

745

OLCOTT NUMBER

318

ब्रह्मविद्या



BRAHMAVIDYĀ

THE

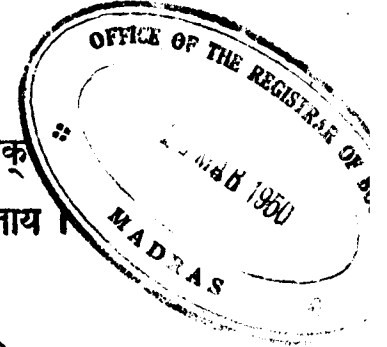
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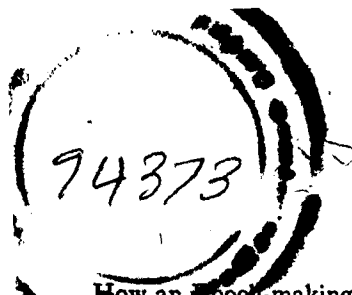
प्रशान्तचित्ताय शमान्विताय

येनाक्षरं पुरुषं वेद सत्यं

प्रोवाच तां तत्त्वतो ब्रह्मविद्याम् ॥



UNTO him who approaches in due form, whose mind is serene and who has attained calmness, the wise one teaches in its very truth that Brahmanvidya whereby one knows the Imperishable, the Purusha, the Truth.



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and philosophy of the Eastern Schools and their relations with those of our own times. She said she was writing about things she had never studied and making quotations from books she had never read in all her life: that, to test her accuracy, Professor Corson had compared her quotations with classical works in the University Library, and had found her to be right. Upon her return to town, she was not very industrious in this affair, but wrote only spasmodically, and the same may be said as to the epoch of her Philadelphia residence, but a month or two after the formation of the Theosophical Society, she and I took two suites of rooms at 433 West 34th St., she on the first and I on the second floor, and thenceforward the writing of *Isis* went on without break or interruption until its completion in the year 1877. In her whole life she had not done a tithe of such literary labour, yet I never knew even a managing daily journalist who could be compared with her for dogged endurance or tireless working capacity. From morning till night she would be at her desk, and it was seldom that either of us got to bed before 2 o'clock a. m. During the daytime I had my professional duties to attend to, but always after an early dinner we would settle down together to our big writing-table and work, as if for dear life, until bodily fatigue would compel us to stop. What an experience! The education of an ordinary life-time of reading and thinking was, for me, crowded and compressed into this period of less than two years. I did not merely serve her as an amanuensis or a proof-reader, but she made me a collaborator; she caused me to utilise—it almost seemed—everything I had ever read or thought, and stimulated my brain to think out new problems that she put me in respect to occultism and metaphysics, which my education had not led me up to, and which I only came to grasp as my intuition

developed under this forcing process. She worked on no fixed plan, but ideas came streaming through her mind like a perennial spring which is ever overflowing its brim. Now she would be writing upon Brahma, anon upon Babinet's electrical "meteor-cat"; one moment she would be reverentially quoting from Porphyrios, the next from a daily newspaper or some modern pamphlet that I had just brought home; she would be adoring the perfections of the ideal Adept, but diverge for an instant to thwack Professor Tyndall or some other pet aversion of hers, with her critical cudgel. Higgedy-piggledy it came, in a ceaseless rivulet, each paragraph complete in itself and capable of being excised without harm to its predecessor or successor. Even as it stands now, and after all its numerous re-castings, an examination of the wondrous book will show this to be the case.

If she had no plan, despite all her knowledge, does not that go to prove that the work was not of her own conception: that she was but the channel through which this tide of fresh, vital essence was being poured into the stagnant pool of modern spiritual thought? As a part of my educational training she would ask me to write something about some special subject, perhaps suggesting the salient points that should be brought in, perhaps just leaving me to do the best I could with my own intuitions. When I had finished, if it did not suit her, she would usually resort to strong language, and call me some of the pet names that are apt to provoke the homicidal impulse; but if I prepared to tear up my unlucky composition, she would snatch it from me and lay it by for subsequent use elsewhere, after a bit of trimming, and I would try again. Her own manuscript was often a sight to behold; cut and patched, re-cut and re-pasted, until if one held a page of

it to the light, it would be seen to consist of, perhaps, six, or eight, or ten slips cut from other pages, pasted together, and the text joined by interlined words or sentences. She became so dexterous in this work that she used often to humorously vaunt her skill to friends who might be present. Our books of reference sometimes suffered in the process, for her pasting was frequently done on their open pages, and volumes are not wanting in the Adyar Headquarters and London libraries which bear the marks to this day.

From the date of her first appearance in the *Daily Graphic*, in 1874, throughout her American career, she was besieged by visitors, and if among them there chanced to be any who had some special knowledge of any particular thing cognate to her field of work, she invariably drew him out and, if possible, got him to write down his views or reminiscences for insertion in her book. Among examples of this sort are Mr. O'Sullivan's account of a magical séance in Paris, Mr. Rawson's interesting sketch of the secret initiations of the Lebanon Druses, Dr. Alexander Wilder's numerous notes and text paragraphs in the Introduction and throughout both volumes, and others which add so much to the value and interest of the work. I have known a Jewish Rabbi pass hours and whole evenings in her company, discussing the Kabbala, and have heard him say to her that, although he had studied the secret science of his religion for thirty years, she had taught him things he had not even dreamed of, and thrown a clear light upon passages which not even his best teachers had understood. Whence did she get this knowledge? That she had it, was unmistakable; whence did she get it? Not from her governesses in Russia; not from any source known to her family or most intimate friends; not on the steamships or railways she had been

haunting in her world-rambles since her fifteenth year; not in any college or university, for she never matriculated at either; not in the huge libraries of the world. To judge from her conversation and habits before she took up this monster literary task, she had not learnt it at all, whether from one source or another; but when she needed it she had it, and in her better moments of inspiration—if the term be admissible—she astonished the most erudite by her learning quite as much as she dazzled all present by her eloquence and delighted them by her wit and humorous raillery.

One might fancy, upon seeing the numerous quotations in *Isis Unveiled*, that she had written it in an alcove of the British Museum or of the Astor Library in New York. The fact is, however, that our whole working library scarcely comprised one hundred books of reference. Now and again single volumes would be brought her by Mr. Sotheran, Mr. Marble or other friends, and latterly, she borrowed a few of Mr. Bouton. Of some books she made great use—for example, King's *Gnostics*; Jennings' *Rosicrucians*; Dunlop's *Sod and Spirit History of Man*; Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*; Des Mousseaux's furious attacks on Magic, Mesmerism, Spiritualism, etc., all of which he denounced as the Devil; Eliphas Levi's various works; Jaccoliot's twenty-seven volumes; Max Muller's, Huxley's, Tyndall's, Herbert Spencer's works, and those of many other authors of greater or less repute: yet not to exceed the hundred, I should say. Then what books *did* she consult, and what library had she access to? Mr. W. H. Burr asked Dr. Wilder in an open letter to the *Truth-seeker* whether the rumour was true that *he* had written *Isis* for H. P. B.; to which our beloved old friend would truthfully reply that it was a false rumour, and that he

had done as much for H. P. B. as I have above stated, had given her much excellent advice, and had, for a consideration, prepared the very copious Index of some fifty pages, from advanced plate-proofs sent him for the purpose. That is all. And equally baseless is the oft-repeated tale that I wrote the book and she touched it up: it was quite the other way about. I corrected every page of her manuscript several times, and every page of the proofs; wrote many paragraphs for her, often merely embodying her ideas that she could not then (some fifteen years before her death and anterior to almost her whole career as a writer of English literature) frame to her liking in English; helped her to find out quotations, and did other purely auxiliary work: the book is hers alone, so far as personalities on this plane of manifestation are concerned, and she must take all the praise and the blame that it deserves. She made the epoch with her book, and, in making it, made me—her pupil and auxiliary—as fit as I may have been found to do Theosophical work during these past twenty years. Then, whence did H. P. B. draw the materials which compose *Isis*, and which cannot be traced to accessible literary sources of quotation? *From the Astral Light*, and, by her soul-senses, from her Teachers—the “Brothers,” “Adepts,” “Sages,” “Masters,” as they have been variously called. How do I know it? By working two years with her on *Isis* and many more years on other literary work.

H. S. OLCOTT

भारतप्रशस्तिः

क्रिस्तुवर्षे १९५० तमे जनवरिमासे २६ दिने गुरुवारे

भारतजनराज्योद्घोषणावसरे

पण्डित - श्री - चि - कुञ्जन् - राजेन

प्रथिता

ODE TO INDIA

*Composed by Dr. C. KUNHAN RAJA on the
Occasion of the Proclamation of the
Indian Republic on Thursday,
26th January 1950*

I. भारतभूमिः

एषा भारतभूमिरद्य सुदिने निर्मुच्यमाना विदे-
 शीयानां परमाधिकारनिगळात् पादे प्रसन्नार्पितात् ।
 सार्धे वर्षशतेऽनुभूय विविधं दैन्यं पुनः स्वोचिता-
 मारूढा जनराज्यमान्यपदवीं सर्वैश्च संभाविता ॥ १ ॥

ईजिप्तादिपुराणसंस्कृतिसमुत्पत्तौ स्वयं ज्यायसी
 या प्रावर्धत ग्रीक-रोम-मुख्य साम्राज्याभिपुष्टिक्षये ।
 वार्धक्यं पुनराङ्गलादिनवराज्येषु प्रपन्नेषु सा
 धन्या भारतमेदिनी विजयते तारुण्यपूर्णा सदा ॥ २ ॥

लोके केवलभौतिकार्थनिरतान् धर्मातिसक्तानपि
 व्यामोहेन पराङ्मुखान् बुधजनानाध्यात्मिकाच्छ्रेयसः ।
 नौमङ्गादुदधेस्तरङ्गनिवहे विक्षिप्यमाणानिव
 त्रातुं भारतभूमिरेव भवति प्रज्ञाश्वेन क्षमा ॥ ३ ॥

उत्पत्तिर्जिनबुद्धमुख्यबहुधर्माचार्यपुण्यात्मनां
 विद्यानां प्रभवश्च, तद्विसरणे मूलं च लोकेऽस्मिन् ।
 शश्वत्त्वैरनिवासभूमि-रिसलां-क्रिस्तु-ज्यहोवामत-
 स्थानां, पार्सिमतानुयाय्यभयदं राष्ट्रं चिरं राजतु ॥ ४ ॥

इन्द्रप्रस्थमिति प्रशस्तविभवा यासीत् पुरी भारते
 सेयं भारतदेशमूलनगरी दिल्ली नवा मूलत्वे ।
 आरामैः सुमनोहरैर्विपणिभिर्दीपावलीभिर्महा-
 रथ्याभिश्च जलाशयैर्विलसति स्तम्भैश्च हर्म्यैर्युता ॥ ५ ॥

I. INDIA

On this auspicious day, this India, freed from the chain of
 the supreme authority of foreigners cast on her legs by force,
 having suffered various humiliations for a century and a half,
 now has once more ascended to the honoured position of a
 Republic, worthy of herself, revered by all. 1

India, that was herself a senior at the time when ancient
 civilizations like that of Egypt were born, and that grew
 virile when Greek, Roman and other Empires were prospering
 and collapsing, ever remains triumphant, full of youth and
 happy, when modern countries like England are growing old. 2

To save the intelligent men of this world who are craving
 for material gains and who, though in themselves intensely
 devoted to virtue, turn back their face from spiritual glory
 through delusions, like people who are tossed about on the
 multitude of waves in the ocean after a ship-wreck, India
 alone has the ability with the boat of wisdom. 3

The birth-place of holy personages like Jina and Buddha
 who are Teachers of Religions, the fountain of wisdom, the
 centre for the spread of that (wisdom) in the whole world, a
 permanent homeland of peace for the followers of the Islamic,
 Christian and Jewish Religions, may this country that gave
 shelter to the followers of the Parsi Religion, shine for ever. 4

The City that was far-famed for prosperity in the Maha-
 Bharata as Indraprastha, now glows in this world as the
 New Delhi, the Capital City of India, having very beautiful
 gardens, shops, brilliant lights, big streets, tanks, columns and
 mansions. 5

II. राष्ट्रपतिः

आद्यो राष्ट्रपतिर्जनैः प्रतिनिधिद्वारा यथेच्छं वृतो

“राजन्-बाबु” रिति प्रथापरिवृतः सौजन्यपाथोनिधिः ।

राजेन्द्रोचितसर्वसद्गुणयुतो “राजेन्द्र” नामा “प्रसा-

दो” पाहः प्रसरत्प्रसादसुमुखो दिल्लीपुरे राजति ॥ ६ ॥

बीहाराभिधनीवृत्ति प्रवृत्ते भूकम्पबाधा पुरा

यस्यां नष्टधनान् विभग्नभवनान् सर्वाननाथानपि ।

त्रातुं सञ्चितवान् धनं बहुतरं, रक्षां च तेभ्यो व्यधा-

देव ; श्लाघ्यकथेयमत्र शिशुभिश्चाद्यापि संगीयते ॥ ७ ॥

आरूढोऽखिलराष्ट्रनेतृपदवीं स्वीयानुभावोचितां

पश्चाद्भारतसंविधानसमितावध्यक्षभूतः स्वयम् ।

राजेन्द्रो जनराज्यमेष कृतवान् पौरैकतन्त्रात्मकं

संपूर्णप्रभुतायुतं च सुकृती न्यायेन राष्ट्रं निजम् ॥ ८ ॥

पाण्डित्यं किल राजनीतिनिबहे साहित्यसाराप्लुतं

यस्मिन् सत्यपरिग्रहे दृढमतिः स्वार्थासिसंवर्जिता ।

शुद्धा प्राक्तनसंप्रदायविततेः श्रद्धा प्रतिष्ठापने ;

साक्षाद्भारतधर्म एव नु भवेत् सोऽयं शरीरं वहन् ॥ ९ ॥

राज्येऽस्मिन्नतिदीर्घकालवितते सत्याग्रहाख्ये निज-

स्वातन्त्र्यासिनिमित्तघोरसमरे लब्ध्वा पुरोगामिताम् ।

देहास्वास्थ्यमनेकबन्धुविरहं दैन्यं च कारागृहे

सेहे ; भारतमुख्यपौरपदवीं काले फलं चासवान् ॥ १० ॥

II. THE PRESIDENT

There shines in the City of Delhi, the first President elected by the people through their representatives according to their free choice, who is well-known as Rajen Babu, an ocean of benevolence, endowed with all the good qualities of a ruler of rulers (Rajendra), bearing the name of Rajendra with the by-name of Prasad, having a radiant face from which proceed graceful (Prasāda) looks. 6

Formerly the Province of Bihar was subjected to a great Earthquake, and to give protection to all the people who lost their wealth and whose houses were destroyed and who were left destitute thereby, he collected a large amount of money and rendered them suitable help. This praiseworthy incident is even now sung about by the children there. 7

This Rajendra, having risen to the position of being the leader of the whole country which was befitting of his grandeur, and later becoming himself the President of the Constituent Assembly of India, made his own country a Sovereign, Democratic Republic through a Law, the performer of good deeds. 8

His scholarship in the multitude of political science is, indeed, saturated with the essence of literary accomplishments; in him the steady determination to stick to Truth is completely free from all motives for the attainment of personal ends; his attachment to the maintenance of the chains of ancient traditions is pure; it looks as if he is the Dharma of India itself, bearing a body. 9

He, having taken his place in the forefront in the great battle called Satyagraha that lasted for a very long period in this country, for the purpose of winning freedom for their own (land), he suffered ill-health, separation from a large number of relatives and friends, and humiliation in prison. In course of time he attained the fruit in the form of becoming the First Citizen of India. 10

III. मुख्यमंत्री

मुख्यो मन्त्रिवरोऽस्ति शान्तहृदयो गाम्भीर्यमात्राज्जग-

स्पीडोद्युक्तनृणां सदा जवहरो बाल्यं श्रितान् लालयन् ।

“नेहू”पाह्यमण्डितां “जवहरे”त्याख्यां च “लालो”तरा-

मन्वर्थो किल यस्य चारु विदधे भूतार्थवेदी पिता ॥ ११ ॥

बाल्ये सम्यगुपाजिता बहुतरा विद्या पुनर्यौवने

धर्म्येणैव पथा सदा विचरता चार्थो महान् सञ्चितः ।

वार्धक्येऽपि च “मोटिलाल”मुनिना येनाखिलं स्वं धनं

दत्तं भारतभूतये, स जनको “नेहू”पनामास्य हि ॥ १२ ॥

ग्रन्थानां रचनैर्विशिष्टविषयैर्लोकप्रशस्तेस्तथा

सद्गोष्ठीष्वभिभाषणैर्बहुविधोपन्यासलेखैरयम् ।

साहित्ये निजपाटवं प्रकटयन् नीत्वापि कालं बहु

धत्ते भारतभूपशासनधुरां गुर्वीमनन्याश्रितः ॥ १३ ॥

प्रासादे विभवैर्युते बहुविधैः कारागृहे वा वसं-

ल्लौक्येऽप्यभिसंस्तुतः कुमतिभिः सर्वत्र वा निन्दितः ।

आकृष्टो विषयैरपायततिभिर्ग्रस्तोऽथवा विश्वतो

धीरो नैव विकारमेष भजते क्वापि स्वकीये हृदि ॥ १४ ॥

नैपुण्यं नयवर्त्मसु प्रसूमरा कीर्तिश्च लोकोत्तरा

दाक्षिण्यं स्वजनेषु सोदरसमो भावश्च दीनेष्वपि ।

राज्यस्याभ्युदयोन्मुखे च विषये बोधोऽपि कालोचितः

सन्त्यस्मिन्निति राष्ट्रनायकगुणाः सर्वेऽप्यनन्याश्रयाः ॥ १५ ॥

III. THE PRIME MINISTER

Here is the great Prime Minister, with a serene heart, who through his sheer grandeur, destroys the impetuosity (Jawa-hara) of persons who are engaged in bringing misery to the country, who entertains (Lalayan) those who are in childhood ; to him, his father, who could know the real truth, gave the charming name of Jawahara followed by Lal, which is literally true, adorned with the by-name of Nehru. 11

The saintly Motilal, by whom various kinds of knowledge were acquired as a boy, then later in youth, great wealth was amassed proceeding strictly along paths of virtue, and in old-age again, his property was given away for the benefit of India, he, bearing the by-name of Nehru, is his father, indeed. 12

Although he spends much of his time manifesting his literary talents by producing books on excellent subjects, that are praised in the whole world, by addressing assemblies of good people, and by writing various articles, he still bears the entire burden of the government of India, without dependence on any one else. 13

Living in mansions surrounded by a variety of luxuries or in a prison, lauded in all the three worlds or vilified by evil minded people everywhere, enticed by material pleasures or surrounded on all sides by dangers, the brave hero never allows his heart to undergo any modification. 14

Proficiency in the paths of diplomacy, the spreading fame that surpasses the whole world, extreme courtesy to his own countrymen, feeling of being just a brother even to the lowliest, intellect awake to the needs of the times, in matters conducive to the good of the country : in this way, there abide in him all the qualities of a leader of his country, unseen in any other person. 15

IV. उपमुख्यमन्त्री

अभ्युद्यद्भिपुमत्तहस्तिदमने भीमाकृतिः केसरी

साधुद्रोहजुषामकुण्ठितफलो मन्त्रश्च यो भोगिनाम् ।

भ्रष्टानां पृथिवीभुजां नयपथात् संपेषणे भार्गवौ

वीरोऽसावुपमुख्यमन्त्रिपदमध्यास्तेऽद्य “पट्टे” लिह ॥ १६ ॥

गाम्भीर्यं पुनरस्य तादृशमसौ यस्मादधृष्यः परै-

स्तादृक् तस्य पराक्रमोऽपि च यतः सर्वं जगद्वेपते ।

शान्तत्वं पुनरस्य तादृशमसौ स्वैराभिगम्यो यतः

कीर्तिस्तस्य च तादृशी सुविमला सर्वत्र योद्गीयते ॥ १७ ॥

स्थैर्यात्मा प्रचलत्यसौ न बहुशः स्वीयाद्दुर्हिर्वेम्भनः

सूक्ष्मत्वाद्नुमानगम्यमपि नो तस्येकितं चेष्टितैः ।

श्रोतुं चाप्यभिभाषितं न सुलभं लोके तदीयं वचः ।

सर्वत्राप्यनुभावतः स विदितः कार्यप्रसिद्ध्यापि च ॥ १८ ॥

संरम्भेष्वखिलेषु तस्य विविधा विघ्ना द्रवन्त्यङ्गसा

तद्गीत्या स्वयमेव भास्वदुदये प्रातस्तुषारा इव ।

एतावत्प्रभुशक्तिसंयुतमहाभागस्य सेवारता-

स्तस्यादे निपतन्ति निर्वृतधियः सर्वाः सदा सिद्धयः ॥ १९ ॥

नाम्ना नैव हि केवलं, सुजनतायोगाच्च यो “वल्लभो”

लोकानां, स्वकुलक्रमागतमहा“सर्दा”पदस्थोऽपि यः ।

धत्ते सोदरनिर्विशेषममतां पूर्णो विना कैतवं

ग्रामस्थेष्वपि कर्षकेषु, किमसावास्ते न सर्वोत्तमः ॥ २० ॥

IV. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER

In taming the enemies who rush forward like a maddened elephant, a lion of terrible looks, to those who revel in pleasures (or serpents) after exploiting the good people, a magic spell that never fails in its effect, in crushing the rulers of the country who have dropped down from the paths of justice, a Parasurama : such a hero, Patel, now occupies the position of Deputy Prime Minister, here. 16

His grandeur is such that no one can resist him; his valour is such that the whole world trembles before it; his calmness is such that he is freely accessible; his supremely transparent fame is such that it is being sung about everywhere. 17

Firm in nature, he does not frequently stir out of his own residence; his intentions, being very subtle, cannot even be inferred from his behaviour; his words spoken by him are not available in plenty to hear in this world. But he is felt everywhere on account of his grandeur and on account of the achievements of the results. 18

In all his undertakings, the obstacles run away by themselves suddenly through fear of him, as the morning dew melts when the sun rises. But all achievements ever fall at his feet with a gratified heart, being delighted to serve a person of such lordly powers. 19

Not merely in name, but also through his benevolence, he is the favourite (Vallabha) of the world; though he occupies the elevated position of being a Sardar acquired through family heritage, he bears a feeling of equality not at all different from that of a brother, in full and without qualification even towards the peasants living in the villages. Does he not thus remain the greatest of all? 20

V. उद्घोषणदिनम्

कलियुगे ५०५० तमवर्षे (१८४४८४२ कलिदिने) २००६ तमे विक्रमसंवत्सरे, १८७१ तमे शकवर्षे विरोधिनामसंवत्सरे मकरे सौरमासे १३ दिने माघे चान्द्रमासे शुक्लाष्टम्यां १९५० क्रिस्तुवर्षे जनवरिमासे २६ दिने भारतजनराज्यमुद्घोषितम् ।

अस्मिन् दिने करणं विष्टिः; साध्यनामा नित्ययोगश्च ।

उदयवेलायां ग्रहस्फुटानि—

ग्रहः	राशिः	भागः	कला
रविः	९	१२	२३
चन्द्रः	०	१०	३१
कुजः	५	१२	२१
बुधः	८	१८	५
गुरुः	९	१९	४४
शुक्रः	९	२२	५६
मन्दः	४	२३	४८
राहुः	११	१६	४८
केतुः	५	१६	४८

सूचना—दक्षिणदेशे प्रचलता मार्गेण गणितमिदम् ।

V. PROCLAMATION DAY

In the Kali Year 5050 (Kali Day 1844842) in the Vikrama Samvat 2006, in the Saka Year 1871, in the Year named Virodhi, on the 13th of the Solar Month of Makara and on the 8th day in the bright half of the Lunar Month of Magha, on Thursday, the 26th of January in the year 1950 A.D. India was proclaimed a Republic. On this day the Karana is Vishti and the Nityayoga has the name of Sadhya.

The position of the planets at sun-rise are :

Planet	Rasi	Degree	Minute
Sun	9	12	23
Moon	0	10	31
Mars	5	12	21
Mercury	8	18	5
Jupiter	9	19	44
Venus	9	22	56
Saturn	4	23	48
Rahu	11	16	48
Ketu	5	16	48

Note—These calculations are based on the system current in South India. The first two columns represent the Rasis and the Degrees that have already been covered.

VI. शुभाशंसा

एतादृक्प्रभुमन्त्रशक्तिविषणा-
 सत्कीर्तिजुष्टैर्महा-
 वीरैः शश्वदवेक्षिता धनलस-
 द्वियाकलामण्डिता ।
 योगक्षेमकरी समस्तभुवने
 मैत्री परां तन्वती
 स्वस्थाने जनराज्यभारतमही
 जागर्तु लोके सदा ॥

VI. GREETINGS

Ever looked after by great heroes of such sovereign power and power for deliberations and with such talents and great glory, adorned with wisdom and art resplendent with wealth, producing prosperity and welfare, bestowing full friendliness on all the countries, may the land of India as a Republic continue vigilant in her own position.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

I. NEW PUBLICATIONS

1. ASOKA INSCRIPTIONS

WE are issuing a new edition of the Inscriptions of Asoka, in the original Prakrit (in Devanagari and Roman) with Sanskrit and English translations. There are various editions of the inscriptions. But they do not satisfy the general reader, and the present edition has been undertaken to satisfy this need.

2. EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

This is a small book issued by the Adyar Library ; it contains a series of two lectures delivered by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja under the Dewan Bahadur R. Krishnaswami Rao Endowments of the University of Madras, in November, 1949.

3. RIGVEDA BHĀṢYA OF SKANDASVĀMIN

This is being edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The commentary contains portions for the Fifth and Sixth *Maṇḍalas*. The first *Aṣṭaka* has been already published from the Madras University, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja himself, and also in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in a few Parts. There is only one fragmentary manuscript for this edition; and that has been described in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. I, part 4, in December, 1937 and noticed in the *Descriptive Catalogue* of the Adyar Library, Vol. I, Vedic, as No 27.

All these three works will appear as Serials in the *Bulletin*, and the Introduction and other matter will appear when the texts are finished.

EDITOR

II. OUR EDITOR IN HIS NEW ROLE

Our Editor, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (who is also Hon. Curator of the Adyar Library) may soon proceed to Iran to take up the position of Professor of Sanskrit in the University there. Negotiations are in progress and it is likely that he will start to take up his new position early in March. As is well known, he is also Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Madras. Even when he takes up a new post outside India, his connection with the Adyar Library will continue. Dr. Raja has been in charge of the Library for twenty four years and has placed his services at the disposal of the Library, even when he was employed in the University, and his connection with the Library will not be broken if he proceeds to another place even outside India; these are days when distances have been shortened between any two parts of the world, and the time factor too has been brought under control by quick means of transport for correspondence. The cultural relation of Iran with India is very old, and such relations have been continued throughout the history of the two countries. There might have been a slight slackening of the relation during the last century and a half. Dr. Raja has all the equipment and qualities to revive this cultural relation. He is being sent there by the Government of India. He has the warmest good wishes of all the members of the Adyar Library for success in his new Mission.

G. SRINIVASA MURTI,
Hon. Director

HINDU RELIGION AND HINDU CUSTOMS

BY C. KUNHAN RAJA

THE word Hindu has to be traced back to the river Sindhu. The name appears as Hind in Persian, and that name migrated to Greece and Rome. That is how the name was applied to India. Hind and Indiana are forms of the same original term. Hind is the region of the Sindhu (Indus), and all the regions to the East of the river came to be known by that name. The people of Hind were known as Hindus. When the Muslims came to India, they called the people of the country by the term Hindu, as opposed to themselves; later it became a term to designate the religion of the people, as opposed to Islam. Now we have two terms, Indian and Hindu, the former denoting the nation and the latter denoting the religion of the majority of the nation, just like the two terms Ceylonese and Sinhalese; the former represents the nation and the latter represents the community. Whatever be the origin, now the term Hindu is applied only to the religion and the people following that religion.

It is not at all possible to say what is meant by religion. The etymology of the word is obscure. In ancient times, the term had association with the monasteries. At present, we know generally what is meant by the term religion. But in Sanskrit itself, it is very difficult to get a word that would express the very same idea. In the *Veda*, there is no distinction drawn between the worldly aspect of life and the spiritual

aspect of life; life was a unit. Perhaps a word meaning "moral order" would be the nearest approximation to the term "religion." In the *Veda* there is the term *Rta*, which in many places means the moral order in this world. The word is found in association with *Satya*. Both mean "Truth" also.

The Universe consists of two parts, a permanent, unchanging, immutable and unchanging part and a part that moves and changes. *Satya* is the former and *Rta* is the latter. Then the word *Rta* came to mean the order in this changing part of the universe, and that is essentially the moral order. The word has a variety of meanings in the *Veda* like "holy" "sacrifice" and so on. But all are related to this primary meaning of the changing part of the universe and the order in that universe.

The sacrifice was the most conspicuous feature of this moral order as the *Vedic* Aryans conceived it. They speak of the people who did not perform the sacrifices, as opposed to themselves who performed the sacrifices to the gods. The terms are "*Ayajvānah*," "*Arātayah*," and so on. Thus the *Vedic* people of India drew a distinction between those who followed their own religion and those who did not follow that religion. It is not certain whether they meant any foreigners who did not follow their religion or only the communities within the country that did not subscribe to their religion of *Rta*. But they did not accept a hard and fast distinction between the religious aspect of life and purely secular aspect of life. Thus they did not have the need to use a term that distinctly meant what we now mean by the word "religion." The word *Rta* is derived from the root *Ar* to move.

In the later Sanskrit literature, this word ceased to be very prominent, though it was one of the most prominent

words in the *Veda*. Another phase of Indian religion, which we now call Buddhism, became prominent in the life of the country, and the word they used to represent moral order in life was *Dharma*. *Dharma* comes from the root *Dhṛ* to support. *Dharma* is what supports. It may be what supports the self or the community or the world. *Dharma* is what holds up the world against fall. The word *Dharma* was adopted into Hinduism to represent what was meant by the word *Rta*. I am not at all suggesting that *Dharma* is not a *Vedic* word. It is a *Vedic* word, and used in the *Vedas* just in the same sense. There is the *Vedic* passage: Gods performed sacrifice with sacrifice. They (the sacrifices) became the first *Dharma* (*Rgveda* I-164-50). This passage also occurs in a later place in the *Rgveda* as the last verse in the *Puruṣasūkta*; it also occurs in all the other *Samhitās*, in the *Brāhmaṇas* and other forms of *Vedic* literature. Thus this is one of the most important passages in the *Vedas*. Sacrifices constituted *Dharma* to the *Vedic* Aryans and sacrifice was also *Rta*.

As I have already said, there is no clear distinction drawn by the *Vedic* Aryans between the religious side of their life and the secular side. Thus there is no discussion of the problem what constituted *Dharma* or religion, in the *Vedic* literature. Buddhism did not accept the sacrifices of the *Vedas* as constituting *Dharma*. According to Buddhism, Buddha was omniscient and he knew what *Dharma* is. He gave the teaching of what is *Dharma* and set the Wheel of *Dharma* moving. All the previous observances, supposed to be religious in nature, had to be declared as not constituting *Dharma*, and, as such, the sacrifices, till now observed as found in the *Vedas* and as followed traditionally from the *Vedic* times, also had to be declared as falling outside true *Dharma*.

It was at this stage, that the followers of the *Vedic* order of moral life had to consider the question of what should be adopted as *Dharma*. There are two sets of moral orders, followed in the country. One order started with Buddha, and another order was being followed from time immemorial. So far as sacrifices are concerned, the *Vedic* texts available are fairly complete in supplying the needed information. There are certain other rites of the nature of sacraments (*Saṃskāras*) for which also there are texts in the *Vedas* as authority. In the texts written at this stage in the study of the *Vedas*, the interpretation of religious observances was dealt with in what are called *Kalpa-Sūtras*. They are divided into three parts. One part deals with the sacrifices and another part deals with the sacraments (*Saṃskāras*). These two are called the *S'rāuta* and the *Gṛhya Sūtras* respectively. Then there is the general civic life of the people. There is an element of *Dharma* here also in so far as the *Vedic* people did not discriminate between religious and secular aspects in civic life. But there are no *Vedic* texts available to prescribe the Codes of conduct in civic life. As far as possible, the statements on the *Vedas*, if available, should be adopted as authority on questions of morals in civic life. Where there is no such authority available, then the conduct of representative people who should be accepted as knowing the *Vedic* tradition, and the social conventions that have come down traditionally and that may be adopted as going back to the *Vedic* times, must be taken as the basis for such Codes of conduct in civic life. Texts were written out on such a basis, and such texts became the third part of the *Kalpa Sūtras*, and are called the *Dharma Sūtras*. There is no nation and there is no period in the history of a nation when every detail in the life of the people could be brought under specific Codes

of Law. So only such points in the life of the people that could be brought within the conception of *Dharma*, were dealt with in such *Dharma-Sūtras*.

These aspects in civic life have relation to the various professions and vocations into which the body politic was divided, and also to the different stages in the life of an individual, according to his profession or vocation. It is not possible to allot the same rule of conduct to all the people in all the stages in their life. This Code is really a "Civil Code," and is called the Code relating to the people divided according to their professions and vocations and according to the stages in their life. The Sanskrit name is '*Varṇāśrama-dharma*, the Code for the various *Varṇas* (classes of people) and *Āśramas* (stages in life). Āpastamba definitely says in his *Dharma-Sūtras* that it is a Code based on the available conventions and the conduct of representative people: "Now, then, we expound the *Dharma* based on social conventions and conduct of representative people (*Sāmayācārikān Dharma-mān*)". The professions and vocations were generally divided under four headings, intellectual, martial, economic and manual labour. In the *Vedas* there were only two stages in the life of a citizen, that of a student and that of a householder living the full civic life. A few might have chosen a retired life. Thus we find rare mention of a *Brahmacārin*, one devoted to the consideration of the problem of *Brahman* or Absolute Reality. This is what we find in the two hymns in the *Atharvaveda* (VI-138 and XI-5). There must have been some sort of set-back to the *Vedic* tradition and the tradition must have been carried on by a few families, perhaps in the retirements of the forests. We find life in the forest, and the study of certain subjects prescribed in the forest hermitages, introduced in the *Brāhmaṇa* period, and it

is very prominent in the *Upaniṣads*. But there is no evidence to show a stage in the life of a man called renunciation (*Samnyāsa*), either in the *Brāhmaṇas* and in the *Upaniṣads* in the *Purāṇas*. All the *Maharṣis* mentioned in the *Upaniṣads* were only *Vānaprasthas* (those who had retired to the forest to have a quiet time for engaging themselves in religious pursuits). They owned wealth; and they accepted rich presents from kings and wealthy people. They also accepted fee from the students after their studies were finished when they would be able to earn and give. Yājñavalkya, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, gives up even his wealth; but I am not at all sure if this amounts to what is called *Samnyāsa* (complete renunciation) as understood and practiced in later times. There is little evidence of *Samnyāsa* as a stage in the life of a man, in the earlier texts in Sanskrit literature.

In Buddhism there is no *Vānaprastha* stage; they had only *Brahmacarya* (Studentship), *Gārhasthya* (house-holder's stage) and *Samnyāsa* (renunciation). In both the schools of thought, the first alone was obligatory. After studentship, one can proceed to either of the later stages or one can remain in that stage of studentship always. The passage to the third stage is also optional. Thus we have in the two religions the following stages:

VEDIC

1. studentship
2. studentship and householder
3. studentship and retirement to forest
4. studentship, householder and retirement to forest

BUDDHISM

1. studentship
2. studentship and householder
3. studentship and renunciation
4. studentship, householder and renunciation.

When there was a fusion between *Vedic* religion and Buddhism to result in the latter-day Hinduism, they recognised the four stages as studentship, householder, retirement to forest and renunciation. They are accepted as forming a natural series, one following the other, and common to all people. Texts prescribe the ceremonial for each of the four stages. The period in which people should remain in each stage prior to entering the next, in this four-fold division, is also fixed. But I have not been able to get a single instance of any person who had gone through these four stages, in Sanskrit literature. In actual practice, retirement to the forest completely died out in Indian life. For the existence of forest settlements to which people retired, we have to go to the *Upaniṣads* and *Purāṇas*. In historical times, there is no evidence for the existence of such forest settlements in the country. But we come across monasteries and monks in the country in historical times. In the *Upaniṣads* and in the *Purāṇas*, there is no mention of monasteries and monks also. Even in modern times, there is no monastery to which people go after renunciation, where there is the restriction about the entrant having had the prior stage of retirement to the forest. Monks join the monasteries in modern times, either from studentship or from the stage of a householder. None of the great Teachers who have established monasteries, like S'āṅkarācārya, Rāmānujācārya, Madhvācārya, Vallabhācārya and Caitanya had all the three stages prior to their joining the monastic order. Therefore, in spite of the consistent statement in all the text, even very old ones, about the four stages one coming after the previous, there has never been a *fact* called the four stages in that form in the actual life of the country. The first two were common from the beginning to the end of the history of the country; of

the last two we had one or the other at a time and *not both* together. Thus when we accept the *Dharma-Sāstra* as prescribing the *Dharma* for the various professions and vocations and for the *four* stages in life, we have to accept the prescriptions with considerable limitations.

Buddhism did not exterminate caste division; it is only in the monasteries that all could enter without any such differences in profession and vocation. In the *Vedic* religion also, there was no such distinction in the *Vānaprastha* stage. Even in historical times, kings took to renunciation. As a matter of fact, there was no real distinction between the three castes to which the *Vedic* community was divided. Brahmins married Kshatriya girls, and certainly the children were Brahmins if caste went on a hereditary basis. The *Rgveda* contains evidence to show that there was no such division as the three superior castes and lower caste. All could rise to the highest spiritual eminence through good life. The Rbhus were men, and through good life, they became gods and partakers of *Soma* offered in the sacrifices. They were three in number, all brothers and sons of Sudhanvān who was a maker of chariots. Makers of chariots can by no stretch of imagination be brought under any of the three superior castes. In later *Mīmāṃsā* literature, the question is raised whether the chariot-makers can study the *Vedas* in so far as they have to perform certain sacrifices; but they are not within the three castes. Then there is a suggestion that the term "chariot-maker" may be taken in the etymological sense, and the prescription of that sacrifice may be with reference to a member of the three superior castes who takes to the vocation of making chariots. The reply is that a word has to be taken in its true meaning and not in its etymological meaning and that it is better to concede that

chariot-makers, though outside the three superior castes, can also study the *Vedas*. This point represents the survival of a stage in the *Vedic* civilization when all the people studied the *Vedas* and performed the sacrifices; the only distinction was between those who studied the *Vedas* and performed the sacrifices and those who did not do so. It may be that there was even at that stage a form of religion where Gods were worshipped as represented in images as opposed to the worship of Gods as partaking of the offerings given in the fire. Such a religion of image worship became very prominent at a later stage and got merged into the *Vedic* religion of the nation, the fusion resulting in the latter-day religion of the country as represented by the *Purāṇas* and the "systems of philosophy." The point that I want to emphasise at this stage is that there was no *Dharma* or religion in the early *Vedic* times, based on a division of the people into castes and the individuals into their four stages in life, as understood in the later times.

There were two sets of *Maharṣis*, one representing the *Maharṣis* of the original texts of the *Vedas* (*Samhitās*) and the other representing the *Maharṣis* of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* and of the *Purāṇas*. The *Vedic Maharṣis* were the great citizens of the times and the *Maharṣis* of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* and of the *Purāṇas* were those who had retired to the forests. The line of *Maharṣis* came to a close with the beginning of the *Kali Yuga*. There was Vasiṣṭha associated with S'ri Rāma and the kings of the Solar Dynasty. I take him as the most representative of the *Maharṣis* of the early age of the *Vedas* (*Samhitās*) and also as a representative of the second class of *Maharṣis*. His son was S'akti and S'akti's son was Parāśara whose son was Veda Vyāsa who was a contemporary of the *Mahābhārata* War

and who recorded the events of that war with antecedents, in the great *Mahābhārata*. His son was S'uka who was a contemporary of king Parikṣit who succeeded the great heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. Parikṣit's son was Janamejaya, and the *Maharṣi*, Vaisampāyana was his contemporary. We hear nothing more of *Maharṣis* in Indian tradition. No foreign traveller had visited a *Maharṣi* nor has recorded of an *Āsrama* of a *Maharṣi*. There is no mention of a *Maharṣi* in historical records like inscriptions and historical literature. It is true that Bāṇa describes an *Āsrama* in his *Harṣacarita*; but that work contains a lot of mythological element too. The following verse represents the limits of the *Maharṣi* tradition in India: I salute Vyāsa of taintless purity, the mine of *Tapas*, the great-grandson of Vasiṣṭha, grandson of S'akti, son of Parāśara and father of S'uka. This represents what can be called the pre-historic period in the history of India, and that is the period of the Three *Yugas* of *Kṛta*, *Treta*, and *Dvāpara*. *Kali Yuga* starts the historical period.

The *Maharṣis* with their *Yāgas* and with their *Vedas* were replaced by the Devotees and *Samnyāsins* of the Temples and the Monasteries which worked together. Temples were monasteries or had monasteries attached to them and the *Samnyāsins* were devotees of such temples. There was only a shift in the balance between the *Yāgas* and the Temple worship. Temples did not eliminate *Yāgas* as an institution, but simply became more prominent as national institutions than *Yāgas*; many temples rose to all-India status. There are such temples in the various parts of the country. There are periodical festivals in such temples which are occasions for many thousands of people assembling there. Even on normal days many people visit the temples for worship.

But the temple worship did not start as a rival of the ancient *Yāgas*. While the *Yāgas* and the sacraments (*Samśkāras*) were regulated by the *Vedic* texts, the temple worship was regulated by a special set of texts called the *Āgamas*. Such *Āgamas* were also recognised as forming a part of the *Vedas*. Thus the pious Hindus continued the performance of the *Yāgas* and also worshipped in the temples. They became fraternal institutions in the life of the nation. It is this synthesis that we have in India for the last few centuries, and that is what we can call modern Hinduism. Modern Hinduism is a blending of two Paths, the *Vedic* and the *Āgamic*; the *Vedic* Path itself has the two-fold aspects of *Yāgas* and *Samśkāras* (sacraments). Then there are the "Systems of Philosophy," six in number. The *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* combination was decidedly the most ancient, but became less important in later times. The *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* combination continued as a mere intellectual system confined to logic and the correct mode of thinking and expression, shedding its religious side. The two *Mīmāṃsās* expounded the two Paths of Hinduism, the *pūrvamīmāṃsā* (usually called simply *Mīmāṃsā*) interpreting the *Yāgas* and the *Uttaramīmāṃsā* (usually called the *Vedānta*) associating itself with temple worship while expounding the philosophy of *Upaniṣads*. The Teachers (*Ācāryas*) who expounded the different systems of *Vedānta* were all *Samnyāsins* and were connected with various temples.

Buddhism and Jainism in India, Confucianism in China and Christianity and Islam in Western Asia are associated with the persons of their founders, and the person of the founder gives the religion an individuality. In the case of Hinduism, there is no such founder; there is only an institution, a mode of life. I will say that what is called

Hinduism is a civilization. Hinduism is called *Varṇāśrama-Dharma*; it is also called *Sanātana-Dharma*. I have shown above that the term *Varṇāśrama-Dharma* must be accepted with considerable limitations. It is *Sanātana-Dharma* in so far as it cannot be traced back to any particular person. The *Dharma* or religion transcends a person; that is why it is called *Apauruṣeya* (what is not traceable to a person).

Within this synthesis called Hinduism, consisting of (1) the *Vedic* Path subdivided into *Yāgas* and *Samśkāras* (sacraments), (2) the *Āgamas* relating to temple worship and (3) the systems of philosophy, there are certain institutions, customs and practices and there are also certain fundamental principles. We must distinguish between the two. It is only in this way that we can understand what can be called the "religion" (or *Dharma*). I have already shown the changes that have come over the castes and the stages in life (*Varṇa-Āśrama*) and also the changes in the aspects of *Maharṣis* between the *Vedic Samhitās* (original texts) on the one side and the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* of the *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas* on the other side. There have been various other changes in the institutions of the Hindus. I am not taking into account certain decadences in institutions: *Upanayana* and the study, the *Snāna* after the study, marriage and kindling the holy fire, and the *Soma Yāga* and other *Yāgas*.

The *Vedic* tradition preserves the story of a *Maharṣi* named Arcanānas asking the hands of the daughter of the king Rathavīti for his son S'yāvāsya, the king refusing to give away his daughter to the Brahmin on the ground that the son was only pursuing the path of *Brahman*-knowledge and was not himself a *Maharṣi* having the vision of the Gods and being able to compose *Vedic* hymns, the young man later

becoming a composer of *Vedic* hymns and marrying the daughter of the king. Here, there is enough evidence to show that in the *Vedic* times the marriage alliances were not conditioned by differences of profession like intellectual and martial life but by the two sets of religions of that time of *Yāgas* and contemplation (*Brahman*-knowledge). Later on, marriage was confined to distinct castes, the girls of a superior caste being prohibited from marrying a man of a lower caste; the men of the higher castes could marry girls of lower castes, if they had already married girls of the same castes and also girls of castes higher than the caste of the girl to be married. Thus a Brahmin could marry a S'ūdra girl after marrying within the Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaisya castes.

It is only in India that we can find people who are vegetarians as a community. There may be individual vegetarians in other countries; that is another matter. Further, meat is mainly an accompaniment in the food in India, even among those who eat it, while in other countries, meat is the food and vegetables form accompaniments. This is only an institution among the Hindus. This custom has undergone changes. The *Vedic* people were not vegetarians. They ate meat and they ate also beef. This system continued till later times.

One of the sacraments among the Hindus is that of the first feeding of the baby (*Annaprāśana*). In connection with this ceremony, see what Āsvalāyana has to say: The first feeding must be in the sixth month; if food is desired, the baby must be fed on goat's meat; if *Vedic* lustre is desired, it must be the flesh of *Tittiri* (bird); if brilliance is desired, it must be rice with ghee (I, 16-1 to 4). With reference to the first prescription, the commentator raises the question whether it is the *meat* of goat or the *milk* of goat that is meant,

and he decides that it is the meat in so far as there is the mention of *Tittiri* bird in the next, which cannot have milk. There is also the question raised whether they are to be given as the main food or only as accompaniment, and the reply is that in so far as they are used only as accompaniment in food by the ordinary people, it must be so in this ceremony also. This prescription is for the ceremony of the Brahmins and meat is prescribed for the ceremony.

When a Teacher visits a home, he is to be received with certain honours and the procedure has been prescribed in the *Grhya-Sūtras*. There is *Madhuparka* offered. This is a mixture of *Madhu* (honey) with sour milk (*Dadhin*). There must also be water for washing the feet and the face and scented water, and also a cow. In the end, the cow is offered to the guest, after he has washed his feet and face. • Having silently uttered the formula "My sin is destroyed," he says "Do it" if he chooses to have the cow killed. He can also direct that the cow be let loose. But it is definitely said that there shall be no offering of *Madhuparka* without meat. This is given in the 24th section of the first chapter of *Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra*. In the *Sāṅkhyāyana-Grhya-Sūtra* too, it is definitely said that there shall be no reception without meat (11-15-2). *Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra* also prescribes *Madhuparka* and a cow for a Teacher on his visit (11-4-8-5 and 7). A guest is also called *Go-ghna* (a cow-killer). The tradition of such a reception to the Teacher is preserved by Bhavabhūti in his Drama, the *Uttararāmacarita*. When Vasiṣṭha visits the hermitage of Vālmīki, the boys speak of a tiger coming in so far as a cow is to be killed to receive the guest (Act IV). I do not mean at all that in the time of Bhavabhūti, the custom continued; but he preserves the tradition and has no scruple in introducing it in his Drama.

There are various places in the *Dharma-Sāstras* where meat that can be eaten and meat that shall not be eaten are distinguished. There are occasions when meat shall be avoided. Meat is prescribed for *S'raddha* for the dead ancestors (Manu III-123). It is also said that the ancestors are satisfied with grains etc. for a month and they are satisfied with fish for two months, for three months with meat of deer, four with mutton, and five with flesh of birds, six months with flesh of kids, seven with that of spotted deer, eight with that of black antelope, nine with that of a kind of deer called *Ruru*, ten months with that of buffaloes and boars, eleven with that of hare and tortoise, and one year with cow's milk. The flesh of a long-eared white goat satisfies them for twelve years. *Kālasāka* (a kind of green leaves), *Mahāsalka* (a kind of fish), the flesh of rhinoceros and that of a red goat and all sorts of food which hermits eat in the forest serve for an endless time (Manu III-267 to 272). It is in the fifth chapter that Manu prescribes various kinds of meat that can be eaten and that shall not be eaten. I need not cite them.

Kālidāsa also says that the Vidūṣaka (who was certainly a Brahmin) ate meat. In the second Act of the *Sākuntala* he complains of the meat that he has to eat during his continued stay in the forest during the hunt of the king. What he objects to is not meat but the way in which the meat is got ready for being eaten; it is just roasted in the fire at the end of a spear. In the *Vikramorvasi*, the Vidūṣaka speaks of meat as a delicacy, of which he was very fond. There is another reading where the word for "meat" is replaced by "sweet-meat." But it is certain that if Kālidāsa had written "sweet-meat," a later emendation will not make it "meat;" but if Kālidāsa wrote "meat," one

can very well understand how a later hand emended it into "sweet-meat."

But we find in the *Mahābhārata* that Brahmins would not eat meat. When Yudhiṣṭhira started for the forest after his defeat in the gamble, many Brahmins also started with him. Then he dissuaded them saying that he and his brothers, being Kshatriyas, could kill animals and maintain themselves, but that it would be a great problem to secure food for so many Brahmins. Thus there was a change over from meat-eating to pure vegetarianism among the Hindus. And when they ate meat, they ate beef too. I must not omit here the fact that although killing of a cow has been prescribed during the visit of the Teacher, and although a guest is called a cow-killer (*Go-ghna*), in the *Veda* itself there is the term *Aghnyā* (what shall not be killed) denoting a cow. But this does not cancel the custom of cow-killing among Brahmins.

In the matter of drinks also, there has been a similar change. I have already tried to show in an article which I published in the Adyar Library Bulletin (May 1946) that *Soma* was not an intoxicating drink and that at that time there was the intoxicating drink called *Surā*. That must be some sort of alcohol brewed from grains. There are places where *Surā* is mentioned. And there is no sort of indication of *Surā* being a prohibited drink in the *Veda*. Not only this, there are certain *Yāgas* like *Vājapeya* and *Sautrāmaṇi* where *Soma* in the *Soma-Yāga* is replaced partly or completely with *Surā*, for being offered to the Gods. The use of *Surā* continued even in the *Kalpa-Sūtras* that prescribe the *Yāgas* and the Sacraments and the civic laws. There is the *Purāṇic* story of how S'ukra, the Teacher of the Asuras, cursed *Surā* and how from that time onwards, it became a prohibited drink. It must be noted that the curse and the

consequent prohibition had their origin in the camp of the Asuras and not in that of the Gods and Brahmins. It is in the five vows of the Buddhists that we find a definite prohibition of meat eating (which involves injury to animals) and drinking of intoxicants (*Pāṇātipātā* and *surā-meraya-majjya*). Even in *Mīmāṃsā*, the question of the ethical nature of animal sacrifice has been a puzzle, and they have to say that in so far as it is found in the *Veda*, it has to be excluded from "cruelty to animals."

At a later stage, the drink of *Surā* was prohibited and the drink of wines was permitted for people other than Brahmins. The drinking of *Surā* was counted among the "five great sins." Kumārila Bhaṭṭa raises the question of S'rī Krishna and others having been drinking alcohol and he explains it in this way that the prohibition is only for Brahmins and not for Kshatriyas, and S'rī Krishna was a Kshatriya. In the *Nāgānanda* of S'rī Harsha (7th century), a few citizens tried to compel the Vidūṣaka to drink wine by pouring it into his mouth and he says that he, being a Brahmin, should be excused. This is in the festival scene in the beginning of the fourth Act. Alcohol was not prohibited; it was only *Surā* that was prohibited, and the prohibition of alcohol in general was only for Brahmins. This is what is found in the whole of Indian literature.

Meat and alcohol were prohibited for occasions and under certain conditions. That itself shows that on normal occasions and under normal conditions, people could eat meat and drink alcohol. Although in the *Tantra-Vārtika*, Kumārila has to say that alcohol is prohibited for the Brahmins, in the earlier work called the *S'loka-Vārtika*, he has to admit that even Brahmins could eat meat and drink alcohol as a normal feature. He discusses the question of the

detailed and critical study of the *Vedas*. After the study of the *Vedas*, the student shall return to his home; and this detailed study can be only after the ordinary study. When is he to have his detailed and critical study? He says that what is called "return home" after study is not a simple ceremony. It extends over a period of time. It starts with giving up the avoidance of meat and alcohol (*madhumāṃsādy-avarjayan*). This is in discussing the prescription for Brahmins. Here it is definite that avoidance of meat and alcohol for Brahmins is only during a certain period of studentship, and consequently he can take to meat and alcohol towards the final stage of his studentship and when he becomes a householder. Whether beef too could be eaten is not clear in the context.

When we take up the question of marriage, here also there is no institution that can be called the Hindu system of marriage. There is the sacramental marriage prescribed in the *Gṛhya-Sūtras*. But those who lay down the Law could not ignore the facts of the world, and all facts of marriage in the country did not conform to this sacramental marriage. There are eight kinds of marriages recognised. They relate to the Brahṃā, Gods, Ṛṣis, Prajāpati, Asuras, Gandharvas, Rākṣasas and Pisācas. They are described in the third Chapter of Manu from verse 21 onwards. They are well known and I need not describe them. There are also twelve kinds of sons recognised. What is best is the son born to the father through a wife after the sacramental marriage. But people cannot be compelled to observe all these restrictions, and there were sons born in other ways who cannot be eliminated; they have to be taken notice of. The twelve kinds of sons are: the legitimate son, the son born of another woman, adopted son, foster-son, son secretly born, son cast off (they are the six kinds of sons who are heirs). Then son of an unmarried

woman, son received along with the wife, son born of the wife who had become pregnant before marriage, son purchased, son born on a re-married woman, destitute child taken care of, son born of a S'ūdra woman: these are the six kinds of sons who are only kinsmen (Manu IX-159 to 179). Manu also speaks of various sorts of illegitimate relationships between men and women, which are condemned as having been practised only during the days of the wicked ruler Vena (Manu IX-67). The various occasions for deviations from the legitimate relations are given in the preceding verses.

The question of widow-marriage and divorce among the Hindus has received considerable attention. In this connection we must distinguish between women having relation with people other than their husbands when the husbands are alive or after the death of the husbands on one side, and the marriage of such women when the husband is alive or dead. Manu says that he is not able to find any authority for the *re-marriage* of women (Manu IX-65). But that has reference to a sacramental marriage. Separation from husband and co-habitation with another or co-habitation with another after the death of the husband are not unknown. The law givers have taken notice of this fact. Co-habitation before marriage is also implied in the list of the various kinds of sons. Thus there is the marriage and co-habitation between men and women that are prescribed; there is their relation that is tolerated, and even recognised in law. Whether there was divorce and re-marriage and widow marriage is a question that can be answered only if we decide what is meant by such terms; does the question mean whether they are prescribed or does the question mean only whether they existed and were tolerated as a matter of necessity?

The *Yāgas* have not changed; the sacraments (*Samis-kāras*) have not changed; the Temple worship too has not changed. They have continued without decay ages after ages. But social institutions and customs have changed. Thus no one has re-written a *S'rauta-Sūtra* or a *Grhya-Sūtra*. There might have been new expositions or interpretations for them; but there was no revision. Similarly, there are no new *Āgamas* prescribing new forms of temple worship. But when we come to civic life, the laws governing such civic life had to be constantly altered according to the changes in the social institutions and customs. There is no *Dharma-Sāstra* which says that for the Civil Laws, there is the eternal *Veda* as the sole authority. They all recognise *Vedas* as authority for *Dharma*, which consists of the *Yāgas*, sacraments and civic life.

Āpastamba prescribes the *Dharma* based on social conventions (*Samaya*) and the conduct (*Ācāra*) of representative people. Gautama says that the *Veda* is the source of *Dharma* prescribed in his work, and also the social conventions and conduct of representative people. Manu gives as authority *Veda*, Texts on Law (*Smṛti*) and habits (*S'ila*) of those who know the *Veda*, the conduct of representative people and the free choice (*Ātmatuṣṭi*). There is a fiction in *Dharma-Sāstra* that where a text is not available in the *Vedas*, then corresponding to the texts on Law and the conduct of the representative people there must have been some text in the *Veda*; it is only to this extent that the *Veda* is the primary source for *Dharma* even in civic life. In the *Mīmāṃsā* there is a consideration of the authoritative nature of the texts on Law. There are certain texts that prescribe items in the *Yāgas* for which there is no direct authority in the *Vedas*. There are certain items which come into conflict with the

texts of the *Vedas*, and there are certain items where the desire of the person may be the only authority. In the first case there is assumed some lost text of the *Veda*. In the second case the two texts must be harmoniously interpreted. The case cited is the prescription of a branch of the tree being covered and also touching the branch. If it is completely covered, then it cannot be touched. The interpretation is that it can be covered leaving space for touching it. In the last case there is no *Dharma* attached. The point cited as illustration is the person who should take the clothes used in the ceremony. If a particular person who happens to be important in the ceremony, takes it, it is only as a result of the desire of the person.

Here the matter is made perfectly clear that even in the case of the conduct of representative persons, there are certain limitations. If there is a possibility of any personal desire coming in as a factor in such conduct, there is no *Dharma* attached to it. This point is made clear by Gautama. He asks the question whether we do not find transgressions of laws in the conduct of even great men. The reply is that where there is a material gain, it becomes inferior and does not have the authority for *Dharma* (*na tu dṛṣṭārthe'vara-daurbalyāt*). In the case of the free choice mentioned by Manu, which is also found in other texts like Gautama, this choice is allowed only where there is an alternative prescribed.

The Civil Law of the country is based on the *Vedas* only on the recognition of a "fiction" that Texts on Law and conduct of representative people go back on some primary authority. If in any text or in any conduct we are able to trace any personal motive, then that is no authority for Law. But if the text simply prescribes what is Law and there is no taint of personal gain, the text must be based on some

previous custom. The text must either follow an existing custom or must bring in some new gain. It may be that a great thinker must have found the previous customs unsuited for the changed conditions; even then there is no question of a personal gain. In such cases too, there is the authoritative nature attached to the text. The same applies to the conducts of great men. He must be following the tradition or he must be adapting tradition to the needs of the changed conditions.

In the *Mahābhārata*, there is the incident of a Yakṣa asking Yudhiṣṭhira certain questions and the latter giving his own replies. One of the question is "What is the Path?" Yudhiṣṭhira replies that *Vedas* and *Smṛtis* differ and the *Maharṣis* do not agree among themselves. So, for ascertaining the Path, the only guidance is the conduct of representative people. The Path they follow is the Path (*Mahājano yena gataḥ sa pañthāḥ*). People follow great men and great men conduct themselves according to the needs of the times, following tradition, as best as may be. The same idea we find in the *Gītā*. "Whatever the great do the others also do; the world follows him to the extent to which he conducts himself." This is what S'rī Krishna says to Arjuna. Kālidāsa also says in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* "Everything is not correct simply because it is ancient; nor can anything be condemned simply because it is new. Great people scrutinise and adopt one or the other; ordinary men have to be guided by the opinions of others." Although he mentions this in connection with literary appreciation, it reflects the spirit of the times in regard to *Dharma* also.

Great thinkers of ancient times in India have distinguished between what is permanent in *Dharma* and what are changing. *Yāgas* and sacraments have a permanent status;

but civil life changes. Consequently, Civil Law also must change. The *Vedic* Aryans knew what was good for them having regard to the conditions in which they lived. Conditions changed and the representative people gave guidance to the ordinary man regarding the changes needed in social customs. Such changed customs became conventions, and Law Givers like Manu codified such customs and conventions. The only way in which we can follow tradition is to alter our social life and Civil Law in such ways as will make them suitable to the changed conditions in which we live. We must adopt the ancient texts and adapt them to the needs of the times. This is what Manu has done, this is what Yājñavalkya has done, this is what Parāśara has done, this is what the commentators on Manu and Yājñavalkya have done. If we are faithful to them, we should do the same. The representative people of the times are the authorities to decide what changes are needed; it is not to be decided on the basis of universal vote. The only question that will come in is: Is there any personal motive behind such changes suggested by those who are accepted as the representative people? If their object is only the preservation and progress of the Nation, what they suggest is the Law of *Dharma*.

Veda Vyāsa was the greatest spiritual leader of his times, and he was also the most outstanding personality in the civil life of times. He helped the Civil Government with his advice. He presented the life as lived by the great persons of olden days; it was found that many events are puzzles to those who are fastidious about *Dharma*. His teaching was that we shall not look into the details in the life of great people. We must take their life as a whole. Conditions necessitate deviations from strict paths of Law, and the conduct of great people justify such deviations. If

Veda Vyāsa had at that time told Yudhiṣṭhira that there shall be no change, then there would have been no *Mahā-bhārata* and there would have been no civilization in India at present. It is the practical wisdom of Veda Vyāsa that preserved India and its civilization from complete collapse.

S'āṅkarācārya has now been recognised as the greatest thinker, and if in his time he had simply said that there shall be no change in the presentation of the *Upaniṣads*, there would have been no S'āṅkarācārya remembered in our days. They are great, they are thinkers, because they knew the changes that came over the world and in the conditions, and they adapted thought and conduct to suit such changed environments.

I have drawn a distinction between *Yāgas* and sacraments on the one side as having permanent values, and civil life and Civil Laws on the other side, as having only temporary values. The former I call "religion" and the latter I call "customs." The question may be raised whether there is no permanent value in social customs, whether there is no touch of "religion" in social customs. There is the element of permanent value even in social life and social customs, and such permanent value is what is called *Dharma*; and this *Dharma* element gives social life a religious touch. What is this permanent element in social life?

In every activity there are two elements; there is the need to meet practical ends and there is the need to conform to certain standards in applying such means. Animals are moved only by the practical side in their activity. Man looks into certain standards also in the application of the means. We eat, and it is not simply to satisfy our hunger; along with meeting this practical need, we also conform to certain standards in the food, its preparation, its service, its eating

and so on. We do it in our dress; we do it in our home; we do it in our social relations. Union of man and woman is not merely to continue the species; we build up certain standards, and standards necessitate restrictions. Thus we have the system of marriage among men with certain regulations; animals do not have such restrictions like mother and son or father and daughter or sister and brother and so on, in their mutual relations for the propagation of the species.

Why should not a thing be done with the sole objective of attaining a certain end? Why should it be done only in a particular way? It is here that our law givers have introduced the element of the *Adṛṣṭa Phala* (the unseen fruit). In *Yāga* and Sacraments, there is only an unseen fruit, namely the progress and elevation of the individual and the race; even when there is a seen fruit, the unseen fruit is more prominent; this is the case with *Yāgas* like *Citrā* which bring in cows. (*Citrāyā yajeta pasukāmaḥ*). The unseen fruit can be generated only in a particular way, and that way is a permanent one. In civil life, the seen result predominates. If only the seen result is kept in view, he may not observe the prescribed standards, and it is only the observance of the standards that will generate the unseen result. This "standard" is determined by the question whether there is any personal motive in prescribing the standard.

The standards may, and must, change, according to the changes in the environments; the ends and the means also change and it is this change that necessitates the change in the "standards" also. If the individual keeps only the immediate end in view in his actions, there is a possibility of his action coming into conflict with the needs of another individual. If there are certain common standards also prescribed, then this possibility of mutual conflict in the

actions of the individuals becomes lesser. If a perfect standard can be discovered, then there will be perfect and eternal harmony among men. That is the perfection of *Dharma*. But that is possible only for an Omniscient Being, and Hindu Jurisprudence does not accept the element of Omniscience. Even in the *Nyāya* and *Vedānta*, God preserves for a future *Aeon* only what was current in the previous *Aeon*, remembering the wisdom of the previous *Aeon*, during the deluge-period.

The world was ever what it is now and will continue so. There may be undulations along with the progression. But there is neither a beginning nor an end for the world. We accept *Dharma* on the authority of the superior persons of the time, who adopt and adapt previous customs according to the needs of the changing times. The means bring in the fruit; but the particular means prescribed and the particular mode of operation for the means settle the standard of moral life, and this adds to the seen result an unseen fruit also. This unseen fruit is in the form of the avoidance of mutual conflict among the individuals. This unseen element, this standard, cannot be settled on the basis of experience and other normal means of knowledge. It requires intuition. The man with such intuition is the representative of the time. In so far as there is the recognition of this "standard" in social life, there is religion in social life. Since these standards are not created by an Omniscient Being, but go back from generation to generation to previous and still previous standards, there is continuity and permanence to this standard, and ultimately the standard falls back on a perfect standard. The statement of such permanent standard is what is called *Veda*. Such statements are available for *Yāgas* and Sacraments; but in so far as there is no

Omniscient Being, the statement of the fundamental, perfect standard is impossible in social life. It is just like the impossibility of the statement of the perfect "scientific law" in this world. It is only to this extent that our social life is based on religion and that religion is based on the *Vedas*. It does not mean that customs shall not change, it does not mean that the Civil Government shall not legislate for the regulation of social life. The Government must be in the hands of those who know the standards or must be advised by such people. Those who obstruct the adoption of standards and their adaptation for the needs of the times are the danger to religion.

In every system of Jurisprudence, the standard set by Law in the matter of man's effort to achieve certain ends in life, has been recognised. What is peculiar in the Hindu Jurisprudence is the explicit recognition of an "unseen fruit" arising out of such standards; this unseen fruit is implied in the other systems of Jurisprudence too. Through this common factor of an unseen fruit, there is unity brought about between religion and civil life in Hindu institutions. In essence, Hindu institutions have no more closer association with religion and with scripture than in other institutions. This institution does not preclude change; it only recommends that the change should be to the minimum, maintaining continuity.

My main thesis is that Hinduism, on the formal side, consists only of the *Yāgas* which form the earliest phase and the Temple Worship which became the most prominent element at a later stage. Although practical ends too may be served by the performance of the *Yāgas* and by Temple Worship, the true end kept in view is something that is "unseen" (*Adṛṣṭa*). Then there are systems of philosophy

which interpret the meaning of *Yāgas* and of Temple Worship. Among the various sacraments, the previous ones bring about the eligibility for the latter, and all the sacraments up to marriage bring about the eligibility for *Yāgas*. On the fundamental side, the essence of Hinduism is that one must accept an "unseen" fruit also as a necessary accompaniment in all civic functions, just as in religion; all the religions are forms of the same ultimate "religion," which brings about the "unseen fruit" to the individual and to the community. There is thus nothing that can be styled a conflict of religions. Preservation of Hindu *Dharma* consists in maintaining this attitude towards problems of moral life and also the preservation of the forms of *Yāgas*, Temple Worship and Sacraments, along with a critical and intelligent study of the fundamental problems of religion, as represented by the systems of philosophy. Customs and institutions in social life change; the change must not be for any selfish purpose on the part of those who introduce such changes having regard to the changes in the environments; the only purpose shall be the general welfare of the individuals and of the community, i.e., the "unseen fruit" or *Adṛṣṭa*. It is this *Adṛṣṭa* element in civic life that makes such customs and institutions a part of "religion;" and they have no value as parts of religion if the main factors of religion (*Yāgas*, Temple Worship and sacraments) are not kept up as active forces in the life of the nation. Any social institution can operate within this religion. There is also the possibility of new religious forms coming into prominence, just as Temple Worship came into prominence at a later stage in the history of Hinduism. What is needed is to maintain the religion or *Dharma* and to adapt institutions and customs to changing times.

पादविधानभाष्यम्

ऋतेन मित्रावरुणौ^१ । दत्ता युवाकवः सुताः^२ । इन्द्र इन्द्रयोः
सचा^३ । ब्रह्म च नो वसो सचा^४ ॥ १ ॥ इमं मे वरुण शुधी^५ । अथ
द्वादशिनः पादाः ।^६ त्वं नो अग्ने पित्रोरुपस्य आ^७ ॥ २ ॥ रायस्पृष्टि
स्वधावोऽस्ति हि ते^८ ॥ ३ ॥ अत्राह तत्कण्व एषां कण्वतमः ।^९ शतं
रथेभिः सुभगोषा इयम् ।^{१०} विश्वमस्या नानाम् चक्षसे जगत् ।^{११} विश्वस्य
हि प्राणं जीवं त्वे^{१२} । त्वं पित्रोर्नृमणः प्रारुजः पुरः ।^{१३} नहि त्वदन्यो
मिर्वणो गिरः सवत् ।^{१४} अथ त्रैष्टुभाद्याः । बृहती इव सूनवे रोदसी ।^{१५}
दमूना गृहपतिर्दम् आ^{१६} ।^{१७} ऋचीषमायाध्रिगव ओहम्^{१८} ॥ ४ ॥ गृणानो
अङ्गिरोभिर्दम् वि वः ।^{१९} आदीं राज्ञे न सहीयसे सचा^{२०} ।

^१ RV. I. 2. 8a; मित्रावरुणा, A ^२ RV. I. 3. 3a.

^३ ,, I. 7. 2a; this *pāda* not found in A.

^४ ,, I. 10. 4c. ^५ This and other numbers signifying the end of an *adhyāya* are found only in C.

^६ RV. I. 25. 19a: ^७ Not found in C.

^८ ,, I. 31. 9a; A corrupt.

^९ ,, I. 36. 12a. ^{१०} RV. I. 48. 4c.

^{११} ,, I. 48. 7c. ^{१२} ,, I. 48. 8a.

^{१३} ,, I. 48. 10a; A corrupt. ^{१४} ,, I. 51. 5c.

^{१५} ,, I. 57. 4c. ^{१६} ,, I. 59. 4a.

^{१७} ,, I. 60. 4c. ^{१८} ,, I. 61. 1c.

^{१९} ,, I. 62. 5a. ^{२०} ,, I. 71. 4c; Bloomfield

(*Vedic Concordance*, Harvard University, 1906, p. 166) takes the next two letters also, सन्, in the *pāda*.

महे^{२१} यत्पित्र ई रसं दिवे कः^{२२} ॥ ५ ॥ बाधन्ते विश्वमभिमात्तिमपु^{२३}
रुक्मो न चित्रः स्वर्धितवान्पुव्या^{२४} ॥ ६ ॥ अहन्नहिमभिन्नद्वौहिणं
वि^{२५} ॥ ७ ॥ यच्छे च योश्च मनुरायेजे पिता^{२६} शरस्य चिदार्चत्क-
स्यावतादा^{२७} विद्वांसविद्वरः पृच्छेत्^{२८} ॥ ८ ॥

प्रथमाष्टके पादानां निर्णयः ॥^{२९}

अथ द्वितीयाष्टकपादाः ।^{३०} प्र वः पूष्णे दावन् औ ।^{३१} श्रोतु नः
श्रोतुरातिः सुश्रोतुः ।^{३२} अर्यो गिरः सद्य आ जग्मुषीरा ।^{३३} स हि पुरु
चिदोजसा विरुक्मता ।^{३४} पाहि न इन्द्र सुष्टुत स्त्रिषः ।^{३५} अवर्मह इन्द्र
दाहृहि श्रुषी नः ।^{३६} इन्द्रवायू सुतानामद्रिभिर्युवम्^{३७} ॥ ९ ॥ दीर्घतमा
मामतेयः ।^{३८} धेनुः कर्त्वी युवशा कर्त्वा द्वा ।^{३९} निक्रमणं निपदनं
विवर्तनम् ।^{४०} सुगव्यं नो वाजी स्वव्यम्^{४१} ॥ १० ॥ ता कुर्मावतरास्मे ।^{४२}

^{२१} A wrongly reads महो.

