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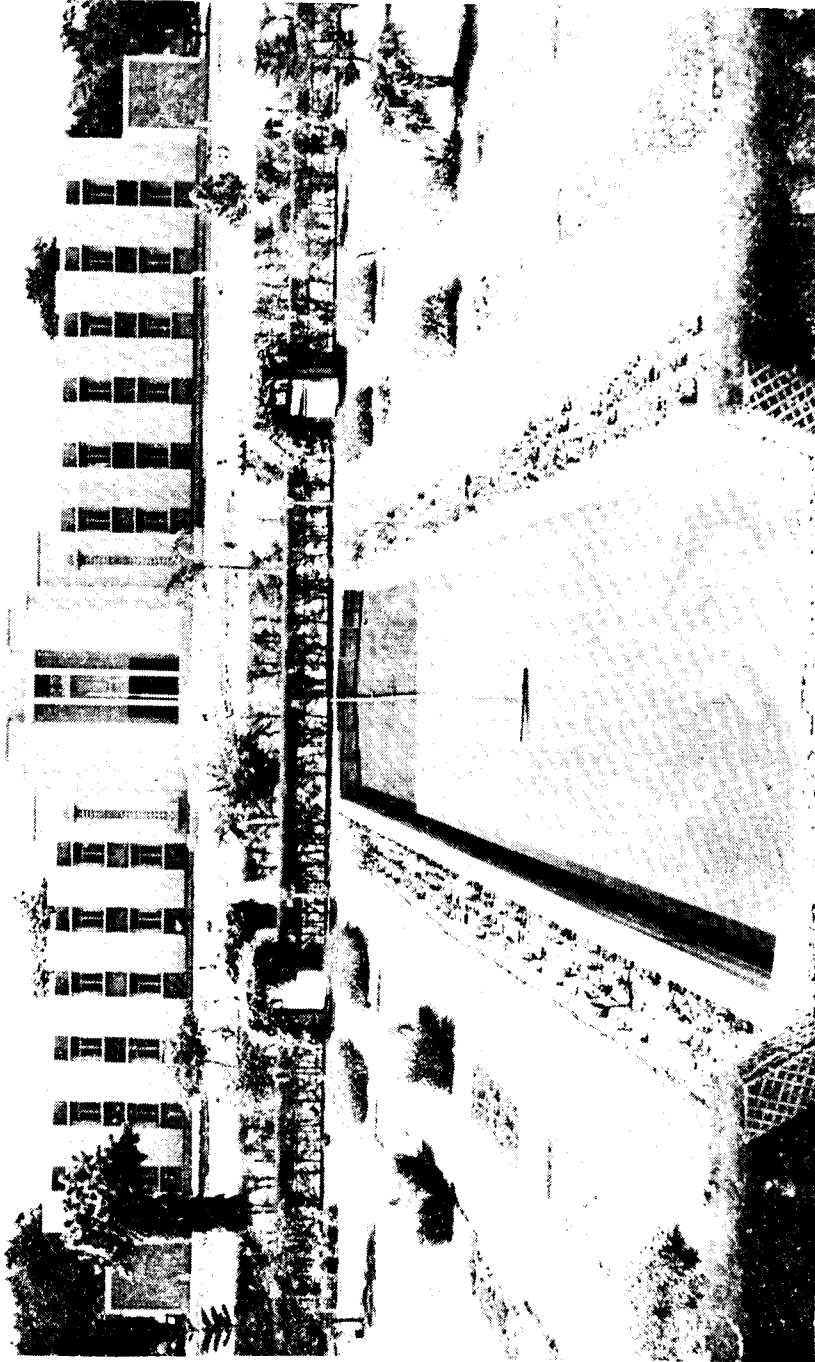
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JOURNAL
OF THE
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

VOL. XXII

PART 2

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN SHAKESPEARE*

By

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LECTURE I

I

IT is my duty at the very beginning to thank the authorities of your University for the honour they have done me by inviting me to deliver this series of Extension Lectures. That this should have happened during your Jubilee year is a matter of special pride and gratification to me, and however belated, may I offer my felicitations to you on your achieving, and advancing from, the first significant milestone of your meritorious career?

My subject is Shakespeare. I wonder now whether I was, after all, altogether wise in choosing this subject. Having chosen my subject in haste, I have since repented at leisure. Adventuring into the domain of Shakespeare studies might be compared to the attempt to explore the riches of an ocean. It seems so easy, so tempting, at first. You may begin at

* Lectures delivered at the Annamalai University on the 8th, 9th and 10th March, 1955.

over, and the sticky leaves of spring, the first buds of promise and new fulfilment, were symbolized in Imogen, Perdita and Miranda, and so Shakespeare—the London revels ended so far as *he* was concerned—returned to the bosom of his family at Stratford-upon-Avon. The 4-period hypothesis, originally associated with Professor Dowden, but since put forward by many others in one or another form, is doubtless a means of ready convenience, and becomes misleading or mischievous only when stated in an extreme form as if Shakespeare had programmed it all in advance and methodically executed a series of 4 Five Year Plans! Shakespeare was no conscious experimenter or researcher, perfecting his art as scientists perfect techniques in a laboratory; but his art gained in power as he grew older and gained in experience or acquired new graces at the expense of others incompatible with them, and there was certainly a growing awareness of life's complexity and variety, a greater insight into the workings of the human mind, and a richer music and a more piercing quality in his poetic utterance. The 2nd Lord says in *All's Well*: "The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together. Our virtues would be proud if our faults whipt them not; and our crimes would despair if they were not cherish'd by our virtues" (IV, iii, 67-70).¹ Here's the key to Shakespeare's world, and the clue to the labyrinthine involutions of his mind and the baffling vicissitudes of his dramatic career. It is not as though we pass from room to room, from the higgledy-piggledy store-room stacked with odds and ends to the lounge where fire-place, piano, settee, radio and the rest chime together perfectly; from the lounge to the sick-chamber where lie men and women diseased in body and soul, where life desperately resists the assault of death, where all Hell's dark angels crowd round the dying man to seize the departing soul, where death at last loses its sting and the dying hero is seen clutching at immortality; from the sick-room again to another lounge, more subdued in its lighting but not less welcome to tired limbs and jaded minds, a veritable haven of comfort and peace. No; it is the same room all the time, and it is crowded with human beings who come and go, people compounded of

¹ The text used throughout is Peter Alexander's edition of Shakespeare's complete works (1951).

virtues and capable of crimes; the bits of furniture are now tossed about in confusion, now arranged in some order, now the room darkens as the sky lours outside, now it brightens up as the Sun emerges from a cluster of clouds: only the artist, who from time to time visits the room to portray the movements, is maturing and mellowing in the pursuit of his calling. Neither clowns nor villains are the privileged inhabitants of one particular 'period' alone; they are present throughout. There is the Porter in *Macbeth*, the Fool in *King Lear*; there are the Grave-diggers in *Hamlet*, Autolycus and the Shepherds in *The Winter's Tale*. If Aaron figures in *Titus Andronicus* and Iago in *Othello*, if Richard Crookback and the bastard Edmund are architects of evil, how about Don John in *Much Ado About Nothing* and Iachimo in *Cymbeline*? The Yorkist tetralogy of Shakespeare's youth is as full of the riot of human ambition and folly as are some of the later plays, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*; and 'reconciliation' is the endnote of *Much Ado*, *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure*, as of *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. The web of Shakespearian drama is of a mingled yarn, not only good and ill together, but also laughter and tears, romance and realism, comedy and tragedy. It is a subtly woven web, intricate and delicate, variety wedded to complexity, a background unity and strength sustaining the visible flux and confusion. It is permissible to survey Shakespeare's work chronologically, even as it is convenient to study it facet by facet: only let us not claim too much for our critical surveys and analytical appraisals. The integral vision, the total view, is alone the consummation devoutly to be wished. The rest is a means to that end, and must therefore serve to further that end.

II

How is the problem of 'crime' and 'punishment' presented in Shakespeare's plays? It is a legitimate inquiry. In pursuing it, we shall need to follow both the chronological and the analytical methods. We are no doubt scrutinizing but a facet of the collective marvel, yet the answer is to be sought, not in one or another group of plays, nor in the early or the later plays alone, but almost the entire canon. On the other hand, some of the plays may prove more fruitful than others for our purpose, and hence

we may tarry with them longer. Shakespeare may not have consciously cast his plays as studies in 'crime' and 'punishment', and there is obviously no mathematical equation linking up the two. But 'crimes' undoubtedly occur in the plays, and often they are followed by 'punishment'. Subject to all limitations and qualifications, it should still be interesting and perhaps profitable as well to look closely at this running theme in Shakespeare's plays and see if we cannot reach some valid conclusions.

Crime and punishment in the present context is almost the same thing as 'poetic justice'. In Shakespeare's plays, in the Tragedies especially, are the guilty punished in the end? Is the punishment proportionate to the guilt? Do we not often find the innocent and the guilty, the partly and the wholly guilty, all being involved in the general disaster? Is this 'rough' justice or 'poetic' justice? Roderigo is murdered; Desdemona is strangled in her bed; Emilia is stabbed; Othello kills himself; and Iago the architect of these untoward events is also likely to be put to death. But is there any exact correspondence between 'crime' and 'punishment'? Macbeth's murderous career that includes the brutal massacre of Macduff's wife and children ends in his own death: is 'death', then, the 'punishment' for Macbeth's 'crimes'? And why had Lady Macduff and her children to die? What was their 'crime'? In *King Lear*, again, the two 'bad' daughters as well as the 'good' daughter meet their deaths; and not Edmund alone, but Lear and Gloucester also die. Claudius and Gertrude, Laertes and Hamlet, all die or are done to death in the course of a few minutes. In all this tragic spectacle, we neither witness the reign of firm justice nor recognize any clear relation between crime and punishment. Evidently our elementary ideas need revision and fresh formulation.

