam                                       |

6. In a number of Sanskrit words, one of the two members is dropped before the word is admitted into Tamil:—

| e.g. Skt.        | Tam.            |
|------------------|-----------------|
| वाणिज्य vāṇijya  | வாணியம் vāṇiyam |
| कौसल्या kausalyā | கோசலை kōcalai   |
| तपस्वी tapasvī   | தவசி tavaci     |
| श्रीधर śrīdhara  | சீதரன் cītaran  |
| क्रमुक kramuka   | கமுகு kamuku    |

| Skt.            | Tam.                |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| शिष्य śiṣya     | சீடன் ciṭaṇ (प > ळ) |
| वैष्णव vaiṣṇava | வைணவர் vaiṇavar     |
| मस्तक mastaka   | மதகம் matakam       |
| समस्या samasyā  | சமசை camacai        |
| पुष्य puṣya     | பூசம் pūcam         |

7. When a conjunct consonant consists of two consonants of which the first member is the nasal consonant of the group to which the second member belongs, there is often no further change than those due to the lack of corresponding letters in the Tamil consonantal system:—

| e.g. Skt.        | Tam.               |
|------------------|--------------------|
| बिम्ब bimba      | பிம்பம் pimpam     |
| भृङ्ग bhr̥ṅga    | பிருங்கம் piruṅkam |
| कञ्चुक kañcuka   | காஞ்சுகம் kāñcukam |
| अम्बुज ambuja    | அம்புயம் ampuyam   |
| दण्ड daṇḍa       | தண்டு taṇṭu        |
| मन्द manda       | மந்தம் mantam      |
| स्कन्द skanda    | சந்தன் kantaṇ      |
| लाङ्गूल laṅgūla  | காங்கூலம் kāṅkūlam |
| अङ्गिरस् aṅgiras | ஆங்கிரன் āṅkiran   |

8. The same principle is seen at work when the first member is changed into the nasal consonant of the group to which the second member belongs:—

| e.g. Skt.         | Tam.                                                           |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| उज्जयिनी ujjayinī | உஞ்சயினி uñcayini                                              |
| कंस kamsa         | கஞ்சன் kañcaṇ (स् > ञ)                                         |
| विद्या vidyā      | விஞ்சை (viñcai see before<br>(य > ञ) see before)               |
| शुक्र śukra       | சுக்கன் cuñkaṇ (the 2nd mem-<br>ber is changed into the nasal) |
| बुद्धि buddhi     | புந்தி punti                                                   |
| कुब्ज kubja       | குஞ்சம் kuñcam                                                 |

| Skt.                    | Tam.                         |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| हंस haṁsa               | அஞ்சம் añcam                 |
| सिंह sinha              | சின்கம் ciṅkam (ह > ञ)       |
| फल्गुनी phalgunī        | பங்குனி paṅkuni (see before) |
| Pkt. फड्गुनी (phaggunī) |                              |

9. The two members of a conjunct consonant sometimes interchange places when the word is taken into Tamil, according to the well-known law of metathesis:—

| e.g. Skt.         | Tam.                               |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| विष्णु viṣṇu      | விண்டு viṇṭu (प > ळ see<br>before) |
| कक्ष kakṣa        | கட்கம் kaṭkam (प > ळ)              |
| कषाय kaṣāya       | கியாமும் kiyālam (ष > य)           |
| अग्नि agni        | அங்கி aṅki                         |
| कल्याण kalyāṇa    | கண்ணலம் kaṇṇālam                   |
| वैशाखी vaiśākhī   | வைகாசி vaikāci                     |
| पारतरस pāratarasa | பாதரசம் pātaracam                  |

10. When a Sanskrit word having a conjunct consonant with more than two members is taken into Tamil, one of the members is generally dropped:—

| e.g. Skt.       | Tam.                                                                                                                 |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| सन्ध्या sandhyā | அந்தி anti                                                                                                           |
| विन्ध्य vindhya | விந்தம் vintam                                                                                                       |
| आर्द्रā ārdri   | ஆகிரை ātirai                                                                                                         |
| पङ्क्ति paṅkti  | பத்தி patti                                                                                                          |
| उष्ट्रक uṣṭraka | ஒட்டகம் oṭṭakam                                                                                                      |
| कक्ष्या kakṣyā  | கட்சி kaṭci                                                                                                          |
| पार्श्व pārśva  | பாரசம் pāricam                                                                                                       |
| सूक्ष्म sūkṣma  | { சுக்குமம் cuḱkumam<br>{ குக்குமம் cūḱkumam                                                                         |
| अस्त्र astra    | அச்சிரம் acciram s > c                                                                                               |
| मत्स्य matsya   | maccam (स् (s) being changed<br>to ष (c) the ष (t)<br>being assimilated to<br>ष (c) and the य (y)<br>being dropped). |

11. The general tendency in the Tamil phonetic system is, as may be seen from what has been said so far, to simplify, shorten, or otherwise render smoother the pronunciation of Sanskrit consonants. For this purpose of making the loan words easy of pronunciation, Tamil sometimes drops out whole syllables either at the beginning of the word, or in the middle, or at the end (Tolkāppiyāṇār) :—

(a) Dropping of initial syllables :—

| e.g. | Skt.                 | Tam.                |
|------|----------------------|---------------------|
|      | आकाश ākāśa           | காயம் kāyam         |
|      | विमान vimāna         | மானம் māṇam         |
|      | मेखला mēkhalā        | கலை kalai           |
|      | भृङ्गार bhṛṅgāra     | காரம் kāram         |
|      | लाङ्गूल lāṅgūla      | கூலம் kūlam         |
|      | रसायन rasāyana       | சாயணம் cāyaṇam      |
|      | लशुन laśuna          | சுணம் cuṇam         |
|      | पुन्नाग punnāga      | நாகம் nākam         |
|      | उदुम्बर udumbara     | பரம் param          |
|      | कर्पूर karpūra       | பூரம் pūram         |
|      | अतिमुक्तक atimuktaka | முத்தகம் muttakam   |
|      | अरविन्द aravinda     | விந்தம் vintam      |
|      | उपाध्याय upādhyāya   | வாத்தியார் vāttiyār |
|      | चक्रवाक cakravāka    | வாகம் vākam         |
|      | पाकशाला pākaśālā     | ககலை kacalai        |

(b) Dropping of medial syllables :—

| e.g. | Skt.                          | Tam.                 |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
|      | अग्रहार agrahāra              | அக்கிராரம் akkirāram |
|      | उत्तराशढ उत्तराशढ uttarāśāḍha | உத்தராதம் uttarāṭam  |
|      | रोहिणी rōhiṇī                 | உரோணி urōṇi          |
|      | कायारोहण kāyārōhaṇa           | காரோணம் kārōṇam      |
|      | काहल kāhala                   | காளம் kālam          |
|      | पञ्चाशत् pañcāśat             | பஞ்சாதி pañcāti      |

| Skt.                  | Tam.                          |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| आषाढी āṣāḍhī          | ஆடி āḍi                       |
| मुक्ताहार muktāhāra   | முத்தாரம் muttāram            |
| विभीषण vibhīṣaṇa      | விடீணன் viṭaṇaṇ               |
| वाहिनी vāhinī         | வாணி vāṇi (வேணி)              |
| तूणीर tūṇira          | துணி tūṇi                     |
| चन्दन candana         | சந்தம் cantam                 |
| कैलास kailāsa         | {கலை kailai<br>கயிலை kayilai} |
| शतभिषक् śatabhīṣak    | சதயம் catayam                 |
| पूर्वाषाढा pūrvāṣāḍhā | பூராதம் pūrāṭam               |
| मार्गशीर्ष mārگاśīrṣa | மர்குழி mārkaḷi               |

(c) Dropping of final syllables :—

| e.g. | Skt.                 | Tam.                 |
|------|----------------------|----------------------|
|      | वेदपारग vēdapāraga   | வேதபாரன் vētapāraṇ   |
|      | कानन kānana          | கானம் kāṇam          |
|      | भरद्वाज bhāradvāja   | பரத்வாஜன் parattuvāṇ |
|      | आचार्य ācārya        | ஆசான் ācāṇ           |
|      | अभिसारिका abhisārikā | அவிசாரி avicāri      |
|      | किसलय kisalaya       | கிசம் kicam          |
|      | कुण्डलिनी kuṇḍalinī  | குண்டலி kuṇḍali      |
|      | विषुव viṣuva         | விடு vitu (equinox)  |
|      | तैषी taiṣī           | தை tai.              |

THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIRIYA  
PRĀTISĀKHYA

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, POONA.

According to Pāṇini's sūtra I, 2, 39 स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम्, all the *anudāttas* following a *svarita* are uttered at the same level, as for instance in इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता पुरुष्या (RV. X, 75, 5.). Such an *anudatta* that follows a *svarita* goes by the name of *pracaya* in *Prātiśākhya* literature.<sup>1</sup>

The word *pracaya* can be rendered as "accumulated pitch" in English. Several such unaccented syllables often occur in succession. They continue at the low level reached by the preceding *svarita* upto the syllable immediately preceding the next accent (Oldenberg: Die Hymnen des Rg-Veda, Band I Prolegomena, Berlin 1888 485, edn.)

The latter syllable called *sannatara* 'lower' *anudāttatara* 'more lowered' sinks somewhat below this monotone. Pāṇini's sūtra I, 2, 40 reads thus:

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः

(For the use of the word सन्नतरः in *Prātiśākhya* literature, compare the following:

व्यञ्जनविधारणमभिनिधानः पीडितः सन्नतरः हीनश्चासनादः<sup>2</sup> ॥

The *Kāśikāvṛtti* has the following comment on the sūtra of Pāṇini:—

1. Macdonell: Vedic Grammar (Grundriss der indoar. Phil. I, 4.) Strassburg 1910. page 77, Cf. also, Haug: Über des Wesen und den Werth der Wedisehen Accents, München 1873. 92 f. [Aus den Abhandlungem der K. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften Bd II. Abth.] A copy of this book in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was accessible to me through the courtesy of the Librarian of the Madras University Library.]

2. Atharva Veda Prātiśākhya I, 43. Edited by Whitney, Journal of the Am. Or. Soc. Vol. VII.

अनुदात्तग्रहणमनुवर्तते । उदात्तः परो यस्मात् स उदात्तपरः । स्वरितः परः यस्मात् स स्वरितपरः । उदात्तपरस्य स्वरितपरस्य चानुदात्तस्य सन्नतर आदेशो भवति । अनुदात्ततर इत्यर्थः । देवा मरुतः पृश्निमातरो अपः । मातर इत्यनुदात्तः अप इत्यन्तोदात्तः ऊडिदंपदाद्यपुमैद्युभ्य इति । तत्रानुदात्तयोरेकादेश ओकारोऽनुदात्तः । तस्योदात्ते परभूते सन्नतर आदेशो भवति । इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि<sup>1</sup> । इकारोऽनुदात्तः शुतुद्रि इत्येतदामन्त्रितं पादादौ तस्मान्न निहन्यते । अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ इति तस्य प्रथममक्षरमुदात्तं तस्मिन् परभूते पूर्वस्य सरस्वतीतीकारस्य सन्नतर आदेशो भवति । माणवक जटिलकाध्यापक क गमिष्यसि ।<sup>2</sup> क इति स्वरितः तस्मिन् परभूते क इति अनुदात्तः तस्य सन्नतर आदेशो भवति<sup>3</sup> ॥

1. See my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds", Madras University Journal, 1936, p. 77.

2. This same instance is given by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya, Kielhorn's edition, Vol. I, p. 209, line 20.

3. Cf. नोदात्तस्वरितपरः (Taitt. Pr. XXI, 11.)

Examples:—

तया देवाः सुतं (TS. 4, 1, 2, 1.)

तया देवतया (TS. 4, 2, 9, 2.)

तदाहुः कं जगती (TS. 7, 1, 4, 3.)

The name *Vikrama* is also given to this grave following a *pracaya* according to rule xix, 2 of the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya*. Cf. also Bopp: Vergleichendes Accentuationssystem nebst einer gedrängten Darstellung der grammatischen Übereinstimmungen der Sanskrit und Griechischen. Berlin 1854, p. 16 section 8. In this connection it would be interesting to read the following discussion from *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā* (I have only quoted from the paper manuscript in Devanāgarī characters, being the transcript of one in possession of Gopāla Śāstri and compared by messers P. S. Sundaram Iyer B.A., L.T., of Tanjore and Subrahmanya Śāstri of Tanjore with the manuscript in possession of the late Nilakaṇṭha Śāstri and Krishnaswāmi Śāstri. A manuscript in Grantha characters is also available at the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras. The work has since been published as No. 4 of the Annamalai University Sanskrit series. *Samhitā Svaparakaraṇam* p. 6.) :—

I shall endeavour to show in this paper that *pracaya* was conceived as the key-note in the scheme of Sāman music and this concept is met with early as the composition of the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya*.

As far as the tonal value is concerned, the *pracaya* at first sight, does not seem to be different from *udātta* (*vide*: Indische studien 'Das Vājasaneyi Prātiśākyam', 4, 257 and also Kielhorn's 'Die Bhāṣikavṛtti des Mahāsvāmin' Mit einem Anhang Vom A. Weber. Indische studien Volume X page 432). *Atharva Vedaprātiśākhya* III, 71 says स्वरितादनुदात्त उदात्तश्रुतिः "A grave following a circumflex has the tone of acute" The *Prātiśākhya*s in common agreement with one another, teach that the unaccented syllables which follow a circumflex, although regarded as having the value of grave, are yet pronounced at the pitch of acute.<sup>1</sup> Thus the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya* defines *pracaya* in the following manner: स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानां प्रचय उदात्तश्रुतिः (Taitt. Prāt. XXI, 10.) "Of grave syllables following a circumflex in

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः (P. I, 2, 40.) उदात्तः स्वरितो वा यस्मात्परः तस्य अनुदात्तस्य सन्नतरः—अनुदात्ततरः आदेशो भवति । स्थान्यनुदात्तापेक्षः (The reading given in the printed edition is स्थान्यनुदात्तापेक्षः) प्रकर्षः । अत्र सूत्रवृत्त्यादिग्रन्थपर्यालोचनया उदात्तस्वरित अन्यतरपरकस्य अनुदात्तस्य सर्वस्याऽपि (आदेशः) सन्नतरः प्रातिपद्यते । प्रातिशाख्ये तु उदात्तस्वरितप्रचयानां अन्यतमपूर्वकस्य (एव) तथाविधस्य अनुदात्तस्य 'विक्रम' संज्ञाविधिपूर्वकं सन्नतरत्वं निहितम् । तथा हि—“स्वरितयोर्मध्ये यत्र नीचं (नीचं) स्यात् उदात्तयोर्वा अन्यतरतो वा उदात्तस्वरितयोर्वा स विक्रमः” (Taitt. Prāt. XIX, 1.) “अन्यतरतो वा” इत्यस्य स्वरितोदात्तयोर्वा” इत्यर्थः इति त्रिभाष्यरत्नम् । तथा च, स्वरितयोः उदात्तयोः स्वरितोदात्तयोः उदात्तस्वरितयोः वा मध्ये यः अनुदात्तः स विक्रमसंज्ञः—इत्यर्थः ॥

“प्रचयपूर्वः च कौण्डिन्यस्य” (Taitt. Prāt, XIX, 2)

चकारादुदात्तस्वरितान्यतरपरकः इति लभ्यते । तथाविधः प्रचयपूर्वकश्च अनुदात्तः विक्रमसंज्ञः ।

1. “The syllables following the *svarita* have all the same *tone pitch*, higher than the syllable preceding the tone and deeper than the *udātta*.” [Wackernagel, Altind Gramm. I, Section 249 Oldenberg, Die Hymnen der Rg veda I, 485 H. Hirt, Der Accent, page 183 b].

Samhitā, there is *pracaya*, having the tone of acute.”<sup>1</sup>

The first portion of the *Svarita*-accent according to the rule III, 4 of the *Rk Prātiśākhya* तस्योदात्ततरोदात्तादर्धमात्रार्धमेव वा. (Cf. Jayanta Svāmī's *Svarāṅkuśa* edited with a commentary by S. Śāmasramī. Uṣa 1895. Stanza 15. page 13,) is declared to be uttered, not at acute pitch, but yet with a higher tone and according to the next rule III, 5. (अनुदात्तः परः शेषः स उदात्तश्रुतिः) of the *Rk Prātiśākhya* the latter portion at acute pitch. The same account of *Svarita* is given by the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* [तस्यादिर्द्वैस्तरामुदात्तादनन्तरे यावदर्धं ह्रस्वस्य (Taitt. prāt. III, 41). “Of this circumflex, in case it immediately follows an acute, the first part, to the extent of half a short vowel is uttered in a higher tone.” उदात्तसमः शेषः (ibid. III, 42). “The remainder has the same tone with the acute.”]

1. Identical is the definition of *Pracaya* according to Śaun-ka's *Rk Prātiśākhya*:

स्वरितादनुदात्तानां प्रेषां प्रचयः स्वरः ।

उदात्तश्रुतितो यान्ति एकं द्वे वा बहूनि वा ॥

(III, 19.) Benares Sanskrit Series.

Cf. स्वरितात्पराणि यानि स्युर्ध्वार्याण्यक्षराणि तु ।

सर्वाणि प्रचयस्थानि उपोदात्तं निहन्यते ॥

प्रचयो दृश्यते यत्र तत्र हन्यात् स्वरं बुधः ।

स्वरितः केवलो यत्र मृदु तत्र निपातयेत् ॥

Nār. Śikṣā, 2, 7, 7, 8.

स्वरितं प्रभवप्रचितं प्रचितात्स्वरितं न विद्यत उदात्तं वा, अनुदात्तमेव तद्विद्धि यत्प्रचितं स्वरितात्पराणि यानि अनुदात्तानि कानिचित् ।

सर्वाणि प्रचयं यान्ति उपोदात्तं न विद्यते ॥

Mānd. Śikṣā 5, 6, 7

THE KĀMASAMŪHA OF ANANTA, A NĀGARA  
BRAHMIN, COMPOSED IN A. D. 1457

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

Curator, B.O.R. Institute, Poona.

Aufrecht<sup>1</sup> makes the following entry in his Catalogue regarding a work called 'Kāmasamūha':—

"कामसमूह alamk. Composed in 1457<sup>2</sup> by Ananta, IO 396. Oxf. 218a. B. 346. Peters. 3. 22a. 366. 394. D 6." This work Kāmasamūha contains verses illustrative of amatory sentiments composed by Ananta, son of Bhiṣagvaryā Hīramantrimaṇḍana. That Ananta belonged to भामलवंश and his father's name was मण्डन can be seen from the following verse on folio 1 of MS. No. 15 of 1869-70 in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona:—

1. Cata. Catalogorum, I. p. 93.

2. This date of composition is recorded in the India Office MS. No. 396 ( Vide I. O. Cata. Part III, p. 364a). The chronogram recording the date is found in the following verse:—

"संवत् पञ्चदश मासे चन्द्रवेदप्रवत्सरे (!) ।

चैत्रशुक्ले चतुर्दश्यां तिथौ वारे च भार्गवे ॥"

The work was composed in Samvat 1514 in the month of Caitra, Sukla pakṣa, 14th तिथि, Bhṛguvāra (Sukravāra) which corresponds to Friday, 13th April 1457 A.D. Vide Indian Ephemeris Vol. V, p. 116). The expression चन्द्रवेद = 14 and not 41 as interpreted by Eggeling. Hence पञ्चदश + चन्द्रवेद = 1514 and not 1541. Samvat.

M. M. Haraprasad Sastri describes a MS of Kāmasamūha in his Des. Cata. of MSS (A. S. B.) Vol. VI, 1931, p. 434. This MS is very nearly complete. M. M. Sastri states that the author is Ananta the son of त्रिमण्डन with this title "मिण्डुमुकुटालङ्कारहार." The correct name of Ananta's father is मण्डन and not त्रिमण्डन, as clearly stated by him in verse 78—"मण्डनतनयोऽनन्तः" (folio 6 of B. O. R. 1. MS No 15 of 1869-70). Obviously Sastri's statement is based on a wrong copy of the name in the MS before him.

"भामलवंशजातेन मन्त्रिमण्डनसूनुना ।

अनन्तेन महाकाव्यप्रबन्धः क्रियते मया" ॥ ६ ॥

It is not recorded in the work what office of a minister (मन्त्रि) was graced by मण्डन and under what ruling prince he worked in that capacity. It appears मण्डन was the son of नारायण as we are told on folio 5 in the following verse:—

"विद्वज्जनसमानन्दा(दो) मन्त्री नारायणात्मजः ।

मण्डनस्तस्य पुत्रेण वर्ण्यन्ते स्मर्तव्योऽधुना" ॥ ६९ ॥

On folio 6 our author calls himself सकलशास्त्रज्ञ in the following verse:—

"मण्डनतनयोऽनन्तो मन्मथरूपः सकलशास्त्रज्ञः ।

अभिमतदाता रचयति रूपं बालाव्यवस्थायाः" ॥ ७८ ॥

On folio 8 we find the following verse containing a reference to nose-ornament<sup>1</sup> repeated verbatim from earlier anthologies:—

"सुधामयोऽपि क्षयरोगशान्त्यै नासाग्रमुक्ताफलकच्छलेन ।

अनङ्गसङ्गीवनदृष्टशक्तिमुखाग्रतः ते पिबतीव चन्द्रः" ॥ १५ ॥

The following verse besides its rhetorical implication shows that lamps used in India had no lamp-covers<sup>2</sup> to protect them from wind:—

Folio 10—"दीपो वातभयात्तन्व्या वस्त्राञ्चलतिरोहितः ।

विलोक्य कुचसौन्दर्यं मकरः कम्पते शिरः" ॥ ५४ ॥

We have already pointed out that नारायण was the grandfather of अनन्त and father of मण्डन. This information is corroborated by the following verse on fol. 21.

"नारायणात्मजः श्रीमान् मन्त्रिश्रीमण्डनो द्विजः ।

तत्सुतेन प्रियावस्था प्रयाणे वर्णिता मुदा" ॥ ६ ॥

1. Vide my article on the Antiquity of the Hindoo Nose-Ornament, Annals, XIX, 313-334. The verse "सुधामयोऽपि etc." is found in the Sūktimuktāvalī of Jalhana composed in A. D. 1258 and in Sārṅgadharapaddhati (A.D. 1363).

2. I propose to prepare in due course a paper on references to lamps in Indian literature.

As अनन्त composed the कामसमूह in A.D. 1457<sup>1</sup> we may assign the following chronology to his father and grandfather:—

नारायण (C. 1400 A.D.) son मण्डन (C. 1430 A.D.) son अनन्त (A. D. 1457). अनन्त belonged to the नागरजाति as stated by him on folio 41:—

“नागरजातिजातेन मन्त्रिमण्डनसूनुना ।  
अनन्तेन महाकाव्यासतीवृत्तं प्रकाशितम् ॥”

This family hailed from a town<sup>2</sup> founded by अहिम्मद—  
Folio 39—“अहिम्मदनिर्मितनगरे विहितावसतिश्च वृद्धनगरिकः ।  
मण्डनसूनुनन्तो रचयति सेवाविधिं नार्थाः” ॥ ७७ ॥

1. The Ms “B. 3. 46” of *Kāmasamūha* mentioned by Aufrecht is dated Samvat 1619=AD 1563 and was in possession of नीलकण्ठरुण—  
छोड of Ahmedabad (*Vide* pp. 46-47 of of Bühler's *Cata. of Gujarat etc. MSS*, Fasci I Bombay, 1872). On p. 2 of Fasci. I Bühler observes “If no remark is added the era in which the MSS are dated is *Samvat*”. In view of this remark the year 1619 given as the age of the MS of *Kāmasamūha* on p. 47 of Fasci. III is a Samvat year.

2. According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. 1, pt. I (1896) which deals with the history of Gujarat, Ahmad I (1111-1141 A.D.) of Gujarat built Ahmedabad in A.D. 1413. As अनन्त belonged to the नागर caste, the town अहिम्मदनिर्मितनगर” must be identical with the modern Ahmedabad in Gujarat which is generally the home of the Nāgara Brahmins. If this identification is accepted the कामसमूह appears to have been composed at Ahmedabad 44 years after the founding of Ahmedabad in A.D. 1413. अनन्त appears to refer to the foundation of Ahmedabad as a contemporary event of fresh occurrence.