^{२३} RV. I. 85. 3c.

^{२४} RV. I. 85. 3c. ^{२५} RV. I. 88. 2c; the last two letters of this *pāda* are omitted by A.

^{२६} RV. I. 103. 2c.

^{२७} RV. I. 116. 22a; A corrupt here.

^{२८} RV. I. 120. 2a.

^{२९} इति प्रथमाष्टकः, C.

^{३०} RV. I. 122. 5c.

^{३१} RV. I. 122. 14c; Lanman ends here with जग्मुषीः

^{३२} RV. I. 129. 11a.

^{३३} RV. I. 135. 5f.

^{३४} RV. I. 161. 3c.

^{३५} RV. I. 162. 22a.

^{२२} RV. I. 71. 5a.

^{२३} RV. I. 88. 2c; the last two letters of this *pāda* are omitted by A.

^{२४} RV. I. 88. 2c; the last two letters of this *pāda* are omitted by A.

^{२५} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{२६} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{२७} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{२८} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{२९} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३०} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३१} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३२} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३३} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३४} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३५} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३६} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३७} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३८} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{३९} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{४०} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{४१} RV. I. 114. 2c.

^{४२} RV. I. 114. 2c.

विश्वा ते अनु जोष्याभूदौः सूरिन्^{४३} ॥ ४ ॥ प्रेष्टं वो अतिथिं गृणीषे ।^{४४}
पितुं नु स्तोषम् ।^{४५} विराट् सुम्राड्विभ्वीः प्रभ्वीः ।^{४६} दृतिं सुरावतो
गृहे ।^{४७} सो चिन्नु न मराति ।^{४८} नो वयं मराम ।^{४९} आरे अस्य योजनं
हरिष्ठाः ।^{५०} मधु त्वा मधुला चकार ।^{५१} ताश्चिन्नु न मरन्ति^{५२} ॥ ५ ॥
स सुन्वत इन्द्रः सूर्यमा ।^{५३} तृपत्सोममपिबद्विष्णुना सुतं यथावशत् ।^{५४}
स ई ममाद् महि कर्म कर्त्तव्यं महामुरुम् ।^{५५} सैनं सश्वहेवो देवम् ।^{५६} अध
त्विषीमाँ अभ्योजसा क्रिविं युधामवत् ।^{५७} आ रोदसी अगृणदस्य मज्मना
प्र वावृधे ।^{५८} अर्धत्तान्यं जठरे प्रेमरिच्यत् ।^{५९} यदेवस्य शर्वसा प्रारिणा^{६०}
असुं रिणन्नपः ।^{६१} तव त्यज्यै नृतोऽप इन्द्र^{६२} ॥ ६ ॥ यो नन्त्वा-
न्यनमृज्योजसा ।^{६३} कृता इवोप हि प्रसर्से अप्सु^{६४} ॥ ७ ॥

इति द्वितीयाष्टकपादाः ॥^{६५}

^{४३} RV. I. 173. 8c. Lanman

^{४४} RV. I. 186. 3a.

stops here with गौः

^{४५} RV. I. 187. 1a; Lanman takes महः, the next two letters, also in the *pāda*.

^{४६} RV. I. 188. 5a.

^{४७} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{४८} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{४९} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५०} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५१} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५२} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५३} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५४} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५५} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५६} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५७} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५८} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{५९} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{६०} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{६१} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{६२} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{६३} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{६४} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{६५} RV. I. 191. 10b.

^{६५} Lanman stops the *pāda* here and makes the rest another.
^{६६} RV. II. 22. 4d.
^{६७} RV. II. 24. 2a.

तृतीयाष्टकपादा उच्यन्ते ।⁶⁶ तुभ्यं दक्ष कविकृतो यानीमा ।⁶⁷
 सं राया भूर्यसा सृज मयोभुना ।⁶⁸ ॥ १ ॥ अतोरिषुर्भरता गृह्यवः
 सम ।⁶⁹ ॥ २ ॥ राजा वृत्रं जङ्घनत्प्रागपागुदक् ।⁷⁰ स्वस्त्या गृहेभ्य
 आ ।⁷¹ ॥ ३ ॥ अश्विना परिवामिषः पुरुचीः ।⁷² अश्विना मधुषुत्तमो
 युवाकुः ।⁷³ सोमो अस्मभ्यं द्विपदे ।⁷⁴ गोमो अग्नेऽविमो अश्वी
 यज्ञः ।⁷⁵ ॥ ४ ॥ अग्ने तमद्य ।⁷⁶ अश्वं न स्तोमैः ।⁷⁷ कर्तुं न भद्रम् ।⁷⁸
 ऋध्यामी त ओहैः ।⁷⁹ अघ्ना ह्यग्ने ।⁸⁰ कर्तोर्भद्रस्य ।⁸¹ रथीर्ऋतस्य ।⁸²
 एभिर्नो अर्कैः ।⁸³ भवा नो अर्वाङ् ।⁸⁴ अग्ने विश्वेभिः ।⁸⁵ आभिष्टे
 अद्य ।⁸⁶ गीर्भिर्गुणन्तः ।⁸⁷ प्र ते दिवो न ।⁸⁸ तव स्वादिष्ठा ।⁸⁹ अग्ने
 संहृष्टिः ।⁹⁰ इदा चिदहं ।⁹¹ श्रिये रुक्मो न ।⁹² घृतं न पूतम् ।⁹³

⁶⁶ RV. II. 35. 5c; A both incomplete and corrupt here.

⁶⁷ इति द्वितीयाष्टकः, C.

⁶⁸ RV. III. 14. 7a.

⁶⁹ " " 33. 12a; MS. in-
complete.

⁷¹ RV. III. 53. 20c.

⁷³ " " 58. 9a.

⁷⁵ " IV. 2. 5a.

⁷⁷ " IV. 10. 1b.

⁷⁹ " " " 1e.

⁸¹ " " " 2b.

⁸³ " " " 3a.

⁸⁵ " " " 3d.

⁸⁷ " " " 4b.

⁸⁹ " " " 5a.

⁹¹ " " " 5c.

⁹³ " " " 6a.

⁶⁶ Not found in C.

⁶⁸ RV. III. 16. 6c.

⁷⁰ " " 53. 11c.

⁷² " " 58. 8a; MS. in-
complete.

⁷⁴ RV. III. 62. 14a.

⁷⁶ " IV. 10. 1a.

⁷⁸ " " " 1c.

⁸⁰ " " " 2a.

⁸² " " " 2d.

⁸⁴ " " " 3b.

⁸⁶ " " " 4a.

⁸⁸ " " " 4d.

⁹⁰ " " " 5b.

⁹² RV. IV. 10. 5e.

तनूररेपाः ।⁹⁴ तर्त्ते रुक्मो न ।⁹⁵ कृतं चिद्धि घ्मा ।⁹⁶ सनेमि द्वेषः ।⁹⁷
 शिवा नः सख्या ।⁹⁸ सन्तु भ्रात्रा ।⁹⁹ सा नो नाभिः सदेने सस्मि-
 नूर्धन् ॥ ५ ॥¹⁰⁰ ऋज्जसानः पुरुवार उक्थैः ।¹⁰¹ पुरुष्टुत कृत्वा नः शग्धि
 रायः ।¹⁰² ॥ ६ ॥ ये अंसत्रा य ऋध्मोर्दसी ये ।¹⁰³ यं पुरुभ्यो
 दीदिवांसं नाग्धिम् ।¹⁰⁴ दधिकाट्ठं इष ऊर्जो महो यत् ।¹⁰⁵ ॥ ७ ॥

इति तृतीयाष्टके पादाः ॥¹⁰⁶

अथ चतुर्थाष्टकपादाः ।¹⁰⁷ अंहोयुवस्तुन्वस्तन्वते वि ।¹⁰⁸ अश्मानं
 चिच्छवसा दिद्युतो वि ।¹⁰⁹ अत्रा दासस्य नमुचेः शिरो यत् ।¹¹⁰ ये
 चाकनन्त चाकनन्त नू ते ।¹¹¹ ॥ १ ॥ एवा न इन्द्रोतिभिरव ।¹¹² धुन्व-
 चरो न वंसगस्तृषाणः ।¹¹³ आप ओषधीरुत नोऽवन्तु ।¹¹⁴ शृणोतु न
 ऊर्जो पतिर्गिरः सः ।¹¹⁵ ॥ २ ॥ स्वस्ति पन्थामर्तु चरेम ।¹¹⁶ अतीयाम
 निदस्तिरः स्वस्तिभिः ।¹¹⁷ ऋक्षो न वो मरुतः शिमीवाँ अमः ।¹¹⁸ ॥ ३ ॥

⁹⁴ RV. IV. 10. 6b; MS. incomplete.

⁹⁵ " IV. 10. 6d.

⁹⁶ " IV. 10. 7b; MS. in-
complete.

⁹⁷ " IV. 10. 8b.

⁹⁸ " IV. 10. 8d; this and the

23 pādas preceding it are found only in A.

¹⁰¹ RV. IV. 21. 5c; C corrupt.

¹⁰² " IV. 34. 9c.

¹⁰³ " IV. 39. 3a.

¹⁰⁴ " IV. 39. 3a.

¹⁰⁵ Not found in C.

¹⁰⁶ RV. V. 30. 4c.

¹⁰⁷ " V. 31. 13a.

¹⁰⁸ " V. 36. 1c.

¹⁰⁹ " V. 41. 12a.

¹¹⁰ " V. 53. 14a.

⁹⁹ RV. IV. 10. 7a.

¹⁰⁰ " IV. 10. 8a.

¹⁰¹ " IV. 10. 8d; this and the

23 pādas preceding it are found only in A.

¹⁰² RV. IV. 21. 10c.

¹⁰³ " IV. 39. 2c; A corrupt.

¹⁰⁴ इति तृतीयाष्टकः, C.

¹⁰⁵ RV. V. 15. 3a.

¹⁰⁶ " V. 30. 7c.

¹⁰⁷ " V. 33. 7a.

¹⁰⁸ " V. 41. 11c.

¹⁰⁹ " V. 51. 15a.

¹¹⁰ " V. 56. 3c.

अजीजन ओषधीर्भोजनाय ¹¹⁹॥ ४ ॥ मरुत्वन्ते गिरिजा एव्यामरुत् ¹²⁰ ।
 प्र शर्षाय प्रयज्यवे सुखादये ¹²¹ तवसे भन्ददिष्टये ¹²² प्र विघ्नना
 ब्रुवत एव्यामरुत् ¹²³ कत्वा तद्वो मरुतो नाध्वे शवः ¹²⁴ दाना मद्वा
 तदेषाम् ¹²⁵ सुशुक्लानः सुभवं एव्यामरुत् ¹²⁶ न येषामिरीं सुधस्थ
 ईष्ट आँ ¹²⁷ अग्नयो न स्वविद्युतः ¹²⁸ स चक्रमे महतो निरुरुक्रमः ¹²⁹ ।
 समानस्मात्सदस एव्यामरुत् ¹³⁰ यदायुक्त तमना स्वादधि ष्णुभिः ¹³¹ ।
 विष्वर्धसो विमहसः ¹³² स्वनो न वोऽर्मवात्रेजयदृषा ¹³³ त्वेषो ययिस्त-
 विष एव्यामरुत् ¹³⁴ दीर्घं पृथु पप्रथे सद्य पार्थिवम् ¹³⁵ येषामन्मेष्वा
 महः ¹³⁶ अद्वेषो नो मरुतो गातुमेतन् ¹³⁷ श्रोता हवं जरितुरैव्या-
 मरुत् ¹³⁸ विष्णोर्महः समन्यवो युयोतन् ¹³⁹ स्मद्रथ्योऽन दंसना ¹⁴⁰ ।
 गन्ता नो युजं यज्ञियाः सुशमि ¹⁴¹ ज्येष्ठासो न पर्वतासो
 व्योमनि ¹⁴² यूयं तस्य प्रचेतसः ¹⁴³ द्वेनो वन्वन् कत्वा

¹¹⁹ RV. V. 83. 10c; Lanman takes the next letter, कं, also in the *pāda*.

¹²⁰ RV. V. 87. 1b.

¹²¹ " " 1d.

¹²² " " 2c.

¹²³ " " 3b.

¹²⁴ " " 3d.

¹²⁵ " " 4b.

¹²⁶ " " 4d.

¹²⁷ " " 5b.

¹²⁸ " " 7d.

¹²⁹ " " 8b.

¹³⁰ " " 8d.

¹³¹ " " 9c.

¹²¹ RV. V. 87. 1c.

¹²² " " 2b.

¹²³ " " 2d.

¹²⁴ " " 3c.

¹²⁵ " " 4a.

¹²⁶ " " 4c.

¹²⁷ " " 5a.

¹²⁸ " " 7c.

¹²⁹ " " 8a.

¹³⁰ " " 8c.

¹³¹ " " 9a.

22 *pādas* preceding it are found only in A which is very often either corrupt or incomplete.

नार्वी ¹⁴⁴॥ ५ ॥ और्णोर्दुर उस्त्रियाभ्यो वि दळ्हा ¹⁴⁵निकाममरमणसं येन ¹⁴⁶ ।
 अच्युता चिद्वीक्षिता स्वौजः ¹⁴⁷ असुद्यथा जरित्र उत सूरिः ¹⁴⁸॥ ६ ॥
 आ रश्मयो गर्भस्त्योः स्थूरयोः ¹⁴⁹ त्वद्भियेन्द्र पार्थिवानि विश्वा ¹⁵⁰ ।
 यद्वा पञ्च क्षितीनां युग्नमा भर ¹⁵¹ अर्धं स्मा यच्छ तन्वेऽं तने च
 छर्दिः ¹⁵² आ ये वयो न वर्धतत्यामिषि ¹⁵³ महि राधो विश्वजेन्यं
 दधानान् ¹⁵⁴॥ ७ ॥ तिरस्तमो ददृश ऊर्म्यास्वा ¹⁵⁵ श्यावा स्वरुषो
 वृषा ¹⁵⁶ शतं पूर्वार्थविष्ट पाह्यंहंसः ¹⁵⁷ समेद्वारं शतं हिमाः ¹⁵⁸ त्वं
 नश्चित्र ऊत्या ¹⁵⁹ मा काकम्बीरमुद्रहो वनस्पतिम् ¹⁶⁰॥ ८ ॥

चतुर्थाष्टकपादाः समाप्ताः ॥ ¹⁶¹

अथ पञ्चमाष्टकपादाः ¹⁶² क १ त्या वल्गू पुरुहूताद्य ¹⁶³ न य
 ईषन्ते जनुषोऽया नु ¹⁶⁴ प्र ते अग्नयोऽग्निभ्यो वरं निः ¹⁶⁵ दा नो अग्ने
 धिया रयि सुवीरम् ¹⁶⁶॥ १ ॥ नकिः सुदासो रथम् ¹⁶⁷ पूर्वीश्चन

¹⁴⁴ RV. VI. 12. 4c; A incomplete.

¹⁴⁵ " VI. 17. 6c; A corrupt.

¹⁴⁶ " VI. 17. 10c.

¹⁴⁷ " VI. 23. 10c.

¹⁴⁸ " VI. 29. 2c; this and the

preceding two *pādas* incomplete in A.

¹⁴⁹ RV. VI. 31. 2a.

¹⁵⁰ " VI. 46. 7c; this and the

two following *pādas* incomplete in A.

¹⁵¹ RV. VI. 46. 12c.

¹⁵² " VI. 46. 14c.

¹⁵³ " VI. 47. 25a.

¹⁵⁴ " VI. 48. 6c; this and the

two *pādas* following incomplete and corrupt in A.

¹⁵⁵ RV. VI. 48. 6d.

¹⁵⁶ " VI. 48. 8c.

¹⁵⁷ " " 8d.

¹⁵⁸ " " 9a.

¹⁵⁹ " " 17a.

¹⁶⁰ " " 17a.

¹⁶¹ Not found in C.

¹⁶² RV. VI. 66. 4a.

¹⁶³ " VII. 1. 5a; A corrupt.

¹⁶⁴ " VII. 32. 10a; A corrupt.

¹⁴⁷ RV. VI. 22. 6c.

¹⁴⁸ " VI. 29. 2c; this and the

preceding two *pādas* incomplete in A.

¹⁴⁹ RV. VI. 31. 2a.

¹⁵⁰ " VI. 46. 7c; this and the

two following *pādas* incomplete in A.

¹⁵¹ RV. VI. 46. 12c.

¹⁵² " VI. 46. 14c.

¹⁵³ " VI. 47. 25a.

¹⁵⁴ " VI. 48. 6c; this and the

two *pādas* following incomplete and corrupt in A.

¹⁵⁵ RV. VI. 48. 6d.

¹⁵⁶ " VI. 48. 8c.

¹⁵⁷ " " 8d.

¹⁵⁸ " " 9a.

¹⁵⁹ " " 17a.

¹⁶⁰ " " 17a.

¹⁶¹ इति चतुर्थाष्टकः, C.

¹⁶² RV. VI. 63. 1a; A corrupt.

¹⁶³ " VII. 1. 4a.

¹⁶⁴ " VII. 32. 10a; A corrupt.

प्रसितयस्तरन्ति तम् ¹⁶⁸॥ ३ ॥ सुप्रीतो अग्निः सुधितो दम् आ ¹⁶⁹॥ ४ ॥
 उच्छन्ती या कृणोषि मंहना महि ¹⁷⁰ तस्यास्ते रत्नभाजं ईमहे
 वयम् ¹⁷¹॥ ६ ॥ अद्या मुरीय यदि यातुधानो अस्मि ¹⁷² उपस्तुति-
 मधोनां प्र त्वावतु ¹⁷³ परिष्कृतस्य रुसिर्न इयमासुतिः ¹⁷⁴ निन्दिताश्वः
 प्रपथी परमज्याः ¹⁷⁵ इन्द्र इत्सोमपा एकः ¹⁷⁶ य ऋते चिद्रास्पदे-
 ध्यः ¹⁷⁷ तुरीयमिद्रोहितस्य पाकस्थामानम् ¹⁷⁸॥ ७ ॥ यथा चिच्चैयः
 कशुः शतमुष्टानाम् ¹⁷⁹॥ ८ ॥

(इति) ¹⁸⁰ पञ्चमाष्टके (पादाः) ¹⁸¹ ॥

अथ षष्ठाष्टकपादाः ¹⁸² भूर्णिमश्वं नयत्तुजा पुरो गृषा ¹⁸³ उत मे
 प्रयियोर्वयियोः ¹⁸⁴ तिसृणां संसतीनाम् ¹⁸⁵ श्यावः प्रणेना भुवत् ¹⁸⁶

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|--|--|
| ¹⁶⁸ RV. VII. 32. 13c; A incomplete. | ¹⁶⁹ RV. VII. 42. 4c; A corrupt. |
| ¹⁷⁰ " VII. 81. 4a; A incomplete. | ¹⁷¹ " VII. 81. 4c; A corrupt. |
| ¹⁷² " VII. 104. 15a; A incomplete. | ¹⁷³ " VIII. 1. 16c; A incomplete. |
| ¹⁷⁴ " VIII. 1. 26c; A & C corrupt. | ¹⁷⁵ " VIII. 1. 30c; A incomplete and C corrupt. |
| ¹⁷⁶ " VIII. 2. 4a; A corrupt. | ¹⁷⁷ " VIII. 2. 39a; A corrupt. |
| ¹⁷⁸ " VIII. 3. 24c; C corrupt; two letters following this <i>pāda</i> in A not clear. | |
| ¹⁷⁹ RV. VIII. 5. 37c; A and C both corrupt. | |
| ¹⁸⁰ Missing in A. | ¹⁸¹ Missing in A; इति पञ्चमाष्टकः, C. |
| ¹⁸² Not found in C. | ¹⁸³ RV. VIII. 17. 15c; A incomplete. |
| ¹⁸⁴ RV. VIII. 19. 37a; both A and C corrupt. | |
| ¹⁸⁵ " " " 37c. | ¹⁸⁶ RV. VIII. 19. 37d; A incomplete. |

वि द्वीपानि पापतन्तिष्ठदुच्छुना ¹⁸⁷ गोभिर्वाणो अन्यते सोमरीणाम् ¹⁸⁸
 आ श्येनासो न पक्षिणो वृथा नरः ¹⁸⁹॥ १ ॥ उप त्वा कर्मन्तये स नो
 युवा ¹⁹⁰ यो न इदमिदं पुरा ¹⁹¹ चित्र इद्राजा राजका इदन्यके ¹⁹²
 आ सुगम्याय सुगम्यम् ¹⁹³ सुप्रावर्गं सुवीर्यं सुष्ठु वार्यम् ¹⁹⁴ उप वो
 विश्वेदसो नमस्युरा ¹⁹⁵ यथा वशन्ति देवास्तथेदसत् ¹⁹⁶॥ ३ ॥
 आदित्यै रुद्रैर्वसुभिः सचाभुवा ¹⁹⁷ सजोषसा उषसा सूर्येण च ¹⁹⁸
 दिवा पृथिव्याद्विभिः सचाभुवा ¹⁹⁹ अद्भिर्मरुद्भिर्मृगुभिः सचाभुवा ²⁰⁰
 विश्वेह देवैः सवनाव गच्छतम् ²⁰¹ इषं नो वोळहमश्विना ²⁰² सोमं
 सुतं महिषेवाव गच्छथः ²⁰³ त्रिवृतिर्यीतमश्विना ²⁰⁴ प्रजां च धत्तं
 द्रविणं च धत्तम् ²⁰⁵ ऊर्जे नो धत्तमश्विना ²⁰⁶ मरुवन्ता जरितुर्गच्छथो
 हवम् ²⁰⁷ आदित्यैर्यीतमश्विना ²⁰⁸ सोमं सुन्वतो अश्विना ²⁰⁹
 श्यावाश्वस्य सुन्वतो मदन्युता ²¹⁰ अश्विना तिरो अहचम् ²¹¹ पिबतं

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| ¹⁸⁷ RV. VIII. 20. 4a. | ¹⁸⁸ RV. VIII. 20. 8a. |
| ¹⁸⁹ " VIII. 20. 10c; A corrupt. | ¹⁹⁰ " VIII. 21. 2a; A & C. |
| ¹⁹¹ " VIII. 21. 9a. | ¹⁹² " VIII. 21. 18a. |
| ¹⁹³ " VIII. 22. 15a; A corrupt. | ¹⁹⁴ " VIII. 22. 18a. |
| ¹⁹⁵ " VIII. 27. 11c. | ¹⁹⁶ " VIII. 28. 4a; A incomplete. |
| ¹⁹⁷ " VIII. 35. 1b. | ¹⁹⁸ " VIII. 35. 1c--21c. |
| ¹⁹⁹ RV. VIII. 35. 2b. | ²⁰⁰ RV. VIII. 35. 3b. |
| ²⁰¹ " " 4b-6b. | ²⁰² " " 4d-6d. |
| ²⁰³ " " 8b-9b. | ²⁰⁴ " " 8d-9d. |
| ²⁰⁵ " " 10b-12b. | ²⁰⁶ " " 10d-12d. |
| ²⁰⁷ " " 13b-15b. | ²⁰⁸ " " 13d-15d. |
| ²⁰⁹ " " 16d-18d. | ²¹⁰ " " 19a-21a. |
| ²¹¹ " " 19d-21d. | |

सोम्यं मधु ।²¹² अवस्युर्वीमहं हुवे ।²¹³ यं ते भागमधारयन् ।²¹⁴
 विश्वाः सेहानः पृतनाः ।²¹⁵ उरु अयः समप्सुजित् ।²¹⁶ श्यावाश्वस्य
 सुन्वतः ।²¹⁷ तथा शृणु यथा शृणोः ।²¹⁸ प्र त्रसदस्युमाविथ् ।²¹⁹
 त्वमेक इन्द्रषाह्ये ।²²⁰ प्र सुन्वतः शचीपते ।²²¹ माध्यंदिनस्य सर्वनस्य ।²²²
 वृत्रहन्नेद्य ।²²³ सेहान उग्र पृतनाः ।²²⁴ सुस्थावाना यवयसि ।²²⁵
 क्षेमस्य च प्रयुजश्च त्वम् ।²²⁶ सत्राय त्वमवसि ।²²⁷ श्यावाश्वस्य
 रेभतः ।²²⁸ अग्ने मन्मानि तुभ्यं कम् ।²²⁹ त्वं ह्यसि पूज्यः ।²³⁰
 त्वं देवेषु पूज्य ।²³¹ वयं तदस्य संभृतं वसु ।²³² यदग्ने स्यामहं
 त्वम् ।²³³ ॥ ३ ॥ दधानो गोमृदश्ववत् ।²³⁴ अभि वो वीरमन्वसो मर्देषु

²¹² RV. VIII. 35. 22b.

²¹³ " " 22d-24d; this and the preceding 16 *pādas*
 found only in A which is generally incomplete and often corrupt.

²¹⁴ RV. VIII. 36. 1c-6c.

²¹⁵ RV. VIII. 36. 1d-6d.

²¹⁶ " " 1e-6e.

²¹⁷ " " 7a; last letter
 missing in A.

²¹⁸ " " 7b; 37.7b.

²¹⁹ " " 7d; 37.7d.

²²⁰ " " 7e; 37.7e.

²²¹ " VIII. 37. 1b; A has 1a
 before this.

²²² " VIII. 37. 1d-6d; A
 incomplete.

²²³ " " 1e-6e; both A
 and C corrupt.

²²⁴ " " 2a; Miss-
 ing in A.

²²⁵ " " 4a; A corrupt.

²²⁶ " " 5a; C
 corrupt.

²²⁷ " " 6a.

²²⁸ " " 7a; Missing in A.

²²⁹ RV. VIII. 39. 3a.

²³⁰ RV. VIII. 39. 3d.

²³¹ RV. VIII. 39. 10b.

²³² RV. VIII. 40. 6c.

²³³ " " 44. 23a.

²³⁴ " " 46. 5a.

गाय ।²³⁵ महः सु वो अरमिषे स्तवामहे ।²³⁶ युज्ञेभिर्गीर्भिर्विश्वमनुषां
 मरुताम् ।²³⁷ ये पातयन्ते अजमभिः ।²³⁸ युज्ञं महिष्वणीनां सुम्नम् ।²³⁹
 एतन्मते शुद्धबृहती उपरिष्ठात् बृहत्या वा ।²⁴⁰ सुम्नं तु विश्वणीनां
 प्राध्वरे ।²⁴¹ सनितः सुसनितरुग्र ।²⁴² प्रासहां सभ्राट् सहुर्नि सहन्तम् ।²⁴³
 दश श्यावीनां शता ।²⁴⁴ उच्ये ३ वपुषि यः स्मुराट् ।²⁴⁵ अश्वेषितं
 रजेषितं शुनेषितम् ।²⁴⁶ न यं दुध्रा वरन्ते न स्थिरा मुरः ।²⁴⁷ वयं वा
 ते त्वे इदु ।²⁴⁸ पर्षिं द्वीने गभीर आँ ।²⁴⁹ ॥ ४ ॥ न सीमदेव आपत् ।²⁵⁰
 त्वं चित्ती तव दक्षैर्दिवः ।²⁵¹ ॥ ५ ॥ प्रेष्टं वो अतिथिम् ।²⁵² ता वावृषाना
 उपं सुष्टुतिं दिवः ।²⁵³ त्वं वृत्राणि हंस्यप्रतीन्येक इत् ।²⁵⁴ विश्वाः पृतना
 अभिभूतं नरम् ।²⁵⁵ कृत्वा वरिष्ठं वरं आसुरिमुत् ।²⁵⁶ स्वर्पतिं यदीं
 वृधे ।²⁵⁷ सुदीतयो वो अद्रुहः ।²⁵⁸ त्वं पुरं इन्द्र चिकिदेना वि ।²⁵⁹ ॥ ६ ॥
 त्वां शुष्मिन् पुरुहूत ।²⁶⁰ स इन्द्र स्तोमवाहसामिह श्रुधि ।²⁶¹ आशुं

²³⁵ RV. VIII. 46. 14a.

²³⁶ RV. VIII. 46. 17a.

²³⁷ " " " 17c.

²³⁸ " " " 18a.

²³⁹ " " " 18c.

²⁴⁰ This line not found in A.

²⁴¹ " " " 18d; A

²⁴² RV. VIII. 46. 20a.

corrupt and incomplete.

²⁴³ RV. VIII. 46. 20c; Miss-
 ing in A.

²⁴⁴ " " " 22c; A incom-
 plete.

²⁴⁵ " " " 28a; A in-
 complete.

²⁴⁶ " " " 28c; "

²⁴⁷ " " 66. 2a; "

²⁴⁸ " " 66. 13a; A
 corrupt.

²⁴⁹ " " 67. 11a; A
 corrupt.

²⁵⁰ " " 70. 7a.

²⁵¹ " " 79. 4a; A has VIII. 74. 1a instead.

जेतारं हैतारं रथीतम् ²⁶²॥ ७ ॥ स हि ष्मा जरितृभ्य आ ²⁶³॥ ८ ॥

षष्ठाष्टके पञ्चसप्ततिपादाः ²⁶⁴॥ ७५ ॥

अथ सप्तमाष्टकपादाः ²⁶⁵ ध्वस्त्रयोः पुरुषन्त्योः ²⁶⁶॥ १ ॥
 त्वेषं रूपं कृणुते वर्णो अस्य सः ²⁶⁷ समीचीनाः सुदानवः प्रीणन्ति
 तम् ²⁶⁸ स मध्व आ युवते वेविज्ञान इत् ²⁶⁹ जहि शत्रुमन्तिके दूरके
 च यः ²⁷⁰ दध्ना यदीमुचीता यशसा गवाम् ²⁷¹॥ ३ ॥ नमस्यन्तीरुप
 च यन्ति ²⁷² द्विर्यपञ्च स्वयंशसम् ²⁷³॥ ४ ॥ तमीं हिन्वन्त्युपसो
 यथा रथम् ²⁷⁴ समुद्रस्याधि विष्टपि मनीषिणः ²⁷⁵ जनयञ्ज्योतिर्मन्दना

²⁶² RV. VIII. 84. 1a; C corrupt; A omits the *pāda*.

²⁶³ RV. VIII. 87. 4c; Miss-
ing in A. ²⁶⁴ RV. VIII. 90. 5c.

²⁶⁵ RV. VIII. 97. 10a; A in-
complete. ²⁶⁶ " " 97. 10c; A in-
complete.

²⁶⁷ " " 97. 11c; A in-
complete and corrupt. ²⁶⁸ " " " 12c; A in-
complete and corrupt.

²⁶⁹ RV. VIII. 97. 14a; A in-
complete. ²⁷⁰ RV. VIII. 98. 12a; A
corrupt.

²⁷¹ " " 99. 1c; " ²⁷² " " 99. 7c; A incom-
plete.

²⁷³ " IX. 20. 2a. ²⁷⁴ इति षष्ठाष्टकः, C.

²⁷⁵ Not found in C. ²⁷⁶ RV. IX. 58. 3a; A corrupt.

²⁷⁷ RV. IX. 71. 8a. ²⁷⁸ " " 74. 4c; A incom-
plete.

²⁷⁹ " " 77. 2c; A and C
corrupt. ²⁸⁰ " " 79. 5c; C corrupt
and A incomplete.

²⁸¹ " " 81. 1c. ²⁸² " " 95. 3c; A corrupt.

²⁸³ " " 98. 6a. ²⁸⁴ " " 107. 13c; A incom-
plete.

²⁸⁵ " " 107. 14c.

अवीवशत् ²⁷⁶ त्वं ह्य ऋ देव्या ²⁷⁷ आ वच्यस्व सुदक्ष चम्बोः
 सुतः ²⁷⁸ नृभिरेमानो जज्ञानः पूतः ²⁷⁹॥ ५ ॥ आ यस्मिन्मना हवी-
 व्यमौ ²⁸⁰ तमुस्त्रामिन्द्रं न रेजमानम् ²⁸¹ ब्रतो वतासि यम् नैव ते ²⁸²
 अतिं द्रव सारमेयौ श्वानौ ²⁸³ इदं नम् ऋषिभ्यः पूर्वजेभ्यः ²⁸⁴॥ ६ ॥
 युज्ञानो अश्वा वातस्य धुनीं ²⁸⁵ विद्वा ह्यस्य भोजनमिनस्य ²⁸⁶॥ ७ ॥
 ओजः कृष्वसं गृभाय त्वे अपि ²⁸⁷॥ ८ ॥

सप्तमाष्टके त्रयोविंशतिपादाः ॥ २३ ॥ ²⁸⁸

अथाष्टमाष्टकपादाः ²⁸⁹ स्पार्ह गवामूर्धःसु वृक्षणास्वा ²⁹⁰
 भुवस्त्वमिन्द्र ब्रह्मणा महान् ²⁹¹॥ १ ॥ येभ्यो होत्रां प्रथमामायेजे
 मनुः ²⁹²॥ २ ॥ त्वं सिन्धो कुमेया गोमतीं कुमुम् ²⁹³॥ ३ ॥ स सूर्यः

²⁷⁶ RV. IX. 107. 26c; A & C corrupt.

²⁷⁷ " " 108. 3a; A very ²⁷⁸ RV. IX. 108. 10a; A & C
corrupt.

²⁷⁹ " " 109. 8a; A in-
complete. ²⁸⁰ " X. 6. 3c; C corrupt.

²⁸¹ " X. 7. 5a; C corrupt. ²⁸² " X. 10. 13a; "

²⁸³ RV. X. 14. 10a; A corrupt. ²⁸⁴ RV. X. 14. 15c; C corrupt.

²⁸⁵ " " 22. 4a; A incomplete and has RV. X. 23. 2a pre-
ceding this, but there is no corresponding text. This is probably
the reason why C omits this line.

²⁸⁶ RV. X. 24. 6c; A incom-
plete. ²⁸⁷ RV. X. 44. 4c; C corrupt.

²⁸⁸ इति सप्तमाष्टकः, C. ²⁸⁹ Not found in C.

²⁹⁰ RV. X. 49. 10c; A corrupt. ²⁹¹ RV. X. 50. 4a; A incomplete.

²⁹² " " 63. 7a; A incom-
plete. ²⁹³ " " 75. 6c; C corrupt.

पर्युक्तं वरास्याः ।^{२९४} ऋभुर्ऋभुक्षा ऋभुर्विधुतो मदः ।^{२९५} सहो न इन्द्रो
वह्निभिर्न्येषां चर्षणीनाम् ।^{२९६} ये युक्ताय पञ्च शता ^{२९७} ॥ ४ ॥ अवीरे
क्रतौ वि दविद्युतन्न ।^{२९८} सा वसु दधती श्वशुराय ।^{२९९} प्रति ब्रवाणि वर्तयते
अश्रु ।^{३००} अपामीवां सविता साविष इयक् ।^{३०१} निष्टिग्न्यः पुत्रमा
च्यावयोतये ।^{३०२} कदा वसो स्तोत्रं हर्षेत आ ।^{३०३} सुमित्र इत्यास्तौ-
हुर्मित्र इत्यास्तौत् ।^{३०४} वसवो रुद्रा आदित्या उपरिस्पृशं मा ।^{३०५} मूर्षा
रथस्य चाकुन्न ।^{३०६} अवोर्वा यद्वात्तन्नृषवः ^{३०७} ॥ ७ ॥ यं ते श्येन
श्चारुमवृकं पदा ।^{३०८} इमा ब्रह्मेन्द्र तुभ्यं शंसि ।^{३०९} जोषा सवितर्यस्य ते ।^{३१०}
आ वरिचुत्तमा वो व्रतम् ।^{३११} पितुभ्यतो न तन्तुमित्सुदानवः ^{३१२} ॥ ८ ॥

अष्टमाष्टके त्रयोविंशति पादाः ॥ २३ ॥ अष्टकसंख्या ॥ ८ ॥^{३१३}

पादविधानभाष्यं संपूर्णम् ॥^{३१४}

॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥^{३१५}

^{२९४} RV. X. 89. 2a; incomplete. ^{२९५} RV. X. 93. 8a; A incomplete.
^{२९६} " " 93. 9c; A and C ^{२९७} " " 14c; C corrupt.
^{२९८} corrupt.
^{२९९} RV. " 95. 3c; C corrupt. ^{३००} RV. X. 95. 4a.
^{३०१} " " 13a; A " ^{३०२} " " 100. 8a; C corrupt.
^{३०३} " " 101. 12c; A and C ^{३०४} " " 105. 1a; A incom-
^{३०५} corrupt. ^{३०६} corrupt.
^{३०७} " " 105. 11b; " ^{३०८} " " 128. 9c.
^{३०९} " " 132. 4c ^{३१०} " " 132. 5c; C corrupt.
^{३११} " " 144. 5a; " ^{३१२} " " 148. 4a.
^{३१३} " " 158. 2a. ^{३१४} " " 166. 4c.
^{३१५} " " 172. 3a; C ^{३१६} Not found in C.
^{३१७} corrupt.

^{३१४} इति पादविधानानुक्रमणिका, C; पादविधानं संपूर्ण, A.
^{३१५} Not found in C.

APPENDIX A

Index of Verses

(Figures indicate the number of the verse)

अतिशाकरपादौ, ४	त्रयोऽष्टका जागतश्च, ७
अष्टकौ चात्यष्टिपादौ, ५	पादा अतिजगत्यां, ३
इन्द्र स्वाहापि, १४	पादास्त्रयोऽष्टकाः, ६
ऋक्षु पादाः सांशयिका, ८	ये पातयन्ते, १३
चतुर्थस्त्वष्टकः पादा, १२	योऽसावासीत्, १
जगत्यस्तिस्र एताः, ११	श्रुतिस्मृतिनदीपूर्ण, २
जागतौ प्रथमौ, ९	सूर्यं विषं चतुर्केचे, १०

APPENDIX B

Index of Metres

(Figures in Devanagari indicate the scheme of the Metre while those in Roman give the number of the page)

अतिजगती १२।१२।१२।८।८।	1, 2, 5 and 6
अतिधृतिः १२।१२।८।८।८।१२।८।८	2 and 3
अतिशक्ती १६।१६।१२।८।८।	2 and 3
अत्यष्टिः १२।१२।८।८।८।१२।८।	2 and 3
अष्टिः १६।१६।१६।८।८।	2 and 3
उष्णिक् ८।८।१२।	5
ककुप् ८।१२।८	6, 7
गायत्री ८।८।८।	8
जगती १२।१२।१२।१२।	2, 4 and 6
त्रिष्टुप् ११।११।११।११।	5, 7 and 8
त्रिष्टुप् ज्योतिष्मती १२।१२।१२।८।	8
धृतिः १२।१२।८।८।८।१६।८।	2, 3
पङ्क्तिः ८।८।८।८।८।	6
प्रस्तारपङ्क्तिः १२।१२।८।८।	7, 8
बृहती ८।८।१२।८।	7, 19
महापङ्क्तिः ८।८।७।६।१०।९।	6
विष्टारपङ्क्तिः ८।१२।१२।८	8
शक्ती ८।८।८।८।८।८।८।	1, 6

APPENDIX C

List of Pādas Discussed

I. 2. 8a	I. 116. 22a	II. „ 3ad
„ 3. 3a	„ 120. 2a	„ „ 4ad
„ 7. 2a	„ 122. 5c, 6c, 14c	„ 24. 2a
„ 10. 4c	„ 127. 1a, 3a, 6a	„ 35. 5c
„ 25. 19a	„ 129. 11a	III. 14. 7a
„ 31. 9a	„ 133. 6a	„ 16. 6c
„ 36. 12a	„ 135. 5f	„ 33. 12a
„ 48. 4c	„ 158. 6a	„ 53. 11c, 20c
„ „ 7c	„ 161. 3c	„ 58. 8a, 9a
„ „ 8a	„ 162. 14a, 22a	„ 62. 14a
„ „ 10a	„ 173. 4a, 8c	IV. 2. 5a
„ 51. 5c	„ 186. 3a	„ 10. 1abce
„ 57. 4c	„ 187. 1a	„ „ 2abd
„ 59. 4a	„ 188. 5a	„ „ 3abd
„ 60. 4c	„ 191. 10b, 10c,	„ „ 4abd
„ 61. 1c	11c	„ „ 5abce
„ 62. 5a	„ „ 10d-12d	„ „ 6abd
„ 71. 4c	„ „ 10e-12e, 13d	„ „ 7ab
„ „ 5a	„ „ 10f-12f, 13e	„ „ 8abd
„ 85. 3c	„ „ 12c	„ 21. 5c, 10c
„ 88. 2c	II. 19. 5a	„ 34. 9c
„ 103. 2c	„ 22. 1abcd	„ 39. 2c, 3a
„ 114. 2c	„ „ 2abcd	V. 15. 3a

V. 30. 4c, 7c	VII. 32. 10a, 13c	VIII. 35. 23d, 24d
" 31. 13a	" 42. 4c	" 36. 1cde-6cde
" 33. 7a	" 81. 4ac	" " 7abd
" 36. 1c	" 104. 15a	" 37. 1bde
" 41. 11c, 12a	VIII. 1. 16c, 26c,	" " 2ade
" 51. 15a	30c	" " 3de
" 53. 14a	" 2. 4a, 39a	" " 4-6ade
" 56. 3c	" 3. 24c	" " 7abde
" 83. 10c	" 5. 37c	" 39. 3ad, 10b
" 87. 1abcd	" 17. 15c	" 40. 6c
" " 2bcd	" 19. 37acd	" 44. 23a
" " 3bcd	" 20. 4a, 8a,	" 46. 5a, 14a
" " 4abcd	10c	" " 17ac
" " 5ab	" 21. 2a, 9a,	" " 18acd
" " 7cd	18a	" " 20ac
" " 8abcd	" 22. 15a, 18a	" " 22c
" " 9acd	" 27. 11c	" " 28ac
VI. 12. 4c	" 28. 4a	" 66. 2a, 13a
" 17. 6c, 10c	" 35. 1bc	" 67. 11a
" 22. 6c	" " 2bc	" 70. 7a
" 23. 10c	" " 3bc	" 74. 1a
" 29. 2c	" " 4bcd	" 79. 4a
" 31. 2a	" " 5bcd	" 84. 1a
" 46. 7c, 12c, 14c	" " 6bcd	" 87. 4c
" 47. 25a	" " 8bcd	" 90. 5c
" 48. 6cd	" " 9bcd	" 97. 10ac
" " 8cd	" " 10bcd	" " 11c, 12c
" " 9a	" " 11bcd	" " 14a
" " 17a	" " 12bcd	" 98. 12a
" 63. 1a	" " 13-18bcd	" 99. 1c, 7c
" 66. 4a	" " 19-21acd	IX. 20. 2a
VII. 1. 4a, 5a	" " 22bd	" 58. 3a

IX. 71. 8a	X. 10. 13a	X. 95. 3c
" 74. 4c	" 14. 10a, 15c	" " 4a, 13a
" 77. 2c	" 22. 4a	" 100. 8a
" 79. 5c	" 23. 2a	" 101. 12c
" 81. 1c	" 24. 6c	" 105. 1a, 11b
" 95. 3c	" 44. 4c	" 128. 9c
" 98. 6a	" 49. 10c	" 132. 4c, 5c
" 107. 13c, 14c	" 50. 4a	" 144. 5a
" " 26c	" 63. 7a	" 148. 4a
" 108. 3a, 10a	" 75. 6c	" 158. 2a
" 109. 8a	" 89. 2a	" 166. 4c
X. 6. 3c	" 93. 8a	" 172. 3a
" 7. 5a	" " 9c, 14c	

reclamation of waste is encouraged.¹ A beneficial interest is created by law for the person who reclaims land.² Rent is viewed as arising from situation and accessibility, and as not due to mere difference of productivity.³ On this ground, the opening of the country by roads is enjoined on economic, police and military grounds. The resemblance of the income of mines,⁴ forests⁵ and quarries to rent is noticed and their exhaustibility leads to the collections of royalty from them, and not true rent.

LABOUR

Next to land, labour receives the most attention. Artha-sāstra assumes an implied partnership between the labourer and the undertaker. The partnership idea runs through the rules for compensating the workman for breach of contract by the employer. That wages ultimately come out of produce is understood.⁶ Wages are to be proportioned to responsibility and work; a rule which applies to dignified work.⁷ The

¹ अकृतानि कर्तृभ्यो नादेयात् (*Ibid.*, p. 47).

² निवेशसमकालं यथागतकं वा परिहारं दद्यात् (*Ibid.*, p. 47).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 298 and *Anc. Ind. Econ. Thought*, pp. 105-106.

⁴ *Kautiliya*, p. 47 and pp. 86-87.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

⁶ 'उपस्थितमकारयतः कृतमेव विद्यात्' इति आचार्याः । 'न' इति कौटिल्यः । कृतस्य वेतनं नाकृतस्य । न चेदल्पमपि कारयित्वा न कारयेत्, कृतमेवास्य विद्यात् (अर्थ. शा. p. 181).

⁷ राजकर्मसु युक्तानां स्त्रीणां प्रेक्ष्यजनस्य च । प्रत्यहं कल्पयेद्वृत्तिं स्थानक्रियानुरूपतः ॥ (मनु, ८, १२५) ; 'स्थानं' प्रधानं नियोगः शय्यारक्षादि, 'कर्म' शरीरव्यापारः तदनु रूपेण वृत्तिः देया । प्रधाने स्थाने स्वल्पेऽपि कर्मणि महती वृत्तिर्निष्कृष्टे, स्थाने महत्यपि कर्मणि स्वल्पेऽपि तदुभयानुरूपम् (मेधातिथिः). The principle is applied to wages for every kind of work. Kautilya (p. 183) bases it on the 'work' or 'duty' (which includes responsibility also)—कर्मकालानुरूपसंभाषितं वेतनम् ।

right of association for workmen is conceded. The S'ūdra labourer, according to even *Manusmṛti* can do no wrong, can commit no sin, can take up any duty and can have no religious obligation (X, 126). Certain kinds of work which are necessary to society, such as those of domestic servants, artisans, physicians and public servants, protect their members from ceremonial impurity. While Kaṭilya will allow labour-saving machinery, e.g., wind-mills, to be used, *Manusmṛti* condemns the substitution of machinery for manual labour (X, 63-66),¹ almost in the spirit of Ruskin. But, the old sacerdotal prejudice persists, and certain types of work like metal work continue to be considered impure. (Kaṭilya).² Among impure types of labour stand many which have to be segregated for hygienic reasons.³ The right to compensation and specific performance is conceded to both the labourer and the employer.⁴ The division of labour, its organization and education, are in the very spirit of the Caste system. The localization of industry is provided for in schemes of town-planning. Reciprocal services between town and country are ensured by forming suburbs of skilled workmen of the same caste. An increase in population is to be secured by the encouragement of marriages at suitable ages⁵ and by the

¹ सर्वाकारेष्वधीकारो महायन्त्रप्रवर्तनम् । आत्मार्थं तु क्रियारम्भो . . . नास्तिक्यं चोपपातकम् ॥ (मनु, १०, ६३-६६).

² अशुचयोऽपि कारवः (अर्थ. शा. p. 180).

³ See the directions of Kaṭilya (pp. 55-56) for the location of different persons in a fortified town ; as also the segregation of *Caṇḍālas* etc.

⁴ अर्थ. शा., pp. 185-186.

⁵ Kaṭilya's age of majority is 16 for men and 12 for girls ; Jayaswal (p. 225) notes that these ages are lower than those recommended by Manu for marriage (30 and 12) and must have been aimed at increase of population.

prohibition of asceticism and vagrancy,¹ by inducements to immigration, by considerate treatment of cultivators and tradesmen,² and by the provision of the most ample security of person and property to every one. Rules of hygiene and sanitation,³ which are better developed by the European Cameralists, are no less attractive to the Indian thinker, the aim in both cases being to preserve the numerical strength, health and stamina of the population.

The justification of interest was a secular movement in Europe, which was forced on the Church. Colvin roused a storm by declaring in 1545 that the Scriptures did not condemn usury. In India it was not so. The prejudice against lending out money does not infect writers like Kaṭilya, who realize the nature and necessity of capital in production.⁴ The attempt to restrict the rate of interest by artificial prohibitions is made only in two ways, neither of which offends against the interests of the State. The first is to prohibit the accumulated interest exceeding twice or thrice the principal by declaring the excess to be unrecoverable.⁵

¹ पुत्रदारमप्रतिविधाय प्रव्रजतः पूर्वस्थाहसदण्डः क्षियं च प्रव्रजायतः । लुप्तव्यवायः प्रव्रजेदाहस्य धर्मस्वान् । अन्यथा नियम्येत । वानप्रस्थादन्यः प्रव्रजितः नास्य जनपद-मुपनिवेशयेत् (अर्थ. शा., p. 48) ॥ विना कुटुम्बभरणात्तपोविद्यार्थिनं सदा । तृणकाष्ठादि-हरणे शक्तस्सन् भेक्ष्यभोजकः—राष्ट्राद्विवासयेत् (शुक्र, ४, १, १०५, १०८)

² See Kaṭilya, p. 47 (cultivators) pp. 98-99 (tradesmen).

³ See Kaṭilya's rules for sanitary house construction (pp. 166-7). Dr. Bhagavan Das (*Laws of Manu*, p. 234) considers rules of impurity (*asauca*) for birth and death as inspired by the wish for segregation against the spread of infectious disease. See *Anc. Ind. Econ. Thought*, pp. 84-88.

⁴ राजन्ययोगक्षेमवहेतु धनिकधारणिकयोः चारित्रमपेक्षेत । धान्यवृद्धिः सत्यनिष्पत्तौ उपार्थावरं मूल्यकृता वर्धेत । (अर्थ. शा. p. 174) ; See याज्ञ. २. ६१ ; गजेन गज-बन्धनसिध् अर्थेनार्थोपार्जनम् (नीतिवा, p. 119) ; शान्तिपर्व, ८, २०—अर्थैरर्थानि वध्यन्ते गजेरिव महागजाः.

⁵ कुसीदवृद्धिर्गुण्यं नात्येति सकृदाहता (मनु, ८, १५१) :

S'ukra allows capital to be quadrupled.¹ The other is the gradation in proportion to the social services of the borrowers, i.e., virtually the credit of the borrowers, by varying the rates with the caste of the borrowers.²

MONEY ECONOMY

In the days of the Indian Cameralists money had come into general use. Judicial fines are in money. Compensations are exacted in money. Public servants are paid in cash. Taxes are paid in money. But as the cash transactions might lead to impulsive extravagance, the option of commuting by grain payments in money and the use of barter are allowed.³

Adam Smith represents the European Cameral view in enumerating among the causes of the slow progress of opulence the absence of stock and capital, the existence of a weak government, which is unable to provide security of person and property, oppressive fiscal measures in agriculture and commerce, and a government suffering from a war-fever. He condemns the throwing of large parcels of land into single ownership, as likely to impede agriculture. He shrewdly points out that taxation in kind must depress agriculture because "a diminution of produce seldom hurts a tenant, who pays his rent in money, as the price of corn rises in proportion of its security."⁴ Such views are reflected in the economic precepts of *Arthasāstra*. Security is conceived as both by

¹ यदा चतुर्गुणा वृद्धिः गृहीता धनिकेन च ।

अधर्मर्णसि दातव्यं धनिने तु धनं तदा ॥ (शुक्र, ५, ८६).

² *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 142; *Nārada*, I, 100. The rule applies only to unsecured debts. *Viṣṇusmṛti* (VI, 3) rejects caste rates.

³ Barter (*pratipanya*) is alluded to by Kauṭilya (p. 59).

⁴ *Lectures*, p. 232.

the State and against its agents. Under the wise economic provisions of Indian Cameralism, an economy was realized, "not materially different from the modern in basing welfare on a type of expenditure free from ostentation and just sufficient for the efficient lives of the workers, and the realization of the value of leisure and rest, and on the conviction of the excellence of a moderate income obtained by moderate work."¹

In the field of exchange, the main contribution of the Indian Cameralist is the interplay of scarcity and utility and the influence of the time factor in the determination of value.² He is modern in understanding the effects of the law of demand, and in his analysis of retail prices.³ The difference between absolute and relative prices is known to him and is frequently expressed, but unfortunately in terms which prevent their statistical utilization. Markets and reasonable freedom for higgling are to be provided by the State. The seller is thought as able to look after his interests much better than the buyer. The cynical view is occasionally expressed that the trader is an undetected rogue.⁴ A rule of Kauṭilya is the

¹ *Anct. Ind. Econ. Thought*, p. 89.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92. S'ukra's 'Law of Value' is—

मुलभाबुलभत्वाच्चागुणत्वागुणसंश्रयेः ।

यथा कामात्पदार्थानामर्थं हीनाधिकं भवेत् ॥

³ कथं विक्रयमध्वानं भक्तं च सपरिव्ययम् ।

योगक्षेमं च संप्रेक्ष्य वणिजो दापयेत्करान् ॥ (मनु, ७, १२८);

आगमं निगमं स्थानं तथा वृद्धिक्षयाबुधौ । विचार्य सर्वपण्यानां कारयेत् कथं विक्रयौ ॥

(मनु, ८, ४०१).

⁴ प्रकाशवच्चकास्तेषां नानापण्योपजीविनः ।

प्रच्छन्नवच्चकास्ते ये स्तेनाटविकादयः ॥ (मनु, ९, २५८). The profiteer is rated in manifest guilt above the robber!

one which compels all sales to be made in the market and which prohibits sales of articles in or near their respective places of production.¹ The reason for the rule has to be surmised. It was probably a measure of police precaution against the sale of stolen property and an executive arrangement against forestalling by traders. Possibly, the rule had its use also as a legal precaution to reduce the occasion for litigation, by compelling all sales to be open and to be conducted before official witnesses. The view of the Indian, as of the European, Cameralist is that it is the duty of the State to produce "cheapness and plenty." This would appear to be more in the interest of the consumer than that of the producer, and to be unworkable in famines. The accumulation of vast stores of grain and food stuff in different parts of the kingdom, as well as other consumable articles in seasons of plenty, and the periodical replenishment of these stores, together with the entry of the State in the field of agricultural trade, were obviously to give the State the effective power to stabilize prices in abnormal as in normal times.

Foreign trade² is to be encouraged by the considerate treatment of the alien merchant. Trade was free. The money tolls and duties are levied solely for fiscal purposes and not for protection. Like modern States, the ancient Indian kingdoms were advised to search for avenues for the expansion

¹ जातभूमिषु च पण्यानामविक्रयः । (अर्थ. शा., p. 113). Fines varying with the articles sold are to be imposed on the forbidden sales.

² धान्यानां सङ्ग्रहः कार्यो वत्सन्नसंपूर्तिरिति ।

तत्तत्काले खराद्वार्यै नृपेणात्महिताय च ॥ (शुक्र. ४, २, २५); Kautilya wants not only grain but all necessities of life to be kept in 'reserves'—ततोऽर्थमापदर्थं जानपदानां स्थापयेत् । अर्धमुपयुजीत । नवेनानवं शोधयेत् (p. 95)

³ For Cameralist views of Becher and Obrecht on Foreign Trade see Small, pp. 127-9 and p. 53.

of their trade in foreign countries and to collect trade information by the establishment of trade agencies, open and secret, in foreign States. Marine trade is to be helped by specific rules of salvage and of help to ship-wrecked sailors.¹ Disputes between foreign traders and local merchants gave rise to the application of rules of equity to the settlement of such disputes, resulting in the creation, as in ancient Rome, of a *jus naturale* to form the nucleus of private international law.² The provision of free coinage, the facilities provided for banking and credit, and the recognition of corporations which dealt with them, are other devices for the encouragement of interstate trade. The existence of such economic amenities was necessary in times when political supremacy was to be established without resort to war, by a battle of wits and the application of a complicated and tortuous diplomacy.

In the field of economic distribution also, the Indian Cameralist displays a sound perception of fundamental laws.³ The Cameral bias is apparent in several directions. Economic inequality and friction, resulting from the existence side by side of extremes of wealth and poverty, could hardly arise in a society planned on the Indian lines. Wealth furnished no ground for ostentation, and poverty with the distinction accompanying great social service, when illustrated in the life of the teachers and defenders of the nation (Brāhmaṇa and

¹ जलतस्करराजामित्रसने समुपस्थिते । यस्तु स्वशक्त्या संरक्षेतस्यांशो दशमः स्युतः ॥ (शुक्र., ४, ५, ३०१) Also, pp. 126-128 of the Kautiliya. मूढवात्सहतां (नावध्यक्षः) पितेवानुगृहीयात् (p. 126); piracy to be put down, हिंसिका निर्घातयेत्, अनभियोगध्वार्येष्वगन्तूनाम् । अन्यत्र सम्भ्योपकारिभ्यः (अर्थ. शा., p. 98.)

² Anct. Ind. Econ. Thought, p. 105.

³ A bride had to be given away with jewellery which constituted her Stridhana.

Kṣatriya) was deprived of its sting. The joint-family rendered even apparent opulence ineffective to secure luxurious standards of life, as the family income was distributed among all who had claims on it. Hoarding could not have been easy with family calls, obligatory religious expenditure, and the custom of providing jewellery to women as an indirect provision for the maintenance of portionless daughters,¹ who inherited a mother's personal effects in preference to their brothers.² The contribution of Indian Cameralism to the ethical theory of distribution was the idea that State and Society were partners in all productive undertakings, and were therefore entitled to share the national dividend between them, and that every member of the community was entitled to be remunerated in accordance with his services and his needs. The treatment of land taxation shows a grasp of the above principle as well as of the incidence of a tax on monopoly.³ The wages of agricultural labourers are fixed by law, and their tenure is protected by the State. Violent changes in the prices of agricultural produce could not have been possible, when the State had permanent reserves of goods for maintaining price levels. The rent of land is justly regarded as due to its productivity and scarcity, and the tax on rent therefore is made to fall on the owners of land. It is only in the analysis of profits, and in the determination of "just" profits that one recognizes theoretical weakness in Indian Cameralism.

¹ क्रीधनं दुहितृणामप्रदानामप्रतिष्ठानां च (गौतम, २८, २२).

² *Anc. Ind. Econ. Thought*, pp. 105-106.

³ Sukra, II, 403-404.

अवश्यपोष्यवर्गस्य भरणं श्रुतकाङ्क्षेत् ।

तथा श्रुतिस्तु संयोज्या तथोग्या श्रुतकाय वै ॥

ये श्रुत्या हीनश्रुतिकाङ्क्षावस्ते स्वयंकृताः ।

परस्य साधकास्ते तु छिद्रकोशप्रजाहराः ॥

It is all the more singular in view of the large-scale enterprises which the State itself conducted through departmental agency. While the State is enjoined by S'ukra to realize the false economy of low wages,¹ and to guarantee both for its servants and the servants of others suitable accident and provident benefits,² the failure of western Cameralists to recognize the value of brains in constructive speculation, and of intelligent economic anticipation in the production of wealth and in the stabilization of demand and supply, indicates a limit to their vision imposed by inadequate experience and political obsessions.

¹ See the long passage in S'ukra (II, 408-417) on amenities to labour maximum hours of work, holidays, provident benefits, etc.

VI

PROVINCE OF THE STATE—PUBLIC FINANCE

IN no branch of public economy is the interplay of political, economic and moral ideas or motives, which is characteristic of Cameral treatment, more conspicuous than in that which deals with the sphere of the State and Public Finance. The growth of specialization had not only led to the separation, as independent units, of the divisions of knowledge, but it had encouraged further sub-divisions. Such specialization was valued because it promoted or facilitated intensive study. But it was defective in one respect. It overlooked the interdependence of human motives and actions, and rendered the conclusions of the highly specialized divisions of social science increasingly remote from the actualities of life, and therefore of little use in interpreting them.

The aims of the Ancient Indian States like those of the modern, are incapable of description by simple expressions like individualistic, collectivist, paternal, etc. Such terms are more useful in indicating aspects of State outlook than their aggregation. In Germany, in the undeveloped conditions of scientific differentiation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and with a special outlook and practical bias, Cameralists did not realize the need to separate political, economical and ethical considerations from one another. This

was also the position of those who have been styled Indian Cameralists, with a difference *viz.*, that with them the treatment of the elements of social action as frankly interdependent was a deliberate and logical result of their hypotheses. The basic assumptions of the Indian social thinker, in the field of Politics and Economics, were that political and social union are necessary and should be maintained, that by its activities, the State should not only aim at the realization of the ideals of Dharma but strive for permanent and harmonious co-ordination between the government and the people.¹ From the assumption of the necessity of the State certain corollaries follow. The theories explaining the State's origin in a Social Compact or in a Divine Creation appear to make the State absolute, and independent of any question of its authority or the capricious exercise of its will. But other implications of these theories qualify State Absolutism and tend to place it within constitutional limits. As no divine creation can be for a sinful purpose, and as the King, as personifying the State, was created to end social disorder or anarchy, it follows that the King exists *solely* for protection, and that the subjects are bound to obey and support the King. A contract is bi-lateral. The terms of the agreement restrict the freedom of both parties to the agreement. The moral validity of the contract springs from its spontaneous and voluntary character. Accordingly, the payment of taxes is voluntary, and the subject can withdraw himself from the obligation to pay the tax by transferring his allegiance to another State. The tax is a payment for a definite service rendered to the subjects by the king, namely 'protection'. No protection, no tax. The flank of absolutism is thus turned, and the king is reminded that even an absolute

¹ See *supra* Lecture II.

monarch is only a paid public *servant*, dependent on his punctilious performance of allotted duties for the due payment of his wage (*vetana*).¹

From the Cameral standpoint, Political Society requires an organization and machinery to fulfil its purposes. Such an organization needs paid military and police forces to maintain its authority and to preserve order, law and courts to regulate the relations of subjects and revenues to enable these institutions to be maintained. This is the ground for Adam Smith's division of the subjects of Law and Government as four, *viz.*, justice, police, revenue and arms.²

It is difficult to condense the aims of the State, as conceived by Indian Cameral writers, in a few sentences. The difficulty springs from the impossibility of separating economic, political, religious and social motives for action. The practical minded writers on *Arthasāstra* merely state their precepts or conclusions, without explaining the grounds or the principles from which they are derived. This is so with the European Cameralists also. Their theories of the State's sphere of action have also to be inferred from their rules. In the Indian State, freedom and regulation were intermixed. The duty was laid on the State to regulate production and consumption in accordance with the rules of caste and of the State's economic and political interests. Large scale undertakings were taken over by the State and worked under direct State management. But as such municipal enterprise did not establish a monopoly in the articles or services concerned,

¹ cf. *Santiparva*, 71, 10—बलिषष्ठेन शुल्केन दण्डेनाथापराधिनाम् । शास्त्रानीतेन लिप्सेत वेदनेन धनागमम् ॥ and *S'ukra*, I, 388 स्वभागवृत्त्या दास्यत्वे प्रजानं च नृपः कृतः ॥

² These are the heads of his lectures at Glasgow, now edited by Dr. Cannan.

scope was left for the play of competition, and private undertakings were allowed to compete with State undertakings. In the manufacture of salt and certain textiles, for example, the State factories did not displace private enterprise nor penalize it. State monopolies existed indeed in liquor, saffron, the precious metals, mining, oil and pearl fisheries; but, their justification rested on political grounds, just as the maintenance of State brothels and gambling dens was justified as an evil necessity dictated by sanitary and police requirements. Outside the spheres of State monopoly there was no attempt to compete with or restrain the private producer. In the interests of the whole community, restrictions were laid on competition, by the State's regulation of interest, wages profits and tenants' and land-lords' dues. But even there, within the limits imposed by the State, there was to be unrestricted competition. The State's position therefore was that private liberty should be the rule, except where it had to be restrained and regulated either in the interests of the people themselves, or for the stability of the government and the State.

Following the literary practice of the age the functions of the State are suggested by Indian writers in picturesque metaphors. One such figure is that the king should act as a 'father' of his people, and in didactic works, the comparison is developed. Readers have seen in it a sign of the paternalistic attitude of the old Indian State. The German Cameralist openly advocated *paternalism*, and has come in for much adverse criticism on that ground. The suggestion of paternalism conveys the implication of a distrust in the capacity of the people to look after their own affairs. A paternal regime is therefore viewed as not only springing from a low view of human capacity and nature, but as aimed at keeping

the subjects, in the same low state of perpetual tutelage. Individualism builds, on the other hand, on a belief in the honesty and capacity of men. An opposition in aim and effect is perceived by modern writers between the individualistic and paternal ideals. In regard to the Germans three or four hundred years ago, their conditions were such as to make paternalism a blessing. The great masses of the Germans were infants—infants in knowledge, infants in experience, infants in feeling, infants in judgment about the conduct of life. They lived in straitened circumstance. No affluence of natural resources stimulated their ambition and allowed them to effort.¹ The dormant powers of the people could be roused and enlisted for the work of nation building only by methods comparable to military regimentation. Paternalism in fact and aim proved an arrangement suited to the conditions of the times and is deliberately advocated by even advanced Cameralists like Justi.² The conditions in ancient India, atleast of the time of the great empires, were not identical with these of Germany in the Cameralistic epoch. Political organization was only one of several competing and concurrent organizations. The legal and economic system of the Indian Cameralist discloses neither a distrust of the capacity of the average man nor of his honesty. The facile generalization that socio-religious systems are usually hostile to capitalism is disproved in ancient India where the necessity for capital was implicitly assumed and the regulation of interest was dictated by social and economic purposes and not by any hostility to capitalism. In the same manner, the utmost freedom of action compatible with the stability of the social order is allowed to individuals.³ The attitude of the Indian

¹ Small, p. 594.

² Ibid., 446; *Anc. Ind. Econ. Thought*, pp. 107-108.

³ Ibid., pp. 51-52, 140-142.

Cameralist in suggesting paternal treatment is therefore more a recommendation for the creation of benevolent and pious relations between the king and his subjects, as between father and sons, and in a suggestion of the unity of their common interest than a plea for a despotic repression of individual freedom. The elasticity of the paternal conception and its capacity to be applied to societies in different stages of economic or political evolution is illustrated by the difference in details between the German Cameralist and the Indian.

A collectivist interpretation of the ancient Indian State's aim is also opposed to facts. The institution of private property, even in land, and the absence of any attempt to redress economic inequality by the redistribution of wealth or by the penal taxation of the rich for the benefit of the poor, are anti-collectivist. The *Nitisāstra* may occasionally have a fling at millionaires, but such criticisms are in no way anti-capitalistic.¹ They only serve to indicate that great wealth has great responsibilities and that mere hoarding is a social crime. The Indian States were indeed asked to step in to help the agriculturist and the artisan in diverse ways. Concessions and remissions are to be given freely to agriculturists. They are to be protected from any distractions, which will take them away from their work, from interruptions of their normal pursuits, from harassment by officials and social parasites, from arrest under the order of the civil courts and from the oppression of soldiers and policemen.² Similarly the duty is laid on the state to make roads, build bridges, maintain ferries over wide rivers, destroy wild beasts

¹ प्रजा हीनधना रक्षया भृत्या मध्यधनास्तदा । यथाधिकृत प्रतिभुवोऽधिकद्वय्यास्त-
योत्तमाः ॥ धनिकाश्चोत्तमधना न हीना नाधिका वृषेः ॥ (शुक, ४, २, २०-२१).

² याज्ञवल्क्य, १, ३३६.

and evil men, who harass peaceful subjects following their lawful occupations, construct great works of irrigation and drainage, improve river navigation and provide conveniences for merchants, both domestic and foreign.¹ Such duties which were willingly undertaken by the old Indian State, are really due to Cameral feeling of an *implied* partnership in all wealth-producing activities between the producer and the community or the State of which he is a unit and to the time-honoured truth, to which Kautilya and Henry IV of Navarre have paid homage in memorable words—of the identity of interest between ruler and subject. This idea of partnership extends to the ownership of wealth also, and will account equally for the obligation of merchants, artisans and agriculturists to pay taxes and subordinate their interests and properties to the ultimate ends of the partnership *i.e.*, the stability of the State. The duty is laid on the state to assist the people to become efficient producers and to live in a feeling of undisturbed security (*abhaya*). It is not the negation of the right of private property but its assertion, subject to and qualified by the ultimate and predominating interests of the community or State. This is the explanation of the Indian view of property in land. No theory of the State ownership of land will explain fully the mutual relations of the old Indian State and ryot. In extreme Cameral practice and theory, opinion under secular influence might urge the theory of state property in land and natural resources, as in the anonymous *sloka* cited by Kautilya's commentator,² but the idea is resisted by all conservative writers on *Dharmasāstra* and *Arthasāstra*.

¹ प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् (अर्थ. शा., p. 39).

² Bhaṭṭasvāmin's bhāṣya on *Kautilya*, ed. K. P. Jayaswal and A. Banerji Sastri, p. 138.