'Crime': what is it exactly, and how is it linked up with 'sin'? There are in common use two parallel series of terms: crime, punishment, forgiving; sin, damnation, redemption. We would not be far wrong if we associated the idea of sin with the taint within, infecting the individual's mind and soul, and 'crime' with his tainted action and its consequences to others and to society itself at large. One may sin in thought, but it is no punishable crime. Sin is more elemental than crime, yet only crime is

legally punishable. The point is well urged by Isabella in *Measure for Measure*:

For Angelo,
His act did not o'ertake his bad intent,
And must be buried but as an intent
That perish'd by the way. Thoughts are no subjects;
Intent but merely thoughts. (V. i, 448-52)

Although sin by itself is not punishable unless it is translated into act, to the sinner himself there can be no easy escape from the consequences of sin, even if it hasn't developed into a crime or the crime remains undetected. In Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*, Dmitri doesn't actually murder his father, he merely talks of killing him; Ivan doesn't even go so far as Dmitri, he merely removes himself from the scene, knowing his brother's intentions full well; and Smerdyakov, the bastard brother, actually kills Papa Karamazov. How about the pure Alyosha, the youngest brother? Is he too obscurely guilty? They are sinners all of them, though Smerdyakov is the actual criminal. Yet neither Dmitri nor Ivan can escape the consequences of their sinful thoughts, expressed or unexpressed. The less overt the thought, the more viperous are the pangs of remorse; and Ivan sinks under the emotional strain, and nervous frenzy overpowers him at last. In Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, on the other hand, Raskolnikoff, the murderer of the old pawnbroker and her sister, is driven by the pressure of remorse to surrender of his own accord to the police authorities. No punishment that may be meted out to him by organized society can equal the agony within, the corrosive feeling of failure and futility, the perceived abyss between the imperatives of logic and the impact of actuality. Smerdyakov kills his natural father, but he is torn by no inner struggle; it is Ivan who is a prey to the insurrection within. Raskolnikoff suffers both within and without, his own 'genius' upbraids his 'mortal instruments', and society too will in due course 'punish' him. But it is clear that the self-wrought agony is far greater than any punishment that society or authority can devise.

Sin is indeed more elemental than crime, for it is really crime in a seminal condition, crime run to its source. Sin rots the soul inwardly, but crime affects others as well, damaging or destroying them. In self-protection

or as a matter of retaliation, the 'others' — the victim, the victim's relations and friends, organized society or the state — seek to 'punish' the criminal, demanding an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Where the punishment is inflicted by the victim or by his friends and relations, it takes the form of 'revenge'; where, however, society as a whole takes punitive action against the criminal, such action may be called 'punishment'. Yet it must be remembered that the sinner or the criminal himself is untouched by punishment from outside, for physical punishment cannot redeem his soul, only remorse and repentance can. Macbeth sins by wanting to kill, and later by killing, Duncan, his own kinsman and king; the actual killing of Duncan is a crime. Having sinned, Macbeth feels condemned to a living perdition; he is himself conscious of the Hell he has forged for himself; and when Macduff kills him at last, 'punishment' may be said to have overtaken the criminal in ample measure. Even so, how can this punishment compare with the enormity of his crimes or even with his own soul's travail from the first half-formed murderous thought to the final act of the tragedy on Birnam Wood? Since the real author of a crime is the flawed or sin-infected soul, it is not so much the body's torture or annihilation as the soul's awakening and regeneration that can really redeem it. Persistence in a career of sin (and crime) can lead only to the soul's damnation—for the wages of sin is death, spiritual and not alone physical. But sin or crime followed by sincere repentance will certainly redeem the soul, and, perhaps, instead of terrestrial punishment, there may be a forgiving and forgetting of the nightmarish past. Shall we say, then, that the terms sin, damnation and redemption are applicable when we view the person from the inside, and crime, punishment and forgiving are appropriate when we view him from the outside? There is a world within, and a world without; and each would appear to be governed by laws peculiar to itself. Nevertheless, however apparently juxtaposed in terms of contradiction, the two worlds are ultimately one in essence. There is—there must be—a principle of unity that governs both of them, thereby defeating and exceeding the seeming distinctions. How, then, shall we define this principle of unity?

Order and harmony are the universal law, but disorder and discords are sudden unaccountable irruptions that seek to destroy order and harmony.

For a time the discords persist, widening waves of disturbance ensue, and when the violence is spent or has been mastered, the harmony returns. It is the normal condition of the world within and the world without to be at peace with themselves and with each other. The 'microcosm' is one with the 'macrocosm' the individual is at peace with the aggregate. Cain, for better or for worse, is really Abel's keeper, and we are all members of one another. Not only man in society but also man set in primordial Nature is an essay in integral harmony. But now and then there occurs the unpredictable invasion of disorder. We call it Evil, begging the question. There is evil lurking in Nature, there is evil active in certain types of environment,—and evil sometimes obscurely invades the heart of man and contaminates his soul. It is like the invisible bacillus that enters and multiplies in the human body, corrupting and rotting it in the process. For a time the event passes unnoticed: only later, when the poisonous results are evident, like the buboes or the pustules, does the world know what has happened. The assault of evil on man makes him sin, and when it blazes out in action, it shocks the world as a crime. Now the crime can in its turn infect others with the parent sin, even as contact or proximity passes on certain diseases (small-pox, plague, cholera) to others. A crime has been committed: now punishment or reprisal which the initial crime provokes can itself take the shape of a fresh crime. And so Evil cunningly fabricates the vicious circle of crime being followed by punishment which is really another crime, and so on — a crescendo of horror piled upon horror.

Is Evil, then, without a beginning, and therefore without an end? Is it the dark magic of Maya — is it no more than a temporary mist that clouds the human vision for a time, to disappear presently, revealing the clear Sun of Truth and Felicity? But these are metaphysical speculations, and are somewhat out of place here. Inhabiting as we do an Euclidean world, we are easily daunted by the fierce play of the dualities, we are susceptible to pain, we are conscious of the dark currents of evil in the field of human thought and action. So long as the higher knowledge that alone can pierce the dualities and touch transcendence is denied to us, we shall continue to traffic with such terms as sin, damnation and redemption, crime, punishment and forgiveness. And even so, easy judgments are not possible.

A crime — an evil act — is committed: where or on whom shall we pin the responsibility? The 'criminal' prompted by his flawed soul might have done the deed. But who prompted him to sin in the first instance? Was he self-prompted, was he egged on by his wife, or was he supernaturally solicited? Had evil somehow gained surreptitious entry into the Brahmah casket of his heart — or was evil a very constituent of the atmosphere, unavoidably inhaled along with the oxygen and so infecting the mind, heart and soul?

III

One thing, however, is clear. The neat categories that rule police court proceedings have little relevance to the world projected by poetic drama. In one of the grandest achievements of all time, Aeschylus' Oresteian trilogy, the alternating sequence of crime and punishment is presented as a tragic phenomenon akin to a murderous kitten chasing its own tail. A crime is an evil act born of sin; and punishment takes the shape of infliction of proportionate suffering on the evil doer, such infliction being itself an evil act. But two spurts of evil action do not neatly cancel out each other; they only help to build up a fearful pile of cumulative evil achievement. Pelops' two sons — Atreus and Thyestes — work out in their own and in their children's lives the full malignancy of an ancestral curse. Thyestes, the younger brother, seduces Atreus' wife, Aethra, and steals the Golden Lamb which Pan had given only to the elder brother, the true king. Atreus retaliates by killing Thyestes' children and serving their flesh as a dish before the unknowing father to feast upon. 'Punishment' has clearly exceeded the 'crime'. The thread of crime and punishment (or injury and revenge) is now taken up by the next generation. Both Atreus and Thyestes are dead. Agamemnon, Atreus' son, is campaigning near Troy (having earlier sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia to Artemis at Aulis) to recover Helen and restore Greek prestige. During his 12 years' absence from Argos, Aegisthus, Thyestes' surviving son, seduces Clytaemnestra, Agamemnon's wife, and on the very day of his return to his city after the successful conclusion of the Trojan war, wife and paramour murder him in his own palace. This is the theme of *Agamemnon*, the first play of the Oresteian trilogy. One of the absolutely unforgettable things in literature is Cassandra's prophetic speech in front of Agamemnon's

palace at Argos. Once a Trojan princess and beloved of Apollo, now Agamemnon's captive, Cassandra sees in a flash the past, present and the future; her voice towers above the Chorus of Argive Elders, and Clytaemnestra herself is for a time forgotten:

Apollo! Apollo!
Troy-builder! Destroyer of me!
Ha! What is here? What roof?
Whither hast thou brought me?...

Lulled into a false sense of security by Clytaemnestra's consummate flatteries, Agamemnon enters his palace walking upon the purple carpet spread before him. Cassandra, left behind in his chariot, smells murder, all the murders of the House of Atreus, past, present and future. She *sees* them, she experiences the agony, and she screams out her despair:

Nay, but a hideous den, abhorred of Heaven;
Guilt-stained with strangled lives, with kinsmen's blood;
A place of sprinkled gore, of clotted horror ...
Yea! There, there, there! Here's evidence enough!
Smell? Nay — I see; I hear them! Little children
Whose throats are cut, still wailing of their murder
And the roast of flesh, a father tasted — swallowed!