Ahmad I of Gujarat also built a town of the name *Ahmad-nagar* (Himatnagar the modern capital of Idar state) in A.D. 1427 (*Vid* p. 83 of *History of Gujarat* by Commissariat, 1938). It is also possible that अनन्त may have been the resident of this “अहिम्मदनगर” (Himatnagar). If this identification is accepted the कामसमूह was written 30 years after the foundation of Ahmad-nagar.

The place of Ananta's residence viz. “अहिम्मदनगर” mentioned by him in the above verse may be identical with Ahmedabad (founded A.D. 1413) or Ahmadnagar (Himmatnagar<sup>1</sup>), the capital of Idar State (founded A.D. 1427), both of which were founded by Ahmad I of Gujarat. It is not possible to identify “अहिम्मदनगर” with modern Ahmadnagar (founded by Ahmad Nizam Shah in A.D. 1494) as such identification would result in an anachronism.

In the following verse on folio 3 we get the name of Ananta's guru viz. आनन्दपूर्ण—

“ध्यात्वा समस्तगुरुकार्यविधौ समर्था  
श्रीशारदां कविजनस्य मुखे वसन्तीम् ।  
आनन्दपूर्णगुरुपादयुगं प्रणम्य  
व्याख्यां विधाय सुरभे रचयत्यनन्तः” ॥ २७ ॥

Is it possible to suppose that आनन्दपूर्ण mentioned in A.D. 1457 as the guru of Ananta is identical with आनन्दपूर्ण<sup>2</sup> alias

1. *Vide Archaeological Finds in Idar State*, Himmatnagar, 1936, p. 7—Himmatnagar is 55 miles north of Ahmedabad. It was founded in 1426. (The Bombay Gazetteer gives A.D. 1427 as the year of its foundation). P. 38 “History of Idar State attests that the Nagir Brahmins and Banias formed a large percentage of the population of the State in the olden times. It seems when Grahāditya, son of Shilāditya, the last king of Mallabhipur, came in possession of Idar State in the 7th century, he brought with him from Vadnagar, many Nagir families out of gratitude to his foster-mother the Nagir lady Kamalavati. They held responsible posts in the administration and spread all over the State. Many shiva-panchāyatan temples and step-wells in the State are said to have been built by them. The Nāgirs left the State in large numbers in the 7th century when there was a great exodus on account of the tyranny of Rao Jagannāth.” (If the above evidence is correct the home of Nāgara Brahmin Ananta and his family must be Himmatnagar.)

2. See my paper on this author in the *B.I.S. Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, Vol XX, Part 1, pp. 29-36. In this paper I have referred to Ānandapūrṇa's works of which there are MSS dated A.D. 1405 and 1434. See also Dr. V. Raghavan's article on this author in the *Annals of Oriental Research*, Madras University (Vol. II part 1). The chronology of the two आनन्दपूर्णs is as follows:—

विद्यासागर the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*? This latter आनन्दपूर्ण was a contemporary of the Kadamba ruler of Goa, one of whose inscriptions is dated Śaka 1315, A.D. 1393.

I shall now record below several verses at the close of different topics of the कामसमूह in which अनन्त refers to himself:

- Folio 14—“सुरनरकविवन्धं योगिनां मध्यसंस्थं  
सरसिजभवपत्नीपादपद्मं प्रणम्य ।  
गुरुजनपरिचर्याराधने स्म प्रवीणो  
रचयति कुचरूपं श्रीरनन्तप्रबन्धैः ॥” २९ ॥
- Folio 19—“वयःप्रकर्षादधिरामणीयकं  
विवर्ण्यरूपं भृगुशावचक्षुषाम् ।  
सर्वः शरीरावयवो विरच्यते-  
ऽनन्तेन नार्याः कविशर्मवर्धनः” ॥ १९ ॥
- Folio 13—“अनन्तोऽनन्तफलदः कवीनां द्विजपूजितः ।  
तेनेदं रचितं रम्यं वर्णनं पथिकस्य च” ॥ ९२ ॥
- Folio 27—“मण्डनो भूतले मान्यो भूपतीनां भिषग्वरः ।  
कृतं तत्तनयेनेदं प्रियाविरहवर्णनम्” ॥ ५१ ॥
- Folio 28—“गजायुर्वेदवेत्ता वै धन्वन्तरिरिवापरः ।  
मण्डनस्तस्य पुत्रेण कृतेयं लेखपद्धतिः” ॥ ८० ॥
- Folio 30—“महाकाव्यनिबन्धेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थानालोक्य सर्वशः ।  
वियोगिनीप्रलापास्तेऽनन्तेन परिकीर्तिताः” ॥ २० ॥
- Folio 31—“महाकाव्यप्रबन्धेऽस्मिन्ननन्तेन द्विजन्मना ।  
प्रियस्यागमनं रम्यं रचितं कविनिर्मितम्” ॥ ३४ ॥
- Folio 32—“अनन्तोऽनन्तशास्त्रज्ञः शत्रूणामन्तकसुधीः ।  
तेनेदं पथिकप्रश्नं कृतं कविसुखप्रदम्” ॥ ४२ ॥

आनन्दपूर्ण-Mbh. Commentator

आनन्दपूर्ण, guru of अनन्त

1. Dates of mss of his works A.D. 1405, 1434
2. Contemporary of Kadamba ruler Kāmadeva A.D. 1393

1. mentioned as guru by अनन्त in A.D. 1457

- Folio 33—“इति कामसमूहेऽस्मिन् अनन्तेन सुखप्रदम् ।  
महाकाव्यप्रबन्धेन कृतं सुरतवर्णनम्” ॥ ८१ ॥
- Folio 34—“बहूनि शास्त्राणि विलोक्य भव्यान्  
संगृह्य पद्यान् सुकविप्रणीतान् ।  
अनन्तविप्रेण महाप्रबन्धे  
कृतं मनोज्ञं सुरतावसानम्” ॥ १ ॥
- Folio 36—“वृद्धनागरिकेणैवमनन्तेन द्विजन्मना ।  
रतान्तकलहेनैवं प्रियवाक्यविनिर्मितम्” ॥ २० ॥
- Folio 36—“कामिनीवचनमुत्तममद्भुतं  
सुकविना रचितं किल बुद्धया ।  
वीक्ष(क्ष्य) भावकविनिर्मितपद्यान्  
विप्रमण्ड-सुतेन मनोज्ञान्” ॥ २६ ॥
- Folio 37—“कोविदाह्लादकेनेवानन्तेनानेन वैरिणा ।  
गुरोर्गुरुप्रभावाच्च कृतं प्रश्नोत्तराष्टम्” ॥ ३५ ॥
- Folio 38—“अनन्तेन महारम्यं सर्वकामिजनप्रियम् ।  
कामस्य वसतिस्थानं सुश्लोकैः परिकीर्तितम्” ॥ ६२ ॥
- Folio 39—“मन्त्रिमण्डनपुत्रेण अनन्तेन सुधीमता ।  
विस्तारितं प्रबन्धेन सकामालक्षणं शुभम्” ॥ ७१ ॥
- Folio 40—“अनन्तेन महाकाव्ये सानन्देन महात्मना ।  
समूहे काव्यबन्धस्य विरक्ताचिह्नमीरितम्” ॥ ४ ॥
- Folio 42—“सदानन्तेन काव्येभ्यः श्लोकान् संगृह्य यत्नतः ।  
प्रबन्धे कामसङ्घेऽस्मिन्नसतीवृत्तमीरितम्” ॥ ५१ ॥
- Folio 45—“अनन्तेन भिषग्विद्याविदा वैद्यजिता मुदा ।  
प्रबन्धे काव्यसङ्घेऽस्मिन् वैराग्यं परिकीर्तितम्” ॥ ९९ ॥
- इति श्रीकामसमूहे महाकाव्यप्रबन्धे भिषग्वरमन्त्रिमण्डनसूनोरनन्तस्य कृतौ  
वैराग्यवर्णनान्तः सर्वकामसमूहग्रन्थः संपूर्णः ॥ पुस्तकमिदं कातावच्चेन  
लिखितं पारोळाख्यग्रामे<sup>1</sup> ॥”

1. This village may be identical with Parola in the East Khandesh (Bombay Presidency).

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The account of our author of the कामसमूह as gathered from the foregoing analysis would be as follows:—

अनन्त the author of कामसमूह belonged to भाभल्लवंश. He was a नागर Brāhmin. His grandfather's name was नारायण. His father was मण्डन who is styled as मन्त्रि or minister. मण्डन is also called a court-physician (भूषतीनां भिषग्वरः) who was proficient in veterinary science (गजायुर्वेदवेत्ता) and was another धन्वन्तरि or physician of gods. अनन्त twice calls himself वृद्धनागरिक, resident of a town founded by अहिम्मद. This town may be either Ahmedabad founded by Ahmad I of Gujarat in A.D. 1414 or it may be identical with Ahmadnagar (Himmatnagar, Capital of the Idar State) founded by the same king in A.D. 1427. The कामसमूह composed by अनन्त (in his old age) in A.D. 1457 (Friday, the 13th April) is an anthology bearing on Kāmasāstra and its several topics. अनन्त refers to his guru आनन्दपूर्ण only once in the कामसमूह. This आनन्दपूर्ण may be identical with आनन्दपूर्ण alias विद्यासागर the commentator of the Mahābhārata and writer of some Vedānta works, who was a contemporary of Kāmadeva, the Kadamba ruler of Goa (c. 1393 A.D.). Evidently अनन्त may have been a junior contemporary of आनन्दपूर्ण or विद्यासागर, if my identification of his guru आनन्दपूर्ण, as suggested by me is proved on independent evidence. Like his father who was an eminent court-physician, अनन्त was also proficient in the science of medicine as he calls himself “भिषग्विद्याविद्.”

As the कामसमूह is avowedly an anthology bearing on Kāmasāstra it would be interesting to trace some of his verses to their original sources. This work, however, has been made difficult by the author himself, who makes no mention of the sources from which he has borrowed. He only makes general statements about his borrowing, such as:

“ग्रन्थानालोक्य सर्वशः”, “बहूनि शास्त्राणि विलोक्य भव्यान् । संगृह्य पद्यान् सुकविप्रणीतान् ।”

It appears that अनन्त has mixed up his own composition with that of previous writers.

I have not studied the question of references to the कामसमूह in later literature but shall note here one reference of A.D. 1787, in which year a copy of the कामसमूह was pre-

pared in Poona at some cost as stated in a recent book<sup>1</sup> dealing with the Peshwa period.

## REVIEWS.

We have great pleasure in acknowledging receipt of the Annual Report of the working of the Watson Museum for the year 1939-40 from the Honorary Secretary. From a perusal of the Report, the reader will be convinced that the Institution is working very well and fulfilling its purpose. The work of the Curator is noteworthy. A very valuable collection of old sculptures, architectural pieces and icons from the different parts of Kathiawar and Gujerat has been made and exhibited in the Museum. We hope and trust that the Institution will grow from strength to strength and become a leading cultural centre in that part of the country.

1. पेशवाईच्या सावलीत by N. G. Chapekar, Poona, 1937, 298—Saka 1709=AD 1787. Mr. Chapekar refers to the India office MS referred to by me already in this paper. He is not, however, aware of the 2 MSS of the work at the B.O.R. Institute in the Govt. MSS Library viz. No 15 of 1869-70 and No 233 of 1884-86, as also the Calcutta MS of the work described by Haraprasad Shastri (p. 434 of R. A. S. B. MSS. Cata. Vol. VI, 1931)

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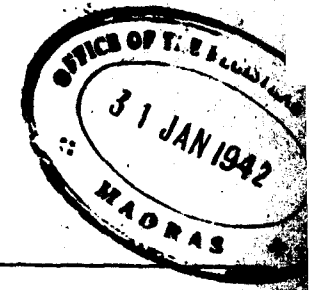
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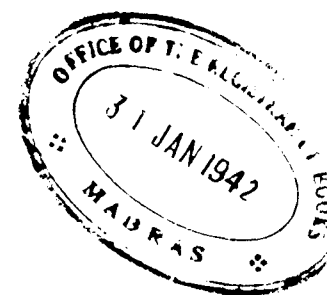
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nescience is positive, how can this be destroyed, any more than anything else which is positive? True it is knowledge and nescience cannot apparently co-exist. This is, however, not an absolute position; for, apart from the co-existence of avidyā and svarūpajñāna, the advaitin himself shows the co-presence of knowledge and ignorance in such experiences as "tvad-uktam artham na jñāmi". It may be asked whether with development knowledge does not replace ignorance and in that sense destroy the latter. We suggest that it is the ignorance itself which has developed into knowledge, instead of being replaced by the latter. The process is not self-contradictory since both are āvidyaka, of the nature of indeterminable māyā. The real cannot change; nor can the unreal; but the ignorance that was and the knowledge that now is, both are anirvācya as real or unreal, *sat* or *asat*. Change is inevitable; to the extent that this change unifies instead of dividing, is more inclusive rather than less, manifests harmony rather than discord, it is a case of ignorance becoming knowledge. The coming into being of harmony is unintelligible in the last resort, except as a manifestation of the non-difference that is eternal. This when realised immediately (aparokṣatayā) constitutes the final psychosis (carama vṛtti).

The unintelligibility of the world, on the cognitive side, has been worked out in great detail by advaita disputants, under the caption dṛk-dṛśya-sambandhānupapatti. Because of such anupapatti, there comes the realisation, primarily mediate (parokṣa), that *seer* and *seen* are alike super-impositions on the sight (consciousness). If analysis thus reveals the failure of the relational concept in the field of knowing, does it not, we ask, reveal a similar defect in the fields of conation and emotion? A bare cogniser in front of a barely external object is helpless to know; a bare agent in respect of a barely external object, is he better off in respect of the capacity to act? And a barely external situation confronting a bare subject, can it more intelligibly cause an emotion? In every case, we have to rely on the concept of relation, and it does not on analysis reveal greater capacities in some cases than in others. If it be said that men do act and feel, it may be retorted that men do also know. If the stress be laid on the analysis that reveals the cloven hoof, it must be remembered that people analyse not merely in knowing, but also in acting and even in

feeling. Men do not act unreflectingly any more than they can cognise inactive.\* The difference in analysis is one of degree, not of kind. The saintly man in action may conceivably have arrived at a mode of action which reflects non-difference, not because of a metaphysical discipline, but because of a practical discipline leading to harmony overruling discords,

\* Advaitins were not unaware of the contention that cognition is itself a mental act. In spite of this, however, they have tried to make a hard and fast distinction between cognition on the one side and both ritual activity and meditation on the other. The usual line of distinction is this: Cognition is objective and of what is; ritual activity is directed towards what is to come into being; it is also optional, depending on the will of the performer; meditation may be of what is; but it may also be of what is not, like the contemplation of the woman as a fire in the pañcāgnividyā. The distinction is good as far as it goes; but it is by no means absolute, being only one of degree. This is masked by the assumption that contemplation can be of the unreal, while cognition cannot be. The wholly unreal (tuccha) is only a limiting concept; it cannot even be spoken of, much less contemplated. An object, whether of contemplation or of cognition, is neither real nor unreal. The barren woman's son is not real; it is not unreal, if an object of contemplation, since barren women exist and also sons, while it is only the relationing that fails, as in the anyathākhyāti version of error; the difference between the shell-silver and the barren woman's son is that while the former is an immediate presentation, the latter is not. Contemplation may make immediate what is mediate; after imagining it for a long time one may really hold that a person *B* is the son of a woman *A* known to others as barren. Is this not a logical contradiction? Not unless you mean just the combination "barren mother"; and that is not a possible object of contemplation any more than "black white" is a possible object of cognition; the bare words, of course, could be suitable objects in either case. To the advaitin, more than to all others, the recognition of a class of untouchables should be repugnant; yet that is the class to which he has tended to relegate karma and upāsana. The Indian philosophers, advaitins included, seek a purpose even for philosophic pursuits; unfortunately, however, they were not thorough-going purposivists in their psychology; had they been, they would not have sought to confine jñāna and karma in water-tight compartments, but would have treated them as different inter-penetrating phases of purpose, purpose itself being self-transcended in the eternal.



# JÑĀNĀD EVA TU KAIVALYAM

BY  
S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI  
*University of Madras.*

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The search for release posits the permanence of what is sought; this seems inconsistent with production or attainment; what is produced or attained is finite, is perishable; release must therefore be a manifestation of the ever-existent and infinite. The manifestation is necessary because of the present obscuration, a function of māyā. On the sublation of māyā, our eternal freedom stands self-revealed. This sublation is also spoken of as destruction or annihilation. Nothing that exists can be wholly annihilated; but vidyā is known to annihilate avidyā; knowledge destroys ignorance; since the phenomenal world due to māyā is annihilated at release, māyā is equated with avidyā, destructible by knowledge. Since without the destruction of avidyā release is impossible and since jñāna alone can destroy avidyā, jñāna is claimed to be the sole means to release.

Certain points are worth keeping in mind. Jñāna in the sense of svarūpa-jñāna, the consciousness that is Brahman, is identical with release; it is not a means to release, being indeed the substrate of avidyā. What is claimed to be instrumental is vṛtti-jñāna, a particular cognitive psychosis intuiting the impartite and arrived at by study of the Vedānta, reflection and profound contemplation. It is a function of the internal organ. Though itself a product of nescience, it has the capacity to destroy all lower psychoses such as apprehend the finite, the relational and the diverse, and finally to annihilate itself.

What exactly does this final psychosis do to the lower vṛttis? It is said that the latter are destroyed. It is suggested, however, that such a view is inconsistent with the advaitin's own position as to the nature of avidyā, that it is a positive entity. The belief that knowledge destroys ignorance is bound up with the superstition that ignorance is just lack of knowledge; since knowledge and the lack of it cannot co-exist, the latter is believed to be destroyed by the former. If, however,

a dharma whose observance promises and gives no reward other than its own realisation, a mode of life radiating sweetness, imbued with love and inspired by sacrifice. Some degree of cognitive analysis we may admit even in this case; that, however, can give only the parokṣa starting-point; the discipline that ends in the immediacy of perfection, is it not imprudent to deny it, and idle to call it jñāna? The devotee whose heart melts with love, who asks for and takes nothing for himself, whose sole desire is to be with the Lord and one with the Lord that is Love, not lover or beloved, since reflection has convinced him in a remote way that Love alone is the perfection of which loving and being loved are imperfect appearances, is his discipline to be discarded or identified with jñāna? Neither course is worth while.

The truth is one; but we live in a world of truths which are but half true. The good is one; we act in a world of goods, none of which is wholly good. Love is one; we move and suffer in a world of loves, none of which transfigures the whole self. Realisation comprises two stages, the realisation of the partial and imperfect nature of what we have, and the manifestation of the perfection but for which the imperfect would neither be nor be known. The first of these stages requires reflection and analysis, which may if desired be treated as cognitive; the subsequent discipline, however, may be cognitive, conative or emotive. The service of the saint and the devotion of the bhakta are not necessarily inferior to the wisdom of the sage, if by wisdom we mean a function of the internal organ. If, however, we mean the wisdom that is caitanya, there the need to distinguish will not arise, since all three will have arrived though by slightly different paths. The emphasis on knowledge as the sole means to realisation has been due to (1) an intellectual bias, perhaps due to the fact that metaphysics was the special pursuit of sannyāsins who had finished with their duty to society, (2) a defective psychology compartmentalising cognition, conation and emotion, (3) possibly an escapist mentality engendered by conditions of life in general on the one side and an excessive ritualism on the other.

It is often asked whether sages are doing the proper thing by the world by living in retirement. One of the many assumptions underlying the question is that perfection is possible for the sage alone and that if he retires from the world, the world

will not have the benefit of his realisation. Even sages may be intelligibly exercising an occult influence over the rest of creation. That apart, they certainly serve as noble exemplars and inspirers to others on the path of jñāna; they are specially of service in this way, when they are more or less easily accessible like Bhagavān Rāmaṇa or Śrī Aurobindo. Even assuming, however, that sages do not mingle with the world and live as members of it, that is no detraction from the advaita ideal of perfection, which may be attained by the saint in action as much as by the sage in wisdom. If the latter discipline requires more or less complete withdrawal from the world, the former does not; and the saint may do for his fellow-creatures what the sage may not do or do but imperfectly because of the difference in his initial equipment.

On the view that release is possible for all, and that, till the attainment thereof, the perfection of sage or saint is relative, being but the attainment of Īśvaratva, there is a special value attaching to the performance of karma by the man of wisdom; for while wisdom illumines the wise man alone, action lightens the load and smooths the path of the ignorant as well; the perfecting of the latter is accelerated, thus bringing nearer the making absolute of the mukta's relative perfection, the Brahmī-bhāva of him who has but attained Īśvara-bhāva. Hence it is that Maṇḍana Miśra wisely advocates jñāna-karma-samuccaya, holding that the wise man's performance of karma accelerates release, just as the use of a horse accelerates one's arrival at one's destination. Much of this, however, has to remain as speculation; for we are all too human, while what we discuss is how Īśvara will act. Will He function as a great knower or a great doer or a great lover? We know only this much, that it would be the height of presumption to deny Him any or all of these roles, whether simultaneously or in succession.

These trees of the hermitage are akin to the divine trees and creepers in Śakra's heaven and Kubera's city beyond the Himālayas. The same objects of adornment and toilet are supplied by the kalpavrṣa for the citizens of Alakā. All the material required for feminine adornment is supplied by the self-same wishing tree and the chief items of ornamentation and toilet are mentioned by Kālidāsa in the Uttaramegha.

वासश्चित्रं मधु नयनयोर्विभ्रमादेशदक्षं  
पुष्पोद्भेदं सह किसलयैर्भूषणानां विकल्पान् ।  
लाक्षारामं चरणकमलन्यासयोग्यं च यस्या-  
मेकः सूते सकलमवलामण्डनं कल्पवृक्षः ॥

The kalpadruma and vanadevatā concepts are so allied that it may be taken as practically one fixed into the other. The tree as described by Kālidāsa is so special to Kubera and Alakā that one would expect it associated with the temples of the lord of wealth which were well-known in the time of Patañjali—*प्रासादे धनपतिरामकेशवानाम्*. And at Besnagar was found the famous kalpadruma capital of the column (*dhvajastambha*) that stood in front of a Kubera shrine, and now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

There are both the tree and creeper carved at Bharhut. Fig. 1 shows a kalpavrṣa or tree in the bight of an undulating kalpalatā or creeper. Earrings, necklaces of large and small sized gems and pearls and silken garments appear amidst the foliage. In fig. 2 the kalpalatā unfolds a number of jewels. Here is a commentary on Kālidāsa's line *भूषणानां विकल्पान्*. The variety is large. Three types of earrings, *patrakuṇḍalas*, *ratnakūṇḍalas*, *karṇaveṣṭanas* and *sīmantamanis* also known as *caṭulatilakamanis*, finger rings, golden necklet and necklace composed of pearl strands with elongate central gems and a silken garment are present at the ends of the tendrils of the creeper or issue from the flowers. In fig. 3 there are silken garments one of them answering the line *वासश्चित्रम्* and another *क्षौमं केनचिदिन्दुपाण्डुतरुणा मङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतम्*. There are beautiful flowers worked on the former which has also fine *añcala* or fringe. The latter has exquisite folds that are so lovely a feature in all silken cloths. Kālidāsa says that even wine, the trainer of the eye-brows in graceful glances, is also supplied by the kalpavrṣa—*मधु*

## KALPAVRKṢA—KALPAVALLI.

By

C. SIVARAMAMURTI M.A.,  
Government Museum, Madras.

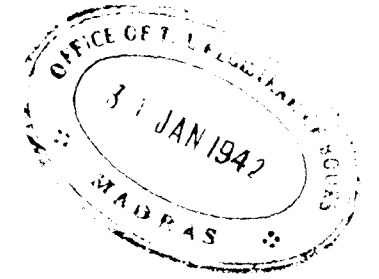
The Kalpavalli and Kalpadruma, the fabulous creeper and tree granting everything desired, are as well-known in Sanskrit as in Buddhist literature. It is a tree with such special miraculous powers that bounteously feeds and richly clothes guests arriving at its foot and seeking its hospitality, as narrated in the Dhammapadamattakathā. In early sculpture from Bodhi-gaya, Bharhut and other places there are representations of trees with human hands proceeding from their boughs and offering food and drink to guests seated in their shade. They are representations of the vanadevatās or tree-spirits, the invisible godlings residing in the trees and watchful of all that goes on around in the world of whom the ceṭa in Mṛcchakaṭika informs Śākara in the line पश्यन्ति मां दश दिशो वनदेवताश्च. The vanadevatā is a kindly spirit, often, according to the Jātakas, giving advice to those that may profit by it. This good nature in them accounts for their bounteous attitude.