राजा भूमेर्पतिः दृष्टः

इति । युग्मौजर्क्षगतौ शशिरवी अन्योन्यं पश्यतः यदि युग्मराशिस्थ-
चन्द्रः ओजराशिस्थसूर्यश्च अन्योन्यं पश्यतः यदीत्येको योगः । युग्मौजर्क्षगतौ
आर्किसौम्यावन्योन्यं पश्यतः यद्वा युग्मराशिस्थशनिः ओजराशिस्थबुधश्च
अन्योन्यं पश्यतः यदीति द्वितीयो योगः । असमे ओजे स्थितः वक्रः कुजः ।
समगं दिनेशं समराशिस्थं रविं पश्यति यदीति तृतीयो योगः । असमे
स्थितौ चन्द्रोदयो भूम्यात्मजेनेक्षितौ चेत् विषमराशिस्थितौ लग्नचन्द्रौ कुजः
पश्यति यदीति चतुर्थो योगः । युग्मौजर्क्षगतावपीन्दुशशिजौ भूम्यात्मजेनेक्षितौ
समराशिस्थचन्द्रं ओजराशिस्थबुधं च कुजः पश्यति यदीति पञ्चमो योगः ।
पुम्भागे सितलग्नशीतकिरणाः ओजनवांशके शुक्लग्नचन्द्राः स्थिता यदीति
षष्ठो योगः । एते षट्क्रीबयोगाः स्मृताः ऋषिभिरिति शेषः ।

अत्र प्रथमोक्तयोगे पुरुषरूपसूर्यस्य ओजराशिस्थित्या शुक्लाधिक्यं
स्त्रीरूपचन्द्रस्य युग्मराशिस्थितिवशात् शोणिताधिक्यं च स्पष्टम् । तथापि
तयोस्तुल्यबलत्वात् शुक्लशोणितयोः समत्वं दर्शितम् । सूर्याचन्द्रमसोरन्योन्य-
मीक्षणवशात् शुक्लशोणितयोः संबन्धः । तयोः समत्वात् नपुंसकजन्मप्रसक्तिः ।
एतन्न्याय्यमेव । अत्र ओजर्क्षसूर्यस्य युग्मर्क्षचन्द्रस्य च मिथः दृष्टिः अन्योन्य-
चतुर्थदशमयोरेव सम्भवति । अत एकस्य पादोनदृष्टिः इतरस्य पाददृष्टिश्च
भवतः । अथवा पद्धतिरीत्या दृष्ट्यानयनप्रकारेण षष्ठाष्टमस्थयोर्वा पूर्ण-
दृष्टिर्वक्तव्यः । पादपादोनदृष्टी कृष्णशुक्लाष्टम्योर्भवतः । अत एव अष्टम्यां
स्त्रीपुंयोगश्च प्रतिषिद्धः । अत्र सप्तमदृष्टिः शुक्लचतुर्दशीपौर्णमास्योर्भवति ।
अतस्तयोर्दिनयोः मैथुनस्य प्रतिषिद्धत्वम् । एकराशौ ओजयुग्माभावेऽपि
कृष्णचतुर्दश्यमावास्यायोः क्रमदृष्टिशीर्षोदयग्रहत्वाच्चन्द्रः पृष्ठोदयवत्त्वासूर्यश्च
अन्योन्यं पश्यतः । अत एव कृष्णचतुर्दश्यमावास्या च प्रतिषिद्धदिने । अत्र
“अन्योन्यं रविचन्द्रौ विषमर्क्षसमर्क्षगौ निरीक्ष्येते” इति बादरायणवचन-
मनुसृत्य तृतीयपादस्य “युग्मौजर्क्षगतौ” इति पदमाकृष्टम् ।

“निषेककाले चन्द्रार्कावन्योन्यं यदि पश्यतः ।
तथैव चन्द्रमन्दौ वा क्लीबजन्मप्रदौ तदा ॥”

इति जातकपारिजातवचनेन यत्रकुत्र स्थितावपि चन्द्रसूर्यावन्योन्यदृष्ट्या क्लीबं जनयत इति सिद्धम् । द्वितीयतृतीययोगयोरपि शुक्लशोणितसाम्यमेव नपुंसकत्वकारणम् । एतेषु त्रिषु योगेषु जाताः नपुंसकाः व्यञ्जनहीना भवन्ति । अत एव ते वा शब्देन संयोजिताः ।

इतरयोगत्रये स्त्रीपुरुषसङ्करत्वादेव नपुंसकत्वम् । अत एतेषु योगेषु जाताः स्त्रीपुरुषधर्महीना सम्भोगेऽसमर्थाश्च भवन्ति । योगकर्ता बलहीनश्चेत् तस्य दशायां नपुंसकत्वं ददाति । एवं जातकेऽपि चिन्त्यम् ।

वृत्तं शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् । अनेन नपुंसकत्वेऽपि स्त्रीपुंविभागः पूर्वोक्तप्रकारेण एकोनविंशत्यंशैरेव चिन्त्यमिति सूचितम् । अत एव पूर्वोक्त-स्त्रीपुरुषयोगाभावे एव एते योगाः प्रवर्तन्त इत्यपि व्यञ्जितम् ।

षट् क्लीबयोगाः स्मृताः । षण्णान्ता षट् । षडिति सप्ताष्टादीनां संज्ञा । “यद्वाकिसौम्यौ तथा” इति सूर्यचन्द्रयोः स्थाने तयोः पुत्रौ निवेशितौ । अनेन शशिमन्दावपि मिथो दृष्ट्या क्लीबं जनयतः ।

तथा च जातकपारिजाते—

“तथैव चन्द्रमन्दौ वा क्लीबजन्मप्रदौ तदा ।”

इत्युक्तम् । अर्कसौम्यावपि मिथो दृष्ट्या क्लीबं जनयतः ।

शोणितरूपवक्रः विषमस्थः समराशिस्थपुरुषरूपरविं दृष्ट्वा क्लीबं जनयति । एवं शुक्लरूपशुक्रः समस्थः ओजराशिस्थस्त्रीरूपचन्द्रं दृष्ट्वा नपुंसकजनकः स्यात् ।

युग्मौजर्क्षगताविन्दुशशिजौ भूम्यात्मजेनेक्षितौ क्लीबजन्मप्रदौ । तथैव ओजयुग्मर्क्षगतौ रविशनी शुकेणेक्षितौ क्लीबजन्म दद्याताम् ।

युग्मौजर्क्षगतौ चन्द्रोदयौ भूम्यात्मजेनेक्षितौ क्लीबजन्मकरो । तथैव ओजयुग्मर्क्षगतौ सूर्योदयौ शुकेणेक्षितौ क्लीबत्वं कुरुत एव ।

पुम्भावे सितलग्नशीतकिरणाः क्लीबत्वकर्तारः तथैव स्त्रीभागे कुजलग्नचण्डकिरणाः क्लीबत्वप्रदा भवन्ति ।

असितलग्नशीतकिरणाः इति वा पदच्छेदः । पुन्नपुंसको हि शनिः । अतः नपुंसककर्तृत्वे तस्य प्राधान्यं भवत्येव । लोके नपुंसकत्वं बहुधा दृश्यते । न सर्वे पूर्णनपुंसकाः । कास्त्र व्यवस्था इति चेदुच्यते । कालाज्ञानीतिपद्योक्ताराशिपत्त्ववशाद्योगकर्त्रा तत्तदङ्गेषु विकारो वाच्यः । एवं “अन्योन्यं यदि पश्यतः शशिरवी” इत्यत्र पुन्नपुंसकस्य स्तनवत्त्वं स्त्रीक्रोडवत्त्वं च वाच्यम् । स्त्रीनपुंसकस्य स्तनाभावः पुरुषक्रोडवत्त्वं च वाच्यम् । एवमितरेष्वपि योगेषु युक्त्या तर्क्यम् ।

अत्र बृहस्पतिव्यतिरिक्ताः षड् ग्रहा एव योगकर्तारः । कुतः ? नपुंसकत्वनिवर्तको हि गुरुः । अतः योगकर्तृणामेकतमस्य जीवेन योगो दृष्टिर्वा नपुंसकयोगबाधकः इति सूचितम् ॥ १३ ॥

अथ यमलत्वादिविशेषं कथयति—

युग्मे चन्द्रसितावयौजभवने स्युर्गारजीवोदया

लग्नेन्दू नृनिरीक्षितौ च समगौ युग्मेषु वा प्राणिनः ।

कुर्युस्ते मिथुनं ग्रहोदयगतान् द्व्यङ्गांशकान् पश्यति

स्वांशे द्वे त्रितयं ज्ञांशकवशाद्युग्मं त्वमिश्रैः समम् ॥ १४ ॥

इति । अथ युग्मे युग्मराशौ चन्द्रसितौ चन्द्रशुक्रौ ओजभवने ओजराशौ शारजीवोदयाः बुधकुजगुरुलग्नानि स्युः यदि इत्येको योगः । समगौ समराशिस्थितौ लग्नेन्दू लग्नचन्द्रौ नृनिरीक्षितौ पुरुषग्रहैः सर्वैः कुजगुरु-

रविभिर्वीक्षितौ इति द्वितीयो योगः । युग्मेषु वा प्राणिनः ते ज्ञारजीवोदयाः युग्मेषु युग्मराशिषु प्राणिनः बलवन्त इति तृतीयो योगः । ते उक्तयोगेषु मिथुनं यमलं कुर्युः । एकां स्त्रियं एकं पुरुषं च जनयन्ति । ग्रहोदयगतान् ग्रहैरुदयलमेन प्राप्तान् द्व्यङ्गांशकान् उभयराश्यंशान् स्वांशे स्वांशस्थिते शे बुधे पश्यति सति ते त्रितयं कुर्युः । तत्र स्त्री पुंविभाग उच्यते । ज्ञांशकवशात् बुधाश्रितांशकवशात् युग्मं भवति । कन्यांशकस्थबुधेन द्वे स्त्रियौ एकः पुरुषः भवन्ति । मिथुनांशस्थेन बुधेन एका स्त्री द्वौ पुरुषौ च भवन्ति । अमिश्रैः पुरुषराशिद्व्यङ्गस्थैः बुधे मिथुनांशके अथवा स्त्रीराशिद्व्यङ्गस्थैः बुधे कन्यांशके । समं पूर्वोक्तयोगे त्रयः पुरुषाः द्वितीययोगे तिस्रः स्त्रियश्च भवन्ति ।

अत्र पुंस्त्रीनपुंसकादिविभागस्य सर्वेषां ग्रहाणामपि कारकत्वात् तेषां द्व्यङ्गांशकवशात् यमलादित्वं निरूपितम् । वृत्तं शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् । सूर्याश्रयतियुतम् । अतः सर्वेषां भावानां विशेषतः सप्तमभावस्य च कारकस्य पत्युश्च द्व्यङ्गांशकवशादेवमूहमिति व्यञ्जितम् । तेन शुक्रस्य सप्तमाधिपस्य च उभयराश्यंशकवशात् कलत्रद्वित्वं वक्तव्यम् । तथा च फलदीपिकायाम्—

“द्वन्द्वक्षौंशे मदपतिसितौ तस्य जायाद्वयं स्यात्”

इति । एवमेव स्वांशस्थबुधोऽपि तत्तद्राश्यनुगुणबहुकलत्रदो भवति ॥१४॥

गर्भस्थानेकसङ्ख्याकप्रजावत्त्वमाह—

धनुर्धरस्यान्यगते विलम्बे ग्रहैस्तदंशोपगतैर्बलिष्ठैः ।

ज्ञेनार्किणा वीर्ययुतेन दृष्टे सन्ति प्रभूता अपि कोशसंस्थाः ॥१५॥

इति । विलम्बे लम्बे धनुर्धरस्यान्यगते धनुषोऽन्त्यनवांशके धनुषि धनुर्नवांशक इत्यर्थः । वीर्ययुतेन ज्ञेनार्किणा बलयुताभ्यां बुधशनिभ्यां दृष्टे ।

बलिष्ठैर्ग्रहैः बलयुक्तैरितरग्रहैः तदंशोपगतैः यत्र कुत्रापि संस्थितैः धनुर्नवांशकगतैः । कोशसंस्थाः जरायुसंस्थिताः । प्रभूता अपि बहवोऽपि सन्ति ।

इन्द्रवज्रोपेन्द्रवज्रसंयुक्तमालानामकोपजातिवृत्तमिदम् । प्रभूताः कोशसंस्था इत्यप्युक्तम् । कोशशब्देन भाग्ययोगः सूचितः । अत अस्मिन्योगे जातः इन्द्रवद्धुपरिवारयुक्तः उपेन्द्रवद्गुणाढ्यश्च भवतीति द्योत्यते । न्याय्यमेतत् । अत्र सर्वे ग्रहाः बलिष्ठाः । पञ्चानां ग्रहाणां गुरुनवांशकस्थितिश्च । लग्ननवांशकनाथोऽपि गुरुः । लग्नं च वर्गोत्तमगम् । “शुभं वर्गोत्तमे जन्म” इति वक्ष्यति ॥ १५ ॥

अथ गर्भस्थायाः प्रजायाः शुभाशुभफलनिरूपणार्थं मासाधिपतीनाह—

कललधनाङ्कुरास्थिचर्माङ्गजचेतनदाः

सितकुजजीवसूर्यचन्द्रार्किबुधाः परतः ।

उदयपचन्द्रसूर्यनाथाः क्रमशो गदिता

भवति शुभाशुभं च मासाधिपतेः सदृशम् ॥ १६ ॥

इति । सितकुजजीवसूर्यचन्द्रार्किबुधाः शुक्रकुजगुरुसूर्यचन्द्रशनिबुधाः क्रमेण कललधनाङ्कुरास्थिचर्माङ्गजचेतनदाः भवन्ति । शुक्रः कललदः निषिक्तं बीजं शोणितेन मेलयित्वा सान्द्रं करोति । कललशब्दः बुद्बुदपिण्डयोरप्युपलक्षणम् । कुजः धनदः काठिन्यं ददाति । गुरुः अङ्कुरदः मनुष्याकारोत्पत्त्यारम्भं करचरणाद्यवयवसम्भवात् करोति । अङ्कुरशब्देन लिङ्गव्यक्तिमपि करोतीत्यूहम् । सूर्यः अस्थिदः अस्थिनि जनयति । चन्द्रः चर्मदः चर्म त्वचं ददाति । शनिः अङ्गजदाः नखरोमाणि जनयति । बुधः चेतनदः जीवचेतन्यं ददाति ।

“ऋतुकाले संप्रयोगादेकरात्रोषितं कललं भवति । सप्तरात्रोषितं बुद्बुदं भवति । अर्धमासाभ्यन्तरे पिण्डो भवति । मासाभ्यन्तरे कठिनो भवति । मासद्वयेन शिरः संपद्यते । मासत्रयेण पादप्रदेशो भवति । अथ चतुर्थे मासि गुल्फजठरकटिप्रदेशा भवन्ति । पञ्चमे मासि पृष्ठवंशो भवति । षष्ठे मासे मुखनासिकाश्रोत्राणि भवन्ति । सप्तमे मासे जीवेन संयुक्तो भवति । अष्टमे मासे सर्वलक्षणसंपूर्णो भवति । पितुरेतोऽतिरेकात्पुरुषो मातुरेतोऽतिरेकात्स्त्री उभयोर्बीजतुल्यत्वान्नपुंसको भवति,” इति गर्भोपनिष-
दुक्तकललादिकारकत्वादेते सितादयः तत्रैवोक्ततत्तदुत्पादकमासनाथाश्च भव-
न्तीति सूचितम् । अतः सितादिबुधान्ताः प्रथमादिसप्तमासाधिपतय इति सिद्धम् ।

परतः पश्चात् जीववत्त्वकरणानन्तरं उदयपचन्द्रसूर्यनाथाः । अष्टम-
मासस्य निषेकलमाधिपो प्रश्नलमाधिपो वा, नवमस्य चन्द्रः, दशमस्य
सूर्यश्च नाथा भवन्ति ।

“अथ नवमे मासि सर्वलक्षणज्ञानकरणसंपूर्णो भवति ।”
इति गर्भोपनिषद्वाक्यानुसारेण गर्भस्य संपूर्णवत्त्वम् । अतः दशमे मासि
सूर्याधिदैवत्यो गर्भः प्रसूतिवायुना बहिर्नीयते । यवनेश्वरस्तु कुजस्य प्रथम-
मासाधिपत्यं शुक्रस्य द्वितीयस्य च वक्ति । तथा च तद्वाक्यम्—

“कुजास्फुजिज्जीवरवीन्दुसौरशशाङ्कलमेन्दुदिवाकरणाम् ।”
इति । शुक्रशोणितमिश्रस्य कललस्य शुक्रप्रथमत्वं शोणितप्रथमत्वं वा न्याय्य-
मेव । आचार्यस्तु शुक्रप्रथमत्वमङ्गीकरोति । यवनेश्वरस्तु शोणितस्य ।
शुभाशुभं च मासाधिपस्य सदृशं उक्तमासाधिपबलाबलवशाद्वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।
उक्तं च—

“मासाधिपतौ निपीडिते तत्काले सवणं समादिशेत्” इति ।

शुभाशुभमिति गर्भोपनिषत्स्थस्य “शुभाशुभं च कर्म विन्दति”
इत्यस्य स्मारकः ।

सितादिसप्तमासाधिपानामेकपदेन समासः उदयपचन्द्रसूर्याणा-
मुत्तरपदेन । अनेनायमर्थः सूचितः । जन्मानन्तरं च प्रथमवयसि शरीरस्यैव
प्राधान्यादुदयपो नाथः मध्ये वयसि मनसः परिपाकतया चन्द्रो नाथो
भवति अन्ये वयसि आत्मप्रधानतया सूर्यो नाथो भवति ।

अष्टिच्छन्दः । अनेन षोडशकलात्मकश्चन्द्रः सूचितः । अतः अत्र
सौरसावननाक्षत्रचान्द्रेषु चान्द्रो मासो विवक्षित इति सूचितम् । अष्टिच्छन्द-
स्त्वात्, पद्यक्रमसङ्ख्यया षोडशत्वात्, नागाष्टयतियुतत्वात्, अष्टमूर्तेः
षोडशकलाधरस्यार्धनारीश्वरस्य स्मरणम् । अतः हरवृत्तमिदमिति मन्यामहे
यदेवं लक्ष्येत—

“नजरभमा गुरुश्च नागाष्टमिरेष हरः”

इति । प्रकृतिं भोग्यत्वेन हरतीति व्युत्पत्त्या हरशब्देन जीवः गृह्यते यः

“स एव सोमो मन्तव्यो देहिनां जीवसंज्ञकः ।”

“तुषेण बद्धो ब्रीहिः स्यात्तुषाभावेन तण्डुलः ।

पाशबद्धस्तदा जीवः पाशमुक्तः सदा शिवः ॥”

इत्यादिपुराणोपनिषद्वाक्यैः लक्षितः । नागाष्टयतिना षोडशाक्षरयुक्तपादेन
च अष्ट प्रकृतयः षोडश विकाराश्च अत एव गर्भोपनिषच्च स्मारिता ।
तस्मात्

“भवति शुभाशुभं च मासाधिपतेः सदृशम्”

इत्यनेन

“यदि योन्याः प्रमुच्येहं तत्प्रपद्ये महेश्वरम् ।

अशुभक्षयकर्तारं फलमुक्तिप्रदायकम् ॥

१८. ओलोघनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितमि उयानसि
सवता* पटिवेदका अठं जनसा पटिवेदंतु मे [1] सवता जनसा अठं
कळामि हकं [1] यं पि चा किळि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा
सावकं वा ये वा पुना महाभातेहि

१९. अतियायिके आ(लो)पितं होति तायेठाये विवादे निश्चति
वा संतं पलिसाये अनंतलियेना पटि(-वेदेत-)विये मे सवता सवं
कालं हेवं आनपयिते ममया [1] नथि हि मे दोसे व उठानसा अठसंतिल-
नाये चा [1] कटवियमुते हि मे सवलोकहिते [1] तसा पुना एसे
मुले उठाने

२०. अठसंतिलना चा [1] नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहि-

18. Olodhanasi gabhāgālasī vacasī vinitasi uyā-
nasi savatā paṭivedakā aṭham janasā paṭivedaṃtu me [1]
Savatā janasā aṭham kachāmi hakaṃ [1] Yaṃ pi cā
kichi mukhate ānapayāmi hakaṃ dāpakam vā sāvakam
vā ye vā punā mahāmātehi

19. atiyāyike ālopitaṃ hoti tāyethāye vivāde
nijhati vā saṃtaṃ palisāye anantaḥliyenā paṭi(vedeta)
viye me savatā savam kālaṃ hevaṃ ānapayite
mamayā [1] Nathi hi me dose va uṭhānasā aṭhasaṃtila-
nāye cā [1] Kaṭaviyamute hi me savalokahite [1] Tasā
punā ese mule uṭhāne

20. aṭhasaṃtilanā cā [1] Nathi hi kaṃmatalā

वर्चसि विनीते उद्याने सर्वत्र प्रतिवेदका अर्थं जनस्य प्रतिवेदयन्तु मे ।
सर्वत्र जनस्यार्थं करिष्याम्यहम् ।

३. यदपि च किञ्चिन्मुखत आज्ञापयाम्यहं दापकं वा श्रावकं
वा यद्वा पुनर्महामात्रैः आत्ययिके आ(ज्ञा)पितं भवति तस्मै अर्थाय
विवादं निध्यातो वा सत्यां परिपदा आनन्तर्येण प्रति(वेदयि)तव्यं मे
सर्वत्र सर्वकालम् ।

४. एवमाज्ञापितं मया । नास्ति हि मे तोषो वा उत्थानाय
अर्थसंतरणाय च । कर्तव्यं मतं हि मे सर्वलोकहितम् । तस्य पुनरेतन्मूल-
मुत्थानम् अर्थसंतरणं च । नास्ति हि कर्मान्तरं सर्वलोकहितेन ।

everywhere, the reporters should report to me the busi-
ness of the people. I shall attend to it everywhere.

3. And when I issue orders orally to an officer
appointed to make gifts or to an officer appointed
for making proclamations or when orders have been
ordered by great officials of the state (Mahāmātras)
in an emergency, should there be a difference of
opinion, or should the matter be in debate, it should
be reported to me by the Council (*Parīṣad*) at all times
and in all places.

4. I have ordered thus :

I am never completely satisfied with my work of
wakefulness or despatch of business. I consider that I
must work for the welfare of all people ; and the attain-
ment of this is rooted in wakefulness and due despatch
of business. There is no other work for me (more
important) than doing what is good for the well-being

तेना [1] यं च किञ्चि पलकमामि हकं [1] किति भुतानं अननियं येहं
हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत चा स्वगं आलाधयितु [1] से एतायेठाये
इयं धम्मलिपि लेखिता [1] चिलठितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलक-
मातु सवलोकहिताये [1]

२१. दुकले च इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना [1]

सप्तमो लेखः

२१. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इछति सबपासंड

savalokahitenā [1] Yam ca kici palakamāmi hakaṁ [1]
Kiti bhutānaṁ ananiyaṁ yehaṁ hida ca kāni sukhā-
yāmi palata cā svagaṁ ālādhayitu [1] Se etāyethāye
iyaṁ dhammalipi lekhitā [1] Cilathitikyā hotu tathā ca
me putadāle palakamātu savalokahitāye [1]

21. Dukale ca iyaṁ anatā agenā palakamenā [1]

21. Devānaṁpiye piyadasi lājā savatā ichati

यत्किञ्चित् पराक्रमेहं, किमिति? भूतानामानृष्यमेयाम् इह च कांश्चित्
सुखयामि परत्र च स्वर्गमाराधयितुम् ।

५. तदेतस्मा अर्थायेयं धर्मलिपिलेखिता चिरस्थितिका भवतु ।
तथा च मे पुत्रदारं पराक्रमतां सर्वलोकहिताय । दुष्करं चेदमन्यत्राग्न्यात्
पराक्रमात् ।

ROCK EDICT VII

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वत्रेच्छति सर्वे पाषण्डा
वसेयुः ।

of all people. And why do I work as aforesaid? It is
to see that I may discharge my debt to beings and that
I may make some happy here (in this world) and they
may hereafter gain heaven.

5. For this purpose this edict has been inscribed.
May it endure for long. Likewise may my children
and descendants continue their efforts for the welfare of
all people.

This indeed is most difficult to achieve save by
utmost exertion.

1. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods,
wishes that everywhere (in his dominions) members of
all (religions and) sects may reside (together and har-
moniously).

वसेवु [1] सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इच्छंति जने चु उचावुचाछंदे
उचावुचलागे [1] ते सवं एकदेसं पि कछंति [1] विपुले पि चु दाने
असा नथि

२२. सयमे भावसुधि किटनाता दिदभतिता चा निचे बाढं [1]

अष्टमो लेखः

२२. अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निख-
मिसु [1] हिदा मिगविया अंनानि चा हेदिसानि अभिलामानि हुसु [1]
देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिथा संबोधि [1]

savapāsaṃḍa vasevu [1] Save hi te sayamaṃ bhāva-
sudhi cā ichaṃti jane cu ucāvucāchaṃde ucāvu
calāge [1] Te savaṃ ekadesam pi kachaṃti [1] Vipule pi
cu dāne asā nathi

22. sayame bhāvasudhi kiṭanāta diḍhabhatitā cā
nice bāḍham [1]

22. Atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ devānaṃpiyā vihālayātaṃ
nāma nikhamisu [1] Hidā migaviyā aṃnāni cā hedisāni
abhiḷāmāni husu [1] Devānaṃpiye piyadasi lājā dasa-
vasābhisite saṃtaṃ nikhamithā saṃbodhi [1]

२. सर्वे हि ते संयमं भावशुद्धिं चेच्छन्ति, जनस्तूचावच-
च्छन्द उच्चावचरागः । ते सर्वमेकदेशं वा करिष्यन्ति ।

३. विपुलमपि तु दानं यस्य नास्ति संयमो भावशुद्धिः
कृतज्ञता दृढभक्तिता च नित्या बाढम् ।

ROCK EDICT VIII

१. अतिक्रान्तमन्तरं देवानां प्रिया विहारयात्रां नाम निर-
क्रमयन् । इह मृगव्या अन्यानि च ईदृशानि अभिरामाणि अभवन् ।

२. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः सन्
निरक्रीतः संबुद्धः ।

2. For, all desire in common to achieve mastery
of the senses and purity of mind, however varied their
desires and likings, high and low, may be. Some will
attend to the performance of the whole of the law, and
some, of only a part.

3. Even to those who are not in a position to
make large gifts, mastery of the senses, purity of mind,
gratitude and steadfast devotion are certainly essential.

1. Some time has passed since kings (*Devānaṃ-
priyas*) went on what are called *vihāra-yātras* (pleasure-
tours). In these *yātras*, there were huntings and other
similar enjoyments.

2. King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the gods,
became well-enlightened in wisdom (*Sambuddha*)
when he had been consecrated ten years.

प्रियदर्शिप्रशस्तयः

२३. तेनता धंमयाता [१] हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने च दाने च वुधानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमानुसथि चा धंमपलिपुछा च । ततोपया एसे भुये लाति होति देवानं-पियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने भागे अने [१]

नवमो लेखः

२४. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा आहा [१] जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति [१] आबाधसि अवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाये पवाससि एताये

23. Tenatā dhammayātā [1] Hetā iyaṃ hoti samanabambhanānaṃ dasane ca dāne ca vudhānaṃ dasane ca hilaṃnapaṭividdhāne cā jānapadasā janasā dasane dhammānusathi cā dhammapalipuchā ca [1] Tatopayā ese bhuye lāti hoti devānaṃpiyasā piyadasisā lājine bhāge aṃne [1]

24. Devānaṃpiye piyadasi lājā āhā [1] Jane ucāvacāmaṃ māṅgalaṃ kaleti [1] Ābādhasi avāhasi vivāhasi

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION
IN ANCIENT INDIA

LECTURE I

I. PRELIMINARY

IN this course of lectures, just two in number, I do not propose to enter into a detailed discussion of the various points relating to education in ancient India. It is an impossibility, having regard to the narrow compass available. Further, a few books have already been written by other scholars, which deal with the various points in a detailed way; and it is not necessary to duplicate the work. It is not even possible here to bring in all the points relating to the subject, although there is no book now available where all the facts have been assembled together and arranged in an orderly way. What has been done in the earlier works is only to discuss the points and to give the relevant facts in foot-notes. I have already collected a large number of such points myself, and perhaps at a later stage I may attempt to arrange them in some definite order and to present them in the form of a separate book.

My object in this course of lectures is to discuss a few important points. When it comes to the matter of interpretation, my own feeling is that the facts have not been correctly presented in any book till now published. There has always been a demand to make education in India truly Indian both in form and in spirit, and in the few extracts I have seen from the views expressed by the chairman of the University Commission recently appointed by the Government of India, the ideal which the framers of the Report have before them is to present a scheme whereby Indians could be educated in an Indian way¹. If such an ideal is to be worked out, we must know what the true Indian ideals are in education. We must also know whether there is any fundamental difference between such ideals and the ideals of what I will call "the universal system of education", i.e., a system of education fitted for *man* and not for the citizens of any particular State.

There are various ways in which the problem could be handled. We can take up the subject according to the various aspects of education and consider

¹The passage is: To judge from the observations made by the Chairman of the Commission at the Press Conference, the general approach of the Commission to the entire problem of education has been sound. He said that one of the main objectives which the Commission kept in view was "to make our education more Indian in character than it has been." In all free countries, education is imparted with a background of the history and culture of the respective countries. "But in this country for a long time, our education has been more or less on un-Indian lines." Our education must shed the un-Indian influences.

each one of the aspects in a historical way. We can also take up the whole subject in a historical way and consider each of the aspects in the various stages in this historical evolution of educational system in the country. Whatever be the approach, it is not possible to keep up the plan absolutely. We will have to stray away from the path occasionally. What I propose to do is to have a combination of both the modes of approach. On the whole I propose to take up the entire subject in a historical way; but it will be necessary for me to proceed with a point to a later stage before finishing the other aspects.

II. SAMHITĀS

The *Rigveda* represents the earliest stage in the history of India for which we have any literary record. When we take up the *Rigvedic* period, I must confess that the material available is very scanty. One will look into the *Rigveda* in vain for terms like *Ācārya* and *Guru* (Teacher), *Śiṣya* and *Antevāsin* (disciples), *Āśramas* (Hermitages) and so on, that are intimately connected with education. There is the word *Guru* in the *Rigveda*; but it does not mean Teacher at all, in it. We know much about the religion and philosophy of the *Rigvedic* times, from the text itself. There are frequent references to family relationships like father and son, brother and sister, husband and wife and so on. The relation between the king and the people is also frequently mentioned. Cities and villages, clans

and communities, wealth, poetry, music and other arts, sports and pastimes and various other subjects are also mentioned in the text. But we get practically nothing about the relation of Teacher and student in the *Rigveda*.

From the absence of any reference to writing in the *Vedas*, Max Muller concluded that writing came to be known in India only at a much later period.¹ Macdonell, with a sense of humour, has said that we should not stretch the arguments based on silence too far, in as much as there is no mention of salt in the *Rigveda*; from that are we to conclude that the *Rigvedic* people had only a saltless diet?² There is no doubt about the intellectual eminence of the *Rigvedic* Aryans. And such eminence is not confined to a few select prodigies as an accident. The general level must also have been very high; it is impossible that such prodigies should flourish in an intellectual desert. And is it possible that there should be such a high level of intellectualism in the average person unless there was also a high system of education?

Although there is no direct mention of education in the *Rigveda*, there are certain ways in which we can know something about the mode of education at that time from indirect sources. We are all familiar with

¹ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 497 ff.

² This is what he said when he was dealing with the point in the class. K. F. Geldner too held the view that writing must have been known to the *Vedic* Aryans, having regard to the high level of the culture.

the famous sentence in the *Taittiriyaaranyaka*, "One should study what has been prescribed for his own study."¹ This comes at a very late stage in the *Vedic* period, in the middle of the *Taittiriyaaranyaka* (*Prapa-thaka* II, *Anuvāka* 15). There is one passage in the *Rigveda* which proves that, although the definite mention of education is only in such a late work as the *Taittiriyaaranyaka*, the idea contained in it is a far earlier one, that the *Svādhyāyadhyayana* (study of what has been prescribed for one's own study), as understood by the passage was the custom even in the *Rigvedic* times. The passage is:

When among them one (frog) repeats the words of the other like a student that of the teacher.²

(*Rigveda* VII-103-5)

This is a hymn describing the frogs in the rainy season. In this passage there is a clear reference to one frog repeating the words of another frog like students studying the *Vedas* from a teacher. What is contained in the prescription of study in the *Taittiriyaaranyaka* is this kind of study of the recitation of the *Veda* by a student from the teacher. There have been some attempts in recent times to discover a sort of social, religious and philosophical "evolution" from the *Rigveda* onwards, along with a language evolution also. But from a comparison of the direct statement

¹ स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः ।

² यदेवामन्यो अन्यस्य वाचं शाक्तस्येव वदति शिक्षमाणः ॥

about study contained in the prescription of study in the *Taittirīyāranyaka* and the indirect reference to such a system of study by rote in the *Rigveda*, we know that there has been no material change from the *Rigvedic* times to the time of the *Taittirīyāranyaka*, in point of the system of education. In this way, although it is not possible to get any direct statement about education in the *Rigveda*, we know that all that is meant by the prescription of "one's own study" in the *Taittirīyāranyaka* must have been current in the *Rigvedic* times, from this one solitary reference in an indirect way.

We should realise that we have in the *Rigveda* only a very small part of the literature that must have existed at that time, and what actually existed at that time must have been an immense wealth. The extent *Rigveda* is only about half the size of the *Ramāyana*. Therefore even this solitary reference means a lot to us. It is true that there are words in the *Rigveda* which mean "teaching". Thus there are places where the forms of the root *Sās* mean "to teach", "to inform". There are also words which actually mean "Teacher":

Iḥā they made the Teacher of the sons of men.¹

(Rigveda I-31-11).

Here the word translated as "Teacher" is *sāsanim*, from the root *Sās*. There are also places where the word *sāsana* means only "control" as in:

¹ इहामकृष्वन् मनुष्यस्य शासनीम् ।

They know the red Bull's blessings and are joyful under the flaming coloured Lord's control.¹

(Rigveda III-7-5)

The root *Sās* has continued its meaning of "instruction" in words like *Anusāsana* and *Sāstra*. This is a *Rigvedic* sense of the root. Thus some kind of teaching or instruction must have been a prominent element in the *Rigvedic* life; to this extent we can be on sure ground. What I meant was that an actual reference to any details relating to the mode of teaching and to the relation of teacher and disciple is missing in the *Rigveda*; there is only the indirect allusion in the hymn on frogs, from which I have already given the passage. There are other passages also in the hymn where there is reference to the recitation of the *Vedic Mantras* in the *Yagas*.² From these we also know that

¹ जानन्ति वृष्णो अरुषस्य शेषमुत ब्रध्नस्य शासने रणन्ति ॥

² संवत्सरं शशयाना ब्राह्मणा व्रतचारिणः ।

वाचं पर्जन्यजिन्वितं प्र मण्डूका अवादिषुः ॥ (VII. 103.1)

The Brahmins who observe their vows, who lay quiet for a year, the frogs have spoken out their voice, inspired by Parjanya.

ब्राह्मणासो अतिरात्रे न सोमे सरो न पूर्णे अभितो वदन्तः ।

संवत्सरस्य तदहः परिष्ठ यन्मण्डूकाः प्रावृषीणं बभूव ॥ (VII. 103.7)

As Brahmins sitting round the brimful lake (*soma* vessel) sing at the *Soma* rite of *Atirātra*, so the frogs, ye gather round (the lake) this day the first of the rainy season.

ब्राह्मणामः सोमिनो वाचमकृत ब्रह्म कृष्वन्तः परिवत्सरीणम् ।

अध्वर्यवो घर्मिणः सिध्विदाना आविर्भवन्ति गुह्या न केचित् ॥ (VII. 103.8)

These Brahmins with the *soma* juice performing their year-long rite, have sung out; and these performers of rite (*Adhvaryus*) sweating with their kettles, show themselves; and none are hidden.

the learning of the *Vedic Mantras* has the performance of the *Yāgas* (sacrifices) as the purpose.

Associated with the prescription of one's own study are *Upanayana* and *Brahmacarya* (usually translated as "studentship"). We do not find the word *Upanayana* at all in the *Rigveda*. There is the word *Brahmacārin* occurring once in the *Rigveda*. In the books that have already been written on the subject of education in ancient India, it has been uniformly said that the word *Brahmacārin* means the boy initiated into the learning of the *Vedas*. The passage in the *Rigveda* is :

The *Brahmacārin* goes engaged in duty ; he is a member of the body of the gods.¹

(Rigveda X-109-5)

For this hymn, the author (*Rṣi*) is a *Brahmavādin* (one who discourses on *Brahman*), named Juhū. From this itself we can understand that it is a very mystic hymn ; I must confess that the sense is very obscure. Even the name of the author is not definite according to tradition. Ūrdhvanābhā, son of Brahmā is also given as the author, as an alternative. Thus the *Sarvānukramanī*² gives the author etc., in the passage :

¹ ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविषद्विषः स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्गम् ।

² *Sarvānukramanī* gives the index of all details, like the author, the metre and the deity of the hymns.

te 'avadan,¹ seven, Juhū wife of Brahmā, or Ūrdhvanābhā son of Brahmā.²

Sāyaṇa gives the meaning of the *Rigvedic* passage cited above as :

Oh gods formerly he wandered about as a *Brahmacārin*, i.e., as a bachelor, since he had no wife³. From the whole spirit of the passage, we find that there is no reference to the boy-initiate in the hymn at all. The reference seems to be to some one who was devoted to the deeper contemplation of the nature of *Brahman* ; but Sāyaṇa takes the word *Brahmacārin* in its secondary significance of a bachelor or celibate. The *Rigvedic* tradition refers to two sorts of people, the *Rṣis* who knew the nature of the gods and who composed the hymns in praise of such gods, perhaps who were also engaged in the sacrifices, and the *Brahmacārins* who thought about the deeper problems of the reality of the universe. Thus Skandasvāmin cites a story where Arcanānas of the Family of Atri officiated as priest at the sacrifice of a king named Rathavīti. Arcanānas had a son named Śyāvās'va who was a *Brahmacārin*. Once he went to the king being invited for the performance of the sacrifice, along with his son. At the end of the sacrifice, he met the daughter of the king who was unmarried and sought her hand for his son. After consulting his queen, he replied

¹ This is the beginning of the hymn.

² तेऽवदन् सप्त जुह्वर्वाजाया ब्राह्मो वोर्ध्वनाभा.

³ हे देवाः पूर्वं म ब्रह्मचारी जायाभावेन ब्रह्मचारी चरति ।

that they had never a son-in-law who was not a *R̥ṣi* and that his son *S'yāvās'va* was only a *Brahmacārin* and not an *R̥ṣi*.¹ Here evidently the disqualification was not that the youth was a boy-initiate or that he was a bachelor but that he could not have the vision of gods (*R̥ṣi*) and was devoted to *Brahman* knowledge (*Brahmacārin*).

From the mere appearance of the word *Brahmacārin* we cannot say that there is also a reference to *Upanayana* and *Brahmacaryāsrāma* (stage of studentship). I am not denying the existence of such institutions in the *Rigvedic* age; what I am doing is only to say that the word *Brahmacārin* in the *Rigveda* passage cited above is no authority for the establishment of the existence of such institutions at that time.

There are two hymns in the *Atharvaveda* where there is a definite description of a *Brahmacārin*. The first is a small hymn of five verses, where there is the reference to the process of making the *Brahmacārin* impotent as a step to his being able to devote his whole attention to the acquisition of the *Brahman* knowledge, without being distracted by considerations of the world and its enjoyments. The first verse in the hymn is:

Oh plant, thy fame is spread abroad as best of all the herbs that grow; make this man today a eunuch that he may wear the horn of hair.²

(Atharvaveda VI-138.1)

¹ Com. on *Rigveda* V. 61. 1.

² त्वं वीरुधां श्रेष्ठतममिष्टुतास्योषधे ।

इमं मे अद्य पुरुषं क्लीबमोपशिनं कृधि ॥

The same idea more or less continues in the whole hymn. Is this the idea that is fitting for a boy of eight years who is to enter the stage of studentship? Or is it more fitting for a man of advanced age who desires to retire from the affairs of the world and enter the stage of what may be called *Samnyāsa* (renunciation)? The matter becomes clearer when we consider the next hymn relating to a *Brahmacārin* in the *Atharvaveda*. This is a fairly long hymn of 26 verses. The dress and other details of a *Brahmacārin* are described in this hymn. Take the verse:

With a lighted fuel goes the *Brahmacārin*, clad in black buck-skin, consecrate, long-bearded.¹

(Atharvaveda XI-5-6)

Here there is a specific mention of long beards, which is an impossibility for a boy entering the stage of studentship. Therefore the mention of the word *Brahmacārin* does not mean that this suggests *Upanayana* (initiation to study) etc. Here the *Brahmacārin* meant is one who discards the world and enters the stage of *Vanaprastha* (life in the forest hermitage) devoting his whole time to the consideration of the problem of *Brahman*.

I had to enter into this long discussion only in so far as scholars who have written books on the subject have said that these references relate to the student

¹ ब्रह्मचार्येति समिधा समिद्धः

काष्णं वसानो दीक्षितो दीर्घश्मश्रुः ॥

after *Upanayana* (initiation).¹ Really I have not been able to find any reference to *Upanayana* in the Vedic *Samhitās* (original texts). The words *Upanayana* and *Upanita* appear in the *Rigveda*; but they mean only "to bring near" in the ordinary sense without the special meaning of "initiation", bringing the boy near the teacher for study. But reference in the hymn on frogs in the *Rigveda*, to the student repeating the words of the teacher is clear enough regarding the particular type of teaching that was associated with the *Upanayana* ceremony.²

It has been held by some³ that the passage in the *Rigveda*:

Young, with fine robes and covered around.⁴

(III-8-4)

¹ History of *Dharma Śāstra* by MM. P. V. Kane, Vol. II, pp. 268 and 270.

² This idea is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kambar in Tamil.
Kalviyirṭigal kaṇakkāyar kambalai
Palviḍac-cirārenap-pakarva pallari
Cellidattalattonrutaittal ceykalā
Nallaṟi vālarin avinda nāvelām
Kiṣkindhakāṇḍa, Kārkālappaṭalam (Description of rainy season), 115.

Frogs of many species croak like the noisy boys of many grades with their learned teacher. They were silent like the good wise men who utter not anything except where acceptable.

I am indebted to Sri T. P. Palaniappa Pillai, B.O.L., Reader in Tamil, Sri Venkateswara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati for this parallelism.

³ History of *Dharma Śāstra* by MM. P. V. Kane, Vol. II, p. 269.

⁴ युवा सुवासः परिवीतः

describing a sacrificial pole (*Yūpa*), has reference to the robes of a *Brahmacārin*. It will be more appropriate if the description has reference to a citizen in fine robes, and not to a *Brahmacārin* in his garment and girdle. The expression "covered around" (*Parivita*) may refer to the fine robes, or it may be a second robe on the upper part of the body. I do not accept this as an allusion to *Brahmacarya*.

The same continuity and unity of tradition which we are able to trace between the *Rigveda* and the *Āraṇyaka* literature are found existing between the *Brahmaṇa* (including the *Āraṇyaka*) literature and the later texts relating to the various sacraments, the *Grhyasūtras* and the *Dharmasūtras*, forming parts of the *Kalpasūtras* which form one among the six *Vedāṅgas* (accessory texts for Vedic study). We do not know when these *Kalpasūtras* were written; but we know that the system has not undergone any change from those days when the *Kalpasūtras* were written up to the very recent times. The same *Upanayana* ceremony, the same system of teaching the proper recitation of the *Vedas*, continued in an unbroken tradition for at least twenty-five centuries from the age of the *Kalpasūtras* to the present day. If we are able to trace a system for so many centuries up to our own days, there is no reason for doubting its continuity backwards also for innumerable centuries. Assisted by this single indirect allusion to the system of reciting the *Vedas* by a student after his teacher, we are justified in assuming that the *Upanayana* ceremony and

the system of studying the *Vedas* by rote from a teacher was a *Rigvedic*, and perhaps an even earlier, institution. What I want to emphasise is that the passages :

When among them one repeats the words of the other like a student that of the teacher.¹

(*Rigveda* VII-103-5)

is identical in purport to the passage in the *Taittiriya-ranyaka* :

One should study what has been prescribed for his own study²

and the *Kalpasūtra* passage :

Study the *Vedas* remaining under the control of the teacher.³ (*Ās'v. Grhya-Sūtra* I-22-2)

It has been made out by those who have written on this subject that the original system of *Upanayana* must have been a very simple one and that the elaborate ceremonial found in the later literature must have gradually developed.⁴

The fact is that scholars who have written on this subject have not made any distinction between *Upanayana* (initiation) and *Upasadana* (approach to the teacher). The former is the ceremony of a student being initiated to the Vedic study under the teacher ;

¹ Already cited on p. 5.

² Already cited on p. 5.

³ आचार्याधीनो वेदमयीष्व

⁴ History of *Dharma Sāstra* by MM. P. V. Kane, Vol. II, p. 273.

and this is done by the parent. Then there is the latter, namely, *Upasadana*, which is a voluntary approach to a great teacher by an advanced student for further study. Here there is no special ceremony prescribed. In the *Upaniṣads* we come across various incidents of students going to great teachers in search of higher knowledge. This aspect will be considered again later. Here I propose to take into consideration only the question of *Upanayana* and the study of the *Vedas* thereafter.

III. SVĀDHYAYĀDHYAYANA

The *Upanayana* ceremony is to be performed in the eighth year for a Brahmin, in the eleventh year for a Kshatriya and in the twelfth year for a Vaisya. The ceremony is described in the *Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra*¹ in *Kaṇḍikās* 19 to 21 in the first Chapter. Then in the twenty-second *Kaṇḍikā* the duties of a *Brahmacarin* are described. Texts are all fairly uniform in the matter of the details of the *Upanayana* ceremony. The ages prescribed for the ceremony for the various castes is either after birth or from the time of pregnancy. Thus we have the *Sūtra* :

One shall initiate a Brahmin in the eighth year ; or in the eighth year from pregnancy ; a Kshatriya in the eleventh ; a Vaisya in the twelfth.²

(*Ās'v. Grhya Sūtras* 1-19-1 to 4)

¹ The reference is to the edition in the Adyar Library Series No. 44.

² अष्टमे वर्षे ब्राह्मणमुपनयेत् । गर्भाष्टमे वा । एकादशे क्षत्रियम् । द्वादशे वैश्यम् ।

This is not the latest age at which the *Upanayana* shall be performed; the ceremony can be postponed up to 16, 22 and 24 respectively for the three castes. Thus it is said :

The time does not elapse for a Brahmin till the sixteenth year; for a Kshatriya till the twenty-second; for a Vaisya till the twenty-fourth.¹

(Āsv. Gṛhya-Sūtra I-19-5 and 6)

If a boy is not initiated into study at this age, there is social penalty. It is said :

After this, they have the *Sāvitrī*² fallen off; one shall not initiate them, one shall not teach them, one shall not associate with them in sacrifices and one shall not have social dealings with them.³

(Āsv. Gṛhya-Sūtra I-19, 6 and 7)

One may consider why there is this difference among the various castes regarding the age of *Upanayana*. The differentiation is not merely in the matter of the age prescribed for *Upanayana*. It is also in a variety of other details. Regarding the robes to be worn by a *Brahmacārin*, it is said :

The boy who wears ornaments, whose (hair on the) head is arranged properly, who wears a garment that has not been washed (*i.e.*, a new garment)

¹ आ षोडशात् ब्राह्मणस्यानतीतः कालः । आ द्वाविंशत् क्षत्रियस्य । आ चतुर्विंशद्वैश्यस्य ।

² Sāvitrī is Gāyatrī.

³ अत ऊर्ध्वं पतितसावित्रीका भवन्ति । नैनानुपनयेन्नाध्यापयेन् यजयेन्नेभिर्व्यवहरेयुः ।

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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References to the undermentioned works (with the abbreviation given against each) are given to the above collection.

a.	अत्रिः	अत्रिसंहिता	pp. 9-27.
b.	आपस्तम्बस्मृतिः	आपस्तम्बस्मृतिः	pp. 35-45.
c.	देवलः	देवलस्मृतिः	pp. 85-89.
d.	यमः	यमस्मृतिः	pp. 112-116.
e.	वसिष्ठः	वसिष्ठस्मृतिः	pp. 187-231.
f.	वृद्धहारीतस्मृतिः	वृद्धहारीतस्मृतिः	pp. 232-356.
g.	वेदव्यासस्मृतिः	वेदव्यासस्मृतिः	pp. 357-371.
h.	शङ्खः	शङ्खस्मृतिः	pp. 374-395.
i.	संवर्तः	संवर्तस्मृतिः	pp. 411-424.

24. स्वप्नप्रकाशिका *Swapnaprakāśikā*, (Manuscript) Transcript, Shelf No. VIII.I.25. Serial No. 60593, pp. 61-87, deposited in the Adyar Library.

25. हारीतः *Hārītasṃṛti*, *Aṣṭādaśasṃṛtayaḥ*, Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, 1924, pp. 56-77.

26. हेमाद्रिः, प्रा. का. *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Vol. IV (*Prāyaścitta Kāṇḍa*), Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1911.

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INTRODUCTION

THE word Dharma is one of the most comprehensive and important term in Sanskrit literature. According to commentators it is explained as denoting an act which produces a result (to the soul) called *apūrva*, the cause of heavenly bliss and final liberation. It has, however, been understood in ordinary usage to have a far wider meaning. The term has been used in various contexts to signify a prescribed course of conduct, duty, ordinance, statute, law, usage, practice, custom, customary observances of castes, religion, piety, justice, equity, virtue, morality, nature, character, a characteristic quality or peculiarity etc. Pūrvamīmāṃsā professes to teach *Dharma* exclusively. The work of Manu which is the standard treatise on *Dharmasāstra* is the most familiar example specially devoted to the exposition of *Dharma*.¹

The vedic meaning of the term—which is held to be derived from the root *dhṛ* (to uphold, to support, to nourish)—as sustainer included ordinances, and gradually extended its significance to include the meaning of fixed principles of conduct, and the whole body of *dharma* literature later on.² All *dharma-sūtras* and the code of Manu describe the *dharma* of all the *varṇas* and every *dharma* work is intended to explain the duties and obligations of the *varṇas*. The fivefold classification of *dharma* adopted by Medhātithi is followed by Vijñāneśvara in

¹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 702.

² Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 1-3.

his *Mitākṣarā*, by Haradatta on Gautama and by Govindarāja on Manu.¹ This fivefold classification under *varṇa-dharma*, *āśrama-dharma*, *varṇāśrama-dharma*, *naimittika-dharma* and *guṇa-dharma* is occasioned by the very first verse in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*.² It is in this sense that the word *dharma* is understood in *Dharmasāstra*.

BACKGROUND OF DHARMASĀSTRA

The first and ultimate source of *Dharma* is the Veda or *sruti*.³ To the Hindu the Veda is the source of all knowledge and religion. It enjoins actions to be performed and enumerates actions which are inhibited. The rules for the conduct of daily life are laid down according to the Veda. The entire Veda is the source of *Dharma* and no part of it can be rejected on the ground of being inconsistent in teaching. If there is such a difference in the Veda itself, it is explained as giving permission to both the practices as in the case of *udita* and *anudita* homas.⁴ *Dharmasāstra* comes next and derives both its inspiration and matter from the *sruti* or Veda. Those whose knowledge of the Veda was unquestioned could expound it without in any way conflicting with the vedic practices. As such, their exposition was authoritative. Excepting the code of Manu which is attributed to the father of the race all other works have been composed by sages of approved merit and knowledge of the *sruti*. But a preeminence has been assigned to the code of Manu and any *smṛti* which contradicts Manu is not considered as good for being followed in actual

¹ Kullūka on *Manu*, II, 25.

² I, 1.

वर्णाश्रमेतराणां नो ब्रूहि धर्मान्शेषतः ।

³ *Manu*, II, 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 15.

life.¹ Thus *dharma* literature dealing with the life of the people of the land, laying down the rules for the daily life and occupations of the people in the minutest details entered into all the aspects and spheres of human action such as economic, social or religious. Its all-pervasive character has made it coextensive with the Veda in authority and spirit.²

The *smṛtis* therefore set forth the ideal of life both in this world and in the world above—as obtained from a knowledge of the Veda. Any lapses could not be condoned and had to be expiated. Such expiation was through vedic rites in which vedic mantras were utilized for the purpose.

One of the basic assumptions of the Hindu view of life is that life is eternal. The soul or *ātmā* never perishes though the body or *śarīra* which it occupies dies. The soul is reborn several times through its own karma and continues to function birth after birth till it attains liberation or *mokṣa*. The self is related to *Paramātmā* or Supreme Soul. The good or bad actions of a soul follow it by an eternal and inexorable moral law of the universe. The doer vanishes but the deed survives and adheres to the self or *ātmā*—the real doer. The important incidents in the life of a person good or bad are the result of the past actions of the individual which have moulded his destiny in the present life. These go by the term *pūrvajan-mavāsanā* recognized by vedāntins. One rises up or falls

¹ *Bṛhaspatismṛti*, G.O.S. LXXXV, p. २३३ :

वेदार्थप्रतिबद्धत्वात् प्रामाण्यं तु मनोः स्मृतम् ।

मन्वर्थविपरीता तु या स्मृतिः सा न शस्यते ॥

² It is only during the days of the British administration that *Dharmasāstra* has come to be looked down upon by the secular state and set aside. Islands of territory have continued to exist administering *dharma* rules in various spheres of life in the states until very recent times. Such a living *sāstra*, in spite of the vicissitudes during foreign rule, furnished the standard code when the administration of the East India Company started on its administrative career.

down in the ladder according to the good or bad actions that he performs in his lives. One has to work out his karma and the moral law is so inexorable that there is no escaping it. *Mokṣa*¹ is the release from the cycle of births and deaths which result in rebirth. Any one incarnation is only a hyphen in the long history of its existence, a short interval in the awesome prospect of viewing the past incarnations or the future ones that stretch forward and backward to eternity. To be born is to court pain (*duḥkha*). To be released from the cycle of births is therefore the object of a proper life lived by following the precepts of *Dharmasāstra* which embody the vedic teachings. Man is the only rational being among God's creations. He alone has the capacity to lift himself to the position of the gods by his own effort. But this goal is defective in as much as when the *puṇya* or merit which he has acquired through good actions is exhausted like oil in a lamp, he is sent back to the earth, to begin a new cycle of births and deaths. The highest bliss is not derived from residence in the Heaven of Indra. For, the span of the life of an Indra is only one-fourteenth of the day of Brahmā. The aim is to attain a position for the soul, after the weary march through several births, from which there is no return, which is commonly called *Parama Padam*. Reincarnations can be accepted as good if they help in such an ascent. The ascent to the *Pitṛloka* is known by the name of *Dhūma-yāna* and the path of the soul which does not return to the earth, *Deva-yāna*.²

In the attempt to attain the object of liberation one has to prepare himself by living through a full life in this world according to the precepts taught by the *Dharmasāstras*. This

¹ Introduction to the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataṇu* of Lakṣmi-dhara. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. cii).

² *infra.*, pp. ३-४, sūtras 10-13.

brings us to a consideration of the varṇāśrama scheme which is the special contribution of our literature to the world. The first three varṇas—the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya form the bulk of the society. The first varṇa (representing the intellect of the community) is devoted to a dedicated life of studying the vedas and mastering the entire literature and to act as the teachers of the community. The second (representing the strength of the community in its physical aspect) is entrusted with the duty of protecting the country and the people. The third—the Vaiśya—was economically the most affluent as it thrived on trade and agriculture and was the main stay of the social structure. The fourth varṇa the Sūdra was to assist the first three in the discharge of their duties. No special teaching or schooling was essential for his uplift. He had no daily routine to attend to, the negligence of which entailed sin. This aspect is figuratively explained in the *Puruṣasūkta* hymn where the origin of the castes is stated as emanating from the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of the *Puruṣa*. No one can stand or walk without the feet and the thighs, and to the community, the Vaiśya and the Sūdra are as important as the thighs and feet are to the human body. A regulated life within the varṇāśrama scheme, according to the principles laid down in the *dharma* works, gradually lifted itself up to the highest bliss by its own merits.

The scheme of the *āśramas* was no less important or significant. To the first two varṇas the first three *āśramas* were open.¹ The fourth *āśrama* was open only to the Brāhmaṇa. To the Kṣatriya the fourth, and to the Vaiśya the third and fourth *āśramas* were barred as they would be diverted

¹ Yogi-Yājñavalkya—cited in *Parāśara Mādhyāya*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 153.

चत्वारो ब्राह्मणस्योक्ता आश्रमाः श्रुतिचोदिताः ।

क्षत्रियस्य त्रयः प्रोक्ताः द्वावेको वैश्यश्च द्वयोः ।

from the most useful occupations of protection of the people (*Prajāpālana yajña*) and increasing the economic prosperity of the community, through trade and agriculture. The rise of the new schools of thought opened the fourth *āśrama* to all the people by the spread of Buddhism and Jainism. Consequently, the social equilibrium must have suffered from an unequal distribution of the population in the various economic spheres of activity. The importance attached to the duty of protection can be seen in the exemption given to war materials and Elephants which are made unpunishable for acts of trespass and are called *prajāpālas*.¹

The most important *āśrama* common to all the varṇas was the *gr̥hasthāśrama*. According to Manu the *gr̥hastha* is the *sreṣṭha* and he alone supports the whole society. The *Brahmacarya āśrama* is the period of preparation for life in the world. The *vānaprastha* and the *sanyāsin* get out of the life of the *gr̥hastha* and live in the forests or the outskirts. The householder lives in villages and towns, and as neither the *Brahmacārī* nor the *sanyāsin* has the right to cook food for himself the *gr̥hastha* has to supply their food as well besides his own requirements. He performs the sacrifices and *śrāddhas* for the satisfaction of the gods. He is competent to procreate children and it is part of his duty to continue the race. Thus the *gr̥hasthāśrama* is the only *āśrama* which is capable of discharging the three natal debts with which a person is born. The doctrine of the *puruṣārthas*—*Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa* apply to him with equal ease. To the *Brahmacārī*, *Dharma* alone applies and to the last two *āśramas* the last *puruṣārtha* alone applies. It is to the *gr̥hastha* that all the four *puruṣārthas* can apply without infringing *dharma* rules. The whole community depended on the *gr̥hastha* (householder).

¹ अदण्डया हस्तिनोऽश्वाश्च प्रजापाला हि ते मताः । *Narada-smṛiti*, p. 170.

Liberation entails the observance of *varṇāśrama* rules scrupulously, and a householder who has led a disciplined life with special merit is assured liberation. The path to liberation is provided by the *varṇāśrama* scheme in easy stages for an upward march. This is the reason for the praise bestowed on the second *āśrama*.¹

THREE DIVISIONS OF DHARMA LITERATURE

Every *dharma saṁhita* is divided into three sections for convenience into *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta* sections. The *Dharmasūtras* and the metrical law books follow the scheme more or less though not exclusively. But the digests of *dharma* have made the division a recognized one. In some cases, works are attributed to the same author e.g., *Āpastamba* where a group of six chapters forming an independent work deals with daily rites and *śrāddha* and another group of ten chapters deal with expiations or *prāyaścitta*.² The *Smṛti* of *Yājñavalkya* is the standard

¹ Compare *Manu*, III, 77, 78.

यथा वायुं समाश्रित्य वर्तन्ते सर्वजन्तवः ।
तथा गृहस्थमाश्रित्य वर्तन्ते सर्व आश्रमाः ॥
यस्मात् त्रयोऽप्याश्रमिणः ज्ञानेनाच्चेन चान्वहम् ।
गृहस्थेनैव धार्यन्ते तस्माज्ज्येष्ठाश्रमो गृही ॥
ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थो यतिस्तथा ।
एते गृहस्थप्रभवाश्चत्वारः पृथगाश्रमाः ॥
सर्वेऽपि कमशस्वेते यथाशास्त्रं निषेविताः ।
यथोक्तकारिणं विप्रं नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥
सर्वेषामपि चैतेषां वेदस्मृतिविधानतः ।
गृहस्थ उच्यते श्रेष्ठः स त्रीनेतान् बिभर्ति हि ॥
यथा नदीनदाः सर्वे सागरे यान्ति संस्थितिम् ।
तथैवाश्रमिणः सर्वे गृहस्थे यान्ति संस्थितिम् ॥

² The six *paṭalas* of *Āpastamba* on *ācāra* are being edited by me through the *Adyar Library Bulletin* and half of it is already published. The ten

for this three-fold division. In later metrical *smṛtis* this division has been consciously adopted.

In the well ordered scheme of life through the *āśramas* which take their roots in the Vedas, any dereliction of duty enjoined was a sin, as each one was a violation of Dharma either of omission or of commission. The law of Karma being inexorable, such omissions had to be expiated either by other births or by penances in this very birth. These sins may offend only Dharma or may be against other individuals. In the latter case it offended both God and man. Civil as well as criminal offences have thus, apart from the cognizance which the courts take note of, a spiritual significance which could not be escaped. One may hoodwink a human judge, but the ever-vigilant Dharma with his never failing witnesses can not be given the slip.¹ The gravity of the offence will have to be taken into consideration and the more grave the offence the larger the number of births that one had to undergo. Genuine repentance was recognized but any insincerity in the expiatory ceremony or pretence was not tolerated.² Confession was one of the methods by which expiation was permitted. The Christians have been practising it for long.

chapters on *Prāyaścitta* by Āpastamba, have been printed in the collections of Dharma-Sāstra Texts by Jivananda Vidya-sagara (Vol. I, pp. 567-584) and M. N. Dutt (Vol. I, pp. 405-423), and in the Anandasrama Collection (No. 48) with the title *Smṛtināmsamuccayaḥ*, (pp. 35-45).

¹ *Mitākṣarā* commenting on Yājñavalkya II, 102, cites the ever-present witnesses in the following verse:

आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलोऽनलश्च द्यौर्ममिरापो हृदयं यमश्च ।
अहश्च रात्रिश्च उमे च सन्ध्ये धर्मश्च जानाति नरस्य वृत्तम् ॥

² *Manu*, XI, 228, 229, 230:

यथा यथा नरोऽधर्मे स्वयं कृत्वानुभाषते ।
तथा तथा त्वयेवाहिस्तेनाधर्मेण मुच्यते ॥
यथा यथा मनस्तस्य दुष्कृतं कर्म गृह्णीति ।

Of the several methods of expiation or *prāyaścitta* Manu has enumerated five as important such as confession, repentance, *tapas* (austerity) *adhyayana* (recitation of the veda), and *dāna* (charity).¹ These ultimately resolved themselves into the existing functions of the castes and hence *prāyaścitta* only meant a more zealous pursuit of the duty of each person in his own *varṇa* and *āśrama*. Heavier penalties and *prāyaścittas* are proposed for very serious sins and smaller penalties and *prāyaścitta* for the smaller offences. Non-performance of *prāyaścitta* entailed in certain cases loss of caste and reinitiation.²

The function of the classification into *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta* is not for the sake of convenience only. There is a *rationale* behind it. Many mistakes are committed in the course of our lives and some of them are very small or very big. The law of Karma being inexorable, the bad effects of bad actions cling to the soul. In an age when the belief in future lives was prominent and attempts were made to correct mistakes by undertaking penances for expiating sins, the attitude was one of faith in the efficacy of these expiatory rites. The belief was that there were two sides to every sin. One was the punishment which had to be undergone for committing the sin. This was physical. In the case of theft the king's jurisdiction over the thief was physical and punishment purified the offender. In cases where moral lapses of a serious nature were concerned or crimes which required both physical punishment and spiritual penance, to deprive the offender of the

तथा तथा शरीरं तस्तेनाधर्मेण मुच्यते ॥
कृत्वा पापं हि संतप्य तस्मात्पापात् प्रमुच्यते ।
नैव कुर्या पुनरिति निश्चय्या पृथक् तु सः ॥

¹ *Manu*, XI, 227.

² *infra.*, pp. ३१, ३७-३८, ७८.

opportunity of correcting himself by denying him the right to perform expiatory ceremonies was a more serious punishment than the physical one. For, it deprived him of the possibility at any stage of reclamation to society. The outcaste was one who suffered from this disability. *Prāyasçitta* had therefore an important part to play in the regulation of the life of the people.

Prāyasçitta enabled the moral offender who realized his mistake and was repentent to retrace his steps back to his original position and start afresh. A denial of the opportunity would mean eternal damnation, and Hinduism was (in principle) against any person being shut out from legitimate opportunities of spiritual uplift, which alone mattered. Every other thing was transient and *Dharma* alone remained to accompany the soul in its weary march.¹ The *Gautama-dharma-sūtra parisīṣṭā* which is now presented as edited from two manuscripts available in the Adyar Library Nos. S. D. 55 and 24. G. 18, presents the *prāyasçitta* part of Gautama.

GAUTAMA-DHARMA-SŪTRA

The *dharma-sūtra* of Gautama is the earliest work known. Unlike the *dharma-sūtra* of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba it is wholly written in prose, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba have verses interspersed in their works. Gautama is referred to in the works of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Manu and Yājñavalkya.² The antiquity of the work as the first *dharma-sūtra* has not been in dispute though there has been differences of opinion as to the later revisions of the work. The view of Dr. Batakrishna Ghose has been examined by MM. Kane and as the arguments advanced by Dr. Ghose are met by Prof.

¹ See, Introduction to *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Mokṣakānda.

² S.B.E. II, xlv and pp. xlviii-l. Dr. Jayaswal places the work of Gautama between 350 and 200 B.C. See *Manu and Yājñavalkya*, p. 4.

Kane, the antiquity of Gautama's work as the first *dharma-sūtra* must pass muster.¹

EVOLUTION OF DHARMASĀSTRA LITERATURE

In the evolution of dharma literature a few well-marked stages of growth have been recognized. The first stage coincided with the evolution of the *Kalpa-sūtras* of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, i.e., the manuals of Vedic ritual in complete *sūtra* form in its various sections of *S'rauta*, *Gṛhya*, *S'ulba*, and *Dharma*. At the time of composition, the last part was perhaps not so important. We have *Kalpa-sūtras* only for three schools e.g., Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Hiranyakesin, belonging to the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*. The theory that specific *dharma-sūtras* belonged to specific *vedas* has been cited by the *Carana-tyūha* but the theory that every *dharma-sūtra* forms part of a *Kalpa-sūtra* has not been so favourably accepted. The *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* is assigned to the Rāṇāyaṇīya school of the Sāma Veda and no *Kalpa-sūtra* has so far been discovered to which it could be related. Hence the theory has been discarded by Prof. Kane. The *dharma-sūtras* have to be interpreted as forming integral parts of dharma literature and came to be accepted as applicable to all.

The next stage is to be seen in the compilation of versified *smṛtis* which amplify the *sūtra* literature and these do not belong to specific schools. The topics dealt with in these supplement one another. The third stage is that of commentators like Medhātithi, Asahāya, Viśvarūpa and others who attempt to interpret the *smṛtis* in a homogenous manner and avoiding any conflict of opinion in consonance with the rules of interpretation. The fourth and the fifth saw the emergence of the *commentaries* and the *nibandhas* and the

¹ Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I, p. v.

bhāṣyas which by themselves can be regarded as digests e.g. *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñānesvara.¹

In the process of such an evolution, each dharma-sūtra must have sought the help of others to fill up the gaps in its own literature. The general principle of accepting rules as workable and applicable to all in cases where specific directions have not been laid down in their own dharma literature—*anuktam-nyato grāhyam*—a principle which is accepted in other branches of literature, should have operated.² It is all the more important in cases where the dharma literature did not have other parts like the *śrauta*, *grhya* or *sulba* parts as in the case of *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*.

EDITIONS OF GAUTAMA

We have three editions of *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*: (1) No. 61 of the Anandasrama Series with the *bhāṣya* of Haradatta; (2) of which there is also a Telugu edition; (3) and with the commentary of Maskari in the Mysore Series. Editions of the *sūtras* alone are many and have not been recounted here.

Of these, the Mysore edition contains, besides the text and commentary, a section—*Kriyākāṇḍa*—in eighteen chapters.³ The content of the *Kriyākāṇḍa* is to treat about the *ācāra* part as to the daily routine from getting up in the early morning, *danta-dhāvana*, *snāna*, *japa*, *homa*, *pūjā* etc. This is also found in the Telugu edition (1927). The *Kriyākāṇḍa* is contained in the two manuscripts of the Adyar Library as the 1st *prasna* of the *pariṣiṣṭa*. The second *prasna* is the unprinted portion and is now published.

¹ *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Brahmācārikāṇḍa, Introduction, pp. 6-8 (Edited by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar).

² This principle is accepted in the case of Āgama literature for purposes of worship in the temples of South India.

³ *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*, Edited by L. Srinivasacharya, 1917 (Mysore), pp. 457-475. Telugu edition, Madras, 1927, pp. 489-514.

THE PRESENT EDITION

The two manuscripts utilized for the present edition are described here:

(ॐ)—8. D. 55. Paper—country-made—38 folia—The first *prasna* is numbered 1-16, and second numbered 1-22. Telugu script. Big handwriting. 10 lines per page. Size: 9½" × 5¾" Bound in book-form. In good condition. Complete.

(ॐ)—24. G. 18. Palm-leaf. 11 folia; numbered 3 to 13. (First two folia lost). Grantha script. Fair medium handwriting. 9 to 11 lines per page. Size 19½" × 1¾". Not inked. Very damaged. First *prasna* incomplete and Second *prasna* complete.

The second *prasna* deals with the *prāyascitta* part of the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* in detail. It is divided into twenty sections and contains 500 sūtras.

The following is an analysis of the number of sūtras in the *pariṣiṣṭa*:

	1-14	6-17	11-31	16-49
	2-12	7-21	12-25	17-18
Chapt.	3-31	8-28	13-13	18-14
	4-66	9-20	14-23	19-17
	5-47	10-19	15-24	20-11
	Total 500			

The *dharma-sūtra* of Gautama contains sūtras which are relevant to the portion covered in the *pariṣiṣṭa* but which are brief. The explanation has to be sought here in the second *prasna* for a fuller treatment. The sūtras do not mention any names of writers. On examination it is possible to find parallel passages in both *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya*, as also *Vasiṣṭha* and *Viṣṇu*. Such passages have been furnished as footnotes under the relevant sūtras in the text. The work is quoted with approval by Vijñānesvara commenting on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* in his *Mitākṣarā* (III, 216)¹ and half of a section of the

¹ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Nirnayasagar edition, pp. 370-371.

parisiṣṭa is quoted with slight changes in the order of citation *verbatim*. Mādhava commenting on Parāśara, quotes the same sūtras under Gautama (*Parāśara-Mādhaviya*, Vol. II, pp. 514-8). Vaidyanātha in his *Smṛti-muktāphala* (*Prāyas-cittakāṇḍa*) quotes the same sūtras under *Vṛddha-Gautama* (Ed. by Gharpure, p. 861)¹ though the two earlier writers quote them under Gautama and not *Vṛddha-Gautama*. But Mādhava quotes under *Vṛddha-Gautama* certain sūtras which are not found in the present manuscript (*Parāśara-Mādhaviya*, II, pp. 504-5).² And none of the sūtras or verses quoted under *Vṛddha-Gautama* by the different writers of digests are traceable in the present work of *Gautama-parisiṣṭa*.

SOURCES OF THE PARISIṢṬA

The first *prasna* of the *Parisiṣṭa* has been printed in the Mysore edition of the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* with the

¹ *Smṛtimuktāphala*, Edited by J. R. Gharpure, p. 861.

² The sūtras referred to are cited hereunder :

बृद्धगौतमः देवद्रव्योपजीवी हृद्रोगी । प्रतिज्ञाय ब्राह्मणस्यादानादल्पायुः । पत्नी-
बहुत्वे सत्येकारामः क्लीबः । स्वामिना धर्मे नियुक्तस्तदनुष्ठानाशक्तो जलोदरी ।
दुर्बलबाधे बलवतामुपेक्षायामङ्गहीनः । व्यवहारपक्षपाते जिह्वारोगी । स्वयं प्रवर्तित-
धर्मातुष्टानलेदने प्रतिपक्षेष्टवियोगः । स्वयमग्रभुक् शूलरोगी । परिक्षीणमित्रबन्धुस्वामि-
स्वजनावमन्ता परिभूतवृत्तिः । अतिथिं पश्यन्नश्रुतः कपालपट्टिका । सूर्यास्तकाले प्रति-
श्रयादानादिष्टवियोगः । छद्मना गुरुस्वामिमित्रमुपचरतः प्राप्तार्थपरिभ्रंशः । विश्रम्भाप-
हारी सर्वदुःखाश्रयः । गोदुःखकारी गोनामहा । गोनिर्दयश्चपिष्टनामः । यथानाशक्तो
निस्तेजस्कः । सभायां गलग्रन्थी पुण्याक्षपी वक्राणसः । शिष्टचर्माणधर्मदूषकः केकराक्षः ।
साधुजनतपस्विदेवद्विजगुरुज्ञानयोगद्वेष्टा वक्रास्यः । तटाकारामभेता नेत्राङ्गहीनः । कृतघ्नः
सर्वारम्भविकलः । परस्वामिलाघी क्षयरोगी स्यात् । चौररक्षकः,

“व्यवहारेष्वमध्यस्थश्चौरवृत्तिपरश्च यः ।

वाणिज्यलाभो नो तस्य देशान्तरगतस्य च ॥

व्याधिः स्यात्प्राणसंदेहो मृतिस्तत्रैव पापिनः ।” इति ।

bhāṣya of Maskari.¹ It contains eighteen chapters. It opens with the *pratijñā* :

*athācārāṇ pravakṣyāmi*¹

and true to the promise, describes the *āhnikā* part. Conduct is the key to the four *puruṣārthas* is the slogan.² In the last sūtra of the first *prasna* occurs the passage :

*Evam Kriyākāṇḍam ācarataḥ dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇāṁ
siddhir bhavati siddhir bhavati ॥*

The repetition of the last words is to denote the end of a section. The word *Kriyākāṇḍa* in the sūtra has been taken to be title of the portion by the editor of the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* in the Mysore series. But the editor of the work in the Telugu edition puts the following colophon :

*Iti Gautama-dharma-sūtra Parisiṣṭe Kriyākāṇḍa nāmani
aṣṭādaso aṁśaḥ ॥*

and rightly regards the portion as part of the *Parisiṣṭa*.

The second *prasna* which is now presented for the first time, attempts to describe whatever has been left out in the *dharmasūtra* to which it is attached. It limits itself to the *prāyas-citta* portion which has not been elaborated in the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*.