And she sees her own imminent death as well:

This human lioness, couching with a wolf
While the noble lion was away, will kill
Me unfortunate, a fair prize, to make
One more ingredient in her chalice of bane.
Sharpening her husband's death-knife, she declares
My death, too, shall requite his bringing me.¹

Clytaemnestra has avenged her daughter Iphigenia's death and Aegisthus has scored a double victory by seizing both Agamemnon's queen and throne, and he reigns as the tyrant of Argos for some years. In the

¹ Lewis Campbell's translation.

next play of the trilogy, the *Choephoroe*, Agamemnon's son, Orestes, commanded by Apollo, returns to Argos in the company of Pylades, his bosom friend. He meets his sister, Electra, and together they vow to avenge their father's death. First Aegisthus and then Clytaemnestra herself are done to death by Orestes. Even Clytaemnestra's despairing appeal—the appeal of a mother —

O son, forbear ! O child, respect and pity
This breast, whereat thou often, soothed to slumber,
Drainedst with baby mouth the bounteous milk —

doesn't save her, and she pays the penalty for killing her husband. But Orestes' triumph too is short-lived. Clytaemnestra is imperious and terrible even in death, and her Ghost invokes the Furies to give chase to Orestes. Seeing these hideous spectres Orestes cries distraught :

O Lord Apollo ! There ! What multitudes !
Their eyes drop down with hate and loveless blood ...
They are on me ! They pursue me forth. I go.

He seeks refuge in Apollo's temple, where both the exhausted, fugitive and the vengeful Furies are discovered at the beginning of the *Eumenides*, the 3rd play of the trilogy. What a chronicle of crime and punishment (or revenge): brother against brother's honour; brother's heavy hand against brother's innocent children; father deceitfully sacrificing daughter; wife against husband, son against mother, and mother's ghost hot in pursuit of her son ! In the *Eumenides*, however, Orestes the murderer of his mother is slowly transformed through suffering into Orestes the saviour. The play resolves into a struggle between Apollo who defends Orestes' criminal action and the Furies who thirst for the murderer's blood. The Council of the Areopagus debates the issue, and when the Elders vote, it is found that there is a tie. But Athena as President gives her casting vote in favour of Orestes, and he is accordingly acquitted. The Furies themselves are now willing to be transformed into the Eumenides, and Orestes the matricide is purified through remorse and suffering, and emerges out of the ordeal as a new man, with his face set in the future. Was Orestes justified in killing his mother,

even though she had in her turn killed her own husband ? Yet Apollo laid it as a duty on Orestes : the mother-murder was a duty as well as a crime, a duty that had to be discharged and a sinful act that had to be expiated. Orestes is finally presented, not as the destroyer of his race, but as verily its saviour ; if as a matricide he ends the chapter of crimes, as a saviour he humbly inaugurates the chapter of peace and hope. The *Oresteia*, however, is now seen to comprehend more than the fortunes of the House of Atreus, more even than the struggle between Apollo and the Furies. What profoundly moves us is Athena's forceful pleading with the Furies, her pleading with them and changing them, till at last they are Furies no more, terrible and just, but the Eumenides, gracious and capable of pity. It is Aeschylus' vision of a new world struggling to be born, and almost a foretaste of Christianity.

IV

The *Oresteia* is a marvellous symphony, and it is also a classic statement in poetic terms of the problem of crime and punishment. Between the *Oresteia* and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* lay a stretch of 2,000 years. Shakespeare's knowledge of the classics was somewhat limited, and Seneca rather than Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides loomed immense before the Elizabethan dramatists. It is likely that, unlike the Greek dramatists, Seneca wrote his plays, not for public presentation before a mighty concourse of people, but for private recitation or declamation before a select sophisticated audience of friends, connoisseurs and classicists.¹ Besides, his great exemplar in tragedy was Euripides more than Sophocles or Aeschylus. Four of Seneca's tragedies were based on Euripides, and only one, the *Oedipus*, on Sophocles. But Seneca sought to underline the 'horror' element in tragedy even more than Euripides did. In the *Medea*, for instance, the tigress-heroine kills her own children, not behind the scenes as in Euripides' play of that name, but in full view of the horror-stricken and abject Jason. In the *Thyestes*, again, the murdered children are openly served in a dish to the father. The air in Senecan tragedy is thus thick with the smell of blood and the fumes of violence, and it is difficult to believe that he expected his tragedies to be enacted in all their native brutality.

¹ cf. F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy* (1922). p. 56.

Specializing in a particular form of tragedy, the Revenge play, Seneca sought to render more of the horror and very little of the sublimity or ethical import or poetic iridescence of Aeschylean or Sophoclean tragedy. The key to the Senecan Revenge play lies in the dictum :

Nothing avenges crimes
But what surpasses them.

(*Thyestes*, 195—6).

Seneca's particular contribution was a deliberate heightening of the horror, partly through the elimination of high ethical motives, partly through the exploitation of dramatic devices like the Ghost and the Fury, and partly by means of weird romantic touches all over the play. Seneca had also an unfailing eye for striking dramatic situations, his metrical mastery was astonishingly perfect, and his epigrammatic terseness gave his sententious sayings an individual glow. Above all, Seneca was both a tragedian and a thinker. No wonder that when Europe awakened after the deep sleep of the middle ages — the 'dark' ages — it was Seneca who inspired to creative effort Italian tragedians like Giraldi and Ludovico, French tragedians like Jodelle and Garnier, and English tragedians like Kyd and the youthful Shakespeare.

We needn't go into the disputed question of the Shakespearian authorship of *Titus Andronicus*. There is no doubt an obvious crudity about the play, but it is not difficult to imagine the youthful Shakespeare writing it as a first essay in tragedy. Here in *Titus* we witness the tiresome see-saw of crime and punishment careering towards its dismal conclusion. Titus Andronicus, the Roman General, has lost 21 of his 25 sons while waging war against the Goths. Returning victorious to Rome, with Tamora Queen of the Goths and her 3 sons as captives, he sacrifices her eldest son, Alarbus, so that the 'shadows' of his own dead sons may be appeased. Tamora's impassioned appeal —

Victorious Titus, rue the tears I shed,
A mother's tears in passion for her dear son ;
And if thy sons were ever dear to thee,

O, think my son to be as dear to me !...
Andronicus, stain not thy tomb with blood.
Wilt thou draw near the nature of the gods ?
Draw near them then in being merciful.
Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge.
Thrice-noble Titus, spare my first-born son!—

this appeal falls on deaf ears.. Scarcely Alarbus is carried away by Titus, sons than Demetrius, one of her surviving sons, urges Tamora to sharp revenge "to quit the bloody wrongs upon her foes". A conspiracy of circumstances favour the execution of her sinister plans for revenge. With Rome literally at his feet, Titus divests himself of all power (rather like Lear) and helps Saturninus to election as Emperor, besides promising him the hand of his daughter Lavinia. Almost immediately afterwards, things begin to go wrong, Bassianus the Emperor's younger brother carries away Lavinia, and Titus kills his own son, Mutius, in a sudden spasm of rage. Meantime Tamora bewitches Saturninus, and he decides to make her his Queen. Some sort of peace is patched up between Saturninus and Titus, and Tamora bides her time. A hunting party is presently arranged by Titus, and the forest offers sufficient cover for the execution of all her nefarious designs. Between her and her paramour, Aaron the Moor, they successfully plan a multiple revenge which is really a multiple crime. Tamora's two sons, Demetrius and Chiron, murder Bassianus in her presence, and Aaron so arranges things that Titus' sons, Quintus and Martius, are charged with the crime and executed summarily. Meantime Lavinia is ravished by both Demetrius and Chiron, and her hands and her tongue are cut off, lest she should reveal the identity of the culprits. Titus himself is tricked by Aaron into cutting off his left arm in the fond, but futile, hope of saving his two condemned sons ; and his sole surviving son, Lucius, is banished from Rome. Titus' isolation is complete and his chalice of misery is full. Marcus, Tribune of the People and Titus' brother, enumerates the wrongs suffered by the old General :

see thy two sons' heads,
Thy warlike hand, thy mangled daughter here ;

Thy other banish'd son with this dear sight
Struck pale and bloodless...

(III, i, 255-8)

It is now Titus' turn to act. He determines to banish mere tears and find his way to "Revenge's cave". The sight of the severed heads of his dead sons and the severed hands of his living daughter kindles thoughts of revenge and he knows that he shall

never come to bliss
Till all these mischiefs be return'd again
Even in their throats that have committed them.

(III, i, 273-5)

He exhorts Lucius to go to the Goths and raise an army there, and he leaves resolved to be "revenged on Rome and Saturnine". Lavinia now reveals the names of her seducers by guiding with her mouth and stumps a stick on a sandy plot, and knowing the worst, Titus and Marcus take the oath

That we will prosecute, by good advice,
Mortal revenge upon these traitorous Goths,
And see their blood or die with this reproach. (IV, i, 93-5)

An opportunity soon presents itself. Titus kills Demetrius and Chiron and, with Lavinia's help, he bakes them in a pie, and serves it to Tamora who 'daintily' feeds on it, "eating the flesh she herself hath bred." While she eats the pie unsuspectingly, Titus kills Lavinia, tells Tamora the truth about the dish, and stabs and kills her, and is himself immediately killed by the Emperor. Titus' son, Lucius, who has just returned to Rome with an army of Goths, promptly kills the Emperor, and is hailed as the new Emperor of Rome: 'Rough justice' is accomplished at last, but Evil as personated by Aaron is defiant till the very end. All that he can say is:

I am no baby, I, that with base prayers
I should repent the evils I have done;
Ten thousand worse than ever yet I did
Would I perform, if I might have my will.