The vanadevatās are most beautifully pictured by Kālidāsa in his Śākuntalam where they offer the choicest apparel and ornaments to their beloved benefactor Śakuntalā the sweet maiden of the hermitage, who, regular in her care for the creepers and plants was loth to remove even a tender shoot from them, though like those of her clan she was fond of adornment and floral decoration.— नादत्ते प्रियमण्डनापि भवतां स्नेहेन या पल्लवम्. The wondering pupils of the sage Kaṇva recount how the trees gifted beautiful silks and jewels for the princess going to her royal home.—

क्षौमं केनचिदिन्दुपाण्डु तरुणा मङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतं  
निष्ठूतश्वरणापयोगसुभगो लक्षारसः केनचित् ।  
अन्येभ्यो वनदेवताकरतलेरापर्वभागोत्थितै-  
र्दत्तान्याभरणानि तत्किसलयोद्वेदप्रतिद्वन्दिभिः ॥



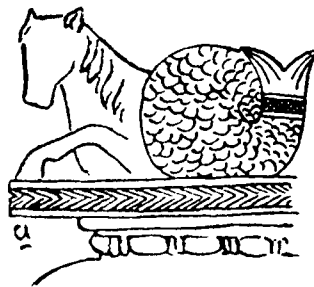
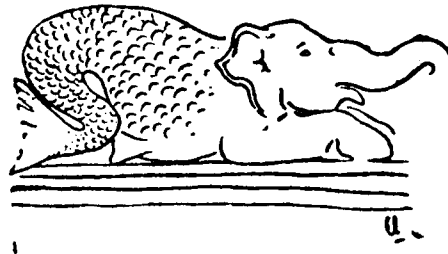
नयनयोर्विभ्रमादेशदक्षम्. Fig. 4 answers this. From the first flower of the creeper issues a śikyā or net for holding the madhubhāṇḍa or wine-pot from which in small caṣakas the sweet liquor is tasted by lovers lounging in their terraces on moonlit nights, even as the reflection of the moon trembled in the goblet — शशिप्रतिमाभरणं मधु. Anklets and gem necklaces are also among those present beside the wine-pot that issue from the flowers. Representation of flowers that are so natural in the case of trees and creepers has no special significance except that all flowers can be supplied by the self-same tree or creeper. This is answered in the diverse flowers, blooms and fruits appearing at different points on the same creeper that runs the whole length of the rail coping. Kuravaka flower bunches and leaves are specially noteworthy as the flowers that adorn the braid — चूडापाशे नवकुरवकम् — while the leaves tinge the feet and finger nails serving the purpose of alaktaka. This must thus answer to the lines पुष्पोद्भेदं सह किसलयैः and लक्षारागं चरणकमलन्यासयोग्यं च यस्याम्. Fig. 5 which shows the hands of the vanadevatā or tree spirit projecting from the boughs and offering food and drink to a guest is reminiscent of the description of Kālidāsa अन्येभ्यो वनदेवताकरतलैरापर्वभागोत्थितैर्दत्तान्याभरणानि तत्किसलयोद्भेदप्रतिद्वन्दिभिः where the hands of the sylvan deity issuing from the tree clumps present the objects they hold for presentation.



## ĪHĀMṚGAS

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, M.A.,  
Government Museum, Madras.



In early art from Bharhut, Jaggayyapeta, Amaravati and other places, there are peculiar animals represented. Horses, elephants, bulls and other animals with the hind part shaped like the tail of fish with beautiful scales and fins are common themes among these sculptures. These and many others are called Īhāmṛgas or animals of fancy. The Mahābhārata has specifically described such animals and the lines are extremely interesting as they form the earliest literary description of themes that have been later carved on stone and perpetuated for all time. The arrows of Arjuna are described as creating various unconquerable elements to thwart the enemy among which are these fantastic animals. They are described in the following lines in the Mahābhārata.

झषाणां गजवक्त्राणामुलूकानां तथैव च ॥

मीनवाजिसरूपाणां III-173-50, 51.

‘Of fishes with the head of an elephant, owls and animals resembling both horse and fish in one’. (See figs. 1 and 2).

At Sanchi and Amaravati there are steeds with leonine faces. Such animals are described in the Rāmāyaṇa. The lines run

निर्ययू राक्षसव्याघ्रा व्याघ्रा इव दूरासदाः ॥

वृकसिंहमुखैर्युक्तं खरैः कनकभूषणैः । VI-51-27, 28.

‘The excellent rākṣasas unapproachable like tigers, went forth (in chariots) with jackal and lion-headed mules decorated with gold ornaments yoked (to them).’ (See fig. 3).

DATE OF PADYARACANA OF LAKṢMAṆABHAṬṬA  
AṆKOLKAR — BETWEEN A. D. 1625 AND 1650.

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.

Curator, B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

The *Padyaracanā*<sup>1</sup> of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Aṅkolakara was published in 1908. Its editors state<sup>2</sup> that they have no evidence to decide the date of this author but the MSS on which their edition was based were copied on paper which may have been older than a hundred years. They also state that Lakṣmaṇa was a poet of Mahārāṣṭra.

Aufrecht makes the following entries regarding the *Padyaracanā*<sup>3</sup> in his catalogue of MSS:—

1. *Kāvya-mālā*, 89, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1908.

2. “आङ्गोलकर श्रीलक्ष्मणभट्टः—आङ्गोलकरोपनामकः श्रीलक्ष्मणभट्टः कदा समुत्पन्न इति प्रमाणानुपलभ्यमानं शक्यते निर्णेतुम् ; परं नायमेकस्माद्वर्षकाद-  
र्वाचीन इति शक्यते वक्तुम् । यदाधारेणास्याः पद्यरचनाया मुद्रणं जातं तत्पुस्तकद्वयमपि  
शताद्वयैभ्यः प्राचीनेषु पत्रेषु लिखितमिति । कविरयं ज्ञात्वा महाराष्ट्रो भवेत्”.

One of the 2 MSS used by the Editors was made available to them by the late Dr. K. B. Pathak, while the other was obtained from the collection of the late Sri Rupadatta, the Rajaguru at Jaipur. The Editors have merely noted the names of the poets whose verses have been quoted by Lakṣmaṇa in his anthology, but they have made no attempt to fix the limits of the date of the *Padyaracanā* on the strength of these names.

The *Kāvya-mālā* edition of the *Padyaracanā* contains lacunae in the text of some verses on pp. 5, 12, 14, 15, 62, 63, 64, 69, 71, 73, 74, 77, 79, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 116, 117. Many of these could be filled up by using the three MSS of the *Padyaracanā* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

3. The Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. Institute) possesses the following MSS of the work;—

(1) No. 726 of 1886-92—पद्यरचना dated Sanivat-1797 = A. D. 1741.

PART III]

DATE OF PADYARACANĀ

185

CC I, 324—“पद्यरचना metrics, by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. B. 3. 62. Bhr. 148”

CC II, 72—“पद्यरचना—metrics, by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. Peters. 4. 27”

CC III 69—“पद्यरचना metrics, by Lakṣmaṇa Bd. 422”

A perusal of the *Kāvya-mālā* Edition of the *Padyaracanā* will make it clear that the work is an anthology dealing with different topics in the usual style and has nothing to do with “metrics” as wrongly described by Aufrecht, who was evidently misled by the title पद्यरचना in giving the subject of the work.

The first 5 verses of the anthology are by the author himself as they are followed by the endorsement “ममैव लक्ष्मणस्य”. In verse 1 the author salutes god Śiva (“पादयन्त्रो धूर्जटिः”). In verses 3 and 4 the authorship of the work is ascribed to

(Continued from the last page.)

(“संवत् १७७७ वर्षे मिति आसाढ सुदि द्वादशीतिथौ । एषा पुस्तिका  
लिपीकृताः ॥ श्री सवाईजैपुर नगरमध्ये ।”)

After verse 93 of the *Kāvya-mālā* Edition, which appears on folio 52 of this MS, we find recorded the contents of the anthology chapter by chapter. These contents are followed by the following verses:—

“तदेतैर्व्यापारैरियमुपचिता पञ्चदशभि-

ल्लसच्छ्रीः श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणविरचिता पद्यरचना ।

समुद्योतं धत्तात्रिजगति शरच्चन्द्रचलिता

समिद्धा ज्योत्स्नेव प्रथिततिथिभिः पञ्चदशभिः ॥ १ ॥

कौमुदी कौमुदी जीव कामुकानिव कामिनी ।

आनन्दयतु मे पद्यरचना चतुराक्षरान् ॥ २ ॥

समाप्तं पद्यरचना ॥

The last 2 verses recorded above appear to be genuine though they are not to be found in the following MSS of the *Padyaracanā* which are incomplete.

(2) No. 148 of 1882-83—Incomplete: contains folios 33 to 74. Colophon of Chap. XIV appears on folio 70. Old in appearance.

(3) No. 422 of 1887-91—Very old and brittle: incomplete: about 46 folios—Colophon of Chap. XII appears on folio 44.

The MS “B. 3. 62” mentioned by Aufrecht consisted of 54 leaves and was in the possession of Acharatlal Vaidya of Ahmedabad in 1872 (Vide p. 63 of Bühler Fasc. III—Gujarat MSS etc. 1872.)

लक्ष्मण ("निर्मितिलक्ष्मणस्य" and "कृतिः लक्ष्मणीया"). Verse 3 clearly states the purpose of the anthology, *viz.* to give repose to logicians whose minds are distressed by the accumulated heat produced by logic. Lakṣmaṇa has composed this anthology which is as it were the shade of the Kalpavṛkṣa or the desire-yielding tree.

In the body of the anthology many verses are followed by the endorsement "लक्ष्मणस्य" which appears to indicate that these verses were composed by our author. The last 2 verses of the anthology are followed by the endorsement "एतौ लक्ष्मणस्य" which leaves no doubt about their authorship.

The total number of verses in the *Padyaracanā* is as follows:—

| Chapter | Verses | Chapter | Verses | Chapter | Verses |
|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| I       | 47     | VI      | 20     | XI      | 40     |
| II      | 39     | VII     | 41     | XII     | 41     |
| III     | 74     | VIII    | 43     | XIII    | 68     |
| IV      | 67     | IX      | 58     | XIV     | 90     |
| V       | 25     | X       | 23     | XV      | 93     |
|         | 252    |         | 185    |         | 332    |

The total number of verses as specified above comes to 769, and if we add the 2 verses found at the end of MS No. 726 of 1886-92 (*Padyaracanā*) this number would be 771.

We have now to see what exact contribution Lakṣmaṇa has made to the present anthology. The following table records verses in each chapter which are followed by the endorsement "लक्ष्मणस्य" and which may, therefore, be looked upon as the composition of our author:—

Chapter I - 13 Verses, 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 17, 26, 29, 30, 34, 35, 42, 44.

Chapter II - 12 Verses, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 16, 17, 19, 27, 30, 31.

Chapter III - 7 Verses, 9, 33, 44, 45, 55, 56, 57,

Chapter IV - 11 Verses, 1, 2, 6, 7, 17, 23, 24, 32, 33, 36, 46, 50, 55, 56.

Chapter V - 3 Verses, 1, 2, 3.

Chapter VI - 3 Verses, 8, 9, 10.

Chapter VII - 2 Verses, 41, 25.

Chapter VIII - 7 Verses, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

Chapter IX - 4 Verses, 9, 17, 33, 43.

Chapter X - 4 Verses, 7, 8, 13, 18.

Chapter XI - 12 Verses, 7, 11, 16, 18, 19, 23, 31, 32, 33, 36, 36-a, 37.

Chapter XII - 12 Verses, 1, 9, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36.

Chapter XIII - 25 Verses, 4, 5, 6, 15, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68.

Chapter XIV - 26 Verses, 2, 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41, 50, 51, 57, 62, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 81, 82.

Chapter XV - 8 Verses, 2, 28, 29, 51, 57, 70, 92, 93.

Total 152 Verses ascribed to Lakṣmaṇa.

It would be seen from the above analysis that out of the total of 769 verses of the *Padyaracanā*, Lakṣmaṇa claims no less than 152 verses *i.e.*, about *one fifth* of the entire anthology. Evidently he wanted to shine among the learned of the past generations by incorporating his own compositions in this anthology of their verses. His purpose appears to have been served by the publication of the anthology in the *Kāvya-mālā Series*, which has already immortalised many poets and poetasters.

With a view to fix the earlier limit to the date of the *Padyaracanā* we must record the names of authors mentioned in this anthology. These authors are as follows:—

रामचन्द्र, pp. 2, 3, 4, 10, 15, 17, 35, 40, 43, 58, 59, 62, 76, 97, 117.

भानुकर, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 47, 58, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 92, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 108, 112, 115, 116, 119.

भानुमिश्र, p. 6.

माघ, pp. 3, 62, 72.

महानाटक, pp. 3, 11, 13, 15, 18, 72.

कस्यापि, (anonymous author), pp. 4, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45

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47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 68, 71, 80, 81, 84, 85, 87, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115.

गणपति, pp. 5, 10, 20, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 82, 116.

भोगिसूनु वेणीदत्त, pp. 7, 13, 14, 16, 20.

क्षेमेन्द्र, pp. 7, 84.

धरणीधर, pp. 10, 13, 22.

अकवरीय कालिदास, pp. 11, 21.

कस्यापि (हर्षदत्तस्य), p. 12.

अम्बष्ठ, pp. 14, 76.

श्रीहर्ष, pp. 15, 19, 27, 34, 42, 59, 67.

महाकाव्य (?), p. 18.

त्रिविक्रम pp. 20, 31, 117.

वराहमिहिर (?) p. 23.

गौड, p. 23.

कालिदास—pp. 23, 40, 45, 49, 65, 81, 85, 115.

व्यास, p. 23.

श्रीव्यास, p. 23.

वेणीसंहार pp. 23, 24.

देवेश्वर, pp. 24, 106, 109.

रत्नाकर, pp. 26, 67.

हनूमतः, p. 28.

गदाधर, pp. 29, 66, 75, 83, 85, 117.

जयदेव, pp. 30, 40.

बिल्हण, pp. 33, 35, 38, 45, 64, 66.

बिल्हणशतक, p. 91.

शार्ङ्गधर, pp. 34, 57, 101.

वैद्यनाथ, p. 34.

शकवृद्धेः, pp. 35, 36.

वैद्यमानु, p. 35.

भास, pp. 35, 78,

लक्ष्मीधर, p. 37,

शंकराचार्य, p. 38,

वाल्मीकेः, pp. 38, 43, 79,

वाहिनीपतेः, pp. 41, 63,

षाण्मासिकस्य, p. 41,

वाणीविलास, pp. 43, 58, 71,

मैथिल, p. 43,

उमापति उपाध्याय, p. 44,

निद्रादरिद्र, p. 45,

लक्ष्मणठक्कुर, p. 46,

दण्डिनः, p. 48, 85, 110,

बाण, p. 48,

मोरिका, p. 48,

जघनचपला, p. 52,

अविलम्ब, p. 54,

बाबूमिश्र, p. 54,

अमरुक, pp. 54, 55,

वामन, p. 55.

धूर्त, p. 57,

कवीन्द्र, p. 58,

मर्तुहरेः, pp. 59, 89, 92, 98, 102, 111, 112, 115,

भोजप्रबन्ध, pp. 61, 79, 94, 95, 104, 113,

अवन्तिवर्मन्, p. 62,

अचल, p. 64,

गुणाकर, p. 65.

वासुदेव, p. 67,

कस्यापि (हरिहरस्य), p. 68,

हरिहर, p. 9,

कयोरपि (रुद्रस्य), p. 69,

सर्वदास, p. 75,

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रघुपति, p. 76.

कविराज, pp. 77, 79, 117,

पाणिनि, p. 77,

कविकङ्कण, p. 80,

भवभूतेः, p. 85,

लीलावतीकार, p. 85,

नारायण, p. 86,

कृष्णमिश्र, p. 86,

वररुचेः, मुरारेः—p. 87,

मुरारेः, p. 116,

इन्द्रकवेः, p. 87,

सोमदेव, p. 90,

महादेव, p. 95,

विकटानितम्बा, p. 96,

भोजदेव, p. 101,

आनन्दवर्धन, p. 102,

लक्ष्मणसेन, p. 103,

रङ्गनाथ, p. 104,

परिमल, p. 107,

वासिष्ठात्, p. 112,

सुबन्धोः, p. 114,

राघवचैतन्यानाम्, p. 118,

गोवर्धन, p. 118,

त्रिलोचन, त्रिविक्रम, p. 118

गणेश्वर, p. 118.

In the above list we find that Lakṣmaṇa mentions and quotes from an author called अकवरीय कालिदास<sup>1</sup> who was of course patronized by Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605).

1. गदाधरभट्ट in his anthology रसिकजीवन composed about A.D. 1660 quotes 2 verses of अकवरीय कालिदास, viz.,

(1) “हस्ताम्भोजाभिमाला.....कृपाणी”

(2) “हेमाम्भोरुहपत्तने.....शनैराञ्छति”

In view of the references to अकवरीय कालिदास found in the *Padyaracanā* we may fix A.D. 1610 or so as the earlier limit to the date of the *Padyaracanā* of Lakṣmaṇa. The later limit to the date of this anthology may be fixed at A.D. 1710 or so in view of the dated MS of the work copied in A.D. 1741 (B.O.R. I., MS No. 726 of 1886-92).

Mr. Krishnamachariar<sup>1</sup> states that Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the commentator of the *Naiṣadha Kāvya* of Śrī Harṣa “also wrote a poem *Padyaracanā*.” Let us now see if this statement is correct.

Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the commentary on the *Naiṣadha* was the son of Rāmakṛṣṇa<sup>2</sup> but the name of the father of Lakṣmaṇa the author of the *Padyaracanā* is not traceable in the *Padyaracanā*. In the same manner it is difficult to

(Continued from last page.)

(See Dr. H. D. Sharma's article on Hari Kavi-I, II, Q. X, p. 484) Lakṣmaṇa quotes 2 verses from अकवरीयकालिदास on pp. 11 and 21, viz.,

(1) “तुङ्ग ब्रह्माण्डसिंहासन.....यशश्चक्रवर्ती वषेल”

(2) “हस्ताम्भोजालिमाला.....कृपाणः”

The verse “हस्ताम्भोजालिमाला” is common to रसिकजीवन and पद्यरचना. We have, therefore, three verses ascribed to अकवरीय-कालिदास”.

1. *Classical San. Literature*, 1937, p. 183 foot-note 2.

2. Vide Stein's *Cata. of Jammu MSS*, 1894, p. 69—“नैषधी-यचरितटीका गूढार्थप्रकाशिका by लक्ष्मणभट्टशर्मा रामकृष्णभट्टसूनुः”. Vide also my article on the date of this commentator in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (Vol. II pp. 309-312) where I have proved that this author flourished between A.D. 1431-1730.

Aufrecht (CCl. 536) makes the following entry regarding the author of the *Padyaracanā*;

“लक्ष्मणभट्ट—*Padyaracanā*  
—*Ratnamālā*”

R. Mitra describes a MS of रत्नमाला (p. 286 of Vol. VI of *Notices*, 1882) as a “collection of miscellaneous verses illustrating particular rhetorical maxims, with many riddles and enigmas”. In this description the name of Lakṣmaṇa's father is not found. The work consists of 354 *Slokas*.

identify लक्ष्मण the author of the *Padyaracanā* with लक्ष्मण the author of a work called रत्नमाला as appears to have been done by Aufrecht (CCI, 536). In the *Padyaracanā* the author invokes God Siva in the first verse while in the *Ratnamālā* he bows to God Kṛṣṇa ("कृष्णं नमामि मनसा वमुदेवयुनुम्"). In the absence of any objective proofs to enable us to identify the three authors of the name लक्ष्मण it is open to doubt if they are identical or otherwise. At any rate no *a priori* case for their identity has been forthcoming.

On p. 8 of the *Padyaracanā* the following verse is introduced as "लक्ष्मणस्य" in the manner of many other verses of लक्ष्मण the author of the anthology:—

"अथ गङ्गा—

इयं चिद्रूपापि प्रकटजरूपपि भगवती  
यदीयाम्भोविन्दुर्वितरति च शम्भोरपि पदम् ।  
पुनाना धुन्वाना निखिलमपि नानाविधमघं  
जगत्कृत्स्नं पायादनुदिनमपायात्सुरधुनी ॥ ४२ ॥

लक्ष्मणस्य"

In the *Padyāmṛtataranginī*<sup>2</sup> of Haribhāskara composed in A.D. 1673 we find the above verse<sup>3</sup> quoted as follows:—

Folio 18a of MS No. 311 of 1884-80.

"इयं चिद्रूपापि प्रकटजरूपपि भगवती  
यदीयाम्भोविन्दुर्वितरति च शम्भोरपि पदम् ।  
पुनाना धुन्वाना निखिलमपि नानाविधमघं  
जगत्कृत्स्नं पायादनुदिनमपायात्सुरधुनी ॥ ४१ ॥

लक्ष्मणस्य"

1. Peterson (p. 54 of *Third Report*) describes a palm-leaf MS of a work called सूक्तावली composed by लक्ष्मण ("सूक्तानां संग्रहं चक्रे लक्ष्मणो लक्षसूक्तिकम्—verse 1). This MS was in the Temple of Sāntinātha, Cambay.

2. Vide my article on this anthology in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* Vol. III pp. 33-35. The exact date is 12th June 1673.

3. This verse has been quoted in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍa-gāra* (N. S. Press, 1911) p. 9—verse 124.

I am inclined to presume that Haribhāskara Agnihotri who composed his anthology in A.D. 1673 and who quotes one of Lakṣmaṇa's verses about Gaṅgā apparently knew the *Padyaracanā* for which I have fixed the chronological limits, viz., "Between A.D. 1610 and 1710". If this presumption is correct we must suppose, on the strength of the identification of the two verses, that the *Padyaracanā* of our Lakṣmaṇa is earlier than A. D. 1673, the date of composition of the *Padyāmṛtataranginī*. I am, therefore, inclined to hold the view that the date of the *Padyaracanā* must lie, say between A. D. 1625 and 1650. This view is consistent with the statement made by the editors of the *Padyaracanā* that Lakṣmaṇa Aṅkolkar<sup>1</sup> was a native of Mahārāṣṭra. It is possible to suppose that Haribhāskara, who was himself a native of Nasik in Mahārāṣṭra, knew the work of Lakṣmaṇa Aṅkolkar, another earlier author of an anthology similar to the *Padyaracanā*.

1. Surnames ending in Kar current in the Mahārāṣṭra generally indicate that the native place of the holder of the surname is identical with the name of the place preceding the affix Kar. Lakṣmaṇa Aṅkol-Kar may have been a native of Aṅkol. There is a village of the name Aṅkol in Chikodi Tālukā of the Belgaum District in the Bombay Presidency. I cannot say if Aṅkol=Akol.

## THE POETRY OF SRI MŪKA KAVI.\*

BY  
SRIMATI K. SAVITRI AMMAL.

It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that I deem it a rare privilege to stand here under the auspices of the Sanskrit Academy to-day and to address an audience distinguished alike for its learning and culture. Indeed I could never have dreamt of such an event to be possible! It is not my inherent modesty, much less the usual way of beginning a speech, that prompts me to utter these words. For, believe me, never could plain truth be so readily admitted from one's heart as it is by me now.

When the Academy asked me to speak on such an occasion as this I confess I felt too flattered to decline the invitation and in the fullness of my heart I could not pause to reflect "am I competent enough for the task?" I have no reason to suppose they could have believed me capable, in any way, of doing full justice to the subject. It is quite possible they wanted to make a departure from their usual practice of having one of their own members to speak to them and to confer the honour instead on a lady this time. I think I may look upon it as a good excuse also for the temerity with which I have proposed to speak before you to-day.

I remember, in that delightful novel "Cranford", the ladies of Cranford being independent of fashion, used to argue about it in this way "What does it signify how we dress here in Cranford where everybody knows us?" and if they were from home the reason was equally cogent. They said "What does it signify how we dress where nobody knows us?" I wish I might adopt their admirable maxim and satisfy myself with this argument, "What does it matter what I say where everybody knows about the poet Mūka? Or if it was the other way I might say with equal confidence "What does it matter what I say where nobody knows about the poet?"