In the composition of the work, the *Parisiṣṭa* has borrowed a great deal from the works of Manu and Yājñavalkya. Other works on *Dharmasāstra* have also been utilized such as Viṣṇu, Vasiṣṭha, Pāṭhīnāsi, Hārīta, S'āṅkha, Baudhāyana etc. An entire section on 'Dreams' has been bodily taken from the *Matsyapurāṇa*. The verses of the *Matsyapurāṇa* have been rendered into prose in sūtra style in the order in which the topics are cited in the verses.³

¹ pp. 457 to 475.

² आचाराङ्गभते धर्ममाचाराङ्गभते धनमाचाराङ्गभते सुखमाचारादेव मोक्षमाप्नुयात् ।

Ibid., p. 457.

³ See chapter 16, *infra*, pp. ७४-७८.

MANU AND YĀJÑAVALKYA

The *Parisiṣṭa* follows Yājñavalkya in the main, both as to the matter taken and the arrangement. Beginning from verse 131 of the third chapter of Yājñavalkya the *Parisiṣṭa* unfolds itself as it proceeds to deal with the various topics. In many places in the first five chapters, and in other places, verbal identity of the *sūtras* to the verses of Yājñavalkya is clear. In fact the many textual difficulties which the two manuscripts presented were overcome by a close study of the *Parisiṣṭa* with the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñānesvara, which had utilized the *Parisiṣṭa* to the fullest extent.

The extent of borrowing from Manu is also considerable. Manu has been accepted wherever Yājñavalkya has not touched the topic and laid down the rule (chap. 2, *sūtras* 9-12). A similar instance can be seen in chapter 6, *sūtras* 3 to 6 where sins entailing loss of caste are enumerated. Where there is a difference of opinion between Yājñavalkya and Manu, the *Parisiṣṭa* follows the former.¹

OTHER WORKS

Apart from passages which have been cited for comparative study from Viṣṇu in the footnotes, one passage of interest has to be noted. This occurs in chapter 6, *sūtras* 1 and 2 under the topic *atipātaka* and *anupātaka*. The same topic is dealt with in chapter 5 under *sūtra* 4 and the same view is cited by Yājñavalkya. But the repetition of the same topic in chapter 6 is under a different classification which is supported by Viṣṇu. The *Parisiṣṭa* has accepted both the views under different classifications.

¹ See footnote No. 10 of p. 98, *infra*.

Remarkable identity of passages between the *Parisiṣṭa* and Vasiṣṭha are noticeable. These can be seen under chapter 7, *sūtra* 6, chapter 9, *sūtras* 5-10, chapter 14, *sūtras* 6-7, chapter 20, *sūtra* 9 etc. Similarly, identity of passages with Yama is found in p. ६०, Saṅkha, pp. १२-१४, ३२, ५१, ८६, Hārīta, pp. ३७-८, ७९-८०, Devala, p. ६२. Two *sūtras* have been bodily borrowed from *Āpastambadharmasūtra* (chapter 8, *sūtra* 1 and chapter 11, *sūtra* 11). Other writers whose verses have been rendered into prose or reproduced with slight variations have been shown in the footnotes in the relevant places. The list given above is only illustrative but not exhaustive.

The *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* contains an extra chapter in the editions of both Jivananda and M. N. Dutt. This chapter has been omitted in the standard editions of the work issued from Mysore and Poona as neither Maskari nor Haradatta has commented on the chapter. The *Parisiṣṭa* contains several of the *sūtras* found in the extra chapter. Out of a total 31 *sūtras* only 13 *sūtras* do not find their counterparts in the *Parisiṣṭa*. They are cited below :

हिरण्यहारी दुर्दरी ॥ ७ ॥ त्रपुचामरसीसविक्रयी मद्यपः ॥ १७ ॥
एकशफविक्रयी मृगव्याधः ॥ १८ ॥ नाक्षत्री चार्बुदी ॥ २० ॥ नास्तिको
रङ्गोपजीवी ॥ २१ ॥ ब्रह्मपुरुषतस्कराणां देशिकः पिण्डहरः ॥ २३ ॥
षण्डो महापथिकः ॥ २४ ॥ मध्वामेही हि धर्मपत्नीषु स्यान्मैथुन-
प्रवर्तकः ॥ २६ ॥ खर्वाटः सगोत्रसमवयःस्त्रचभिगामी ॥ २७ ॥ श्रीमती-
मातृभगिनीभ्रातृभगिनीप्वभिगम्याबीजिनः ॥ २८ ॥ तेषां कुब्जकुण्ड-
मण्डव्याधितव्यङ्गदरिद्राल्पायुषो ऽल्पबुद्धयः शठपण्डशैलपतस्करपरपुरुषप्रेष्य-
परकर्मकराः खल्वाटनक्तंचरा नृशंससंकीर्णकूटकमाणः क्रमतश्चान्त्याश्चोप-
पद्यन्ते ॥ २९ ॥ तस्मात्कर्तव्यमेवेह प्रायश्चित्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ विशुद्धैर्लक्षणै-
र्जायन्ते धर्मस्य धारणादिति धर्मस्य धारणादिति ॥ ३१ ॥

There are eleven manuscripts of the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* in the Adyar Library which contain this extra chapter and I have edited the chapter in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* (Vol. X, pp. 206-208 with the help of these manuscripts).

DATE OF THE PARISIṢṬA

There is no definite indication as to the date of the work. Nor does the internal evidence furnish any further definite clue. The fact that the *Parisiṣṭa* has borrowed largely from other works on *dharmasāstra* definitely pushes back its date to the centuries after the Christian era. The chapter dealing with *Svapna* (dreams) which is definitely borrowed from the *Matsyapurāṇa* will bring it further down to the Gupta times when the *purāṇas* took their present shape. The earliest work which cites the *Parisiṣṭa* is the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñānesvara. In fact, it is not too much to say that in several cases the *Mitākṣarā*, in commenting on Yājñavalkya has taken the clue from the *Parisiṣṭa*. Illustrative instances can be found in p. 6, under *sūtra* 7, p. 9, *sūtra* 14, p. 27, *sūtras* 16 and 17, pp. 32-33, *sūtras* 7-12, p. 35, the last *sūtra* of the 7th chapter and the first *sūtra* of chapter 8, p. 36, *sūtras* 3 and 4, p. 39, *sūtras* 16 and 21 etc. Commenting on Yājñavalkya III. 216, Vijñānesvara has quoted over half of a section of the *Parisiṣṭa*. The work had therefore attained to a position of authority by the time of Vijñānesvara. Neither Medhātithi nor Visvarūpa has quoted this *Parisiṣṭa*. The argument of silence is at best only a partially correct view and cannot be pushed to the logical extreme. Under the present state of our knowledge all that we can say is that about A.D. 800 may be the latest date that can be assigned the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra-pariṣṭa*.

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ERRATA

PAGE	LINE	read	उच्चैःस्वरः	for उच्चैःस्वर
11	2			
12	2	”	ब्रह्महा	” ब्रह्महा
14	26	”	cite	” cites
33	1	”	स्तेनः स्तेयाद्	” स्तेनस्तेयाद्
36	20	”	उशना	” उशनाः
40	25	”	”	” ”
42	13	”	० गच्छेन्नोहितदग्धैर्वैष्टयित्वा	” ० गच्छेन्नरपत्रैर्वैष्टयित्वा
61	3	”	० स्याश्रद्धानस्य	” ० स्याश्रद्धानस्य
79	11	”	cites	” cite

गजतुल्यमुखत्वेन दीर्घतुण्डस्य वक्रता ॥ ११९ ॥

यो रत्नकलशस्तस्य धारणायेति मन्यताम् ।

दन्तिर्महादन्तयुक्त इत्यर्थः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १२० ॥

पुराणादिप्रसिद्धं पक्षिराजमूर्तिधरं देवं प्रार्थयते—

तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे सुवर्णपक्षाय धीमहि ।

तन्नो गरुडः प्रचोदयात् ॥

स्पष्टार्थत्वेन मन्त्रस्य न व्याख्या वार्त्तिकात्मिका ।

“ हेमप्रख्यामिन्दुखण्डात्तमौलिम् ” (प्रपञ्चसारः १४—२३) इत्याद्यागमप्रसिद्धमूर्तिधरां दुर्गां प्रार्थयते—

कात्यायनाय विद्महे कन्यकुमारि धीमहि ।

तन्नो दुर्गिः प्रचोदयात् ॥

कात्यः कृत्तिं वस्त इति श्रीरुद्रः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १२१ ॥

स एव यस्या अयनमधिष्ठानं तथोच्यते ।

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कन्या च कमनीयासौ कुमारी च तथोदिता ।

दुर्गिर्दुर्गैव लिङ्गादेर्व्यत्ययश्छान्दसो भवेत् ॥ १२३ ॥

“ अर्कोद्दीप्यत्किरीटान्वितमकरलसत्कुण्डलम् ” इत्याद्यागमप्रसिद्धमूर्तिधरं देवं प्रार्थयते—

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तन्नो विष्णुः प्रचोदयात् ॥

नारशब्दितमुख्यापो यस्य विष्णोः समाश्रयः ।

समुद्रजलसंवासी स नारायण उच्यते ॥ १२४ ॥

वसुदेवादभिव्यक्तः सोऽवतारविशेषतः ।
 परमब्रह्मरूपेण व्यापित्वाद्विष्णुरुच्यते ॥ १२५ ॥
 जप्या एताश्च गायत्र्यो देवताध्यानपूर्वकम् ।
 अन्तःकरणशुद्धयर्थं सदा सूरिभिरादरात्^१ ॥ १२६ ॥

इति प्रथमोऽनुवाकः

यश्छन्दसामृषभो विश्वरूपश्छन्दोभ्यश्छन्दाः स्याविवेश । सताः
 शिष्यः पुरोवाचोपनिषदिन्द्रो ज्येष्ठ इन्द्रियाय ऋषिभ्यो नमो देवेभ्यः
 स्वधा पितृभ्यो भूर्भुवः सुवरोम् ॥

सर्ववेदान्तलाभाय जप्यो मन्त्र उदीर्यते ।
 वेदानां प्रणवः श्रेष्ठो यः सर्वजगदात्मकः ॥ १२७ ॥
 प्रादुर्भूतः स वेदेभ्यः प्रतिभातः प्रजापतेः ।
 वेदसारतयेत्यर्थः प्रविवेश पुनश्च सः ॥ १२८ ॥
 गायत्र्यादीनि मन्त्रेषु प्रयोज्यस्तद्युतेषु हि ।

मन्त्रेष्विति ; छन्दोभिरुपलक्षितेषु प्रयोक्तव्यः । तदुक्तं प्रपञ्चसारे—
 “अस्य तु वेदादित्वात् सर्वमनूनां प्रयुज्यते ह्यदौ” (१९-३५) इति ॥

सतां शिष्यः कर्मभिश्चोपासकैर्ज्ञानशालिभिः ॥ १२९ ॥
 प्राप्तुं शिष्यः कारणत्वाज्ज्येष्ठः प्रथम उच्यते ।
 इन्द्रः प्रणववाच्यात्मा परमैश्वर्यसंयुतः ॥ १३० ॥
 ऋषयोऽन्तर्मुखास्तेषां ज्ञानसामर्थ्यसिद्धये ।
 ब्रह्मविद्यां जगौ तस्मात्प्रतिबन्धनिवृत्तये ॥ १३१ ॥
 नमस्करोमि देवेभ्यः पितृभ्यश्चाहमादरात् ।

^१ इतः परं “सहस्रपरमा देवी” इत्यादिभ्यः पञ्चमानुवाकपर्यन्तं ग्रन्थकृता न विवृतम् ।

भूर्भुवः सुवरो वेदांखिलोकस्थानवाप्नुयाम् ॥ १३२ ॥
 अत एव पठन्त्यन्ये छन्द ओमिति मानवाः ।
 भूर्भुवः सुवश्छन्द ओमित्यर्थः ॥

इति षष्ठोऽनुवाकः

नमो ब्रह्मणे धारणं मे अस्त्वनिराकरणं धारयिता भूयासं
 कर्णयोः श्रुतं मा च्योदं ममामुष्य ओम् ॥

अवाप्तवेदाविस्मृत्यै जप्यमन्त्र उदीर्यते ॥ १३३ ॥
 नमोऽस्तु सर्वजगतां हेतवे परमात्मने ।
 ग्रन्थस्यै च तदर्थस्य धारणं मेऽस्तु चेतसि ॥ १३४ ॥
 अनिराकरणं नामाविस्मृतिः सा यथा भवेत् ।
 तथा धारयिताहं स्यां परमेष्ठिप्रसादतः ॥ १३५ ॥
 एवं प्रार्थयमानस्य कर्णयोर्यच्छ्रुतं मम ।
 अविनाशाय तत्सर्वं प्राप्नुयां स्थिरधारणम् ॥ १३६ ॥

इति सप्तमोऽनुवाकः

ऋतं तपः सत्यं तपः श्रुतं तपः शान्तं तपो दानं तपो यज्ञस्तपो
 भूर्भुवः सुवर्ब्रह्मैतदुपास्वैतत्तपः ॥

ऐकाग्र्यलक्षणं यत्स्यात्तपो विज्ञानसाधनम् ।
 तत्तपःप्राप्तये जप्यो मन्त्रोऽयमधुनोच्यते ॥ १३७ ॥
 ऋतं वेदार्थबोधाय मीमांसाश्रवणं मर्तम् ।
 मीमांसयोः श्रवणमित्यर्थः ।

इन्द्रियोपरतिः शान्तिः शान्तिशब्देन कीर्त्यते ॥ १३८ ॥

स्वत्वत्यागः परस्वत्वापच्यन्तो दानमुच्यते ।

आपत्तीति ; आपादनपर्यन्त इत्यर्थः ।

अग्निहोत्रादिको यज्ञस्तत्सर्वं तप उच्यते ॥ १३९ ॥

विराट्स्वरूपं यद्ब्रह्म भूरादित्रितयात्मकम् ।

मुमुक्षो त्वमुपास्वैतत्प्रत्ययावर्तनं कुरु ॥ १४० ॥

एतच्चोपासनं प्रोक्तमुत्तमं तप उच्यते ।

इत्यष्टमोऽनुवाकः

यथा वृक्षस्य संपुष्पितस्य दूराद्बन्धो वात्येवं पुण्यस्य कर्मणो
दूराद्बन्धो वाति यथासिधारां कर्तेऽवहितामवक्रामेद्युवे हुवे ह वा विह-
दिष्यामि कर्तं पतिष्यामीत्येवमनृतादात्मानं जुगुप्सेत् ।

ज्ञानहेतुतया पुण्यं विहिताचरणात्मकम् ॥ १४१ ॥

प्रशस्यते निषिद्धस्याचरणं च विनिन्द्यते ।

ज्ञानप्रतिबन्धकत्वेनेति शेषः ।

यथैव सुरभिर्गन्धः सहागच्छति वायुना ॥ १४२ ॥

एवं पुण्यस्य यागादेः सुगन्धः कीर्तिलक्षणः ।

दूराद्वाति नृलोकाद्धि स्वर्गे गच्छत्यतो नृभिः ॥ १४३ ॥

पुण्यं कार्यमथाग्रे तु पापदृष्टान्त उच्यते ।

यथा प्रसारितां गर्ते कूपादौ कुत्रचिन्नरः ॥ १४४ ॥

खड्गधारामवक्रामेत्तदायं चिन्तयेन्नरः ।

युवे हुवे यौमि यौमि यद्यङ्घ्रिं मिश्रयाम्यहम् ॥ १४५ ॥

तद्धारायां तदाहं तु ^१विहलिष्याम्यसंशयम् ।

^१ मूले लस्य छान्दसो दकार इति सायणः ।

गर्ते वा संपतिष्यामि धारायां चरणस्य हि ॥ १४६ ॥

दृढस्पर्शेन विच्छेदाद्भविष्याम्येव विह्वलः ।

दृढस्पर्शो न चेद्गर्ते संपतिष्याम्यधस्त्विति ॥ १४७ ॥

एवं प्रवर्तमानोऽपि पापे मर्त्यो विचारयेत् ।

यदि तत्प्रकटं कुर्यां तदा स्यामिह निन्दितः ॥ १४८ ॥

यदि चाप्रकटं कुर्यां तदापि नरके खलु ।

पतिष्यामीति चात्मानं जुगुप्सेदनृतान्नरः ॥ १४९ ॥

धिङ् मां लोकद्वयभ्रष्टमित्यात्मानं विनिन्द्य च ।

पापान्निवारयेन्मर्त्य इति मन्तार्य ईरितः ॥ १५० ॥

अवक्रामेत् ; तदुपरि पादाभ्यां गन्तुं प्रवर्तत इत्यर्थः ।

यच्छब्दो यदिशब्दार्थे यस्थाने व्यत्ययेन हः ।

अत एव पठन्त्यन्ये युवे युव इति श्रुतौ ॥ १५१ ॥

अहमर्थे हशब्दः स्याल्लस्थाने व्यत्ययेन दः ।

यद्युव इत्यादावाह—यच्छब्द इत्यादिना । अघ इति ; अधोवर्तिनि
गर्ते त्वित्यन्वयः । इतीति ; ‘इति चिन्तयेन्नरः’ इति पूर्वेणान्वयः । इति
चात्मानमिति ; ईदृग्विचारयुक्त इत्यर्थः ।

इति नवमोऽनुवाकः ।

अणोरणीयान्महतो महीया-

नात्मा गुहायां निहितोऽस्य जन्तोः ।

तमक्रतुं पश्यति वीतशोको

धातुः प्रसादान्महिमानमीशम् ॥

पुण्यानुष्ठानतश्चास्य निषिद्धाचारवर्जनात् ॥ १५२ ॥
 शुद्धान्तःकरणस्यैवं ब्रह्मतत्त्वं समीरितुम् ।
 अणोरणीयानित्यादिरनुवाकः प्रवर्तते ॥ १५३ ॥
 आत्मशब्दः स्वरूपार्थः परमेश्वरवाचकः ।
 अधिष्ठानतया तस्य जगद्रूपत्वकारणात् ॥ १५४ ॥
 परमाणादयोऽस्माकमयोग्याः स्युस्तथापि च ।
 योगिप्रत्यक्षगम्यत्वं तेषां तच्चात्मनो न हि ॥ १५५ ॥
 इत्यभिप्रेत्य भगवानणीयान्परिकीर्तितः ।
 एकब्रह्माण्डमध्यस्थं दिगाकाशादिकं महत् ॥ १५६ ॥
 ईदृग्ब्रह्माण्डकोटीनामधिष्ठानत्वमात्मनः ।
 अतो महीयान्महतोऽप्ययमात्मा प्रकीर्तितः ॥ १५७ ॥
 हृदजसंवृता बुद्धिस्तन्मध्यस्था गुह्योच्यते ।
 स्याद्विद्योपलभ्यत्वं बुद्धौ निहितमात्मनः ॥ १५८ ॥
 तमीशं निरुपाधित्वात्संकरूपेण विवर्जितम् ।
 जीवस्यैव समीचीनमित्येतत्कल्पनं यतः ॥ १५९ ॥
 अत एव महान्तं च शमादिगुणसंयुतः ।
 धातुः प्रसादादीशस्यानुग्रहादधिकारवान् ॥ १६० ॥
 साक्षात्करोति दृष्ट्वा तं वीतशोको भवेन्नरः ।

धातुरिति । तदुक्तम्—

“ ईश्वरानुग्रहादेषां पुंसामद्वैतवासना ।
 महाभयपरित्राणा द्वित्राणामिह जायते ॥ ”

इति ।

सप्त प्राणाः प्रभवन्ति तस्मात्
 सप्तार्चिषः समिधः सप्त जिह्वाः ।
 सप्त इमे लोका येषु चरन्ति
 प्राणा गुहाशयान्निहिताः सप्त सप्त ॥

विशुद्धचित्तैर्विज्ञेयः परमात्मा य ईरितः ॥ १६१ ॥
 तस्योपलक्षणार्थं च जगत्कारणतोच्यते ।
 तस्येति ; शाखेन्दुन्यायेनेत्यर्थः ।
 शिरःस्थसप्तच्छिद्रस्थाः सप्तसंख्यासमन्विताः ॥ १६२ ॥
 प्राणा मायायुतादीशाज्जायन्ते चक्षुरादयः ।
 चक्षुषी नासिके श्रोत्रे वाक् चेति प्राणसप्तकम् ॥ १६३ ॥
 सप्तार्चिषः सप्तसंख्या वृत्तयः परिकीर्तिताः ।
 तैर्गृह्यमाणविषयाः समिधः सप्त कीर्तिताः ॥ १६४ ॥
 यथा गोलकभेदेन चक्षुरादि द्विधा भवेत् ।
 तथा ग्राहकभेदेन रूपादिविधमुच्यते ॥ १६५ ॥
 तैः ; अर्चिर्भिरित्यर्थः ।

अथवा सप्तसंख्यायाः समिच्छब्देन नान्वयः ।
 किंतु जिह्वापदेनैव वह्नेर्जिह्वास्त्वमाः श्रुताः ॥ १६६ ॥

“ काली कराली च मनोजवा च
 सुलोहिता या च सुधूम्रवर्णा ।
 स्फुलिङ्गिनी विश्वरूची च देवी
 लोलायमाना इति सप्त जिह्वाः ॥ ”

(मु. १-४)

मुण्डकश्रुतिमेव पठति—कालीति ।

प्राणाश्चरन्ति देवादेर्देहस्था येषु सप्तसु ।
 इमे भूरादयः सप्त लोकास्तस्मात्समुत्थिताः ॥ १६७ ॥
 गुहाशयः स विज्ञेयो यो बुद्धावुपलभ्यते ।
 तस्मादेव समुत्पन्नाः सप्तसंख्यासमन्विताः ॥ १६८ ॥
 सप्तर्षयस्तथा सप्त समुद्रा एवमादिकाः ।
 पदार्था निहितास्तत्र तत्र च स्थापिताः स्थले ॥ १६९ ॥

अतः समुद्रा गिरयश्च सर्वे-

ऽस्मात्स्यन्दन्ते सिन्धवः सर्वरूपाः ।

अतश्च विश्वा ओषधयो रसाश्च

येनैष भूतस्तिष्ठत्यन्तरात्मा ॥

समुद्रा गिरयश्चास्मात्प्रभवन्ति महेश्वरात् ।
 अस्माद्गङ्गादयो नद्यः संजाताः प्रवहन्ति च ॥ १७० ॥
 व्रीह्याद्योषधयोऽप्लाव्या रसाश्चेशात्समुत्थिताः ।
 अन्तरात्मपदेनात्र लिङ्गदेहो विवक्षितः ॥ १७१ ॥
 स्थूलदेहचिदात्मान्तर्मध्ये द्वेषोऽवतिष्ठते ।
 येनौषधिरसेनायं बद्धे देहेऽत्र तिष्ठति ॥ १७२ ॥
 तादृशो रस उत्पन्न इत्यर्थः परिकीर्तितः ।

ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीना-

मृषिर्विप्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम् ।

श्येनो गृध्राणां स्वधितिर्वनानां

सोमः पवित्रमत्येति रेभन् ॥

ईशस्योत्कृष्टरूपेणावस्थानमिह कथ्यते ॥ १७३ ॥

ऋग्वेदभाष्यम्

स्कन्दस्वामिकृतम्

पञ्चमं मण्डलम्

(चतुर्थाष्टके तृतीयोऽध्यायः)

I. सूक्तम् ९७

आ रुद्रास इन्द्रवन्तः सजोषसो हिरण्यरथाः सुविताय गन्तवः ।
 इयं वो अस्मत् प्रति ह्यते मतिस्तृणजे न दिव उत्सा उदन्यवे ॥ १ ॥

हे रुद्रासः रुद्रपुत्राः मरुतः । इन्द्रवन्तः इन्द्रसंयुताः । इन्द्रेण सह
 इत्यर्थः । सजोषसः^१ संप्रीयमाणाः इन्द्रेण सहैव परस्परतो वा । हे
 हिरण्यरथाः । हिरण्यमया रथा येषां ते हिरण्यरथाः । सुविताय^२ । इण्
 गतौ । अधिकरणे च तृष्प्रत्ययः । शोभनं गम्यते यस्मिन् तत् सुवितं
 यज्ञकर्म । छान्दसत्वात् उपसर्गस्यापि सोरुवडादेशः । तस्मै सुविताय
 यज्ञकर्मणे । यज्ञसमाप्त्यर्थे इत्यर्थः । आगन्तवः आगच्छत । किं कारणम्^३ ।
 इयं वः युष्माकम् । अस्मत् । व्यत्ययेय इयं पञ्चमी । अस्माकं स्वभूता ।
 प्रतिहर्यते । प्रतिशब्दोऽत्र धात्वर्थानुवादी । हर्यतीति कान्तिकर्मा ।
 कामयते । मतिः । मन्यते रचितकर्मणो मतिः स्तुतिः । किमिह । उच्यते ।

^१ सजोषसो.

^२ रथाः । सुविताय इति वृद्धितम्.

^३ रणम् इति वृद्धितम्

तृष्णजे न । तृष्णा^१ पिपासा यस्मिन्^२ जायते तां वा यो जनयति स तृष्णजः । कालो ग्रीष्मान्तः । तस्मिन् यथा दिवः द्युलोकस्य संबन्धिनः उत्साः । द्वितीयार्थे प्रथमैषा । उत्सान् मेघान् उदन्यवे । इयमपि प्रथमार्थे चतुर्थी^३ । उदन्युरुदककामो लोकः कामयते तद्वत् । अथवा उत्साः उदन्यव इति स्वार्थे एव प्रथमाचतुर्थी । व्यवहितस्य आगन्तनेत्ययमुपानं^४ प्रतिहर्यते इत्यस्य । यथा ग्रीष्मान्ते दिवः सं + + +^५ उदककामस्य लोकम्यार्थाय गच्छन्ति तद्वदागच्छत ॥

वाशीमन्त ऋष्टिमन्तो मनीषिणः सुधन्वान इषुमन्तो निषङ्गिणः ।
स्वश्वाः स्थ सुरथाः पृश्निमातरः स्वायुधा मरुतो याथना शुभम् ॥ २ ॥

वाशीति प्रसिद्धः शस्त्रविशेषो लोके । तद्वन्तः । ऋष्टिमन्तः । ऋष्टयः शक्तयः । तद्वन्तश्च । मनीषिणः मेधाविनश्च । सुधन्वानः । शोभनं धनुर्येषां ते सुधन्वानः^६ । ते च । इषुमन्तः । इषवः शराः । तद्वन्तश्च । निषङ्गिणः । निषङ्गः खड्गः खड्गप्रदेशे निषज्यमानत्वात् । तद्वन्तश्च । स्वश्वाः शोभनाश्वाश्च स्थ । सुरथाश्च हे पृश्निमातरः । पृश्निर्घोः । सा माता येषां ते^७ पृश्निमातरः । स्वायुधाश्च । ईदृशाः स्थ । हे मरुतः याथन गच्छत यूयं शुभमुदकं प्रति मेघस्थम् ॥

धूनुथ द्यां पर्वतान् दाशुषे वसु नि वो वनां जिहते यामनो भिया ।
क्रोपयथ पृथिवीं पृश्निमातरः शुभे यदुग्राः पृषतीरयुग्ध्वम् ॥ ३ ॥

^१ तृष्णजे न । तृष्णा इति वुटितम् ।

^२ पिपासासा ।

^३ मार्थे चतुर्थी इति वुटितम् ।

^४ व्यवहितस्य आगन्तनेत्ययमुपमान ।

^५ अत्र किञ्चित् वुटितम् । दिवः संबन्धिन उत्सा मेघाः इत्ययं पाठो भवेत् ।

^६ ते सुधन्वानः इति वुटितम् ; येषां इत्यत्र अनुस्वारोऽपि ।

^७ सा माता येषां ते इति वुटितम् ।

धूनुथ^१ चिकीर्षितमजानतीं कम्पयथ^२ द्यां दिवं पर्वतांश्च । दाशुषे हविर्दत्तवते यजमानाय । ^३संप्रदानचतुर्थीश्रुतेः दत्तेति वाक्यशेषः । वसु धनं वृष्ट्युदकलक्षणम् । वः युष्माकं च स्वभूतानि वना वनानि उदकानि वृष्टिलक्षणानि निजिहते नीचैर्गच्छन्ति । यामनः । याम^४ गमनम् । तस्मात् भिया भयेन । युष्मद्गमनभयेन । + + + ष्वेव^५ युष्मासु मेघेन मुक्तान्युदकानि पतन्तीत्यर्थः । कोपयथ आकुलीकुरुत समस्तामपि पृथिवीं^६ हे पृश्निमातरः । कदा । उच्यते । शुभे उदकाय वृष्टिलक्षणाय । मेघ-हननार्थं गन्तुमित्यर्थः । यत् यदा हे उग्राः अप्रसङ्गाः । पृषतीः अयुग्ध्वं^७ युङ्क्ष्वे स्वेषु^८ रथेषु^९ ॥

वातत्विषो मरुतो वर्षनिर्णिजो यमा इव सुसदृशः सुपेशसः ।
पिशङ्गाश्वा अरुणाश्वा अरेपसः प्रत्वंक्षसो महिना द्यौरिवोरवः ॥ ४ ॥

वा गतिबन्धनयोः^{१०} । वाता गता प्राप्ता त्विट् दीप्तिः यैः ते वातत्विषः । के ते । उच्यते । मरुतः । वर्षनिर्णिजः । निर्णिक् इति रूपनाम । वृष्टिरूपाश्च । वृष्टिकर्मप्राचुर्याद्भि मरुतः तद्रूपा एव लक्ष्यन्ते । अथवा निर्णिगिति णिजिर् शौच पोषणयोः^{११} इत्यस्य रूपम् । सर्वप्राणिनां^{१२} वृष्ट्या निश्चयेन पोषयितारः वर्षनिर्णिजः । यमा इव यमला इव सुसदृशः सुष्ठु सदृशः । सुपेशसः सुरूपाश्च । पिशङ्गाश्वाः । पिशङ्ग आरक्तो

^१ धूनुः धूनुथ ।

^२ चिकीर्षितमजानतीं कम्पय ।

^३ हविषि दत्तवते । तदनन्तरं यजमानाय सं इति वुटितम् ।

^४ यामनः यानं याम ।

^५ अत्र युष्मद्गम इत्यस्यानन्तरं कश्चन भागः वुटितः ।

^६ समस्तामपि पृथिवीः ।

^७ अयुग्ध्वं इति वुटितम् ।

^८ स्वेषु ।

^९ रथेषु ।

^{१०} गतिबन्धनयोः ।

^{११} वर्षनि + + + चपोषणयोः ।

^{१२} सर्वं प्राणिनाम् ।

वर्णः । आरक्तवर्णाः । अरुणाश्वाः^१ रक्ताश्वाश्च । अरेपसः अपापाश्च । प्रत्वक्षसः प्रकर्षेण च तनूकर्तारः शत्रूणाम् । महिना महता^२ स्वसामर्थ्येन द्यौरिव द्युलोक इव उरवो विस्तीर्णाः ॥

पुरुद्रप्सा अज्जिमन्तः सुदानवस्त्वेषसन्दृशो अनवभ्रराधसः ।

सुजातासो जनुषा रुक्मवक्षसो दिवो अर्का अमृतं नाम मेजिरे ॥ ५ ॥

पुरुद्रप्साः । द्रप्सो रसः पयो धृ + + + + + न्ते^३ पुरुद्रप्साः । अज्जिमन्तः । रत्नप्रायमाभरणं अज्जिः । तद्वन्तः । सुदानवः शोभनदातारः । त्वेषसन्दृशः दीप्तदर्शनाः । अनवभ्रराधसः । अनवभ्रं इति^४ बिभर्तेधा-
रणार्थस्य रूपम् । अव अधः भ्रियते + + + + + दृश्यते^५ यत् तदवभ्रं^६ राधो धनं येषां ते अवभ्रराधसः । निरुद्धधनाः न अनवभ्रराधसः उत्कृष्टधनाः । सुजातासः सुष्ठु^७ निष्पन्नाः । परिपूर्णसर्वावयवा इत्यर्थः । अथवा सुष्ठु जाताः सुजाताः । + + + + + इत्यर्थः^८ । जनुषा जन्म-
नैव रुक्मवक्षसः । रुक्मा अश्मा आभरणविशेषा वक्षस्तु येषां ते रुक्म-
वक्षसः । रोचिष्णुरस्का^९ वा । दिवः । षष्ठीश्रुतेः साकाङ्क्षत्वात् मरुतां च तत्पुत्रत्वात् पुत्रा इति अध्याहार्यम् । अर्काः^{१०} देवाः मरुतः अमृतसदृशं अत्यन्तमृष्टम् । नाम उदकं वृष्टिलक्षणम् । मेजिरे मेघं घनन्तो भजन्ते ॥

ऋष्टयो वो मरुतो अंसयोरधि सह ओजो बालोर्वो बलं हितम् ।

नृम्णा शीर्षस्वार्युधा रथेषु वो विश्वा वः श्रीरधि तनूषु पिपिशे ॥ ६ ॥

^१ अरुणाश्वाः इति वृद्धितम् ।

^२ महिना महताम् ।

^३ अत्र कश्चनभागः वृद्धितः । धृतं वा येषां ते इति भवेत् ।

^४ अनवभ्रमिति ।

^५ अत्र कश्चन भागः वृद्धितः । ह्रियते इति भवेत् ।

^६ तदवभ्रम् ।

^७ सुष्ठु इति नास्ति ।

^८ अत्र कश्चन भागः वृद्धितः । पुण्यकर्माणः इति भवेत् ।

^९ रोचिष्णुरस्ता ।

^{१०} अभ्याहार्यम् । अर्का इति वृद्धितम् ।

ऋष्टयः शक्तयः तोमरा वा । वः युष्माकं हे मरुतः । अंसयोरधि उपरि । सहः^१ । मत्त्वर्थोऽयं सहःशब्दः^२ । सहस्वत् बलवत् । ओजो बलं^३ सेनालक्षणम् । बालोरपि च वः युष्माकं बलं हितं निहितम् । एवं^४ स्वयमपि बलवन्त एवेत्यर्थः । नृम्णा । नृम्णं इति बलनाम अन्तर्णीतमत्वर्थं चात्र द्रष्टव्यम् । बलवन्ति^५ । शीर्षसु शिरस्सु आयुधा आयुधानि च खड्गादीनि । रथेषु वः युष्माकं स्वभूतेषु । विश्वा सर्वप्रकारा च वः युष्माकं श्रीः शोभालक्षणा अधि तनूषु उपरि शरीराणाम् । शरीरेष्वित्यर्थः । पिपिशे रूप्यते । दृश्यते इत्यर्थः ॥

गोमदश्चावुद्रथवत् सुवीरं चन्द्रवद्राधो मरुतो ददा नः ।

प्रशस्ति नः कृणुत रुद्रियासो भक्षीय वोऽर्वसो दैव्यस्य ॥ ७ ॥

गोयत् । गावो^६ यस्मिन् सन्ति तत् गोमत् । गोभिः सहितमित्यर्थः । अश्ववत् अश्वैः सहितम् । रथवत् रथैः सहितम् । सुवीरम् । शोभना वीराः पुत्रा यस्मिन् तत् सुवीरम् । शोभनैः^७ पुत्रैश्च सहितमित्यर्थः । चन्द्रवत् । चन्द्रमिति हिरण्यनाम । हिरण्येन च सहितम् । राधो धनं ददा^८ दत्त नः अस्मभ्यम् । किंच प्रशस्ति प्रशंसां नः अस्माकं कृणुत कुरुत हे रुद्रियासः । अपत्येऽयं घप्रत्ययो द्रष्टव्यः । रुद्रपुत्राः । अथवा रुद्र इति स्तोतृनाम । व्यत्ययेनात्र स्तुत्ये^९ प्रयुज्यते । सार्थकश्च घप्रत्ययः । भक्षीय^{१०} भजेयाहं वः युष्माकं स्वभूतं अवसः । द्वितीयार्थे शष्ट्येषा । अवसं^{११} पालनम् । दैव्यस्य दैव्यं देवयोग्यम्^{१२} ॥

^१ सहः इति वृद्धितम् । तदधिकमपि वृद्धितं इति न निश्चितम् ।

^२ सहशब्दा ।

^३ बलवत् ।

^४ निहितम्-हि एव ।

^५ दृष्टव्यम् । बलवन्ति इति वृद्धितम् ।

^६ गोमत् । गावो इति वृद्धितम् ।

^७ शोभनैश्च ।

^८ राधो धनं ददा इति वृद्धितम् ।

^९ स्तुत्ये ।

^{१०} भक्षीय इति नास्ति ।

^{११} अव इत्येव ।

^{१२} देवयोग्यम् ।

इये नरो मरुतो मृळतां नुस्तुर्वीमघासो अमृता ऋतज्ञाः ।

सत्यश्रुतः कवयो युवानो बृहद्विरयो बृहदुक्षमाणाः ॥ ८ ॥

हये इति निपातः हेशब्दपर्यायः । अस्मादव्यतिरिक्तप्रातिपदिकार्थप्रथमां + + + + + न्धने^१ चेति प्रथमा । आमन्त्रितत्वाच्च आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् (पा. ८. २. ७२) इति अविद्यमानवत् । अतो नर इत्यादीनामामन्त्रितानामनिघातः । हे नरः मनुष्याकारा मरुतः मृळत सुखयत । नः अस्मान् तुर्वीमघासः + + + +^२ अमृताः अमरणधर्माणः । ऋतज्ञाः । ऋतं सत्यं उदकं यज्ञं वा । तस्य ज्ञातारः । सत्यश्रुताः सत्यस्य स्रोत्रस्य श्रोतारः^३ । कवयः मेधाविनः । युवानः तरुणाः । बृहद्विरयः महान्तो गिरयो मेघा हन्तव्यत्वेन येषां ते बृहद्विरयः^४ । महतां मेघानां हन्तार इत्यर्थः । किं कुर्वन्तो मृळयामः । उच्यते । बृहत् । सुष्ठुवित्यर्थः । उक्षमाणाः सिञ्चन्तः । अस्मान् वृष्ट्या वर्षन्त इत्यर्थः ॥

II. सूक्तम् ९८

तमु नूनं तविषीमन्तमेघां स्तुषे गणं मारुतं नव्यसीनाम् ।

य आश्वश्वा अमवद्वहन्त उतेशिरे अमृतस्य स्वराजः ॥ १ ॥

तमिति षष्ठ्यर्थे द्वितीया । एषामित्यनेन + + + + मेघां^५ मरुताम् । उ नूनं इति पदपूरणे । तविषीमन्तम् । तविषीति बलनाम ।

^१ अत्र किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । प्रथमान्तात् संबोधने च (पा. २. ३. ४७) इति प्रथमा इति भवेत् ।

^२ अत्र किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । बहुधनाः इति भवेत् ।

^३ स्तोतारः

^४ त्वेन येषां ते बृहद् इति वृद्धितम् ।

^५ अत्र किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । एषामित्यनेन सम्बध्यते इति भवेत् पूर्वभागः

बलवन्तम् । स्तुषे । व्यत्ययेनायं^१ मध्यमः । स्तौमि । मारुतं गणम् । मरुतां^२ समूहो मारुतः । तम्^३ । मरुत्समूहरूपमित्यर्थः । मरुतां गणं + + + + गणत्वेनापि^४ संभवति । अतः स मरुत्समूहरूपत्वेन विशेष्यते । नव्यसीनाम् । तृतीयार्थे षष्ठ्येषा । नव्यसीभिः अतिशयेन नवामिः स्तुतिभिः । किं ये कल्पयन्ति मरुतः । उच्यते । ये आश्वश्वाः क्षिप्राश्वा अमवन्^५ । अमशब्द + + + + + त्र^६ वतिप्रत्ययः । आत्मारहः । यथैषां योग्यं तथेत्यर्थः । वहन्ते प्रापयन्ति । धनं स्तोतृभ्यो ददतीत्यर्थः । उत ईशिरे अमृतस्य उदकस्य वृष्टिलक्षणस्य स्वराजः आत्मनैव^७ स्वसामर्थ्येन दीप्ताः ॥

त्वेषं गणं तवसं खादिहस्तं धुनिव्रतं मायिनं दातिवारम् ।

मयोभुवो ये अमिता महित्वा वन्दस्व विप्र तुविरार्धसो नून ॥ २ ॥

त्वेषं दीप्तं^८ गणं मारुतं तवसं + + + + + खादिः^९ खटारिकाकार आयुधविशेषः । स हस्ते यस्य स खादिहस्तः । तम् । धुनिव्रतम् । धुनिः कम्पनं मेघानां शत्रूणां वा । तत्कर्माणम् । मायिनं प्रज्ञावन्तम् । दातिवारम् । दातिः दानम् । वृङ् संभक्तौ । दानस्य संभक्तारम् । दातारमित्यर्थः । + + + + + किं^{१०} तर्हि । मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयितारः । ये मरुतः अमिता अपरिमिता महित्वा महत्त्वेन । अपरिमिता माहात्म्या इत्यर्थः । यच्छब्दश्रुतेः तच्छब्दोऽध्याहार्यः । तांश्च प्रत्येकमपि

^१ व्यत्ययेनोयं.

^२ मरुतां मरुतां इति द्विः वर्तते.

^३ तम्.

^४ भागः वृद्धितः

^५ अमवत्.

^६ किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । आत्मवाचकः । अर्हार्थेऽत्र इति तत् भवेत्.

^७ आत्मनैव आत्मनैव इति द्विः वर्तते.

^८ त्वेषं दन्दीप्तं.

^९ भागः वृद्धितः । तवसं खादिहस्तं इति स भवेत्.

^{१०} किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । न केवलं दातारं इति तत् भवेत्.

वन्दस्व स्तुहि हे विप्र + + + + संबोधनम्^१ । प्रैषश्च । मेधाविन् अन्त-
रात्मन् । तुविराधसः बहुधनान् । नृन् मनुष्याकारान् ॥

आ वो यन्तूदवाहासो अयं वृष्टिं ये विश्वे मरुतो जुनन्ति ।

अयं यो अग्निर्मरुतः समिद्ध एतं जुषध्वं कवयो युवानः ॥ ३ ॥

वः युष्मान् ऋत्विजः मत्पुत्रपौत्रादीन् वा प्रति आयन्तु उदवाहासः
उदकस्य वोढारः प्रापयितारः + + + + ये^२ विश्वे सर्वे मरुतः जुनन्ति
गमयन्ति । ये सर्वे वर्षन्तीत्यर्थः । प्रत्यक्षकृतः परोऽर्धर्चः^३ । अयं यः
अस्मदीयः आहवनीयाख्योऽग्निः हे मरुतः समिद्धः सन्दीप्तः । एतं जुषध्वं
सेवध्वम् । समीपे भवत^४ हे कवयः^५ मेधाविनः युवानः तरुणाः ॥

यूयं राजानमिदं जनाय विभ्वतृष्टं जैनयथा यजत्राः ।

युष्मदैति मुष्टिहा बाहुजूतो युष्मत् सदर्शो मरुतः सुवीरः ॥ ४ ॥

यूयं राजानं इयं नाम जनाय । जनो मनुष्यलोकः । तस्यार्थाय ।
विभ्यतृष्टम् । विभवतीति विभ्वं^६ बहु । तक्षतिः करोतिकर्मा । कर्तरि चात्र
क्तप्रत्ययः । बहूनां कर्मणां कर्तारम्^७ । सर्वजनस्योपकाराणां बहूनां कर्मणां
करणसमर्थ एनं कृतवन्तः स्येत्यर्थः । यजत्रा यष्टव्याः । किं च युष्मत्
युष्मत्तः एति गच्छति शत्रून् प्रति मुष्टिहा मुष्टिभिरेव हन्ता शत्रूणाम् । न च
+ + + + किं^८ तर्हि । बाहुजूतः । जवतिरत्र अन्तर्णीतप्यर्थः । कर्तरि

^१ किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । आत्मन एवेदमन्तरात्मनः इति तत् भवेत् ।

^२ किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । अयं वृष्टि इति तत् भवेत् ।

^३ प्रत्यक्षकृतापराद्धोर्व्यः

^४ भवति ।

^५ हे कवयः इति वृद्धितम् । किमधिकमपि वृद्धितं इत्यनिश्चितम् ।

^६ विश्वम् ।

^७ कर्तारं इति वृद्धितम् । किमधिकमपि वृद्धितमिति न निश्चितम् ।

^८ किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । न केवलं मुष्टिहा इति तत् भवेत् ।

च क्तप्रत्ययः । बाहुभ्यां शमयिता । प्रकीराणां^१ कीलाभिश्च हन्तेत्यर्थः ।
युष्मदेव सदश्वः । सच्छब्दः प्रशंसावचनः । प्रशस्ताश्चः अश्ववारः हे
मरुतः सुवीराः । + + + + मुष्टिभिश्च^२ कीलाभिश्च शत्रूणां हन्तारः
अश्ववाराश्च^३ युष्माभिः शत्रून् हन्तुं प्रेषिता^४ युष्मत्तो गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

अरा इवेदचरमा अहैव प्रप्र जायन्ते अकवा महोभिः ।

पृथ्वेः पुत्रा उपमासो रभिष्टाः स्वया मत्या मरुतः सं मिमिक्षुः ॥ ५ ॥

यथा अराः चक्रस्य रथस्य वा^५ । तद्वदचरमाः । चरमः पश्चिमः ।
स येषां न विद्यते ते अचरमाः । + + + + अग्नि^६मस्याप्यभावः ।
अनग्निमपश्चिमा इत्यर्थः । अहा इव अहानि इव । संवत्सरस्य समजात-
त्वात् हि तत्तुल्यकाला^७ मरुतः । नैषामग्निमः पश्चिमो वा कश्चित्
प्रजायन्ते । एकः प्रशब्दः पदपूरणः । प्रसमुपोदः पादपूरणे (पा. ८.
१. ६) इति । + + + + प्रकृष्टा^८ जायन्ते । प्रतिदिवसं^९ वर्षऽमान-
प्रकर्षा भवन्तीत्यर्थः । अकवाः अकुत्सिताः महोभिः । पृथ्वेः दिवः पुत्राः ।
उपमासः उपमाभूताः सर्वस्य । अथवा उपम^{१०} इत्यन्तिकनाम । उपमा दिवः
पुत्राः सन्निकृष्टाश्चेत्यर्थः । रभिष्टा^{११} अ + + + + मत्या^{१२} प्रज्ञया मरुतः
संमिमिक्षुः । म्यक्षतेः गतिकर्मण^{१३} एतद्रूपम् । संगच्छन्ते । यादृशी एषां
योग्या प्रज्ञा परानुग्रहात्मिका तादृशी उपपद्यते इत्यर्थः । अथवा मन्यते-
रर्चतिकर्मणो मतिः । स्तुतिः । त + + + + स्तूयन्ते^{१४} इत्यर्थः ॥

^१ इदं पदं न स्फुटार्थम् ।

^२ भागः वृद्धितः । अथ वा मुष्टिहा बाहुजूतः इति स भवेत् ।

^३ अश्ववादाश्च ।

^४ प्रेषिता ।

^५ अरघस्य वा ।

^६ किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । अपश्चिमाः इति तत् भवेत् ।

^७ तुल्यकाला ।

^८ भागः वृद्धितः । अष्टपदानां अवकाशो न लक्ष्यते ।

^९ प्रतिदिनसंप्रति ।

^{१०} उपमह ।

^{११} रभिष्टा ।

^{१२} किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । अतिशयेन इति पूर्वभागो भवेत् ।

^{१३} शतिकर्मण ।

^{१४} किञ्चित् वृद्धितम् । तथा इति तत् भवेत् ।

यत् प्रायासिष्ट पृषतीभिरर्ध्वीलुपविभिर्मरुतो रथैभिः ।

क्षोदन्तु आपो रिणतो वनान्यबोस्त्रियो वृषभः क्रन्दन्तु द्यौः ॥६॥

यत् प्रायासिष्ट प्रजगाथ मेघं प्रति पृषतीभिः पृषद्वर्णाभिः बडवाभिरथैः । वीलुपविभिः । वीलु दृढम्^१ । पविः रथनेमिः । दृढरथचक्रधारैश्च । हे मरुतः । यदेति वचनान्^२ तदा इत्याध्याहार्यम् । तदा क्षोदन्ते । युष्मद्वाहनैः पृषत्यादिभिः चूर्ण्यन्ते इत्यर्थः । आपः मेघस्था आपः रिणते गच्छन्ति मेघात् भूमिं प्रति वनानि उदकानि वृष्टिलक्षणानि । अव इत्युपसर्गः^३ क्रन्दन्तु इत्याख्यातेन संबन्धयितव्यः । उस्त्रियः । उस्त्रा गौः । तस्याः पुत्रः उस्त्रियः । वृषभः । वृषभ इति प्रजननसमर्थः तरुणो बलीवर्द उच्यते । स च अवक्रन्दतु । प्रैषस्यान्यस्य वाक्यस्य + + + + संभवात्^४ लोडत्र लडर्थे । अवक्रन्दति शब्दं करोति । उपजातबलो युद्धार्थी गच्छतीत्यर्थः । न च केवलो वृषभः । किं तर्हि । द्यौश्च गर्जतीत्यर्थः ॥

प्रथिष्ट यामन् पृथिवी चिदेषां भर्तैव गर्भं स्वमिच्छवो धुः ।

वातान् ह्यश्वान् धुर्यायुयुजे वर्षं स्वेदं चक्रिरे रुद्रियासः ॥ ७ ॥

+ + + + अत्र^५ लुक् । यामन् यानं मेघं प्रति^६ गमनम् । तस्मिन् सति । अथवा यान्ति देवा यस्मिन् स यामो यज्ञः । सप्तमी च यस्य च भावेन (पा. १. ३. ३७) इत्येवं विज्ञायते । तच्छ्रुतेश्च योग्यक्रियापदाध्याहारात् + + + + ते^७ । उच्यते । समस्ता पृथिवी । चिच्छब्दस्तु पदपूरणः । कस्य यामन् । उच्यते । एषां मरुताम् । कथं प्रथते^८ ।

^१ वीलु संस्तंभं दृढम् ।

^२ यदेति वचनात् इति वृत्तितम् ।

^३ अव इत्युपसर्गः इति वृत्तितम् ।

^४ भागः वृत्तितः । असंभवात् इति पाठ्ये भवेत् ।

^५ प्रारम्भभागः वृत्तितः यामन् । सप्तम्याः इति स भवेत् ।

^६ यानं याममेप्रथं प्रति ।

^७ किञ्चित् वृत्तितम् ।

^८ कथं प्रथ . . ते ।

उच्यते । भर्तैव गर्भं इति तद्धेतौ तच्छब्दप्रयोगः । यथा भर्ता जायायां गर्भहेतुभूतं रेतो दधाति एवं मरुतां पृथिवी + + + +^१ । उदकनामैतत् । उदकं वृष्टिलक्षणं धुः दधाति^२ । तेनोदकेन सस्यानि जायन्ते । तैः तमस्ता^३ पृथिवी प्रथते । कदा दधाति । यदा वातान् वातसदृशान् अत्यन्तशीघ्रान् गन्तुन्^४ वा । हिशब्द पदपूरणः । अश्वान् धुरि स्वस्य रथस्य । आयुयुजे । + + + + च^५ वर्षं वृष्ट्युदकं स्वेदम् । सिदिः प्रक्षरणार्थः । प्रक्षरितं^६ चक्रिरे कुर्वन्ति । वृष्टिं पातयन्तीत्यर्थः । रुद्रियासः रुद्रपुत्राः स्तुत्या वा मरुतः ॥

द्वये नरो मरुतः ॥ ८ ॥

व्याख्यातार्था ॥

III. सूक्त ९९

प्र वः स्पळक्रन्तुसुविताय दानवेऽर्चो द्विवे प्र पृथिव्या ऋतं भरे ।

उसन्ते अश्वान् तरुषन्त आ रजोऽनु स्वं भानुं श्रययन्ते अर्णवेः ॥ १ ॥

वः इति^१ व्यत्ययेन बहुवचनम् । आत्मन एवायमन्तरात्मनोऽभिधानम् । त्वाम् । + + + + बन्धने^२ । सम्पदादित्वाच्चायं किप्प्रत्ययः । द्वितीयार्थे प्रथमा । प्रकर्षेण बन्धं करोति । तस्य तत्तेनावश्यं^३ कर्तव्यम् ।

^१ भागः वृत्तितः । स्वं इत् शवः इति स भवेत् ।

^२ दधति ।

^३ समस्त ।

^४ शत्रून् ।

^५ किञ्चित् वृत्तितम् ।

^६ प्रक्षरितम् ।

^७ व इत् ।

^८ भागः वृत्तितः

^९ अर्णो न स्फुटः

महतां च यागपरिसमाप्तिर्हविर्दानं^१ चावश्यमन्तरात्मना^२ कर्तव्यम्^३ ।
अतोऽवश्यकर्तव्यसामान्यात् मरुतः तं बन्ध + + + + सुविताय^४ ।
इण् गतौ । शोभनं गम्यते यस्मिन् तत् सुवितं यज्ञकर्म । उपसर्गस्यापि
छान्दसत्वात् उवडादेशः । तस्यार्थाय । यज्ञसमाप्त्यर्थम् । दावने
दानस्यार्थाय हविषाम् । एतज्ज्ञात्वा अर्चं स्तुहि मरुतः । अहमपि तेषां
+ + + + + च^५ ऋतं सत्यं स्तोत्रं प्रभरे प्रहरामि प्रापयामि ।
दिवं पृथिवीं च स्तौमि इत्यर्थः । किंच उक्षन्ते वृष्ट्या सिञ्चन्ति मरुतः
अश्वान् स्वरथेषु नियुक्तान् । तत्प्रभृत्युपलक्षणार्थं वा अश्वग्रहणम् ।
अश्वप्रभृतीन् सर्वप्राणिनः । तरुषन्ते । तृ प्लवनतरणयोः^६ इत्यन्तर्णीतण्यर्थस्य
रूपम् । आप्लावयन्ति । रजः लोकः पार्थिवः । अनुस्वं भानुम् ।
अन्विति । पश्चादर्थे^७ भानुर्दीप्तिः । स्वस्या दीप्त्याः विद्युल्लक्षणायाः
पश्चात् । विद्युतोऽनन्तरमित्यर्थः । श्रथयन्ते श्रथयन्ति । अर्णवैः^८ द्वितीयार्थे
तृतीयैषा^९ । अर्णवान् उदकवतो मेघान् ॥

अमादिषां भियसा भूमिरेजति नौर्न पूर्णा क्षरति व्यथिर्युता ।
दूरेदृशो ये चित्तयन्त एमभिरन्तमेहे विदये येतिरे नरः ॥ २ ॥

अमशब्द आत्मपर्यायः । आत्मन एव । स्वस्वरूपादेवेत्यर्थः । एषां
मरुतां भियसा भयेन समस्ता भूमिः एजति । लुप्तोपममेतत्^{१०} । कम्पन्ते
इव । नौर्न^{११} पूर्णा । यथा नौः उदकपूर्णा^{१२} सती एवं क्षरति स्रवति ।

^१ यागपरिसमाप्तिर्हविर्दानं.

^२ कर्तव्यः.

^३ किंचित् त्रुटितम् । दिवे पृथिव्ये इति उत्तरभागो भवेत् ।

^४ तरुषन्ते । तृ प्लवनत इति त्रुटितम् .

^५ अर्णवैः इति त्रुटितम् .

^६ लुप्तोपममेतत् .

^७ नौर्न इति त्रुटितम् .

^८ चावश्यमन्तरात्मनो.

^९ भागः त्रुटितः

^{१०} पश्चादर्थे इति न वर्तते

^{११} तृतीया.

^{१२} उदकस्य पूर्णा.

किम् । सामर्थ्यात् आज्यपयआदि^१ हविः । भूमिष्ठेषु च यष्टुषु क्षरत्सु
भूमिः^२ क्षरतीत्युच्यते । यच्च आज्यपयआदेर्हविषो दानं तदत्र क्षरणम् ।
कीदृशी सती क्षरति । उच्यते । व्यथि + + + + पर्यायान्^३ मरुतः
प्रति गच्छन्ती । मरुत्परिचर्यापरा^४ सतीत्यर्थः । ये किं कुर्वन्ति मरुतः ।
दूरेदृशः^५ । दूरे स्थितः यः, यथा द्रष्टव्यानि^६ ग्राह्यतया वा तम्, तथा ये
पश्यन्ति तं दूरेदृशः^७ । ये मरुतः चिन्तयन्ते ज्ञायन्ते । एमभिः गमनैः ।
+ + + + + पतन्ती^८ दृष्ट्वा तस्याः कतारो ये अनुमीयन्ते इत्यर्थः ।
ये च अन्तः महे महति विदये यज्ञे । मध्ये महतो यज्ञस्येत्यर्थः ।
येतिरे^९ । सं भानुना यतते^{१०} (ऋ. वे. ५. ३७. १) इत्यादिदर्शनात्
यततिर्गत्यर्थः^{११} । गच्छन्ति नरो मनुष्याकाराः ॥

गवांमिव श्रियसे शृङ्गमुत्तमं सूर्यो न चक्षु रजसो विसर्जने ।

अत्या इव सुभ्रवश्चारवः स्थन मर्या इव श्रियसे चेतया नरः ॥ ३ ॥

गवां इव । इदं चारवः स्थनेत्येतस्योपमा^{१२} । यथा गवां श्रियसे ।
श्रीरत्र शोभालक्षणा अभिप्रेता । तादर्थ्ये^{१३} चतुर्थी । शोभार्थम्^{१४} ।
शृङ्गम् । उत्तमं^{१५} सर्वस्मात् कायादुत्तरं चारु । सूर्यो न यथा सूर्यः चक्षुः
चक्षुःस्थानीयं^{१६} प्रकाशतः सर्वस्य रजसो विसर्जने + + + ज्योतिः^{१७} रज

^१ आज्यपदआदि.

^२ भूमि.

^३ भागः त्रुटितः । व्यथिर्यती । परिचर्यायै इति पाठो भवेत् ।

^४ मरुत्-पर्यापरा.

^५ दूरेदृशः.

^६ द्रष्टव्यानि.

^७ भागः त्रुटितः

^८ पतन्ते.

^९ इव । इदं चारवः इति त्रुटितम् .

^{१०} शोभार्थ.

^{११} चक्षुषः स्थानीयं.

^{१२} Passage not satisfactory.

^{१३} येतिरे.

^{१४} यतिगत्यर्थः

^{१५} तदर्थे.

^{१६} उत्तमं इति न वर्तते.

^{१७} किंचित् त्रुटितम् । आविलस्य इति तत् भवेत्.

उच्यते । तद्यस्मिन् विसृज्यते विक्षिप्यते स रजसो विसर्जनः द्युलोकः । तत्र चारवः^१ अस्या इव यथाचाश्वाः सुभ्वः^२ । अपठितमपि महन्नामैतत्^३ । महान्तः । चारवः । एवं यूयं चारवः स्थन शोभनाः स्थ । मर्या इव यथा मनुष्या राजानः अन्ये वा^४ केचित् श्रियसे श्रयर्थे^५ आत्मनः स्वस्य परिजनस्य वा साधु असाधु च चेष्टितं चेतन्ति एवं यूयं चेतथा जानीध्वे सर्वं हे नरो मनुष्याकाराः ॥

को वो महान्ति महतामुदंश्वत् कस्काव्या मरुत को ह पौंस्या ।

यूयं ह भूमिं किरणं न रेजथ म यद्भरध्वे सुविताय दावने ॥ ४ ॥

कः वः युष्माकं महान्ति सेनालक्षणानि बलानि । स्वयं महतां सतां उदंश्वत् अश्नुते व्याप्नोति । न कश्चिदपीत्यर्थः । को^६ वा काव्या । कवयो मेधाविनः । तत्करणानि । हे मरुतः । को ह । हशब्दः वाशब्दस्यार्थः । को वा पौंस्या बलानि सामर्थ्यलक्षणानि । कस्मात् । उच्यते । यूयं ह । हशब्दः अत्र हिशब्देन समानार्थः यस्मादर्थः । यूयं यस्मात् समस्तां भूमिम् । किरणम्^७ । किरण इति रश्मिनाम् । रश्मि-मिवादित्यः उदके अन्यत्र वा^८ रेजथ कम्पयथा यत्^९ यदा प्रभरध्वे प्रहरथ प्रापयथ । आत्मानं गच्छथेत्यर्थः । किमर्थम् । उच्यते । सुविताय यज्ञसमाप्त्यर्थम् । दावने दानार्थं^{१०} च हविषाम् ॥

अश्वा इवेदंरुषासः सबन्धवः शूरा इव प्रयुधः प्रोत युयुधुः ।

मर्या इव सुवृधो वावृधुर्नरः सूर्यस्य चक्षुः म भिनन्ति वृष्टिभिः ॥ ५ ॥

^१ चारु.

^३ महतामैतत्.

^५ श्रीरर्थ.

^७ किरणं इति न वर्तते.

^९ अतः पूर्वं उदका उच्यते इत्यपि वर्तते.

^२ सुभ्वः

^४ अन्येव.

^६ के वा.

^८ वा इति न वर्तते.

^{१०} दावनं.

अश्वा इव । इत् इति^१ पदपूरणः । अरुषासः गन्तारः मरुतः । सबन्धवः । समानो बन्धुः माता द्यौः पिता च रुद्रः येषां ते सबन्धवः । शूरा इव राजानः अन्ये वा केचित् इव^२ । प्रयुधः प्रकर्षेण योद्धारः । न च इदानीमेव केवलम् । उत प्रयुयुधुः^३ । उतशब्दः अप्यर्थः । प्रकर्षेण युयुधिरे । अतीतेऽपि काले युद्धानि कृतवन्त एवेत्यर्थः । मर्या इव मनुष्या इव च सुखिनो राजपुत्रा वा अन्ये वा केजित् इव^४ । सुवृधः । शरीरं^५ वृष्टिलक्षणया वृध्या सुष्ठु वर्धितारः । न च इदानीमेव केवलम् । किं तर्हि । वावृधुः । अतीतेऽपि काले ववृधिरे एव । नरो मनुष्याकाराः सूर्यस्य चक्षुर्दर्शनं प्रमिनन्ति प्रहिसन्ति । केन । उच्यते । वृष्टिभिः ॥

ते अज्येष्ठा अकनिष्ठास उद्भिदोऽमध्यमासो महसा वि वावृधुः ।

सुजातासो जनुषा पृश्निमातरौ दिवो मर्या आ नो अच्छा जिगातन ॥ ६ ॥

ते मरुतः अविद्यमानो ज्येष्ठो येषां ते अज्येष्ठाः । अकनिष्ठासः । अविद्यमानः कनिष्ठो येषां ते अकनिष्ठासः । उद्भिदः उद्भेत्तारः ओषध्यादि-बीजानाम् । वृष्टिप्रदानद्वारेण ओषध्यादीनां जनयितार इत्यर्थः । अमध्य-मासः । अविद्यमानो मध्यमो येषां ते अमध्यमासः^६ । मरुतो हि सह जाताः । तेन तेषां न ज्येष्ठः कनिष्ठः मध्यमो वा कश्चित् । महसा माहात्म्येन विवावृधुः विविधं वर्धन्ते । प्रतिदिनं वर्धमानमाहात्म्या भवन्तीत्यर्थः । किंच सुजाताः सुनिष्पन्नाः । परिपूर्णसर्वावयवा इत्यर्थः । अथवा सुष्ठु जाताः सुजाताः । पुण्यकर्माण इत्यर्थः । जनुषा जन्मनैव । पृश्निमातरः दिवः द्युलोकात् मर्या मनुष्याकारः । नः अस्मान् आ अच्छा आप्तुं जिगातन । प्रथमपुरुषस्य स्थानेऽयं मध्यमः पुरुषः । आगच्छन्तु ॥

^१ अश्वा इव इत् इति इत्यस्य स्थाने इव इति इत्येव वर्तते.

^३ उतयुयुधुः

^४ इव इति नास्ति.

^५ शरीर.

^२ इव इति नास्ति.

^६ अमध्यमाः

वयो न ये श्रेणीः पृत्तुरोजसान्ताद दिवो बृहतः सानुनुस्परि ।
अश्वास एषामुभये यथा विदुः प्र पर्वतस्य नभनूरचुच्यवुः ॥ ७ ॥

वयो न^१ पक्षिण इव ये मरुतः + + + + जज्ञत्रूणां^२ पृत्तुः
पतन्ति । गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः^३ । ओजसा बलेन । अन्तान् पर्यन्तान्^४ दिवः^५
द्युलोकस्य । बृहतः महतः सानुनः समुच्छ्रितस्य पर्वतादेः परि उपरि ।
यच्छब्दश्रुतेः तच्छब्दोऽध्याहर्तव्यः तत्समानाधिकरणश्च^६ । एषां तेषां^७
स्वभूताः अश्वासः अश्वाः । उभये देवमनुष्या यथा विदुः जानन्ति ।
अत्यन्तप्रकाशमित्यर्थः । पर्वतस्य मेघस्य स्वभूतान् नभनून् । नभ इत्युदक-
नाम । तस्मादयं^८ नुप्रत्ययः समूहे द्रष्टव्यः । उदकसमूहान् अचुच्यवुः
प्रच्यावयन्ति ॥

मिमातु द्यौरदितिर्वीतये नः सं दानुचित्रा उषसो यतन्ताम् ।
आचुच्यवुर्दिव्यं कोशमेत ऋषे रुद्रस्य मरुतो गृणानाः ॥ ८ ॥

मिमातु इति माङ् माने इत्यस्य रूपम् । निर्मिमीताम्^९ । करोत्वित्यर्थः । किम् । पुरस्तात् संकीर्तितत्वात् उषसः । द्यौः मरुतां माता
अदितिश्च । सापि हि मरुतां मातैव । एवं ब्रूतिहासिकाः स्मरन्ति ।
अदित्यां कश्यपात् मरुतो जाताः इति । अथवा अदितिरिति दिव एव
विशेषणम् । अदितिः अदीना अक्षीणा द्यौः । वीतये गमनाय प्राप्तये । नः
अस्मान् प्रति । ताश्च प्राप्ताः दानुचित्राः^{१०} । दानु दानं वृष्ट्युदकस्य ।

^१ न इति नास्ति.

^३ गच्छन्तीति.

^५ दिवा.

^७ तेषामेषां इति क्रमः

^९ निर्मिमीताम्.

^२ किञ्चित् त्रुटितम् । न स्फुटम्.

^४ पर्यान्.

^६ अस्मात् पदात् पूर्वं एषां मध्ये इत्यप्यस्ति.

^८ तस्मादय.

^{१०} सन्दानुचित्रा.

MANUSCRIPTS NOTES

ADHIKARAṆĀDARSA OF BĀBĀDEVA

BY PANDIT V. KRISHNAMACHARYA

THE *Adhikaraṇādarśa* is a rare work on *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*, hitherto not widely known. It has been recently discovered in the collection of MSS. preserved in the Adyar Library, Madras. In a brief and polemic discussion on the subject of *Ādhāna* relating to the sacrificial ceremonies, it deals with various *adhikaraṇas* of *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*. The work has not been mentioned in any catalogue of MSS. including the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Dr. T. Aufrecht. However, mention has been made in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* of the Madras University to 2 more MSS. existing in the Punjab University Library, Lahore and the *Prājñā Pāṭhaśālā*. Wai, Surat, Bombay. The Adyar Library MS. bears the Shelf No. 40 A 88. Country Paper. 142 Foll. 11×5 inches. 13 lines in a page. Devanāgarī script. Old. Injured. Date Sam. 1795=1738 A.D.

Beginning :

स पातु भक्तवत्सलो निरन्तरं जनाश्रयः ।

स्वकीयचित्तरञ्जको गुणेश्वरो गणेश्वरः ॥ १ ॥

श्रीनन्दनन्दन भवच्चरणारविन्दं वन्दे वनस्थलविहारि मनोऽपहारि ।

चाञ्चल्यतो बहुतराश्रममेदुराया विश्रान्तिमन्दिरमिदं ध्रुवमिन्दिरायाः ॥ २ ॥

(पितामहचरणानामयम्)

स कोऽपि गोपिकामनोऽनुरञ्जनो निरञ्जनः ।
 करोतु नन्दनन्दनो मुदा मुदास्पदं हरिः ॥ ३ ॥
 आरभेऽधिकरणैकगुम्भनं छेत्तुमेषु विततैकविस्मृतिम् ।
 कौतुकाय विदुषां च सांप्रतं बालदेवतनयोऽल्पयन्तः ॥ ४ ॥
 पाठार्थक्रमयोः परोऽत्र बलवानेवं विलोच्याधुना
 भट्टाचार्यमुखान् प्रणम्य विनयैस्त्यक्त्वेह सौत्रक्रमम् ।
 आधानाद्भुतिज्ञाधिकरणादर्शं विशेषार्थदं
 बाबादेवसुधीस्तनोति कुरुतान्निर्विघ्नमेनं हरिः ॥ ५ ॥
 परोक्तकथनं कचिल्लिखितलेखनं कुत्रचि-
 त्वबद्धपरिभाषणं कचन दुष्टसंतर्जनम् ।
 अबुद्धमतखण्डनं गुणिनि दोषसंजल्पनं
 तिरोदधत साधवः परहितैकसद्देवतवः ॥ ६ ॥

यजुर्वेदे श्रूयते—वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीतेति । अत्र संदिह्यते—यथाकथं-
 चित्प्राप्ताधानभावनाया ब्राह्मणकर्तृकत्वे निमित्ते वसन्तकालोऽङ्गत्वेन नियम्यते,
 उत, कर्तृकालविशिष्टाधानभावना विधीयत इति ।

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीमत्पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसापारंगतानन्तदेवात्मजबालदेवतनयबाबादेव-
 कृताधिकरणादर्शं विकृतिनिरूपणं समाप्तम् । दर्शपूर्णमासपरिच्छेदश्च समाप्ति-
 मगमत् ।

The author.

The Colophon mentioned above says that this author Bābādeva was the son of Bāladeva and grandson of Anantadeva. Now it has to be decided who this Anantadeva was. According to the *Smṛtikaustubha* there were two Anantadevas in the Deva family of Bénares. Vide the following verses :

आसीद्गोदावरीतीरे वेदवेदिसमन्वितः ।
 श्रीकृष्णभक्तिमानेक एकनाथाभिधो द्विजः ॥ १ ॥
 तत्सुतस्तद्गुणैर्युक्तः सर्वशास्त्रार्थतत्त्ववित् ।

आपदेवोऽभवद्देवात्प्राप यः सकलान्मनून् ॥ २ ॥
 मीमांसानयकोविदो मधुरिपोः सेवासु नित्योद्यतो
 विद्यादानविभावितोत्तमयशा आसीत्तदीयात्मजः ।
 यस्यानन्तगुणैरनन्त इति सन्नामार्थवत्तां गतं
 येनावादि च वादिनां श्रुतिशिरःसिद्धान्ततत्त्वं मुदे ॥ ३ ॥
 न्यायप्रकाशकर्ता निरवधिविद्यामृतप्रदः सततम् ।
 मीमांसाद्वयनयवित्तनयस्तस्यापदेवोऽभूत् ॥ ४ ॥
 तस्यात्मजं वैदिकशास्त्रविज्ञं सन्तोऽसकृत्प्रादुरनन्तदेवम् ।
 बाजाह्वराज्ञो वचसा विधेयं निबन्धसारोद्धरणं त्वयेति ॥
 अनन्तदेवेन तदाज्ञयाथो मुदे हरेः पूर्वनिबन्धरूपम् ।
 क्षीराम्बुधिं बुद्धिगुणैर्मथित्वा प्रकाश्यतेऽयं स्मृतिकौस्तुभः कौ ॥

From these verses it is understood that Anantadeva's (the author of the *Smṛtikaustubha*) ancestors were living on the bank of Godāvari in Āndhradesa and Ekanātha was one of them. Ekanātha had a son called Āpadeva I who was proficient in Sāstras and pupil of Khaṇḍadeva (Deva). Āpadeva I had a son called Anantadeva I who wrote the Vedānta work *Siddhāntatattva*.¹

Anantadeva I had a son called Āpadeva II the well-known author of the *Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa*. Āpadeva II had a son called Anantadeva II who wrote the *Smṛtikaustubha* under the instance of Baij Bahadur Candra (1675 A. D.). The table of genealogy of Anantadeva II is thus :

Ekanātha
 |
 Āpadeva I (Pupil of Khaṇḍadeva)
 |
 Anantadeva I (Author of the *Siddhāntatattva*)
 |
 Āpadeva II (Author of the *Nyāyaprakāśa*)
 |
 Anantadeva II (Author of the *Smṛtikaustubha*)

¹ Pandit Series Reprint No. 3, Vol. XXII 1900 wherein the author is wrongly mentioned as Anantadeva II in the Introduction.