If one good deed in all my life I did,
I do repent it from my very soul. (V, iii, 185-90)

He is to be set breast-deep in earth and famished to death: such are the orders of Lucius. Aaron, though he may die now, will be reborn as Richard Crookback, Don John or as Ensign Iago!

It is often stated as a cardinal fact of Shakespeare's tragic world that, generally speaking, man is himself largely the architect of his own destiny, and if he sins or goes astray or ruins himself, it is not because forces altogether beyond his control are ranged against him. Always, it is said, are Shakespeare's heroes betrayed by what is false within. This is an oversimplification of the dynamics of causation in Shakespearian tragedy, for not seldom are people 'betrayed' by what is 'good' in them as well. The start of the tragic action in *Titus* is the sacrificing of Tamora's eldest son. If here Titus yields to the desire to propitiate with the blood of the enemy the 'shadows' of his dead sons, his next crucial action — divesting himself of all power — is certainly born of his stern heroic nature, his capacity for selfless action. We applaud the magnanimous gesture, though we cannot but deplore the results. The hero is not necessarily an essay in perfection; neither is he an essay in imperfection. He has qualities that strike us at once, some noble, a few ignoble. It is not wise to argue that, had Titus not sacrificed Tamora's son, she would have played the dove and not wrought so much villainy. Titus' action was ethically wrong, but there is no recognizable equivalence between the wrong action and the fatal consequences. Granted the wrong action and the fatal consequences of the surrender of power involved in the enthronement of the vicious Saturninus, Titus still affects us profoundly as a Titan force, a man 'who can act heroically and suffer greatly, a man in whom, however the 'elements' may be mixed, the positive content outweighs the negative. Although *Titus Andronicus* is but a crude first-sketch of Tragedy, although it harks back to Seneca, it is still Shakespeare, for in Titus could be seen the germs of Lear's self-wrought isolation and Hamlet's ambiguous madness. Considered merely as a story of crime and punishment, *Titus Andronicus* achieves a steady accumulation of horror, and it is for the reader or spectator to infer that

reprisal is no cure for crime, that what is gained through violence is apt to be lost through greater violence, that crime criminally countered but breeds more crime, and that so long as there is no change of heart the chapter of crimes will never really end. This is very forcefully brought out in Shakespeare's next tragedy, written after an interval of some years—*Romeo and Juliet*.

V

The House of Tragedy has many chambers : some are darker or more oppressive than others, and *Romeo and Juliet* is one of the brightest and least oppressive of them all. But at the same time there can be no question about the poignancy of the tragedy of the young lovers who meet and fall in love on Sunday, marry on Monday, and find themselves separated on Tuesday ; on Wednesday the wife is taken to be dead and buried, and on Thursday morning husband and wife achieve reunion in death in the tomb of the Capulets ! And the toll of death includes Mercutio, Tybalt and Paris. Almost alone among Shakespeare's tragedies, here in *Romeo and Juliet* the catastrophe is not brought into some sort of causal relation with a 'flaw' or 'vicious mole' in the hero or heroine. Critics who have tried to discover 'obsessions', 'flaws' or 'moral faults' in *Romeo and Juliet* have only succeeded in reducing the Aristotelian or Bradleyan theory of tragedy to an absurdity. Evil in *Romeo and Juliet* is a diffused atmospheric presence, for the feud between the Montagues and the Capulets infects kinsmen, friends, followers, and servants, and the Prince of Verona plays as pathetic a part as Lord Wavell did during the communal holocausts of Pre-Partition India. Tens of thousands of innocent Hindus and Muslims were sacrificed at the blood-stained altar of communal disharmony during the harrowing months of 1946—47. How did it all begin ? How did it end, — if end it did ? How appropriate are these words to the national tragedy we enacted but a few years ago :

What, ho ! you men, you beasts,
That quench the fire of your pernicious rage
With purple fountains issuing from your veins !
(*Romeo and Juliet*, I, i, 81—3)

Capulet, Montague,

See what a scourge is laid upon your hate,
That heaven finds means to kill your joys with love !
And I, for winking at your discords too,
Have lost a brace of kinsmen. All are punish'd.

(V, iii, 290—4)

All are punish'd ! When whole families like the Montagues and the Capulets, or whole peoples like the Hindus and the Muslims, or whole nations like the French and the Germans or the Japanese and Chinese are seized by the criminal lunacy of civil strife or the destructive frenzy of total war, all are somehow guilty and all are indiscriminately punished. A is butchered in cold blood, not because he has committed a crime, but because he belongs to a caste, community or nation, some of whose members are supposed to have committed certain undefined crimes in some remote context or other. Not only the sins of the parents are visited upon the children, but the sins (or supposed sins) of the class or caste or community or nation too recoil upon each of its members. That is why violent disturbances and armed revolutions are a corrupting and a rotting process in the course of which the first casualties are truth, innocence, charity, beauty and love. It is easy to unleash the dogs of war or of hate ; to extend the area of a conflict is alas ! fatally easy. But few are the Generals who can bravely sound the retreat from revenge and hate. Romeo, having but lately bathed in the sunshine of amply requited love, desires to be friends with Tybalt. Even when he is openly challenged by Tybalt, Romeo merely answers :

I do protest I never injur'd thee,
But love thee better than thou canst devise
Till thou shalt know the reason of love ;
And so, good Capulet — which name I tender
As dearly as mine own — be satisfied.

(III, i, 66—70)

"If ever a provoked man turned the other cheek Romeo did", writes Professor Alexander, and adds : "who can blame him if he has done with the

fellow who strikes that too?"¹ It needs, however, more than one to keep the peace, for Tybalt is the typical fire-eater, Mercutio is terribly excited, and thus Romeo's way of retreat is barred and bolted. It is usual to treat *Romeo and Juliet* as a poem rather than a tragedy, and indeed the tide of passion which carries the young lovers on the rising wave of sudden awakening and prompt fulfilment only to dash them immediately afterwards against the rocks of adverse circumstance is the very stuff of romantic poetry. The enchantment of the poetry duly acknowledged, there is still the grim Veronese background of family feuds and street-brawls where the star-crossed tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* is enacted. John S. Smart (in whose early death the world of scholarship lost a profound and penetrating critic) has argued² that a 'flaw' or 'error' is not a necessary constituent of the tragic hero. To prove that 'character is destiny' does not cover all tragedies, Smart cites the example of the *Trojan Women* of Euripides; and he might have cited with equal justification *Romeo and Juliet* as well. And how about the life of Jesus, "a history of suffering inflicted on perfect innocence"? What was the 'fatal flaw' in Gandhiji that provoked Godse to assassinate him on his way to prayer? There are times in a city's or a nation's history when evil takes root somehow in the soil, sends out creepers and fumes to implicate and infect the whole place, and then evil rages like a cyclone bringing down all alike, good and bad, guilty and innocent. If a people wish to take collective credit for the greatness amidst them, — the great men, the classics in literature and art, the epics of recorded chivalry, — they cannot well escape responsibility for the evil also in their midst, — the crooks and the criminals, the filth and the folly, the meanness and the selfishness. To locate evil even when it is only in a process of gestation so that it may be promptly isolated and destroyed is best; else there is a heavy price to pay before normal conditions can be established again. And, always, love and forgiveness are far more efficacious in the long run than hatred and thoughts of revenge.

¹ *Shakespeare's Life and Art* (1939, 1946), p. 115.

² Smart's essay on 'Tragedy' is included in *Essays and Studies*, Vol. VIII (1922). Vide also *Hamlet, Father and Son* (1955) by Peter Alexander,

LECTURE II

I

Of the 10 plays Shakespeare wrote covering English history, -- called 'Histories' by Heminge and Condell in the Folio of 1623, -- the first and last, *King John* and *Henry VIII* respectively, stand somewhat apart; the remaining 8, the Lancastrian tetralogy comprising *Richard II*, the 2 Parts of *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*, and the Yorkist tetralogy comprising the 3 Parts of *Henry VI* and *Richard III*, form a more or less continuous sequence making a broad sweep of English history from 1398 to 1485, roughly some 100 years. There are vexed questions of chronology and authorship, a veritable Serbonian bog, but we shouldn't allow ourselves to be lured into it, to be lost there for ever. Shakespeare no doubt wrote the Yorkist tetralogy first, and the Lancastrian -- which deals with an earlier period -- later; but he must have acquired or achieved a general view of the course of English history before he commenced work on any of the plays. The Wars of the Roses were nearer to him in point of time, and seemed immediately to offer a fruitful field for dramatic invention. Once he had completed the Yorkist tetralogy, it was but natural that Shakespeare should wish to go back a certain term of years and dig up and present the source of all the trouble, the initial wrong turn that had made the rest of the national tragedy inevitable: thus *Richard II* was written, and it was soon followed by *Henry IV* in 2 Parts and *Henry V*, and these 3 plays amply filled the gap between the dethronement and murder of Richard II and the early confusions of Henry VI's reign by enlarging upon the career of Hal-Harry who as Henry V proved one of the best and greatest of English sovereigns. To cite a recent example, we may start with World War II, and trace the origins back to World War I; or, again, an Indian playwright might dramatise the 'Quit India' movement first, and then turn to the earlier Salt Satyagraha movement, or the more ancient non-cooperation movement of the early twenties. Neither is it necessary to discuss here whether Shakespeare

¹ Dr. Tillyard, however, thinks that Shakespeare may well have written early versions of *Richard II*, *Henry IV* and *Henry V*, now lost, "but recast in the plays we have" (*Shakespeare's History Plays*, 1948, p. 149).