I have however found a convenient way of putting my mind at ease by thinking that if I am fortunate enough to say any-

\* Lecture delivered under the auspices of the Madras Samskr̥ta Academy on the Śrī Mūka Day.

thing worth saying about that great poet whose Day we are celebrating to-day, then, well and good; if not, I can still be sure that the audience will be indulgent enough towards one who by no means claims to know what are all the things she should say.

I am happy however in this particular which, unequipped as I am to discuss the singular merits of a poet to whom poetry came in its truest sense as the direct gift of God, nevertheless affords me the privilege of paying my modest tribute to him. What it is you can have no difficulty in conjecturing. The religious fervour I have felt for those exquisite hymns the "Mūkapañcaśatī" from the earliest days I could remember is just what makes me utter a few words in much the same manner in which the poet himself begins his Stuti-śataka.

पाण्डित्यं परमेश्वरि स्तुतिविधौ नैवाश्रयन्ते गिरां

वैरिचान्यपि गुम्फनानि विगलद्वाणि शर्वाणि ते ।

स्तोतुं त्वां परिपुल्लनीलनलिनश्यामाक्षि कामाक्षि मां

वाचालीकुरुते तथापि नितरां त्वत्पादसेवादरः ॥

"Although the very Vedas are found to be inadequate in singing thy glory, my devotion to thy gracious feet is what makes me say a great deal."

Here I am on safe ground and find I can rather hold up my head. For unless you feel, in regard to your subject, in the way you ought to feel, you can hardly hope to do justice to it even in any slight measure.

In the first place we may congratulate the Sanskrit Academy upon the excellent idea of keeping apart this special Day this year in honour of the Poet Mūka, in the same way as they have been celebrating the Days of other classical Sanskrit poets. By doing this they seek to preserve all that is best in Sanskrit literature. In the present instance we may say with the greatest justification that here is a poet whom it behoves us to cherish not only an hour once a year but all the days in the calendar. For then indeed we shall find what a unique place he occupies in the realm of poetry and which he will continue to occupy as long as the Sanskrit language lives.

We all know that the inspired poet easily transcends time and space and stands as a symbol of immortality all by the

great quality of his poetry. He is rightly described as attaining even mokṣa, freed from all the shackles of the world. For does not the poet, if he can be truly called one, lose himself in the region of his imagination so completely as to enter immediately the presence of God and all the wonders of His Creation? No wonder the sage of Chelsea speaks of the poet as being not merely a poet but an infinite deal more. He is a great hero; he is a Prophet; he has the touch of Divinity in him. The true poet as the Mukta sees, hears and feels, not with his outward senses but with his whole being as it were and consequently finds himself to be at one with the Universe.

The story goes about this gifted poet that he was dumb—bereft of the powers of speech and when one day by the grace of Śrī Kāmākṣī he suddenly found that he could speak, his joy knew no bounds. He was so overpowered by it that his heart opened and poured itself into a flood of praise of the Mother, dwelling on the perfection and graciousness of Her Lotus feet, Her exquisite smile and the beauty of Her divine Kaṭākṣa. Whether the story is a true record of the poet's life or it is just one of those legends that ever weave themselves around anything that is beyond the range of the ordinary is immaterial. Suffice it to say that he had that great inner urge—the longing of the soul for merging in the Infinite, which expressed itself in these five immortal Satakas.

The question may arise why a poet of his eminence never produced any other work than the Mūkapañcaśatī, a purely devotional poem. Could that fact stand in the way of his being recognised as a Mahākavi in Sanskrit poetry? He whose ken is far removed from earthly things and is fixed on High cannot be expected to come back to those earthly surroundings again. It is no wonder if such a man should be dead to everything else about him and if to his rapt eyes the whole universe should seem one great image of the Mother's glorious personality.

We are told that the poet Kālidāsa as he was lifted above from the abyss of ignorance by the grace of the Goddess Kālī, at once began to pour himself forth in poetry. Knowledge of things seen or unseen was no longer any hidden mystery to him. It lay before him all unfolded like the lotus flower touched by the rays of the morning sun. And yet blessed as he was by the great Goddess, Kālidāsa was evidently not so overpowered by

it—did not at any rate lose all consciousness in the contemplation of Her Divine Presence as the poet Mūka. Or he should have also sung beautiful hymns all in praise of Her! Could it not be said rather that Kālidāsa's sense of the beautiful in nature and art lying deep within his soul proved too strong a force for him to resist and he could not rest till he gave himself up to the joy of his immortal works?

Let us take up the Mūkapañcaśatī, those five hundred verses into which the author has poured his heart in one long exquisite and unbroken melody. The poem may be said to be a veritable song indeed expressive of not only the music of the Sanskrit language but all the music that there exists!

"All inmost things" to quote Carlyle again, "are melodious; naturally utter themselves in song. The meaning of song goes deep. Who is there that in logical words can express the effect music has on us? A kind of inarticulate, unfathomable speech which leads us to the edge of the Infinite and lets us for moments gaze into that!" We can see that the Mūkapañcaśatī has this divine quality of music about it.

Shall we then call it a mere devotional hymn which we can hardly treat as a subject of literary criticism? And shall we on that ground think that those qualities which go to make a Mahākāvya are lacking in it? Far from it; we discover on the other hand the poem, though simply voicing forth a spirit of ecstasy born of pure devotion, equally abounds in every variety of thought and expression quite as rich and suggestive.

Consider any verse you choose. You cannot help being thrilled by something indefinable that lies either in the thought or in the mere arrangement of the words so remarkable for sheer beauty of form and sound. It is not a nosegay of beautiful flowers merely that is offered by the poet, but one that has been gathered with the utmost care as it were and with an unerring sense for their fragrance and colour.

Listen to this verse from the Stuti-Sataka. The meaning of it is approximately this:

"To Śrī Kāmākṣī I bow, to Her with the moon on her crest, beautiful and graceful of form, smiling and with tresses, laughing the bees to scorn, who being a very creeper of Kalpaka to the poets sets ablaze the flame of love in Śiva, the destroyer of Manmatha.

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चन्द्रापीडां चतुरवदनां चञ्चलापाङ्गलीलां

कुन्दस्मेरां कुचभरनतां कुन्तलोद्भूतभङ्गाम् ।

मारारातेर्मदनशिखिनं मांसले दीपधन्ती

कामाक्षीं तां कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्लीमुपासे ॥

Apart from the melody of the words do we not see that they convey an indescribably beautiful image to the mind. It is clear that pure Bhakti in itself more than any sense of the beauty of nature can break into the finest poetry. Poetry, they say, reaches its height when the author feels from the innermost depths of his being. Do we not perceive in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa that the poet rises to the summit of his genius only when he forgets himself completely in his adoration of the hero?

When the poet Mūka is struck with a fancy of which he is too rich from beginning to end, he pursues it to such perfection that there is scarcely anything left wanting. Nobody could wish for anything more alluring than the thought or the music of this śloka.

चित्रं चित्रं निजमृदुतया भर्त्सयन्पल्लवालीं

पुंसां कामान्भुवि च नियतं पूरयन्पुण्यभाजाम् ।

जातः शैलान्न तु जलनिधेः स्वैरसंचारशीली

काञ्चीभूषा कलयतु शिवं कोपि चिन्तामणिर्मे ॥

"This unique Cintāmaṇi which laughs to scorn the tender leaves for softness and ever fulfils the desires of fortunate mortals, is sprung not from the ocean but from the mountain. May it bless me"!

Or, this one in which there is not merely the exuberance of fancy but keen wit and observation.

तव त्रस्तं पादात्किसलयमरण्यान्तरमगात्

परं रेखारूपं कमलममुमेवाश्रितमभूत् ।

जितानां कामाक्षि द्वितयमपि युक्तं परिभवे

विदेशे वासो वा शरणगमनं वा निजरिपोः ॥

"The tender leaf not daring to vie with thy feet has fled to the wood, and the lotus as the 'rekhās' has taken refuge in those very feet. Banishment or utter surrender is but meet for the enemy in defeat". Contemplating the graciousness of Her

Kaṭākṣa he is lost in wonder over this paradox that Her Kaṭākṣa while conferring without stint even as the Kalpaka-Vṛkṣa all prosperity and wealth, on those who seek Her, yet steals away all the beauty of the blue lotus and the bee and leaves them wholly poor.

कामाक्षि कल्पविटपीव भवत्कटाक्षो

दिस्तुः समस्तविभवं नमतां नराणाम् ।

भृङ्गस्य नीलनलिनस्य च कान्तिसंपत्

सर्वस्वमेव हरतीति परं विचित्रम् ॥

The poet is transported again with another beautiful idea—for nothing short of that state of bliss in which the soul is completely submerged—can conjure up such a picture of the Devī in the mind. Being gazed at by the Lord Siva, Her eyes, like the lovely lotus, brighten up with the rays of Her love as if by the sun and still they close with shyness as with the advent of the night.

कामाक्षि मन्मथरिपोरवलोकनेषु

कान्तं पयोजमिव तावकमक्षिपातम् ।

प्रेमागमो दिवसवद्विकचीकरोति

लज्जाभरो रजनिवन्मुकुलीकरोति ॥

Again, what surging emotion is expressed in these simple lines of the Āryā metre as the poet speaks of the Devī as a sovereign remedy for all the ills of the world!

शम्पालता सवर्णं संपादयितुं भवज्वरचिकित्साम् ।

लिम्पामि मनसि किञ्चन कम्पातटरोहि सिद्धमैषज्यम् ॥

The Mūkapañcaśatī seems to be a very store-house of Alaṅkāras. Each verse may be said to be an apt illustration of every one of them. The fact that the conscious use of the Alaṅkāras proves sometimes fatal to the effect of poetry does not hold good in the case of this poet. If at all, it only enhances the charm of his descriptive flight.

Who can miss the beauty of the idea underlying this śloka made doubly attractive by the Alaṅkāra, the Virodhābhāsa.

नीलोऽपि रागमधिकं जनयन्पुरारेः

लोऽपि भक्तिमधिकां द्रढयन्नराणाम् ।

वक्रोऽपि देवि नमतां समतां वितन्वन्  
कामाक्षि नृत्यतु मयि त्वदपाङ्गपातः ॥

"May thy Kaṭākṣa fall upon me—that Kaṭākṣa though dark yet renders the heart of Śiva aglow with love, though ever restless it yet makes constant the devotion of mortals. It does not proceed straight, but engenders perfect evenness and equanimity in the minds of thy devotees."

Kālidāsa delineates Pārvatī in his Kumārasambhava much in the same vein. He remarks

पुष्पं प्रवालोलोहितं यदि स्यात्  
मुक्ताफलं वा स्फुटविद्रुमस्थम् !  
ततोऽनुकुर्यात् विशदस्य तस्या-  
स्ताम्रोष्ठपर्यस्तरुचः स्मितस्य ॥

"Flowers among tender leaves or pearls set amidst corals may bear comparison with the smile playing on her lips."

Now we shall turn to the śloka from the Mandasmita-śataka.

यान्ती लोहितमानमभ्रतटिनी धातुच्छटाकर्दमैः  
भान्ती बालगमस्तिमालिकिरणैर्मैवावली शारदी ।  
बिम्बोष्ठयुतिपुञ्जचुम्बनकलाशोणायमानेन ते  
कामाक्षि स्मितरोचिषा समदशमारोढुमाकाङ्क्षते ॥

"The waters of the Ganges turning red on account of the dhatu sand or the white clouds with the rays of the morning sun upon them surely long to be compared with thy smile tinged with the hue of thy lips".

Really the poetic wit of Mūka seems to be on a grander scale than that of Kālidāsa though his description is quite picturesque.

We may find perhaps the poet revelling in the same kind of metaphors and imagery without variation, but it is a marvel he never wearies us. On the other hand we feel we can sit listening to the ślokas all our lives enraptured by the exquisite melody of their language.

Concentration on a single theme and repetition of the same idea may in the case of other poets tend to mar the effect of their poetry. But it is not so with these verses.

The same Bhāva may be repeated a hundred times, but the unique wonder of it is that there is no question of its ever tiring us. Very likely the Bhāvas conceived at the height of the poet's ecstasy, his Ānandāmr̥ta, have on that very account derived this quality therefrom, of eternal sweetness. We may notice this peculiarity in his style—his love for saying things in a round-about way by which however he succeeds in creating a definite atmosphere.

The number of phrases he employs for the moon occurring in almost every verse is as amazing as it is enchanting. सरसिजदौर्भाग्यम्—The misfortune of the lotus: चकोरसाम्राज्यम्—The all in all of the cakora: क्रोकद्विद्—The enemy of the cakravāka: कुमुदसुपममैत्रीयात्री—one who is worthy of the friendship of the beautiful kumuda: सरसिजवनीकननानामस्तदः—The affliction of the progeny of the lotus pond: कमलानामन्धङ्करणोपधम्—The drug which seals the eyes of the lotuses: To mention only a few.

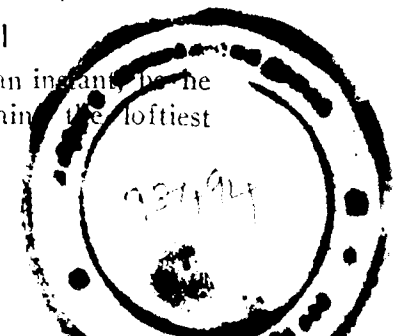
We wonder, whether even Kālidāsa, skilled and conscious artist that he is, can boast of this abundance of the choicest expressions found in the Mūkapañcaśatī. We are lost too much in the music of the diction even to think on the meaning.

The predominant note of all the five śatakas is the Śrīngāra. The poet paints the ardent feelings of love between the Devī and Śiva in the most captivating colours just as may be treated of in any Śrīngāra Nāṭaka or Kāvya. We find nevertheless he has kept throughout in the region of Bhakti and never strayed away from it to that of actual Śrīngāra. Even at the height of it, the border-land dividing Bhakti from Śrīngāra is too wide and clear ever to be mistaken. Nowhere indeed can we find any of the lower emotions vitiating the effect of the purity of his devotion.

It is clear, the poet thought to be dumb was one of the worst misfortunes that could affect a mortal. For he remarks in the Ārya Śataka.

मूकोऽपि जटिलदुर्गतिशोकोऽपि स्मरति यः क्षणं भवतीम् ।  
एको भवति स जन्तुः लोकोत्तरकीर्तिरेव कामाक्षि ॥

The individual who thinks of you for an instant, he the dumb or the unhappiest mortal on earth, attains the loftiest renown.



Verily to be bereft of speech meant for him to be deprived of that ineffable felicity of being able to sing the glory of the Mother. So he lays special emphasis in his outpourings on this, that the individual whom the Mother has blessed will be endowed with the gift of poetry.

राकाचन्द्रसमानकान्तिवदना नाकाधिराजस्तुता  
मूकानामपि कुर्वती सुरधुनीनीकाशवाग्वैभवम् ।

श्रीकाञ्चीनगरीविहारसिका शोकापहन्त्री सतां

एका पुण्यपरम्परा पशुपतेराकारिणी राजते ॥

"Bestowing even on those who are dumb the power of expression as holy and perennial as the Ganges." Whatever may be the results of reading the Mūkapañcaśatī regularly, one enduring profit is certain. The person who has made it a habit of reciting it with devotion is sure ultimately to gain mastery of the Sanskrit language.

It would be incorrect to say that we have no other poem like it in Sanskrit. There is the Saundarya Laharī of Śrī Śankara, and the Lalitā Devīśatī of the great sage Durvāsa. But they both are to be valued more for their possessing the efficacy of the mantra, the regular chanting of which bestows on the individual the fulfilment of all his desires than for their poetic value.

Though the Mūkapañcaśatī is just an inspired poem singing the glory of Śrī Kāmākṣī, we find in it nevertheless the poet's knowledge of the Upaniṣads and the Śāstras. For has he expressed anything but the profoundest philosophy in this Śloka?

जगन्नेदं नेदं परमिति परित्यज्य यतिभिः

कुशाग्रीयस्वान्तैः कुशलधिषणैः शास्त्रसरणौ ।

गवेभ्यं कामाक्षि ध्रुवमकृतकानां गिरिसुते

गिरामैदंपर्यं तव चरणमाहात्म्यगरिमा ॥

"The glory of thy feet is such that great sages after renouncing the world seek in the light of the Śāstras, their way unto them as being the only eternal truth revealed in the Vedas."

It may be seen that he is also familiar with the fine arts. For he points out to a nicety in the following śloka the details of the planning of the stage.

केशप्रभापटलनीलवितानजाले

कामाक्षि कुण्डलमणिछविदीपशोभे ।

कक्षे कटाक्षरुचिरङ्गतले कृपाख्या

शैल्यक्षी नटति शङ्करवल्लभे ते ॥

"On the stage of thy Kāṭākṣa overhung with the curtain the dark sheen of thy hair and illumined by the radiance of the Kuṇḍalas on thy ears, thy mercy plays the part as it were of the actress."

What pathos is conveyed in this śloka as he speaks of his existence depending upon small-minded men.

जननि भुवने चङ्क्रम्येहं कियन्तमनेहसं

कुपुरुषकरभ्रष्टैर्दुर्धनैरुदरम्भरिः ।

तरुणकरुणे तन्द्राशून्ये तरङ्गय लोचने

नमति मयि ते किञ्चित्काञ्चीपुरीमणिदीपिके ॥

"Mother, how long am I to wander on this earth eking out my existence with the help of small petty men. Turn thy gracious ever wakeful eye upon me for I have thrown myself at thy feet."

I can go on in this strain quoting many more verses. But the highly lyrical charm of the Mūkapañcaśatī is rather to be felt than explained. Both word and meaning so wholly merge in each other that they can scarcely be separated. It would be no wonder if the beauty of an idea should be lost in the translation of it into another language.

Allow me then to conclude with these words: these verses, the living expressions of a great soul, a mahābhakta will always make an extraordinary appeal to those who love Sanskrit.

## PATAÑJALI, A LAKṢYAĪKACAKṢUS: HIS LOFTY REALISM.

BY

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M.O.L.

Adyar Library.

Pāṇini is a practical grammarian. Kātyāyana, though he generally preserves<sup>1</sup> the spirit of Pāṇini, sometimes misses it and is on such occasions (as in the first of the instances given below) pulled up by Patañjali in whom Pāṇini finds the ablest champion of his lofty realism in grammar. Patañjali does not countenance unnecessary theorization. To him language and grammar are coterminous. He is a Lakṣyaikacakṣus: one who sees Lakṣaṇa through Lakṣya. The difference between Lakṣaṇaika-cakṣuṣṭva and Lakṣyaika-cakṣuṣṭva is the difference between Idealism and Realism or that between theory and practice. Any linguistic phenomenon which neither the Vedic nor the classical language embodied and was not supported by popular<sup>2</sup> usage is branded by him as unfit for grammatical treatment. The following instances clearly bear this out.

परेश वाङ्मयोः (Pāṇini 8-2-22)

Kātyāyana: सङि लत्वसलोपसंयोगादिलोपकुत्वदीर्घत्वानि प्रयोजनं गिरौ  
गिरः पयो धावति द्विष्टरम् दृष्टस्थानम् काष्ठशक्स्थाता  
कुश्चाधुर्य इति ।

In the first Vārtika Kātyāyana desires सङि to be read along with certain Sūtras in this Pāda enjoining लत्व etc. In the second he enumerates the purpose for which it has to be read.

Patañjali: एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । काष्ठशगेव नास्ति ; कुतः यः  
काष्ठशकि तिष्ठेत् ?

1. Cf. अतिप्रसङ्ग इति चेदभिधानलक्षणत्वात्प्रत्ययस्य सिद्धम् ।

(P. 3. 3. 19, Vārtika. 3) etc.,

2. Cf. the Mahābhāṣya on P. 3. 1. 67: नैकमुदाहरणं योगारम्भे प्रयोगे  
यति ॥

With reference to काष्ठशक्स्थाता what Kātyāyana says is that if सङि is read along with P. 8. 2. 29. (स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च), the operation of that Sūtra will be restricted to instances which contain सङ् and the elision of क् can be avoided in this case. The word काष्ठशक् itself does not exist, says Patañjali, not to speak of a compound like काष्ठशक्स्थाता.

Cf. also Patañjali on—

- P. 1. 1. 24 यद्येवं प्रियाष्टौ प्रियाष्टा इति न सिद्ध्यति ।  
प्रियाष्टानौ प्रियाष्टान इति च प्राप्नोति । यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 2. 4. 34 यद्येवमेनश्चित्तको न सिद्ध्यति ।  
एनच्छित्तक इति प्राप्नोति । यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 1. 86. यद्येवं वेतिऽप्रत्यये उरिथो प्राप्नोति ।  
उदिति चेभ्यते । यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 1. 68 यद्येवं कीर्तयतेरप्रत्ययः किरिति प्राप्नोति । कीर्त् इति चेभ्यते ।  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 2. 4. 2 एवमपि कर्तृच कर्तृचे अत्र न प्राप्नोति ।  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 4. 19. तथा वाच्छतेरप्रत्ययो वान् वांशौ वांश इति न सिद्ध्यति  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 4. 163. पयिष्ठ इति न सिद्ध्यति । पयसिष्ठ इति प्राप्नोति ।  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 7. 2. 106. द्व इति प्राप्नोति । स्व इति चेभ्यते ।  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥

The commentators<sup>1</sup> on the Mahābhāṣya explain यथालक्षणमप्र-  
युक्ते thus:

Kaiyaṭa: नैव वा लक्षणमप्रयुक्ते प्रवर्तते । प्रयुक्तानामेव लक्षणेनान्वाह्या-  
नात् ॥

Nāgeśa: लक्षणस्याभावोऽलक्षणम् । तस्य योग्यता यथालक्षणमव्ययीभावः ।  
अप्रयुक्ते लक्षणाभावस्यैव योग्यता नतु लक्षणस्येत्यर्थः ।

1. See the Pradipa and the Udyota on P. 1. 1. 24.

Kātyāyana very often entertains unreasonable fear and rushes to modify Pāṇini. His intention, it must be noted, is not to criticise Pāṇini but to save the latter from becoming imperfect or faulty in some respect as supposed by him. On such occasions Patañjali brings it home to the Vārtikakāra that no grammar can traverse the actual boundaries of the language with which it is concerned and that the fear entertained by him and the effort made to rectify Pāṇini are both needless and baseless.

The following are two instances illustrative of a host of others.

P. 4. 3. 120. तस्येदम् ।

Kātyāyana: अनन्तरादिषु च प्रतिषेधः

Patañjali explains: अनन्तरादिषु च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

तस्यानन्तरस्तस्य समीप इति किं ययोगा षष्ठी प्रवर्तत इत्यतो  
ऽनन्तरादिषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

Refutes: यद्यप्युच्यते ऽनन्तरादिषु च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य इति, न वक्तव्यः ।  
अनभिधानादनन्तरादिषूपत्तिर्न भविष्यति ।

P. 4. 4. 83. विध्यत्यधनुषा ।

Kātyāyana: विध्यत्यकरणेन ।

Patañjali: विध्यत्यकरणेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ।

Kātyāyana: इतरथाह्यतिप्रसङ्गः ।

Patañjali explains: अधनुषेति ह्युच्यमाने ऽतिप्रसङ्गो भवति ।

इहापि प्रसज्येत शर्कराभिर्विध्यति कण्टकैर्विध्यति ।

Refutes: तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । कस्मान्न भवति । शर्कराभि-  
र्विध्यति । कण्टकैर्विध्यति । अनभिधानात् ॥

*Later commentators Lakṣaṇaika - cakṣuṣkas.*

The later commentators sometimes lose themselves in the wilderness of theorization, dallying with such conjectural forms as those derived from the addition of आचारकिप् to कर्तरिकिप् etc. The following instances are culled from Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's works, but they have also the support of some other older

commentators. Some of them, namely काक् कलत् etc. are taken by him from the works<sup>1</sup> of his predecessors.

Nageśa, the greatest among the later grammarians, is the solitary exception. He reminds us very often in his works the necessity of sustaining Pāṇini's lofty realism: he is Patañjali the second. None who have taken the pains of studying his works closely will ever tire of praising him. It is very unfortunate that modern Oriental scholarship should have been slow to recognise fully the merit of this master-mind. The following exemplifies some later commentators' dry theorization and disgusting indulgence in *nugae*.