Thus there were two Anantadevas; one was grandfather and the other his grandson. Of these two Anantadevas, Bābādeva's grandfather must be Anantadeva I. This fact may be proved with the aid of the following evidence. Our author Bābādeva has written another Mīmāṃsā work called *Arpaṇamīmāṃsā*.¹ He quotes therein 2 verses from his grandfather thus:

कालिन्दीपवने सुगन्धिपवने मन्दारमूले लस-
नीलेन्दीवरसुन्दरः कटितटप्रद्योतिपीताम्बरः ।
कोऽपि श्रीमुखमारुतेन मुरलीमालापयन्मञ्जुलं
लोलाक्षीरभिरञ्जयन् विजयते कंजस्फुरल्लोचनः ॥
यस्यामी विधिवासवादिबिबुधावासेषु विष्कूर्जिताः
संतोषाश्चलवीचयो नृपसुखान्येतान्यथो बुद्बुदाः ।
अन्ये पुत्रकलत्रमित्रविषयाः सौख्योदया विन्दवः
सोऽयं पूर्णसुखावहो विजयते नीलाम्बुदः श्यामलः ॥
(पितामहचरणानामेतौ)

These two verses are seen in the beginning of the *Manorāṅjanāṭaka*² of Anantadeva cited as Nāndīśloka. Therefore it is clear that Anantadeva, whom Bābādeva mentioned as his grandfather and from whom the two verses were quoted, is identical with the author of the *Manorāṅjanāṭaka*. Now again, that the author of this drama was Anantadeva I can be clearly and easily proved from the following evidence:

Anantadeva the author of the drama, mentioned himself as a disciple of Rāmatīrtha and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa of Benares. Vide the following verses:

सूत्रधारः—यः पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसापरिशीलनशीलवान् ।
तदीयाध्यापनेनैव समयं खलु नीतवान् ॥
नटः—अस्य महाभागस्य कीदृशो गुरुः स्यात् ?
सूत्र—गुरव इति वक्तव्यम् । एकस्तावत् पितैव ।

¹ The Adyar Library MS. Shelf No. 40. C. 5.

² Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, Benares. No. 72.

अपरस्तु—

श्रीरामचन्द्रचरणार्चनपङ्कचित्तः श्रीरामनामसततस्मरणैकनिष्ठः ।
श्रीरामचन्द्र इव धैर्यधुरीणबुद्धिः श्रीरामतीर्थ इति यो जगति प्रसिद्धः ॥

अपरोऽपि भट्टनारायणः ।

It has been already told in stanza 3 quoted above from the *Smytikaustubha*, that Anantadeva I was the author of the *Siddhāntatattva*. In that work (*Siddhāntatattva*) also he mentioned himself as the disciple of Rāmatīrtha. Vide the beginning:

सर्ववेदान्तसिद्धान्तसंप्रदायानुसारतः ।
नमस्कृत्य गुरुन्वक्ष्ये प्रक्रियां तत्त्वसंश्रयाम् ॥
यच्छ्रीमद्रामतीर्थेभ्यः संप्रदायसमागतम् ।
श्रुतं सतर्कसचिवं विविच्य तदिहोच्यते ॥

Anantadeva I has written a commentary¹ on his *Siddhāntatattva*. This commentary also begins thus with the salutation to Rāmatīrtha.

वेदान्तनयसिद्धान्तपरीक्षणविचक्षणान् ।
नमामि तातचरणान् श्रीमद्रोविन्दविग्रहान् ॥
श्रीरामतीर्थचरणस्मरणस्य प्रसादतः ।
प्रस्थानत्रयसिद्धान्तसंप्रदायः प्रदर्शयते ॥
सिद्धान्ततत्त्वव्याख्यानव्याजेन विशदीकृतम् ।
वेदान्तसंप्रदायार्थं गृह्णन्तु ज्ञानकामिनः ॥

Moreover the zeal in teaching the Mīmāṃsā śāstra as his special quality has been mentioned in the beginning of the *Smytikaustubha* and the *Manorāṅjana* quoted above.

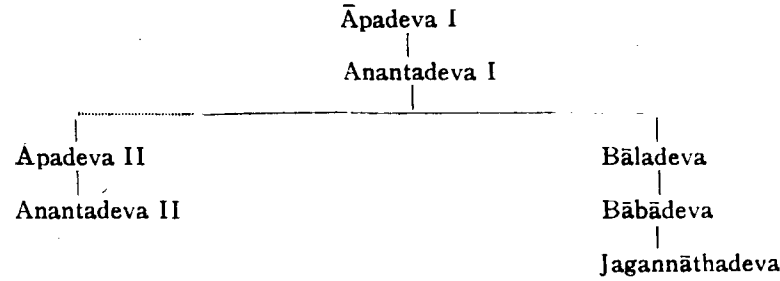
Thus it is evident that these works namely *Manorāṅjanāṭaka*, *Siddhāntatattva* and its commentary were written by one and the same author Anantadeva I who was our author's grandfather.

¹ Tanjore Palace Library, Des. Catalogue, Vol. XIII, No. 7546 and 7547, wherein the text has been mentioned by the name *Tattvaparakriya*.

Date of the author:.

Bābādeva may be approximately fixed about 1650 A. D. on the following reasons: Bābādeva was the son of Bāladeva, son of Anantadeva I. Anantadeva II the author of the *Smṛtikaustubha* was the son of Āpadeva II, son of Anantadeva I.

Therefore it is clear that our author Bābādeva was the cousin (paternal uncle's son) of Anantadeva II.



Anantadeva II was a protege of Baij Bahadur Candra, a chief of Kūrmācala in 1645 to 1675 A.D.¹ Now it is clear that both Bābādeva and Anantadeva II were more or less contemporaries about 1650 A.D.

This date may be confirmed by the fact that the original MSS. on which the editions of the *Manorāñjana* and *Bhaktinirṇaya* (otherwise called *Bhagavadbhaktiviveka*) were based, are said to have been belonged to and copied by Bābādeva's son Jagannāthadeva in S'aka 1595, Sam 1730, corresponding to 1673 A.D. See the editor's preface of the *Manorāñjana*² and the verse found at the end of the *Bhaktinirṇaya*.³

Bābādeva's grandfather Anandeva I is said to have been the pupil of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa of Benares (1520 to 1600 A.D.) who wrote

¹ *Tattvabindu*, edited by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Intro. p. 115.

² इदं पुस्तकं बाबाजिदेवात्मजजगन्नाथदेवस्य.

³ शरनवतिथिमितशाके नभःसितस्कन्दबुधवारे ।

भगवद्भक्तिविवेकं बुधो जगन्नाथनामको व्यलिखत् ॥

Sarasvati Bhavana Texts Banares. No. 72,

his *Vṛttaratnākaravyākhyā* in Sam. 1602 corresponding to 1545 A.D. Vide :

याति विक्रमशके द्विषड्भूषंमि ते सितगकार्तिकरद्रे ।

ग्रन्थपूर्तिसुकृति किल कुर्मो रामचन्द्रपदपूजनपुरुषम् ॥

Anantadeva I is also mentioned as the pupil of Rāmatīrtha who was a contemporary of Madhusūdanasarasvatī (1580 A.D.) who praised in the following verse the famous Hindi poet Tulasīdās :

आनन्दकानने कश्चिज्जम्भस्तुलसीतरुः ।

कवितामञ्जरी यस्य रामभ्रमरभूषिता ॥

Taking into consideration all these facts, Anantadeva I may be fixed about 1600 A.D. approximately and his grandson Bābādeva about 1650 A.D.

¹ India Office Library Catalogue No. 1094. Page 304. Part II.

² Preface to the *Manorāñjananūṭaka*, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares, No. 76. Page 2.

REVIEWS

The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya by Patañjali with *Pratīpa* by Kaiyaṭa and *Pratīpoddyotana* by Annambhaṭṭa, Edited by the Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Series No. 7, pp. XIV, 240, 1948. Price Rs. 20-12-0.

It is no exaggeration to say that the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali occupies the foremost rank amidst of the literary treasures of the world. Besides being the highest and final authority on Sanskrit grammar, it is a rich storehouse of information about ancient India on various topics connected with her cultural sphere including literature, philosophy, history, politics, sociology, science, religion and so on. Kaiyaṭa's reference to this great work as *Bhāṣyābhidhiḥ Atigambhīrah* is not merely imaginary, but true and appropriate. The date of Patañjali is held to be prior to 150 B.C. As far as we know, the first commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* is Bhartṛhari's *Dīpikā* which according to the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* extends only up to the end of the first three pādas of the 1st adhyāya and hence is also known by another name *Tripādī*. Bhartṛhari's date according to the record of the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tshang was about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The next great commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* is Kaiyaṭa's *Pratīpa* written about the 11 century A.D. The *Pratīpa* has been commented upon by many authors of whom the following may be mentioned: Pravartakopādhyāya, Sarves'vara, Nilakaṇṭhadīkṣita, Annambhaṭṭa, Nāgeśa, Rāmacandrasarasvatī and Nārāyaṇasāstrin. Of these commentaries Nāgeśa's alone has been hitherto widely known and studied. It has been repeatedly printed and published partly.

Now for the first time Annambhaṭṭa's commentary called *Uddyotana* has been printed and published for the first four

āhnikas of the 1st pāda of the 1st adhyāya in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Series. The edition also contains the relevant portion of the texts of the *Mahābhāṣya* and *Pratīpa*. The publication was begun in 1937 by late Prof P. P. S. Sastri and completed recently by his successors. In this connection the reviewer (the undersigned) may be permitted to add that when he had been connected with the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and the Presidency College, Madras, he was practically responsible for this edition in regard to the former half of the portion now published. The publication has been based upon five different manuscripts including those deposited in the Adyar Library, Madras and Sri Venkṭeśvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.

The present Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Sri T. Chandrasekharan M.A., L.T. has written a valuable introduction dealing with the date etc. of Annambhaṭṭa and the usefulness of the commentary now published. The learned Curator has correctly fixed Annambhaṭṭa in the middle of the 17th century A.D. on the evidence of an old MS. of the *Tarkasaṃgraha* of Annambhaṭṭa bearing the date of copying as Śaka 1634 corresponding to 1712 A.D. The MS. is said to be in the possession of Dr. Jacobi of Bonn. The Curator's attempt to prove the priority of Annambhaṭṭa to Nāgeśa, by the means of identification of the view refuted by the latter in his *Uddyota*, with that of the former in his *Uddyotana*, is quite intelligible and convincing. His another attempt to fix Annambhaṭṭa's date by the means of the supposition of Pāyuguṇḍa Vaidyanātha's commentary on Annambhaṭṭa's *Tarkasaṃgraha* is not quite acceptable. He mentions Pāyuguṇḍa Vaidyanātha, (the pupil of Nāgeśa) as a commentator on the *Tarkasaṃgraha* and identifies him with Tatsat Vaidyanātha placing the latter in 1712 A.D. Firstly no evidence is available to prove the existence of a commentary of Pāyuguṇḍa Vaidyanātha on Annambhaṭṭa's *Tarkasaṃgraha*. It is true that Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions a commentary of one Vaidyanātha of Gāḍagila family on Annambhaṭṭa's *Tarkasaṃgraha*. But there is no evidence to prove the identification of Gāḍagila Vaidyanātha with Pāyuguṇḍa Vaidyanātha. On the other hand the identification is contradicted by the fact that the former belonged

to the Gāḍagila family while the latter to Pāyugunḍa family. Secondly the curator's identification of Pāyugunḍa Vaidyanātha with Tatsat Vaidyanātha is incredible because the former was the son of Mahādeva while the latter of Rāmabhaṭṭa *alias* Ramachandra-bhaṭṭa of the Tatsat family, besides the difference of the family names. Moreover, Tatsat Vaidyanātha is known to have composed his *Kāvyaṭṭaśāstrāṅgīyā-Udāharaṇacandrikā* in 1683 A.D. Pāyugunḍa Vaidyanātha is known to have belonged to the first half of the 18th Century A.D. in regard to his literary activities. Therefore both of them cannot be identical with each other. This fact has been clearly explained by Mr. P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I, Sec. III, and by the reviewer in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Adyar Library*, Vol. VI, No. 510, pp. 184 and 185.

Annambhaṭṭa refers to some previous commentators on the *Pradīpa* without mentioning their names. He simply mentions them by the words *Pare*, *Kecit*, *Navināḥ*, *Prāñcaḥ*, *Ādhunikāḥ* etc. on pages 59, 84, 91 and 162. As many of the commentaries on the *Pradīpa* mentioned already in this review, have not yet come to the light, it is difficult to identify these references. However, he mentions on page 145 one Vivaraṇakāra and gives thereby a clue for tracing the reference in the original. By this reference he evidently means to mention an author of a commentary called *Vivaraṇa* on Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa*. Dr. Aufrecht mentions a *Pradīpavivaraṇa* with the authorship of Īśvarānanda pupil of Satyānanda. Fortunately we have in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, a MS. of the *Pradīpavivaraṇa* of Īśvarānanda for the portion of Paspasāhnikā and of Rāmacandrasarasvatī for the rest 8 āhnikas of the 1st pāda of the 1st adhyāya (R. No. 3866). Perhaps a careful study of that work may reveal as to whether the *Vivaraṇa* referred to by Annambhaṭṭa is the same or different.

The publication is very useful for research work. It is hoped that the publication of further portions of Annambhaṭṭa's commentary will be surely helpful to the students of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Pradīpa* as well as the *Uddyota* of Nāgeṣa.

V. KRISHNAMACHARYA

Divyaprabandamum Divyārthadīpikāi Uraiyum, by V. M. Srinivasa Mudaliyar, 1, Ennaikkara Street, Conjeevaram, pages 208 and 28, 1949. Price Rs. 4.

The *Divyaprabandham* is the outpourings of the Ālvārs, the vaiṣṇavite saints of the Tamil land on *Srīman Nārāyaṇa*, being inspired poetry and revelling in devotion. Beginning with the first three Ālvārs the acme of the literature is reached in Nammālvār, Tirumangai Ālvār and Āṇḍāl, with her father Viṣṇucitta. These works have been commented upon by the vaiṣṇava followers of Śrī Rāmanuja according to the tradition received by them. The longest of the commentaries is known as the *Thirty-six Thousand* belonging to the Tengalai school. Pandit Annangaracharya of Kanchipuram has published a new commentary on the *prabandham* under the title *Divyārthadīpikāi*. The work under review is a review of the above work, criticizing the points of view taken by Pandit Annangaracharya, the readings adopted by him, the meanings given by him and suggesting other readings in the places where he has objected (p. 9).

Mr. Mudaliyar has obtained from certain scholars in Tamil, opinions on the work, which he has published in the beginning of the work, and all the four published opinions are against the point of view taken by Pandit Annangaracharya. One great complaint of Mr. Mudaliyar against the Pandit is that what he writes is not Tamil but Sanskritized Tamil, which of course is a defect with many vaiṣṇava works, if we should take it as a defect. Secondly, all the commentaries written by vaiṣṇava teachers do not contain the real meanings and significance of the hymns but only the untrue (false) meanings—a rather tall statement for a pure Tamil scholar to make, without fear of being of justifiably contradicted. Thirdly, the meaning given out for the hymns are not in consonance with the ideas of the Ālvārs themselves and authors of the hymns.

To cite a few samples. The very first section criticizes the introduction of the squirrel episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and holds it as a late interpolation (pp. 2-10).

The suggestion of the alternative reading *Komāriyavanodu* for '*Śimālikanavanodu*' is an example of questioning the reading itself as adopted by the Pandit. *Enḍol Īsan* is interpreted as

Lord Viṣṇu—the Lord with the Eight arms—*Aṣṭabhuja* as against the interpretation of Pandit Annagaracharya (who interprets the words as Lord Śiva) is not curious but an acceptable statement. *Ivāi* (ஐவாய்) is interpreted as the mouth with poison as against the meaning adopted by the Pandit 'many mouths' (p. 86). Those who have given opinions have also pointed out that the interpretations of Mr. Mudaliyar are following the traditional interpretation of Tamil by ripe Tamil scholars.

The concluding portions deal with certain personal experiences of the author and his contacts with scholars, mostly unpleasant, which are revealed through the book. That Mr. Mudaliyar has tried to interpret the hymns of the Ālvārs as understood by him, we all agree. It is also possible that Pandit Annagaracharya has erred in his interpretations. But the method adopted by Mr. Mudaliyar does not reflect the right attitude to be taken by a scholar. Every page of his writing reflects that he is labouring under a certain strong inducement, on provocation, to criticize the other party. The language adopted is far too strong even in criticism. To say that none of the Vaiṣṇava teachers knew Tamil and that Mr. Mudaliyar alone knows true Tamil and *Sentamil* and its traditions, is a statement to which none will subscribe or agree. Individuals may err but philosophic systems of thought require a more careful and respectful handling than the one adopted by Mr. Mudaliyar. That he should have taken the occasion to publish the smallness of other people is also not quite commendable. A work of this nature must stop with pointing out and presenting facts. The reader should be left to form his own conclusion. Strong language does not make up for accuracy or scholarship. The value of the work would have been enhanced very much but for the defects aforesaid. Here is an instance of a strong case defaulting by wrong presentation.

A. N. KRISHNAN

EDITORIAL

IN the issue of this *Bulletin* for October, 1949, (Vol. XIII, Pt. 3) I had announced in the Editorial that arrangements were in progress for the erection of a Statue of Capt. G. Srinivasa Murti, the Hon. Director of the Adyar Library, in the grounds of the Government School of Indian Medicine, Kilpauk, Madras, of which he was the first Principal. Now, the Statue has already been erected and the unveiling ceremony of the Statue was performed by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, on the evening of Saturday the 21st January, 1950. The occasion was the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the School, on the 20th, 21st and 22nd of January.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was a member of the Executive Council of Madras, at the time when the scheme for starting of School of Indian Medicine was being considered by the Government and was also put into operation. Further, Sir Ramaswami Aiyar knew Dr. Srinivasa Murti for over thirty years, and both of them have been very close friends. The late Raja of Panagal was the Chief Minister of Madras (under the Diarchy System) at that time, and he was also holding the portfolio of Public Health. As Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said during his speech on this occasion: the Raja of Panagal "with his persuasion, steadiness, determination, and coercive advocacy, overpowered many difficulties and brought into existence the School of Indian Medicine." "He was able to do it," he continued, "in spite of the entrenched weight of authority against him and the Allopaths fulminating against the possibility and potentiality of Ayurvedic medicine." It is quite appropriate that the Chief

Minister of Madras, Sri P. S. Kumaraswami Raja presided on the occasion. In his speech, he detailed the great qualities of Dr. Srinivasa Murti and certain rare features in his equipment. He said: "Capt. Srinivasa Murti's career was a unique record. He was a brilliant student and took his Degree in the medical examination with distinction. In addition to his medical degree, he also managed to take the B. A. Degree and the Law Degree which was a unique achievement. He qualified also for Sanitary Engineering." He also spoke about Dr. Srinivasa Murti's active and energetic life even after his retirement. He spoke of him as "the father and originator of the Institution." Tributes were paid to him and also to the Indian Medical system by Dr. M. R. Guruswami Mudaliyar, Sri C. Jinarajādāsa, and others, and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar unveiled the Statue, made in bronze at a cost about twelve thousand rupees, subscribed by his friends, colleagues, students and admirers. Actually over eighteen thousand rupees has been collected for the purpose, as detailed by the Secretary of the Committee. In his speech, Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said, "At that time there were great men among practitioners of both Ayurveda and Unani systems. A committee was appointed by the Government of Madras, under the presidency of Sir Mahomed Usman, to go into the question of the development of the indigenous systems of medicine. Capt. Srinivasa Murti was the Secretary of the Committee, and, in that capacity, he toured all over India and gathered all possible knowledge. Fortified with that knowledge and experience, he began to reconstruct the science of Indian medicine and see what was there in it that might be assimilated to the latest results of research."

The Silver Jubilee celebration of the School started on the morning of Friday the 20th January. The Hon. T. S. S. Rajan, the minister in charge of the portfolio of Public Health in the Madras Government presided on the occasion. He also paid glowing tributes to the talents and achievements

of Dr. Srinivasa Murti, traced the development of the School during the last twenty-five years and spoke in very admiring terms about the work of the School with its Hospital and its own pharmacy. He promised also full help to the Institution to satisfy its needs. Col. S. L. Bhatia, Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras delivered the Commemoration address and said that the Medical science is a unit and should develop so. He traced the development of medicine in Europe from the eastern sources in the early centuries. Dr. M. Parankusam, the present Principal of the School, also spoke on the occasion and explained the development of the School and also the needs of the Institution for further development. All of them spoke about the great services which Dr. Srinivasa Murti rendered to the Science of Ayurveda and to the Institution. A small, well got-up Souvenir was also published on the occasion. The function started with greetings by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja in five Sanskrit verses, which is published at the end. In this he made mention of the revival of Ayurveda by Dr. Srinivasa Murti, the help which Ayurveda received from Sir Mohamed Usman and the late Raja of Panagal and its continued dependence on Dr. T. S. S. Rajan as the primary support.

Dr. Srinivasa Murti is not merely the holder of Degrees in three Faculties and of a Diploma in a fourth Faculty; he is not merely a great organizer. He is also a great scholar, well-versed in Sanskrit literature and all the *S'āstras*, and familiar with the customs and Institutions of ancient India and the various sacraments and other rites of the Hindus. The Adyar Library is what it is now because of the association of Dr. Srinivasa Murti as Director. On behalf of the staff of the Adyar Library I record our felicitations to him on this occasion, which none has deserved so well as he has done.

C. KUNHAN RAJA,

Editor

GREETINGS BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA

क्षीराब्धौ मथिते सुधासिनिरतैर्देवासुरैः संयुतैः

स्वर्गस्त्री-द्विप-कालकूट-हय-गौ-श्री-चन्द्र कल्पद्रुमाः ।

संभूताः प्रथमम् ; ततश्च कलशं पिप्यूषपूर्णं वह-

नुत्तस्थौ स्वयमेव यः स शरणं लोकस्य धन्वन्तरिः ॥ १ ॥

आयुर्वेदपयःपयोधिमथने दैत्यैर्विना वर्तिते

प्रज्ञावासुकिपाशबन्धसुदृढं विद्यालयं मन्दरम् ।

कृत्वा, वर्जितकालकूटममृतं श्री-श्रीनिवासो नवो

निर्माय प्रददौ स्वयं सुमनसां कल्पद्रुमादीन्यपि ॥ २ ॥

आयुर्वेद-युणानि-सिद्ध-सरणीयुक्ता त्रिमार्गा पुरै-

वोस्मान्-साहिबकल्पपादपतटे स्वैरं सरन्ती, ततः ।

दाक्षिण्याश्रित-लोकनाथ-पनगल्-राजेन शीर्षे शृता-

प्याद्यं सुन्दरराजपादयुगलं नैषा त्यजत्याश्रयम् ॥ ३ ॥

प्रामाण्यं फलतो भवेद्दृढतरं शास्त्रस्य संस्थापितम्,

सद्युक्त्याप्यविरोधतश्च ; न तथा शास्त्रान्तराभेदतः ।

अन्योन्यं परिपूरकत्वमथवा भूयाद्विकल्पस्तयो-

रेतद्वैद्यपथेन नूतनपथस्यास्त्वेव मा मत्सरः ॥ ४ ॥

नीत्वा पूर्णशताब्दपादगणितान् द्राघीयसो वत्सरान्

प्रागल्भ्यान्वितयौवनोचितपदं प्राप्तोऽद्य विद्यालयः ।

आरोग्यं शतवर्षसम्मितमथाप्यायुश्च शास्त्रे श्रुतं

दत्वा, सर्वहितं विधाय च, चिरं जीयाजगच्छ्रेयसे ॥ ५ ॥



STATUE OF DR. G. SRINIVASA MURTI

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BLAVATSKY NUMBER

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BRAHMAVIDYA

THE
ADYAR LIBRARY BULLETIN

तस्मै स विद्वानुपसन्नाय सम्यक्

प्रशान्तचित्ताय शमान्विताय ।

येनाक्षरे पुर्य्य वेद सत्यं

प्राचान् तां तत्त्वतो ब्रह्मविद्याम् ॥

UNTO him who approaches in due form, whose mind is serene and who has attained calmness, the wise one teaches in its very truth the Brahmagvidya whereby one knows the Impensurable, the Purusha, the Truth

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Portrait of H. P. B. by Hermann Schlegel

MADAME BLAVATSKY¹

BY W. T. STEAD

AMONG the many and varied spiritual teachers to whom I have listened in the course of a very eclectic journalistic career, Madame Blavatsky was one of the most original. There are those who imagine that because they can crack a joke about a tea-cup, they have disposed of Theosophy, just as there are some who seem to think a sneer at the pigs of Gadara roots up the foundations of the Christian religion. To such gentry it will no doubt be a scandal that I should devote the Character Sketch this month to "H.P.B.," whose death last month deprived London of one of the most remarkable of its inhabitants. Madame Blavatsky, they say, "was an impostor, a vulgar fraud. She was exposed by the Coulombs, shown up by the Psychical Research Society, and last, if not least, she has been jumped upon, almost before her ashes were cool, by *The Pall Mall Gazette*." They say all that, no doubt, but when all that is said and more besides, the problem of the personality of the woman remains full of interest, and even of wonder, to those who look below the surface of things.

Madame Blavatsky was a great woman. She was not the faultless monster whom the world ne'er saw, and it must be admitted she was in more senses than one something of a monster. She was huge in body, and in her character, alike in its strength and weakness, there was something of the Rabelaisian gigantesque. But if she had all the nodosity of the oak, she was not without its strength; and if she had the

¹ Reproduced from *Review of Reviews*, June, 1891, pp. 548—550.

contortions of the Sibyl, she possessed somewhat of her inspiration.

Of Madame Blavatsky the wonder-worker I knew nothing; I did not go to her seeking signs, and most assuredly no sign was given me. She neither doubled a tea-cup in my presence nor grew a gold ring out of a rose-bud, nor did she even cause the familiar raps to be heard. All these manifestations seemed as the mere trivialities, the shavings, as it were, thrown off from the beam of cedar wood which she was fashioning as one of the pillars in the Temple of Truth. I do not remember ever referring to them in our conversations, and it is slightly incomprehensible to me how anyone can gravely contend that they constitute her claim to respect. It would be almost as reasonable to contend that Christianity is based upon the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius.

What Madame Blavatsky did was an immeasurably greater thing than the doubling of tea-cups. She made it possible for some of the most cultivated and sceptical men and women of this generation to believe—believe ardently, to an extent that made them proof against ridicule and disdainful of persecution, that not only does the invisible world that encompasses us contain Intelligences vastly superior to our own in knowledge of the Truth, but that it is possible for man to enter into communion with these hidden and silent ones, and to be taught of them the Divine mysteries of Time and of Eternity. She not only made it possible for them to believe it, but she made them believe it, and founded what was to all intents and purposes a Church upon that article of belief. That is a great achievement, and one which *a priori* would have been laughed at as impossible. Yet she performed that miracle. Madame Blavatsky, a Russian, suspected of being a spy, converted leading Anglo-Indians to a passionate

belief in her Theosophy mission, even when the Jingo fever was hottest, and in her declining years she succeeded in winning over to the new-old religion Annie Besant, who had for years fought in the forefront of the van of militant atheism.

A woman who could achieve these two things was a woman indeed. "But," it will be objected, "her Theosophy is all moonshine." Perhaps it is; but is not moonshine better than utter darkness, and is not moonshine itself but the pale reflection of the rays of the sun? I am not, however, by any means prepared to admit that the creed which Madame Blavatsky preached with such savage fervour deserves to be scouted as mere moonshine.

To begin with, it has at least the advantage of being heretical. The truth always begins as heresy, in every heresy there may be the germ of a new revelation. Then, in the second place, it brought back to the scientific and sceptical world the great conception of the greatest religions, the existence of sublime beings, immeasurably superior to the pigmy race of men, who stand, as it were, midway between the Infinite and ourselves. Of the immense but invisible hierarchy which to our forefathers spanned the fathomless abyss between God and man, hardly even the memory now remains. In her strange, weird fashion Madame Blavatsky resuscitated this ancient faith. To men like Mr. Sinnett her great doctrine of the Mahatmas, of the existence of a brotherhood of sublime sages, the vicegerents of the Infinite, did something to repeople the void which modern scepticism has depopulated. But she did more than this. Others have taught of the existence of Thrones, Principalities, and Powers in heavenly places. But between them and us there has been a great gulf fixed.

The Archangel is as mute as Deity, the benevolence of the patron Saint never leads him to open up communications with his mortal clients. Madame Blavatsky taught not merely that the Mahatmas existed, but that they were able and willing to enter into direct communications with men. Madame Blavatsky proclaimed herself as the directly commissioned messenger of the celestial hierarchy, charged by them to reveal the Path by which anyone who was worthy and willing might enter into direct communion with these sublime Intelligences. I was but an outsider in the court of the Gentiles, a curious observer, and never a disciple. I cannot speak of these inner mysteries to which only the initiates are admitted. But Mr. A. P. Sinnett, journalist and man of science, Anglo-Indian and man of the world, assures me, in accents of impassioned conviction that he and others who have followed her teachings have entered into the reality of that spiritual communion, and have no more doubt of the reality of the existence of the Mahatmas than they have of the rate-collector, or the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Mr. Schmichen, the artist, even painted the portrait of a Mahatma, but except on his canvas the sublime brotherhood remain somewhat shadowy to the uninitiated.

Madame Blavatsky, in the midst of a generation that is materialist and mechanical, which probed everything, and dissected even the human heart with a scalpel, did at least succeed in compelling a race of scientists and economists to realize the existence of the conception that all material things are but a passing illusion, and that the spiritual alone is.

Madame Blavatsky also reinforced and almost recreated in many minds the sense of this life being a mere probation. In this respect her teaching was much more in accord with the spirit of the New Testament than much of the

pseudo-Christian teachings of our day. She widened the horizon of the mind, and she brought something of the infinite sense of vast illimitable mystery which characterizes some of the Eastern religions into the very heart of Europe in the nineteenth century.

To have done all this, and to have done it almost single-handed, in face of the almost insuperable obstacles interposed by her own defects, renders comprehensible the theory that Madame Blavatsky had help the world could neither see nor take away. To her disciples she was but the frail and faulty-speaking trumpet of the Mahatmas, those lieutenants of Deity who commissioned her to teach, and also gave to her mouth matter and wisdom to proclaim the true doctrine for the redemption of man. These things are too high for me. I no more intermeddle with them than with the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope. It is the human side, both of Theosophy and of Rome, that fascinates me. Madame Blavatsky may have had converse with semi-celestial Intelligences in Tibet. Of that I can say nothing. But I can say of my own knowledge that she was undoubtedly a very gifted and original woman to converse with in Ladbroke Grove, a fiery, impulsive, passionate creature, full of failings, and personally the very reverse of beautiful. There she was, a wonderful and powerful personality, the like of which I have never met either in Russia or in England. She was unique, but she was intensely human, and a woman to her heart's core.

She aroused the passionate devotion of both men and women. She was to her followers as the oracle of God. They had this treasure in a very earthen vessel, but it was there.

NEW LIGHT ON "JAYATI-JAYATE" CONTROVERSY¹

BY B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA

MUCH discussion has already taken place in learned circles and in the newspapers of the country about the form *Jayate* occurring in the Upaniṣadic motto adopted by the Government. The main argument in defence of *Jayate* is that as a Vedic usage it is outside the jurisdiction of Pāṇinian grammar and ought not therefore to be adjudged on its basis.

But even as a vedic form, its legitimacy may still be open to discussion. As no one has so far examined the question on the statistical basis of the occurrence of the forms of the root in either *pada*, in the Vedic Literature, it would be worthwhile to do so and place the relevant data on the point before the public.

It may be stated at the outset that the forms of *Ji* in the *Parasmaipada* are of almost universal occurrence throughout the extant Vedic Literature (let alone Classical Sanskrit), comprising the Samhitas, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. The particulars of usage are :

Samhitā Literature	...	560 times
Brāhmaṇa Literature	...	363 times
Ten Upaniṣads	...	32 times
Total	...	955 times

As against this overwhelming number of instances, the total number of usages of the *Ātmanepada* forms of the root (other than forms with the prefixes *vi* and *para* ratified by Pāṇini), are Nine (9) only, throughout the Vedic Literature distributed over the Samhitas (including *Khilas*), Brāhmaṇas,

¹ Reproduced from the *Journal of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library*, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-3.

Āraṇyakas and the Ten classical Upaniṣads as per following details :

Samhitā Literature	...	3 times
Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyakas	...	4 times
Ten Upaniṣads	...	2 times
Total	...	9 times

The *Ātmanepada* forms are thus in a negligible, nay hopeless minority of nine against nine hundred and more. Even among these nine cases, several have to be rejected as corrupt or inferior readings on grounds of metre or on the basis of Manuscript evidence, or for lack of traditional and commentatorial acceptance.

For example, in *Pippalāda Samhitā*, (II, 25, 3), "*Jayeta*" offends against the metre. *Jayanta* in *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, 96, is obviously not a finite verb, but a participle form in the *Parasmaipada*, accompanied by the finite verb "*āyan*," and has therefore to be eliminated from consideration. In *Jai. Br.* 207, the correct reading seems to be "*Asya Viro Jāyate*" (born) which points to a different root and meaning altogether. This leaves us only four clear cases of *Jayate* in the Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa Literature.

Then comes the Upaniṣadic text from the *Muṇḍaka*, (3. 1. 6), which has given rise to the present controversy. It is unfortunate that most of the people who have expressed their views on the point, should have tacitly assumed that the reading here is *Jayate* in the *Ātmanepada* without examining the texts and commentaries. There is difference of opinion here also and the balance of evidence is not in favour of acceptance of *Jayate*, as the reading of 3. 1. 6. The most authoritative commentaries on the major Upaniṣads, are admittedly those of the three schools of Vedānta. There is more or less general agreement among the commentators of all these schools, Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita that the

reading of *Muṇḍaka* 3. 1. 6, is *Jayati* in the *Parasmaipada*. In the Ānandāśrama Edition (1909) of the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* with the *Bhāṣya* of S'āṅkara and the gloss of Ānandagiri, the reading accepted is *Jayati* and the other reading *Jayate* is only to be found in a footnote as a variant supported by only one edition (*Bibliotheca Indica*) of the text out of eleven original MSS. and other texts collated for the purpose of the Ānandāśrama edition. This shows that *Jayati* is the sāmpradāyic reading of the Advaita School.

Rāmānuja wrote no regular commentary on any of the Upaniṣads. The classical commentator of his school Raṅga-rāmānuja (17th century) has however uniformly adopted *Jayati* as the reading in both the places of its occurrence in the *Muṇḍaka*, 3. 1. 6 and 10; while *Jayate*, is retained in the Advaita and Dvaita schools under 3. 1. 10 presumably for metrical reasons.

The reading of *Muṇḍaka* 3. 1. 6, in Madhva's *Bhāṣya* (Dvaita School) is also *Jayati* in the *Parasmaipada* (vide, *Sarvamūla* Edn. Belgaum, p. 5 b).

There is thus no sound traditional sanction nor evidence of MSS. in favour of the reading *Jayate* in *Muṇḍaka* 3. 1. 6 which has crept into the motto.

The statistical evidence establishes beyond all doubt that there are not more than four or five stray and exceptional cases of *Ātmanepada* usage of the unprefix root in the whole range of Vedic literature down to the classical Upaniṣads, as against hundreds of *Parasmaipada* forms abounding in the Vedic literature. Lastly, Pāṇini's Sūtra (1, 3, 19) also shows that even so far as that great grammarian could see, there were no *Ātmanepada* forms of the root (other than with the prepositions *vi* and *para*) in recorded or accepted usage in the literature preceding him. He records no case of unprefix *Ātmanepada* forms of *Ji* which renders even the few cases that have come down, doubtful.

LANGUAGE—BARRIER OR BRIDGE

BY A. SITA DEVI (FORMERLY ADELTHA PETERSON)

(Continued from Vol. XII part 4 page 216)

Note: An apology is due the reader for the long delay in publishing the completion of this article which had its first two issues in October and December of 1948. Before the time the publication of the chart was due in February 1949, a report came that a Governmental Committee was adumbrating the possibility of a Grammatical Code that would show inflexions in all languages. This of necessity held up the finalizing of the "World Alphabet." A tentative Grammatical Code will therefore appear in the next or an early issue, which will complete the study of "Language—Barrier or Bridge." The whole will then be published as an Adyar Library Pamphlet, and it is hoped that linguistic students will study the whole and communicate with the author as to any suggestions for improvement.

Every Indian language should set about to put its script house in order, in consultation with students of phonetics, so that it may receive into it when necessary the sounds from other languages. If Tamil, for example, were to alter slightly

its *v* with perhaps a slight forward stroke at the end, it would have an adequate transliteration for our *f* for these two sounds are akin. At present it links the *f* with the *p* sound, not realizing the twin of *p* is *b*, and the twin of *v* is *f*. Is not *coffee* more clearly understood if mispronounced as *kovi* than as *kāpi*? And *February* as *Vebruary* than *Pebruary*? Let us throw open our own scripts for the reception of every sound which in this free India we shall have to use.

THE TRANSLITERATION OF WORLD SOUNDS

Building on and only slightly modifying the oriental transliteration which has been so effective these many years in teaching Western students the correct values of Samskrit words, the following will show how English characters can be used to represent adequately all the 94 or more sounds now existent in India, as well the Chinese intonations, African clicks, etc.

First of all we must have some adequate tools in the shape of suggestive diacritical marks, so that if we go into some obscure spot in Asia where the language has so far not been properly registered we may have no difficulty in setting down what we hear. We should have a lengthener, a shortener, a softener, a hardener, a mark to show various forms of resonance, something to gutturalize, to nasalize, etc. etc.

To lengthen any sound: Put a line over (a common usage). Much time would be saved that is now wasted if this device were used to show a doubled or long consonant.

To shorten sound: Put a line under (needed in Tamil "adu, idu," etc.) This will become italics in print.

To palatalize: Put a dot under (as in English and North Indian *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ*, Tamil *ḷ*, and last letter in alphabet *ṣ* *ṇ*).

For high palatalization, put two dots under (as in Tamil *ṣ*, and *ṇ* *ṭ*, and *ṇ*).

To dentalize a consonant: Put a dot over (as in the very dental *ṣ* in *Siva* or the very dental English *ḍ* and *ṭ* *Mother* and *Moth*.)

(*S'* Cannot be used as it is a Chinese diacritical mark.)

For Relaxed Vowels: Put a dot over (as we already find in the *i* in *it*, but also for the *é* in *bet* and the *ù* in *foot*.)

To Nasalize: Place over a tiny circle over *m̐* or directly over vowel (as in the Hindi *hām̐* or *hā̐*.) Over *n̐* this will have the sound of the nasal in *tongue*. (The English spelling is most confusing leading foreigners to insert a final *g* which is not intended.)

To gutturalize: Put a semicircle over *g* and *k*, if definitely lower and upper gutturals *ḡ* *ḱ*. If indefinite put it over *h̐* or any vowel. (If Tamilians would use their three-dotted character *ṣ* in place of *ṣ* in *avarkal*, there would be less mispronunciation. The lower classes, following Tamil phonetic laws, frankly pronounce the word as *avargal* and only the elite use the indefinite guttural.)

TO SHOW CONCEALED V

Put the ~ sign over. Thus the Tamil μ could be adequately shown by μ the Spanish ll by $\hat{l}$ as is now shown the π .

TO SHOW UPPER OR THROAT RESONANCE

Cover with an arrowhead pointing up. $\wedge$ This is needed in four Sindhi letters.

TO SHOW LOWER OR CHEST RESONANCE

Cover with a small arrowhead pointing down. $\vee$ This will be needed in five or more Panjabi characters. See next page.

HALF-WAY CHARACTERS:

In Panjabi and Malayalam, certain characters are pronounced as halfway between k and g , c and j , t and d , p and b , and their aspirates. If these sounds are to be correctly understood and reproduced, they should be represented by some such combination characters as are shown in World Chart. $k\ g\ t\ d\ p\ b$

DUAL VOWELS

Where two sounds come out as one, double dots over. (See next page). $\ddot{a}$

TO SOFTEN

Cover with a tiny diminuendo. $\text{—} \curvearrowright$

TO HARDEN

Cover with a tiny crescendo. $\text{—} \curvearrowleft$

(Can also be used for accented words)

These marks will be needed for tribal dialects, as well as in such language as Turkish, etc.

TO SHOW VERTICAL VOWEL INFLUENCE:

Cover with a small $\perp$ vertical line. (This shows vowel sounds tending towards o and u).

TO SHOW HORIZONTAL VOWEL INFLUENCE

Cover with $\cup$ (This shows a vowel tending towards the sounds in hat, hate, heat).

Put the ~ sign over. Thus the Tamil $\tilde{u}$ could be adequately shown by $\tilde{u}$ the Spanish ll by $\tilde{l}$ as is now shown the π .

Cover with an arrowhead pointing up. ^ This is needed in four Sindhi letters.

Cover with a small arrowhead pointing down. V This will be needed in five or more Panjabi characters. See next page.

In Panjabi and Malayalam, certain characters are pronounced as halfway between k and g, c and j, t and d, t and d, p and b, and their aspirates. If these sounds are to be correctly understood and reproduced, they should be represented by some such combination of characters as are shown in World Chart.

Where two sounds come out as one, double dots over. (See next page). oo

3

(Can also be used for accented words)

Cover with a small vertical line. (This shows vowel sounds tending towards o and u).

Cover with u (This shows a vowel tending towards the sounds in hat, hate, heat).

[illegible]

u	u	u	u	e	o
As in	hat	Singalese	bath	French	Dutch
-	-	long	-	u in lune	u in feu
				(See page 7)	u in Huizen
Q7	Q7				

	<u>ā</u>	<u>ai</u>	<u>oi</u>	<u>āu</u>	<u>āo</u>	<u>iu</u>	<u>au</u>
As in	<u>aiyat</u>	<u>hai</u>	<u>boy</u>	<u>Rau</u>	<u>Rau</u>	<u>use</u>	Sanskrit and many others
	(Hindustani)						<u>Nau</u> नौ

NOTE. Diphthongs are only combinations of simple sounds. Every sound in a phonetic script must be pronounced.

						over vowels or
	ॐ	ऌ	ॡ	।	:	<u>o</u> o
						m
A as in	कविः	कपिलन	बद्धम	ख	echo or visarga	short nasal (see page 16)

To Show Rising Inflection of Voice
To Show Falling Inflection of Voice
To Show Down and Up Inflections
To Show Up and Down Inflections.

Dental Click	<u> </u>	Palatal Tock	<u> </u>
Side Suction Clicks	<u> </u>	Upper Suction Clicks	<u> </u>

To nasalize : o To gutturalize : u To soften : a To harden : u
(See pages 16-17.) Chest Resonance : v Head Resonance : ^

GUTTERALS.

k	ḳ or q	kh	g	gh	ṅ	ṇ̇	ḥ
क	क̣	ख	ग	घ	ङ	ङ̣	ह
Sindhs						𑖀	𑖁
𑖂						𑖃	
c	ch	j	jh	ṇ	ṇ̣	ṇ̣̣ (soft)	𑖄
च	च̣	ज	ज̣	ण	ण̣	𑖅	𑖆
Sindhs						𑖇	𑖈
𑖉						𑖊	

used in many North and north-eastern languages, but simply written c & j

HIGH PALATALS: PALATALS:

t	d	n	ɾ̥ ^ʰ	t	th	ð	dh	n	r or (r̥)	rh or (rdh)
ت	د	ن	ڙ	ت	ٿ	ڊ	ڏھ	ن	ر or رَ	رھ or رِھ
اُ	اَدھ	اَنھ	اَنڙھ	اُ	اُٺھ	اُڊھ	اُڏھ	اُنھ	اُر or اَر	اُرھ or اِرھ
ل	وہر		Sindh	ل	وہر	لڊھ	لڏھ	لنھ	لر or لَر	لرھ or لِرھ

(ب) ۛ

t th d dh n i d n
 त थ द ध न इ ई न
 त थ द ध न इ ई न

p	ph	b	bh	m	b
q	ਭ	ਕ	ਖ	ਗ	Sandhs ੜ
y	e	f	f	i	v
ਯ	ਏ	ਫ	ਫ	ਇ	v
					English as in victor

HALF-WAY OR IN BETWEEN SOUNDS

Without special resonance as in Malayalam	With special resonance as in Panjabi
v	v
v	v
v	v
v	v
v	v

१ १ ६ ६ ७
 kg cj td td pb
 १ १ ६ ६ ७
 kg cj td td pb

(No special characters are written for this special pronunciation) See page 17.

ङ ण न st zd ङ ङ ङ ह ह
 See page 16 in-
 definite guttural
 Tamil avahat
 (Brahmin
 pronunciation)

We can see by the above that, with a few additional types, we could represent every language in India, or in fact the world, adequately in English characters, so that all who now know or who could learn the simple English script could pronounce every regional language correctly. And one could also suggest that English itself would be the first language that should be correctly transliterated if one wished to know its exact pronunciation. The appalling misrepresentation of the English months, as transliterated into the Indian scripts, accounts for their mispronunciation everywhere. One should to such a distinguished visitor, as for example, a great educationist like Madame Montessori, give her name its true phonetic value. That name should be easy to transliterate into any Indian script, for each Italian vowel has only one value—long. Yet it has been shown transliterated even so erroneously as *Māṇṭaserī* in Tamil and other scripts.

No one would tear down a bridge which had served him well, however much detested, until he had builded a new and better one. Even if English were not a bridge out to the world at large, it is so interlinked with every one of India's own languages that it acts, whether we like it or not, as our present *lingua franca*, and it should not be discarded until another common tongue has been substituted.

Must we have as our common language in this new free India just any language, because it has currency in certain regions? Can we not first search for India's present common tongue? There are many words that have currency all over India. For example such words as "jaldi, pakka, jalam, dost, mitra" not to speak of hundreds of English words like "post-office, bank, stamps" are understood everywhere. Then there are such words as the Hindustani *muāf* for *pardon* that has been simplified into *māf* and *māp*, and

even in Malayalam and Tamil into such words as *māppu*. Why should we go backwards to the Hindustani *muāf* and wait again for time to erase the *u*? Better at once adopt *māf* as our common language word. Obviously where there is no unanimity we would adopt the Hindustani word as basic.

By all means let us study Hindustani (which must include both Hindi and Urdu), but not Hindustani alone. Let there be groups of research students making a comparative study of *all* of India's Mother Tongues in search of her Common Tongue, as we are doing in the Adyar Library today. We have taken simple basic ideas dealing with common needs and incorporated them into a small guide-book. We have had these ideas translated into Sindhi, Panjabi, Hindustani, Gujerati (both Parsi and Hindu), Bengali, Marathi, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam, and Sinhalese. We are hoping also to have Burmese. We are still hoping for Oriya. But the difficulty is that after the translation is made it must be thoroughly checked by several other natives of the language. Then someone who speaks the language distinctly and precisely must read it to the phonetician who carefully puts down the sounds in the above form of transliteration, reading it back, so that the one who has spoken can see it has been correctly understood. The whole Guide Book has now been collated and a most interesting comparative study will be the ultimate result.

We need in India not merely local dictionaries but an *Indian* Dictionary. Where is the generous man who will come forward to procure the pandits for such a work? We have dictionaries that give the major languages of Europe, but where is there an adequate one that gives even the *major* languages of India? There is a movement on foot in Delhi now to this end. Long and vigorous life to it! The few small

guide books so far inspected take in only at best four languages and, even in the limited area they cover, their usefulness is lessened, for they do not give a truly phonetic transliteration, leaving out the short nasals in Hindustani, transliterating the medial Tamil *d* as *t*, *b* as *p*, etc. Imagine the laughter, politely suppressed of course, were I to speak of my home in Tamil as *anta viṭu*, (pronounced *anda viṭu*) and yet were I to pronounce those words as they are transliterated in the Tamil Lexicon nearest to me, you would have so to laugh. An otherwise adequate and most useful Tamil Roman transliteration running for sometime in the *Madras Mail* does not commit this mistake but attempts to show the high palatals *ṣr*, *ṣ*, and *ṣar* by introducing an *r* before them. If any one were so to pronounce them, they might only produce the sounds of *rḍ* as in *heard* and *rn* as in *earn* and *rl* as in *earl* and not even approximate the real palatal sounds. The *ḡ* is also not adequately suggested. But it is a splendid piece of work, and well worth careful study by anyone who wishes quickly to acquire a working knowledge of Tamil. If the *r* were put in italics where only faint the difficulty would be overcome.

A simple plan for an All-India dictionary would be to have in the first half the English word (correctly transliterated) with each other major Indian language equivalent succeeding it. This would be in the usual English alphabetical order. The last half of the book would contain in transliterated English in the usual Indian order (vowels first, then *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, etc.) the words of our Indian languages, keyed to the English word in the first half. Such a dictionary could be used by a non-English-knowing person. All that would be needed to learn would be the Roman script. In the Adyar library are students who know most of India's scripts, so that they can read the titles on magazines and books, and look up words in the dictionaries,

but these same people may know only a few of the languages of which they know the scripts. In each group of research students there should be one person who knows and can explain to the others every variation of the language (say English) to which the other languages are to be keyed. We have found much misunderstanding of the meaning of such simple English words as "put, keep, wring, rinse, pungent, astringent, purple, grey, brown, nuts, starch, fat, tuck," etc., even the dictionaries failing us woefully at times to give the Indian equivalents, the English evidently not having been in the first place clearly apprehended. Then there should be one person with a keenly sensitive ear who can distinguish every varying inflection of vowel or consonantal value. Apart from these two people as the central nucleus of such a research group, there are needed only those who thoroughly understand an Indian language and have a good working knowledge of the key language, so as to understand the explanations of the one who has the thorough knowledge of the key language.

We might then have a course of "Indian" in the schools. Children themselves love the game of learning what one word is in a number of languages and in such a course at least a hundred or two basic ideas might be given in all the Indian languages. It is easier to learn what one word is in twelve neighbouring languages than twelve words in one language.

Whatever we may look forward to in a generation or two, the fact remains that today the only language that unites North and South, East and West, is English. If, through such a medium, all of us could become acquainted with the Mother Tongues of India, our dream of linguistic unification would come many stages nearer realization.

Let us take the best from the whole of India to build her Common Tongue. Tamil can teach us, as we have seen, splendid lessons in grammar. Telugu can show us how sweetly musical a language can be. Hindustani can contribute fine terse words and roots with a wide currency. Malayalam, Bengali, and Gujarati can show us how to simplify—the first two in grammar, the last in script. Each living spoken language can teach us something, and from our classical tongues we have inherited splendid rhythms and rich wealth of diction.

India's greatest genius has been her power to assimilate all that touched her consciousness. She has never excluded, nor narrowed herself to one path, either religious or cultural. She will not find her true self in the linguistic field by a narrowing or exclusive process, but by holding as sacred every language and sound within her borders.

In this transition from the old to the new young India of the future, let us not be satisfied with the just-as-is. We are taking time to build an enduring polity. Let us take time to build a true and enduring common tongue that will last through the ages as a monument of India's cultural richness and power of synthesis.

EDITORIAL

IN MY NEW RÔLE

It was announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* (February) that I was taking up an academic post in Iran. I came here in the middle of March and I have started work here in Teheran as Professor of Sanskrit. There are many students who desire to study Sanskrit. The exact number cannot be known now. It is only after the summer holidays that regular classes can be started. I have first of all to study the language of the place. I have barely two months before me before the summer vacation starts. When I am writing these notes, I had taken only one class, and at that class there were nearly thirty students attending. That is not a bad start. It is expected that next year it will be a much larger class, perhaps divided into smaller groups, according to their particular interests.

What struck me foremost when I came here is the great interest that is shown to Indian culture by the people in Iran. Nearly everyone with whom I had occasion to talk spoke about the identity of Ārya and Iran. They all take considerable interest in the antiquities of Iran, and all students of modern Persian study the earlier phases like Palhavi and Avesta. They all know the close relation between Sanskrit and Avesta. Thus they realize that a full and thorough study

of the antiquities of Iran is not possible without a study of Sanskrit also.

In India, people are accustomed to find Persian grouped along with Arabic. But really Persian must go along with Sanskrit. It is true that Persian in recent centuries has been considerably influenced by Arabic. But Persian remains an Aryan language all the same. The grammar and the structure of the language is still Aryan. The vocabulary is essentially Aryan even after considerable addition of Arabic words. The pronouns are the same in Sanskrit and in Persian. The words denoting family relations are common between the two languages. The roots and the verbal inflections are also similar in both the languages. Names of domestic animals, names of parts of our body and many such familiar objects are also common to the two languages. I illustrate the point by actual examples.

(a) Pronouns: *ān* and *īn* (Skt. *adas* and *idam*). *man* (Skt. *mām*). *ṣumā* (*yṣuman*).

(b) Family relations: *pedar* (Skt. *pitar*). *mādar* (Skt. *mātar*). *barādar* (Skt. *bhrātar*). *dukhtar* (Skt. *duhitar*). *bacché* (Skt. *vatsaḥ*). *zān* (Skt. *jāni-jāyā*). *mard* (Skt. *martya*).

(c) roots :

<i>Persian</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Persian</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>
pursīdan	prcch	hammām-	snānam-
zādan	tāḍ	murdan	mṛ
kardan	kṛ	pūr kardan	pūrṇam kṛ
dādan	dā	ṣanīdan	sru
pasandīdan	pra-sīd-	sākhtan	takṣ
davīdan	dhāv	darīdan	dar
būdan	bhū	bardan	bhṛ
tarsīdan	tras	khāpīdan	svap

verbal inflection :

Persian		Sanskrit	
hast	hastand	asti	santi
hasti	hastid	asi	stha
hastam	hastim	asmi	smah
būd	būdand	abhūt	abhūvan
būdi	būdid	abhūh	abhūtha
būdam	būdim	abhūvam	abhūma

(d) domestic animals etc. *asb* (Skt. *asva*); *gāv* (Skt. *gau*). *dast* (Skt. *hasta*); *pāy* (Skt. *pāda*); *sar* (Skt. *siras*); *cāṣam* (Skt. *Caṣus*); *aṅuṣt* (Skt. *aṅuṣṭha*); *āb* (Skt. *āpaḥ*); *garm* (Skt. *gharma*); *dāgh* (Skt. *dāha*).

All the numerals are kept up in Persian, as they are used in Sanskrit. I give the numbers from one to ten and for hundred and thousand: *yek*, *dō*, *sē*, *cehār* (*cār*), *panj*, *seš*, *haft*, *hast*, *nō*, *dah*, *sad*, *hazār*; besides this, there are many words that are common to Sanskrit in the modern Persian. I am very happy to note that in Iran, people realize that Persian should be grouped along with Palhavi, Avesta and Sanskrit. This tendency has been well explained in a book prescribed for beginners written by an Englishman, and the passage is worth citation when we have to understand the relation of Persian to Sanskrit :

" When the Arab conquerors swept over Iran in the seventh century A. D., they imposed their religion, customs and languages on the people. But after a time, the peculiar Iran genius asserted itself and a kind of compromise evolved. Modern Persian is the result of this compromise, and was crystallized in its present form by the poet Ferdosi in the tenth century. The influence of the Qoran and religious teaching, however, has tended since that time to increase the number of Arabic words and phrases, but what is seldom realized is that the syntax and grammar of the language has never really been touched by Arabic, but has remained Aryan. Grammatically,

Persian is more akin to English or French than to Arabic. For that reason, there is no need for the student of modern Persian to study Arabic.

The present tendency is towards a deliberate expulsion of Arabic words and expressions and the substitution of Persian ones, and this process on the whole makes for beauty and simplicity."

I must add that not only is a knowledge of Arabic not necessary to study Persian, but a knowledge of Sanskrit is absolutely necessary for a true understanding of Persian. I had occasion to get a few Sanskrit verses rendered into Persian, and my friend who helped me in this matter, a good scholar, told me that the bare English rendering I gave him would be insufficient and that if I could give the actual Sanskrit words, it would be possible for him to select more suitable words in Persian for the rendering.

Persian is one of the richest of the literary languages of the world and is only younger than Sanskrit taking into consideration the different phases of the development. Iran has recognized the close relation of Persian with Sanskrit and the people here have realized the value of a study of Sanskrit for understanding Persian. There must be due reciprocation from India in the matter of this correct attitude. Not only should India render fullest co-operation in this enterprise of Iran, but India should also start the study of Persian as an aid for the correct understanding of India's past and India's relation with her neighbour along with the development of a sister civilization in this neighbouring country through ages. It may not be possible to eliminate the political difference between the two countries and it is not necessary either. But this political difference can be utilized for a higher unity through cultural understanding and through a recognition of the common cultural developments in the two countries.

I am happy to say that people have received me well here. Much consideration is shown to me as representing India's culture. I was received at a big party three days after my arrival at which the Chancellor of the University, the Indian Ambassador, various professors and other prominent citizens were present, and I was introduced to all of them. Everyone whom I met emphasized the cultural unity of the two countries. The identity of Aryan and Iran, the racial and cultural unity and the common historical antecedents: these were the points which practically all of them mentioned during conversation. The Press also gives wide publicity to this enterprise of Iran in starting Sanskrit studies here. They all published detailed accounts and photos connected with my visit.

I had occasion to visit Isfahan, an earlier capital before the capital was shifted to Teheran, and Shiraz another ancient capital of Iran, all further to the south of Teheran. The famous Persipolis is near Shiraz. I saw the ruins of this great city of ancient times. Shiraz is also the home of the famous Persian poets Hafez and Sa'adi. The monument of the former has been renovated completely and it is worthy of the great national poet and it is one of the sights in the city now. Many people visit the scene daily and there is always a crowd in the place. The monument of the latter is under renovation and is also a place of visit for the people there. There are various vestiges of ancient glory and ancient art in these two cities. People were extremely hospitable during my visit, which I undertook less than a week after my arrival in Teheran. All the important people whom I met, educationists, literary men, officials and prominent citizens showed great interest in the work which I have undertaken here, wherever I met them during the tour.

Externally the city of Teheran and the two other important cities which I visited are considerably europeanized. The streets and the shops have a Paris appearance. People also dress in "European style," both men and women. But they are all Iran people still. People know French and a few know German also. English is known only to a very limited circle. But they all speak in Persian among themselves. In all the offices, in Parliament, in schools and colleges, in Courts of Law, everywhere they use only the Persian language. All the forms in the various offices are in Persian, with occasionally entries in French also. But if they are filled up in French or English, they fill up the other side with a Persian version. This may be compared with the conditions in India. If Persian can be sufficient for all State purposes in Iran, I see no reason why an Indian language should not be sufficient for national purposes in India. I have always held the view that Sanskrit can immediately take up the rôle as the all-India State language and that the various regional languages are sufficient for provincial purposes. And the Adyar Library has been advocating this step for a long time.

Although I reached Teheran on the 11th of March, I could not start my work till the 4th of April, since the New Year holidays intervened. The Iran New Year started on the 21st of March. I undertook a tour of South Iran on account of this holiday. At my first class, Prof. Pauridawood, a great scholar of Iranian, introduced me to the students in a speech, making special mention of the Volume of Studies presented to me a few years ago, a copy of which had reached the place sent by the Adyar Library. I gave my greetings and message of India to Iran in the following verses:

१. आशंसि कुशलानि भारतमहीदौत्यं वहन्नागतः
सौभाग्यालयपारसीकवसुधामेषोऽहमामन्त्रितः ।
आचार्यैरिह पौरिदावुदमहाभागैः सदैवोत्सुकैः
सोदयोर्भयोर्भुवोरपि पुनर्मन्त्राप्रतिष्ठापने ॥
२. नासीदेव परस्परं च कलहो भूम्योर्द्वयोरावयोः
काले नैकसहस्रवत्सरमिते दीर्घे कदाचित् क्वचित् ।
एताभ्यां विषयोऽपरो न विजितो वित्तापहाराय वा
तस्मात् पालयतामुभे च युगपन्मैत्रीपताकां भुवि ॥
३. भूपालैरतिलालिते सुमतिभिः सर्वत्र राज्यद्वये
कालादेव सनातनाद्बुधवरैर्विद्या च संपोषिता ।
तद्वाह्या विजिगीषवोऽपि विजिताः सर्वे च वर्गाः स्वयं
विद्याशस्त्रबलेन केवलमहो ! देशाश्च संपादिताः ॥
४. कालेऽस्मिन्नतिमात्रघोरसमरैर्वित्तादिलोभैर्वृथै-
वात्यन्ताखिललोकमर्दनदुरासक्त्या च संमोहितान् ।
दूरीकृत्य परार्दनैकनिरतान् दुष्टाञ्जनान् प्राक्तनो
विद्यावैभव एक एव जगत्त्राणे भवेत् सुक्षमः ॥
५. प्राक्काले मम पूर्वगैः सुबहुभिः क्षुण्णेन यास्यन् पथा
सेवार्थं पुनरागतोऽहमधुना विद्याविधेयः स्वयम् ।
कर्तव्यं किल पारसीकविषये यत्नेन साध्यं भवे-
द्यद्वस्तु, भवद्विरय सकले तस्मिन् नियोज्योऽस्म्यहम् ॥

1. I offer my greetings, having come to Iran which is the abode of fortune, bearing the message of India, having been invited here by Prof. Pauridawood of great parts, who is always vigilant in once more establishing amity between the two sister countries.

2. Between our two countries there has been never a quarrel during the long period that has to be measured in many thousands of years, at any time or anywhere. Nor has

another country been conquered by either of these two countries for the sake of plundering wealth. Therefore may these two protect together the banner of amity in this world.

3. Everywhere in these two countries that were taken care of by kings of virtuous hearts, wisdom has been developed by great scholars from the remotest times. Even all the foreign tribes that came to the country with the object of conquest, were themselves conquered by the bare weapon of wisdom and were converted into nationals too.

4. At the present moment, the power of the ancient wisdom is the only one agent adequately competent to save the world, keeping at a distance the wicked people whose sole aim is to bring misery to others, who are deluded by (thoughts of) extremely terrible wars, by greed of wealth, etc., and by the evil desire to persecute the entire world for no reason whatsoever.

5. Following the path trodden by innumerable ancestors of mine, in ancient times, I have now myself come here once more to serve, as a servant of wisdom. Whatever things there may be in the country of Iran that can be achieved only with effort, I deserve to be employed in all of them by you now.

A Persian version had been prepared by a scholar based on the English version, which was then read out at the meeting. Then I recited some of the *S'anti Mantras* in the *Vedas* along with some other prayers, to show the students what Sanskrit, especially Veda, is like. After this I made a brief statement in English, which was also rendered into Persian. Relevant portions of the speech are given below.

"It is a very happy thing that I have been able to start my work in Iran during this season of new year. The new year in Iran has just begun. In India too, the new year according to the lunar calendar commenced three days

before the new year in Iran (21st March) and the new year according to the solar calendar starts ten days hence. The academic year, which is a modern calculation, may have started six months earlier. But when I stand here, my thoughts go back to very ancient days and ancient institutions. I am not here in any political capacity or for any commercial purpose. I am here only as a student of our common ancient civilization. That is why I am happy that my work here starts along with the new year calculated according to ancient ways. And these ancient calculations are kept on in our calendars even now.

Sanskrit is the first language that I learned as a boy and my whole life has been fully devoted to the study of Sanskrit. If I have studied other languages it is only as aids and subsidiaries to my main study of Sanskrit. Now I feel that all my life's labour has been amply rewarded when I have been given this opportunity to come out of India and to serve the cause of Sanskrit study in this country.

I do not at all feel that I have left my own home and that I have come to a foreign country. To me what is called "my country" is a cultural unit, and from the very remotest past, India and Iran had formed a single cultural group. Āryāvarta (the name given to India) and Iran are only different forms of the same word. I was a professor in a University in India for nearly twenty five years now, and by coming over here my feeling is just like that of moving from one room to another room in the same family home. The kindness I have received during my stay here these few days I have been in Iran, makes me feel that I have only come to a true home of mine.

I am very sorry that I cannot at present speak the charming Persian language to you. I have begun to study

the language and I hope to be able to speak to you in Persian soon. Although I knew the general structure of the Persian language during my study of linguistics, it is only when I began a careful study of the language during the past week that I have realized how closely related Sanskrit and Persian are.

India and Iran may be two separate political States. But historically, racially, and culturally, we are both one. And the two countries have lived together in peace and mutual amity for very many centuries. An active well-planned effort to understand our common bonds and to bring such bonds to the notice of the world will be a strong foundation for inaugurating happier relations between the various nations of the world, which now find it very difficult to settle their differences relating to their respective political and economic interests. Iran has started well in introducing the study of Sanskrit in the country. I am sorry to have to confess that the study of Persian literature is not sufficiently widespread in India, especially in South India.

In Europe there is practically no literary man, writer or critic in any country who does not know directly the literature of a few of the other European countries, and the general development of literature in any country is followed by the literary men of all other countries. Here we have yet to develop that same sense of unity in our literary, artistic and cultural wealth. There are great literary figures in all our Eastern countries, and some of them have attained world-wide fame. But such literary men generally know little or nothing about the literatures of the other countries and they are not in touch with the literary developments in the other languages. In India we have many literary languages, and yet the literary men of the various linguistic areas do not

know each other and are not familiar with the contributions of one another.

If we are to build up a new unity in the East, if we are to take our proper position in the *forefront of the affairs of the world*, if we are to make our own contributions to the progress and happiness of humanity, as our forefathers have done in the ancient past, we must start on reviving this sense of unity existing in the true interests of our national life, which consists of literature, art and culture in general. This unity has to be established in three ways, namely, through the unity in the literatures, arts and other forms of cultural wealth in the various countries, through unity in the various cultural institutions like Universities and Academies in the various countries, and through unity between our past and our present. As for myself I do not find any change in my life, any migration from one environment to another, by my coming over here. My work here is only a continuation of what I have been doing till now in another place, without any material change. People interested in man's culture alone can realize this unity.

We cannot eliminate differences in this world. The world ceases to be when all differences are extinguished in this universe. What we have to see is that such indispensable differences in this world are not allowed to degenerate into conflicts. Differences are absolutely necessary for bringing about harmony. This is the great truth which Art teaches us. We cannot have music with mere monotones. We cannot have painting with a single colour. We cannot have sculpture without variety in forms and poses. There is no literary wealth possible with a single literary form like lyrics or epics or dramas. Thus Art develops in us the genius to construct unity in differences and to realize the great value of

differences in this world. The effect of such a teaching by Art is what can be called true culture. And if culture assumes a dominating influence over the various aspects of our life, there will then arise unity and harmony between man and man, between communities and communities and between nations and nations.

Difference is an integral part of the political and economic aspects in our life. If culture takes up its true rôle in the affairs of man, such differences will lend themselves to the development of harmony among men and nations. This is the true rôle which Universities and Academies have to play in the affairs of the nations of the world. Old people of my age have memories of two terrible wars, and younger people have memories of one such terrible war. We are all seeing dark clouds in the sky, and reading newspapers and listening to radio become often very sad experiences in these days. We have science. But we have yet to establish culture in its proper position in the affairs of men, so that the results of science may lead to human happiness, instead of constant threat to the continuity of civilized life in this world. Really, no man of culture is averse to science. But it is very unfortunate that many men of science and advocates of science decry cultural studies in modern times. This is a tendency that has to be checked.

Economic values do not exhaust true values in this world. I have my own doubts whether economic values can come into the scheme of true values in this world at all. Science may at best lead us on to a realization of the values of things as they are; science in itself does not reveal such values. And there are other values, besides the value of things as they are. There is the ethical value and the aesthetic value of things. We cannot ignore them. What is noblest in the

past culture of Iran and India is the harmonious blending of these different values in this world, namely, the metaphysical, the ethical and the aesthetic values of things. I must also make it clear that in this blending of the three values of things, the economic values have not been ignored at all. As a matter of fact, when India and Iran developed this culture based on the harmony of values, the two countries were able to develop also a material prosperity which is still the envy of the modern world and which has not been approached in modern times either, in spite of all scientific advances.

Thus even with those who swear by science and the consequential material advantages to humanity arising out of science, I plead that they may recognize the importance of culture for material prosperity, as has been instanced by the achievements of the two countries. From this point of view, the study of our ancient culture must be one of the most important concern of modern States, along with science, industries and commerce. It is with some such ideals that I have come here to Iran."

Teheran University is a new institution. It is only about fifteen years old. But there were already certain institutions here even earlier and the medical institution is more than a century old. The institutions were constituted into a University only recently. There are nine Faculties functioning. The Faculty of Letters is a very important one and Persian is holding a high position in this Faculty. The study of Persian is associated with the study of Palhavi and Avesta also, and nearly every scholar in Persian knows these languages also. This is also a feature in the study here that has some interest to India, where the value of the association of Classics with the study of modern languages is not sufficiently

recognized. There are chances of Sanskrit occupying an honoured position in this Faculty here.

The University course is divided into the undergraduate course and the postgraduate research course. This comes at the top of a school course of twelve years consisting of six years of primary and six years of secondary stage. The postgraduate research stage is a regular course with lectures, and the candidates have to prepare a Thesis also. The standard kept is very high. And Persian is the medium of instruction at all stages.

There are various Science Faculties like Medicine, Veterinary, Engineering and Agriculture. There is also the Faculty of Teaching. Besides the Faculty of Fine Arts, there is the Music Faculty as a separate one. Piles of buildings are coming up. Many buildings have been finished and some of the faculties have been shifted to the University Area. The programme is to bring all the Faculties into this area, which is on the outskirts of the city.

There is yet no central Library. Each Faculty has its own library. And the Library stands in need of considerable organization and improvement. Sanskrit side is very poor. There is great interest shown towards Sanskrit and also modern Indian literatures. There is a State Library, besides the Libraries of the Faculties in the University. This too does not contain Sanskrit books. Organization of the Sanskrit side in the University Library is a matter that is engaging their attention, and India must come forward with proper assistance.

C. KUNHAN RAJA,
Editor

ANNOUNCEMENTS

1. All copies of *The Śaiva* and *Śākta Upaniṣads* with the Commentary of Śrī Upaniṣad Brahmayogin published by the Library in 1925 were sold out by the end of 1948. Since then, there has been a steady and growing demand for copies of the work. Therefore the reprinting of the work was started and it is now being reissued. We have tried to keep the price as cheap as possible even under the present heavy cost of publication. For the present, the two works will be bound together and sold. As the English translation of these two are being taken up, it is proposed to bind the text and translation of each section together when the translation also is ready for sale.

2. A second edition of *The Philosophy of Bhedābheda* by Professor P. N. Srinivasachari is also being brought out as a publication of the Adyar Library Series. This second edition of the above work has been considerably revised and new sections have also been added. This is a companion volume to the *Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita*, also published in the Adyar Library Series as No. 39. The aspects of the philosophy of Bhedābheda presented in the book are unique and this is the only book of the kind where the subject is dealt with in a comprehensive manner.

3. The lectures on *Personality* delivered under the Dr. Annie Besant Foundation of the Madras University by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari have also been accepted for publication in the Adyar Library Series. The book will be published as a serial in this *Bulletin* and released on 1st October 1950, the birthday of Dr. Annie Besant.