planned these two sequences as tetralogies, or whether each play — or each Part — was conceived as an independent dramatic unit. Tetralogies — or single plays for that matter — are not created all of a sudden; even as buildings rise brick by brick, so too plays are written line by line. But this does not mean that the architect or the dramatist has no vision of the completed whole all the time the work is in progress. Each tetralogy has a unity of design, and each play or Part too has its own individual unity; and the two tetralogies, taken together have also a massive completeness, rather akin to an impressive edifice with a spacious ground floor and a no less spacious first floor. *King John* is the gate-way leading to the edifice, and *Henry VIII* is a flight of stairs from the first floor to the terrace, opening to the skies of the future. In the Bastard, Philip Faulconbridge, English patriotism first finds robust expression, as later, in John of Gaunt, 'England' finds her true laureate. The Bastard can laugh even as he can win battles, and he is typical of the man of action who is also a man and a poet. The stirring lines—so well-known that they needn't be repeated here—with which he concludes *King John* naturally link up with John of Gaunt's no less famous speech in *Richard II* —

This royal throne of kings, this scept'ed isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise ...
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England ...
(II, i, 40-3; 50)

again so celebrated, an English *Bandemataram* almost, that it needn't be extracted here in full; and the 2 passages, one a soldier's and the other a dying elder statesman's utterance, may be read in significant relation with Cranmer's 'prophetic' speech towards the close of *Henry VIII*:

Let me speak, sir,
For heaven now bids me; and the words I utter
Let none think flattery, for they'll find them truth.
This royal infant—heaven still move about her! —
Though in her cradle, yet now promises
Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings,

Which time shall bring to ripeness ...
In her days every man shall eat in safety
Under his own vine what he plants, and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours.
God shall be truly known; and those about her
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.
(V, v, 14-20; 33-8)

Elizabeth is Cranmer's immediate inspiration, and Shakespeare certainly wishes to say flattering things about James I; but England is the real theme of this rhapsody, as England—her past, present and future—is the theme of Shakespeare's 10 historical plays.

II

When *Richard II* opens, the stage is dimmed by the shadow cast by the murder of the King's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester. His nephew, Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, affirms that Gloucester's blood

like sacrificing Abel's, cries,
Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth,
To me for justice and rough chastisement.
(I, i, 104-6)

A crime has been committed, and here is the call for punishment; and hints are thrown out indicating that Richard II himself is distantly involved in the murder of his uncle, although Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, might have been the actual plotter and executant. When the Duchess of Gloucester appeals to Bolingbroke's father, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, to avenge his brother's death, he finds himself powerless to intervene. Where the King himself, the source of all justice, is the guilty party, the subject can only submit and leave things to Providence:

But since correction lieth in those hands
Which made the fault that we cannot correct,
Put we our quarrel to the will of heaven;
Who, when they see the hours ripe on earth,
Will rain hot vengeance on offenders' heads.
(I, ii, 4-8)

Private vengeance is not permissible, for

God's is the quarrel; for God's substitute,
He deputy anointed in His sight,
Hath caus'd his death; the which if wrongfully,
Let heaven revenge; for I may never lift
An angry arm against His minister. (I, ii, 37-41)

With this background, the action moves quickly enough. Richard exiles his impetuous cousin Bolingbroke for a period of six years; and on John of Gaunt's death (which follows soon afterwards), seizes all his "plate, coin, revenues, and moveables", thus depriving the rightful heir of his ducal heritage. This foolish and vindictive action provokes even the weak Duke of York to a spirited protest culminating in the warning:

Take Hereford's rights away, and take from Time
His charters and his customary rights;
Let not tomorrow then ensue today;
Be not thyself — for how art thou a king
But by fair sequence and succession?
Now, afore God — God forbid I say true! —
If you do wrongfully seize Hereford's rights ...
You pluck a thousand dangers on your head,
You lose a thousand well-disposed hearts,
And prick my tender patience to those thoughts
Which honour and allegiance cannot think.
(II, i, 195-202; 205-8)

But Richard goes his own way to meet his doom, and York submits, though not without an oppressive premonition of the gathering storm.

On hearing of his father's death and Richard's unjust seizure of his Lancastrian inheritance, Bolingbroke returns to Ravenspur in July 1399 to raise a rebellion and claim his own, and perhaps also to make a bid for the crown. Led by the Earl of Northumberland, many nobles flock to him, and rebellion prospers quickly. At Flint Castle he gets back his titles and estates from Richard, and presently, on 30 September 1399, he claims and

seizes the crown in London. The ritual character of the deposition scene (IV, i) has been commented on by critics like Pater, Dover Wilson and G. I. Duthie, and there is something poignantly pathetic in the simultaneous exchange of roles by a King and his subject. The deposition of Richard was, however, brought about with a due observance of the formalities. On 29 September 1399, he executed a deed of resignation, acknowledging his unfitness to reign; the next day Parliament accepted his resignation, and pronounced sentence of deposition. Bolingbroke thereupon claimed the crown "by right line of blood" as heir to Edward III, and Parliament accepted him as King and the archbishops of York and Canterbury led him to the throne. These events took place 550 years ago. Now turn to a news-despatch from Moscow, dated 8 February 1955, which appeared in the *Indian Express* of Madras. The despatch said that the Russian Premier, Malenkov, had asked to be relieved of his duties as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, confessing his "lack of experience in local work" and want of "experience of directly administering a given branch of national economy at the level of a Ministry or Directorate". Within 3 hours after the acceptance of the resignation, the Supreme Soviet appointed Marshal Bulganin as the new Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The power behind the moves was clearly Nikita Krushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party, even as the power behind Bolingbroke was the Earl of Northumberland. Doesn't history repeat itself with a tiresome monotony? On the other hand, isn't a scene like Act IV, Scene 1 of *Richard II* seen dyed with the hues of universality?

As York had warned Richard earlier though in vain, now the Bishop of Carlisle warns the rebels and the usurper, but in even more uncompromising terms:

My Lord of Hereford here, whom you call king,
Is a foul traitor to proud Hereford's king;
And if you crown him, let me prophecy —
The blood of English shall manure the ground,
And future ages groan for this foul act;
Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,

And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars
 Shall kin with kin and kind with kind confound ;
 Disorder, horror, fear, and mutiny,
 Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
 The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls.

(IV, i, 134—44)

Not satisfied with the abdication of Richard and his imprisonment at Pomfret Castle, Bolingbroke, now Henry IV, adroitly brings about his murder, so that he may well be rid of "this living fear". Rebellion and usurpation coupled with regicide: such is the cumulative figure of Henry's quick career of 'crime'. There are, however, one or two softening features. He pardons Aumerle, the Duke of York's son, who is implicated in a conspiracy against the new King; he allows the Bishop of Carlisle, in spite of his aggressive speeches and movements, to live a peaceful life; and he protests that his "soul is full of woe", and promises to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to expiate the crime of killing his kinsman and his king.

If power corrupts, the means pursued to attain or retain power also corrupt; and rebellion is a self-reproducing and fast rotting process. Bolingbroke is King, but he has won his guerdon through sinful and criminal means, and he is accordingly to know no peace as a king. Already, in *Richard II*, he refers to his "unthrifty son", Hal, as a "plague" hanging over him. No sooner Richard is deposed than a conspiracy against the new king is unearthed, and has to be dealt with severely, for while Henry pardons Aumerle — "I pardon him as God shall pardon me" (*Richard II*, V, iii, 131) — and spares Carlisle, he decrees destruction on "all the rest of that consorted crew". Nor is he happy in his relations with his former supporters, the Percies. The first Part of *Henry IV* traces the course of the Percies' revolt (1402-3) culminating in the Battle of Shrewsbury, while Part II dramatises the revolt of Archbishop Scroop and Lord Mowbray, who are deceitfully seized and executed by Prince John, Henry's younger son; and there is also a reference to the defeat of Northumberland and Bardolph

by the "shrieve of Yorkshire" (IV, iv, 97—9). The developing political situation in the 2 Parts of *Henry IV* is an accurate fulfilment of Richard's prophecy to Northumberland:

Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithal
 The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne,
 The time shall not be many hours of age
 More than it is, ere foul sin gathering head
 Shall break into corruption. Thou shalt think
 Though he divide the realm and give thee half
 It is too little, helping him to all;
 And he shall think that thou, which knowest the way
 To plant unrightful kings, will know again,
 Being ne'er so little urg'd, another
 To pluck him headlong from the usurped throne.
 The love of wicked men converts to fear;
 That fear to hate; and hate turns one or both
 To worthy danger and deserved death.

(*Richard II*, V. i, 55-68)

The Percies (Northumberland, Worcester and Hotspur) are quick to resent slights the moment Henry is king indeed, and the King too is only too ready to fear their combined strength. Cataloguing the rebels' grievances to Sir Walter Blunt, Hotspur says that the King

Knows at what time to promise, when to pay.
 My father and my uncle and myself
 Did give him that same royalty he wears.....
 Disgrac'd me in my happy victories;
 Sought to trap me by intelligence;
 Rated mine uncle from the council-board;
 In rage dismiss'd my father from the court;
 Broke oath on oath, committed wrong on wrong...

(Part I, IV, iii, 53-55; 97-101)

Henry IV too, on his part, is fairly conscious of his guilt. "God knows, my son", he tells Hal,

By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways
I met this crown; and I myself know well
How troublesome it sat upon my head.

(Part II, IV, v, 185-7)

The rebels account for 9 out of the 14 years of his reign, and when he feels himself fairly safely in the saddle, he is already a dying man; and he is not even quite sure that his son, Hal will properly guard his heritage. The paths of sinful ambition must inevitably lead through the bogs and quagmires of frustration and end in the wages of an early death.