अत्रोच्यते । कुस्मायते: कूरित्वादिसिद्धये संयोगादिति वाच्यमेव ।  
किञ्च तक् रक् इत्याद्यर्थमपि । वक्तव्यम् । न चानभिधानं प्रमाणाभावात् ।  
कैयटादिभिरुदाहृतत्वाच्च ।

तक्षयते: किपि तक् ।

रक्षयतेस्तु रक् ।

स्कन्दयते: स्कत् ।

(Sābdakaustubha, Chowkhamba ed., Vol. I, pp. 303 and 307).

कान्यं कलत्रं शाल्यं चाचक्षाणः काक् कलत् शाल् । आदभ्ययनेरध्व् ॥

(Praudhamanorama, Kāśī Sanskrit Series ed., Part I, p. 98).

शुष्क्युः पक्क्युः शुष्क्यः पक्क्यः

(Pr. Man., Part I, p. 145)

पन्थानमात्मन इच्छति पथीयति । ततः किप् । अलोपः । यलोपः ।  
एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् पथिमथीयात्वम् । थोन्थः । पन्थाः ।

Ibid, Part I, p. 384.

Bhaṭṭoji gives twenty-eight forms of the Sandhi of उ and इति (P. 8. 3. 33: मयउओ वो वा) and one hundred and eight forms of संस्कृता (Siddh. Kaum, P. 8. 3. 34). Again in the chapter on the declension of neuters ending in consonants of the same work he has:

<sup>2</sup>गवाक्शब्दस्य रूपाणि क्लीबेऽर्चागतिभेदतः ।

असन्ध्यवङ्पूर्वरूपैर्नवाधिकशतं मतम् ॥

1. Prakriyākaumudī, etc.

2. Cf. Patañjali on P. 7. 1. 72: व्यञ्जनपरस्यैकस्यानेकस्य चोच्चारणे विशेषाभावः ।

रघुसुतु नवषट्मादौ षट्के सुस्त्रीणि जज्ञसोः ।

चत्वारि शेषे दशकं रूपाणीति विभावय ॥

ऊह्यमेषां द्विर्वचनानुनासिकविकल्पनात् ।

रू ण्यश्चाक्षिभूतानि (527) भवन्तीति मनीषिभिः ॥

These words have to be searched for elsewhere than in the range (the earth with its seven continents etc., etc.,) described by Patañjali. Even if they are found used by some later writers after the example of these grammarians, it is no genuine proof for their existence. If our approach to Pāṇini's grammar is strictly historical and if we examine these words with an open mind, we cannot but observe that some of these later commentators have in this respect fallen short of the high ideal set up by Pāṇini and Patañjali. Let us remember what Patañjali says in Paspāśa:

ये पुनः कार्यं भावा निर्वृत्तौ तावत्तेषां यत्नः क्रियते । तद्यथा—घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुले गत्वाह—कुरु घटं कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वत् छन्दान्प्रयुञ्जमाणो वैयाकरणकुले गत्वाह—कुरु शब्दान्प्रयोक्ष्य इति ।

(Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, pp. 7-8).

As again t what we find in the works of some commentators referred to above, Nāgeśa's following statements may be noted.

परे तु न पदान्ता हलोऽणः सन्तीति लणसूत्रस्थभाष्यात् वृक्षत्रादेरनभिधानमेव । भोभगो इति सूत्रेऽप्रहणपर्यक्रमन्यत्राभावादिति व. त्रिकाच्च । अशो-  
ऽन्यत्र तन्निमित्तकारिणो ऽभावादिति तदर्थः । न ह्यन्यत्र रुरस्तीति तद्व्याख्यानभाष्ये रुप्रहणमुपलक्षणम्

(Laghuśabdenduśekhara, Part I, p. 149 Kāśī Sanskrit Series ed.)

किपस्त्वादन्तेभ्यो भाष्यानुक्तं किम्भ्यो ऽनभिधानमेव ।

एवं च साशब्दादेर्यवभिधानम् ।

(p. 364)

(p. 365)

आचारकिवन्तप्रकृतिककर्तृकिवन्तस्य भाष्ये काथ्यनुपन्यासेन तेभ्यः कर्तृकिपो ऽनभिधानस्यैव लाभाच्च ।

(pp. 366 and 367)

1. See also p. 4-6.

इतरसूत्रविषयोदाहरणानभिधानम् ।

(p. 413)

अधिकरणे क्यच् तु नास्त्येव अनभिधानात् ।

(p. 460)

मघवनशब्दस्य लोके ऽसाधुत्वम् ।

(p. 468)

एतेन पर्यायतेः किपि पन्था इत्यादीत्यपास्तम् ।

(p. 473)

नैव वा लक्षणमप्रयुक्ते प्रवर्तते । प्रयुक्तानामेव लक्षणेनान्वाख्यानं दित्यन्त्यव्याख्यानमेव उपायः ।

(p. 473)

VEDIC STUDIES 1. THE ACT OF TRUTH IN THE  
RGVEDA

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

(Continued from page 165, Vol. XIV).

Verse 3 ascribes the freeing of the Dawns to Indu or Soma, who, according to Sāyaṇa, is the moon.

In verse 4, the expression 'navel that wins light' (*svarvidā nābhinā*) is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains it as [aśvaiḥ] *nābhinā sannaddhena svarvidā suṣṭhu-araṇīyasya dhanasya lambhakena rathena*; and similarly, GRASSMANN and LUDWIG explain the pāda as 'mit segensreichen Nabe Welt durchdringend' and 'mit der nabe, die das liecht findet, der menschensättiger' respectively. I am disposed to think that the reference here is perhaps to Indra's weapon Vajra, which receives the epithet *svarṣāḥ* (= *svarvid*, 'winning light') in 1, 100, 13: *tāsya vajrah krandati smāt svarṣā divo nā tveṣo ravāthah śimvān* and the epithet *carṣanīdhṛt* (= *carṣanīprāḥ*, 'protecting people') in 8, 90, 5: [sā tvam śaviṣṭha vajrahasta dāśuṣe 'rvañcam rayim ā kṛd'hi 411] *tvam indra yaśā asy rjṣī śavasaḥ pate tvam vṛtrāṇi hamsy apratīny eka id ānuttā carṣanīdhṛtā*. This Vajra is mentioned along with Indra's horses in 6, 23, 1: *yād vā yuktābhyām maghavan haribhyām bibhrad vajram bāhvor indra yāsi*, and is described as Indra's 'old friend' in O, 21, 7: *tava pratnena yujyena sakhyā vajrena dhṛṣṇo āpa tā nudasva*. It is perhaps this 'old friendship' that is referred to as *nābhi* 'navel' (i. e., close relation) in the verse under discussion.

(18) 1, 72, 8: *svādhyo diva ā sapta yāvī  
rāyo duro vy ṛtajñā ajānan  
vidād gavyaṇ saramā dr̥ham ūrvam  
yenā nu kaṁ mānuṣī bhojate viṭ ||*

"The seven (sons) of Heaven, knowers of (spells of) truth, longing, found the mighty doors of wealth. Saramā found the massive cave of the cows from which the clans of men derive enjoyment".

The *svādhyāḥ* spoken of in this verse are the Aṅgirasas. I construe with this word the expression *divaḥ sapta* which signifies 'the seven sons of Heaven'; compare GELDNER's note on 4, 16, 3: " 'of Heaven' is equivalent to 'the sons of Heaven' " in *RV. Ueber*, p. 392. They are referred to as *divaḥ sapta kāravaḥ* in 4, 16, 3: *diva itthā jījanat sapta kārūn* he (sc. Indra) produced here the seven poets who are the sons of Heaven'. *sapta* is construed with *yāvīḥ* (explained as 'rivers') by Sāyaṇa, GELDNER (*RV. Ueber*.), LUDWIG, GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber*.) and Oldenberg (*SBE*. 46, p. 83), while Bergaigne, in III, 232, construes it with *rāyo durāḥ*.<sup>1</sup>

*Vyajānan* 'found' seems to signify, further, 'rent'. The 'wealth' mentioned in pāda b refers, as observed above, to the herd of cows (*gomāyaṇ vāsu*) imprisoned in the mountain.

Saramā, mentioned in c, is the divine dog who takes part, along with the Aṅgirasas, Bṛhaspati, Indra and others, in the discovery and release of the cows imprisoned in Vala. As we shall see below, she too is said to have discovered the cows by means of 'the path of *ṛta*', that is, by means of (a spell of) truth.

*ūrva* signifies 'hole, cave, cavity', that is, the mountain-cave in which the cows were confined. In the second half, we have to supply the word *tena* to correspond with the word *yenā*. The expression *yenā nu kaṁ mānuṣī bhojate viṭ* refers to the milk of the cows; see Sāyaṇa's commentary and compare also 3, 30, 14: *mahi jyotiṣ nhitam vakṣaṇāsv āmā pakvaṇ carati bibhrati gauḥ viśvam svādma sambhṛtam usriyāyām yāt sīm indro adadhad bhojanāya*.

Regarding the finding of milk in connection with the Vala myth, compare 3, 31, 11: *sā jātebhīr vṛtrahā sed u havyai ud*

1. In II, 135, on the other hand, he seems to have construed it with *divo yāvīḥ*.

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usriyā asrjad indro arkaiḥ| urūcy āsmai ghr̥tavad bharantī  
mādhu svādma duduhe jēnyā gauḥ; 6, 17, 6: tava krātva tava  
tad dāmsanābhīr amāsu pakvām śacyā nī dīdhah| aurnor dura  
usriyābhyo vi dṛḥhodūrvād gā asrjo āngirāsvān and 8, 32, 25:  
ya udnah phaligam bhīnan nyak sindhūn avāsrjat| yo goṣu  
pakvām dhārayat.

(19) 5, 45, 8: viśve asyā vy| śi māhināyāḥ  
saṁ yad gobhīr āngiraso navanta|  
utsa āsām parame sadhastha  
ṛtasya pathā saramā vidad gāḥ||

"When, at the dawning of this great one, all the Āngirases  
roared with the cows,—their spring is in the highest abode—  
Saramā found the cows by the path of truth".

As explained above under 4, 3, 11, the 'roaring of the  
Āngirases with the cows' refers to the sound made by the  
Āngirases, when they uttered spells of truth for the purpose of  
rending the mountain and freeing the cows. *ṛtasya*, in pāda d,  
means 'of a spell of truth'. This spell does not seem to  
be the one uttered by the Āngirases; on the other hand,  
it is more probable that, like Indra and Brhaspati, Saramā too  
joined the Āngirases when they uttered the spell of truth, and  
that the reference here is to the spell of truth uttered by her.  
See 3, 31, 6 explained below. Sāyaṇa explains *ṛtasya pathā* as  
*satyasya mārgaṇa*.

(20) 5, 45, 7: anūnod atra hastayato adrīr  
ārcan yena dāśa māso navagvāḥ|  
ṛtam yatī saramā gā avindat  
viśvāni satyāngirās cakāra||

"The pressing-stone, guided by the hands, made here a loud  
sound by which the Navagvas sang for ten months. Attaining  
the (spell of) truth, Saramā found the cows; Āngirases per-  
formed all acts of truth".

Pāda c. *ṛtam yatī saramā gā avindat* has the same signi-  
fication as pāda, d, *ṛtasya pathā saramā vidad gāḥ* of 5, 45, 8  
explained above. Compare also Sāyaṇa's explanation *ṛtam*  
*satyam yajñam vā yatī prāpnuvatī*.

Regarding the expression *satyā cakāra*, compare the expres-  
sion *kṛṇomi satyam* in AV. 4, 18, 1 explained above and the  
observations made in that connection. The singular *āngiras*  
here seems to stand for the plural, *jātūr eka-vacanam*. Or,  
does it refer to Indra who, as mentioned above, is described as  
'chief Āngiras'?

The meaning of pādas cd is, thus, 'Saramā found the cows  
by means of a spell of truth when Āngirases (or, the Āngirases)  
too uttered spells of truth'. Compare 3, 31, 6-7 explained  
below.

(21) 3, 31, 5-7: vīḷau satīr abhi dhīrā atṛndan  
prācā hinvan manasā sapta viprāḥ|  
viśvām avindan pathyām ṛtasya  
prajānann it tā nāmasā viveśa||  
vidat yadī saramā rugṇam ādrer  
mahī pāḥḥ pūrvyām sadhryak kaḥ|  
āgrām nayat supādy akṣarānām  
acchā ravam prathamā jānātī gāt||  
agacchad u vipratamaḥ sakhiyann  
asūdayat sukrte garbhām adriḥ|  
sasāna māryo yuvabhir makhasyann  
athābhavad āngirāḥ sadyo arcan||

"The seven sagacious bards cut a path for those (fem.) that  
were in the fortress and drove them out by a forward-turned  
spell; they found every path of truth. The sagacious (Indra)  
burst in upon them with a prayer.

"When Saramā found the cleft in the mountain, she drove  
the primaeval water which was together; she with the fine feet  
led the van of the imperishable ones; she first went towards the  
sound, recognising it.

"(Indra), the best of seers, went there to make friends;  
the mountain put out the foetus for the well-doer. The youth,  
fighting, won, along with the youths; then, uttering spells, he  
became an Āngiras in the same instant."

In v. 5, 'those in the fortress' in pāda a are the cows  
imprisoned in the mountain. *viśvām avindat pathyām ṛtasya* in

b has the same sense as *viśvāni satyā' ŋgirāś cakāra* in pāda d of 5, 45, 7 explained above; 'they found every path of truth' means 'they employed every spell of truth; they employed spells of truth on every occasion'. It is this spell of truth that is referred to by the expression *prācā mānasā* (= *prācā mantreṇa*) in b; compare with it 7, 67, 5: *prācīm u devāśvinā dhiyaṃ me' mydhrām sātaye kṛtaṃ vasūyūm. prajānan*, in d, seems to refer to Indra, and *namasā*, to the spell of truth employed by him.

Regarding v. 6, the interpretations given by the exegetists differ widely from one another. Sāyaṇa explains it as: *yadi yadā saramā indreṇa gavānveṣanārthaṃ preṣitā saramā nāma deva-śunī adreḥ rugṇaṃ bhagnaṃ dvāraṃ vidat atabhata tadānīm indraḥ mahi mahat pūrvaṃ preṣaṇa-kāle 'nnādinam te prajāṃ kṛiṣyāmi iti pratijñātaṃ sadhryak itarair api bhojyaiḥ sadhricīnaṃ pāthah gavyādi-lakṣaṇaṃ annam kaḥ akārṣit tasyai dattavān | tataḥ supadī śobhana-pāda-yuktā sā saramā akṣarāṇām kṣaya-rahitānām gavām agraṃ prāntaṃ nayat prāpnot | kuta ity ata āha | yataḥ ravaṃ teṣāṃ hambhā-ravaṃ prathamā prathamam jānati satī accha śabdā. himukhyena gāt jagāma.* GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) translates it as, "Wenn die Saramā den Spalt in Fedlsen findet, so wird sie ihren früheren grossen Schutz vollständig machen". Die Leichtfussige leitete die Reden ein; kundig ging sie als erste auf das Gebrüll zu", GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) as, "Als Saramā den Spalt des Felsens auffand, da bahnte sie den, alten Himmelspfad, der zu einem Ziele hinführt; mit sicherm Fuss geht sie voran; der unversiegliehen [Kühe oder Ströme] Getön erkennend, kam sie zuerst hin" and Ludwig as, "Als Saramā den ris des felsen fand, [plünderte] raffte sie zusammen dem grossen alten ort, mit gutem fuze fürte sie an der spitze der gewässer, zuerst war zum gebrüll sie die wol kundige gekommen". Further, in an article published in *ZDMG.* 54, p. 599 ff., it has been contended by OLDENBERG that the word *pāthah* does not signify 'water' at all in the RV, and he has translated pāda b of the above verse as 'die grosse alte Stätte vereint machte'.

The above-mentioned interpretations of the word *pāthah* seem to me to be all unsatisfactory, and I believe that the

meaning 'water' suits it best in this passage. Compare 3, 31, 16: *apās cid eṣa vibhvaḥ damūnāḥ pra sadhricīr asṛjad viśvās-candrāḥ* "This lord (Indra) released the all-shining mighty waters that were together", which occurs in the same hymn, that is, in connection with the same Vala myth; and note how the words *vibhvaḥ* and *sadhricīḥ* of this verse correspond to the words *māhi* and *sadhryak* in v. 6b<sup>1</sup> *kaḥ*, in 6b, signifies 'drove out, impelled', just as *kṛta* in the expression *bāmana kṛta* (6, 49, 8; 6, 58, 3-4) signifies 'impelled; getrieben' (see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 1, 22); and thus the only difference between v. 6b and v. 16ab is that the former speaks of 'water' (*pāthah*) in the singular, while the latter speaks of 'waters' (*apāḥ*) in the plural.

Regarding the epithet *pūrvaṃ* 'primal' applied to water, compare 10, 30, 10: *ṛṣe janitrīr bhūvanasya patnīr apo vandasva savrdhaḥ sayonīḥ* "Make obeisance, O seer, to the Waters, the creators and lords of the world, that have grown up together in the same womb", and the passages cited in *VVSt.* I p. 162.

In the translation given above, I have made *saramā* subject of the verb *kaḥ*, because it is the subject of the verb *vidat* in pāda a, and of *nayat* and *gāt* in pādas cd also. It is however possible that the subject intended by the poet may be *indraḥ*, mentioned in verse 4d. Compare 3, 31, 16 cited above; hymn 3, 31 is addressed to Indra, and as said above, *prajānan* in v. 5d refers in all probability to him.

In pāda c, *akṣarāṇām* denotes, according to the interpretations reproduced above, cows, speeches, waters or rivers. The expression *agraṃ nayat* however in that pāda is synonymous with *prathamā gāt* in the next; and it would seem therefore that *akṣarāṇām* refers to the persons that followed the guidance of Saramā, to wit, the Aṅgirasas, who are said in 10, 62, 1:

1. It may be noted that the word *sadhryak* or its equivalent *sadhricīna*, *sadhricīnā*, nowhere occurs in the RV as an epithet of words signifying 'place'; see Grassmann s. v.

Kundiger, schutze diese Geschöpfe, der du die Geschlechter der Götter und Sterblichen kennst',<sup>1</sup> and the verses 2, 6, 7 (*antār hy āgna īyase vidvān jānmobhayā kavē*) and 9, 73, 8 referred to by him. *devānām jānma martāmś ca=devānām janmāni martāmś ca=devajanmāni marta janmāni ca*. Similarly, in 1, 71, 3d too *jānma=janmāni*; and *devān janmāni*=the tribes that are the gods, i.e., the tribes of the gods.

Pādas bc d say that, after the Aṅgīrases found the Dawns, the sun and the day, pious sacrificers began to offer prayers and pleasing food to the gods.

(23) 10, 67, 2-3: *ṛtām śamsanta ṛju dīdhyānā*  
*divas putrāso asurasya vīrāḥ*||  
*vīpraṃ padam aṅgīraso dadhānā*  
*yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta*||  
*haṃsair iva sakhibhir vāvadadbhir*  
*aśmanmayāni nahanā vyasyan*||  
*brhaspatir abhikanikradad gā*  
*uta prāstaud uc ca vidvān agāyat*||

"Uttering the (spell of) truth, and thinking righteously, the valiant Aṅgīrases, sons of the mighty Dyaus, bearing the word 'bard', praised first the worshipful one.

"With the companions who were crying loudly like swans, Brhaspati, observing and removing the stony bonds, roared towards the cows, and praised and sang loudly".

The signification of *vīpraṃ padam dadhānāḥ* in v. 2c is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains the expression as *vīpraṃ prajñāpakam yajñasya dhāma dhārakam padam brhaspaty-ākyaṃ mananta stuvanti*|| *prajñāpakam hy etat sthānam yad brhaspatir iti*, Ludwig as, 'winning the position of holy singers', and Grassmann as 'guiding (?) their step to the singer'. I prefer to interpret *padam* as 'word', and *vīpraṃ padam dadhānāḥ* as 'bearing the word (i.e., name) *vīpra*', i.e., known by the name of 'bard'.

1. Ludwig's translation too is similar to that of Geldner.

*yajña*, in pāda d, signifies *yajanīya* or 'worshipful'; see VVSt. 1, p. 7. Who the worshipful was whom the Aṅgīrases praised as a preliminary to their *satya-kriyā*, we do not know. Regarding such preliminary adoration, see the observations of Burlingame cited above in the explanation of 4, 2, 14-16.

In v. 3, the expression *haṃsair iva vāvadadbhir* refers to the loud sound produced by the Aṅgīrases when uttering the spell of truth. Similarly, the words *kanikradat*, *astant*, and *udagāyat* too refer to the spell of truth uttered by Brhaspati in company with the Aṅgīrases. *abhikanikradad gāḥ* 'roared towards the cows'=spoke loudly a spell of truth for the purpose of (rending the mountain and) freeing the cows.

The meaning of verses 2, 3 thus is: the Aṅgīrases praised the worshipful one first and then uttered the spell of truth; Brhaspati joined them in the utterance, and as a result, the stony enclosure imprisoning the cows was removed and the cows were released.

(24) 2, 24, 14: *brahmaṇaspāter abhavad yathāvaśaṃ*  
*satyo manyur mahi karmā kariṣyataḥ*||  
*yō gā udājat sā divē vī cābhajan*  
*mahiva rītiḥ śavasā sarat pṛthak*||

"The spell of truth of Brahmanaspati, who was about to perform a great feat, acted as desired; he who drove forth the cows gave them to Heaven; (the herd of cows), like a mighty current, moved forward impetuously with strong force".

*manyuḥ*=spell (cp. Sāyaṇa's explanation, *manyuḥ manana-sādhano mantrah*), and *satyo manyuḥ*=*satya-mantrah* or *satya-vacanani*.

The 'great feat that he was about to perform' is, of course, the rending of the mountain and the freeing of the Waters and the cows. As already pointed out in VVSt. 1, p. 145, *iva* in pāda d has the force of *ca* and signifies 'and'.

(25) 10, 108, 11: *dūram ita paṇayo varīya*  
*ud gāvo yantu minatīr ṛtena*||  
*brhaspatir yā avindan nigūlhāḥ*  
*somo grāvāṇa ṛṣayaś ca vīprāḥ*||

yē yajñēna dakṣiṇayā samaktā indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvām ānaśa to have attained immortality (amṛtatvām). The only objection against this interpretation is the fact that akṣara is not, even in later Sanskrit literature, used as a synonym of amartya. If this objection be regarded as insuperable, I would then understand akṣara here as 'speech', a sense which the word has in 7, 15, 9: ūpa tvā sātaye nūro viprāso yanti dhītibhiḥ | ūpākṣarā sahasrīṇi. The 'speeches' referred to would be the spells of truth uttered by Saramā, the Aṅgirasas, Indra, etc.; and the pāda would thus signify that Saramā was the first in uttering a spell of truth and that her example was followed by the Aṅgirasas, etc. supadī should then be interpreted as 'she who has fine words'.

In verse 7, it is the object of the poet to describe how Indra became an Aṅgiras. The verse says that Indra went to the Aṅgirasas offering his friendship (pāda a), that this offer was accepted and Indra became one of the Aṅgirasas (pāda d), that, chanting (a spell of truth), he and his friends (yurabhiḥ) offered battle and won (pāda c), and that the mountain gave up the foetus, that is, the cows and waters, etc., that had been imprisoned (pāda b).

(22) 1, 71, 2-3: vild cid dr̥hā pitaro na ukthair  
ādrim rujann aṅgirasō ravena |  
cākrar divo brhatō gātum asme  
ātaḥ svar vīdudh ketum usrah ||  
dadhann rtam dhanayann asya dhitim  
ād id aryo didhiṣvo vibhitrāḥ |  
ātṛsyantīr apāso yanty acchā  
devān janma prayasā vardhayantīḥ ||

"Our fathers, the Aṅgirasas, have cleft even solid fortresses by means of spells, the mountain by their shout. They have made for us a path to the wide heaven. They found the day, the sun, and the herald of the Dawns" (after) they upheld the truth and made current its spell. Then, the wooing (prayers) of the rich (sacrificer), that have spread themselves, unthirsting,

active, go to the tribes of the gods, strengthening them with pleasing (food)".