G. SRINIVASA MURTI,
Director, Adyar Library

PĀDAVIDHĀNA OF S'AUNAKA

WITH AN ANONYMOUS COMMENTARY
ENTITLED THE PĀDAVIDHĀNABHĀṢYA

EDITED BY
H. G. NARAHARI, M.A., M.LITT.,
Adyar Library

THE ADYAR LIBRARY
1950

INTRODUCTION

WE have it on the testimony of Ṣaḍgurus'isya¹ that Kātyāyana is not the first author of an index (*anukramaṇī*) to the Ṛgveda and that, before him, S'aunaka, his teacher, had composed not less than *ten* indices for the preservation of this Veda. These are (1) Ārṣānukramaṇī, (2) Chandonukramaṇī, (3) Daivatānukramaṇī, (4) Anuvākānukramaṇī, (5) Sūktānukramaṇī, (6) Ṛgvidhāna, (7) Pādaavidhāna, (8) Bṛhaddevatā, (9) Prātisākhya,² (10) Smārta work :

शौनकीया दशग्रन्थास्तदा ऋग्वेदमुत्तये ।

आप्यनुक्रमणीत्याद्या छान्दसी दैवती तथा ॥

अनुवाकानुक्रमणी सूक्तानुक्रमणी तथा ।

ऋक्पादयोर्विधाने च बार्हद्देवतमेव च ॥

प्रातिशाख्यं शौनकीयं स्मार्तं दशममुच्यते ।

Of these, the *fourth*, with the *vṛtti* thereon by Ṣaḍgurus'isya, was first published in 1886 by A. A. Macdonell as an Appendix to his edition of the *Sarvānukramaṇī*³ of Kātyāyana. This *Anukramaṇī* (Index) was edited again in 1892, this time by

¹ Introduction to his commentary (*Vedārthadīpikā*) on the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana (Bodleian MS., Wilson 379), cited by F. Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, II Edn., London, 1860, p. 238.

² This must be the *Ṛgvedaprātisākhya* of which many editions are known.

³ Ed. with the commentary of Ṣaḍgurus'isya by A. A. Macdonell (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Oxford, 1886).

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Rajendralal Mitra, as the last of the *three* Appendices to his edition of the *Bṛhaddevatā*,¹ *eighth* in the list under consideration, the two earlier Appendices giving respectively the texts of the *Ārṣānukramaṇī* and the *Chandonukramaṇī*, the *first two* Indices in the list. The *third* is known only by citations from Ṣaḍgurus'ṣya² and the *fifth* is as yet merely a name. Printed editions of the *sixth* and *ninth* are well-known. Concerning the *tenth* we have the evidence of Ṣaḍgurus'ṣya³ to the effect that it was destroyed by the author himself in favour of his favourite pupil Āśvalāyana :

सहस्रखण्डं स्वकृतं सूत्रं ब्राह्मणसंनिभम् ।

शिष्याश्चलायनप्रीत्यै शौनकेन विपाटितम् ॥

The *seventh* of these Indices, the *Padavidhāna* is essentially an Index of the *Pratīkas* of 379 or 381 *Pādas*,¹ adjudged at that time the most difficult in the R̥gveda. And since, in the Veda, it is the number of syllables that is contained in the *pāda* of a particular verse that determines its metre, the work can also serve as a traditional and as such authoritative treatise devoted to the explanation of the nature of some of the highly complicated metres of the Veda. The authenticity and value of the work is apparent

¹ *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1892; the text was re-edited and translated by A. A. Macdonell (Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 5 & 6) in 1904.

² In his commentary on the *Sarvānukramaṇī* (Ed. by Macdonell, p. 97 f.)

³ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

⁴ The number of the *pādas* has to be given this way because the Adyar MS. omits *three* of the *pādas* given by the Calcutta MS., but adds *one* which is its own.

from the fact that *five* verses from it also are cited¹ by Ṣaḍgurus'ṣya in the *Vedārthadīpikā*, his famous commentary on the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana :

पादाश्चानुक्रमण्यन्तरसिद्धा उच्यन्ते—

पादा अतिजगत्यां तु त्रयो द्वादशकाः परौ ।

अष्टकौ शकरीपादाः सप्तैवाष्टाक्षरास्तु ते ॥

अतिशाक्यपादौ द्वावादितः षोडशाक्षरौ ।

जागतोऽथाष्टकावष्टिपादाः षोडशाक्षरयः ॥

अष्टकौ चात्यष्टिपादौ जागतौ चाष्टकास्त्रयः ।

जागतश्चाष्टकश्चाथ धृतिपादास्तु जागतौ ॥

पादास्त्रयोऽष्टकाश्चाथ षोडशाक्षर एव च ।

अष्टकश्चाथातिधृतौ द्वौ पादौ जागतौ ततः ॥

त्रयोऽष्टका जागतश्च तथाष्टाक्षरकावपि ।

पूर्वसप्तकपादास्तु प्रसङ्गात्स्वयमीरिताः ॥

It is very likely this circumstance that attracted, the work *over* sixty years ago, to the attention of the late Professor Macdonell of the Oxford University. *Two* MSS. of the *Anukramaṇī* were available to him, the one deposited at the Commonwealth Relations Office Library,² London, and the other at the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; of the former Macdonell could make use of, not only the original MS. (*Burnell* 205d), but also Burnell's description of it; and, of the latter Rajendralal Mitra supplied him with a copy. But the entire material at the disposal

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 75.

² This is the India Office Library of old.

of Macdonell¹ was not sufficient to help him discover "on what principle this *anukramaṇī* is based."

In the Adyar Library it was my good luck to discover, some time ago, a *third* MS. of the work which had remained unnoticed till then and which contains also an anonymous *bhāṣya* on the text, *Padavidhānabhāṣya* by name. The result is that I happen to edit now, for the *first* time, both the *Padavidhāna* and its *bhāṣya*, though it is true that the text at least is known to exist for quite a long time now. While the text gives only the *pratīkas* of some *padas*, the *bhāṣya* elaborates, arranges and enumerates them. In the entire commentary there is but one² explanatory line. *Three* Appendices are attached at the end: the first of these is an index of the verses in the text, the second of metres examined, and the last of the *padas* discussed both in the text and in the commentary.

Of *four* MSS. known of the work *three* have now been used in the preparation of what is its *editio princeps*. They are:

1. A: a highly damaged palm-leaf MS. deposited in the Adyar Library with the shelf-number XXVIII. G. 53. It is described under the number 897 in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*³ in the Library. The MS. contains 9 folia and is written in Telugu characters. Size, 14½" × 1½". Lines, 8 in a page. The text of the *Padavidhāna* begins only in the

¹ Preface to his edition of the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana, p. vii.

² See p. 19, *infra*.

³ Vol I, 1942, p. 300 f.

middle of fol. 2a and ends on fol. 3a. This is followed immediately by the anonymous gloss on the text, called the *Padavidhānabhāṣya*, which begins on fol. 3b and occupies *two* more folia. The remaining folia give the commentary (*bhāṣya*) by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya on the *Anuvākānukramaṇī* with the text of which our codex opens. Nearly half the codex is broken into two, and, even otherwise, a correct line is a rare phenomenon here. It would thus be no exaggeration to say that the MS. is as corrupt as it is injured.

2. B: the text-portion of the MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, described by Rajendralal Mitra under the number 4245 in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*¹ in the Library. This is a paper MS. containing 3 folia and written in Devanagari in a medium hand. Size, 12½" × 4½". Lines, 11 in a page. A thick card-board at either end has proved a great protection to the MS. This codex is a curious jumble of the text and commentary which are given separately by A. Both together go here by the name of *Padavidhānānukramaṇī*. This is the best of the *three* MSS. available to me. Corruptions here are very few.

C: the portion of the above MS. giving the commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the text. This must be the "kind of commentary"² with a copy of which Rajendralal Mitra supplied Professor Macdonell. The text, entitled the *Padavidhāna*, mentioned³

¹ Vol. X, 1892, p. 335 f.

² Macdonell, *loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*

with this commentary, has not been available to me.

3. L: a 17th century palm-leaf MS. deposited at the Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London, with the shelf-number *Burnell 205d* and described under the number 4239 in the *Catalogue* of the Library published by Keith and Thomas in 1935. The codex which is written in Grantha characters in a cursory hand, contains *seven* works in all, our text, called here the *Padanukramaṇi*, being the *third* of them. The *second* of these works, the *Rgvedaprātisakhya*, is virtually concluded on fol. 143. Only its final colophon, *Rgvedaprātisakhyam samāp-tam*, is carried on to the next folio (no. 144a) on which our text begins and occupies the *five* succeeding folia. Size, $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1''$. Lines 4 in a page. The wooden-boards both sides have helped the preservation of the MS. which is eminently usable even now. The verses cited by Śaṅgurusīṣya referred to above are all found in this MS. in the introductory portion. But the MS. is as corrupt as the Adyar MS., and many of its folia are 'worm-eaten'. It is this MS. which Professor Macdonell had on hand when he was first attracted to the present work.

This entire MSS. material has not obviated the necessity, as the foot-notes at the bottom of each page show, of using, very often, my own independent judgment. Though the text is known to exist for full sixty years and more, it has not yet seen the light of day. My endeavour now is to give as readable an

edition of it as the material on hand allows me. With the availability of new and better MSS. an improved edition should not be impossible.

An endeavour like this involving the use of MSS. deposited, not only in more than one place in this country, but also in far off London, is quite naturally incapable of accomplishment single-handed. My foremost gratitude in this respect is towards Capt. Srinivasamurti, Director of the Adyar Library, whose interest in the work made him borrow, for my use, MSS. of it in the keeping of the Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London, and of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. I know that it is impossible for me ever to thank adequately my Professor, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, whose advice and encouragement in my literary endeavours, for nearly a decade and a half now, I count among the greatest fortunes in my life. As Editor of the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, he allowed me the necessary space in the Journal and, as Professor, helped me solve many a knotty problem in the course of my encounter with *three* corrupt MSS. of a difficult but important Vedic text. Pandit N. Ramachandra Bhat, not only made a Devanāgarī transcript of the original MS. in the Library, but also assisted me in the revision of the proofs. I am extremely grateful to him and to the Vasanta Press whose responsibility in bringing out a neat edition of a complicated Vedic work is obvious.

Adyar Library,
March 19, 1950

H. G. NARAHARI

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GENERAL EDITOR :

G. SRINIVASA MURTI, B.A., B.L., M.B. & C.M., VAIDYARATNA
Director, Adyar Library

INDIAN CAMERALISM

A SURVEY OF SOME ASPECTS OF ARTHAS'ASTRA

INDIAN CAMERALISM

A SURVEY OF SOME ASPECTS OF ARTHASĀSTRA

READERSHIP LECTURES, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

BY

K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR

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1949

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FOREWORD

PROFESSOR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR'S lectures now published deal with the sociological ideas of ancient India from original sources, and particularly from the standpoint of *Arthasāstra*. They were delivered by him as a Special Reader in Calcutta University in 1934, and have to be read with his other studies, which preceded and followed these lectures. They are the Sir S. Subramanya Aiyar Lectures on *Ancient Indian Polity*, delivered in the University of Madras in 1914 (first published in 1916, and issued in a second edition in 1935) and the Manindra Lectures on *Aspects of Ancient Indian Economic Thought*, delivered in the Benares Hindu University in 1927 (published in 1934) as well as his later Krishnaswami Row Lectures on *Rajadharma*, given before the University of Madras in 1938 and published by the Adyar Library in 1941. Owing to his many pre-occupations, the Calcutta University lectures could not be sent to the press or over the full Horatian period. To suit his convenience, Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar has secured from the Syndicate of the Calcutta University permission to publish them, and he has transferred the work to the Adyar Library.

A word of explanation of the title that he chose for these Lectures is necessary to save misunderstanding in these days of constitution-making. *Cameralism* represents the ideas of a school of social thought, which had a great vogue

on the continent of Europe from the 15th to the 18th centuries to which German Economics is indebted. Knowledge of it was scanty in English speaking countries till recently. The name is derived from German *kammer* (Latin *camera*), 'chamber,' which was the designation of the administrative and advisory body of experts which was found in most German states towards the end of the Middle Ages, and which was further developed by the emperor Maximilian at the beginning of the sixteenth century and became influential in the Austrian dominions both within and outside Germany. The *Kammer* dealt not only with purely economic questions like agriculture and industry, finance and taxation but also with police and law. Cameral writings present a greater resemblance to *Arthasāstra* than to either Economics or Politics, which have been used as its English equivalents. Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar stresses the wider sense of *Arthasāstra*, and from its greater resemblance to German Cameralism, he has given the title *Indian Cameralism* to the study, largely based on *Arthasāstra*, the results of which he placed before the Calcutta University in 1934.

Adyar Library

6th February, 1949

G. SRINIVASA MURTI

Honorary Director

PREFACE

THE lectures on Indian Cameralism now published were given in the form of Readership Lectures in the University of Calcutta. They were written out as six lectures, but were delivered in the Library Hall of the Darbhanga Buildings of the University on four consecutive evenings from the 12th March 1934. The course was opened and closed by the Vice-Chancellor, the late Sir Hassan Suhrawadhy, Kt., O.B.E., LL.D., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., who took the chair on both occasions. In the absence of the Vice-Chancellor for part of the lectures on both days, and on the intervening days, Principal J. R. Banerjee of the Vidyasagar College, Dr. W. S. Urquahart, Principal of the Scottish Churches College, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, University Professor of Economics, and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmicheal Professor of Ancient Indian History, presided.

Under the Regulations of the University the lectures given by a University Reader appointed by the Senate (as I was) are to be printed by the University. The attention that the lectures then received in the press and in presidential remarks, largely owing to the challenging nature of some of my conclusions, made me feel that when printed the authorities for the statements should be given as footnotes. The lectures had been written when, after thirty-three years of service, I entered on leave preparatory to retirement from the Travancore Educational Service. The footnotes were not

added when the lectures were written. I required some leisure for it. But, within a year of the delivery of the lectures, I accepted the invitation of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to accept the appointments of Principal and head of the Economics Department in Benares Hindu University, as University Professor. The heavy work that devolved on me made it difficult to take up the task. When I retired from the University in 1938, I was in bad health. When hardly convalescent, I was induced to take up the organization of the Sri Venkaṭeswara Oriental Institute at Tirupati, and its headship as Director. Before I retired from Travancore service, I had begun editing the *Vyavahāranirṇaya* of Varadārāja, the most important digest on the subject emanating from South India, and had also undertaken, on the invitation of H. H. Sir Sayaji Gaekwar, the late Maharaja of Baroda the editing of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* of Lakṣmidhara, the oldest surviving digest of *Dharmasāstra* and one of the largest, and the reconstruction of the great *smṛti* of Bṛhaspati, which has existed for centuries only in the form of quotations. These have been appearing since then in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, and have absorbed the scanty leisure that my official duties permitted. In the interval, other lectures on kindred subjects had to be given before academic audiences, at Madras, Mysore, Lucknow and Baroda. These combined to make me lay aside the work of preparing the Calcutta Readership Lectures for the Press for more than the Horatian term of twelve years. As it was difficult for me to supervise the printing of the lectures from a great distance, I requested in December, 1946 the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta to make over the copyright of the lectures to me so that I might transfer it to the Adyar Library, to which I had already given the copyright of *Vyavahāranirṇaya* and the lectures on

Rājadharmā given by me before the University of Madras. The Syndicate very generously gave me the permission on the 28th June, 1946. The Adyar Library began printing the lectures in instalments in its quarterly journal, *Brahmavidyā*, owing to the difficulties of printing and the scarcity of paper. The lectures are thus appearing fourteen years after they were delivered at Calcutta.

The lectures were given the title of *Indian Cameralism*, a name first suggested for *Arthasāstra* by the late Professor Sir J. C. Coyajee, from its resemblance to German Cameralism. The title intrigued many readers, who read newspaper reports of the lectures at the time of their delivery. "The name *Cameralist*," as explained by Dr. Edwin Cannan, "is derived from *Camera*, the king's chamber, in which he was thought to spend his time discussing with his Ministers the ever-present problem of how to make ends meet. . . . Cameralists are those who wrote from the view point of ministers of State." "The Cameralists (as contrasted with the Mercantilists, thought of the State in the first place."¹

This definition is somewhat rough and is not an exact description of Cameralism as it was developed in four centuries of assiduous cultivation in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. This will be seen from Lecture I. But it indicates one of the features that made it a better equivalent for *Arthasāstra* than "Polity" or "Political Science" or "Political Thought" with which it had been equated ever since its study came into prominence—and almost into an academic "fashion"—after the publication of Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* by Dr. R. Shama Sastri in 1909.

Wrong synonyms are apt to lead to misconceptions of the content and outlook of branches of knowledge. It has

¹ *Review of Economic Theory*, p. 13.

been so with *Arthasāstra*. My interest in it was roused in my college days, when I had to study the *Mudrārākṣasa* and I saw the grim humour of the dramatist, who concealed under a veneer of Bismarckism the outlines of the character of the great Mauryan King-maker and patriot, who lived the life of the true *Brāhmaṇa* teacher, which only a close study of the play would reveal. A Mysore friend (the late Mr. Sambasiwa Sastri), who came to me in 1901 for tuition in Economics repeated to me some *sūtras* from the *Arthasāstra*, of which a solitary manuscript (the one subsequently edited by Dr. Shama Sastri) had been secured by the Mysore Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. In 1904, I began its study from a transcript of this manuscript, procured for me by a former pupil, Mr. M. S. Krishnamacharya B.A., B.L. In 1905, it was seen with me by a University Commission that visited H.H. the Maharaja's College, Trivandram. It was intrigued by my description of it as the work of an Indian contemporary of Aristotle, on Politics and Economics. Mr. V. P. Madhava Row, C.I.E., then the Dewan of Travancore (who accompanied the University Commission) and Dr. H. J. Bhaba, Inspector-General of Education in Mysore, who was a Member of the Commission, noted the name and particulars, and its printing was ordered at once. Printed forms of the work were sent to me, long before its release for publication. The first use that was made by my study of the *Arthasāstra* was for my class lectures. In 1912, I was asked to inaugurate the first research lectureship founded in the University of Madras, and named after Dr. S. Subramanya Aiyar. I made the *Arthasāstra* my theme, and dealt with some aspects of it in two lectures on *Ancient Indian Polity*, which were delivered in 1914. The lectures were printed with elaborate notes in 1916 (New edition, 1935). They attracted much attention.

In 1925, I was invited to give a course of lectures under the Manindra Chandra Foundation in Benares Hindu University. I chose the *Economic* aspects and teachings of *Arthasāstra* for the course. The lectures were published by the university in 1934 with the title, *Ancient Indian Economic Thought*. The approach through *Arthasāstra* to the study of ancient Indian ideas on economics and polity in the two lectures named, was continued in the wider survey of *Indian Cameralism*. The three may be roughly described as studies in aspects of ancient Indian polity, economics and society.

In the quarter century that separates the publication of Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* (1909) and the delivery of the lectures on Indian Cameralism, *Arthasāstra* had come to obtain an important place in the curricula of studies in Indian universities. The older texts on *Nitisāstra* were so to speak, resurrected, and studied in conjunction with Kauṭilya's work, of which translations in other languages, Indian and European, also appeared. Mahāmahopādhyāya, Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri, conducted (on my suggestion) a search for other manuscripts of Kauṭilya's work, and embodied his discoveries in a new edition of the classic (1924-25) with a commentary of his own, in which he used an ancient Malayalam commentary, which must have embodied much traditional interpretation of Kauṭilya's work. About the same time came the *Index Verborum* to the Kauṭilya by Dr. R. Shama Sastri, and the fragments of the old commentaries on the *Arthasāstra* by Bhaṭṭasvāmin (ed. K. P. Jayaswal and A. Banerji Sastri, 1926) and by Mādhava-yajvan, (the *Nayacandrikā*, ed. J. Jolly and Pt. Udayavira Sastri 1924). Kāmandaka's *Nitisāra*, which Dr. Rajendralala Mitra had published (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1861) with an anonymous commentary, was re-edited with the ancient commentary of S'aṅkarārya (the commentator

of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*) in 1912. Manmathanath Dutt published his English translation of the earlier edition of this work in 1896. The baffling *Sukranītisāra*, which Dr. G. Oppert had published in 1882, appeared in new editions and an English translation by B. K. Sarkar (1914). Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmṛta*, a 9th century work that gave in epigrammatic prose the teachings of earlier writers on *Arthasāstra*, came out first in the *Grantharatnamālā* serial, and in 1923 with a commentary full of bogus quotations. Floating verses of practical wisdom, fathered on Cāṇakya (Kauṭilya) have been current in several collections as *Cāṇakya-nīti*. D. T. Ganapati Sastri's printer published an edition of it in 1912, which Dr. Shama Sastri reproduced in the 2nd edition of Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* (1919). Other recensions of it were published by Jibananda Vidyasagar in 1907, by Isvaracandra in 1919 and by Dr. J. van Manen in 1926. Dr. J. Hertel's critical reconstruction of the *Pañcatantra*, which embodied much *Arthasāstra* teaching, appeared between 1908 and 1915. A great literature on Kauṭilya sprang up in many languages (see Bibliography to my *Ancient Indian Polity*, ed. 1935).

The discovery and development of *Arthasāstra* studies in our generation have coincided with the resurgence of Indian nationalism. While it has stimulated the study of the subject, it has also endangered the correct perception of its teachings, affiliations and methods. Incorrect notions gained ground and have become almost 'academic myths.' The attitude of *Arthasāstra* to absolutism has been understood in a haze created by wrong interpretation and by the resurrection of legends which grew round Cāṇakya (Kauṭilya)—to some of which the dramatist Viśākhadatta and the irony of Daṇḍin gave wide currency. Its position in the orthodox canon, its relations to *Dharmasāstra*, its attitude to the fundamental

aims of life (as conceived in Ancient India), its "secularism," its adaptability to environment and circumstances, its conception of law and the legislative power of the State and its ethics have been incorrectly grasped. The influence of authority on opinion is almost like that of popular slogans often repeated and shouted. The repercussions of such views on conceptions of the Indian State and social order, and on ethical standards became visible in current comments. There was therefore need to re-examine the problems that lie behind these concepts. Analogy with Cameralism suggested not only a means of approach in study and presentation, but the comparison was illuminating. Western Cameralism virtually died out, as an organized study, but survived in its silent influence on Economic thought. Adam Smith, who admitted his indebtedness to the Physiocrats, was virtually a Cameralist. German Economics is more the child of Cameralism than of Mercantalism.

A low estimate of the standards of the sources of the Indian view life is reflected in low estimates of Indian ethics. Much of the error may be traced to overlooking the study of the background of Indian life, which is common to both *Arthasāstra* and *Dharmasāstra*. In the lectures now published an attempt is made to deal with the neglected aspects.

Western Cameralism remained at the time of the delivery of these lectures little known to English students of the history of Economic thought. Professor E. Cannan's *Review of Economic Theory*, (1930), from the unpublished version of which generations of London pupils derived their knowledge of and inspiration in Economics, has only a few sentences (not quite accurate too) on Cameralism. Ingram's *History of Political Economy* dismisses a school of thought which gave birth to hundreds of works, in a page. Dr. A. W. Small's

valuable study, the only one in English, is not accessible. This is the reason for co-ordinating in these lectures the exposition of Western Cameralist thought with the Indian counterpart.

In the first lecture, certain aspects of Cameralism have been explained in view of their relevance in a comparison with the views of *Arthasāstra*. The second lecture summarizes the aspects of *Arthasāstra*, regarded as an analogue to Cameralism. Its background, alleged secularism and liberalism, as compared with *Dharmasāstra*, its methods and content, and alleged greater adjustability to the changing needs of society are examined in it. The third lecture views Indian society in its chief phases from the standpoint of *Arthasāstra*. The conclusions will be seen to be hardly distinguishable from those of *Dharmasāstra*. The fourth lecture deals with the polity and law of *Arthasāstra*, and pointedly considers the alleged power of the king's edicts to over-ride *Dharma*. The fifth lecture attempts a survey of the Economy theory of *Arthasāstra*, and the last deals with the mixture of Economics and Politics, in a Cameral background, through a consideration of the conception of the province of the State and of the principles of Public Finance. The lectures end with a consideration of the causes of the growth and decay of Cameralism in the West and in India. Western Cameralism cannot be traced to the Indian. The two represent the response of administrative and scientific minds in two different epochs and areas to environments and forces of a similar kind.

The lapse of so many years after the delivery of lectures gives an opportunity for revision and change. During this period a great deal of my time has been devoted to the study of *Dharmasāstra*, in the course of editing some of its texts

and digests. The lectures have been scrutinized in the light of my later reading and thought. I have found no need for making even verbal changes, except perhaps to place a "might" where a more positive expression has been used in the original draft. In some matters I might express myself with more emphasis and fulness now. It is unnecessary to revise the lectures to embody such revisions, as the books which contain my later views (*Rājadharmā*, 1941, the *Social and Political System of Manusmṛti*, 1949 and the Introductions to six volumes of *Kṛtya-Kalpataru*, 1941-1948) are available for consultation. I may add that I am now less inclined to accept some of the views of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal than I was fifteen years ago.

In one topic, *viz.* the alleged power of a royal edict to override even *Dharma*, what I had originally written had to be expanded during the oral delivery of the lecture. I have now revised this part (*infra* pp. 102-110) and slightly expanded the original draft. The footnotes are only of literature available to me before 1934. It might show how little progress has been made in regard to valid conclusions and their data in the intervening period in spite of much later consideration.

It remains to record my debts. To the Senate of the University of Calcutta I owe thanks for honouring me with an invitation to address academic audiences under its aegis as one of its Readers. To the distinguished scholars that presided over the four meetings and gave expression to their appreciation, I am also indebted. To the Syndicate of the University I am under a special obligation for overlooking for years my failure to send the lectures to its printers, and at last for giving me the copyright in the lectures in order that I might make it over to the Adyar Library, in whose series this book now appears. I have to thank the authorities of the

Adyar Library, and especially its Honorary Director, Captain G. Srinivasamurti, B.A., B.L., M.B.C.M., *Vaidyaratna*, for undertaking the printing and publication of the lectures. Failing sight has compelled me to throw the burden of proof correction on two friends, Mr. N. Raghavacharya, M.A., L.T., formerly of the Madras Educational Service and Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T., of the Adyar Library, my old pupil and co-worker for many years. Mr. Krishna Aiyangar has also provided the Index. To Mr. C. Subbarayudu, Superintendent of the Vasanta Press, Adyar, I owe thanks for the excellence of the printing and for co-operation in taking the work through the press.

But the greatest debt of all is that which I have to record. It is to my venerated teacher and chief for fifteen years, Professor R. S. Lepper, M.A., LL.M., formerly Principal, Pachiyappa's College, Madras and later Professor of History and Economics in H. H. The Maharaja's College, Trivandram,—(and now of Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Bangor, North Ireland). To him I owe my knowledge of and love for Economics and History and devotion to the culture of my Motherland. Were I permitted, I would inscribe on these lectures (without any responsibility on his part for the opinions expressed in them) his honoured name, in undying gratitude, veneration and love.

K. V. RANGASWAMI

3, ASOKA ROAD
New Delhi
1st February, 1949

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and by writers on *Mīmāṃsa*.¹ In the correct view of the relation of property to the State, not only landed property but *all* property is regarded as mortgaged to the State, and to be available to the government in times of the State's dire necessity. The specific enumeration of curious and out-of-the-way devices for "balancing the budget" during years of unforeseen stress, like those described by Kauṭilya and Sukra,² and practised by grasping kings like Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir,³ imply, even apart from the rule that an emergency measure should not last beyond the emergency, that all other sources must be exhausted before the State laid its hand on the private land and the private capital of its subjects.

The State's duty to promote the material and moral welfare of the population is a natural deduction from the above assumption. A State is conceived as a perpetual partnership under the direction of a central authority for the doing of all lawful and beneficial things. The injunctions to kings to endow religion, to grant to religious institutions, in lieu of direct endowment, exemptions from taxation, to establish work-houses for the poor and to devise measures for the relief of poverty and suffering, to prevent the spread of epidemics and promote the cure of human ailments and to abolish poverty, unemployment and vagrancy, are corollaries of this idea and derive their justification from their importance to the social partnership.

The survey of the Indian conception of the respective sphere of State and individual action is thus virtually in accord not only with the views of Western Cameralists but the way of approach to these ideas is essentially Cameral.

¹ *Anc. Ind. Econ. Thought*, pp. 179-181.

² *Kauṭilya*, p. 240; *Sukra*, I, 209-210; V, 52-53; *Somadeva*, ch. 31.

³ *Rajatarāṅgiṇī*, V, 160-183.

The system of State finance devised by Cameral thinkers, whether of the East or of the West, may therefore present features of similarity. These resemblances exist. As Cameral ideas anticipated many modern views of finance and have often been praised therefor, so have Hindu theories of finance been described as "modern" in their outlook.

Certain features of the Cameral finance, Western or Indian, distinguish it from modern doctrines of finance and show the excellence of the former. In both, a tax is recognized as a compulsory contribution and as falling in the last instance on persons. In both, the collection of revenues by the State is to enable it to discharge its public functions.¹ It may be remembered that till a few years ago the expression "for the use of the public powers" used to be found in definitions of a tax, importing a constitutional idea into an economic definition. The implication is present in Indian theories of finance but it is not embodied in the conception of a tax. The point of cleavage is the different way of looking at the relation of income to expenditure. A tax is a necessary evil, and accordingly it has to be kept as low as is possible. But, the State must fulfil its functions fully and efficiently, and in order that it might do so it requires a revenue sufficient for its varying needs. It is the task of the modern financier so to raise such income as to meet the demands of obligatory expenditure, which has therefore to be first determined. The Indian financier hardly distinguishes the attitude of the housewife from the financier; both must adjust their expenditure to their income. Normally proportions, from which the income is derived are unalterable, and expenditure therefore cannot be allowed to

¹ "Taxes must be levied upon all subjects with righteous equality, since all are equally under obligation in this connection, and all share in the protection and other benefits of the State" (Justi, *Small*, pp. 381-382).

exceed the income. The expenditure of the State should be planned, says Somadeva, so as not to outrun its income.¹ The selection of this point of view by the Indian statesman, will account for a cardinal defect in the Indian science of finance. While items of income or revenue are detailed fully, in Indian works, types of expenditure are not specified as clearly and precisely, making it appear that distribution between the different heads of expenditure is left to the unfettered discretion of the State, and under selfish rulers such distribution might be subject to capricious alteration. A vicious or war-like Indian king must of necessity starve all departments of the State, since he cannot increase his revenue with safety, and still must have enough to spend on inclinations.

Another difference between the modern economic and the Indian Cameral attitude consists in the recommendation of the latter to build up big state hoards from recurring annual surpluses. The Indian thinker realizes in the sphere of private economy, that the withdrawal of capital from productive enterprise—"fructifying in the pockets of the people"—(Adam Smith) is against sound economy. He forbade private hoarding by specific rules against Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and S'ūdra. How did the application of the principle to the State then come to be overlooked? The explanation is to be found in the nervous dread entertained by old Indian financiers of State-bankruptcy and of their conviction that well-filled war-chests no less than efficient and powerful standing armies (*Maula*) were necessary to ensure the independence of States. Indian agriculture depends on seasonal rains. The

¹ Somadeva—आयानुरूपो व्ययः कार्यः, (24, 141); आयमनालोच्य व्ययमानो वैश्रवणोऽपि अवश्यं श्रमणायत एव (18, 10); अल्पायतिः महाव्ययो भक्षयति राजार्थम् (24, 44).

element of uncertainty is always present in financial systems dependent on agriculture, pursued under such conditions of uncertainty. In his indication of budget proportions, S'ukra suggests that about one half of the revenue from local or over one-sixth of the central collections should be put by.¹ If the latter alone be taken as indicating the proportion of annual surplus to go into a permanent war-insurance fund, the further precept of S'ukra that at any time a state must have enough surplus to meet the calls of twenty years will show that the proportion of annual saving is to be considerable. The rigorous persistence by States in the policy of securing recurring surpluses is a normal feature of Indian Cameral theory.

On the side of expenditure certain wise rules are laid down. State should expend in ways calculated to develop the strength of the people. It should promote science and learning by direct encouragement, in addition to social provision of a privileged and unpaid class of educational workers, among (the Brāhmaṇas) and such a rule as we find in a Cola inscription making the school-master's land tax-free.² The drift of the recommendations generally is to expend freely in nation building activities after securing independence. But, the indications furnished by the specified proportions and of items of expenditure to revenue, are that expenditure in these directions from the central fisc was not considerable. Still, it cannot be assumed that the contribution of the old Indian

¹ ग्रामस्य द्वादशशेन ग्रामपात्रं संनियोजयेत् ।

त्रिभिरशेर्बलं धार्यं दानधर्मशिक्षेन च ॥

अर्धशेन प्रकृतयो द्वार्धशेनाधिकारिणः ।

अर्धशेनात्मभोगश्च कोशशेनेन स रक्ष्यते ॥

आयस्येवं वृद्धिभागेः व्ययं कुर्यात् वत्सरे ॥ (शुक्र., १, ३१६-३१८).

² K. M. Gupta—*Land Systems in South India*, p. 303. Inscription of Rājendracola II, (A.D. 1072.)

community for such activities is represented solely by the direct State expenditure on them. Works of public utility, as well as rural and urban police and sanitary work, fell upon municipal bodies and villages and were not paid for by the State. The incidence of tax exemptions, such as those made in favour of Brāhmaṇas, temples, monasteries etc., is on the community as a whole. Nevertheless, the omission to develop fully and clearly the obligation of the State to expend in such directions may explain the neglect of national development in epochs of weak rule, and the low vitality and economic strength displayed by India during much of its history.

In measuring the pressure of a financial system on members of the different classes in the State, what they contribute indirectly in the upkeep of the social system, what they enjoy and what they suffer in the maintenance of privileges, have to be considered along with money payments made to the State. The Indian financier has a passion for precision, simplification, and detail. It accounts for such general injunctions as that salaries of all public servants should be paid promptly, that all State orders should be in writing, that the power and duties of the different departments should be clearly demarcated, that accurate statistics should be available not only of land surveys and fiscal collections, but in regard to types of consumption and that paying for services by grants of land or in assignments of land revenue (Jāgirs)¹ should never be allowed.

On the expenditure side, the biggest single item is that of defence, which absorbed in India half the gross collections according to S'ukra. That this should be so in Western Cameral countries is intelligible. But its presence in ancient

¹ Justi disapproves of the grant of an exemption from taxes as a reward of service (*Small*, p. 183).

India, in spite of the existence of the Kṣatriya class, may seem remarkable, but it is not. The Kṣatriyas were a privileged class and not an endowed body. A Kṣatriya public servant or soldier was paid like any other. In historical times the entry to the army was not restricted to members of this class. The Indian thinker who has advocated a living wage for the day labourer will not starve a soldier. The weak International Law of the time necessitated the maintenance, even in times of peace, of large armies such as we find specified in the Greek accounts and in Hiuen Tsiang's description of the military forces of the kingdoms he visited. The burden of armaments, accounts for the depression of the community as a whole, and for the many feeling appeals to avoid resort to war, to attain political ends as far as possible by diplomacy and to the pedantic elaboration of the theory of diplomacy in our literature.¹

The normal income of the old Indian State has been placed by Kauṭilya under seven heads, roughly corresponding to the recognized seven elements of the State (*saptāṅga*).² The classification is arbitrary and is probably inherited from previous writers. Six out of the seven heads relate to income derived directly or indirectly from land. The crown lands were extensive, and constituted an important source of the king's income. In an old type of half-developed State, the ruler has to be the first farmer. A big demesne enables a king to live to a great extent, 'of his own.' The land tax, derived either as a fixed share of the produce or in money at its commutation value, the money taxes (*bali*), income from ferries and tolls and from cesses, royalties from mines and pearl fisheries, income from water-rates imposed

¹ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, passim.

² *Kauṭilya*, p. 60.

on gardens and fields cultivated under State embankments, minor forest income, and traffic dues, are some items of public revenue. Among non-tax items, comes the revenue of State factories, tribute from vassal kings (*kara*), judicial fines, escheat, treasure trove, lump-payments made by villages as a whole, payments for feeding the army on the march, ceremonial presents to the king etc. There are also license fees of various kinds and the revenue from brothels and State gaming houses. The common feature of all such revenue is the reliance placed on indirect taxation, in which there is more scope for variety in percentages between the several authorities, than on the direct tax from land. Unconspicuous sources of revenue and revenue collection are favoured both by democratic and by quasi-absolutist politics. Popular discontent caused by visible increase in old taxes and by new taxes is a potential danger to a Government in the former and to the Ruler in the latter.

A typical scholastic outlook is useful for illustration and a passage of Medhātithi furnishes it. "The treasury should abound in gold and silver in large quantities. The chief contents of the treasury should never be expended, never should payments to servants be delayed. The kingdom and country are one. They should be protected against encroachment and against natural calamities by the supervision of rivers, trees and cattle, and by the construction of protective works. The country should not be allowed to depend wholly on rain." In times of distress, special penalties and taxes shall be levied.¹

In regard to the State itself, in spite of the large military establishments, the Indian Cameralist envisaged it under civil

¹ नवीनकरशुल्कायैः लोक उद्विजते ततः, (शुक्र, २, २७४).

control. The Marshal of the kingdom must have no place in the cabinet. The master of the sword is not to be the master of policy. There is to be no military dictatorship, even after usurpation by a successful general, and this is to be ensured by the power and the permanence of the fiscal laws and of the bureaucracy. Hence their elaboration in the treatises of Kauṭilya and S'ukra as in Western Cameral works. The cost of the civil establishment is fixed by Kauṭilya at a fourth of the aggregate income (*Kauṭilya*, p. 245). In grading salaries, (*Kauṭilya*, Bk. V, ch. 3) the ruling principles of Kauṭilya are that a public servant should receive enough pay to keep him efficient, healthy, contented, and zealous; and these principles are worked out by S'ukra to their natural corollaries in humane and sensible pension and leave rules, which will ensure to the State the services of a zealous and capable civil service.¹

Emergencies are to be met in ways not involving the transgression of the rules fixing proportions for taxes. And the measures should be limited for use only in the emergency and should not be continued longer—a rule apparently ignored, to judge from the multiplicity of novel taxes met with again and again in the inscriptions. Forced loans, "free-will" gifts, the substitution of shorter for longer measures of land so as to increase the proportions of the yield to be collected,² salary cuts,³ temporary appropriation or use of religious and charitable endowments, and the resources of wealthy and childless widows, contributions from corporate organizations and well-to-do subjects, and officers,⁴ are indicated, side by

¹ *Sukra*, II, 407-417; *Anc. Ind. Econ. Thought*, pp. 110-112.

² *Ibid.*, I, 209-210.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 52-53.

⁴ *Somadeva*, 21, 14.

side with increased excise and customs duties as well as income-taxes from merchants, actors, prostitutes and purveyors of public amusements.¹ A legitimate device which is suggested is to induce cultivators to increase the area under crop and to grow summer crops, and tax the additional land income.² The sale of honours³ and the confiscation of ecclesiastical property⁴ are questionable methods which will be justified by emergency and in periods of *Brāhmaṇa-Bauddha* rivalry.⁵ The State may even stoop to make money by exploiting the pious credulity of people and set up oracles and idols which pretend to work miracles and collect the offerings made to them by credulous folk.⁶ The sarcastic reference of Patañjali to the Mauryas having made an income by setting up idols, apparently refers to this questionable expedient.⁷ The debasement of the currency and the levy of excessive

¹ *Arthasāstra*, pp. 242-245 for questionable means of replenishing the King's depleted treasury. Brothel keepers (*vardhakipōṣakāḥ*) and prostitutes are among those to be taxed. Goldsmiths are to be treated almost vindictively (न चैषां कश्चिदपराधं परिहरेयुः ते हि अपरगृहीतमभिनीय विक्रीणीरन्, p. 241).

² समाहर्तुपुष्पाः ग्रीष्मे कर्षकाणामुद्रापं कारयेयुः (*Ibid.*, p. 240.)

³ सारतो वा हिरण्याद्यान्याचेत । यथोपकारं वा स्ववशा वा यदुपहरेयुः स्थानछेत्र-वेष्टनविभूषाश्चैषां हिरण्येन प्रयच्छेत् । (*Ibid.*, p. 242).

⁴ देवताध्यक्षो दुर्गराष्ट्रदेवतानां यथास्वमेकस्थं कोशं कुर्यात्, तथैव चाहरेत् (*Ibid.*, p. 242).

⁵ But such actions are not to be done more than once, rules Kauṭilya (p. 241)—सकृदेव न द्विः प्रयोज्यः ।

⁶ देवतचैत्यं सिद्धपुण्यस्थानमौपपादिकं वा रात्रानुत्थाप्य यात्रासमाजान्यां आजीवेत् । चैत्योपवनवृक्षेण वा देवताभिगमनार्तवपुष्पफलयुक्तेन ख्यापयेत् । मनुष्यकरं वा वृक्षे रक्षोभयं रूपयित्वा सिद्धव्यज्जनाः पौरजानपदानां हिरण्येन प्रतिकुर्युः । (*Ibid.*, p. 242).

⁷ जीविकार्थे चापश्ये । (५-३-९९) 'अपण्यं' इत्युच्यते । तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्व्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिमिरताः प्रकल्पिताः भवेतामु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति । *Mahābhāṣya*.

taxes on furs and skins, in which there was a brisk trade in the Mauryan kingdoms are other abnormal means alluded to by Patañjali as adopted by the Mauryan State, but they are not mentioned by Kauṭilya.

POSTULATES OF PUBLIC FINANCE

Can any common principle be discerned in the financial practices of the old State as set forth in the inscriptions or recommended by our writers? We are under no necessity to *infer* them, as they are enunciated in precepts often concealed in quaint metaphors. The king should be as the wise-gardener, who gathers fruit only as they ripen (Kauṭilya) and does not dig up trees by the roots.¹ The implication of the rule is that income should be taxed when it accrues, and the subjects should not be destroyed by violent taxation. The king should imitate the cowherd, who refrains from milking the cow and drawing blood, who does not tear the udder, and who leaves enough milk in the udder to feed the calf and induce the cow by maternal affection to continue secreting milk.² The implications are that taxation should not commandeer the entire

¹ पक्वं पक्कमिवारामात् फलं राज्यादवाप्नुयात् ।

आमच्छेद्भयादामं वर्जयेत्कोपकारकम् ॥ (p. 244).

² वत्सौपम्येन दोग्धव्यं राष्ट्रमक्षीणबुद्धिना ।

श्रुतो वत्सो जातबलः पीडां सहति भारत ॥

न कर्म कुरुते वत्सो मृशं दुग्धो युधिष्ठिर ।

राष्ट्रमप्यतिदुग्धं हि न कर्म कुरुते महत् ॥ (शान्तिपर्व, ८७, २०-२१)

वत्सापेक्षी दुहेष्वेव स्तनांश्च न विघट्टयेत् । (Ibid., ८८, ४).

ऊधश्छिन्नात्तु यो घेन्वाः क्षीरार्थी न लभेत्पयः ॥

एवं राष्ट्रमयोगेन पीडितं न विवर्धते ॥ (Ibid. ७१, १६).

income of the subject, but must leave enough in his pockets to induce him to save, and that the methods of tax collection should be free from harshness. Like the bee, the wise king will collect his revenue little by little from a thousand sources.¹ Like the leech he should draw blood without pain, and bleed only the plethoric.² Like the mouse, he should nibble at the extremities without detection, a suggestion that collection should be insensible and free from conspicuousness.³ The garland-maker collects flowers from many plants, after tending and watering the plants.⁴ The State should imitate the ascetic's drinking-pot (*Kamandalu*) which has a wide mouth and a narrow spout a suggestion that the inlet for revenue should be wide and for expenditure narrow. The king should not be like the glutton, who stuffs himself to his own detriment and to that of others and consumes more than he needs. He should not be like the charcoal burner, who burns down a forest to get a handful of fuel—*i.e.*, the king should not destroy his chances of great future advantage for a petty immediate gain.

Such figures may be multiplied. They are rules of taxes than of taxation and inculcate the wisdom of following the canons of convenience, certainty and economy. There is no canon of equality. Equality in the sense of equality of sacrifice is obviously difficult to secure in any tax system. But, in

¹ मधुदोहं दुहेद्राष्ट्रं भ्रमरान्नं प्रपातयेत् (Ibid., ८८, ४).

² जलौकवत्पिबेद्राष्ट्रं मृदुनैव नराधिपः । व्याघ्रीव च हरेत्पुत्रान् संदशेन्न च पीडयेत् ॥

³ यथा शल्यकवानाङ्गुः पदं धूनयते सदा । अतीक्ष्णेनाभ्युपायेन तथा राष्ट्रं समापिबेत् ॥ (Ibid., ८८, ५-६).

⁴ माल्यकारोपमो राजन् भव माऽज्ञारिकोपमः ॥ (Ibid., ७१, २०).

ancient India it existed theoretically atleast, in the accepted social order, which it was the recognized duty of the State to maintain. The dependence on indirect rather than direct taxation indicates the desire for fiscal elasticity. The use of the fisc for ethical purposes may be seen in the regulation of the liquor traffic, of gambling and of houses of ill-fame. If an evil cannot be rooted out, its influence is to be restricted by regulation. The law of treasure-trove and mines is due not only to the belief in the State's rights to unclaimed wealth, but to tax potential or undeveloped resources. The financial aim is always the promotion of political and social stability. It is easy to give parallels to these Indian financial concepts from the Cameral literature of the West but it is hardly necessary now as identical results followed in both the West and the East from a common outlook.

CAUSES OF THE GROWTH AND DECAY OF CAMERALISM

It will be of interest to compare the causes which promoted or retarded the influence of Cameral thought in India and the West. A change in the political centre of gravity in the West, atleast in theory, in the epochs following the French Revolution, cut at the root of Cameral assumptions. Till the dawn of the socialist regime in recent years, the magnification of the State above the individual was unpopular. Modern Economics, claiming the *Wealth of Nations* as its source, found its way to the Continent and quickly replaced the older Cameral teaching by virtue of its greater modernity and its political liberalism. In India, the influence of sociological writers grew or waned with the rise or fall of stable governments. The impact of foreign invasion destroyed Indian kingdoms and the patrons of Hindu S'āstras. The terrible

suffering inflicted on the people by the harsh rule of barbarian conquerors, Scythian or Hun, developed again from an acute sense of misery, the passion for ascetic ideals, which were reflected in the favoured cults of the dynasties like the Bhārasiva and the Nāgas under whom the national revolts against the evil of foreign domination were raised. When settled order supervened, with the rise of the Imperial Guptas, and ascetic ideals gave place to the bases of material comfort and worldly ambition, the new political outlook diverged away from that of the earlier *Arthasāstra* by substituting conquests by arms, like those of Samudragupta and Candragupta to those by negotiation. The wail of the Purāṇas, which can be heard even amidst the triumphant paeans of Gupta imperialism and poetry, show how at heart the exponent of the old ideals of *Dharmasāstra* and *Arthasāstra* fell out of sympathy with the new imperialism. Neither the old national administrative system nor the old schools of *independent* social thought had apparently survived the epochs of foreign tyranny. The persistence in the community of powerful elements disbelieving in the religio-social implications of the old writings and not sharing their pride in the Aryan tradition, contributed to the acceptance of secular motives in the place of the old mixed religious and secular aims. Thus, in spite of the service rendered to a society, which was constantly tending to break up, by keeping it together through ages of foreign attack and domination, Indian Cameral thought, which had exalted the State in order to save society, was permanently thrust into the background and was soon forgotten. When the renaissance of Indian studies in our own day revived an interest in our own literature, a misconception of the character and outlook of our old literature of *Arthasāstra* led to its *comprehensive*

Cameral aims being overlooked, and narrowed to their political or economic elements and to the inadequate appreciation of its historical position and services.

We live in times in which the old faith in the virtue of individualism and democracy, and of a society placing mass production and machinery in the front rank of the means of economic regeneration and secular views as the indispensable conditions of the political and intellectual emancipation of man, have been shaken, and the ideas which were germinal in the last century are being subjected to criticism. The diseases of the modern State are attributed to features on which the prosperity of the nineteenth century was believed to have been based. Democracy has not effaced distinctions of class and property. If happiness be, as urged by Mr. Leonard Woolf, the aim of social organization, modern democracy has not realized it for every one. The survival of liberty depends upon the extension of education and upon discipline and spiritual training as educational purposes. The ideal of an efficient and glorious State, in which equality of opportunity for service is afforded to every one, and happiness means service, is claimed for such different institutions as a Soviet, exercising supreme control over all individual activities and of a Fascist Dictatorship. The ideal of the nineteenth century had been the production of more wealth. To secure wealth, countries were industrialized and the process of production mechanized. To maintain the colossal increase in production, a progression of wants was sought and stimulated. Today, in a crippled world, we recognize that the industrial plan of the nineteenth century resulted in a misfit. The interest of members of society as workers taking pride in their work has been subordinated to their interests as consumers. A stage has been reached beyond

which standards of consumption cannot be raised, and production has crashed. Modern society has created new health problems, the solution of which requires an intense feeling of social service. Communal action to solve modern problems is extending the sphere of State action. But, society is still imperfectly organized for social service. The substitution of the worship of humanity for religion has led to inhumanity. It is urged that the sense of freedom and variety of opportunity which the members of a political society require can only be secured, when it is made independent of foreign help for the necessities of life. Even those who condemn the beehive ideal of social organization are unable to suggest a better. Even secularists concede the survival value of religious institutions, and the religious sublimation of the animal instincts and appetites, which civilization has neither curbed nor controlled.¹

In such times, the historical interpretation of old systems of social thought, such as may result from a comparative study with their analogues, may help us to realize how social institutions have to be adjusted to the needs of the times, and how systems of thought have to be interpreted in connection with their peculiar purposes. The old Indian literature, to which by analogy the Cameral designation has been suggested may still be of value. Let us consider its skilful adaptation of means to ends, its logical deduction of rules of conduct from its socio-religious hypothesis, and its attempt to combine ethical, political, and economic purposes in individual and social action. The attempt to view their teachings in their natural perspective and to interpret them in relation to our times as well as theirs might help in the dawn of the brighter day for

¹ See Lord Eustace Percy, *Government in Transition*, 1934, ch. IX and X.

which we all wait and hope, to suggest ideas and plans for pursuing social study and action in interdependence rather than isolation, and to bring about a synthesis of effort which will correspond with the unity of the human mind, outlook and history. In the attempt to achieve such ends, studies like those we have attempted may have their use.

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उदयपश्च चन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च नाथश्च उदयपचन्द्रसूर्यनाथाः इति विग्रहेण
 नाथशब्देन विष्णुर्विवक्षितः । अत एव

“ नाथायैव नमः पदं भवतुनश्चित्रैश्चरित्रक्रमै-
 भूयोभिर्भुवनान्यमूनि कुहनागोपाय शोपायते ।
 कालिन्दीरसिकाय कालियफणिस्फारस्फटावाटिका-
 रक्तोत्सङ्गविशङ्कचङ्क्रमधुरापर्यायचर्यायते ॥ ”

“ नाथस्य नन्दभवने नवनीतनाम्नम् । ”

इत्यादिषु कवितार्किकसिंहसर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रश्रीमद्वेङ्कटनाथदेशिकैर्नाथशब्देन
 भगवान् वासुदेवः विवक्षितः । स एव जननानन्तरं देवता यस्मादुक्तं
 गर्भोपनिषदि—

“ अथ योनिद्वारं सम्प्राप्तो यन्त्रेणापीड्यमानो महता दुःखेन
 जातमात्रस्तु वैष्णवेन वायुना संस्पृष्टस्तदा न स्मरति जन्ममरणानि न
 च कर्म शुभाशुभं विन्दति । ” इति ।

तस्मात् जातस्य शिशोः भगवतः पञ्चायुधैरपि रक्षा कार्या
 इत्यपि सिद्धम् ॥ १६ ॥

गर्भस्थस्य जन्मान्तरीयकर्मविपाकानुसारेण जाताङ्गन्यूनातिरेकरूपवै-
 रूप्यमाह—

त्रिकोणगे ज्ञे विबलैस्ततोऽपरै-

शुक्लाङ्घ्रिहस्तैर्द्विगुणस्तदा भवेत् ।

अवाग्गवीन्दावशुभैर्भसन्धिगैः

शुभेक्षितश्चेत्कुस्ते गिरं चिरात् ॥ १७ ॥

इति । तदा ज्ञे बुधे त्रिकोणगे । ततः अपरैः अपरे च अपरे च अपरेत्येक-
 शेषः । न परे इत्यपरे इति व्युत्पत्त्या अपरशब्दः कुञ्जचन्द्रसूर्याणां ग्राहको

जातः कुब्जः । मीने मीनराशौ लग्नसंस्थे लग्ने यमशशिकुजैर्वीक्षिते शनिचन्द्रकुजैरीक्षिते सति जातः पङ्गुर्भवति । पापे शशिनि च सन्धौ गण्डान्ते चेत् जातः जडः चैतन्यरहितवानिव भवति । सौम्यदृष्टिः शुभदृष्टिर्न स्याच्चेत् । एतद्योगचतुष्टयेष्वपि योज्यम् ।

“अशुभगदिता योगा याप्या भवन्ति शुभेक्षिताः”

इति शुभदृष्ट्या सर्वेऽप्यशुभा योगा नश्यन्तीत्याचार्यस्य मतम् । मिश्र-
दृष्ट्या यथाबलं फलं भवति ।

वृत्तं मन्दाक्रान्ता । मन्दत्वमाक्रान्तत्वं चास्य वक्तव्यम् । शुभदृष्टि-
विरहिताः ये अनिष्टफलदाः ते शुभदृष्टियुता इष्टफलदा इति भावः । एवं
प्रथमयोगे शुभदृष्ट्या सद्गन्त इत्यनेन गजदन्तादिव्यापारकुशलो भवति ।
द्वितीयतृतीययोगयोः शुभदृष्ट्या गृहनिर्माणकुशलो भवति । तुर्ययोगे
शुभदृष्ट्या आत्मज्ञानेन जडवद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

“सौम्यक्षेत्रे” इति व्यक्तव्ये “सौम्यक्षेत्रे” इत्युपदिष्टवताचार्येण
किं विवक्षितम् ? सौम्यः बुधः । तस्य ऋक्षौ मिथुनकन्ये । तयोः
रविजरुधिरौ मिथुने शनिः कन्यायां कुजः अथवा मिथुने कुजः कन्यायां
शनिश्चेज्जातस्य जननकाले एकः दन्तः भवति । शनौ मिथुनांशगे
कुजे कन्यायां वर्गोत्तमगे जातस्य जननकाले द्वौ दन्तौ भवतः ।
शनौ मिथुने वर्गोत्तमे कुजे कन्यायां वर्गोत्तमे जातस्य जननकाले
त्रयो दन्ताः स्युः । “रुधिररविजौ” इति वासरक्रमं विहाय
“रविजरुधिरौ” इति निर्देशात् रविजस्य मिथुनांशगतत्वं रुधिरस्य
कन्यांशगतत्वं चाहते ।

“कुब्जः स्वर्क्षे” इति कुब्जत्वं मन्ददृष्ट्या पुरतो माह्यदृष्ट्या
पृष्ठतश्चेति वाच्यम् ।

एवं “पङ्गुर्माने” इत्यत्र पङ्गुत्वमपि शनिदृष्ट्या दक्षिणपादेन
चन्द्रदृष्ट्या वामपादेन द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यां च वक्तव्यम् । यमशशिकुजैः सर्वै-
र्वीक्षिते पङ्गुत्वमाजानसिद्धं स्यात् । यमशशिभ्यां तु जननादनन्तरं निमि-
त्तोद्भूतं भवति । भाग्याधिपस्य कुजस्य दृष्टेरितरदृष्ट्यभावेऽशुभत्वं नेष्यते
यस्मात्

“होरा स्वामिगुरुज्ञवीक्षितयुता नान्यैश्च वीर्योत्कटा”

इत्यत्र गुरुं जानातीति गुरुज्ञः इति व्युत्पत्त्या “गुरुज्ञः भाग्याधिपः”
इति व्याख्याय लग्नस्य भाग्याधिपदृष्ट्या न केवलमिष्टफलं वाञ्छन्ति किन्तु
अनिष्टफलमपि नेच्छन्ति होराशास्त्रविदः ।

“सन्धौ पापे” इत्यत्र चन्द्रे रवियुते बधिरत्वं दक्षिणश्रोत्रेण कुज-
युते वामश्रोत्रेण च वाच्यम् । चन्द्रे पापत्रययुते बाधिर्यमाजानसिद्धं भवति ।
रविकुजौ आग्नेयौ अतस्ताभ्यां पापफलाधिक्यं शनिना पापफलाल्पत्वं च
विवक्षितम् ॥ १८ ॥

वामनत्वाङ्गहीनत्वयोगावाह—

सौरशशाङ्कदिवाकरदृष्टे वामनको मकरान्त्यविलम्बे ।

धीनवमोदयगैश्च दृगाणैः पापयुतैरभुजाङ्घ्रिशिराः स्यात् ॥१९॥

इति । मकरान्त्यविलम्बे मकरलग्नस्य अन्त्यभागे लग्ने सौरशशाङ्कदिवाकरदृष्टे
शनिचन्द्रसूर्यैर्दृष्टे वामनको भवति ।

“अज्ञाते कुत्सिते चारुपे हस्वे संज्ञानुकम्पयोः ।

प्रतिकृत्यामथ स्वार्थेऽप्येष कप्रत्ययो भवेत् ॥”

इति वचनादत्र वामनशब्दादस्वार्थे कप्रत्ययः । अतिह्रस्वो भवतीत्यर्थः । शनि-
दृष्ट्या शिरसः, चन्द्रदृष्ट्या तदधः ऊर्वोरुपरि सूर्यदृष्ट्या शेषस्य च वामनत्वं

वाच्यम् । वृत्तं चारणगीतम् । चारणगीतत्वं तु भगवत एव वाच्यम् । अतः प्रतिवृत्त्यां कप्रत्ययो वा स्यात् । अतः अस्मिन् योगे जातः वामनप्रतिकृतिर्भवति । विष्णुतुल्यो भवतीति सारः । सौरशशाङ्कदिवाकर्षेर्बलिष्ठेरेवं स्यात् । मध्यबलैस्तु अतिह्रस्वो भवति । अनुकम्पायां वैष कप्रत्ययः स्यात् । वामनक इति वाममार्गान्वेषणेन आत्मज्ञानरहितो भवति । बलहीनैः सौरशशाङ्कदिवाकर्षेरेवं वाच्यम् ।

मकरान्त्यविलम्बे मकरे अन्त्ये वा लम्बे । अन्त्यमिति मीनराशेः संज्ञा । अतो मीनलम्बस्याप्येवं वक्तव्यम् ।

पापयुतैः कुजेन युतैः धीनवमोदयगैः दृगांश्च पञ्चमनवमलम्बद्रेक्षाणैः सौरशशाङ्कदिवाकरदृष्टैः अभुजाङ्घ्रिशिराः विगतभुजपादशिरस्का भवन्ति जाताः । लम्बद्रेक्षाणः एवं स्थितश्चेत् विशिराः भवति । पञ्चमद्रेक्षाणश्चेद्भुजहीनः भवति । नवमद्रेक्षाणश्चेत्पादहीनो भवति । सौम्यदृष्टिहीनत्वे एव एवं वक्तव्यम् । तथा चोक्तं गार्गिणा—

“ लम्बद्रेक्षाणगो भौमः सौरसूर्येन्दुवीक्षितः ।

कुर्याद्विशिरसं तद्वत् पञ्चमे भुजवर्जितम् ॥

विपादं नवमस्थाने यदि सौम्यैर्न वीक्षितः ॥ ”

इति । योगस्य बलाधिक्ये असंपूर्णप्रजाजननविषयं भवति । अन्यथा तत्तदङ्गानां तत्तदङ्गकार्यकौशलाभावो वक्तव्यः ।

पापयुतैः अत्र पापशब्देन राहुकेत्वोरपि ग्रहणम् । पापयुतैर्गवं भवति । शुभयुतैः सौरशशाङ्कदिवाकर्षेर्वीर्यवद्विश्च तत्तदङ्गस्य तत्तदङ्गकार्येषु कुशलत्वं च वक्तव्यमिति द्योत्यते ।

वृत्तं चारणगीतम् । अनेन बलयुक्तेर्ग्रहेर्वामनकत्वं विष्णुतुल्यत्वं द्योतयति । स महापुरुषो भवतीति भावः । एवमेव व्याख्यातम् ॥ १९ ॥

अथ नेत्रविनाशकयोगानाह—

रविशशियुते सिद्धे लम्बे कुजार्किनिरीक्षिते

नयनरहितः सौम्यासौम्यैः स बुद्बुदलोचनः ।

व्ययगृहगतश्चन्द्रो वामं हिनस्त्यपरं रविः

अशुभगदिता योगा याप्या भवन्ति शुभेक्षिताः ॥ २० ॥

इति । रविशशियुते सूर्यचन्द्रसहिते सिद्धे लम्बे कुजार्किनिरीक्षिते कुजशनिभ्यां दृष्टे सति गर्भस्थः नयनरहितः अन्धो भवति । कुजावर्योः सप्तमवीक्षणेन “ दिवाकरेन्द्रोः स्मरगौ कुजार्कजौ ” इति वचनेन मातापित्रोरपि रोगो वक्तव्यः । अस्मिन् योगे सौम्यासौम्यैः गुरुकुजशनिभ्यां दृष्टे सति स बुद्बुदलोचनः नेत्ररोगी भवति । आदित्यस्य बुधशुक्रयोः सप्तमदृष्टेरसम्भवात् सौम्यशब्देन गुरुरेव निर्दिष्टः । पाददृष्टिरपि शुक्रस्यैव सम्भवति । न तु बुधस्य । कृष्णीययवनादिमतानुसारेण युत्यात्मकदृष्टिरपि गृह्यते चेत् सौम्यशब्दः बुधशुक्रयोरपि ग्राहको भवति । राहुकेतू अपि असौम्यशब्दवाच्यौ भवतः । एवं चेत् असौम्यशब्देन कुजशनिराहुकेतवो गृह्यन्ते ।

व्ययगृहगतः निषेकलम्बात्पञ्चलम्बाद्वा द्वादशगः चन्द्रः वामं वामनेत्रं हिनस्ति नाशयति । व्ययगृहगतः रविः सूर्यः अपरं दक्षिणं हिनस्ति । अनेन पूर्वोक्तयोगेऽपि सूर्येण दक्षिणाक्षिनाशः चन्द्रेण वामाक्षिनाशश्चेति सिद्धम् । सूर्यस्य दक्षिणाक्षिकारकत्वं चन्द्रस्य वामाक्षिकारकत्वं च व्यञ्जिते ।

अशुभगदिताः अशुभग्रहैरुक्ता योगाः शुभेक्षिताः शुभैर्दृष्टाश्चेत् याप्याः अत्यन्तं दोषशून्या भवन्ति । सर्वेषामप्यनिष्टयोगानां शुभदृष्ट्या नाश इष्यते । शुभयोगापेक्षया शुभदृष्टेः शुभाधिक्यं व्यञ्जितम् ।

वृत्तं हरिणी । “ रसयुगहयैस्सौ औ स्लौ गो यदा हरिणी मता । ” इति लक्षणात् । हरिणः अस्य अस्तीति हरिणी चन्द्रः । रसयुगहययतियुतं

च वृत्तम् । युगसङ्ख्याक्षरैः “सिद्धे लप्ते” इति चोक्तम् । अतः मेषवृष-
मिथुनकर्कटेषु सिद्धपूर्वेषु राशिषु चन्द्रे द्वादशे स्थिते वामाक्षिनाशो वाच्य
इति सूचितम् । चतुर्षु केन्द्रेष्वन्यतमे वा चन्द्रे स्थिते कुब्जत्वाद्यनिष्ठफलं
भवतीत्यपि सूचितम् । तथा च कृष्णीये—

“होराकेन्द्रैः कुर्यादिन्दुर्जडवधिरकुब्जवामनकान् ।

मेषवृषमिथुनकुलीरे द्वादशमे वामकाणं तु ॥”

इति । रसयतियुतत्वात् षष्ठस्थश्चन्द्रोऽपि नयनदोषकृद्भवति । “निधना
रिषनव्ययस्थिताः” इति वक्ष्यति ॥ २० ॥

अथाधानलम्बवशात् प्रश्नलम्बवशाद्वा प्रसवकालमाह—

तत्काल इन्दुसहितो द्विरसांशको य-

स्तत्तुल्यराशिसहिते पुरतः शशाङ्के ।

यावानुदेति दिनरात्रिसमानभाग-

स्तावद्गते दिननिशोः प्रवदन्ति जन्म ॥ २१ ॥

इति । तत्काले आधानकाले प्रश्नकाले वा इन्दुसहितः तत्कालचन्द्रेण युक्तः
द्विरसांशकः द्वादशांशकः यः मेषादितः यावति द्वादशांशके तत्कालचन्द्रः
स्थित इत्यर्थः । पुरतः भविष्यति काले तत्तुल्यराशिसहिते मेषादारभ्य तावता
राशिना युक्ते शशाङ्के चन्द्रे । यावान् दिनरात्रिसमानभागः । रात्रिराशयः
गोजाश्विकिर्मिथुनमृगाः इतरे दिनराशयः । दिनरात्रिसंज्ञकराशिषु यतिम-
स्त्रिंशांशः उदेति पूर्वस्यां दिशि उदयं प्राप्नोति । दिननिश्योः दिनरात्र्योः
तावद्गते तावत्प्रमाणनाडिकासु गतासु जन्म जननं प्रवदन्ति मुनय इति
शेषः । निषेककालचन्द्रस्य द्वादशांशः प्रसवकालचन्द्रस्य राशिः निषेक-

३. तेनात्र धर्मयात्रा । अत्रेदं भवति, श्रमणानां ब्राह्मणानां च
दर्शनं च दानं च वृद्धानां दर्शनं च हिरण्यप्रतिविधानं च जानपदस्य
जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशिष्टिश्च धर्मपरिपृच्छा च ।

४. ततोऽपि या एषा भूयो रतिर्भवति देवानां प्रियस्य
प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञः भाग्यमन्यत् ।

ROCK EDICT IX

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा आह ।

२. जन उच्चावचं मङ्गलं करोति । आवाधे आवाहे विवाहे.

3. Thereafter, tours inaugurated by him have
been *Dharmayātras* (Tours of Piety). In these are
performed visits to Śramaṇas (Ascetics) and Brāhmaṇas
and making gifts to them, visits to elders (in wisdom),
distribution of gold as alms, visits to the people of the
rural divisions (*janapadas*), instruction in Dharma and
discussions and questions on Dharma.

4. That these give greater pleasure to King
Priyadarsin, the beloved of the gods, (than the huntings
of the previous *viḥarayātras*) is his another unique
good fortune.

1. King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the gods,
—s (thus) :

2. People perform various ceremonies on occasions
such as sickness, invitations at rites, marriage, birth of

तिया [1] इमं कथमिति [1] एहि इवले मगले संमयिक्ये से (होति)
 सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना नो हिदलोकिके चैव मे [1] इयं
 पुना धंममगले अकालिक्ये [1] हंचे पि तं अठं नो नि(व)टेति हिद अठं
 पलत अनंतं पुनं पवसति [1] हंचे पुना तं अठं निवनेति हिद ततो उभयेसं
 २७. लधे हाति हिद चा मे अठे पलता चा अनंतं पुनं पवसति
 तेना धंममगलेना [1]

दशमो लेखः

२७. देवानंपिये पियदशि लाजा यषो वा किति वा नो महथावा-

athasā nivutiyā [1] Imam kathamiti [1] Ehi ivale
 magale samṣayikye se hoti siyā va tam aṭham nivatēyā
 siyā punā no hidalokike ceva se [1] Iyam punā dhamma-
 magale akālikye [1] Hamce pi tam aṭham no ni(va)ṭeti
 hida aṭham palata anantaṁ punnaṁ pasavati [1]
 Hamce punā tam aṭham nivateti hida tato ubhayesaṁ
 27. ladhe hoti hida cā se aṭhe palatā cā anantaṁ
 punnaṁ pasavati tenā dhammagalenā [1]

27. Devānaṁpiye piyadaṣi lājā yaṣo vā kiti vā no

५

५. इदं कथमिति ? इहापरं मङ्गलं सांशयिकं तद्वति । स्याद्वा
 तमर्थं निर्वर्तयेत्, स्यात् पुनर्नैहलौकिके चैव स्यात् । इदं पुनर्धर्ममङ्गलम्
 आकालिकम् । चेदपि तमर्थं नो निस्तिष्ठतीह अर्थं परत्रानन्तं पुण्यं
 प्रसूते ।

६. चेत्युनस्तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयतीह तत उभयं लब्धं भवति ।
 इह च सोऽर्थः परत्र चानन्तं पुण्यं प्रसूते तेन धर्ममङ्गलेन ।

ROCK EDICT X

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा यशो वा कीर्तिं वा न
 महार्थावहं मन्यतेऽन्यत्र ।

5. How and by what means is the objective to be
 achieved? The auspicious ceremony performed now
 is of doubtful value. It may achieve the objective or
 it may not. In any case its fruit is of this world. But
 this *Dharmamaṅgala* (ceremonial of Righteousness and
 Piety) is of value at all times. Even if it does not
 bear fruit now, in this world, it produces unlimited
 fruit in other worlds.

6. If it also bears fruit here (in this world) then
 both objectives are secured by the performance of
Dharmamaṅgala namely: the desired result here and
 endless merit hereafter.

1. King Priyadars'in the beloved of the gods,
 does not consider either fame or renown here as of
 great value in the life hereafter.

(हा) मनति अनता [1] यं पि यसो वा किति वा इछति तदत्वाये
अयतिये चा जने धंमसुसुषा सुसुषातु मे ति धंमवतं वा अनुविधियतु ति [1]
एतकाये देवानंपिये पियदसि

२८. लाजा यशो वा किति वा इछति [1] अं चा किछि
पलकमति देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा त एवं पालतिक्काये वा [1] किति [?]
सकले अपपलिषवे षियाति ति [1] एषे चु पालिषवे ए अपुने [1] दुकले
चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेन उषुटेन वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना [1] एवं
पालतिदितु [1] हेत चु खो.

२९. उषटेन वा दुकले [1]

एकादशो लेखः

२९. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [1] नयि हेडिपे

mahathāvā(hā) manati anata [1] Yam pi yaso vā
kiti vā ichati tadatvāye ayatiye cā jane dhamma
susuṣā susuṣātu me ti dhammavataṁ vā anuvidhiyatu
ti [1] Etakāye devānaṁpiye piyadasī

28. lājā yaśo vā kiti vā ichati [1] Am cā kichi
palakamati devānaṁpiye piyadaśi lajā ta ṣavaṁ
pālatikyāye vā [1] Kiti [?] Sakale apapaliṣave ṣiyāti
ti [1] Eṣe cu paṣave e apuṁne [1] Dukale cu kho eṣe
khudakena vā vagenā uṣuṭena vā anata agenā palaka-
menā [1] Ṣavaṁ palitiditu [1] heta cu kho

29. uṣaṭena vā dukale [1]

29. Devānaṁpiye piyadaśi lājā hevaṁ āhā [1]

२. यदपि यशो वा कीर्तिं वेच्छति तदात्वे आयतौ च जनो
धर्मशुश्रूषां शुश्रूषतां ममेति धर्मव्रतं वानुविधत्तामिति । एतत्कृते देवानां प्रियः
प्रियदर्शी राजा यशो वा कीर्तिं वेच्छति । यच्च किञ्चित् पराक्रमते देवानां
प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा तत्सर्वं पारत्रिकायैव ;

३. किमिति ? सकलोऽपपरिस्त्रवः स्यादिति । एष तु परिस्त्रवो
यदपुण्यम् ।

४. दुष्करं तु खल्वेतत् क्षुद्रकेण वा वर्गेणोशता वा अन्यत्रा-
भ्यात् पराक्रमात् ; सर्वं परित्यजतु । एतत्तु खलु उशता वा दुष्करम् ।

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१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवमाह ।

2. The fame or renown he desires for is only this
namely: that the people may now hear his service to
Dharma and in future live accordingly. For this purpose
only does King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods,
desire fame or renown. Whatever effort King Priya-
dars'in makes is all devoted to well-being in afterlife.