The crown descends on Henry V, as his father had anticipated, "with better quiet, better opinion, better confirmation"; yet "the soil of the achievement" cannot be wholly exorcised away. Henry V too commences his reign with a 'crime'—a crime against elemental human decency—by brutally rejecting Falstaff, his former bosom-friend. The rejection may be politically necessary, yet it offends against the unwritten laws of human comradeship, even as Orestes' matricide, although carried out in obedience to Apollo's command, remains a horrible crime. In *Henry V*, the 'rejection' is closely related to Falstaff's death. "The King hath run bad humours on the knight", says Nym, and Pistol adds clinchingly, "His (Falstaff's) heart is fracted and corroborate" (II, ii, 118-121). Nor has Henry V done with rebels and rebellion. Richard,¹ Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scroop, and Sir Thomas Grey are cunningly trapped to condemn themselves, and are led out to be executed. Ruthlessness and sanctimoniousness mingle in King Henry's behaviour, and there is a change indeed with a vengeance from the Hal-Harry of Eastcheap and Gadshill. He has also learned the unscrupulous political lesson his father's dying words had so pointedly conveyed to him:

Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels, that action, hence borne out
May waste the memory of the former days.

(2 *Henry IV*, IV, v, 214-6)

1. It is this Richard's son, Richard Plantagenet (Duke of York), and his grandsons, Edward IV and Richard III, who turn against and destroy Henry VI's son and grandson, Henry VI and Prince Edward.

The ambitious nobles were really gangs of fighting animals, and some outlet had to be found for their surplus energies. Henry V accordingly hits upon the expedient of the French war. His conduct of the French campaign is no doubt marked by a high degree of efficiency, but where is the Hal of *Henry IV*? Much of the humour is gone, and perhaps a good deal of the humanity as well. He talks noble verse, and he talks at length; he thinks that the name soldier becomes him best, and he utters Hitler-like fulminations against the Governor and citizens of Harfleur, threatening them with horrible consequences should they persist in defending the town:

If I begin the batt'ry once again,
I will not leave the half-achieved Harfleur
Till in her ashes she lies buried.
The gates of mercy shall be all shut up,
And the flesh'd soldier, rough and hard of heart,
In liberty of bloody hand shall range
With conscience wide as hell, mowing like grass
Your fresh fair virgins and your flow'ring infants

(III, iii, 7-14)

Actually, when in response to his threats the city surrenders, he directs his uncle, Exeter, "to use mercy to them all": while Henry can be ruthless, he is no sadist. On the other hand, the best in him comes out when the fortunes of the war go against him. Now he becomes human again, his actions are governed by humility as well as self-assurance, and out of the fire and brimstone of Agincourt he emerges as a true leader of men. Although the statistics and economics of the 'O God of battles' speech may raise a smile today, there is no doubt that a due sincerity is behind the fervent prayer with which the speech concludes:

Not today, O Lord,
O, not today, think not upon the fault
My father, made in compassing the crown!
I Richard's body have interred new,
And on it have bestowed more contrite tears
Than from it issued forced drops of blood;

Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
 Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold up
 Toward heaven, to pardon blood; and I have built
 Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
 Sing still for Richard's soul. More will I do;
 Though all that I can do is nothing worth,
 Since that my penitence comes after all,
 Imploring pardon.

(IV, ii, 288—301)

And when the Battle of Agincourt turns overwhelmingly in his favour, he is still humble enough to declare:

O God, thy arm was here!
 And not to us, but to thy arm alone,
 Ascribe we all.

(IV, viii, 104-6)

We needn't be detained by the incredible last Act of the play, where the victorious King is shown wooing the Princess of France, much as the cave man might have wooed his coy Eve! At any rate it has all ended happily, the French king has agreed to disinherit the Dauphin in favour of Henry V (even as Henry VI is one day — singular act of nemesis! — to disinherit *his* son in favour of the Duke of York), a royal marriage is solemnized, and the hero of Agincourt makes a triumphant return to England.

III

- Alas for victorious Harry: his reign proves, after all, shorter even than his father's, and when he dies in 1422, his son is but 9 months old, and succeeds him as Henry VI. The Duke of Gloucester — the 'Good' Duke Humphrey — becomes Lord Protector, while another uncle, the Duke of Bedford (Prince John of *Henry IV*), becomes Regent of France. The Yorkist tetralogy covers a period of 63 years, from the funeral of Henry V in 1422 to the death of Richard III at Bosworth Field in 1485. The reign of the child king begins with bad omens. His uncle Gloucester and his grand-uncle, the Bishop of Winchester (later Cardinal Beaufort), exchange unseemly words

before the Westminster Abbey, and news come from France of the loss of many important towns like Rheims, Orleans, Paris, and Poitiers. Thus unity at home and honour abroad are both dead with the death of Henry V. In Part I of *Henry VI*, the war in France and the squabbles at home fill the main canvas. Of the 2 chief protagonists in the French scenes, Joan of Arc is presented with many coarse but also many heroic touches, while Lord Talbot is portrayed as the dare-devil soldier on the English side, the 'valiant Talbot' who "above human thought" enacts "wonders with the sword and lance" (I, i, 121-2). Although the fortunes in France fluctuate violently, there is already a clear hint of the preordained conclusion in Exeter's ominous words:

This late dissension grown betwixt the peers
 Burns under feigned ashes of forg'd love
 And will at last break out into a flame ...
 And now I fear that fatal prophecy ...
 That Henry born at Monmouth should win all,
 And Henry born at Windsor should lose all.

(Part I, III, i, 189-199)

Nor are things more hopeful on the domestic front, where civil strife is waged at all levels. The 'Good' Duke Humphrey and the aggressive Cardinal Beaufort, Lancastrians both of them, stand out as 2 irreconcilable enemies, and neither Bedford nor Exeter nor yet the boy king, Henry VI, can resolve their quarrels. Meantime the embers of another feud are revived in the 'Temple Garden' scene (II, iv). Richard Plantagenet (grandson of Edmund Langley, Duke of York, John of Gaunt's younger brother), supported by his cousin, the Earl of Warwick, revives his old quarrel with the Earl of Somerset, a Lancastrian, who is supported by the Earl of Suffolk: the parties pluck white and red roses respectively as symbolic of their factions; and Warwick strikes an attitude and says —

And here I prophesy: this brawl today,
 Grown to this faction in the Temple Garden,
 Shall send between the Red Rose and the White
 A thousand souls to death and deadly night.

(Part I, II, iv, 124-7)

The King is persuaded by Warwick to restore Richard to his titles, but Richard is no more satisfied with the Dukedom of York than Bolingbroke was satisfied with the Dukedom of Lancaster. Even as he offers homage to Henry VI, his mind is set on the crowns of both England and France. It is thanks to the rivalry between York and Somerset that Talbot doesn't get aid in time, and so loses his life. Weak King though he is, Henry VI is shrewd enough to see the significance of the march of events, but wholly powerless to alter its course :

Civil dissension is a viperous worm
That gnaws the bowels of the commonwealth.

(III, i, 72-3)

It seems likely enough that what are now called Parts II and III of *Henry VI* were originally first conceived as a dramatic study of the 'Contention of the two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster', and Part I with the Talbot scenes written independently. The last scene of Part I, where Suffolk reports to King Henry about Margaret, might have been inserted rather as an after-thought to connect it with the opening scene of Part II, where Queen Margaret, just brought from France, joins her royal husband. Being a dowerless marriage, and even otherwise open to criticism, Suffolk's choice is bitterly criticised by Gloucester. But unlike her husband, Queen Margaret is a determined woman, and with Suffolk's help she hopes to get rid of the protector. Cardinal Beaufort, Gloucester's old enemy, and Somerset and Buckingham are also ranged against Gloucester, though each is working only for his own ends. There is also the formidable Yorkist faction, with York dreaming of the crown, and Warwick and his father, Salisbury, working ardently on his side. But all of them feel that so long as Gloucester retains the Protectorship, their own individual or group ambitions must suffer frustration. While opposition to the 'Good' Duke Humphrey is thus rapidly strengthening, he receives an unexpected blow from his scheming and ambitious wife, Eleanor, who is surprised in magical practices, arrested, and publicly disgraced. Gloucester's own dismissal follows immediately, and he is accused by the unscrupulous Lords of treason

and corruption, and in spite of Henry's feeble protests, committed to the Tower. As Gloucester sadly remarks —

Ah, thus King Henry throws away his crutch
Before his legs be firm to bear his body!
Thus is the shepherd beaten from thy side,
And wolves are gnarling who shall gnaw thee first.

(Part II, III, i, 189-92)

No doubt Henry sees in his uncle's face "the map of honour, truth, and loyalty", but he is powerless to intervene. O the tragedy of 'goodness' like Henry's that is really good for nothing! Father Martindale rightly says that "the greatest mystery of all is not Evil as such: it is the terrible inadequacy of the Good"¹

Left behind by the King, the others,—York, Beaufort, Suffolk and the Queen, — debate how best to liquidate Gloucester, and Margaret is as vehement as the most blood-thirsty among them. Suffolk says :

Be it by gins, by snares, by subtlety,
Sleeping or waking, 'tis no matter how,
So he be dead

(Part II, III, i, 262-4)

And the Queen responds by remarking that "thrice-noble Suffolk" has "resolutely spoke"! But when the murder is actually carried out (1447) with the help of hired assassins, there is a popular rising, for the Duke Humphrey had always been beloved of the people. Now Salisbury and Warwick are quick to exploit the situation, and they get the King to banish Suffolk, notwithstanding the Queen's tactless entreaties on his behalf. On his way to France, Suffolk meets the fate of Gloucester, being captured by a warship off the coast of Kent and put to death by the ship's officers. Beaufort too is suddenly overtaken by a grievous sickness and he dies

¹ Quoted by R. W. Chambers in 'The Elizabethan and Jacobean Shakespeare' (*Man's Unconquerable Mind*, p. 258).