In verse 2, ukthair denotes the spells of truth uttered by the Aṅgirasas, and rava the loud sound produced by the utterance. The vīḥ dr̥hā are the same as the ādri. The meaning of the fourth pāda is, 'they set free the imprisoned Dawns, dispelled the darkness, made the sun mount the sky, and caused the day'.

The first pāda of verse 3 forms one sentence with pāda d of verse 2, and we have to supply a word like 'after' between them. rtam dadhan is equivalent to rtam yemuḥ and asya (rtasya) dhūm dhanayan to rtam āsuṣāṇāḥ in 4, 2, 14 explained above.

In pādas 2, 3, the meaning of the word didhiṣvaḥ, vibhitrāḥ, and ātṛsyantīḥ is not clear; and I have, above, mostly followed the translation given by OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 74), supplying also, like him, the word 'prayers' after these words. The two pādas signify, according to GELDNER (RV. Ueber.): "Since then, the covetous (thoughts) of the rival sacrificer are (like) children that are carried; the desireless (thoughts) of the skilled (singer) only go to them", and according to LUDWIG, "Then, distributing themselves among the pious desirers, (themselves) not thirsting, the clever (Dawns) approach". According to Sāyaṇa, those who approach are the yajamāṇa-lakṣaṇāḥ prajāḥ.

Concerning the expression 'wooing prayers', see Bergaigne, II, 268 ff.

Regarding verse 3 d, I cannot agree with Oldenberg in his opinion (op. cit., p. 77) that devān janma = devām janma, and that devām is the genitive plural (without the augment -n-) of devā, in the same way as in 1, 70, 6: eṭā cikitvo bhūmā nī pāhi devānām janma mātāmś ca vidvān, mātām is the genitive plural of mātā. This latter verse does not signify, "Protect, O knowing one, these beings, thou who knowest the birth of gods and men" as Oldenberg believes (p. 70, op. cit.), but 'Protect, O knowing one, these beings, thou that observest the tribes of gods and men'; compare Geldner's translation, 'Du,

"Go away, far away, ye Panis. Let the lowing cows come out, the cows, which had been hidden and which, by means of a (spell of) truth, Brhaspati found, (and also), Soma, the pressing-stones, and the inspired ṛṣis".

Hymn 10, 108, in which the above verse occurs, is a dialogue between the Panis who had hidden the cows and Saramā who had been sent by Indra to discover them. The above is the last verse in the hymn and is spoken by Saramā. I construe *ṛtena* with *āvindat*, because we know (see above) that Brhaspati, with the Angirases, uttered spells of truth for freeing the cows.

It is also possible to construe *ṛtena* with *udyantu* or *minatīh*. In the former case, pāda b would signify "Let the lowing cows come out with the (spell of) truth, that is, as soon as the spell of truth is uttered". In the latter case, *ṛtena minatīh* means 'lowing with the (spell of) truth', that is, 'blending their cries with the sound of the spell of truth'; compare in this connection the observations under no. 14 above.

*ṛṣayo viprāh*, in d, are the Angirases.

(26) 10, 47, 6: ra<sup>1</sup> sap<sup>1</sup>tagu<sup>1</sup>m ṛ<sup>1</sup>tadhī<sup>1</sup>ṣu<sup>1</sup> sumedhā<sup>1</sup>m  
br<sup>1</sup>haspati<sup>1</sup>m matir<sup>1</sup> acchā<sup>1</sup> jigāti<sup>1</sup> |  
ya ā<sup>1</sup>girasō<sup>1</sup> nama<sup>1</sup>sopasadyo<sup>1</sup>  
smabhyam<sup>1</sup> citram<sup>1</sup> vṛ<sup>1</sup>ṣaṇam<sup>1</sup> rayim<sup>1</sup> dāh<sup>1</sup> ||

"Our praise goes forth to Brhaspati who has seven cows, uses spells of truth and is sagacious, the son of Angirasa who is to be approached with obeisance. Confer on us wealth which is strong and beautiful".

The 'seven cows' of Brhaspati seem to be the seven prayers (see Bergaigne, II, 145); that is, the prayers of the 'seven bards (*vipra*)' or Angirases; see Geldner's note on 4, 50, 4 in op. cit., p. 435. Since Brhaspati explicitly receives the name of Angirasa here, there is no doubt that *ṛtadhī* has the same meaning as it has when it is used in connection with the Angirases, namely, 'he who has (i.e., employs) spells of truth'; see 6, 39, 2 explained above. Pāda d is the refrain common to all the verses of this hymn.

(27) 2, 23, 3: ā<sup>1</sup> vi<sup>1</sup>bādhyā<sup>1</sup> parirā<sup>1</sup>pas<sup>1</sup> tamā<sup>1</sup>ṇsi<sup>1</sup> ca  
jyoti<sup>1</sup>smanta<sup>1</sup>m rā<sup>1</sup>dhana<sup>1</sup> ṛ<sup>1</sup>tasya<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>ṣṭhasi<sup>1</sup> |  
br<sup>1</sup>haspate<sup>1</sup> bhīmam<sup>1</sup> anū<sup>1</sup>trā<sup>1</sup>ṇāmbha<sup>1</sup>ṇam<sup>1</sup>  
rak<sup>1</sup>ṣohā<sup>1</sup>ṇam<sup>1</sup> gotra<sup>1</sup>bhī<sup>1</sup>ḍa<sup>1</sup> svarū<sup>1</sup>ḍam<sup>1</sup> |

"Driving away the evaders and darkness, thou, O Brhaspati, ascendest the chariot of truth, that is brilliant, terrible, that injures enemies, destroys demons, pierces mountains and wins the sun."

The spell of truth (*ṛta*) by means of which Brhaspati overcomes the Panis, destroys demons, dispels darkness, rends mountains, and wins the sun, is here (by the use of Rūpa-kāṇḍakara) called his chariot.

The meaning of *parirāpāh* (so according to the Padapāṭha: is the word really *parirāpāh*?) in pāda a is not certain. Sāyana explains it as *parirāpāh pāpa-rūpam rakṣaḥ...pad rā parirād-ato nindakām*, Grassmann as 'humming round, humming horribly, whispering sinisterly', HILLERBRANDT (*Lieder d. RV.* p. 26) as 'abuse', and LUDWIG as 'evil-speakers'. GELDNER (*RV. Ueberl.*) interprets it as 'excuse', pointing out in the note that the allied word *parirāpāh* occurs in AV. 5, 7, 2 (*yaṁ arāte purodhatse puruṣam parirāpānam namas te bṛhmai kṛṇmaḥ*) and 12, 4, 51 (*ye rāṣāyā ātanāya vānti parirāpāṇāḥ indrasya manyave jālmā ā rṣeānte acitīyā*), and seems to denote people who seek, by means of excuses, to evade payment of fees due to priests. I am inclined to accept this interpretation, with the substitution however, of 'revilings' instead of 'excuses'; and it is my belief that *parirāpāh* also means likewise 'people who, by means of revilings, seek to evade payment of fees due to priests'. This unwillingness to pay priests is the very characteristic that distinguishes the Panis (see *Ued. Stud.* I, pp. XXIV, XXV, and 126); and thus there seems to be no doubt that it is the Panis who are referred to here by the word *parirāpāh*.

*gotra* = mountain harbouring (i.e., imprisoning) cows.

(28) 2, 24, 8: ṛtājyena kṣipreṇa brahmaṇaspatir  
yatra vaṣṭi pra tad aśnoti dhanvanā  
tasya sādhyir iṣavo yābhīr asyati  
nṛcakṣaso dṛśāye karṇayonayaḥ

"With the quick-shooting bow which has the truth for bow-string, Brhaspati hits wherever he likes. The arrows belonging to him, the beholder of men, with which he shoots, are excellent, and are seen to have the ears for their home".

The truth is, in this verse, compared to the string of a bow; the arrows shot with this bow (i.e., the mouth) are the spells of truth which achieve all the objects that Brhaspati has in view. *yonī*, in *karṇayoni* signifies, not 'womb' (*utpatti-sthana*), but 'home, resting-place'.

(29) 2, 24, 2-3: yō nantvāny anaman ny ojaso-  
tādardar manyunā sambarāṇi vi  
prācyāvayad acyutā brahmaṇaspatir  
ā cāvīśad vasumantaṁ vi parvataṁ  
tad devānāṁ devatāmāya kartvān  
āsrathman dṛḥhā vradanta vīḥhā  
ud gā ājad abhinad brahmaṇā valam  
agūhat tamo vy acakṣayat svāḥ

"Who, with force, bent the bendable ones, Brahmaṇaspati rent the fortresses of Sambara and others by means of a spell, shook the unshakable ones, and burst in by force into the mountain containing wealth;

"that was the work (set) for the godliest of the gods. They broke the massive ones to pieces and made weak those which were strong. By means of a spell, he (Brahmaṇaspati) drove out the cows, pierced Vala, hid the darkness, and made the sun shine".

*manyu*=*mantra* or spell; compare Sāyana's explanation *manyunā manunā krodhena vā*. *Sambarāṇi* fortresses (*purāḥ*) of Sambara and other demons; see Geldner's note in his *RV. Ueber* The 'wealth' contained in the mountain is, of course, the cows imprisoned in it.

In v. 3b, *āsrathman* has been explained by all the exegetists (Sāyana, Geldner, Ludwig, Grassmann) as a passive or intransitive verb. I find it difficult to subscribe to this view inasmuch as, in the RV, *śrath*, in the Parasmaipada, is always transitive and governs an object; and I have therefore construed *dṛḥhā* as the object of *āsrathman*. As subject of this verb and, perhaps, of *avradanta* also, we have to supply the word *te*, referring to the Aṅgirasas. *dṛḥhā* and *vīḥhā* both refer to the mountains that imprisoned the cows.

The spell (*manyu*, *brahman*) mentioned in these two verses is, as we have seen above, a spell of truth.

(30) 10, 67, 5-8: vibhidyā puram sayathem apācīm  
nis trīṇi sākam uladher akṛntat  
brhaspatir uśaṣaṁ sūryaṁ gām  
arkaṁ viveḥa stanayam iḥa dyauḥ  
indro valam rakṣitāram dughānām  
kareṇeva vi cakartā raveṇa  
svedāṇjibhir āśiram icchamāno  
rodayat paṇim ā gā amuṣāt  
sa im satyebhiḥ sakhibhiḥ śucadbhir  
godhāyaṣaṁ vi dhanasair adardah  
brahmaṇaspatir vṛṣabhir varāhair  
gharṇasvedebhir draviṇam vy ā at  
te satyena manasā gopatiṁ gā  
iyānāsa iṣayanta dhībhiḥ  
brhaspatir mitho-avadyapebhir  
ud usriyā asṛjata svayugbhiḥ

"Shattering the westward-turned fort, the lairs, Brhaspati cut out at the same time from the water-reservoir three things, (namely), the Dawn, the sun, the cow; he uttered the hymn loudly thundering like the sky.

"As if with a sword, Indra, with a roar, cut Vala who was keeping watch over the cows; desiring milk, he, with the sweat-adorned ones stole the cows from the Paṇi and made him weep.

"With the truth-speaking companions, who were effulgent and winners of wealth, he rent (the mountain) containing cows; with the strong boars, perspiring with heat, Brahmagaspati attained to the wealth.

"Desiring cows by means of a spell of truth, they shattered the watcher of cows with spells. With his companions who protected one another from sin, Brhaspati delivered the cows".

These verses are addressed to Brhaspati and refer to his rending of Vala and freeing of the cows, etc., in the company of the Aṅgirasas; pādas ab of verse 6, however, speak of Indra.

In verse 5, *śayathā* in pāda a is construed with the words of pāda b by LUDWIG who translates the two pādas as, 'als er gespalten die westliche burg, löste er mit der schneidenden waffe drei lager aus dem meere', and observes (V. 480) that the three 'airs' are the sky, atmosphere, and earth. GRASSMANN, on the other hand, construes *śayathā* with *vibhidya*, which course seems to me to be correct; see OLDENBERG, *RV. Noten*.

The 'three' referred to in pāda b are the Dawn, sun, and cow mentioned in c. *udadhi* 'water-reservoir' refers to the fortress of Vala in which were imprisoned, not only the cows, dawns, and the sun, but the Waters also; and it is very probable that the expression *udadher nirakṛntat* refers to the ending of the *udadhi* itself, that is to say, to the delivery of the Waters also.

*Viveda*, in pāda d, is regarded by LUDWIG, GRASSMANN and GELDNER (*Ved. St.*, 2, p. 278) as the perfect form of the root *vid* 'to obtain' governing the objects *aśanam*, *sūryam*, *gām* *arkam*. According to this construction however the number of things found by Brhaspati is not three as represented by pāda b, but four. Moreover, among the many other passages in the RV which speak of the rending of Vala and the freeing of the cows, etc., there is not even one which refers to the finding (or winning) of a hymn; and it thus becomes clear that this construction is not satisfactory. I propose therefore to regard *viveda* as the perfect form of the root *vid* 'to know'. *Arkam* *viveda* is thus the equivalent of *arkam amanuta* and signifies, 'uttered a spell loudly'; compare the sense which *man* has in 10

13', 1; 4, 1, 16 and 10, 67, 2 explained above. Compare also 10, 114, 1: *vidur devāḥ sahasāmānam arkam* 'the gods uttered loudly the *rk* along with the *sāman*'.

In v. 6b, *kara* is interpreted as 'hand' by Sāyaṇa and other exegetists. The verb *vicakarto* however shows that this meaning cannot be right, and I therefore translate it as 'sword'. Compare the words *karapatra* 'saw' and *karavala* 'small sword, dagger' that are in use in later Sanskrit literature; compare also Ludwig's alternative explanation of the word as 'messer' on V, 480. In pāda d, *vava* refers not only to the spell of truth uttered by Indra, but also to the spells uttered by his companions the Aṅgirasas who are referred to in pāda c by the word *śvedāñji* 'sweat-adorned'.

In verse 7, I interpret *satyebhiḥ* as 'truth-speaking', i.e., 'speaking spells of truth', following Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word as *satya-vāḍibhiḥ* in his commentary on this verse in TB (2, 8, 5, 1); compare also the analogous use of this word in 7, 75, 7 explained below. It is also interesting to note that Sāyaṇa there interprets *śucadbhiḥ* as *śuddhi-yuktaiḥ* that is, as *śucibhiḥ*; and one should compare in this connection the passages from the Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra-pariśiṣṭa and other works cited above in the explanation of 1, 1, 13-17.

*Dracīṇam* in pāda d, as also *dhana* in *ghanasāḥ* in b, refers to the cows imprisoned in the mountain.

In verse 8, *satyena mānasā*...*satyena man reja* 'with a spell of truth'; *gopatim* is equivalent to *rakṣitāraṇa dāhānām* in v. 6a and refers to Vala; *iṣṇayanta* *airayan*, 'shattered'; see the explanation of AV. 6, 47, 3 given above. *Strayabhiḥ*, in d, refers to the Aṅgirasas.

(31) 10, 68, 6: *yadā valāsyā piyato jasoṃ dhed*  
*brhaspatir agnitapobhir arkaiḥ*  
*dadbhir na jihvā pariviṣṭam ādad*  
*āvīr nidbhir akṣod usriyāṇām*

"When Brhaspati, with spells glowing like fire, pierced the languor of Vala, took (the herd of cows) that had been en-

closed, just as the tongue eats what has been chewed by the teeth; he brought to light the treasures of cows".

'Piercing the languor of Vala' signifies 'putting an end to the languor caused by Vala; releasing from the hold of Vala'. *arkaiḥ*=spells (of truth); compare Sāyaṇa's explanation *arcanīyaiḥ rasmibhiḥ| api vā mantraiḥ* and also the explanation of GELDNER in *RV. Komm.*, p. 173. Pāda c contains a *śleṣa* based on the different meanings of the words *parivṛṣṭam* and *ādat*. The meaning is: *yathā jihvā dadbhīḥ parivṛṣṭam paritaḥ khāditaḥ bhakṣyam ādat atti tathā brhaspatir parivṛṣṭam valena parivṛṣṭam goyūtham ādat ādade*.

(32) 10, 68, 8-9: *āśnāpinaddham madhu pary apaśyan*  
*matsyaṃ nā dina udanī kṣīyantam*  
*niṣ taj jabhāra camasaṃ nā vrkṣād*  
*brhaspatir viraveṇā vikṛtya*  
*soṣam avindat sa svaḥ so agniṃ*  
*so arkeṇa vi babādhe tamāṃsi*  
*brhaspatir govapuṣo valasya*  
*nir majjānaṃ nā parvaṇo jabhāra*

"He saw the sweet thing covered with the stone just as one sees a fish dwelling in a small quantity of water (that is, a fish in shallow water). Brhaspati drew it out, as one does a drinking cup from the wood, after cutting it by means of a shout.

"By means of a spell, he won the Dawn, the sun, the fire; he destroyed the darkness; he took out (the herd of cows) from Vala who had imprisoned the cows in his body, as one takes out the marrow from a joint".

In verse 8, *madhu* in pāda a refers to the herd of cows. In verse 9, *govapuṣaḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *gorūpa-karira-sya*. GRASSMANN explains it (s. v.) similarly as 'die Gestalt der Kühe habend', and Geldner (*RV. Komm.* p. 229) as 'dessen Staat die Kühe sind oder stiergestaltig', while Bergaigne's explanation too is similar. Ludwig, on the other hand, translates the word as 'des uuf seinen kühe stolzen', and OLDENBERG (*RV. Noten*) as 'als Wundererscheinung die Kühe (bei sich, in sich)

habend'. For my part, I regard *govapuṣaḥ* as a *vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi* (*gāvaḥ vapuṣi śarīre yasya saḥ*) signifying 'he who holds cows within his body', i.e., 'he who encloses the cows within his self'. *Govapuṣo valasya* is thus equivalent to the expression *valasya gomataḥ* which occurs in 1. 11, 5; *tvam valasya gomato 'pāvar adriyo bilam*.

*Viraveṇā* in v. 8 and *arkaiḥ* in v. 9 both refer to the spells (of truth) employed by Brhaspati. It must be borne in mind that the exploit of rending the mountain and freeing the Waters, etc., was performed, not by Indra or Brhaspati alone, but in the company of the Aṅgirasas, who also uttered spells of truth on the occasion.

(33) 6, 73, 3: *brhaspatir sam ajayad vasūni*  
*maho vrajān gomato devā esāḥ*  
*apah siśāsaṃ svar apratīto*  
*brhaspatir hantya amīram arkaiḥ*

"This god, Brhaspati, won wealth, great stables full of cows. Desirous of winning the Waters, and the sun, Brhaspati, irresistible, strikes the enemy with spells".

*arkaiḥ* = spells (of truth).

(34) 4, 50, 1: *yas ta-stambha sāhasā vi jmo antān*  
*brhaspatir trisadhastho raveṇa*  
*taṃ pratnāsa ṛsayo dīdhyānāḥ*  
*puro viprā dadhire mandrajihvam*

"Brhaspati, who has three abodes, and, by means of a shout, made fast in a moment the ends of the earth, him with the pleasing tongue, the ancient ṛsis, the bards, uttering spells, placed in the front".

*Raveṇa* 'by means of a shout' = by means of the utterance of a spell (of truth). *Sāhasā* = all at once, in a moment; a sense which it has in later Sanskrit literature also. The 'ancient ṛsis, the bards' are the Aṅgirasas. *Dīdhyānāḥ* signifies 'uttering spells', in the same way as *dīdhiti* signifies 'hymn, spell'; compare also the analogous use of the root *man* referred to

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above. *Puro dadhire*=placed in front; made leader in the utterance of spells. Compare in this connection 1. 190, 1: *anarvāṇam aṣṣabham mandrajuṣam brhaspatim vardhaya nāvyaṁ arkaḥ* | *gāthānyah surico yasya deva āśṛṇvanti nava-mānasya mātāḥ* "magnify with hymns the blameless, excellent, praiseworthy Brhaspati with pleasing tongue, whose roar when he is the leader in singing, effulgent, is heard by gods and mortals". The epithet *gāthānī* is applied to Indra in 8. 92, 2: *puruhātām puruṣhātām gāthānāyām samāśṛitām*, and doubtless for the same reason. As already mentioned above, *āṅgīrastama* or 'chief Aṅgiras' is one of the epithets which is applied by the poets to Brhaspati and to Indra also.

(35) 4, 50, 4-5: *brhaspatih prathamam jāyamāno*  
*maho jyotiṣaḥ paramē vyoman* |  
*saptāsyas tuvijāto ravena*  
*vi saptaraśmīr adhamat tamāṁsi* ||  
*sa suṣṭubhā sa ṛkvatā gaṇena*  
*valam ruroja phaligaṁ ravena* |  
*brhaspatir usriyā havyasūtaḥ*  
*kanikradad vāvaśatir ud ājat* ||

"Being born first in the high st of the great light, Brhaspati who has seven mouths and seven reins, and is born many times, blew away the dark (cave) by means of a shout.

"With the singing troop, he, with a loud shout, rent the crystal enclosure of Vala; Brhaspati, roaring, drove out the lowing cows that sweeten the sacrificial offering".

*rava*, in both verses, refers to the utterance of the (spell of) truth. The 'singing troop' in v. 5a are the Aṅgīrasas chanting the spell of truth.

(36) 1, 62, 2-7: *pra vo mahe mahi namo bhāradbhavam*  
*āṅgūṣyam śavasānaya sāmā*  
*yenā naḥ pūrve pitarah padajñā*  
*arcanto āṅgīraso gā āvīdan* ||

*indrasyāṅgīrasam ceṣṭau*  
*vidat saramā tīmayāya dhāsim*  
*brhaspatir bhīmad ādriṁ vidat gāḥ*  
*sam usriyābhir vāvaśanta nārah*

*sa suṣṭubhā sa stubhā sapta vipraih*  
*svarcvādriṁ svaryo navagvaih*  
*saranyubhiḥ ph digam indra śakra*  
*valam ravena darayo daśagvaih*

*gṛhṇāno āṅgīrodhir dasma vi var*  
*uśasā sūryeṇa goḥhir andhāḥ*  
*vi bhūmnyā aprathaya indra sānu*  
*divo raja uparam astalbhāyah*

*tad u prayakṣatamam asya karma*  
*dasmasya carutamam asti dāṁsaḥ*  
*upahvare yad uparā āpinvan*  
*madhvarīḥaso nadyaś cātasrah*

*dvitā vi vavre sanaja samle*  
*ayasyaḥ stāvamaneḥhir arkaḥ*  
*bhago na mene paramē vyomann*  
*adbārayad rodasi sudāṁsāḥ*

"Offer great homage, sāmā fit to be sung, to the great, mighty (Indra), with whom our ancient fathers, the Aṅgīrasas, knowing words and singing, won the cows.

"In the search of Indra and the Aṅgīrasas, Saramā found food for the progeny. Brhaspati rent the mountain and found the cows; the men roared with the cows.

"By means of the loud roar, he (sc. Indra), with the seven bards, the Navagvas, (found) the cows by means of a shout. O mighty Indra, with the Saranyus and Daśagvas, thou didst, by means of a shout, rend the cave of quariz.

"Singing with the Aṅgirasas, O thou with magic power, thou didst open the dark (cave, and set free) the Dawn, the sun, and the cows. Thou, O Indra, didst extend the plain of the earth, and make fast the upper world of the sky.

"That is his most praiseworthy deed, that the most beautiful miracle, of the possessor of magic power, namely, that he caused the four upper rivers which were flowing with honey, to swell in their (prison) fortress.

"Ayāsyā, with songs of praise, did again discover the two ancient ones that have the same nest. He, the possessor of magic power, supported the earth and the sky in the highest heaven, in the same way as a rich person supports his two wives".

Hymn 1, 62 is addressed to Indra, and the above verses describe his rending of the mountain, and the freeing of the cows, etc., in company with the Aṅgirasas, Saramā, and Bṛhaspati.

*padajñāḥ*, in verse 2, is explained as 'knowers of the path' by Sāyaṇa, GELDNER, and others, an explanation which also fits the context here. Similarly, Sāyaṇa explains *īṣṭi*, in verse 3, as *preṣaṇā*, and relates a story according to which, Indra sent the divine dog Saramā to find out the place where the cows were hidden, promising her that, in return, he would give the milk of the cows to her progeny. Sāyaṇa and Geldner therefore interpret the word *tanayāya* in v. 3b as referring to the progeny of Saramā. It seems to me better however to understand the word as referring to the progeny of Manu, that is, to the tribes of men; compare 1, 72, 8 explained above. Compare also 1, 96, 4: *sa mātariśvā puruṣārpuṣṭir vidad gātum tanayāya svarvīt* where *tanayāya* refers (as pointed out by Geldner in his note in (RV. Ueber.) to *manūnām prajāḥ* (i.e., men) mentioned in the preceding verse but one, *sa pūrvayā nivīdā kavyatāyor imāḥ prajā ajanayan manūnām*.