3. Why? It is that all people may be saved
from the danger of bad living (*parisrava*) which is
meritless (*apunya*).

4. This is most difficult of accomplishment, by
people whether high or lowly, save by supreme heroism,
sacrificing all else; but this is most difficult even to
the highly placed.

1. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods,
speaks thus :

दाने आदिषं धंमदाने धंमषंविभगे धंमषंक्वे । [1] तन एये दाषभटकषि
षम्यापटिपति मातापितिषु पुषुषा मितषंथुतनातिक्यानें समनावंभनानं
दाने

३०. पानानं अनालंभे [1] एये वतविये पितिना पि पुनेन पि
भातिना पि पुवामिक्येन पि मितशंथुताना(तिक्येनापि) अवा पटिवेसि-
येना पि [1] इयं साधु इयं कटविये [1] ओ तथा कलंत हिदलोकिक्ये च कं
आलषे होति पलत चा अनंत पुंना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना [1]

द्वादशो लेखः

३०. देवानापिये पियदषि

३१. लाजा षवापाषंडानि पवजितानि गहथानि वा पुजेति

Nathi hediṣe dāne ādiṣaṁ dhammadāne dhammaṣaṁvi-
bhage dhammaṣaṁbadhe [1] Tata eṣe dāṣabhaṭakaṣi
ṣaṁyāpaṭipati mātāpitiṣu ṣuṣuṣā mitaṣaṁthutanātikyā-
naṁ samanabam̐bhanānaṁ dāne

30. pānānaṁ anālambhe [1] Eṣe vataviye piti-
nā pi putena pi bhatinā pi ṣuvāmikyena pi mitaṣaṁthu-
tānā(tikyenāpi) avā paṭivesiyenāpi [1] Iyaṁ sādhu
iyaṁ kaṭaviye [1] S'e tathā kalam̐ta hidalokikye ca kaṁ
āladhe hoti palata cā anam̐ta puṁnā paś'avati tenā
dhammadānena [1]

30. Devānāpiye piyadaṣi

31. lājā ṣavāpāṣaṁḍāni pavajitāni gahathāni vā

२. नास्तीदृशं दानं यादृशं धर्मदानं धर्मसंविभागो धर्मसंयन्धः ।

३. ततः एषा दासभृतके सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिर्मातापित्रोः शुश्रूषा
मित्रसंस्तुतज्ञातिकानां श्रमणब्राह्मणानां दानं प्राणानामनालम्भः ।

४. एतद् वक्तव्यं पित्रापि पुत्रेणापि भ्रात्रापि स्वामिनापि मित्र-
संस्तुतज्ञातिकेनापि यावत् प्रातिवेशिकेनापि—“इदं साध्विदं कर्तव्यम्” ।

५. स तथा कुर्वन् ऐहलौकिकं च आराद्धवान् भवति । परत्र
चानन्तं पुण्यं प्रसूते तेन धर्मदानेन ।

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१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वान् पाषण्डान् प्रव्रजितान्
गृहस्थांश्च पूजयति दानेन विविधया च पूजया ।

2. There is no gift that can equal in merit the
gift of Dharma, the distribution of Dharma and establish-
ing relationship through Dharma.

3. From it follow the right treatment of slaves
and servants, service to mother and father, gifts to
friends, comrades, kinsmen, Sramanas (Ascetics) and
Brāhmanas and abstention from slaughter of animals.

4. Even by father, by son, by brother, by master,
by friend, by comrade, by kinsmen or by neighbour, it
ought to be said :

“This is meritorious. This ought to be done.”

5. One acting in this manner secures happiness
in this world ; and endless merit in the other world also
is produced by this gift.

1. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods,

दानेन विविधेन च पुजाये [1] नो चु तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानं पि ये मनति अथा किति [?] शालावदि शियाति शवपाशंडानं [1] शालावदि ना(म) बहुविधा [1] तश चु इयं मुले अ वचगुति [3] किति [?] त(था) अतपाशंडे पुजा वा पलपाशंडगलहा व नो शिया

३२. अपकलनशि लहुका वा शिया [1] तशि तशि पकलनशि पुजेतविय चु पलपाशडा तेन (ते)न अकालन [1] हेव कलत अतपाशडा बाढं वदियति पलपाशड पि वा उपकलेति [1] तदनथ कलत अतपाशड च छनति पलपाशड पि वा अपकलेति [1] ये हि केछ अतपाशड पुनति

pujeti dānena vividhena ca puṇāye [1] No cu tathā dāne vā puṇā vā devānampiye manati athā kiti ? [1] Sālāvaḍhi siyāti s'avapās'amḍānam [1] Sālāvaḍhi nā(ma) bahuvidhā [1] Tasa cu iyaṁ mule a vacaguti [1] Kiti [?] Tathā atapas'amḍe puṇā vā palapās'amḍa-galahā va no siyā

32. apakalanasi lahukā vā siyā [1] Tasi tasi pakalanasi pujetaviya cu palapās'aḍā tena tena akālana [1] Heva kalata atapās'aḍā bāḍham vaḍhiyati palapās'aḍa pi vā upakaleti [1] Tadanatha kalata atapās'aḍa ca chanati palapās'aḍa pi vā apakaleti [1] Ye hi kecha atapās'aḍa punati

२. न तु तथा दानं वा पूजां वा देवानां प्रियो मन्यते यथा किमिति । सारवृद्धिः स्यादिति सर्वपाषण्डानाम् ।

३. सारवृद्धिर्ना(म) बहुविधा ।

४. तस्य त्विदं मूलं यद् वचोगुतिः ; किमिति ? त(था) आत्मपाषण्डे पूजा वा परपाषण्डगर्हा च न स्यात् अपकरणे लघुता वा स्यात् ।

५. तस्मिंस्तस्मिन् प्रकरणे पूजयितव्यास्तु परपाषण्डास्तेन तेनाकारेण । एवं कुर्वन् आत्मपाषण्डान् बाढं वर्धयति परपाषण्डानपि वोपकरोति । तदन्यथा कुर्वन् आत्मपाषण्डं च छिनत्ति परपाषण्डानपि वापकरोति ।

reverences persons of all sects, Ascetics and householders, by gifts and with various forms of reverence.

2. But, the beloved of the gods does not value either gifts or reverential offerings so much as that of an increase of the spiritual strength of the followers of all religions.

3. This increase of spiritual strength is of many forms.

4. But the one root is the guarding of one's speech so as to avoid the extolling of one's own religion to the decrying of the religion of another, or speaking lightly of it without occasion or relevance.

5. As proper occasions arise, persons of other religions should also be honoured suitably. Acting in this manner, one certainly exalts one's own religionist and also helps persons of other religions. Acting in a contrary manner, one injures one's own religion and also does disservice to the religions of others.

३३. पलपाशड वा गलहति षवे अतपाषंडभतिया वा [i] किति[?] अतपाषंड दिपयेम । पे च पुना तथा कलंतं बाढतले उपहंति अतपाषंडाषि । [i] समवाये व पाधु [i] किति [?] अनमनषा धंमं पुनेयु चा पुषुपेयु चा ति [i] हेवं हि देवानं पियषा इच्छा [i] किति [?]

३४. सवपाषंड बहुपुता चा कयानाग(म) च हुवेयु ति [i] ए च तत तत पषंना नेहि वतविये देवानापिये नो तथा दानं वा पुजा वा मंनति [i] अथा किति [i] षालावद्धि शिया षवपाषंडानं ति । बहुका चा एतायाठाये वियापटा धंममहामाता इथिधियस्वमहामाता वचभुमिवया अने वा निकाया [i]

33. palapāśaḍa vā galahati ṣave atapāṣaṁḍabha-
tiyā vā [i] Kiti [i] Atapāṣaṁḍa dipayema । Ṣe ca punā
tathā kalamtaṁ bāḍhatale upahanṭi atapāṣaṁḍaṣi [i]
Samavāye va śādhu [i] Kiti [i] Amnamanaṣā dhammaṁ
ṣuneyu cā ṣuṣuṣeyu cā ti [i] Hevaṁ hi devānāmpiyaṣā
ichā [i] Kiti [?]

34. Savapāṣaṁḍa bahuṣutā cā kayānāgamā ca
huveyu ti [i] E ca tata tata paṣaṁnā tehi vataviye
devānāpiye no tathā dānam vā puja vā maṁnati [i]
Athā kiti [i] Śālāvaḍhi siyā ṣavapāṣaṁḍānam ti [i]
Bahukā cā etāyāṭhāye viyāpaṭa dhammamahāmātā
ithidhiyakhamahāmātā vacabhumikyā ane vā nikāyā [i]

६. यो हि कश्चिदात्मपाषण्डान् पूजयति परपाषण्डान् वा गर्हयति सर्व आत्मपाषण्डभक्त्या वा, किमिति? आत्मपाषण्डान्दीपयेम । स च पुनस्तथा कुर्वन् बाढतरमुपहन्त्यात्मपाषण्डे ।

७. समवाय एव साधुः, किमिति अन्यमनसो धर्मं शृणुयुश्च शुश्रूषेरंश्चेति ।

८. एवं हि देवानां प्रियस्येच्छा, किमिति? सर्वपाषण्डा बहुश्रुताः कल्याणागमाश्च भवेयुरिति । ये च तत्र तत्र प्रसन्नास्तैर्वक्तव्यम् । देवानां प्रियो न तथा दानं वा पूजां वा मन्यते, यथा किमिति सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्वपाषण्डानामिति ।

९. बहुकाश्च एतस्मै अर्थाय व्यापृता धर्ममहामात्राः स्यध्यक्ष-

6. One who reverences one's own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it over all other religions does injure one's own religion more certainly.

7. It is verily concord of all religions that is meritorious as persons of other ways of thinking may thereby hear the Dharma and serve its cause.

8. This is the desire of Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods) that the followers of all religions should be well versed therein and hold sound and righteous doctrines and that in diverse places this should be stated by those present :

"Devānāmpriya does not value gifts and reverential offerings so much as the increase in the spiritual strength of the followers of all religions."

9. For this purpose several officers are engaged :

३५. इयं च एतिषा फले यं अतपाषंडवदि चा होति धंमव चा
दिपना [1]

त्रयोदशो लेखः

३५. अठवषाभिसितषा देवानंपियष प्रियदविने लाजिने
कलिग्या विजिता [1] दियदमाने पानपतपहसे ये तफा अपवुदे शतपहष-
माते तत हते बहुतावंतके वा मटे [1] तता पछा अधुना लधेषु कलिग्येषु
तिवे धंमवाये

३६. धंमकामता धंमानुषथि चा देवानंपियषा [1] पे अथि

35. Iyam ca etiṣā phale yaṁ atapaṣaṁḍavaḍhi
cā hoti dhammaṣa cā dipanā [1]

35. Aṭhavaṣābhisitaṣā devānaṁpiyaṣa piyadaṣine
lājine kaligyā vijitā [1] Diyadhamāte pānaṣataṣahase
ye taphā apavudhe s'ataṣahaṣamāte tata hate bahu-
tāvaṁtake vā maṭe [1] Tatā pachā adhunā ladheṣu
kaligyeṣu tive dhammavāye

36. dhammakāmatā dhammānuṣathi cā devānaṁ-

महामात्रा ब्राह्मभूमिका अन्ये वा निकायाः । इदं चैतेषां फलं यदात्मपा-
षण्डवृद्धिश्च भवति धर्मस्य च दीपना ।

ROCK EDICT XIII

१. अष्टवर्षाभिषिक्तस्य देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञः
कलिङ्गा विजिताः । अध्यर्धमानं प्राणशतसहस्रं यत्ततोपव्यूढं शतसहस्र-
मात्रास्तत्र हता बहुतावत्का वा मृताः ।

२. ततः पश्चादधुना लब्धेषु कलिङ्गेषु तीव्रं धर्मपालनं धर्म-
कर्म च धर्मानुशिष्टिश्च देवानां प्रियस्य ।

e.g. Dharmamahāmātras (Censors of Dharma), Mahā-
mātras for Women's welfare, Inspectors of Cowpens
and other officers. The fruit of these measures is the
promotion of one's own religion and the glorification
of Dharma.

1. The Kalinga country was conquered by King
Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, when he had been
consecrated eight years. One hundred and fifty
thousand persons were carried away as captives and one
hundred thousand slain and many times that number
died.

2. After that, the Kalingas being now secure,
Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods) is devoted to
Dharmapālana (the protection of Dharma), Dharmā-
karma (action according to Dharma), and Dharmā-
nusiṣṭi (imparting of instruction in Dharma).

अनुषये देवानंपियषा विजिनितु कलिग्यानि [1] अविजितं हि विजिन-
मने ए तता वध वा मलने वा अपवाहे वा जनषा [1] ये बाढ वेदनियमुते
गुल्लमुते चा देवानंपियषा [1] इयं पि चु ततो गल्लमततले देवानंपियषा [1]

३७. ये तता वषति बंभना व समना वा अने वा पाशंड
गिहिथा वा येशु विहिता एष अगभुतपुषुषा मातापतिपुषुषा गल्लपु[१]षा
मितषंथुनषहायनातिकेषु दाशभनकषि सम्यापटिपति दिदभतिता [1] तेषं
तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा अभिलतानं वा विनिस्त्रमने

piyaṣā [1] Śe athi anuṣaye devānaṃpiyaṣā vijinitu
kaligyāni [1] Avijitaṃ hi vijinamane e tatā vadha vā
malane vā apavahe vā janaṣā [1] Śe bādha vedaniya-
mute gulumute cā devānaṃpiyaṣā [1] Iyaṃ pi cu tato
galumatatale devānaṃpiyaṣā [1]

37. Ye tatā vaṣati bāmbhanā va śama(nā) vā ane
vā pāśaṃḍa gihithā vā yesu vihitā eṣa agabhutaṣuṣuṣā
mātāpitiṣuṣuṣā galuṣuṣuṣā mitaṣaṃthutaṣahāyanātikeṣu
dāśabhatakaṣi śamyāpaṭipati diḍhabhatitā [1] Teṣaṃ
tatā hoti upaghāte vā vadhe vā abhilatānaṃ vā vini-
khamane

or an antelope's skin if he is a Brahmin, the skin of a spotted deer if he is a Kshatriya, or a goat's skin if he is a Vaisya.¹ (Ās'v. Gṛhya-Sūtra I-19-8)

If they wear garments, they must wear garments that are dyed; a Brahmin shall wear reddish yellow one, a Kshatriya shall wear a light reddish one, the Vaisya a yellow one.² (Ās'v. Gṛhya-Sūtra I-19-9)

About *Mekhala* (girdle) there is the prescription :

One made of *Muñja* grass for a Brahmin, one made of a bow-string for a Kshatriya, one made of wool for a Vaisya.³ (Ās'v. Gṛhya-Sūtra I-19-11)

The stick that they wear are also different as :

One made of *Palasa* for a Brahmin, one made of *Udumbara* tree for a Kshatriya, one made of *Bilva*⁴ tree for a Vaisya ; one reaching up to the tuft of hair for a Brahmin, one reaching up to the forehead for a Kshatriya, one reaching up to the heart for a Vaisya.⁵ (Ās'v. Gṛhya-Sūtra I-19-13)

¹ अलंकृतं कुमारं कुशलीकृतशिरसमहतेन वाससा संवीतमेणेयेन वाजिनेन ब्राह्मणं रौरवेण क्षत्रियमाजेन वैश्यम् ।

² यदि वासांसि वसीरन् रक्तानि वसीरन् काषायं ब्राह्मणो माजिष्ठं क्षत्रियो हारिद्रं वैश्यः ।

³ मौञ्जी ब्राह्मणस्य धनुर्जा क्षत्रियस्य आवी वैश्यस्य ।

⁴ These are three kinds of trees.

⁵ पालाशो ब्राह्मणस्य । औदुम्बरः क्षत्रियस्य । बेल्लो वैश्यस्य । केशसंमितो ब्राह्मणस्य । ललाटसंमितः क्षत्रियस्य । प्राणसंमितो वैश्यस्य ।

After this follows the general statement :

everything for everyone.¹ (Ās'v. Gṛhya-Sūtra I-20-1)

This choice, according to the commentators is only with reference to the stick and have no reference to the garment and the girdle :

All kinds of sticks for all can be as alternatives.²
(Com. of Devasvāmin on the above)

I will try to consider presently that this option must be the survival of an age when there was no such distinction made on a community basis.

But let us now consider how such distinctions are explained. It cannot be that according to Indian tradition, Brahmins have better intellect than Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. In the *Upaniṣads*, the intellectual eminence of the Kshatriyas has been fully vindicated. There is a very mechanical explanation given, namely, that the *Mantra* (the Vedic passage) imparted to a Brahmin at the *Upanayana* is in the *Gāyatrī* metre with eight syllables a line, while the *Mantras* imparted to a Kshatriya and a Vaisya at that same ceremony are in the *Trīṣṭup* and *Jagatī* metres with eleven and twelve syllables a line. The age for the *Upanayana* has been determined by these numbers. This difference in the metres of the *Mantras* imparted to the students of the three castes is found in some *Gṛhya-Sūtras* as follows :

¹ सर्वे वा सर्वेषाम्.

² सर्वे वा दण्डाः सर्वेषां विकल्पेन भवन्ति.

Let him recite a *Gāyatrī* to a Brahmin, a *Trīṣṭup* to a Kshatriya, a *Jagatī* to a Vaisya.¹

(Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra II-5-4 to 6)

In the next *Sūtra* there is an option :

But let it be, anyhow, a verse sacred to Savitar.²
(Sāṅkh-Gṛhya-Sūtra II-5-7)

This choice is made clearer in the *Paraskara-Gṛhya-Sūtra* :

Or a *Gāyatrī* to all.³ (II-3-10)

The previous specifications for the three castes are identical with what is given in the *Sāṅkhyāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra*. This explanation based on the number of syllables must be a later exhibition of dry intellectualism. This option must again be a survival of a condition when such distinctions were not made on a community basis.

The true fact must be that these prescriptions have become confined to Brahmins in course of time. We do not find any such differentiation in the earlier stages in the Vedic literature. I will explain the true position. The age at which the study is to terminate is not quite clear. The *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra* says that the study should be for twelve years, or until the study is finished. This latter option seems to be for those who could finish the study earlier.

¹ गायत्री ब्राह्मणायानुव्रयात् । त्रिष्टुभं क्षत्रियाय । जगती वैश्याय ।

² सावित्री त्वेव वा ।

³ सर्वेषां वा गायत्रीम् ।

The studentship for the *Veda* is for twelve years ; or it may be till the study is over.¹

(Ās'v. Gr̥hya-Sūtra I-22-3 and 4)

This period is also found in some other texts. In some texts it is said that the student can remain in the household of the teacher studying the *Vedas* for forty-eight years, devoting twelve years for each *Veda*. That means that he should remain a *Brahmacārin* till he is fifty-six years old if a Brahmin, fifty-nine if a Kshatriya and sixty if a Vaisya. This is an impossibility ; that is not the fit age for the ceremonial "bath" (*snāna*) marking the termination of study and for marriage which should follow the study.

At a time when intensive study of the *Vedas* was confined to the Brahmins, and when such study remained as a mere ceremonial among the other two castes, it was sufficient if the boys of the other two castes started their course later. Although the prescription of the "study of what has been prescribed for one's own study" (*Svādhyāyādhyāyana*) was common to the boys of the three castes in the beginning, this education with a view to acquiring a knowledge of the *Vedas* as fit to be used in the sacrifices became confined to the Brahmins at a later stage. Therefore the purely secular education of the prior stage must have been continued for a longer time among the two other castes, and the Brahmins alone had their *Upanayana* at the age of eight. This may be the

¹ द्वादशवर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यम् । ग्रहणान्तं वा ।

explanation for the differences in the age at which *Vedic* study was started among the various castes.

Although the age at which the *Upanayana* should be performed is definitely fixed, the age at which the study could be terminated is not so rigidly determined. As I have already said, the usual period of study lasts for twelve years. But there is the option of terminating the study when the student is able to finish the entire prescribed course of study in a lesser time.

Even in regard to this period of twelve years as the normal period of study for a student, there is a difference of opinion. Does it include or exclude items like *Mahānāmni*? Some hold that the ceremonial called *Godāna*¹ should be performed sixteen years after *Upanayana* or in the sixteenth year after birth. In this case, it will work out as follows. If the twelve years do not include the *Mahānāmni*, there would be twelve years for the study of the *Veda* and then three years for *Mahānāmni*; and the whole course will end in the sixteenth year. The texts prescribe the *Godāna* for the sixteenth year after birth, that is eight years after *Upanayana*. There is left a period of four years after the *Godāna*. This can be the period for the *Mahānāmni*.

The two views regarding the *Mahānāmni* are given by Devasvāmin in his commentary on the *Āsvalāyana-Gr̥hya-Sūtra* as follows :

There shall be twelve years for the studentship for *Veda*. Now why is the word *Veda* given here ?

¹ These two terms will be explained later.

It is to indicate that this time is only for the ceremony connected with the *Veda*. Therefore the application of *Mahānamni* etc. comes after the twelve years. This being so, the *Godāna* shall be sixteen years after *Upanayana*. This idea is established from the use of the word *Veda*. Otherwise there need not have been the use of the word *Veda*. This is the opinion of some. Others say as follows: *Godāna* comes in the sixteenth year after birth, which is included even within the twelve years, being included in it. There may be no separation of *Mahānamni* etc. either. Why? Because *Mahānamnis* are a part of the *Veda*. Therefore, this specification of time is along with these (*Mahānamnis* etc.).¹

(Devasvāmin's com. on I-22-3)

Those who complete their studies and perform the ceremonial bath are classified in three groups. The commentator Devasvāmin puts it thus:

When the Teacher (*Āśvalāyana*) says so (*i.e.*, till the study is over), there has been indicated three kinds of baths, study bath, observance bath and study-cum-observance bath. He who observed *Brahmacarya*

¹ द्वादशवर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यं वेदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यं भवति । अथ वेदग्रहणं किमर्थं क्रियते । कथं वेदव्रतस्यैवायं कालनियमः स्यादिति । तेन महानाम्निक्वादीनां ऊर्ध्वं द्वादशेभ्यः प्रयोगः । एवं च कृत्वा उपनयनात् प्रभृति षोडशे वर्षे गोदानं भवति । वेदग्रहणादयमर्थः साध्यते । इतरथा हि वेदग्रहणमेव नाकरिष्यत् । एवमेके । अन्ये—जन्मनः प्रभृति षोडशे वर्षे गोदानं द्वादशेष्वेव वर्षेष्वन्तर्भूतं तन्मध्यपातित्वात् । माहानाग्नीनां वापृथग्भावः । कस्मात् । महानाम्नीनां वेदेकदेशत्वात् । तस्मात् सहेबैतः कालनियमोऽयम् ।

for twelve years and completed his study and bathes, is called one who has performed the study-cum-observance bath. He who even before twelve years completed the study and bathes is called one who has performed study bath. He, on the other hand, who observed *Brahmacarya* for twelve years but could not complete his studies and then bathes, is called one who has performed the observance bath.¹

(Devasvāmin's com. on *Āśva Gṛhya-Sūtra* I-22-4)

There are thus three kinds of students who finish their study. Some are able to complete their whole study before the lapse of the prescribed period of twelve years; some are able to finish the study within that prescribed period; there are still others (perhaps only a small minority) who are not able to complete the study during that period (they could only observe the ceremonials). The last set give up a part of their course. There are two parts in the course, one part that is obligatory and another part that is left to the choice of the student. Thus says the commentator:

But he (who could not finish the whole course within the prescribed period) gives up a part of the study and bathes. The study is of two kinds, one to be done in the village and the other in the forest.

¹ एवं च कुर्वताचार्येण त्रिविधं ज्ञानं दर्शितं भवति—विद्याज्ञानं व्रतज्ञानं विद्याव्रतज्ञानं इति । यो द्वादशवर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यं कृत्वा अधीतविद्यः ज्ञानं करोति असौ विद्याव्रतज्ञातकः । यः प्राग्द्वादशवर्षेभ्यो विद्यामधीत्य ज्ञानं करोति असौ विद्याज्ञातकः । यः पुनर्द्वादशवर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यं कृत्वा अनधीतविद्यः स व्रतज्ञातकः ।

Among them, the study of *Mahanamnīs* is obligatory, what are called studies in the forest. He who without acquiring this study, does his bath, though he has acquired various other studies, does not become one who has performed the bath. It is possible to give up the study to be done in the village.¹

We come to this position. Even at present, we have some sort of classification of students who have completed their studies. Some sort of classification existed even in those early days. The clever students could complete their studies in lesser time than is prescribed. The average students completed their course within the prescribed period. A few could not finish the course within the prescribed period. They give up a part of their course.

This shows that the students could not stay at the household of the teacher for a period longer than what has been prescribed. There is no option left to have the whole course finished in a longer period. The question has to be considered why it is that there is a prescription for the student to stay in the household of the teacher for periods of twelve years for each of the *Vedas*, totalling forty-eight years for the four *Vedas*, while there is no provision for a student to stay in the teacher's household for a longer period than twelve

¹ स तु कांचिद्विद्यामुत्सृज्य ज्ञानं करोति । प्राप्स्या आरण्या इत्युभयलक्षणा च विद्या भवति । तत्र च महानात्रीनां नित्यानामध्ययनम् । यां पुनराख्यां ब्रुवते योऽनधीत्येतां विद्यां अधीयमानोऽपि बह्वी विद्यां ज्ञानं करोति स ज्ञातको न भवति । प्राप्स्यां तूत्सृज्य विद्यां शक्यम् ।

years to complete his full course when he is not able to complete it within the twelve years prescribed. When I mentioned the provision for the study of the four *Vedas* during forty-eight years, I expressed some doubt about its genuineness and authenticity. The position must be that the students had to finish their study within this period of twelve years, and those who could not do it were not fit to have the complete course of study. They had to be satisfied with having stayed at the household of the teacher performing all the prescribed ceremonials.

In the matter of the classification, there is a great difference between the ancient system and the modern system. In the old system, whatever part was finished was finished completely, and a part was omitted. At present the system is that all follow the same course, but one could satisfy the needs of education, even if his knowledge is partial, even if he acquires only a certain percentage of the whole knowledge.

IV. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The *Upanayana* is not the first start of the study by a boy. The *Upanayana* is only the start of the *Vedic* study. There must have been some course of studies of an elementary nature prior to the *Upanayana*. There is no evidence of any such initiation to this first study as a *Samskāra* (sacrament). After the birth of a boy and prior to his *Upanayana*, the only sacraments are *Jātakarma* (first purification after

birth), *Nāmkaraṇa* (naming the boy), *Annaprasāna* (first feeding) and *Cūḍākarma* (first shaving the hair and formation of the tuft).

There is a view that at some distant past, there was no need for a preliminary study prior to the *Upanayana* and the start of the *Vedic* studies. The *Upanayana* must have been regularised at such a time. At that time, there was no alphabet known to Indians and there was no grammar also to be learned by the boys. This is a view that has been expressed by some scholars.¹

It is true that there is no mention of a sacrament to mark the first initiation of a boy to writing and reading, except in very recent texts. As matters stand at present, there are two ceremonies performed, one to initiate the boy to write and the second to initiate him to read. The former is more elaborate; in the latter, there is no real religious ceremony attached. But both are now practised, and as separate ceremonies.

I am not at all sure whether the absence of a mention of a ceremony for the first start of the education of a boy, prior to *Upanayana* and *Vedic* study, as a separate sacrament in the texts, is due to the absence of the art of writing and of a grammar to be taught at that time. There are many things which a boy learns in childhood, and every one of them is not associated with a sacrament. The child learns to sit up, to move about, to walk, to swim and so on. There are no sacraments associated with these events in his life.

¹ See Dr. A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, 1934, p. 3.

But there is the ceremony called *Niṣkramaṇa* (moving out of the house) described in the texts; and this is such a simple event. Similarly, even in the matter of education, certain aspects that have a deeper significance are associated with sacraments. This may be the case with *Upanayana*, while there is no sacrament associated with the first initiation into writing and reading. They are done as a matter of course after the *Cūḍākarma* and before the *Upanayana*. Kālidāsa says about Raghu :

He with his *Cūḍākarma* finished and joined along with the sons of ministers of the same age wearing flowing sets of front tufts, entered the whole literature through the proper study of the alphabet, just as one would reach the ocean through the mouth of a river.¹
(*Raghuvamśa* III-28)

In commenting upon this, Mallinātha cites a passage :

But when he has attained the fifth year, one shall have his first initiation to study performed.²

About the *Cūḍākarma*, Manu says :

Even for all the Twice-born, the *Cūḍākarma* must be performed according to rules; it has to be done in the first year or in the third, as has been prescribed in the Vedas.³
(II-35)

¹ स वृत्तचूडश्चलकापक्षकैरमाल्यपुत्रैः सवयोभिरन्वितः ।
लिपेर्यथावदग्रहणेन बाह्म्यं नदीमुखेनेव समुद्रमाविशत् ॥

² प्राप्ते तु पञ्चमे वर्षे विद्यारम्भं च कारयेत् ।

³ चूडा कार्या द्विजातीनां सर्वेषामेव धर्मतः ।
प्रथमेऽन्ये तृतीये वा कर्तव्या श्रुतिबोदनात् ॥

Ās'valāyana prescribes the *Cūdākarma* in the third year :

Caula in the third year ; or according to the Law of the family.¹ (Ās'v. Gṛhya-Sūtra I-17-1)

Saṅkhyāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra has it at the end of the first year, or in the third year. It is in the fifth year for the Kshatriyas and in the seventh for Vaisyas.² *Paraskara-Gṛhya-Sūtra* prescribes *Cūdākarma* at the end of the first year or before the lapse of the third year.³ It cannot therefore be that the *Cūdākarma* is immediately followed by the first initiation to the study of writing and reading.

In the *Uttarāmacarita* of *Bhavabhūti*, it is said that Kus'a and Lava, the sons of Śrī Rāma, had their *Cūdākarma* performed and their education started. Ātreya who could not continue the study at the hermitage of Vālmiki, where the sons of Śrī Rāma were brought up, in so far as she was surpassed in intellectual capacity by these two boys, says to the Vanadevatā (forest nymph) :

But they, being adopted by the great Vālmiki through the responsibility of bringing them up, were protected by him. For them whose *Cūdākarma* was

¹ तृतीये वर्षे चोळम् । यथा कुलधर्मं वा ।

² संवत्सरे चूडाकर्म । तृतीये वा वर्षे । पञ्चमे क्षत्रियस्य । सप्तमे वैश्यस्य (I, 28. 1 to 4).

³ सांवत्सरिकस्य चूडाकरणम् । तृतीये वाप्रतिहृते (II. 1. 1, 12).

performed, the three-fold studies, avoiding the three-fold (*Veda*) were well taught.¹ (Act II)

All that we can say from this is that the first initiation into writing and reading was performed after *Cūdākarma* and prior to *Upanayana*. Three years is too early an age for a boy to start practice of writing and reading. It may be said that for Kshatriyas, the age for *Cūdākarma* is five, and, as such, the first initiation into writing and reading can follow the *Cūdākarma* immediately. If it is so, it is only a chance coincidence and not a rule. It is not said, as some scholars have asserted,² that the education of a prince should commence at the time of the *Cūdākarma*, and for this the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya has been cited as authority. But the *Arthasāstra* makes no such prescription. All that is said in that text is :

Sciences shall be studied and their precepts strictly observed under the authority of specialists teachers ; having undergone the ceremony of tonsure, the student shall learn the alphabet and arithmetic. After the sacramental initiation, he shall study the Triple *Vedas* and the science of logic under proper authorities, economics under Heads of Departments, and the science of Government under

¹ तौ तु भगवता वाल्मीकिना धात्रीकर्मतः परिगृह्य पोषितौ रक्षितौ च । निवृत्त-चोडकर्मणोस्तयोस्त्रयोवर्जमितरास्तिस्रो विद्याः सावधानेन परिनिष्ठापिताः ।

² Dr. A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, 1935. p. 4.

politicians who have both theoretical and practical knowledge.¹

Here it would be found that Kālidāsa is practically reproducing the words of the *Arthasāstra*, and Bhavabhūti says that Kuṣa and Lava were at that stage taught only the three subjects of study, outside the three-fold *Veda*. The three-fold *Veda* is to be taught only after *Upanayana*. Vīrarāghava in his commentary on the above passage in the *Uttararāmacarita* says that the three subjects taught were *Āyurveda*, *Dhanurveda* and *Gandharvaveda* (medicine, archery and music). Putting the *Arthasāstra*, the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Uttararāmacarita* together, we find that after *Cūḍākarma* and prior to the *Upanayana*, there must have been some education imparted to the boys, which consisted of writing and reading, elements of grammar, literature and a few *Sāstras*. *Vedic* study along with the *Vedāṅgas* started only after the *Upanayana*.

From the details of the *Upanayana* ceremony and from the duties prescribed for a student after the *Upanayana*, it is certain that the boy must have been having some previous education, which might have consisted mainly of language and literature and a few *Sāstras*, besides the practice in writing and reading. Thus we find that there are two stages in the education of a child; first there is the elementary education at

¹ विद्यानां तु यथास्वमाचार्यश्रमाण्याद्विनयो नियमश्च । इतौळकर्मा लिपि संख्यानं चोपयुजीत । इतोपनयनं कुर्यादानीं शिक्षको न शिष्टेभ्यो वार्तामध्यक्षेभ्यो दण्डनीतिं वक्तुं प्रयोक्तव्यः (P. 10 in Mysore Ed. 1909).

home, consisting of practice in writing and reading, language and literature and a few *Sāstras*; then there is the *Upanayana* and the study of the *Vedas*. This study of the *Vedas* along with the *Vedāṅgas* after the *Upanayana*, is obligatory; and as preparatory to this obligatory *Vedic* study, the elementary education at home prior to the *Upanayana* must also be taken as obligatory.

V. BRĀHMAṆAS

This obligatory study, usually styled *Svādhyāyādhyayana* (study of what has been prescribed for one's own study) has been glorified in the *Taittirīyāranyaka* and in the *Satapatha-Brahmana*. The second *Prapāthaka* (Book) of the *Taittirīyāranyaka* starts with a description of the *Yajñopavita* (the sacred thread worn by the "Twice-born", which is necessary for the study of the *Vedas*):

Therefore one with a sacred thread alone shall study, shall minister at sacrifices, shall sacrifice, for the proper process of the sacrifice.¹

There is also prescribed the skin and the garment, which too are found in the *Grhya-Sūtras*.

wearing on the right side a skin or a garment²

Then in the second *Anuvāka* (Chapter) the morning, noon and evening oblations (*Sandhyāvandana*) is glorified. It is in the fifteenth *Anuvāka* that the *Svādhyāyādhyayana* (the study of what has prescribed

¹ तस्माद्यज्ञोपवीत्येवाधीयीत याजयेद्यजेत वा यज्ञस्य प्रसृत्ये ।

² आजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीय ।

for one's own study) has been formally enjoined. The passage is:

Therefore what has been prescribed for one's own study should be studied ; and that sacrifice which one studies, through that and that there accrues one's desires ; there comes about union with Fire, Wind, Sun.¹ Prior to this, various details are given like the five great sacrifices (*Mahayajñas*) of which the recitation of the *Veda* (*Brahmayajña*) is one. There is also described the days proper for study and the days on which there shall be no study. In the case of the recitation of the *Vedas*, it is said that the study should be in the forest.

One who proposes to sacrifice with the recitation of the *Vedas* shall first sip water three times, going to the eastern direction, at a distance from the village from whence one cannot see the roof of the village house², facing the north or the north-east, when the sun rises, wearing the garment on the right side, sitting, keeping the hands washed ; then he shall wipe the face twice, once touch the head, the eyes, the nose, the ears, the heart. (II-11)

¹ तस्मात् स्वाध्यायोऽप्येतव्यो यं यं कर्तुमर्थाते तेन तेनात्येष्टं भवत्यमेवायोरदित्यस्य सायुज्यं गच्छति ।

² This is what is meant by the term अच्छिर्दर्शः ; Sāyaṇa gives that explanation—गृहस्योपर्याच्छादनार्थानि तृणकटादीनि छर्दीषि । यावति दूरे तानि न दृश्यन्ते तावददूरमच्छिर्दर्शम् । तत्र गत्वा ।

³ ब्रह्मयज्ञेन यक्ष्यमाणः प्राच्यां दिशि प्रामादच्छिर्दर्श उदीच्यां प्रागुदीच्यां बोदित आदित्ये दक्षिणत उपवीयोपविश्य हस्तावनिज्य त्रिराचमेदद्विः परिमृज्य सकृदुपहृत्य शिरश्चक्षुषी नासिके भ्रोत्रे हृदयमालभ्य ।

इन्द्रादिकानां देवानां मध्ये ब्रह्मा चतुर्मुखः ।
भूत्वा नियामकत्वेन परमेशोऽवतिष्ठते ॥ १७४ ॥
कवीनां काव्यशास्त्रादेः कर्तृणां पदवीरयम् ।
पदं सुशब्दं वेतीति शब्दसामर्थ्यबोधवान् ॥ १७५ ॥
व्यासवाल्मीकिमुख्यो यस्तद्रुपश्चावतिष्ठते ।
ऋषिर्वसिष्ठप्रमुखस्तत्तद्गोत्रप्रवर्तकः ॥ १७६ ॥
चतुष्पदां तु महिषः शक्त्याधिक्येन संयुतः ।
बभूव प्रबलः श्येनः सर्वेषां पक्षिणामपि ॥ १७७ ॥
वृक्षौघानां छेदनार्थं परशुश्च बभूव सः ।
सोमवल्क्यात्मको रेभन्पवित्रं शुद्धिकारणम् ॥ १७८ ॥
मन्त्रशब्देन युक्तः सन्नत्येत्यखिलमेव सः ।

अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां

बर्हीं प्रजां जनयन्तीं सारूपाम् ।

अजो ह्येको जुषमाणोऽनुशेते

जहात्येनां भुक्तभोगामजोऽन्यः ॥

चतुर्मुखादिदेहेषु विशेषेण स्थितिं विभोः ॥ १७९ ॥

व्यवहारस्य समये संकीर्त्याथ प्रदर्श्यते ।

अविद्यामुपजीव्यात्र बद्धमुक्तव्यवस्थितिः ॥ १८० ॥

तेजोऽन्नानि संपाद्य तद्रूपाया यदा तदा ।

लोहितादिकवर्णा स्याद्यदमेरिति हि श्रुतिः ॥ १८१ ॥

तेज इति ; अजा तेजआदीनि संपाद्य तद्रूपा यदा स्यात्तदेत्यन्वयः ।

“यदमे रोहितं रूपं तेजसस्तद्रूपं यच्छुक्लं तदपां यत्कृष्णं तदन्नस्य”
(छान्दोग्ये ६-४-१.) इति श्रुतेरित्यर्थः ।

लोहितादिकशब्दैर्वा रजःसत्त्वनमोगुणाः ।
 उपलक्ष्यास्तथाचेयं स्याद्गुणत्रितयात्मिका ॥ १८२ ॥
 गुणत्रयात्मकत्वेन सरूपा या प्रजा भवेत् ।
 तां समुत्पादयत्येका तामजो जनिवर्जितः ॥ १८३ ॥
 जीवः सक्तो विरक्तश्च तत्रैकः सक्तिमानजः ।
 प्रीत्या संसेवमानः सन्ननुशेते विमूढधीः ॥ १८४ ॥
 यथोक्तामनुसृत्यैव वर्तते याति संसृतिम् ।
 अन्यो विरक्तजीवस्तु भुक्तभोगां जहाति ताम् ॥ १८५ ॥
 प्रागेव भुक्ता भोगा ये नोपरिष्ठात्तथाविधैः ।
 भोगैर्युक्तां भुक्तभोगां तत्त्वज्ञानेन बाधते ॥ १८६ ॥
 संघातमानी बद्धः स्यात्तद्विहीनो विमुच्यते ।

व्यवस्थां व्यक्तीकरोति—संघातेति ।

इक्ष्मः शुचिषदसुरन्तरिक्षम-

द्धोता वेदिपदतिथिर्दुरोणसत् ।

नृपद्वरसदृतसद्वयोपसदब्जा

गोजा ऋतजा अद्रिजा ऋतं बृहत् ॥

ज्ञानबाधितमायस्य भाति ब्रह्मात्मना जगत् ॥ १८७ ॥
 इति प्रदर्श्यतेऽर्थोऽयमतो जगदनूयते ।
 सर्वदा गच्छतीत्यर्को हंसोऽयं शुद्धमण्डले ॥ १८८ ॥
 ज्योतिर्मये सीदतीति शुचिषत्परिर्कीर्तितः ।
 जगन्निवासहेतुत्वाद्भुः सूत्रात्मरूपतः ॥ १८९ ॥
 वायुः सन्नन्तरिक्षेऽयं सीदतीत्यन्तरिक्षसत् ।
 होतामिहोमजनकस्तद्रूपो वेदिसंस्थितः ॥ १९० ॥

सीदत्यतिथिरूपेण दुरोणेषु गृहेष्वयम् ।
 कर्माधिकारिजीवः सन् नृषु मर्त्येषु संस्थितः ॥ १९१ ॥
 वरसच्छ्रेष्ठकाश्यादौ पूज्यदेवात्मना स्थितः ।
 ऋतसत्फलरूपेण वैदिके कर्मणि स्थितः ॥ १९२ ॥
 नक्षत्रादिकरूपेण व्योमस्थो व्योमसद्भवेत् ।
 अद्भ्यो जलेभ्यः संजातः शङ्खनक्रादिरूपतः ॥ १९३ ॥
 गोजाः क्षीरादिरूपेण गोभ्यः संजात उच्यते ।
 ऋतजाः सत्यवचनाज्जातः कीर्तिस्वरूपतः ॥ १९४ ॥
 वृक्षादिरूपतोऽद्रिभ्यो जात इत्यद्रिजाः स्मृतः ।
 ऋतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म हंस इत्यादिनोदितम् ॥ १९५ ॥
 यज्जगत्तत्समस्तं च ब्रह्मैव ज्ञानिदृष्टितः ।

यमाज्जाता न परा नैव किंच-

नास य आविवेश भुवनानि विश्वा ।

प्रजापतिः प्रजया संविदान-

स्त्रीणि ज्योतींषि सचते स षोडशी ॥

जगदात्मत्वमुक्तं यत्तदत्र प्रतिपाद्यते ॥ १९६ ॥
 सृष्टेरूर्ध्वं समुत्पन्नाः प्रजा यस्मान्महेश्वरात् ।
 परा न व्यतिरिक्ताः स्युर्नापि तत्पूर्वभाविनः ॥ १९७ ॥

सृष्टेः पूर्ववर्तिप्रजा नेश्वरादन्या इत्यर्थः ।

सृष्टेः पूर्वं ब्रह्मभिन्नं वस्तु नैवास किंचन ।
 श्रुत्यन्तरं ह्येकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म संश्रुतम् ॥ १९८ ॥
 नापि चेतनजीवस्य ब्रह्मान्यत्वमुपेयते ।

य ईशः सर्वलोकस्थान् देहाज्जीवात्मनाविशन् ॥ १९९ ॥
 अनेन जीवेनेत्यादिश्रुतिसंकीर्तितत्वनः ।
 प्रजापालक ईशोऽयं प्रजयोत्पन्नात्मनः ॥ २०० ॥
 तादात्म्यं लभमानः सन् वर्तते किंच सोऽच्युतः ।
 त्रीणि ज्योतीषि सचतं समर्वति तदात्मकः ॥ २०१ ॥
 अग्न्यर्कचन्द्ररूपाणि ज्योतीर्षीत्यर्थ ईरितः ।
 प्रश्नोपनिषदुक्ता याः कलाः षोडश तद्युतः ॥ २०२ ॥
 तत्कलारूपजगता तादात्म्यात्षोडशी शिवः ।

विधर्तारं हवामहे वसोः कुविद्वनाति नः ।

सवितारं नृचक्षसम् ॥

मन्त्राः केचिदिहोच्यन्ते सर्वेशप्रार्थनात्मकाः ॥ २०३ ॥
 ब्रह्मविज्ञानलाभाय वेदेन हितकाणि ।
 वसोर्ज्ञानस्य दातारं विधर्तारं विशेषतः ॥ २०४ ॥

विशेषतो दातारमित्यन्वयः ।

अस्मद्बुद्धेः प्रेरकत्वात्मवितारं नृचक्षमम् ।
 तत्त्वविद्याप्रवक्तारं नृणामाचार्यरूपतः ॥ २०५ ॥
 अस्मत्प्रसादसिद्धयर्थमाह्वयामो महेश्वरम् ।
 कुत्स्नभूतं ज्ञानाख्यं धनमीशो ददाति नः ॥ २०६ ॥

अद्या नो देव सवितः प्रजावत्सारीः सौभगम् ।

परा दुष्प्रमियं सुव ॥

हे देव प्रेरकाद्यास्मिन् दिने विद्याभिलाषिणाम् ।
 नः शिष्यादिप्रजोपेतं भाग्यमाचार्यतात्मकम् ॥ २०७ ॥

सावीः प्रयच्छ द्वैतं च स्वप्नतुल्यं पराकुरु ।

विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुरितानि परासुव ।

यद्भद्रं तन्म आसुव ॥

सर्वाण्यघानि ज्ञानस्य प्रतिबन्धान् विनाशय ॥ २०८ ॥
 असंभावनया हीनं विपर्ययविवर्जितम् ।
 यदस्ति तत्त्वविज्ञानं तत्साकल्येन देहि मे ॥ २०९ ॥

मधु वाता ऋतायते मधु क्षरन्ति सिन्धवः ।

माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधीः ॥

ऋतं ब्रह्मेच्छते मह्यं वाता वान्तु सुखावहाः ।
 स्याद्वायौ प्रबले रोगो विघ्नस्तत्त्वधियो यतः ॥ २१० ॥
 अतो वायोरानुकूल्यं प्रार्थ्यते ज्ञानकामिना ।
 नद्यः संपादयन्त्वम्बु मधुरं रोगनाशकम् ॥ २११ ॥
 व्रीह्याद्या मधुराः सन्तु पथ्यरूपा भवन्तु नः ।

मधु नक्तमुतोषसि मधुप्रत्यार्थिवं रजः ।

मधु द्यौरस्तु नः पिता ॥

रात्रौ दिवा च नोऽस्माकं सुखमस्त्वनुकूलतः ॥ २१२ ॥
 मा भूत्कालकृतो विघ्नो ज्ञानस्येत्यर्थ ईरितः ।
 अनुकूलत इति ; सार्वविभक्तिकस्तसिः । अनुकूलमित्यर्थः ।

पार्थिवं शयनादिस्थं रजो मधुमदस्तु नः ॥ २१३ ॥
 अनुकूलं तदप्यस्तु कण्टकादिविवर्जितम् ।
 द्यौः पिता पृथिवी मातेत्येवं श्रुत्या पिता हि सा ॥ ११४ ॥

मधुमान्नो वनस्पतिर्मधुमाꣳ अस्तु सूर्यः ।

माध्वीर्गावो भवन्तु नः ॥

चूतादिर्मधुमानस्तु मधुरैरन्वितः फलैः ।

अस्त्वेष जीवनोपायो नोऽस्मान् प्रति महीरुहः ॥ २१५ ॥

अकृत्वाधिकसंतापमनुकूलप्रकाशयुक् ।

सूर्योऽस्तु गावो माध्वीर्नो मधुरक्षीरसंयुताः ॥ २१६ ॥

घृतं मिमिक्षे घृतमस्य योनि-

घृते श्रितो घृतमुवस्य धाम ।

अनुष्वधमावह मादयस्व

स्वाहाकृतं वृषभ वसि हव्यम् ॥

देहानुकूल्यं संप्रार्थ्य भोगस्य सकलस्य च ।

ज्ञानहेतुक्रियाहेतोर्गमेस्तत्त्वार्थ्यनेऽत्र तु ॥ २१७ ॥

तत् ; आनुकूल्यम् ।

घृतमग्नौ सिक्तवन्तो यज्ञमानाः पुरातनाः ।

हेतुर्वहेर्घृतं तेन ज्वालानामभिवृद्धितः ॥ २१८ ॥

अतो घृते श्रितो वह्निर्घृतमेवास्य धाम च ।

अनुसृत्य स्वधामन्नमस्मदीयं हविर्वह ॥ २१९ ॥

देवानन्त्रानयानीय मादयस्व मुदान्वितान् ।

कुरु हे वृषभश्रेष्ठ हव्यं स्वाहाकृतं वह ॥ २२० ॥

स्वाहाकारेण चाग्निमभिर्दत्तं प्रापय देवताः ।

हविर्वहेति ; आवहन्ति यावत् । तस्यैवार्थो देवानन्त्रानयेति ।

समुद्रादूर्मिर्मधुमाꣳ उदार-

दुपाꣳशुना सममृतत्वमानद् ।

घृतस्य नाम गुह्यं यदस्ति

जिह्वा देवानाममृतस्य नाभिः ॥

समुद्रवत्समधिकात्परिपूर्णपरात्मनः ॥ २२१ ॥

ऊर्मितुल्यप्रपञ्चोऽयं मधुमान् भोग्य उत्थितः ।

अवधेस्तरङ्गवत्सर्वं भोग्यमीशादजायत ॥ २२२ ॥

घृतं दीप्तं स्वप्रकाशं तस्य प्रणवलक्षणम् ।

नाम सर्वेषु वेदेषु यद्गोप्यं विद्यते महत् ॥ २२३ ॥

घृतमिति ; “ घृ क्षरणदीप्त्योः ” इति धातुः ।

तेन प्रणवरूपेणोपांशुना ध्यानकालतः ।

शनैरुच्चार्यमाणेनामृतत्वं नाशवर्जितम् ॥ २२४ ॥

ब्रह्मानद् सम्यगाप्नोति तच्च जिह्वा दिवौकसाम् ।

तैर्ध्यानतत्परैर्नित्यं कीर्त्यत्वादास्यमध्यतः ॥ २२५ ॥

वर्तते किंच मोक्षस्य नाभिराश्रय उच्यते ।

एतद्धचेवाक्षरं ज्ञात्वा यो यदिच्छति तस्य तत् ॥ २२६ ॥

इति श्रुत्यन्तरोक्तत्वादनेनाप्यं हि तत्फलम् ।

एतस्यामृचि तारस्य मोक्षसाधनतोदिता ॥ २२७ ॥

वयं नाम प्रब्रवामा घृतेना-

स्मिन्यज्ञे धारयामा नमोभिः ।

उप ब्रह्मा मृणवच्छस्यमानं

चतुःशृङ्गोऽवमीद्वोर एतत् ॥

अस्मिन् यज्ञे ज्ञानयज्ञे वयं ज्ञानाभिलाषिणः ।
 ब्रह्मात्मना निमित्तेन नाम प्रणवसंज्ञकम् ॥ २२८ ॥
 प्रब्रवामोच्चारयामो ध्यायन्तः सर्वदा ततः ।
 नमस्कारैर्युताश्चित्ते धारयामो महेश्वरम् ॥ २२९ ॥
 शस्यमानं स्तूयमानमस्माभिः प्रणवेन च ।
 ब्रह्मैतच्छ्रूयमाणं च पार्श्वस्थं ब्रह्मवेदिभिः ॥ २३० ॥
 अकारादिकनादान्तचतुःशृङ्गसमन्वितः ।
 प्रणवाख्यो वृषः श्रोतो वान्तवान्प्रत्यपादयत् ॥ २३१ ॥

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा
 द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
 त्रिधा बद्धो वृषधो रोरवाति
 महो देवो मर्त्याः आविवेश ॥

प्रणवप्रतिपाद्यत्वादस्य प्रणवरूपिणः ।
 अकारादीनि चत्वारि शृङ्गाणि परमात्मनः ॥ २३२ ॥
 ब्रह्मैभिर्गम्यते तत्त्वमिति पादाः समीरिताः ।
 विश्वश्च तैजसः प्राज्ञ इत्यध्यात्मं त्रयोऽङ्गप्रयः ॥ २३३ ॥
 विराड्द्विरण्यगर्भश्चाव्याकृतश्चाधिदेवतम् ।
 द्वे शक्ती चिदचिद्रूपे शिरःस्थाने समीरिते ॥ २३४ ॥
 भूरादयः सप्त लोकाः हस्ताः स्युः परमात्मनः ।
 विश्वादिभिर्विराडार्धस्त्रिधाकारादिषु त्रिषु ॥ २३५ ॥
 संबद्धः प्रणवो ब्रह्म प्रतिपादयति स्फुटम् ।
 स्पष्टं प्रणववेद्यं तद्देव इत्यादिनोच्यते ॥ २३६ ॥
 प्रविष्टः सर्वतो मर्त्यान्नरदेहान्महेश्वरः ।

नखाग्रावधिदेहेऽयं संप्रविष्ट इति श्रुतिः ॥ २३७ ॥

त्रिधा हितं पणिभिर्गुह्यमानं
 गवि देवासो घृतमन्वविन्दन् ।
 इन्द्र एकं सूर्य एकं जजान
 वेनादेकं स्वधया निष्ठतक्षुः ॥

देहे विश्वादिसंज्ञेन त्रिप्रकारेण संस्थितम् ।
 विराडादिकसंज्ञेन ब्रह्माण्डे च त्रिधा स्थितम् ॥ २३८ ॥
 गोप्यमानं रहस्यत्वादाचार्यैर्ब्रह्म भास्वरम् ।
 लब्धवन्तो महावाक्चे देववत्सात्त्विका नराः ॥ २३९ ॥
 यत् त्रिधा हितमित्युक्तमेतदेव विविच्यते ।
 समुत्पादितवानेकं विराड् जागरणात्मकम् ॥ २४० ॥
 हिरण्यगर्भोऽजनयत्स्वप्नरूपं प्रभाववान् ।
 सुषुप्तरूपं संजातं वेनादव्याकृतात्मनः ॥ २४१ ॥
 वेनेति कान्तिकर्मा स्यात्सर्वदुःखविवर्जनात् ।
 कमनीयोऽव्याकृतः स्यादित्येवमवगम्यताम् ॥ २४२ ॥

वेनेति ; धातुरिति शेषः ।

धीयते स्थाप्यते स्वस्मिन्निति ब्रह्मात्मिका चित्तिः ।
 आश्रयान्तरहीनेयं स्वधाशब्देन कीर्त्यते ॥ २४३ ॥
 तयोत्पादितवन्तस्ते त्रयो जागरणादिकम् ।

यो देवानां प्रथमं पुरस्ता-
 द्विधाधिको रुद्रो महर्षिः ।
 हिरण्यगर्भं पश्यत जायमानं
 स नो देवः शुभया स्मृत्या संयुनक्तु ॥

द्रव्येति रुदं शब्दं वैदिकं रुद्र उच्यते ॥ २४४ ॥
 वेदगम्यो महाऽश्रेष्ठोऽतीन्द्रियो द्रष्टृमध्यतः ।
 हिरण्यगर्भं यो देवः पश्यति स्वप्रकाशचित् ॥ २४५ ॥
 आदिभूतं समस्तानामिन्द्रादीनां दिवौकसाम् ।
 पुरस्ताज्जन्मनां कीर्त्या देवानां जन्मतः पुरा ॥ २४६ ॥
 पुरस्ताज्जन्मसंकीर्त्या तत्पाथम्यं स्फुटीकृतम् ।
 स देवः शुभया स्मृत्या सर्वसंसारघातिना ॥ २४७ ॥
 ब्रह्मस्मृत्या संयुनक्तु संयुक्तान् प्रकरोतु नः ।
 मन्त्रोऽयं ब्रह्मविद्यायाः प्राप्तये जप्यतां बुधैः ॥ २४८ ॥
 इति प्रतीयतेऽस्माकं मन्त्रलिङ्गस्य तत्त्वतः ।

यस्मात्परं नापरमस्ति किञ्चि-

यस्माद्भाणीयो न ज्यायोऽस्ति कश्चित् ।

वृक्ष इव स्तब्धो दिवि तिष्ठ-

त्येकस्तेनेदं पूर्णं पुरुषेण सर्वम् ॥

यदुक्तं शुभयेत्यादि स्मर्तव्यं तदिहोच्यते ॥ २४९ ॥
 उत्कृष्टमपकृष्टं वा वस्तु यस्मान्न विद्यते ।
 नाल्पं यस्माद्ब्रह्मणोऽस्ति नाधिकं वस्तु किञ्चन ॥ २५० ॥
 गुणोत्कर्षापकर्षौ तु परापरपरोदितौ ।
 मानोत्कर्षादिकं प्रोक्तं ज्यायइत्यादिशब्दतः ॥ २५१ ॥
 सर्वथा तन्निषेधेनाद्वितीयत्वं हि सिध्यति ।

उत्कर्षापकर्षनिषेधेनेत्यर्थः ।

वृक्षः स्तब्धो यथैकत्र गत्यादिरहितस्तथा ॥ २५२ ॥

स्वप्रकाशस्वरूपोऽसौ निर्विकारोऽवतिष्ठते ।
 तेनेदं पूर्णमखिलं पुरुषेण परात्मना ॥ २५३ ॥
 नास्त्येव जगदाकारो परमात्मैव संस्थितः ।

न कर्मणा न प्रजया धनेन

त्यागेनैके अमृतत्वमानशुः ।

परेण नाकं निहितं गुहायां

विभ्राजते यद्यतयो विशन्ति ॥

ब्रह्मस्मृतावन्तरङ्गं त्यागो हेतुरिहोच्यते ॥ २५४ ॥
 तच्चामृतत्वं न प्राप्यमग्निहोत्रादिकर्मणा ।
 पुत्रादिना धनेनापि किंतु कर्मादिहानतः ॥ २५५ ॥
 व्यापाराणां लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च वर्जनात् ।
 केचिदन्तर्मुखा एवामृतत्वं प्राप्नुवन्ति तत् ॥ २५६ ॥
 जितेन्द्रिया यद्विशन्ति तत्स्वर्गादुत्तमं च सत् ।
 एकाग्रबुद्धिनिष्ठं सद्विशेषेण प्रकाशते ॥ २५७ ॥
 अन्तर्मुखैः सद्भिरेव ब्रह्म तच्चानुभूयते ।

वेदान्तविज्ञानसुनिश्चितार्थाः

संन्यासयोगाद्यतयः शुद्धसत्त्वाः ।

ते ब्रह्मलोके तु परान्तकाले

परामृताः परिमुच्यन्ति सर्वे ॥

दहं विपाप्यं परमेशभूतं

यत्पुण्डरीकं पुरमध्यसंस्थम् ।

तत्रापि दहं गगनं विशोक-

स्तस्मिन्यदन्तस्तदुपासितव्यम् ॥

यो वेदादौ स्वरः मोक्तो
वेदान्ते च प्रकृतिष्ठितः ।
तस्य प्रकृतिर्लीनस्य
यः परः स महेश्वरः ॥

त्यागस्य मोक्षहेतुत्वं पूर्वस्यामृचि कीर्तितम् ॥ २५८ ॥
ज्ञानस्य तरतीत्यादौ श्रुतौ तद्वहुशः श्रुतम् ।
अतस्तयोः पृथङ् मुक्तावुपयोगोऽत्र वर्ण्यते ॥ २५९ ॥
विरोधपरिहाराय तयोः श्रुत्योर्यथोक्तयोः ।
वेदान्तवाक्यजज्ञाननिश्चितात्मैक्यशालिनः ॥ २६० ॥
संन्यासपूर्वको योगः सर्ववृत्तिविनिग्रहः ।
तस्माद्विशुद्धसत्त्वाश्च भोगव्यावृत्तचेतसः ॥ २६१ ॥
अतो नियमनासक्ता यतयः परिकीर्तिताः ।
ज्ञानं तत्त्वस्य संस्कृत्याविद्याया विनिवर्तकम् ॥ २६२ ॥
त्यागो निवर्तयेद्भोगं चित्तशुद्धेस्तु कारणम् ।
इति मुक्तौ तयोरुक्ता पृथगेवोपयोगिता ॥ २६३ ॥
ब्रह्मसंदर्शने जानं ते संसारविलक्षणाः ।
वैलक्षण्यद्योतनार्थस्तुशब्दः परिकीर्तितः ॥ २६४ ॥
अज्ञाननाशे देहस्य पतनावसरः स्मृतः ।
परान्तकालो भूयश्च देहग्रहणवर्तनान् ॥ २६५ ॥
तस्मिन् सर्वे विमुच्यन्ते देवा वा मानुषास्तथा ।
उत्तमाधमभावस्तु भवेदत्राप्रयोजकः ॥ २६६ ॥
जगद्धेतुतयोत्कृष्टममृतं नाशवर्जितम् ।
तत्त्वज्ञानं विना लब्ध्वाव्याकृतं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ २६७ ॥

अव्याकृताद्विमुच्यन्ते ज्ञानिनो देहपाततः ।
तत्काल एवेत्यर्थः ।

अज्ञानिनस्तु प्रलये देहबन्धे गतेऽपि च ॥ २६८ ॥
अज्ञानान्न हि मुच्यन्ते मुच्यन्ते ज्ञानिनस्तदा ।
दहं विपाप्ममित्याद्या व्याख्याताः पद्यरूपतः ॥ २६९ ॥
न्यायरत्नावलीग्रन्थ इति चात्रोपरम्यते ।

इति दशमोऽनुवाकः^१

आदित्यो वा एष एतन्मण्डलं तपति तत्र ता ऋचस्तद्वचा
मण्डलं स ऋचां लोकोऽयं य एष एतस्मिन्मण्डलेऽर्चिर्दीप्यते तानि
सामानि स साम्नां लोकोऽयं य एष एतस्मिन् मण्डलेऽर्चिषि पुरुषस्तानि
यजूंषि स यजुषा मण्डलं स यजुषां लोकः सैषा त्रयैव विश्वा
तपति य एषोऽन्तरादित्ये हिरण्यः पुरुषः ।

रविबिम्बे परेशस्योपासनं कथ्यतेऽधुना ॥ २७० ॥
पूर्वानुवाकामिहितो यो नारायणशब्दितः ।
स एष रविरूपेण वर्तते परमेश्वरः ॥ २७१ ॥
दृश्यमानं रवेरेतद्वर्तुलाकारमण्डलम् ।
तेजःपुञ्जं तपत्युष्णं तत्र तस्मिन् मण्डले ॥ २७२ ॥
ताः प्रसिद्धा ऋचः सन्ति तत्तस्मात्कारणाद्वचः ।
निष्पादितं मण्डलं स्याद्वचस्तन्मानिदेवताः ॥ २७३ ॥
तासां स बिम्बभागोऽयं निवासः परिकीर्तितः ।
ऋगात्मकत्वं बिम्बस्य ध्यात्वाथ तदनन्तरम् ॥ २७४ ॥
यदेतन्मण्डले तेजो भास्वरं संप्रकाशते ।
इतः परमेकादशादशानुवाकौ न विस्तौ ।

तानि तेजःस्वरूपाणि सामानीति विचिन्तयेत् ॥ २७५ ॥
 सोऽर्चिर्भागो निवासः स्यात्साम्नां तदभिमानिनाम् ।
 सामध्यानानन्तरं च चिन्तयेद्यजुरात्मकम् ॥ २७६ ॥
 शास्त्रप्रसिद्धो देवात्मा मण्डलेऽर्चिषि वर्तते ।
 तानि देवस्वरूपाणि यजूर्णीति विचिन्तयेत् ॥ २७७ ॥
 यजुरात्मा स च पुमान्यजुषा कृतमण्डलम् ।
 इति ध्यायेद्यजुर्भागः स यजुर्देवतालयः ॥ २७८ ॥
 यन्मण्डलं यदर्चिश्च तत्रत्यपुरुषश्च यः ।
 एतत्त्रितयरूपैषा विद्या त्रयैव भासते ॥ २७९ ॥

ऋग्यजुःसामात्मिकैवेत्यर्थः ।

अत्रोक्तो यः पुमानेष रविमण्डलमध्यगः ।

हिरण्यमयोऽस्ति तत्त्वं च प्रसिद्धमितरत्र हि ॥ २८० ॥

हिरण्यमयत्वं च शास्त्रान्तरे प्रसिद्धमित्यर्थः । “अथ य एषोऽन्त-
 रादित्यो हिरण्यमयः पुरुषो दृश्यते” इति श्रुतेः (छन्दोग्ये १-६-६) ।

इति त्रयोदशोऽनुवाकः

आदित्यो वै तेज ओजो बलं यशश्चक्षुः श्रोत्रमात्मा मनो मन्यु-
 र्मेनुर्मृत्युः सत्यो मित्रो वायुराकाशः प्राणो लोकपालः कः किं कं तत्सत्य-
 मन्नमायुरमृतो जीवो विश्वः कतमः स्वयंभुः प्रजापतिः संवत्सर इति
 संवत्सरोऽसावादित्यो य एष पुरुष एष भूतानामधिपतिर्ब्रह्मणः
 सायुज्यं सलोकतामामोत्येतासामेव देवतानां सायुज्यं सार्ष्टितां समा-
 नलोकतामामोति य एवं वेदेत्युपनिषत् ।

सर्वात्मकत्वरूपं च प्राहोपास्यगुणं रवेः ।

उपास्यत्वेन यः प्रोक्तः पूर्वमर्कः स एव च ॥ २८१ ॥

तेजआद्यधिपत्यन्तसमस्तजगदात्मकः ।

बलहेतुर्भवेदोजो देहशक्तिर्बलं स्मृतम् ॥ २८२ ॥

आत्मा देहो मनश्चित्तं मन्युः क्रोधः समीरितः ।

मनुः स्वायंभुवादिः स्यान्मृत्युर्यम उदीरितः ॥ २८३ ॥

स्युर्देवताविशेषास्तु सत्याद्यास्ते च संस्फुटाः ।

कः प्रजापतिरित्युक्तः किंशब्देन तदुच्यते ॥ २८४ ॥

वाचा विशेषतो वक्तुमयोग्यं वस्तु यद्वेत् ।

कं सुखं तत्परोक्षं स्यात्सत्यं त्वनृतवर्जनम् ॥ २८५ ॥

अन्नं व्रीह्यादिरायुस्तु शतसंवत्सरादिकम् ।

अमृतो मृतिहीनः स्याच्चिदात्मा जीव उच्यते ॥ २८६ ॥

स च देहविभेदेन विश्वो नानाविधः स्मृतः ।

अतीव सुखरूपोऽयं कतमः परिकीर्तितः ॥ २८७ ॥

अनुत्पन्नः स्वयंभुः स्याच्छान्दसं तु स्वयं त्विति ।

प्रजापालकराजादिः प्रजापतिरितीरितः ॥ २८८ ॥

इतिः प्रदर्शनार्थः स्यादित्यादिसकलस्य च ।

आदित्यजत्वादादित्यः संवत्सर उदीरितः ॥ २८९ ॥

य एष पुरुषः सर्वः स एव प्राणिनामपि ।

भवत्यधिपतिः स्वामीत्येवं मन्तार्थ ईरितः ॥ २९० ॥

सर्वः सर्वात्मक इत्यर्थः ।

उक्तोपास्यगुणानेवं फलमत्र प्रदर्श्यते ।

उपास्ते यः पुमानेवं स सायुज्याद्यवाप्नुयात् ॥ २९१ ॥

हिरण्यगर्भोपास्तिश्च तदङ्गानामुपासनम् ।

इत्युपास्तिर्द्विधाये च भावनातिशये सति ॥ २९.२ ॥

हिरण्यगर्भसायुज्यं तादृष्यं प्रतिपद्यते ।

भावनामन्दतायां च तत्सालोक्यं समश्नुते ॥ २९.३ ॥

द्वितीये भावनाधिक्ये देवसायुज्यमश्नुते ।

भावनामध्यतायां च समानैश्वर्यमश्नुते ॥ २९.४ ॥

तन्मान्द्ये च सलोकत्वमिन्द्रादीनां प्रपद्यते ।

एवं रहस्यविद्योक्ता समाप्तिमगमच्छुभा ॥ २९.५ ॥

इति चतुर्दशोऽनुवाकः

घृणिः सूर्य आदित्योमर्चयन्ति तपः सत्यं मधु सरन्ति तद्ब्रह्म
तदाप आपो ज्योती रसोऽमृतं ब्रह्म भूर्भुवः सुवरोम् ।

घृणिर्दक्षिणतः सूर्यः सूर्य इत्यभिधानवान् ।

आदित्य अदितेः पुत्रः सोऽहमस्मि तथाविधम् ॥ २९.६ ॥

ओमित्यस्यार्थमाह—सोऽहमिति । तथाविधमादित्यमित्यन्वयः ।

आदित्यं पुरुषाः सर्वेऽप्यर्चयन्ति कलार्थिनः ।

तमादित्यं समुद्दिश्य तपः कुर्वन्ति साधवः ॥ २९.७ ॥

समर्पयन्ति नैवेद्यं मधुक्षीरादिकं बुधाः ।

तदादित्यात्मकं बभूवु वेदो वा ब्रह्म वा परम् ॥ २९.८ ॥

परं ब्रह्मेत्यन्वयः ।

आदित्यरूपं तच्चापो वृष्टिनिष्पादकत्वतः ।

याः समुद्रादिना आपो यज्ज्योतिर्देहनादिकम् ॥ २९.९ ॥

मधुरादिरसो यश्च यस्तुषासंज्ञकामृतम् ।

वेदान्तकारिकावली

वैकटाचार्यकृता

१. प्रत्यक्षनिरूपणम्

श्रीमद्रमाधवोपज्ञा^१ नत्वाचार्यपरंपराम् ।

कुर्वे लक्ष्मणसिद्धान्तकारिकां कारिकावलीम् ॥ १ ॥

श्रीः

वेदान्तकारिकावलीटिप्पणम्

रघुवरचरणद्वन्द्वं तरणिं करवाणि संसृतेस्तरणे ।

यत्पांसुलेशसङ्गाद् प्रावाप्यभवद्विकल्मषा योषा ॥

श्रीवाससंयमीन्द्रस्य पादुकामधमर्षणीम् ।

प्रणम्य मितं कुर्वे टिप्पणं कारिकावलेः ॥

श्रीमदिति । रमाधवः श्रियः पतिः, उपज्ञा प्रथमज्ञेयो यस्याः सा, ताम् ।

“उपज्ञोपक्रमम्” इत्यादिना नर्पसकत्वं तु तत्पुरुष एव । “यो ब्रह्माणं
विदधाति पूर्वं यो वै वेदांश्च प्रहिणोति तस्मै” इति कल्पादौ वेदोपदेशक-

रणात् नारायणरूपेणाष्टाक्षरमन्त्रोपदेशकरणाच्च भगवतः परमाचार्यत्वेनाचार्य-
परंपरायास्तदुपज्ञत्वम् । तदनुसंधानं च “आचार्याणामसावसावित्या भगवतः”

इति श्रुतिविहितम्,

“लक्ष्मीनाथसमारम्भां नाथयामुनमध्यमाम् ।
अस्मदाचार्यपर्यन्तां वन्दे गुरुपरंपराम् ॥”

इत्यादिसदाचार्यसंप्रदायावगतं चेति ध्येयम् । श्रीमहालक्ष्म्या अप्याचार्यकोटा-
वन्तर्भावमवगमयितुं गमाध्व इति गमानिर्देश इत्यवगन्तव्यम् । लक्ष्मणसिद्धान्तः
श्रीभगवद्रामानुजसिद्धान्तः, तस्य कारिका प्रतिपादिका, ताम् । कारिकावलीति
ग्रन्थनाम ।

1. After bowing down in salutation to the line of
spiritual teachers beginning with the Lord of Sri
(Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa) I write the work Kārikāvali on
the principles of the doctrine expounded by Sri Rāmā-
nuja.