"blaspheming God, and cursing men on earth" (III, ii, 372). When Warwick sanctimoniously says, "So bad a death argues a monstrous life", Henry makes the apt reply :

Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all.
Close up his eyes, and draw the curtain close ;
And let us all to meditation ". (III, iii, 30—3)

Nemesis has overtaken 2 of the 4 plotters of Gloucester's death with almost lightning rapidity. Only York and Margaret remain, and Part III will show how each will prove the ruin of the other.

The interlude of Jack Cade's abortive rebellion accounts for the greater part of Act IV. In Act V, the Duke of York, after a successful campaign in Ireland, returns to England with his Irish army, and at the Battle of St. Albans (1455), the aggressive 'Roses' join issue for the first time. York, Salisbury and Warwick defeat the King and the Lancastrians decisively. Somerset and Clifford are killed, Henry and Margaret escape from the field, to be pursued by the victors to London.

The conclusion of the Second Part of *Henry VI* is merely the commencement of Part III, for York and Lancaster's long jars continue without intermission ; if anything, the tempo rises still further, and a new ferocity is introduced in the person of York's youngest son, Richard (later the Duke of Gloucester, the 'Bad' Duke, in contrast to the 'Good' Duke Humphrey), better known as the Crookback. Already, at the end of the Second Part, the temper of the rival factions is indicated in the words of Young Clifford :

Henceforth I will not have to do with pity :
Meet I an infant of the house of York,
Into as many gobbets will I cut it
As wild Medea young Absyrtus did ;
In cruelty will I seek out my fame. (V, ii, 56—60)

And Richard Crookback, having just killed Somerset, says :

Sword, hold thy temper ; heart, be wrathful still :
Priests pray for enemies, but princes kill. (V, ii, 70—1)

Now Part III opens with the Yorkists assembling at Parliament House, London. As the Duke of York occupies the throne, the Lancastrians enter, headed by the King. Hot verbal exchanges take place, Henry's title to the throne is questioned and defended, and Warwick suddenly shows the mailed fist :

Do right unto this princely Duke of York ;
Or I will fill the house with armed men,
And over the chair of state, where now he sits,
Write up his title with usurping blood.

(Part III, I, i, 167—9)

Henry loses his nerve, — "base, fearful, and despairing Henry", as Westmoreland calls him, — pleads that he might be allowed to reign as king for his lifetime, and agrees to entail the crown to York and his heirs for ever. The Yorkists disperse in jubilation, but now Margaret, and her son Edward, the Prince of Wales, take Henry to task for so brazenly bartering their rights away. At the ensuing engagement at Wakefield, Young Clifford kills the innocent Rutland (York's son) notwithstanding his pathetic plea : "I never did thee harm ; why wilt thou slay me ?" (I, ii, 38). Clifford's answer is :

No cause !
Thy father slew my father ; therefore die. (I, ii, 46—7)

York himself is overtaken, and is at the mercy of the Lancastrians. But in their brief hour of success, except for Northumberland, they are just as meanly cruel and bloodthirsty as the Yorkists. Margaret and Clifford stab York, after showering taunts on him, and showing him a handkerchief stained with Rutland's blood. York aptly describes Margaret as "she-wolf of France tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide", and his dying Prophecy —

My ashes, as the phoenix, may bring forth
A bird that will revenge upon you all (I, iv, 35—6)

echoes ominously in the air. More battles are presently fought — the 2nd Battle of St. Albans, which Margaret wins and Warwick loses, and the

Battle of Townton, in which the Lancastrians are routed, Clifford is slain, and the Yorkists are on top again (1451). The futility and ferocity of war is brought out by the juxtaposition of a Son that hath killed his father and a Father that has killed his son, and the wretched King can merely moan his impotence, or muse like Thoreau, or give way to bottomless despair —

O piteous spectacle! O bloody times!
While lions war and battle for their dens,
Poor harmless lambs abide their enmity
Woe above woe! grief more than common grief!
O that my death would stay these ruthless deeds
(II, v, 73—5; 94—5)

Although the victory of the Yorkist faction means the enthronement of Edward IV (York's eldest son), the swelling legacy of ancestral crime cannot but breed more evil. In the Second Book of *Paradise Lost*, Milton gives a terribly vivid picture of Sin and Death and their numerous progeny:

These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry
Surround me, as thou saw'st — hourly conceived
And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
To me

So it has been with the numerous progeny of Edward III. Evil starts, evil accomplishes atrocious inbreeding, evil continually destroys the agents it feeds by making them victims at the same time. While the all-powerful Warwick — the “setter-up and plucker-down of kingdoms” — is away in France to negotiate a suitable match for Edward IV, the King himself decides to make the widow Elizabeth Woodville (Lady Grey) his Queen, since she will not consent to be his concubine. This action throws Warwick into the arms of Queen Margaret and the Lancastrians, and he promptly resolves to re-seat Henry VI on the throne. Meantime Richard Crookback — “that valiant crookback prodigy”, in Queen Margaret's inimitable words — has his own plans, hopes and fears:

And yet, between my soul's desire and me —
The lustful Edward's title buried —

Is Clarence, Henry, and his son young Edward,
And all the unlook'd for issue of their bodies,
To take their rooms ere I can place myself.
A cold premeditation for my purpose!
Why, then I do but dream on sovereignty;
Like one that stands upon a promontory
And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,
Wishing his foot were equal with his eye ...
Why, I can smile, and murder whiles I smile ...
I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,
Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could,
And, like a Sinon, take another Troy.
I can add colours to the chameleon,
Change shapes with Protheus for advantages,
And set the murderous Machiavel to school.
Can I do this, and cannot get a crown?
Tut, were it farther off, pluck it down.
(III, iii, 128—37; 182; 188—95)

We are here in the presence of no everyday criminal, no mere avenger seeking any particular victim, no limited ambition setting a boundary to its empire, but Evil itself in a seemingly human form, audaciously human yet hideously warped and deformed, Evil that scatters the seeds of sin and gathers whole harvests of crime.

While Richard is biding his time, Warwick raises the standard of rebellion, and the Yorkists lose, and Henry exchanges the Tower for the throne (1470). But not for long. Edward and Richard gather their forces together, and at the Battle of Barnet (1471), the Lancastrians again lose, and Warwick dies — even as Hotspur dies in *1 Henry IV* — with eloquent words and belated wisdom in his mouth. Thus Hotspur:

But thoughts, the slaves of life, and life, time's fool,
And time, that takes survey of all the world,
Must have a stop.
(V, iv, 81—3)

And thus Warwick :

Lo now my glory smear'd in dust and blood !
My parks, my walks, my manors, that I had,
Even now forsake me ; and of all my lands
Is nothing left but my body's length.
Why, what is pomp, rule, reign, but earth and dust ?
And live we how we can, yet die we must.

(V, ii, 23-8)

The surviving Lancastrians join Queen Margaret and her army from France and engage the Yorkists at Tewksbury, and are once again overpowered. Prince Edward is brutally done to death by Edward and his two brothers, and Richard quickly proceeds to London and kills Henry VI as well. The unhappy old King knows that his end is near and his tongue turns to prophesy

that many a thousand
Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear,
And many an old man's sigh, and many a widow's,
And many an orphan's water-standing eye—
Men for their sons, wives for their husbands,
Orphans for their parents' timeless death—
Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast born.

(V, vi, 37-43)

And although he rebukes Richard in no uncertain terms—

The owl shriek'd at thy birth—an evil sign ;
The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time ;
Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempest shook down trees...
(V, vi, 44-6)—

his dying words to his murderer are: "O, God forgive my sins and pardon thee!"

IV

Shakespeare was evidently both repelled and fascinated by this Medusa-monstrosity in human form. Richard cannot be normal, for evil is not normal, and such a colossus of evil can only be a gross perversion of

nature.¹ He gloats on evil as never Satan himself gloated, for presumably even Satan remembers heaven now and then and is seized with remorse or at least self-pity. But Richard is wholly without regrets, as he is without any compunctious visitings whatsoever. He is no doubt a superlatively gifted hypocrite, who could frame his face "to all occasions", and he is able to gain the confidence of the very people he plans to destroy. He is master of all the arts of simulation and dissimulation, and, of course, he is an artist in crime. For purposes of concentration and speed, Shakespeare has resorted in the final play of the Yorkist tetralogy (*Richard III*), as in the others, to considerable dramatic telescoping of events and has freely drawn upon his imagination to emphasise character-contrasts and the working of nemesis. But Richard from first to last dominates the scene. The Third Part of *Henry VI* closes with the murder of the King in the Tower, and in the second scene of *Richard III*, the corpse of the late King,—attended by Lady Anne (Warwick's daughter and Prince Edward's widow) as chief mourner,—is shown as being conveyed in melancholy procession to the appointed grave. Richard chooses this moment to woo the Lady Anne whose husband and father-in-law he has lately killed, and—amazing man!—he actually gets her to say 'yes' to his seemingly monstrous proposal. One by one, Richard has already removed many of the impediments between him and the throne, but now he makes his moves with a precision that is infernal rather than human. He encompasses the death of his brother, Clarence, inflames Hastings against the Queen and, when Edward dies, throws her brother, Lord Rivers, and her son, Lord Grey, into Pomfret Castle, and kills them. Having become Lord Protector with the help of Hastings and Buckingham, he gets rid of the former summarily :