*naraḥ*, in pāda d, refers to the Aṅgirasas; regarding the expression *sam usriyābhīr vāvaśanta naraḥ*, see the explanation of 4, 3, 11 given above.

In verse 4, GELDNER supplies, on the analogy of 4, 50, 5, the word *ganena* after the word *sustubhā*. This *sustubhā*, according to him, consists of (1) the seven bards, (2) the Navagvas (3) Saranyus, and (4) the Daśagvas; and the synonyms *stubbhā*, *svareṇa* and *rareṇa* in pādas abd, as also the synonyms *adrim*, *phaliḡam* and *valam* are construed by him, respectively with one each of the instrumental plurals. He thus translates the verse as: "Du sprengtest mit der schmetternden (Schar), du unter schmetterndem Ton mit den sieben Redegewaltigen, laut mit lauter Stimme (im Bunde) mit den Navagva's den Fels, mit den Saranyu's den Phaliga, O mächtiger Indra, untea Geschrei den Vala (im Bunde) mit den Dasagva's". All this appears unconvincing, especially, since *phaliḡa* is not a proper name as GELDNER thinks, but signifies 'sphatika, rock crystal or quartz' (see *Indian Ant.*, LVI, p. 136 ff.)

In verse 5, *gṛṇānaḥ* is regarded (by Sāyaṇa, GELDNER and others) as having a passive sense, and equivalent to *stūyamāna*. Now it is quite true that the expression *aṅgirobhīr gṛṇānaḥ* does signify in many verses, 'being praised by the Aṅgirasas'; but *gṛṇānaḥ*, in form, is an active participle, and the active meaning, 'praising with the Aṅgirasas', it must be noted, suits the context here.

*upahvara*, in verse 6, signifies 'durga, fatness, (prison) fortress', and *upahvare apinvat* 'caused to swell in the fortress' seems to be equivalent to 'caused to overflow the bounds of the fortress; released from prison'.

In verse 7, *stavamānebhīḥ* seems to be used for *stavamānaḥ*, and the instrumental plural seems to be due to the proximity of the word *arkaiḥ*. Or, should we supply a word like *naraiḥ* (this is what Sāyaṇa does), or *aṅgirobhīḥ*, etc., after it, and translate, "By means of chants, Ayāsyā, with the praising Aṅgirasas, discovered again the two ancient ones that have the same nest"? The 'two ancient ones' are *rodasī*, earth and sky, mentioned in pāda d; and Ayāsyā, is probably identical with Bṛhaspati (see GELDNER'S note in *RV. Ueber.*).

The comparison in pāda c is not very clear: the meaning of pādas cd seems to be, 'He maintained earth and sky in the

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highest heaven, as a rich man maintains his two wives in the highest state of comfort'.

*Vāśanta* (v. 3d), *stubbhā*, *svareṇa* and *varēṇa* (v. 4), *gṛṇānah* (v. 5a), and *starāmānebhir arkaiḥ* (v. 7) all refer to the utterance of spells of truth.

It will be noted that these verses mention, in connection with the Vala myth, not only the rending of the mountain and the freeing of the cows, Dawn, sun and rivers, but also the making fast of the earth and the sky.

(37) 4, 16, 6: *viśvāni śakro naryāṇi vidvān*  
*apō rīreca sakhībhir nikāmayi*  
*āsmānam cid ye bibhidur vacobhir*  
*vrajaṇi gomantam uśjo vi vavruḥ*

"The mighty (Indra) who knows all (acts) of men emptied the Waters with his loving companions, the Uśjs, who split even the rock by means of their spells and opened the stalls containing cows".

Concerning the epithet *naryāṇi vidvān*, compare 7, 21, 4: *bhīno viveśāyudhebhir eṣām apāmsi viśva naryāṇi vidvān*. "The terrible one, who knows all the acts of these (men), accomplished them with his weapons. Indra hurls away the fortresses (of the enemies) with joy; with Vajra in his hand, he struck with might".

The 'loving companions' are the Aṅgirasas, and their 'spells', spells of truth.

(38) 6, 65, 5: *idā hi ta uṣo adrisāno*  
*gotrā gavām aṅgirasas gṛṇanti*  
*vy arkeṇa bibhidur brahmaṇa ca*  
*satyā rṇām abhavad devahūtiḥ*

"Here, O Uṣas resting on the back of the mountain, the Aṅgirasas sung (towards) the mountains containing the cows; they have, by means of a spell, a magic formula, split them open. The men's invocation of the gods has borne fruit".

Regarding *gotrā gṛṇanti*, compare the expression *bṛhaspātir abhikānikradad gāḥ* in 10, 67, 3 explained above. *gṛṇāni*, *arkeṇa* *brahmaṇa* all refer to the spells of truth employed by the Aṅgirasas.

Hymn 6, 65 is addressed to Uṣas, and the poet's mention of her in this verse with the Aṅgirasas indicates that she too was associated with them in the rending of the mountain-fort and the freeing of the cows, etc. See in this connection the observations under 7, 75, 7 explained below.

(39) 32, 3-4: *sā mātārā sūryeṇa kavīnām*  
*avāsayaḥ ruḥad adriṇi gṛṇādh-*  
*svādhibhir ṛkvabhir vāvacāna*  
*ud usriyāpām a-rjan nidānam*  
*sā vahnībhir ṛkvabhir goṣu śāvan*  
*mitajūbbhiḥ purukṛtvā jigāya*  
*puraḥ purohā sakhībhiḥ sakhīyan*  
*dr̥ghā ruroja kavibhiḥ kavīḥ san*

"For the sake of the poets, he (sc. Indra), chanting, made the sun shine on the two parents (i.e., earth and sky) (after) he rent the mountain. With the pure-minded singing ones, he, roaring, unloosed the bonds of the cows.

"He, the doer of many deeds, conquered with the priests who were singing towards the cows and often bent their knees. Desiring friendship with the friends, a poet, with the poets, and destroyer of forts, he shattered the solid fort."

I follow Sāyaṇa in interpreting *kavīnām* in verse 2a, as *kavīnām arthāya*. GRASSMANN construes it with *mātārā* and translates as 'the parents of the wise god', while Ludwig translates 'he, among the wise ones, that is, the Aṅgiras among the wise ones.'

The epithets *kavīnām*, *svādhibhir ṛkvabhiḥ* in verse 2, and *vahnībhir ṛkvabhiḥ*, *sakhībhiḥ* and *kavibhiḥ* in v. 3 all refer to the Aṅgirasas and their utterance of spells of truth, while the words *gṛṇādh*, *vāvacāna* in v. 2, and *kavīḥ* in v. 3 refer to Indra's utterance of such spells.

(40) 10, 112, 8-9: <sup>pra</sup>ta <sup>indra</sup>p <sup>ūrvyāṇi</sup> <sup>pra</sup>nūnam  
<sup>vīryā</sup> vocam <sup>prathamā</sup> <sup>kṛtāni</sup>  
<sup>satīnamanyur</sup> <sup>aśrathāyo</sup> <sup>adriṃ</sup>  
<sup>suvedanam</sup> <sup>akṛṇor</sup> <sup>brahmaṇe</sup> <sup>gām</sup>||  
<sup>ni</sup> <sup>śu</sup> <sup>sīda</sup> <sup>gaṇapate</sup> <sup>gaṇeṣu</sup>  
<sup>tvam</sup> <sup>āhur</sup> <sup>vīpratamaṃ</sup> <sup>kavīnām</sup>  
<sup>nā</sup> <sup>ṛte</sup> <sup>tvat</sup> <sup>kriyate</sup> <sup>kiṃ</sup> <sup>canāre</sup>  
<sup>mahām</sup> <sup>arkam</sup> <sup>maghavan</sup> <sup>citrām</sup> <sup>arca</sup>||

"I have praised, O Indra, thy ancient valiant deeds and those of recent times, and the deeds performed formerly. Having (i.e., employing) spells of truth, thou didst shatter the mountain and madest the cow easily attainable to the priest.

"Sit with the troop, O master of the troop; they call thee the most inspired among the poets. Without thee, nothing is done (even) at a distance. Sing, O bountiful giver, the great beautiful song".

In verse 8, <sup>vīryā</sup> <sup>nūnam</sup> means 'the valiant deeds performed by thee in recent times'. <sup>satīnamanyur</sup> <sup>satya-mantraḥ</sup>, employer of spells of truth. In pāda d, <sup>brahmaṇe</sup> and <sup>gām</sup> are both used with the force of the plural (<sup>jātāv</sup> <sup>ekavacanam</sup>) and refer respectively to the Aṅgirasas and the cows imprisoned in the mountain.

In verse 9, the 'troop' is the troop of the Aṅgirasas, and <sup>vīpratamaṃ</sup> <sup>kavīnām</sup> is synonymous with <sup>aṅgirasām</sup> <sup>aṅgirastamam</sup>. In d, <sup>arka</sup> refers to the spell of truth (cp. <sup>satīnamanyur</sup> of the preceding verse) employed by Indra.

(41) 10, 47, 4: <sup>sanadvājam</sup> <sup>vīpraviraṃ</sup> <sup>tarutraṃ</sup>  
<sup>dhanaspṛtam</sup> <sup>śūśuvāṃsam</sup> <sup>sudakṣam</sup>  
<sup>dasyuhanaṃ</sup> <sup>pūrbhidam</sup> <sup>indra</sup> <sup>satyam</sup>  
<sup>asmabhyam</sup> <sup>citrām</sup> <sup>vṛṣaṇam</sup> <sup>rayim</sup> <sup>dāh</sup>||

"(We know thee as) the winner of booty, sung by priests, conqueror, winner of prizes, strong, highly skilled, destroyer of demons, shatterer of forts, performer of acts of truth, O Indra. Confer on us wealth that is beautiful and excellent".

Pāda d is the refrain that occurs at the end of all the verses of this hymn. Śāyana and Ludwig construe the epithets in abc (<sup>sanadvājam</sup> etc.) with <sup>rayim</sup> in d, and make one sentence of the verse. It seems to me however that it is hardly likely that <sup>dasyuhanaṃ</sup> and <sup>pūrbhidam</sup> can be epithets of <sup>rayim</sup>; and I therefore supply here the words <sup>Indra</sup> <sup>hi</sup> <sup>tvā</sup> from v. 1 of this hymn, in the same way as Śāyana has done in the case of v. 2. <sup>satyam</sup> 'speaker of (spells of) truth, or performer of (acts of) truth; compare Śāyana's explanation <sup>satyam</sup> <sup>satya-karmāṇam</sup>. The proximity of the word <sup>dasyuhanaṃ</sup> and <sup>pūrbhidam</sup> shows that the reference is to the spells of truth employed by Indra for shattering the forts of Vala, Śambara and other demons, and for destroying them.

(42) 3, 39, 4-5: <sup>nākir</sup> <sup>eṣām</sup> <sup>ninditā</sup> <sup>māryeṣu</sup>  
<sup>ye</sup> <sup>asmakam</sup> <sup>pitaro</sup> <sup>goṣu</sup> <sup>yodhāḥ</sup>  
<sup>indra</sup> <sup>eṣām</sup> <sup>drūhitā</sup> <sup>māhināvān</sup>  
<sup>ud</sup> <sup>gotrāṇi</sup> <sup>sasṛje</sup> <sup>dapsanāvān</sup>  
<sup>sakhā</sup> <sup>ha</sup> <sup>yatra</sup> <sup>sakhibhir</sup> <sup>navagvair</sup>  
<sup>abhiḥvā</sup> <sup>sarvabhir</sup> <sup>gā</sup> <sup>anugman</sup>  
<sup>satyam</sup> <sup>tad</sup> <sup>indro</sup> <sup>daśabhir</sup> <sup>daśagvaih</sup>  
<sup>sūryam</sup> <sup>viveda</sup> <sup>tamasī</sup> <sup>kṣīyantam</sup>||

"None among the mortals blames our fathers who became fighters for the sake of the cows. For their sake, the mighty Indra, possessor of magic power, freed (the cows imprisoned in) the solid mountains.

"When the friend with the friends, Navagvas, as soldiers, went on knees after the cows, Indra found—that was an act of truth—with the ten Daśagvas the sun staying in the dark (cave)."

In v. 5c, <sup>satyam</sup> <sup>tad</sup> is clearly parenthetical and is so regarded by GRASSMANN, LUDWIG and GELDER who translate it as 'this is true'. Since we know that Indra's release of the cows and of the sun was due to the spells of truth pronounced by him, it seems preferable to translate the expression here as

'that was an act of truth', that is, 'that was the result of thy act of truth'. Compare 4, 22, 6 explained below.

(43) 4, 22, 6: tā tū te satyā tuvinṛmṣa viśvā  
prā dhenavāḥ sistrāte vṛṣṣa ulhṇāḥ  
adhā ha tvad vṛṣamano bhiyānāḥ  
prā sindhavo jāvasā cakramantaḥ

"All these are (thy) acts of truth, O thou most valiant; the milch-cows come forth from the udder of the bull. Being then afraid of thee, O thou with excellent spells, the rivers sped away quickly".

'From the udder of the bull' = 'from within the imprisoning mountain', *manas*, in *vṛṣamano*, signifies 'spell (of truth)'.

(44) 4, 28, 5: evā satyaṁ maghavānā yuvaṁ taḥ  
indras ca somorvaṁ aśvyaṁ goḥ  
ādardṛtam āpihitāny aśnā  
riricathuḥ ksās cit tārdānāḥ

"Thus was that act of truth, O ye two bountiful givers, when you, O Soma, and In Ira shattered the caves of the horses and cows that had been closed with a stone, and emptied them, breaking up the earths"

(To be continued)

## THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIRIYA PRATISAKHYA

BY

C. R. SANBARAN,

Poona.

(Continued from page 89 Vol. XIV)

The seven notes that form a *saptaka*, or 'cluster of seven' in Sāman music go by the following names *kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, *Dvitiya*, *tritiya*, *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atishārya*.

कुष्टप्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थमन्द्रानिस्वार्याः

(Taittiriya Prātisākhya xxiii, 12.)

[For the ordinary names of the seven notes of the Indian scale, or *svaras*, see Jones, "On the Musical Modes of the Hindu," Asiatic Researches., Vol. iii, p. 68, Weber's Indischen Studien. Das Chandassūtram des Pingala Vol. viii, 259.]

सप्तस्वराये यमास्ते

(Rk Prātisākhya XIII, 44) Benares Sanskrit Series).

Uvaṭa's comment on it is as follows:—

ये सप्तस्वराः षड्जकृपम-गांधारादयो गांधर्ववेदे समाम्नाताः । तथा सामसु । कुष्टप्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थ मन्द्रानिस्वार्याः इति ते यमा नाम वेदितव्याः ॥

[Cf. Muller's Rk Prātisākhya, p. cclxxii. Note that according to Uvaṭa, the reading is *kruṣṭa*, and not *krṣṭa* which reading we find in the Taittiriya Prātisākhya, xxiii, 14.

द्वितीयप्रथमकुष्टाख्य आहारकस्वराः

(Whitney's edition) Muller, loc. cit., p. cclxxiii, gives another reading *kuṣṭa* also.]

There can be no two opinion on the fact that the Sāman scale was a downward series which is the characteristic of all primitive music (cf. Music through the Ages by Marion Bauer and Ethel R. Peyser, chapter II, Music of Primitive Man, p. 9.)

कुष्टादयः उत्तरोत्तरं नीचामवन्ति

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[Quoted in Lakshmana Srauti's edition of Sāmaveda Samhitā Veyagāna Sāmasvaranirṇayaḥ page 1. A manuscript of Sāmatantra is available in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library Madras. Vide also Burnell's Catalogue of a collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts Part I, Vedic Manuscripts, page 40.]

कुष्ठस्य मूर्धनिस्थानं ललाटे प्रथमस्य तु ।  
भ्रुवोर्मध्ये द्वितीयस्य तृतीयस्य च कर्णयोः ॥  
कण्ठस्थानं चतुर्थस्य मन्द्रस्योरसि तूच्यते ।  
अतिस्वारस्य नीचस्य ह्रदिस्थानं विधीयते ॥

(Nārada Siksā I, 7, verses 1 and 2.)

[The same stanzas occur in a corrupt form in Bharata-bhāṣya also, page 16.]

Now the question is to what *svaras* of the secular scale do *krusta*, etc., correspond. We find the following verses in the Nārada Siksā which attempt to answer this question.

यः सामगानां प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः ।  
यो द्वितीयः स गान्धारः तृतीयस्त्वृषभः स्मृतः ॥  
चतुर्थषड्ज इत्याहुः पञ्चमो धैवतो भवेत् ।  
षष्ठोनिषादे विज्ञेयः सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ॥

(Vide Nārada Siksā I, 5, verses 1 and 2.)

From the above quoted verses, it is clear that कुष्ठ, प्रथम, द्वितीय, तृतीय, चतुर्थ, मन्द्र and आतिस्वार्य correspond respectively to प, म, ग, रि, स, ध, नि in the language of modern notations (Does the order of *svaras* पमगरि साधनि indicate that there was वक्रगति in the Sāman mode of singing?).

In this connection it has to be remembered that the *gāyatri-gāna* which is the most important in the sāmā-chant begins with the Madhyama note ["All the sāmāns of the morning service were to be sung in the gāyatra-melody, and this may be taken to be known. The Vedic student begins with this melody, composed in the Sāvitrī metre (Tat Savitur Varenyam etc), and it is imparted in the Devatādhyāya Brāhmaṇa, while it is found as appendix to the edition of the grāma-geyagāna (among the Jaiminiyas after the Āranyagāna) "Vide W. Caland. De Wording Van den Sāma Veda Verslagen en Mededeelingen Der Koninklijke Akademie Van Wetenschappen. Afdeeling Letter kunde Vier de Reeks

Negende Deel. Amsterdam Johannes Müller (1907) page 5. See the English translation of this article by Prof. K. Nilakantha Sāstri in J. O. R. M. Vol. IX Pt. iv, page 298. Vide also p. 5 of Indische Forschungen 2 Heft Die jaiminiya Samhitā miteiner Einleitung über die Sāma Veda literatur Von Dr. W. Caland (1907).] Commenting on the following verse of the Bharata Nāṭya Sāstra (Kāvya-māla edition chapter 30, verse 2, p. 329.)

द्विक्रिकचतुष्कास्तु ज्ञेयावशगता स्वराः ।  
कम्पमानार्धमुक्ताश्च व्यक्तमुक्तास्तथैव च ॥

Abhinavagupta says in his Abhinava Bhārati

यद्यपि न भूषट्शुभक्रमोऽयं उक्तः तथापि षड्जस्य चतुः श्रुतिस्वा-  
न्मध्यमत्वं न प्रत्यभिज्ञातम् ॥

(Abhinava Bhārati) Paper Manuscript in Devanagari Script (R 2774 I. 33-13 11×9½ Volume 4, page 60. The whole passage is corrupt) What precedes this is the following:—

तत्र (वंशे) गान्धारादितया मध्यमस्वरो अन्यो भवति ।

तदपेक्षया (मध्यमे प्रथमेकृते) गान्धारो द्वितीयः(ः) द्वितीयन्तत एव च  
(द्वितीयस्वर एव स) सामस्त (स्थ) गान्धारः मध्यमो हि तत्र प्रथमः ।  
आह च—यः सामगानात् (नां) प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः—इति<sup>1</sup>

Evidently भूषट्शुभक्रम is a corruption and Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi suggests to me the following reading. The readings of the manuscript in his possession vary from the readings of the manuscript in the Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

यद्यपि च न कुष्ठादिषु श्रुतिक्रमो युक्तः तथापि षड्जस्य चतुः श्रुतिस्वात्  
मध्यमत्वेन प्रत्यभिज्ञानम्

The meaning now is clear. If any one asks why Abhinavagupta speaks of the मध्यमग्राम only and not of षड्जग्राम, the answer is:—

"It is only उपलक्षण. What applies to मध्यमग्राम can equally apply to षड्जग्राम for षड्ज and मध्यम have four śrutis for each (although the ancient sāmā music knew no श्रुतिविभाग). By saying मध्यम, षड्ज can also be implied." (In this connection it is

1. The readings put here within brackets are those suggested by Dr. V. Raghavan and Mr. P. S. Sundaram Aiyar of Tanjore.

good to remember that गान्धारग्राम is sung in प्रातःसवन and in माध्याह्न and in सायंसवन, षड्जग्राम is sung, while मध्यमग्राम is sung in all the three सवन(s).]

Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Iyer formerly thought<sup>1</sup> that there is a slip or misprint in the last of the two stanzas beginning with यः सामगानां प्रथमः etc. He would have them read as follows:

चतुर्थषड्ज इत्याहुः निषादः पञ्चमो भवेत् षष्ठस्तु धैवतो ज्ञेय  
सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ।

(Introduction to Somanāth's Rāgavibodha page 30. In fact, in the Bhāratabhāṣya itself we read निषादः पञ्चमः स्मृतः page 22) He takes also the line यः सामगानां प्रथमः सवेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः to mean यः सामगानां ऋष्टो नाम प्रथमः etc., and not यः सामगानां प्रथमाख्यः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः; the latter interpretation seems to me obviously a more natural and straightforward one (See Mr. Sankaranarayanan's article in the cultural supplement of Dharmarajya 2nd June 1934. Also Madras Music Academy Journal, Vol. IV p. 150 ff.)

Perhaps Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Iyer has been led to this view by what Mr. H. A. Popley says on page 30 of the Music of India. But Mr. Popley does not furnish us definite data for his equation of *krusta*, etc., with *Madhyama*, etc.

On the other hand, my interpretation seems to gain additional strength by the following bit in नारदीयशिक्षाविवरण of भट्टश्रीभास्कर—**ऋष्टः उच्चः, मध्यमः प्रथमः स्वरः**

(Vide Uṣā edition of Nārada Śikṣā page 397).  
[See also the following:—

वैदिके तु पञ्चमनिषादानां कचिदेव भवेत् Nārada Śikṣā. Commentary. Benares Sanskrit Series, page 410.]

In fact, there seems to be no possibility of shaking the conclusion I have reached in view of the following stanzas of the Nārada Śikṣā too

अङ्गुष्ठस्योत्तमे ऋष्टोऽङ्गुष्ठे प्रथमः स्वरः ।

प्रादेशिन्यां तु गान्धारः ऋषभस्तदनन्तरम् ॥

1. Since writing this paper I have come to know that he has changed this view.

अनामिकायां षड्जस्तु कनिष्ठिकायांच धैवतः ।

तस्याधस्ताच्चयोऽन्यस्य निषादं तत्रविन्यमेत् ॥

Nārada Śikṣā. I. 7, verses 3 and 4.

In the above verses, the practice of *Kanṭhānt-Sāma Vēdin* in the matter of the movements of the fingers to indicate the notes of the Sāman, is described. To mark the notes in the way mentioned in this verse, the fingers must be bent slightly towards the thumb, which is made to touch the part indicated as each note is uttered.