मानमेयविभेदेन पदार्थो द्विविधो मतः ।

मानं प्रत्यक्षानुमानशब्दभेदात् त्रिधा भवेत्^१ ॥ २ ॥

पदार्थ इति ; पदस्यार्थः पदार्थ इति यत्पदेनाभिधेयं तत्सर्वं गृह्यते ।
तत्त्वं, पदार्थः, वस्तु, इति पर्यायशब्दाः । एवं च वस्तुसामान्यं द्विधेयः ।
मानं प्रमाणम् । मेयं प्रमेयम् । त्रिधेति ;

“प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च शास्त्रं च विविधागमम् ।

त्रयं सुविदितं कार्यं धर्मसिद्धिमभीप्सता ॥”

इत्याद्यास्तमवचनात् त्रीण्येव प्रमाणानि । अन्यैरभ्युपगतानामुपमानादीनाम-
त्रैवान्तर्भावः ; यथा उपमानार्थापत्त्योऽनुमाने, अनुपलब्धेः प्रत्यक्षे । प्रमायाः
करणं प्रमाणमिति प्रमाणसामान्यलक्षणम् ।

2. The entire Padārthas or entities are of two
kinds—Māna (Means of valid knowledge) and Meya
(The object of such knowledge). The Māna is again of

^१ मतम्.

three divisions—Pratyakṣa (Perception), Anumāna
(Inference) and S'abda (Verbal testimony).

प्रमेयं द्विविधं प्रोक्तं द्रव्याद्रव्यविभेदतः ।

जडाजडत्वभिन्नेऽत्र द्रव्ये तद् द्विविधं जडम् ॥ ३ ॥

प्रमाविषयः प्रमेयम् । द्रव्यम् उपादानम् । अवस्थान्तरयोगि उपादानम् ।
तद्विन्नम् अद्रव्यम् ; द्रव्यत्वात्यन्ताभाववत् । परत एव प्रकाशं जडम् ; यथा
घटादि । स्वयंप्रकाशम् अजडम् ; यथा ज्ञानादि । अत्र प्रकाशशब्दो न कान्ति-
मत्त्वपरः । किंतु ज्ञानविषयत्वपरः । “ज्ञानमर्थप्रकाशः” इति तत्त्वमुक्ताकलापे ।
आत्मसिद्धौ च “व्यवहारानुगुण्यवचनः प्रकाशशब्दः” इति । एवं च जडत्वं
नाम स्वगांचरज्ञानैकविषयत्वमिति फलितम् । अत्र “अभिधेयः पदार्थः ;
स द्विविधः—भावाभावभेदात्” इति लक्षणावल्ल्यामुदयनोक्तो विभागस्तु न
वेदान्तिनां संमतः ; तेषां मते अभावस्य भावान्तररूपत्वेन तथा विभागायोगात् ।
मिथो विरुद्धधर्मपुस्तकारेण निर्देशो हि विभागः । अभावस्य भावान्तररूपत्वं
चारम्भणाधिकरणे सूत्रकारैरेवोपपादितम् । घटाभावाभावस्य घटरूपत्वं वदद्भिः
परैरभ्युपगतं च । षोडाससत्तादिविभागस्तु न मुमुक्षुपयोगीत्युपेक्षितः ।

3. The Meya is of two kinds—Dravya (Sub-
stance) and Adravya (Non-Substance). Among these
two divisions, the Dravya is of two kinds—Jaḍa and
Ajaḍa. The Jaḍa is of two kinds.

[Note. The Jaḍa is that which can be cognized
only with the aid of external means. For instance the
pot can be cognized only with the aid of our knowledge.
If the knowledge ceases to function, the pot cannot
be cognized. But the case of Ajaḍa is different. It is
cognizable even without the aid of external means.
For instance the Ātman is cognizable by self even with
out the aid of the knowledge. Likewise the cognition

which is an attribute of the Ātman is cognizable by him even without the aid of external means i.e. another knowledge, when it operates with an object.]

प्रकृतिः काल इत्याद्या चतुर्विंशतिधा मता ।

कालस्तूपाधिभेदेन त्रिविधः परिकीर्त्यते^१ ॥ ४ ॥

प्रकृतिः काल इति द्विविधं जडमिति पूर्वणान्वयः । प्रकृतिस्त्रिगुणम् । नित्यविभूतेर्जडत्वं त्वेकदेशानां मतं, न सिद्धान्तिनाम् । आद्या ; प्रकृतिरित्यर्थः । चतुर्विंशतिधेति—प्रकृतिमहदहंकारास्त्रयः, एकादशेन्द्रियाणि, पञ्च तन्मात्राणि, पञ्च भूतार्नायाहृत्य चतुर्विंशतिः । उपाधिः भूतभविष्यद्वर्तमानरूपः । त्रिविध इति ; कलाकाष्ठादिरूपबहुविधभेदस्योपलक्षणम् । ४

4. The two kinds of Jāḍadravya are Prakṛti (The Primary Matter) and Kāla (Time). The former i.e., Prakṛti is of twenty-four kinds. The Kāla is said to be of three divisions due to its Upādhis (Limiting adjuncts).

अजडं तु पराक् प्रत्यगिति भेदाद् द्विधा स्थितम्^२ ।

पराङ् नित्यविभूतिश्च धर्मभूतमतिस्तथा ॥ ५ ॥

अजडभेदमाह—अजडमिति । वस्तुतस्तु पराक्प्रत्यग्विभेदो द्रव्य-सामान्यस्यैव । अतो जडस्य प्रकृत्यादेरपि पराक्त्वं सिद्धम् । तथाचाहुः—

“द्वेधा जडाजडतया प्रत्यक्तदितरतयापि वा द्रव्यम् ।

षोढा त्रिगुणानेहोर्जीवेश्वरभोगभूमिमतिभेदात् ॥ ”

इति । स्वस्मै भासमानं प्रत्यक् । परस्मा एव भासमानं पराक् । एवं विवक्षाभेदेन भोक्तृभोग्यप्रेरयितृरूपेण चिदचिदाक्षररूपेणापि विभागस्तत्र तत्र शास्त्रेषु कृतो ज्ञेयः । नित्यविभूतिः शुद्धसत्त्वमयो लोकस्तदन्तर्गताश्च । विभूतिर्नाम स्वाति-

शयाधानार्थं नियन्तव्यं वस्तु । धर्मभूतमतिः ; जीवेश्वरयोर्धर्मभूतं ज्ञानम् । ज्ञातु-र्ज्ञेयावभासो मतिः । जीवेश्वरयोर्धर्मिणोरपि ज्ञानव्यपदेशस्य प्रामाणिकत्वात् तद्व्यावृत्तये धर्मभूतेति विशेषणम् । धर्ममतिरित्युक्ते धर्मस्य मतिरित्यविवक्षितार्थ-प्रतीतिः स्यादिति तद्व्यावृत्तये भूतपदप्रयोगः । ५

5. The Ajaḍa is held to be of two kinds—Parāk and Pratyak. The Parāk are—Nityavibhūti (The eternal world) and Dharmabhūtajñāna (The attributive knowledge).

[The Parāk is that which is not Self-aware. The Pratyak is that which is Self-aware. These two may be equalized with Inanimate and Animate respectively.]

प्रत्यग्जीवेश्वरभिदाशाली जीवः पुनस्त्रिधा ।

बद्धो मुक्तो नित्य इति बद्धस्तु द्विविधो भवेत् ॥ ६ ॥

प्रत्यग्विभागमाह—जीवेश्वरेति । स्वस्मै स्वयं प्रकाशमानं प्रत्यगिति लक्षणं पूर्वमेवोक्तम् । बद्धः कर्मबद्धः । मुक्तः कंचित्कालं बद्धो भूत्वा अनन्तरं भक्ति-प्रपत्योरन्यतरप्रीतभगवत्प्रसादेन कर्मबन्धात् विनिर्मुक्तः । नित्यः कर्मबन्धं विना सदा भगवदनुभवपरः । ६

6. The Pratyak is of two kinds—Jīva (Individual Souls) and Īśvara (The Ruling Supreme Soul). The Jīva is again of three kinds—Baddha (Bound in Saṁsāra), Mukta (Freed from Saṁsāra) and Nitya (Eternally freed from Saṁsāra or never bound in Saṁsāra). The Baddha is of two kinds.

बुभुक्षुश्च मुमुक्षुश्च बुभुक्षुश्च पुनर्द्विधा ।

अर्थकामपरो धर्मपरश्चेति विवेचनात् ॥ ७ ॥

पूर्वकारिकाप्रस्तुतं वदमेदमाह—बुभुक्षुरिति । बुभुक्षुः प्राकृतभोगेच्छुः ।
मुमुक्षुः संसारनिवृत्तिपूर्वकाप्राकृतभोगेच्छुः । ७

7. They are—Bubhuksu (Desirous of worldly enjoyments) and Mumuksu (Desirous of freedom from Samsāra and divine bliss.) The Bubhuksu is again of two kinds—Arthakāmapara (Addicted to worldly wealth and pleasure) and Dharmapara (Addicted to Dharma).

अन्यदेवपरो विष्णुपरो धर्मपरो द्विधा ।

मुमुक्षुरपि कैवल्यमोक्षयोगाद् द्विधा मतः ॥ ८ ॥

अर्थकामपरस्य स्पष्टत्वात्तमुपेक्ष्य धर्मपरमेदमाह—अन्यदेवेति ; देवता-
न्तरपरः । अथ मुमुक्षुभेदमाह—कैवल्येति । संसारवन्धनिवृत्तिपूर्वककैवल्यस्वा-
त्मानुभवाभिलाषी । मोक्षेति ; संसारवन्धनिवृत्तिपूर्वकभगवदनुभवाभिलाषी । ८

8. The Dharmapara is of two kinds—Anyadeva-
para (Addicted to the deities other than Viṣṇu) and Viṣṇupara (Addicted to Viṣṇu alone). And the Mumu-
ksu is of two kinds—Kaivalyapara (Addicted to Kai-
valya) and Mokṣapara (Addicted to Mokṣa).

[There is vast difference between Kaivalya and Mokṣa. The former is the Self-realization and the latter is the enjoyments of extreme bliss of Para-
mātmā in his eternal abode.]

भक्तप्रपन्नभेदेन स तु मोक्षपरो द्विधा ।

द्विधा प्रपन्न एकान्तिपरमैकान्तिभेदतः ॥ ९ ॥

मोक्षपरमेदमाह—भक्तेति । भक्तः भक्तियोगनिष्ठः । प्रपन्नः प्रपत्यपरपर्या-
यन्यासयोगनिष्ठः । एकान्ती भगवत्प्रपत्तावेवोपायत्वबुद्ध्या तस्यामेकस्यामेवान्तो
निश्चयो यस्य सः । परमपुरुषः श्रीमन्नारायण एवोपायः, प्रपत्तिस्तु तत्प्रसादोपयिकीति
बुद्ध्या परमे एकस्मिन्नेवान्तो निश्चयो यस्य सः परमैकान्ती श्रीवैष्णवोत्तमः । ९

9. The Mokṣapara is of two kinds—Bhakta
(Resorting to Bhaktiyoga) and Prapanna (Resorting to
Prapattiyoga). The Prapanna is of two kinds—
Ekāntin and Paramaikāntin.

[He is Ekāntin who seeks the Mokṣa along with
other worldly enjoyments from Bhagavān alone. The
Paramaikāntin does not desire any other enjoyments
except the Bhagavān. Or he is Ekāntin who is resolved
to attain Mokṣa by Prapatti alone taking it as a means.
But he is Paramaikāntin who is resolved to attain
Mokṣa by the means of Bhagavān alone. That is—for
him Bhagavān alone is Upāya and Upeya.]

दृप्त आर्त इति द्वेधा परमैकान्त्युदाहृतः ।

ईश्वरः पञ्चधा भिन्नः परव्यूहादिभेदतः ॥ १० ॥

परमैकान्तिभेदमाह—दृप्त इति । दृप्तः ; प्रारब्धकर्मफलभोगविलम्बमङ्गी-
कृत्य तदवसाने मोक्षाभिलाषी । आर्तः ; क्षणमपि प्रारब्धकर्मफलं संसारात्प-
मनुभवितुमशक्नुवानोऽवतत्तेनकुलस्थितमिव दुर्दशामनुभवन् प्रपत्युत्तरक्षण एव
मोक्षाभिलाषी । ईश्वर एक एव ; तथापि तस्मिन्नौपाधिकमेदानाह—परव्यूहा-
दीति । विभवान्तर्याम्यर्चा आदिपदग्राह्याः । १०

10. The Paramaikāntin is told to be of two
kinds—Dṛpta (Patient of delay) and Ārta (Impatient
of delay). Iśvara is known to be in five-fold forms—
Para, Vyūha and so on.

[The five-fold forms are—Para, Vyūha, Vibhava,
Antaryāmin and Arcā.]

पर एकश्चतुर्धा तु व्यूहः स्याद्वासुदेवकः ।

संकर्षणश्च प्रद्युम्नोऽनिरुद्ध इति भेदतः ॥ ११ ॥

परः ; षाड्गुण्यपरिपूर्णः परब्रह्मदेवः । व्यूहान्तर्गतो वासुदेवोऽपि
षाड्गुण्यपरिपूर्ण उपासनासौकर्यायावस्थितः । अयं च परब्रह्मपादव्यन्तामिन्
इति संकर्षणादिरूपेण व्यूहत्रयवर्णनं केषांचित् । ११

11. Para is only one. But Vyūhas are four-
fold, namely—Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and
Aniruddha.

मत्स्यादयस्तु विभवा अनन्ताश्च प्रकीर्तिताः ।

अन्तर्यामी तु भगवान् प्रतिदेहमवस्थितः ॥ १२ ॥

मत्स्यादय इति ; हंसहयग्रीवादय आदिपदग्राह्याः । प्रतिदेहमिति ;
चिदचित्प्रपञ्चस्य सर्वस्यापि तद्देहत्वात् तत्रान्तर्व्याप्य नियन्तेत्यर्थः । १२

12. Vibhava forms are told as innumerable consti-
tuting Matsya (Fish) and so on. Īsvara abides in
every things else as Antaryāmin (Inner Ruler).

अर्चावतारः श्रीरङ्गवैकुण्ठाद्र्यादिषु स्थितः ।

केशवादि तु तत्त्वज्ञैर्व्यूहान्तरमुदाहृतम् ॥ १३ ॥

अर्चेति । अर्चा ; पूजासौकर्यार्थं प्रतिमा रूपेण दिव्यालयेष्ववस्थितः ।
केशवादीति ; नारायणवामनादय आदिपदग्राह्याः । १३

13. Arcās or Images are His avatāras or incar-
nations enshrined in sacred temples such as Śrī-
Raṅgam, Venkaṭādri etc. The Keśava and other forms
are mentioned by the wise as different Vyūhas.

सत्त्वं रजस्तमः शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसास्तथा ।

गन्धः संयोगशक्ती चेत्यद्रव्यं दशधा मतम् ॥ १४ ॥

अद्रव्यं निरूपयति—सत्त्वमिति । दशधेति ; दशधैवेत्यर्थः । वैशेषि-
काभिमतानां गुणान्तराणामत्रैवान्तर्भावः । तत्प्रकारश्चान्तिमे परिच्छेदे
वक्ष्यते । १४

14. The Sattva (Goodness), Rajas (Motivity),
Tamas (Darkness or Dullness), S'abda (sound), Spars'a
(touch), Rūpa (colour), Rasa (taste), Gandha (odour),
Saṁyoga (union) and S'akti (Potency) are the ten
kinds of Adravya (Non-Substance).

प्रमायाः करणं तत्र प्रमाणं परिकीर्तितम् ।

यथावस्थितवस्त्वेकव्यवहारानुगा प्रमा ॥ १५ ॥

प्रमाणलक्षणमाह—प्रमाया इति । प्रमाकरणं प्रमाणमिति प्रमाणसामान्य-
लक्षणम् । प्रमाया लक्षणमाह—यथावस्थितेति । पदार्थानतिवृत्तावत्र यथाशब्दः ।
अवस्थितं वस्तुतत्त्वमनतिवृत्त्यं यथावस्थितम् । यथावस्थितं यद् वस्तु, तस्यैकस्य
यो व्यवहारः शब्देन निर्देशः, सः अनुगः यस्याः सा । अर्थव्यवहारं प्रति
तज्ज्ञानस्य कारणत्वात् ज्ञानानन्तरमेव व्यवहार इति व्यवहारानुगत्वं प्रमायाः ।
संशयादिव्यावृत्तये यथावस्थितेति । यथापदेन अन्यथाज्ञानविपरीतज्ञानयोः,
अवस्थितपदेन संशयस्य च व्यावृत्तिः । १५

15. The Pramāṇa is that which is an instrument
or means for the Pramā (Valid knowledge). The Pramā
is the knowledge from which proceeds the verbal usage
of a thing in its true and essential nature.

सा संशयान्यथाज्ञानविपरीतधियो न हि ।

एकधर्मिकनानार्थविषया धीस्तु संशयः ॥ १६ ॥

विवक्षितां व्यावृत्तिमेव विशदयति—सेति ; प्रमेत्यर्थः । न हि ; संशयादि-
भिन्नेत्यर्थः । संशयलक्षणमाह—एकधर्मिकेति । एकविशेष्यकनानाप्रकारकं ज्ञान-
मित्यर्थः । यथा 'अयं स्थाणुर्वा पुरुषो वा' इति पुरोवर्तिपदार्थविशेष्यकमिथो-
विरुद्धस्थाणुत्वपुरुषत्वप्रकारकं ज्ञानं संशयः । १६

16. The Pramā is distinct from Samśaya (doubt) Anyathājñāna (error) and Viparītadhī (error in reverse nature). Samśaya is the knowledge of a thing with various contrary attributes.

[For instance—Is this a post or a map?]

धीस्तु धर्मविपर्यासेऽन्यथाज्ञानमुदाहृतम् ।

सैव धर्मविपर्यासे विपरीतमतिर्मता ॥ १७ ॥

अन्यथाज्ञानं लक्षयति—धीस्त्विति । धर्मस्य विपर्यासः अन्यथात्वम् ; यथा पीतः शङ्ख इति । अत्र शङ्खे पीतत्वस्यावर्तमानस्य ग्रहणम् । विपरीतधियं लक्षयति—सैवेति । धीरेव धर्मिणो विपर्यासं भ्रम इत्युच्यते ; यथा शुक्तिं द्रष्टुं रजतधीः । अन्यथाज्ञाने शङ्खत्वेन शङ्खो ज्ञातः । पीतत्वे परमन्यथा ज्ञानम् । भ्रमे तु शुक्तित्वेन शुक्तिर्न ज्ञातः ; किंतु इदंत्वेन सामान्यत इति विशेषः । अत्रेदमवधेयम्—अन्यथाज्ञानं नाम धर्मिणि ज्ञात एव धर्मस्यान्यथाभूतस्य ज्ञानम् । तत्र धर्म एकोऽनेको वा भविष्यतीति । यथा पीतः शङ्ख इत्याद्यः । एकमेव वस्तु सद्विलक्षणम् असद्विलक्षणं सत अनिर्वचनीयमित्यन्यः । संशयादस्य मेदस्तु संशये धर्मयोर्विरोधप्रतिभासः । अत्र तु वस्तुतस्तयोर्विरोधेऽपि अविरोधाभिमान इति ।

१७

17. The Anyathājñāna (error) is the knowledge of a thing with a false attribute. The Viparītadhī (error in reverse nature) is the knowledge mistaking a thing itself for another thing.

[Anyathājñāna is—The conch is yellow. Viparītadhī is—This (shell) is silver.]

साक्षात्कारप्रमाहेतुः प्रत्यक्षं मानमीरितम् ।

सविकल्पो निर्विकल्पः साक्षात्कारो द्विधा भवेत् ॥ १८ ॥

प्रत्यक्षं लक्षयति—साक्षात्कारेति । साक्षात्काररूपा इन्द्रियजन्या या प्रमा, तस्या हेतुरित्यर्थः । साक्षात्त्वं विभजते—सविकल्पक इति । प्रमायाः प्रमाणस्य च प्रत्यक्षमिति व्यवहारस्तत्र तत्र परिदृश्यते ।

१८

18. The Pratyakṣapramāṇa is that which causes the perceptive and valid cognition. The perception is of two kinds—Savikalpa and Nirvikalpa.

ग्रहः प्रथमपिण्डस्य निर्विकल्पक उच्यते ।

द्वितीयपिण्डग्रहणं सविकल्पकधीर्भवेत् ॥ १९ ॥

निर्विकल्पकं लक्षयति—ग्रह इति । प्रथमपिण्डस्य प्रत्यक्षमर्शरहितस्य गवादेः । एवं च विकल्पपदं प्रत्यक्षमर्शपरम् । प्रत्यक्षमर्शरहितं ज्ञानं निर्विकल्पकम् । तत्सहितं ज्ञानं सविकल्पकमित्यर्थः । प्रथमपिण्डग्रहणे तस्य पूर्वदृष्टसजातीयतया प्रत्यक्षमर्शो नास्तीति तन्निर्विकल्पकमित्युच्यते । द्वितीयपिण्डग्रहणे तु तस्य पूर्वदृष्टसजातीयतया प्रत्यक्षमर्शोऽस्तीति तत् सविकल्पकमित्युच्यते । एतेन निर्विकल्पके विशेषरहितस्य सन्मात्रस्य ग्रहणमिति मतं, जाल्यादीनां पृथक्पृथक् ग्रहणमिति च मतं न सिद्धान्तिनामभिमतमित्युक्तं भवति ।

१९

19. The Nirvikalpaka is the cognition of a first thing perceived for the first time. The Savikalpaka is the cognition obtained by the perception of another thing of the same kind that was perceived once before with a recollection on it.

एतदिन्द्रियसापेक्षमनपेक्षं च दृश्यते ।

अनपेक्षं स्वतः सिद्धं दिव्यं चेति द्विधा मतम् ॥ २० ॥

एतत् साक्षात्त्वम् । इन्द्रियेति ; प्राकृतबाह्येन्द्रियेत्यर्थः । अनपेक्षम् ; इन्द्रियानपेक्षम् । तत्रेन्द्रियापेक्षमयोगिष्वस्मादृशेषु सुप्रसिद्धमिति तदुपेक्ष्य तदनपेक्षमुपपादयति—अनपेक्षमिति । स्वतः सिद्धम् ; स्वप्रयत्नेन योगादिना सिद्धम् । दिव्यं स्वप्रयत्नमनपेक्ष्य देवप्रसादात् समासादितम् । अत्रेदं बोध्यम्—

योगिप्रत्यक्षं प्रकृष्टादृष्टविशेषजं युक्तावस्थायां मनोमात्रजन्यम् । अयुक्तावस्थायां तु बाह्येन्द्रियजन्यम् । दिव्यप्रत्यक्षमपि ईश्वरप्रसादसमधिगतदिव्येन्द्रियजन्यमेव । यथोक्तम्,

“दिव्यं ददामि ते चक्षुः पश्य मे योगमैश्वरम् ।

तत्सर्वं धर्मवीर्येण यथावत्संप्रपश्यसि ॥”

इति ।

२०

20. This perception is also of another two kinds : Indriyāpekṣa (Dependent on senses) and Indriyānapekṣa (Independent on senses). The latter is also of two kinds : Svataṣṣiddha (Self-acquired) and Divya (Divine).

योगजं तु स्वतः सिद्धमन्यत्त्वामिप्रसादजम् ।

अर्वाचीनमिदं सर्वमामनन्ति विचक्षणाः ॥ २१ ॥

अर्वाचीनम् ; आधुनिकम् । इदं सर्वम् ; अयोगियायोगिदिव्यरूपमित्यर्थः । २१

21. Svataṣṣiddha is a perception acquired through the power of yoga and the other i.e. Divya is obtained by the grace of the Lord Bhagavān. The wise men call all these as recent.

नित्यमुक्तेश्वरज्ञानमनर्वाचीनमुच्यते ।

स्मृतिः प्रमैव प्राचीनानुभवाज्जायते हि सा ॥ २२ ॥

अनर्वाचीनम् ; अनाधुनिकं । मुक्तानां मुक्तिप्राप्त्यनन्तरं दृष्टं ज्ञानं नित्यमेवेत्यर्थः । स्मृतेरप्रामाण्यं नैयायिकादय आमनन्ति ; तन्निगमगति—स्मृतिरिति । प्रमैव ; प्रत्यक्षप्रमैव । तत्र हेतुमाह—प्राचीनेति । २२

22. The perception of the Nityas, Muktas and Isvara is called ancient. The Smṛti (Recollection) also is Pramā (Valid Cognition) since it is produced by the previous apprehension (Anubhava).

सदृशादृष्टचिन्ताद्यैः संस्कारोद्बोधने सति ।
स्मृतिवत्प्रत्यभिज्ञापि प्रत्यक्षेऽन्तर्भवत्यसौ ॥ २३ ॥

सदृशेत्याद्यर्थे पूर्वान्वयि । प्रत्यभिज्ञा ; सोऽयं देवदत्त इत्यादिरूपा । २३

23. The Smṛti is produced when the Saṁskāra (Reminiscent impression) is aroused by seeing a similar thing, Adṛṣṭa (Invisible effect of Karman) and Cintā (Deep thinking) etc. Like recollection, Pratyabhijñā (Recognition) also is included under Perception.

पुण्यपुरुषनिष्ठापि प्रतिभात्रैव संमता ।

यथार्थं सर्वविज्ञानमिति यामुनभाषितम् ॥ २४ ॥

प्रतिभा ; “बुद्धिर्नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता” इति लक्षिता । अत्रैव ; प्रत्यक्ष एव । सर्वविज्ञानम् ; परैर्यथार्थतयाभ्युपगतं भ्रमादिकमपि यथार्थमेवेत्यर्थः । तथाहि—पञ्चीकरणप्रक्रियया सर्वेषु प्राकृतेषु वस्तुषु सर्वभूतांशाः सन्त्येव । अत एव शुक्तिकायामपि रजतांशस्य विद्यमानत्वात् रजतसंज्ञि भास्वरत्वादि प्रतीयते । अतस्तत्र रजतज्ञानं नात्यन्तायासत्या-लम्बनम्, किंतु सत्यालम्बनमेव । तर्हि तस्य भ्रमत्वव्यवहारः कथमिति चेत्, विषयव्यवहारबाधात् । अयं भावः—पञ्चीकरणरीत्या सर्वत्र सर्वांशानां सत्त्वेऽपि यत्र वस्तुनि यस्यांशा भूयांसस्तत्र तत्त्वेन व्यवहारः । शुक्तिकायां तु रजतां-शस्याल्पीयस्त्वात् तत्र रजतत्वव्यवहारः पश्चाद्वाध्यत इति तज्ज्ञानस्य भ्रमत्व-व्यवहार इति । एवं स्वप्नादिज्ञानमपि सत्यमेव । तत्तत्पुरुषकर्मानुरूपं तत्तत्पुष्पमात्रानुभवाय तत्तत्कालिकान् पदार्थान् स्वप्ने परमपुरुषः सृजतीति सिद्धान्तात् । २४

24. Pratibhā (The intuitive faculty of Mind) seen in blessed persons also is included under Perception. It is said by Śrī Yāmunaċārya that all knowledge is real.

भूतले तु घटाभावो भूतलात्मैव नेतरः ।

मृद् घटस्य प्रागभावो ध्वंसस्तस्य कपालकम् ॥ २५ ॥

अभावस्य पदार्थान्तरत्वं निराकरोति—भूतल इति । घटाभावो भूतलरूप एव । घटस्य प्रागभावो मृद्रूप एव । एवं घटध्वंसः कपालरूप एवेत्यर्थः । २५

25. The Non-existence of a pot on the earth is nothing but the surface of the earth. The Prāgabhāva (Antecedent non-existence) of a pot is nothing but the clay. And the Pradhvaṁsa (destruction) of a pot is nothing but the kapāla (the pot-sherds).

स्वासाधारणधर्मो हि भेदशब्देन कीर्त्यते ।

शब्दस्वाभाव्यजा कापि प्रतियोगित्वधीः कृता ॥ २६ ॥

अन्योन्याभावस्य पार्थक्यं निराकरोति—स्वासाधारणेति । घटस्य पटाद्भेदो नाम घटत्वरूप एव । तर्हि घटत्वमित्यत्र न पटाकाङ्क्षा, भिन्न इति व्यवहारे तु पटादिति प्रतियोग्याकाङ्क्षा कुत इत्यत्राह—शब्दस्वाभाव्येति । शब्दस्वभावप्रयुक्तैषा व्यवस्थेति भावः । २६

26. The peculiar or uncommon quality of a thing is mentioned by the term Bheda. That the word Bheda invariably requires the Pratiyogin (The counter correlate) is due to the nature of that word.

अन्तःकरणचैतन्यं तद्वृत्त्या विषयेण च ।

चैतन्यं समतापन्नं साक्षात्कारमजीजनत् ॥ २७ ॥

इत्यादि वचनं सर्वं परोक्तं नात्र संमतम् ।

सामान्यं समवायश्च विशेषो नात्र संमतः ॥ २८ ॥

अत्र श्रीशांकराणां मतमनूय तत्र स्वानभिमतिमाह—अन्तःकरणेति । चैतन्यमात्माभिन्नं ब्रह्मैव । तच्च चैतन्यमुपाधिमैदात् त्रिधा ; प्रमातृचैतन्यम्, प्रमाणचैतन्यम्, प्रमेयचैतन्यं चेति । तत्र यदा चैतन्यमन्तःकरणावच्छिन्नं भवति, तदा तत्र प्रमातृत्वव्यवहारः । वस्तुतोऽन्तःकरणमेव प्रमातृ । तन्निष्ठं प्रमातृत्वं तदवच्छिन्ने चैतन्ये भासत इत्यर्थः । यदा चैतन्यमन्तःकरणवृत्त्य-वच्छिन्नं भवति, तदा तत्र प्रमाणत्वव्यवहारः । यदा तु घटादिविषयावच्छिन्नं भवति, तदा प्रमेयत्वव्यवहार इत्यर्थः । एतत्सर्वं नात्र संमतम् । तथा सामान्य-समवायविशेषाख्याः पदार्थाः न पृथक्परिगणनीयाः, तेषामुक्तेष्वेवान्तर्भावात् । तथाहि—सामान्यं नाम सर्वव्यक्त्यनुगत आकारापरपर्यायोऽवयवसंस्थानविशेष एव । समवायोऽपि संयुक्तविशेषणतैव, नान्यत्पदार्थान्तरम् । विशेषोऽपि तत्तत्पदार्थासाधारणधर्मान्नातिरिच्यते । २७, २८

27. "The consciousness limited by Antahkaraṇa (The internal organ) when becomes closely joined with and non-different from its two other manifestations due to the connection with Vṛtti (activity) and Viśaya (the object) brings forth the perceptual consciousness."

28. These and other similar sayings of the philosophers of other schools are not acceptable to us. The Sāmānya (generality), Samavāya (Inherent contact) and Viśeṣa (particularity) are not acceptable to us.

संख्यादिगुणवर्गस्य गुणपार्थक्यकल्पनम् ।

सूत्रकारविरुद्धं यत्तत्सर्वं परिहास्यते ॥ २९ ॥

अद्वयेष्वपि दशातिरिक्तानामनभ्युपगममाह—संख्यादीति । संख्यापरि-माणादीनां पृथक्त्वकल्पनमित्यादिकं सूत्रकारमतविरुद्धमिति तत्सर्वं नालु-मन्यत इत्यर्थः । संख्यादीनां क्लृप्तेष्वन्तर्भावप्रकारोऽत्रैव दशमेऽद्वयपरिच्छेदे वक्ष्यते । २९

29. The enumeration of Samkhyā (number) etc. as separate guṇas (qualities) as distinct from our ten guṇas is contradicted by the Sūtrakāra himself and therefore is rejected.

इति वेदान्तकारिकावल्यां प्रत्यक्षनिरूपणं प्रथमं प्रकरणम् ।

MANUSCRIPTS NOTES

VĀLIVIJAYA OF YOGĀNANDA

BY PANDIT V. KRISHNAMACHARYA

THIS is an one-act drama belonging to the *Vyāyoga* type describing the victory of Śrī Rāma over Vāli, the monkey chief of Kiṣkindhā, as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki. The work is completely unknown to the scholars so far and the name *Vālivijaya* is not mentioned in any Catalogue of MSS. including the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht. This MS. of the work is very rare and valuable. The Adyar Library contains among its collection of MSS. a single paper MS. of this work. Shelf No. 9. H. 31. 12 Foll. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ X 4 inches. 15 lines in a page. Devanāgarī script. Injured. Almost complete. 700 Granthas.

Scholars are familiar with the name of the similar work *Vālivadha* which has been frequently quoted in *Alaṃkāra* works and held to have been lost. Surprised on hearing the recovery of this work (*Vālivijaya*) they may be inquisitive to know the details of it. But they are sure to feel disappointed to hear this to be quite a different one (belonging to the *Vyāyoga* type of drama), from the well known *Vālivadha* which belongs to the *Prekṣaṇaka* type.

The author of the work is mentioned as Yogānanda son of Nṛsimha, grandson of another Nṛsimha and great grandson of Cinnasudhī. No evidence is available to fix the date of the work definitely. However, from the appearance and condition of the MS. we may fix it to the period about the middle of the 18th century A.D.

It begins :

संध्यासन्नने कपर्दविगलद्रज्ञातरङ्गच्छटा-
सारे वेगविघूर्णमाननिटलाग्न्यश्चत्तटित्संगते ।
कालीकालतमाम्बुदालिकलिते दङ्कारवाभ्रागवे
नृत्यत्पणमुग्ववाहनेऽवतु रतस्त्वां नीलकण्ठः सदा ॥

किंच,

नतानां रुद्राणां मकुटतटभाजो द्विजविभोः
कला यस्याः पादे स्थितिमनुभवन्त्येकहिताः ।
अभिल्यामात्रं स्यादिति नखमिषाद्यत्सुमनसां
सुतृप्तिस्तत्प्रेक्षापगवशधियां मामवतु मा ॥

अपिच,

गङ्गासङ्गिभृगाङ्गे येनाकृष्टेऽवजमिति तदीयेण ।
हरकरपतिने सोऽभूदङ्गविहीनो विनायकोऽव्यात्सः ॥

(नान्यन्ते)

सूत्रधारः—(दश दिशः पश्यन्) अहो संध्याताण्डवसंरम्भाडम्बरयूर्ण-
मानविकटतरकपर्दपरिसरपरिसरदुत्तुङ्गाभङ्गभङ्गसंभिन्नभार्गीरधीगलदम्भः कणगण-
विकीर्यमाणश्रमस्य पदतलपरिहन्त्यमानवम्भ्रम्यमाणवमुधावल्यसंवलत्तगङ्गिणीगण-
सकृत्संपर्कसंक्षुभितान्तरुदरसंक्रमणक्रमवक्रनक्रचक्रनिक्रामजलकण्ठिणीगणपरिक-
न्दनश्रवणजनितमदवशविददिवशावलुभपरित्यक्तभूभरभण्णासहिष्णुतया निर्यन्त्री-
रन्ध्रनूत्नरत्नफणिपतिफणामण्डलमण्डनायमानचरणनवरप्रभाविभवसवामभागवि-
निहितवनितारत्नस्य भगवतो भवानीपतेर्यात्रायामत्युत्कमेव सकलमिदं विद्व-
त्कुलम् । तदभिसृत्य मम नाट्यविद्याकौशलं कलयामि । (इति किंचिदुपसरन्
सर्वतोऽवलोक्य) आः, सर्वतः संवृत्तैव रङ्गमङ्गललक्ष्मीः ।

* * * * *

सूत्रधारः—(वाचयति)

“ महाकालीवीक्षासमधिगतसाहित्यजलधे-
नृसिंहाख्यस्योद्यत्कुक्कविगणमत्तद्विपहरेः ।

अयं पुत्रो जैत्रः सकलकविसंघस्य कुरुते

कृतिं योगानन्दो बुधजनवरो वालिविजयम् ॥

एतद् व्यायोगाभिधानं रूपकं योऽभिनयति तस्येयं दीयते भार्या । यस्तु
न तथा, तेन तथा ” इति । (स्वगतं किंचिदुत्क इव) कथं देवभनुकुलम् । यतः,

नर्तनविद्याकुशला समागता मे प्रिया यतोऽत्रैव ।

स्मृतमपि रूपकमेतत्तद्वितयं काकतालीयम् ॥

Ends :

तथाप्येतदस्तु (भरतवाक्यम्) —

श्रीमत्कान्तवलक्षमेति निलयो धान्युद्धृतप्राभवः

पुंसि ह्रस्वपदाङ्कितोऽखिलजगद्धारः खलेशापहः ।

गुर्वाज्ञापरिपालकः सुबलभृत्कारु . . . म्लेच्छः

यो जीयात्स धराधिपश्च फणिराट्शायी परः पूरुषः ॥

यस्यासीद् द्विजराज एव शिरसा बाह्योऽपि बाहः सदा

भूषा वा शयनं फणीद् सुरनदी जाया च जन्यापि च ।

याभ्यां जन्म च नाशमप्युपगतौ योषा मुदा पोषकः

पञ्चेषुर्जगदेकतोषमधिकं ॥

. शो भुवन्तु

तेऽमी वयं सकलशास्त्रविचारशौण्डाः ।

ब्रूमो वयं न हि तथापि तु धीमृतो भो

संदर्भ एव वदतु प्र ॥

Colophon

“ तक्तोदारचिन्तुसुधीकुमारनृसिंह-
सूरिणः सुतस्य नृसिंहविदुषः सुतेन योगानन्देन विरचितो वालिविजयव्या-
योगः संपूर्णः ।

REVIEWS

The Universities and their Future in India, by Kewal Motwani, New Book Company, Bombay, 1949.

The author of this small book has written a large number of works relating to Sociology and Education, and some of them have already been reviewed in this *Bulletin*. There is a Foreword by Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar of the Department of Scientific Development in India. Conditions change very rapidly in this country, and by the time this book is reviewed, many events have overtaken the statements here. In the Foreword there is the statement that "it provides an excellent background for the preliminary work of the proposed University Commission." This Foreword was written in May, 1948 and the Preface to the Book by the author is dated April, 1949. I wonder if the author had sent advance copies to the University Commission; the Report of the Commission was ready within less than six months after the book was published. The Foreword starts with a statement which may have had only a regional significance. It is said, "Up till now communal considerations have had such a sway in the Universities of India that community rather than ability has been the criterion for the appointment of not only Vice-Chancellors and the Deans but also of the members of the Academic staff." I know only the conditions of the Universities in South India. I do not say that communal considerations do not count in the public affairs in the life of South India; yet after the passing of the Madras University Act in 1923, we had two Europeans, a Malayali, an Andhra, a Tamil and a Christian as our Vice-Chancellors. If members of any community stood as candidates and did not get

elected, there has been no communal consideration behind such an event, and I can say so very definitely in regard to the affairs of the Madras University. I have not known of any communal consideration in the matter of the appointment of the Vice-Chancellors and of Deans in the other Universities in South India. The appointment of the Academic Staff has also been made on the recommendations of academic experts.

The First Chapter deals with the functions of a University. The functions are "synthesis of various branches of human knowledge... transmission of culture... and preparation for a vocation" (p. 3). In the second chapter, there is a historical survey of the stages in the Educational institutions of India from the *Taittiriyaopaniṣad* to the modern times, through the Universities of Takṣaśilā, Kāśī, Nalanda etc. of the medieval period, and the transition to modern times from the time of Ram Mohan Roy and Macaulay, through Curzon. The passage from the letter of Ram Mohan Roy cited in the book contains the following which one should not ignore when one considers the influences that were brought to bear in the matter of the change from the *traditional* system to the present day system: "We find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit School under Hindu Pandits, to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary can only be expected to lead the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors of society.... If the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed;... no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of Vyākaraṇa or Sanskrit grammar.... The Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness... As the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instructions... which may be accomplished... by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in

Europe" (pp. 42 to 44). The author has not a word to say about this statement during his condemnation of the policy of the Government in the matter of the cultural conquest and cultural decadence of the nation through "modern education." The Third Chapter deals with the failures of the educational system. In the Fourth Chapter certain suggestions are made, which are taken from America. Says the author, "In my opinion, formed after living in the U.S.A. for many years and having watched numerous institutions at close range . . ." (p. 107). This is a prescription of substituting "Uncle Sam" for "John Bull." I note some of the suggestions. "The Posts and Titles of Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor should be abolished . . . The executive and administrative head of the University or College . . . should be known as President as in U. S. A." (p. 102). The author's complaint is that "most of our Universities have Lawyers and Doctors as their Vice-Chancellors" (p. 102). The author says that by abolishing Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors, "we shall do away with the interference of the Governor and the Minister of Education" (p. 102); but on the next page he recommends a Board of University Education with the Minister as Chairman and the "Presidents" of the University and the Director of Instruction as members with a few other members added. Will this Board interfere or only decorate?

When I started reading the book, I had an impression that the author would make same suggestion on the "Indian Model" suited for "Indian conditions" and "Indian needs." But the recommendation is first a change over from English to American model in Indian education. Personally I do not think that there is any such distinction like Indian and English and American systems. What we want is a system that will give true education to the nation. The British Universities have Vice-Chancellors and American Universities have Presidents. The German Universities have Rectors. There are classes and compulsory attendance and examination in certain universities, and there are only examinations after tutorial guidance and general lectures (at which attendance is

not compulsory) in other Universities; there are Universities where there is only the preparation of a Thesis without a regular written examination, while in some universities, Research and preparation of Thesis come as a post-graduate step. These count little; all are aspects of education and in all such countries and Universities a high standard is kept up uniformly. The author also complains of the antithesis of science and culture. There must surely be harmony between these two. Science has no value unless it gives culture, and culture is impossible without science as basis. It is here that Indian genius comes in. There is a synthesis of the needs of man's intellect, conscience and emotions by harmonizing the three values of what is real, what is good and what is beautiful, the adjustments of science and philosophy, religion and ethics, and art. It is true that in modern times, political and economic interests dominate over the human interests; and "science" is more useful for politics and economics; perhaps "true culture" is a hindrance to such political and economic interests.

Consistent with the title of the work, one could expect a more thorough investigation of the principles of education in ancient India, before the new system came in which made the citizens of India "Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (p. 47), to see how far modern education could be remoulded in the light of such knowledge, not only in India but in the whole world. As an advocacy of American pattern, the book is excellent; it is interesting and lucid. I do not know how far the University Commission of India has used this book, as recommended by Dr. Bhatnagar. But it has a wider use for all those who are interested in the problems of education, especially in India.

EDITOR

Āsanas, Part I, by Śrīmat Kuvalayānanda, Popular Yoga,
Vol. I, Yogamīmāṃsā Office, Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla, Bombay.
Third Edition, 1949. Price Rs. 7.

The book "gives a description of the technique of nearly every Āsana that has a physical or a spiritual value." Each Āsana has been illustrated also, which makes the descriptions more intelligible. There is a general treatment of the human body, which is helpful for understanding the details of the book. But it is not a full account of the human body and there is no such claim also put forward for this descriptive portion. It is a practical guide for those who desire to take to Yoga, mainly as a process of physical culture; there is little of spiritual aim kept in mind in preparing this manual. The theoretical side of the Yoga practices set forth in this book are also not at all full and comprehensive; the author refers to the *Yoga-Mīmāṃsā* published by the Institution for such fuller information, especially on the theoretical side. After the description of the human body in the first Chapter, there is a treatment of the preliminaries for the practice of the Āsanās, mainly in the form of mental discipline. Then comes the main portion of the book in the third and fourth chapters, giving a full account of the various Āsanās with proper illustration. The descriptions contain the name of the Āsana and its propriety, the technique, cultural advantages, therapeutical advantages, etc. besides the illustrations. Even here, the third chapter is small, dealing with the meditative poses relating to spiritual advantages. The fifth chapter gives four more exercises and in the sixth and last chapter there is a scientific survey of the Yoga. There are three appendices: a full course in Yogic Physical Culture for an Average Man of Health, Short Course in Yogic Physical Culture, and an Easy Course in Yogic Physical Culture. There is also a glossary. On the whole there are 81 illustrations, seven being related to the description of the human body, fifteen relating to meditative poses and the rest for the cultural poses. From this short account of the book, it would be found that it is a fairly comprehensive manual of a practical nature, dealing with Yogic culture.

The description of the body seems to be based on modern works on anatomy. I have to take it that it is accurate. But

certain statements have attracted my attention. For example take the following: "Now the membrane which covers the inner surface of the digestive tube allows only those chemical substances to pass through it which are soluble in water" (p. 22). One may wonder how it is that undigested foods in the form of solids pass through the bowels and are excreted, and also indigestible matter like small pieces of metal. Again, in the description of the preparation for Āsanās, there is the statement that the seat may be "covered with a daily washed piece of Khaddar"; why is this preference for Khaddar? Is it a physical factor or a spiritual factor?

The Yoga system is entirely based on the anatomy described in the Hindu literature. The author mentions factors like *Nāḍi*. There is also mention of mind, emotions, soul etc. I am not sure why such points were left out in the description of the human body. Is mind only a function or is it a functionary? The brain and the sensory and motor nerves are described in the first chapter; I expected to see something said about mind and emotions in this connection. Then the soul is a very important element in Yoga culture and there is not a word said about this point.

The three *Guṇas* called *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, the association with *Puruṣa*, the disturbance in the equipoise among the three *Guṇas*, the evolutes of *Buddhi*, *Ahaṅkāra* and *Manas*, the further evolutes from *Ahaṅkāra*, namely the ten *Indriyas* (five for cognition and five for action), and the five *Tanmātras* and the five *Bhūtas*: it is rather difficult to get a clear idea of Yoga without a brief account of these basic categories of *Sāṅkhya*. The human body remains in health when there is balance between the *Vāta*, *Pitta* and *Kapha*. When the respiratory, digestive and sensory functions in the body were described, one could expect a mention of these points relating to Indian anatomy and physiology. Diseases are caused by a disturbance in this balance. The parallelism among (1) *Vāta*, *Pitta* and *Kapha*, (2) respiratory, digestive and sensory functions and (3) the three *Bhūtas* of *Vāyu*, *Tejas* and *Jala* is an important point in describing the human body,

its ailments and its cures, for the Indian system of *Yoga*. But the author simply starts with "cells" and the need for oxygen, sugars, proteins and fats to keep the cells alive. Are the cells primary elements in the body or are they produced, and if it is the latter, whence are they produced and how and by whom? Where do the cells go when they are decayed? Modern sciences speak of electrons and other finer aspects of matter; but they have not given up the various elements. Of what elements are the cells constituted and how? Do oxygen, sugars, salts and fats go to each cell in their own form? Or do they reach the various parts of the body in the form of *Vāyu*, *Tejas* and *Jala*? Is not the variety in matter in this universe, and also in the human body, produced by the differences in the proportion of the three *Guṇas* and also in the proportion of the *Bhūtas* in their constitution? Are the Yogic Cultural exercises merely a mechanical process or is there the "supervision," perhaps not coming within "awareness," by an inner agent? I must confess that I am not able to follow the chapter dealing with the preparation of the candidate for the *Āsanas* without some brief description of these fundamentals of Indian anatomy and physiology. *Yama* and *Niyama* can have no value without a soul, an *Antahkaraṇa* and *Indriyas* as described in *Sāṅkhya*.

Personally I have serious doubts regarding the physical culture value of many of the "abnormal" exercises given in the book. They may have a demonstrative value as acrobatic feats. Can they be developed on a mass basis? Discipline of body and mind contained in *Yama* and *Niyama*, easy poses, gentle breathing exercises, withdrawing the mind from distractions, meditation: these seven of the eight stages in *Yoga* are very efficacious even from the point of view of physical culture, apart from their spiritual values. The "abnormal" poses are not recommended in the "Yoga System." They are found only in the texts on *Hatha-Yoga*. All that Patañjali says about "pose" is that one must be able to remain in that pose continuously in an effortless way. There is also the important question whether the exercises can be learned

and practised from a book. It is one thing to have an idea of the process in a general way, from a book. It is quite a different thing to start its practice. Can they be recommended, even the simple ones that are given in the Appendix portion, for practice without one to give the needed training and guidance? These are all points that need be considered.

EDITOR

Indian Equivalent Terms.

Under this general heading we propose to notice a few works sent to us from Nagpur by Dr. Raghu Vira. Dr. Raghu Vira's name is known throughout the world as the Director of the International Academy of Vedic Research, Lahore. Recently he has established his headquarters at Nagpur and he has there a new institution called the International Academy of Indian Culture. There are four works before us at present. One of them is a Dictionary of English-Indian terms of Administration. It has been prepared by Dr. Raghu Vira along with the Hon. Shri Ghanashyam Singh Gupta, Speaker in the Legislative Assembly of the Central Provinces. It is issued by the International Academy of Indian Culture at Nagpur, of which Dr. Raghu Vira is the Head. It contains nearly two hundred pages in folio size, well printed on excellent paper. The English terms are given first and against them are given the Indian terms. Really they are Sanskrit terms. The terms are mainly selected from Sanskrit sources, adapted for use in modern times. Differences in shades of meanings are indicated by the addition of various prepositions. Derivatives are also given by proper grammatical process. On a rough calculation I should think that the work contains well over ten thousand words, including derivatives. Certain samples of forms to be used in administrative records are also given at the end, making clear the method of using the dictionary.

Then there are three smaller lists of terms two dealing with Economics and Statistics (prepared by Dr. Raghu Vira in

collaboration with Sri Pannalal Baldua) and one dealing with Logic (prepared in collaboration with Sri D. G. Londhe).

About thirty-five years ago, there was a change in the current of the nationalist movement in India. The demand was not merely for "Self-Government" for the people of the country as till then, but also a national language as the State language for official purposes. The greatest difficulty, as then conceived, was the lack of terms in Indian languages. Various attempts have been made to prepare terms in the Indian languages. The enterprise comprehended both the administrative needs and the scientific needs. It was always felt that as soon as a sufficient number of terms could be provided in the Indian languages, English could be replaced with an Indian language for all-India purposes and with the regional languages for regional purposes.

Apart from the vocabulary, there is the more important aspect of a language, namely, its form. The language form must be adapted to changing needs. A language that expresses subtle philosophical ideas and that is sufficient for literary purposes may not be sufficient for science and for administration. The mode of expression is different in the different fields of human activity, even in the same language. A literary man may not follow a discussion on legal subtleties or on a very technical scientific subject, and a scientist cannot understand the beauties of poetry. The difficulty is not merely in the terms; even if he understands all the terms, he cannot understand the position, unless he is acquainted with the mode of expression also in that particular field of language. Scientific terms will not fit into a purely literary language; the new terms must get a shake up also in the language, in such a way that the language gets into a new mould or form, which alone can keep the new terms in their positions.

The great difficulty in India has been that Indian languages have been neglected in the educational set up and in the general life of the people in the country. The language teachers in practically all educational institutions have a lower status in comparison with the teachers in other subjects, and the teacher of English

language always holds a position of eminence. The language assumes new forms for new subjects, if the mind functions in that language form when engaged in that subject. Even now, little attempt is made to raise the status of languages in the educational set up and in the life of the people through raising the status of the teachers of languages and through giving better market value to language students in the employment market.

An indexing of works in Sanskrit where such terms are available is also a very necessary step in building up a vocabulary, for in our languages terms are available in plenty on various subjects and if we have such a set of indices, people using such indices have not merely a string of words but also words in a context. That will help much in assimilating the terms into language in modern use. While appreciating the labours of Dr. Raghu Vira, we emphasize these two important aspects in the development of our languages for modern purposes.

EDITOR

The Astrological Magazine, 1950, Annual Number, Editor: Dr. B. V. Raman., Bangalore Price Rs. 3/-

The editor of the *Astrological Magazine* deserves to be congratulated for bringing out the 1950 Annual Number in which almost all the articles are learned enlightening and thought-provoking. They cover a vast field of ancient and modern wisdom ranging from the most subtle philosophy and Einstein's theory of Relativity to mundane astrology and market forecasts.

Prof. Jyotish Chandra Ghatak's astrological explanation of the *tirthas* on the palm, Pandit Ashutosh Ghosh's establishing the superiority of the Hindu Psychology by bringing out the difference between the mind of western psychology and the phases of the *manastattva* of Hindu philosophy, Sri G. V. Anjaneya Sarma's arguments to show that the true science of Astrology would prove to be a harmonious combination of Dynamics and

Psychology, Sri Abayakoon's profuse instances to show the antiquity of the Hindu Astro-Physics, Dr. P. K. Acharya's placing before us the achievements of the ancient Hindu mathematicians and lastly Prof. R. Krishnamurthi's ingenious conversion of *Puruṣasūkta* into an astronomical treatise are surely food for thought.

Among the astronomical and astrological contributions, Sri Kar's exposition of Jaiminian system of Astrology, Mr. Cyril Fagon's "The Ayanāmsa in Egyptian and Babylonian Astronomy" Prof. P. S. Sastri's directional astrology and Sri Ramamurthi's "Yoga Lagna" deserve special mention.

In his prediction with regard to the year 1950 the editor has explained the exact significance of the allotment of the different portfolios every year in the planetary cabinet and one cannot but agree with the views expressed therein. However, the following points also may be taken into account in determining the relation between India and Pakistan.

For India the Rising sign Libra is in *vargottamāmsa* and the lord is in the fourth (a friendly) house. The Rising sign itself is aspected by Jupiter. The benefics and the Lord of the Rising sign are in squares and trines which and the eighth are devoid of malefics. It is true that Saturn aspects the Rising sign. But he happens to be the lord of the sign occupied by the lord of the Rising sign, and in addition, he is himself aspected by Jupiter and lord of the ninth while the Rising sign itself is aspected by Jupiter.

For Pakistan, the Rising sign is Virgo which has two malefics Mars and Ketu and is aspected by Sun, while the lord of the Rising sign is hidden. His conjunction with Jupiter may be considered as the only redeeming feature if his ownership of *Bādhaka* sign is not taken into account. So I am led to believe that at the end of this trying year *Vikṛti*, Pakistan will be crippled unless it is amenable to reasonable methods, while India will be growing strong.

Mars and Ketu in the Rising sign of Pakistan and hidden from the Rising sign of India and in the *Pūrva-punya-sthāna* from the Rising sign of India indicate that some trial of military strength

at on the banks of the sacred rivers of India, in the territory of Pakistan, which will be the aggressor. Mars as the lord of the third for Pakistan in the Rising sign denotes that Pakistan will get outside help which will be detrimental to it since Mars occupies the eighth house from the lord of the Rising sign, besides being the lord of the eighth. But the lord of India's Rising sign is in the fourth house alone. So India can hope to get very little external help.

Above all, the lords of the Rising signs are friends by nature and position, occupying friendly signs belonging to Saturn, who is in the eighth from Venus and aspects Budha. Saturn as the lord of the signs occupied by the lords of the Rising signs of the sister territories may be taken to represent the British Commonwealth to which both belong. So one need not be surprised if in the end Britain takes up the role of an arbitrator and brings peace between them, though the findings may be more favourably disposed towards Pakistan.

Sri M. V. Ramakrishnan has shown how the millennial motion of the fixed stars of the Ursa Major is identical with the modern Precession of the Equinoxes. But if as he says in his "Ancient Hindu Astronomy," even from the earliest times the *nakṣatras* were only the longitudinal divisions of the ecliptic from the moving first point of Aries, the solstitial colure should always pass through the asterisms Punarvasu and Uttarāṣāḍha only, and never through Magham. Though the ancient sages assure us that the seven *Rṣis* remained in the asterism Magham during the time of Yudhiṣṭira and Parīkṣit (i.e. about 3100 B.C. if they are historical persons) the author is satisfied with the date 1590 B.C. for the same. Sri Cyrus Abayakoon is more considerate and gives the date 2447 B.C. Is this then another mistake of the ancient Hindu astronomers? A more sympathetic study of *Bṛihat Samhitā* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* will help to solve the problem.

Dr. Nagaraja Sarma has shown in his "Predictive Astrology—Its Lures and Limitations" the true value and limitations of the *nāḍīgranthas* which in spite of their going wrong in many cases will

be useful if skilfully handled. But his conclusion that they are not yogic visions seems to be erroneous in the light of palmistry; *nāḍīgranthas* can be considered as Lost Horoscopy (*Naṣṭa Jātaka*) also. With regard to his reference to the impossible planetary combination in Śrī Rāma's horoscope, it may be stated that the philosophical significance of our Lord requires the exaltation of Sun more than the exaltation or occupation of own sign of any other planet. Sri Cyril Fagan's justification by *ayanāmsa* and fixing the date as B.C. 962 is equally faulty. It is clearly stated in the purāṇas that Śrī Rāma was born in the *Tretā Yuga* of the twenty-fourth cycle. So, if he is considered an historical person, the planetary combination is not to be searched for 'in the present Kaliyuga (of the twenty-eighth cycle) of the *Dvāpara Yuga* that is supposed to have preceded it. Why this half-hearted belief in our sacred books? Believe them fully and they will be clear; or disbelieve them and throw them away as rubbish. I have dealt with the horoscope of Śrī Rāma fully in my commentary on *Horāsāstra* of Varāhamihira (published by the Adyar Library, Madras).

It may be a consolation to Srimati M.A. Rukmini to know that there are more rules in astrology to indicate the immorality of man than that of a woman and the smṛtis view with greater severity the free-lance life of a man than that of a woman. Again in his *strījātakādhyāya* Varāhamihira does not deny Rājayoga to a woman. The astrological works where it is clearly stated that the Rājayoga rules of man do not apply to women do not deny them kingship but only give different rules to indicate the Rājayogas of women.

Dr. Ronald C. Thornton has explained the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* and concluded that the mind and the cosmos are one and the same. Though his conclusion is correct I wonder if the cosmos of the Upaniṣad and the cosmos as understood at present are identical.

The same mistake is committed by Sri Vijayamuni also and hence he says that Śrī Saṅkarācārya depended purely on yogic

intuition and the scriptures are the products of intuition and not experience.

Coming to the rôle of Free Will in man, let us consider the behaviour of a small magnetic needle in a field of a powerful magnet placed with its south pole pointing to the north. If the magnetic needle is placed on the northern side of the powerful magnet, within the range of this magnet the needle has to remain with its north pole pointing to south. But beyond that range its north pole will point to north. Thus the position of the needle is to be determined by the nature of influence on it. In the same way the mind which is the connecting link between *ātma* and *prakṛti* is generally attracted by *prakṛti* (cosmos). If the mind can be concentrated more and more on the *ātma* it can be gradually taken beyond the influence of Cosmos and brought under the influence of *ātma*. In either way it has to be subordinate. The action of Free Will can be completely seen only when it has passed the sphere of influence of *Prakṛti*, though it is playing its part. The purified mind which is brought under the influence of *ātma* is described in vedānta as mind dead.

Again karmas are classified into *Dṛḍha*, *adṛḍha* and *dṛḍhā-dṛḍha* ones. Of these, the first class cannot be overcome easily by even jñānis and yogis and the second can be easily overcome even by ordinary men. It is in the third class the question of free will comes and the evil effects of such karmas can be annihilated by proper remedies.

Prof. R. Krishnamurthy has explained the *Puruṣasūkta* in the language of astronomy though the essence of the *sūkta* is that given in the *Mudgala Upaniṣad*. In this connection it may not be out of place to say that in the religious texts of the Hindus all the sciences are brought in as analogies and all the sciences contain an undercurrent of philosophy. So if one sees astronomy in *Puruṣa sūkta* another may see a human sacrifice. The apparent mathematical absurdities, historical anachronisms and other inconsistencies are purposely introduced into the sacred texts to make people think and then understand the real theme of the texts.

Such clues are unfortunately made only the subjects of controversies and hence the sacred texts become more and more distorted.

It is this want of understanding of the real purport of the sacred literature that made Sri V. D. Rishi in his "Spiritualism in Ancient Hindu Literature" observe:

"The reconciliation between the *Parloka Vidyā* as given in the *Purāṇas* and the *Vedānta* or the physical sciences is a very knotty point and has baffled the attempts of several savants. The Theosophists connect the Paurāṇic idea of the seven islands with the planets, while the philosophers try to join it with the five elements, consciousness and intellect. So also the modern spiritualist believes in seven planes like the seven *vyāhrtis*. But their description in no way tallies with what is given in *Brahma Purāṇa*."

From the *Yoga Upaniṣads* one can understand that it is in the *Mūlādhāra*, *Svādhiṣṭhāna*, *Maṇipūra*, *Anāhata*, *Viśuddhi*, *Ājñā* and *Sahasrārācakra* the five pure subtle elements, *Manas* and *Buddhi* are to be concentrated upon. Again these are the places where the divine grahas (the celestial luminaries being merely their analagous external representatives) also are considered to be seated as is plain from the fact that the sun represents the Intellect of the Jñāna Yoga, the moon the *Manas* of the Karma Yoga and the remaining grahas the five subtle elements: Cp. Jaimini's *Jñāna-pradīpikā*:

चन्द्रो माता पिता भानुः सर्वेषां जगतामपि ।

गुरुशुक्रा रविमन्द्राः पञ्चभूतस्वरूपिणः ॥

A deep study of the *purāṇas* will convince one that the *Vyāhrtis* also represent only these *tattvas* (being merely abstract planes). These *tattvas* are depicted to be seven islands separated by oceans only to show that they are in unalloyed state got by intellectual analysis (since ocean represents intellect). Thus the different views are not inconsistent.

In the *Padma Purāṇa*, in explaining the philosophical significance of the destruction of Mahiṣāsura (or Aṅgāna) by Devī (or

Intellect) it is stated that *Itihāsa* is only the personification of abstract things:

मूर्तिपक्षे चेतिहासोऽमूर्तं चैकवद्वदि ।

It must be remembered that nearly all the planes described in the sacred texts are abstract ones and have only similarity with the concrete ones.

The *purāṇic* and astrological illustrations to show the importance of Venus in astrology given by Sri Jyotish-Visarad D. V. Ramanaya are enlightening. But his explanation for the rule

चन्द्रक्षेत्रगयोः मर्दाकिं कुजयोः पत्नी सती शोभना ।

namely that Mars is weak being in debilitation is unconvincing. In Astrology the weak planets give bad results while strong ones give good effects as is plain from

स्वोच्चत्रिकोणस्वसुहृच्छत्रुनीचगृहार्कगैः ।

शुभसंपूर्णपादोन दल्पादाल्पनिष्फलम् ।

For Makara, Saturn being lord of the Rising sign is auspicious in the seventh while Mars being strong in a friendly house (though in debilitation) is beneficial. Sri Varāhamihira says:

चान्द्रोऽर्थवान् सलिलयानसमार्जितस्वः ।

He is the only one who is strong in debilitation.

Once again our thanks are due to the editor for publishing this valuable magazine which is perhaps the only one of its type in India.

A. N. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AIYANGAR

Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃsa, by G. V. Tagare, Deccan College Disstertation Series 5, 1948.

We have already noticed some publications of the Series earlier in this *Bulletin*. The present work keeps up the standard of the Institute in the field of Linguistic science. The work has

been done under the kind patronage and help of the Rajasaheb of Bhor, who is a very enlightened member of the Ruling Class. After a 'very long Introduction, the main text is in four chapters, dealing with Phonology, Declension, Conjugation and Stem formation. There is also an index of words. In the Introduction there is a clear treatment of the scope of the Apabhramśa language and literature and the development of the literature. The work is a good collection of facts properly arranged and will be very useful for further study of the subject. This is a pioneer work.

EDITOR

Bharatiya Vidyā, Vol. IX, 1948, K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume, Part I, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

Sri K. M. Munshi's name will ever be associated with the Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan, which in the course of just ten years developed into one of the most important Research Institutes in the country. There are many works published from the Institute and many of them have been already reviewed in this *Bulletin*. Sri Munshi is a great scholar both in Sanskrit and in Gujarati and a well-known writer in the latter. He is also a great Research worker. Besides this, he is one of the most distinguished men of the time in the country. It is appropriate that his sixtieth birthday should be commemorated with the publication of such a literary volume. It contains learned articles on a variety of subjects as history, politics, religion, philosophy, art, science and literature, by very eminent scholars, and edited by a Board of Scholars also.

EDITOR

Economic Development, Vol. II (Comparative Industrialism and its Equations) by Prof. Binoy Kumar Sarkar, Chatterverty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. 1938. Rs. 6.

The name of Prof. Binoy Kumar Sarkar is well known. In this work, he deals with the following problems: Principles of

control over Foreign Insurance Companies; Re-making of the Reichbanks and the Banque de France; the Bank Capitalism of Young Bengal; The Railway Industry and Commerce in India in International Railway Statistics; Traces of Rationalization in Indian Business Enterprise; and The World-Crisis in its bearings on the Regions of the Second and the First Industrial Revolutions.

Conditions in the world have changed after the book was published. But the book will not lose its value as a good study of some main problems.

EDITOR

Art and Faith, Letters between Jacques Maritain and Jean Cocteau, Translated from the French by John Coleman, Philosophical Library, New York 1948.

These letters come from the pens of a great philosopher and a great poet. It deals with the nature of poetry and the meaning of poetry. It also deals with the sociological and political significance of Art itself. The letters of Jean Cocteau deal with the Peasants of Heaven, God wants Me, Romeo, Opium, the Secret of Beauty, the School of Undesirables, Necessity for Scandal, No more Bets and Effectiveness of Repentance, covering 70 pages on the whole. The reply covers about 50 pages. It is very interesting reading to those who know something about the inner meanings in literary art.

EDITOR

St. Margaret of Cartona, by Francois Mauriac. Philosophical Library, New York, 1948.

The book deals with the life of one of the Italian Saints of the 13th century. The Saint was originally the daughter of a country peasant, who had to leave the home after losing her mother and after her father married again; her extreme beauty caused the jealousy of the step mother. She had to find refuge in the

hospitality of a wealthy young man. He met with an untimely death and burdened with a child, she found refuge in the Church. Even in that condition her personal charms stood as an obstacle. But she conquered her mind became one of the holiest members of the Church, and later became a Saint. Even from the earliest times, she was feeling an inner call from Him, and in due time she responded to the Call and was rewarded.

EDITOR

Dayal Dasri Khyat, Part II, Sadul Oriental Series, Vol. II, Bikaner, 1948.

This is a history of Bikaner written by Dayal Das, and it starts with the origin of the world, on the model of *Purāṇas*, and the beginning of the Rathod dynasty, to which the Bikaner Rulers belong; it comes to the reign of Maharaja Ratan Singhji about the middle of the last century. It is written in Rajasthani language and has been ably edited by the great scholar, Sri Dasaratha Sarma of Bikaner.

EDITOR

FELICITATIONS TO PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA

In the last issue of this *Bulletin* we announced that our Editor Prof. C. Kunhan Raja was likely to proceed to Iran as Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Teheran and that he was being sent there by the Government of India. Prof. Kunhan Raja started for Bombay *en route* to Teheran on 9th March and has now started work on his new assignment. The Editorial for this issue (pp. 82-95) gives an interesting account of his first impressions and the work he has been doing in the new country.

Prof. Kunhan Raja was felicitated on his selection as the First Professor of Sanskrit at the Teheran University by a number of Associations before his departure from Madras. Prominent among them may be mentioned the Madras University Research Departments' Association, Queen Mary's

College Sanskrit Association, the Presidency College Sanskrit Association, Sanskrit Academy, Madras, The South Indian Sanskrit Pandits Association, The South Indian Sanskrit Association, The Government Arts College, Madras, The Council of World Affairs, Madras Branch and the Adyar Library. In all these functions addresses were presented in Sanskrit to Dr. Kunhan Raja. The Sanskrit Academy presented a silver plate with an inscribed verse in Sanskrit.

Prof. Raja is aware of the difficulties of his work; but we are certain that with his high attainments and idealism he will prove an ideal cultural Ambassador sent out by India to Iran. That he is eminently fitted to the task was unanimously expressed in all the meetings by all the leading speakers who took part in the felicitation meetings.

On the 7th March the Director of the Adyar Library gave a party to Prof. Kunhan Raja. The occasion was availed to take a group photo of the members of the staff of the Adyar Library with the President of the Theosophical Society Sri C. Jinarājādāsa, who also kindly presided over the meeting that followed. An address in Sanskrit was presented to Dr. Raja on behalf of the Library. This address is printed below :

अडयार्पुस्तकशालाधिकृतैः सादरं समर्पितमभिनन्दनपत्रम्

(१)

मद्रपुरीविश्वकलाशालासदमरभारतीपोषम् ।

कुर्वन् राजसि कुञ्जनराज यशस्ते समन्ततः प्रसृतम् ॥

(२)

अडयार्पुस्तकशालाध्यक्षधुरामादरेण विभ्राणः ।

प्राचां ग्रन्थोद्धरणे बद्धश्रद्धोऽसि लब्धवर्णस्त्वम् ॥

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(३)

सद्गुरुशिक्षितविद्यः स्वयमपि च विमृष्टशास्त्रतत्त्वार्थः ।
पण्डितपरिषन्मान्यो लसति भवानिति सुसांप्रतं विद्मः ॥

(४)

प्रकटितबहुवृचभाष्यः स्यापितसमुदीतमानमेयस्त्वम् ।
सेवितबुधजनसंसर्गि तद्येनात्र नार्हसि श्लाघाम् ॥

(५)

अनघा निर्जरवाणी वशगा वहसे च सद्गुरोः शिक्षाम् ।
निधिरसि भव्यगुणानां किमपरमवशिष्यतेऽस्मदाशास्यम् ॥

(६)

इत्थं भारतदेशे विश्रुतसुगृहीतनामधेयस्त्वम् ।
पाश्चात्याभिज्ञजनैर्मान्यगुणोऽसीति नेदमाश्चर्यम् ॥

(७)

परियराष्ट्रियसंघः संस्कृतभाषावबोधनाध्यक्षम् ।
आहूत भवन्तमहं विमृमो वयमित्यमान्तमानन्दम् ॥

(८)

सन्तु शिवाः पन्थानः सिद्धिः कार्ये निरर्गला तेऽस्तु ।
तत्र स्थापितधर्मा क्षेमेणायाहि पुनरिमं देशम् ॥

अडयार्पुस्तकालयः

७-३-१९५०

Dr. Raja in his reply mentioned his long association with the Adyar Library and the Theosophical Society and the benefits that had accrued to him from this long and enduring association. A delightful music performance by Sri V. V. Satagopalan and party brought the function to a close.

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THE ADYAR LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

On 1st January 1936, Dr. G. S. Arundale, President of The Theosophical Society, formally announced the establishment of the Adyar Library Association, in grateful memory of the Founder of the Adyar Library, Colonel Henry Steele Olcott.

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I. The Association shall be called the Adyar Library Association.

II. The general object of the Association shall be to develop the Adyar Library as the International Centre for Eastern and Western cultural studies and researches in the light of Theosophy—"cultural" taken in its broadest sense as including Philosophy, Science, Religion and Art.

III. For the furtherance of this object the Association is :

1. To collect and preserve the necessary books and manuscripts for the Adyar Library ;
2. To erect, furnish, and maintain the required buildings for the Adyar Library ;
3. To establish Fellowships and Scholarships ;
4. To hold regular meetings and conferences, at least once a year ;
5. To receive and administer donations and subscriptions ;
6. To do all other things judged conducive to the general object.

IV. There shall be three classes of Membership: (1) Ordinary Members, who pay an annual subscription of Re. 1; (2) Corporate Members, who pay an annual subscription of Rs. 6; (3) Life Members, who donate Rs. 600. The Corporate and Life-Members shall receive the *Adyar Library Bulletin* gratis. Such of them as are resident in Madras may be permitted to borrow books on a deposit of Rs. 20.

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