A string of similar verses occurring in Śaṅkara's Dhāraṇī-lakṣaṇa (quoted by Burnell in his introduction to the *Jaiminiya* text of *Ārṣeyabrahmana*, page XV) if rightly understood only goes to support my view. The verses in question describe the practice of *Jaiminiya Sāma Vēdin* in the matter of the movements of the fingers to indicate the notes of the Sāman. The verses read:—

ऋष्टोऽप्यङ्गुष्ठतर्जन्योरग्रसंश्लेषमेव च ।

अङ्गुष्ठस्य शिरः स्थानः प्रथमस्वरः उच्यते ॥

तर्जनीमूलसंस्पर्शः द्वितीयस्वर उच्यते ।

तृतीयो मध्यमामूलश्चतुर्थस्याधोङ्गुलेः<sup>1</sup>

मन्द्रं कनिष्ठिकामूलं स्वारमाग्राद् विमर्शनम्<sup>2</sup> ।

एवं दक्षिण हस्ते स्युर्नासिकाग्रपुरः स्थिते ।

गोकर्णसदृशे पाणी स्वराः सप्तप्रदर्शिताः ।

Now to fix correctly the svaras in सामगान with reference to श्रुति, we have to take into consideration the following verses from the Nārada Śikṣā:—

(To be continued)

1. The metre in the last pāda is defective. The correct reading would be चतुर्थः स्यादधोऽङ्गुलेः ।

2. Evidently there is corruption here. My friend Dr. V. Raghavan reconstructs the line thus:—

मन्द्रं कनिष्ठिकामूलोऽतिस्वार्योऽप्रेविमर्शनम् ॥

## ॥ श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमा\* ॥

BY

R. S. VENKATARAMA SASTRI, M.A.,  
(The Madras Sanskrit College, Mysore)

“तापिच्छस्तवकविषे तनुभूतां दारिद्र्यमुद्राद्विषे  
संसारारुयतमोमुपे पुररिपोर्वामाङ्गसीमाजुपे ।  
कम्पातीरमुपेयुषे कवयतां जिह्वाकुटीं जग्मुपे  
विश्वत्राणपुषे नमोऽस्तु सततं तस्मै परश्रुतिषे” ॥  
ओं काव्यकलने समाधिः परं कवेर्व्याप्रियते ।  
सुसमाहितं हि स्वान्तमर्थान्पश्यति । तद्रुक्तमभियुक्तैः—  
सारस्वतं किमपि तत्सुमहारहस्यं  
यद्गोचरे च विदुषां निपुणैकमेवम् ।  
तस्मिन्नेव परमं परमोभ्युपायः  
यच्चेतसो विदितवेषविधेस्तमाधिः ॥

समाधिश्च कवितां कलयति; काव्यशक्तिमुत्पादयति, सन्धुक्षयति, उद्गमयति  
च, येन प्रतिभा उल्लास्यतेतराम् । ननु प्रतिभाः कश्चित् कविर्भवति । या च  
श्रोत्रपेयं शब्दप्राप्तम्, रमणीयमर्थसार्थम्, उज्ज्वलमलङ्कारपथम्, ऊर्जस्वल्मुक्ति-  
तन्त्रम्, अपरमपि सरसमेवविधमधिहृदयं स्वरं प्रतिभासयति, सैव प्रतिभा, यया  
मूकोऽपि महाकविसरण्यां जाञ्जलीति ॥

रससर्वस्वभूते हि सौन्दर्ये, त्रिलोकसौन्दर्ये, श्रीमूकमनस्समाहितम् ;  
‘त्रिलोकसौन्दर्यमिवादितम्’ जगदम्बावपुः । ननु सौन्दर्यं नाम अखण्डम्, यत्किञ्चि-  
द्रूपरहितम्, एवंपददूरम् ; कथमिदं समाधिविषयतया गृह्येत ? कीर्तयति च कविः,  
‘दूरं वाचाम्’, ‘एवंपददूरमेकमवलम्बे’, इत्येवमादि । तच्च वाङ्मनसानीतं तस्य कथं

\* Substance of a Sanskrit lecture delivered under the auspices  
of the Madras Sanskrit Academy on the Sri Mūka Kavi Day.  
(Mahāśivarātri) 24th February, 1941.

वा वर्णेत, वर्णितं वा चले मनसि कथं लगेत ? सत्यम् ; अतएव कवित्र  
सुलभतया सौन्दर्याभिसम्पत्त्यर्थं वपुर्विशेषं तस्य सर्वेन्द्रियमोहनं कलयतितराम्,  
येन च निर्दृष्टं काव्यं सौन्दर्यलीलाकरतया अनुभूयतेतमाम् रसिकबुद्धेः ॥

आर्याशतके अखण्डमिदमाज्ञापरहस्यं त्रिलोकसौन्दर्यं वपुर्विशेषकलना-  
पुरस्सरं योगिष्येयमधिकाञ्चि कामपीठगतं परशिववामाङ्कपीठिकासीनमधिकाञ्चि-  
मणिकाञ्चनकाञ्चि अधिहृदयं तन्यते—

कारणपरचिद्रूपा

काञ्चीपुरसीमि कामपीठगता ।

काचन विहरति करुणा

काश्मीरस्तवककोमलाङ्गलता ॥

अधिकाञ्चि वर्धमानां

अतुलां करवाणि पारणामक्षणाः ।

आनन्दपाकभेदां

अरुणिमपरिणामगर्वपल्लविताम् ॥

(अक्षणोरिति सर्वेन्द्रियाणामुपलक्षणम्)

अङ्कितशङ्करदेहां

अङ्कुरितोरोजकङ्कणाश्लेषैः ।

अधिकाञ्चि नित्यतरुणी

अद्राक्षं काञ्चिदद्भुतां बालाम् ॥

‘वपुर्विशेषेष्वातिगौरवाः क्रियाः’ ; पर्यतात्र वपुर्विशेषकलनाचातुरीम् ;

कुटिलकचं कठिनकुचं

कुन्दस्मितकान्ति कुङ्कुमच्छायम् ।

कुरुते विह्वलिं काञ्च्यां

कुलपर्वतसार्वभौमसर्वस्वम् ॥

तदेवं निर्वेदनिष्ठसे सन्तापचिन्तातने भवकान्तारे धावं धावं नैराश्या-  
दन्ततः पतनशीलानि इन्द्रियाणि अन्तर्मुखं समावर्त्य, सौन्दर्यसारवटिने  
श्रीकामाक्षीनामधेये तत्त्वे निष्ठां लभयति महाकविः । सर्वमेतत् योगमार्ग-  
मार्मिकाणाम्, सौन्दर्यसारसिकानां महाकवीनाम्, तत्र मायनां धीमतां सहृदयानां  
च सुगममेवेति विस्तरेणालम् ॥

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सौन्दर्यैकतानो हि श्रीमूककविः पुंस्कोकिल इव वसन्ते श्रुतिमधुरं वाचालीभवति । भक्तिविषयं च सौन्दर्यं वाङ्मयत्वेनापि ध्यायं ध्यायं मधुरं नदति । श्रीविद्या हि जगदम्बा । तत्प्रयुक्ता तु श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमा अनितरसाधारणी काव्यसुषमाभावहति । स्वानुभूतिमपि कविरत्र प्रकटयति—

धन्या धन्या गतिरिह गिरां देवि कामाक्षि ! का मे  
निन्धां भिन्धात् सपदि जडत कल्मषादुन्मिषन्तीम् ।  
साध्वी माध्वीरसमधुरताभञ्जिनी मञ्जुरीति-  
वाणीवेणी इदिति वृणुतास्त्वर्धुनीस्पर्धिनी माम् ॥

धन्या = धनितुं योग्या, अर्जयितुमर्हति यावत्, धन्या = संस्कृता, अतएव निर्दुष्टा का गतिः, इह मे गिरां, हे कामाक्षि ! जडतां भिन्धात् ? आक्षेपे 'किम्' । न कापि मम वाग्जडताभञ्जनायालमिषेतत् । अतः वाणीवेणी सुरधुनीनीकाशा शिवा वाग्वैखरी सकलकल्मषापहन्त्री इदिति मां वृणुतात् । गुरुकुलकेशादिनाह्वयितो वाग्विलासः महतीं मे जडतां व्यपोहितुं नैवालम्, अतः श्रीविद्या जगदम्बा मां कटाक्षयतु ; यस्याश्च शीतलकटाक्षपातः

यस्मिन्मन्त्र ! भवत्कटाक्षरजनी मन्देऽपि मन्दस्मित-  
ज्योत्स्नासंस्नपिता भवत्यभिमुखी तं प्रत्यहो देहिनम् ।  
द्राक्षामाक्षिकमाधुरीमदभरव्रीडाकरी वैखरी  
कामाक्षि ! स्वयमातनोत्यभिसृतिं वामेक्षणेन क्षणात् ॥

अम्ब ! मन्दस्मितज्योत्स्नासंस्नपिताः शीतलास्ते कटाक्षाः यस्मिन् पतन्ति, वराको वा भवतु स मादृशः, तं कृतकृत्यं क्षणात् सुकविताकामिनी कल्गुवाग्वा-  
मेक्षणेन कान्तं सरसोल्लासैः, अभिसरति अभिसारयति वा । कलयन्त्वत्र महा-  
कविभक्तिसुषमाम् आर्याः ! इतरस्तु भक्तः, अम्बिकाया अपदानानि अणिमादि-  
सिद्धीश्च औपदेशिक इव आवेशिक इव च स्तौति, काकवन्ध्यः कदलीवन्ध्यो वा भवत्यन्ततः । अयं पुनः सरसमधुरं कुरुते भक्तिम्, येन अम्बा भावुकानां मनस्यञ्जसा निष्ठां लभते । यथा कुमारसम्भवेन, यथा वा श्रीमूकपञ्चशत्या भावुकमनः अम्बिकोन्मुखं भवति, न तथा स्तोत्रान्तरैः उपासनान्तरेण वेति अहो महाकविभक्तिसुषमा ! ॥

कलयन्तु पद्यरत्नमिदं हृदि भावुकाः, तत्र च अनितरसाधारणी कविभक्तिधोरणीम् :—

चन्द्रापीडां चतुरवदनां चञ्चलापाङ्गलीलां  
कुन्दस्मेरां कुचभरनतां कुन्तलोद्भूतभृङ्गाम् ।  
मारारतेर्भदनशिखिनं मांसलं दीपयन्तीं  
कामाक्षीं तां कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्लीमुपासे ॥

चन्द्रापीडामित्यारभ्य कुन्तलोद्भूतभृङ्गामित्यन्तेन आर्यायाः अनाधेयातिशयं सौन्दर्यम्, मारारतेः भदनशिखिनं मांसलं दीपयन्तीमित्यनेन तस्याः भावैकरसं पारमेशं च मनः व्यञ्जयित्वा, तद्द्वारीकृत्य च मारारतेरपि मांसलो भदनशिखीति-  
लोकोत्तरभृङ्गारतः हासध्वनिं च अनुप्राससुश्लिष्टं श्रोत्रपेयं हृदयंगमं च तनोत्ययं कविः । अतएव च कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्लीयाः ध्यानमप्यत्रान्यत्र च,

जम्भारातिप्रभृतिमुकुटीः पादयोः पीठयन्ती  
गुम्फान्वाचां कविजनकृतान्स्वैरमारामयन्ती ।  
शम्पालक्ष्मीं मणिगणरुचां पाटलैः प्रापयन्ती  
कम्पातीरे कविपरिषदां जृम्भते भाग्यसीमा ॥

एवं तत्र तत्र कविभक्तिसुषमैव 'कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्ली', 'कविपरिषदां भाग्यसीमा', 'सीमाशून्यकवित्ववर्षजननी' 'कामधेनुः कवीनाम्', इत्येवमादि पदनिकुरुम्बं स्वैरमङ्कुरयति ।

कलयन्त्वार्याः कविभक्तिमन्यत्र—

कान्तैः केशरुचां चयैर्भ्रमरितं मन्दस्मितैः पुष्पितं  
कान्त्या पल्लवितं पदाम्बुरुहयोर्नेत्रविषा पत्रितम् ।  
कम्पातीरवनान्तरं विदधतो कल्याणजन्मस्थली  
काञ्चीमध्यमहामणिर्विजयते काचित्कृपाकन्दली ॥

सारिष्ठेषु कम्पानदीतीरेषु कृपाकन्दली श्रीकामाक्षी सर्वमङ्गला शरणागतजनता-  
वनप्रवणा राजते । कल्याणमत्र फलम् । कन्दली च वर्षासु वनस्थलीषु स्वैरमात्मानमङ्कुरयति । कृपया चेयं कन्दली कम्पातटे जृम्भते । वनकन्दली च नैव फलिनी । कृपाकन्दली पुनरियं कल्याणजन्मस्थलीति व्यतिरेकविशेषः । कलयन्तु च सहृदयाः बहुविधमुल्लेखान्—

श्यामा काचन चन्द्रिका त्रिभुवने, पुण्यात्मनामानने  
सीमाशून्यकवित्ववर्षजननी या कापि कादम्बिनी ।

मारारातिमनोविमोहनविधौ काचित्तमःकन्दली  
कामाक्ष्याः करुणाकटाक्षलहरी कामाय मे कल्पताम् ॥

अन्यत्र—

या तुङ्गस्तनमण्डलोपरि लसत्कर्पूरलेपायते  
या नीलेक्षणरात्रिकान्तिततिषु ज्योत्स्नाप्ररोहायते ।  
या सौन्दर्यधुनीतरङ्गततिषु व्यालोलहंसायते  
कामाक्ष्याः शिशिरीकरोतु हृदयं सा मे स्मितप्राचुरी ॥

अम्बिका च अच्छिन्ना अमलसन्ताना च सौन्दर्यसरित् इति स्वारस्यमत्र  
संपूर्णम् । अम्बिकामेकत्र कृपाकन्दलीत्वेन, अन्यत्र कविताकल्पवल्लीत्वेन, अपरत्र  
सौन्दर्यधुनीत्वेनेत्येवं कम्पमुल्लिखति कविभक्तिसुषमा ।

भावयतान्यत्र वाचमभिजातामम्बिकायाः—

कलमञ्जुलवागनुमित-

गलपञ्जरगतशुकप्रह्लादकण्ठ्यात् ।

अम्ब ! रदनाम्बरं ते

बिम्बफलं शम्बरारिणा न्यस्तम् ॥

विशिष्य जगदम्बां वाक्स्वरूपत्वेन निध्यायन्तश्च कवयः अभिजातवाचो हि  
भवन्ति । तथाचैकत्र श्रीकालिदासः—

स्वरेण तस्याममृतसुतेव

प्रजल्पितायामभिजातवाचि ।

अप्यन्यपुष्टा प्रतिकूलशब्दा

श्रोतुर्वितन्त्रीरिव ताड्यमाना ॥

इदन्तया वर्णयितुमपारीणः श्रीकविकुलकोकिलः अम्बिकावाचम्, स्वानुभवं तत्र  
प्रकटयति यस्मिन्निदृष्टान्तदानेन । आर्याया वाचं श्रुत्वा कश्चित्—समीचीनः  
श्रोता चेत्—कषायकण्ठीम्, उत्कूलं पुष्पसाधारणे वसन्ते कूजन्तीं कोकिलामपि  
वितन्त्रीं कठोराङ्गुलिभिस्ताड्यमानां—न तु वाद्यमानां—वल्लकीमिव कलयेत्,  
क्रोङ्काररुक्षैः काकैः खलु पुष्टा सा, अन्यपुष्टा, इति । श्री मूकवाणी चैवं समुल्ल-  
सत्यत्र । आर्यायाः वाचमिदन्तया ईदृक्तया वा प्रहीतुकामोऽयं कविः, तथा  
कर्तुमपारीणः, बाह्यं खलु रदनाम्बरं वर्णयति—अम्ब ! नेदं रदनाम्बरम्,  
किन्तर्हि, पक्वं बिम्बफलं शम्बरारिणा न्यस्तम् । किमर्थमत्र निक्षिप्तं तेन ?

उच्यते । मन्मथः खलु विविधविलासरसराशिः, सुन्दरवस्तुसङ्कलने जागरूकः,  
कुतूहलो, नित्यं वसन्तक्रीडी, सुजातं शुकं प्रहीतुकामः, लोकालोकमाहिण्ड-  
मानः ओं, तव समीपं यदा आजगाम, तदा, कलमञ्जुलया=अव्यक्त-  
मधुरया, तव वाचा श्रुतया, 'हन्त ! जितं मया ; दृश्यतेऽत्र मदीप्सितः  
शुकतल्लजः वलित्रयाङ्किते गलपञ्जरे' इति निपुणमनुमिमानस्तं प्रतिपालयन्,  
सुचिरं स्थित्वा सः, 'वहिः नायात्ययं जालम्, भवतु निर्गमयामि' इति तत्प्रेष्ठं  
बिम्बफलं प्रचिक्षेपात् । 'आयास्यति शुकः फलं तुण्डेन खण्डयितुं, यावत्  
गृह्णामि झटिति जालिक इव' इति मन्मथस्य मनोरथः । अत इदं बिम्बफलम् !  
सुजाता खलु आर्याया वाक्, यत्पेटिकाताम्बूलसारेण कवयां वभूव श्रीमूकः,  
सोऽपि ताभिदन्तया निर्देष्टुं नैव शक्नोति, किन्तु बहिरेव भ्रामं भ्रामं रदनाम्बरं  
लावण्यफलं वर्णयति किञ्चिदिव । तत्र पुनः मन्मथेन वक्रवन्धकौशले प्रदर्श्यते,  
इत्येवं जनन्या वाचः, तत्पेटिकायाः गलस्य, लावण्यफलस्य रदनाम्बरस्य च  
सौन्दर्यध्वनिः, अन्ततश्च मन्मथवक्रवन्धकौशले हासध्वनिरित्येवमादि, कलयन्ती  
हि जृम्भते श्री-मूककविभक्तिसुषमेति दिक् ॥

ननु सर्वमिदं नैकान्तमधुरं शब्दचित्रमिव खलु प्रतिभाति, अतिवेलमनु-  
प्रासादिश्रवणेन ? अथ शब्दचित्रमिति नः कः सम्प्रत्ययः ? यत्र केवलं  
सरसकवितादुर्भिक्षयोगात् दृष्टे पथि सरस्वती हठात्कृष्यते, यत्र च कमठपृष्ठनिष्ठं  
कर्णारुन्दमक्षराडम्बरमात्रफलकं क्लेशः श्रोतुमिरनुभूयते, तत्र हि दापोऽयं  
गण्यते । वाचालीभूते हि श्रीमूके जगज्जननीपादसेवादरेण, शब्दार्थलङ्काराः  
स्वच्छन्दमपुथग्यत्ननिर्वर्तनीयतया समापतन्त्यहमहमिकया, सूर्याशुभिर्भिन्ने सरोजे  
मधुकरा इव । अर्थसुषमा हि शब्दसुषमां पुष्पाति ; तत्र किं क्रियताम् ?  
अत एव चात्र भावुकानां प्रीतिर्भवति ; प्रीतिजनकं च काव्यमुत्तममित्या-  
धुनिकाः काव्यज्ञाः । व्युत्पत्तिः भवतु वा मा वा, भवन्तो भवत्येव, न निवार्यते ।  
(प्रीतिप्रधानं च काव्यम् Literature of power, व्युत्पत्तिप्रधानं च Literature  
of Knowledge इति व्यपदिश्यते पाश्चात्यसरण्याम्) श्रीपञ्चशतीश्रवणेन  
श्रीमन्तो माद्यन्ति मधुनैव मधुव्रताः इति अनुभवबलाद्वाटं प्रतियन्त्यभिज्ञाः,  
प्रीतिप्रधानं काव्यरत्नं श्रीमूकपञ्चशतीति । अतो नैवात्र नैकान्तमधुरशब्दचित्र-  
शङ्काप्रसरः काव्यमार्मिकाणाम् । शब्दार्थसाहित्यं च श्रीगौरीगिरीशघटनोपमं  
सम्पाद्य, रसतादात्म्यं ततोऽप्यधिकं कलयति श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमा, यतो  
वराका अपि मादृशा अम्बिकोन्मुखा भवन्ति, देवीं च पृच्छन्ति -

कर्पूरैर्मृतांशुभिर्जननि ! ते कान्तैश्च चन्द्रातपैः  
मुक्ताहारगुणैर्मृणालवलयैर्मन्दस्मितश्रीरियम् ।  
श्रीकाञ्चीपुरनायिके ! समतया संस्तूयते सज्जनैः  
तत्तादृङ्मम तापशान्तिविधये किन्देवि ! मन्दायते ॥

श्रीमूकश्च न केवलं काव्यकविः, किन्तु पादकविः पदकविरपि ।  
काव्यविषयं च जगदम्बां पदेनैकेन श्रुतिरिति लम्भयत्यस्मान्, आदधाति चास्मासु  
निरतिशयामम्बिकाव्युत्पत्तिम्, अम्बिकाभक्तिं च । विम्रष्टव्यमिदमत्र पद्यरत्नम्—

एका माता सकलजगतामीशुषी ध्यानमुद्रां  
एकाम्नाथीश्वरचरणयोरेकतानां समिन्धे ।  
ताटङ्कोद्यन्मणिगणरुचा ताम्रकर्णप्रदेशा  
तारुण्यश्रीस्तत्रकितरुचा तापसी कापि बाला ॥

कथं त्रिभुवनैकमुन्दरी अपर्णा ध्यानमुद्रया जगदीश्वरमवापेति सकलमिदं  
श्रीकुमारसम्भवादौ सरसं भावपूर्णं च चित्रितं कथातत्त्वमञ्जसा हृदि लगत इत्यत्र  
मानं स्वानुभूतिः । स्तान्नामैकं पदमेव तत्र पर्याप्तम्, विशिष्यार्थाशतके—

उररीकृतकाञ्चिपुरीं  
उपनिषदरविन्दकुहरमधुधारां ।  
उन्नमस्तनकलशीं  
उत्सवलहरीमुपास्महे शम्भोः ॥

शं भवत्यस्मादिति शम्भुः ; अनर्थबोत्सवलहरीं शम्भोः शम्भुत्वमिव ।

अङ्कुरितस्तनकोरकं  
अङ्कालङ्कारमेकचूतपतेः ।  
आलोकमहि कोमलं  
आगमसंलापसारयाथार्थ्यम् ॥  
पुञ्जितकरुणमुदञ्चित-  
शिञ्जितमणिकाञ्चि किमपि काञ्चिपुरं ।  
मञ्जरितमृदुलहासं  
पिञ्जरतनुरुचि पिनाकिमूलधनम् ॥

‘पिनाकिमूलधनम्’, ‘शूलपाणिशुद्धान्तम्’, ‘आगमसंलापसारयाथार्थ्यम्’, ‘पर-  
शिबोलासम्’,—इत्येवं कति महामन्त्रा नोपदिश्यन्ते ? श्रीविद्यादीक्षायां च

अस्माकं श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुप्रमैव देशिकति । नैतादृशं शब्दशौर्यं कुत्राप्यनु-  
भूतचरम्, येन निरुपमशौर्येण संस्कृतभाषामार्मिकाणां मनः समुत्तेजितमुद्विन्नरो-  
माञ्चमोहनन्दसान्द्रं चटुलं विस्मरं नानटीति, मनोरथञ्चैवं चर्करीति—

वरीवर्तु स्थेमा त्वयि मम गिरां देवि ! मनसो  
नरीनर्तु प्रौढा वदनकमले वाक्पलहरी ।  
चरीचर्तु प्रज्ञाजननि ! जडिमा नः परजने  
सरीसर्तु स्वेरं जननि ! मयि कामाक्षि ! करुणा ॥

केचन ‘शीलितान्तरङ्गाः’ पर्यनुयुञ्जते—किमिति देवताध्यानपद्धतौ  
परममहेश्वरोऽयं कविः शृङ्गारमतिवेलमाद्रियते ? किमिति काव्यसामान्ये स्तन-  
जघननितम्बादिशब्दा अनारतमाम्रेष्यन्ते जुगुप्सवहाः ? इति । तेष्वेकोऽपि वा  
सचेताः पृष्ठे व्याचष्टाम् । किमत्रोपात्तः शृङ्गारः कलयाऽपि जुगुप्सामावहति ?  
विमृश्यन्तान्तावत्पद्यानीमानि—

तुङ्गाभिरामकुचभर-  
शृङ्गारितमाश्रयामि काञ्चिगतम् ।  
गङ्गाधरपरतन्त्रं  
शृङ्गाराद्वैततन्त्रसिद्धान्तम् ॥  
अङ्कितशङ्करदेहां  
अङ्कुरितोरोजकङ्कणाश्लेषैः ।  
अधिकाञ्चि नित्यतरुणीं  
अद्राक्षं काञ्चिदद्भुतां वाताम् ॥  
यूना केनाऽपि मिल-  
देहा स्वाहासहायतिलकेन ।  
सहकारमूलदेशे  
संविद्रूपा कुटुम्बिनी रमते ॥  
पुण्या काऽपि पुरन्ध्री  
पुञ्जितकन्दर्पसम्पदा वपुषा ।  
पुलिनचरी कम्पायाः  
पुरमथनं पुलकानिचुलितं कुरुते ॥

कामजेतारं खलु मोहयति सा, न तु कामवशंवदम्, ‘मारद्रोहिमनोविमोहनचणा’  
हि सा, न तु मन्मथाविष्टं मदयति, गङ्गाधरपरतन्त्रा हि सा, न तु