Off with his head ! Now by Saint Paul I swear
I will not dine until I see the same. (III, iv, 78-9)

The two sons of Edward IV—Edward, Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York—are now both consigned to the Tower, and Richard becomes king at last, thanks to his own ruthlessness and resourcefulness, and also the

1. We are here concerned only with Shakespeare's Richard. For a more favourable picture see Philip Lindsay's *King Richard III* (1933.)

complaisance of the Duke of Buckingham. But even Buckingham experiences the first faint stirrings of conscience when Richard opens the subject of liquidating the princes in the Tower, and so his life too is forfeit. Even after the murder of the princes, Richard is worried about possible rival claimants to the throne, and hence plans to marry Clarence's daughter to "some mean poor gentleman", and to make Edward's daughter his own Queen after getting rid of his present wife:

I must be married to my brother's daughter :
Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass.
Murder her brothers, and then marry her !
Uncertain way of gain ! But I am in
So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin. (IV, ii, 62-6)

In the extraordinary scene (IV, iii) in which the old Queen Margaret, the old Duchess of York (Richard's mother), and Queen Elizabeth (Edward IV's widow)—3 women who have terribly suffered at the hands of the Crookback—meet and mingle lamentations and curses, the basic fact that in all wars it is the woman who pays the heaviest toll is dramatised with lurid extravagance and passion. Richard chooses this moment to beg his sister-in-law to give him the hand of her daughter. Two scenes earlier, Anne had confessed to Elizabeth that when Richard wooed her by the dead body of Henry VI, she had started cursing him, but—

Lo, ere I can repeat this curse again,
Within so small a time, my woman's heart
Grossly grew captive to his honey words
And prov'd the subject of mine own soul's curse....
(IV, i, 78-81)

Is Queen Elizabeth too won as easily? Richard thinks he has scored again. But she only gains time, and later sends word that Henry, Earl of Richmond, can marry her daughter.

The wailing of the surviving dowagers of the rival houses of York and Lancaster is central to the scheme of the tetralogy, however it may be historically impossible. In the curses and mutual recriminations which fill

the air, we view, in Dr. R. G. Moulton's words, "a vista of nemeses receding further and further back into history".¹ Likewise, the events dramatised in *Richard III* demonstrate the remorseless working of nemesis. The fall of Clarence is brought about by Queen Elizabeth and her faction; the Queen's relations are liquidated by Richard with the help of Hastings; Hastings himself is eliminated with Buckingham's support; and, finally, it is Buckingham's own turn to lick the dust. The wheel of nemesis goes round and round, striking the culprits down one after another. Now it is Richard's turn at last, he has been in all the villainies, he has himself adroitly turned the wheel to his advantage,—but he cannot escape reckoning for ever. Richard Crookback and Henry, Earl of Richmond, meet at Bosworth Field. Richard's ranks are thinned by the swarms of deserters to Richmond, and Richard dies, not whining, but fighting, his last ringing words being: "A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!" (V, iv, 7), Henry, descended on his mother's side from John of Gaunt, now marries Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth, and so the Red and the White roses are united at last in the new King, Henry VII, and his Queen.

V

The sequence of 8 plays from *Richard II* to *Richard III*, on a total view, is an impressive political pageant, almost an epic in its moving multiplicity of incident and character, and in its painstaking veracity and universality,—verily an English *Mahabharata*, though cast in a dramatic form. Of the 2 Richards, John Palmer justly writes: "The man who is self-centred in imagination and the man who is self-centred in action are equally out of tune with reality, and equally doomed to destruction."² Like the 2 Richards, the 2 Gloucesters too — the Good Duke Humphrey who is loyal to his nephew and the Bad Duke, Richard Crookback, who has his 2 nephews murdered in the Tower — offer a study in contrast; so do the 2 Henrys, father and son, the victor of Agincourt and the loser of France, and the 2 Yorks the weak but honest York of *Richard II*

1. *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* (1901), p. 113; also p. 110.

2. *Political Characters of Shakespeare* (1948), p. 179.

and the masterful but unscrupulous York of *Henry VI*. The permanent results of Agincourt were practically nil; what chance or force of arms gave, fickle chance and the shifting fortunes of war took away. The significant life-work of Henry VI was the foundation of Eton College, Windsor, and King's College, Cambridge,—"nobler monuments, surely," say the historians, E. H. Carter and R. A. F. Mears, "than the fading glories of Agincourt." The 2 tetralogies are peopled with power-seeking politicians to whom nothing is sacred. The bigger lords—Northumberland, Worcester, Hotspur, Scroop, Somerset, York, Warwick, Buckingham—have their own personal armies, and although they frequently take the name of God, King or Country, although they utter resounding oaths and promise eternal fealty or friendship, their ego is their God, King and Country, loyalty, friendship and religion for them. They have no use for learning, and despise piety. Romantic love but plays a minor part in their lives. Women are dolls or mere chattel to be played with or to be used, received or given away. Characters like Queen Margaret or the Duchess Eleanor, even like Joan of Arc, are the exception rather than the rule: the generality of women conform to the passive womanly type, symbols of silent sufferance, the docile mothers and sustainers of the race in spite of the murderous proclivities of the males of the species. In the audaciously conceived scene in *Richard III* (already referred to more than once) where three sorrowing mothers raise a chorus of doleful recapitulation and futile recrimination, it is the blood-curdling cry and scream of widowhood and motherhood bemoaning the murderous slaughters of husbands and children. Queen Margaret appears in all the 4 plays of the Yorkist tetralogy, verbal eruptions of her vengeful nature but agree in a general way "with the tit-for-tat scheme of crime and punishment"¹ that is set forth in the 4 plays.

As for the men, they range from one extreme, Henry VI, gentle, saintly, and long-suffering, to the other, Richard Crookback, flint-hearted, ruthless and unbelievably and utterly evil. The rest are just imperfect human beings, compounded of the elements of good and evil in varying

1. E. M. W. Tillyard's *Shakespeare's History Plays* (ed. 1948), p. 212.

proportions, but none without some redeeming quality asserting itself at some time or other. Yet they are as a rule so intoxicated with the sense of their individual importance or with the rightness of their own cause that with them the wish is generally father to the thought. To change sides is for them as justifiable as to change shirts, and to double-cross one's friends when it is to one's advantage is as legitimate as to spite one's declared enemy. They are terribly conscious of their 'nobility' and loftily contemptuous of the common people. They are not very good at arguing, though they can hurl on occasions the foulest execrations at one another; and when all fail, the mailed fist is expected to do duty. They 'sweet lord' one another promiscuously, and some of their 'asides' are unspeakably coarse or outrageously criminal. Their nearest modern counterparts are the war lords and commissars of totalitarian countries or the managers or bosses of political caucuses in the democracies.

One thing, however, must be said in favour of most of these fighting animals. They are not cowards. They are ready to fight even against odds. They are ready to die. They do not, like modern captains of war, send the common soldiers ahead as ready cannon fodder, hiding themselves in carefully camouflaged, heavily sand-bagged positions well behind the fighting lines. Most of them die on the battle-field, many are publicly executed, and many others are secretly murdered. The victim may be overpowered in his bed, and he may exhibit a sense of surprise; he may seek information; he may indulge in self-criticism or prophecy—most of them *do* prophesy about the woes still to come!—but hardly any of them behaves abjectly or whines unworthily in the end. Writing of the Yorkist tetralogy, Professor R. W. Chambers writes: "For scope, power, patriotism, and sense of doom it had probably no parallel since Aeschylus wrote the trilogy of which the *Persians* is the surviving fragment"¹. The words may be applied with equal relevance to the entire cycle of 8 plays. What unites the entire cycle, says Dr. Tillyard, "is the steady political theme: the theme of order and chaos, of proper political degree and civil war, of crime

1. *Man's Unconquerable Mind*, p. 254.

and punishment, of God's mercy finally tempering his justice, of the belief that such had been God's way with England."¹ Crime provokes punishment, wrong calls for reprisal; but human affairs are so complicated that no evil can be easily isolated. Alternately currents of crime and revenge, more crime and more revenge, are generated, and the opposing categories tend to get increasingly blurred. As the evil rages unchecked, a new malignancy seizes the actors, and iron enters the souls of even the well-meaning and the honourable. Men of good will prove progressively incapable of controlling the events let loose by evil. The power of evil steadily grows from play to play till in *Richard III*, in the person of its principal character, all evil seems to gather into head. Then, when all seems hopeless, when it looks as though the eclipse of good is apparently for ever, Henry, Earl of Richmond, steps in almost like a heaven-sent messenger, to beat back the shadows and usher in the bright dawn of a new era. Crime and punishment have no meaning in a context where too many are involved in them both. Men are mostly Abels pursued, or Cains pursuing; and not seldom both pursuers and the pursued. We think that a little concession to evil will not hurt us very much; but we are mistaken. No easy commerce with sin and evil is possible. We either go the whole hog, or knuckle under in the meanwhile. We cannot both play with evil and circumscribe its operations; the Jekylls who flirt with evil become in time unalterable Hydes. As the reader closes the last of the cycle of 8 plays, weariness and exhaustion overpower him. We can hardly believe our ears when Richmond says:

Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again—
That she may long live here, God say amen!

(V, v. 40-1)

It is the calm that descends on a city desolated by a cyclone or an earthquake,—the dazed peace that followed the atomic explosion over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Evil has raged so long, crimes and reprisals and suffering have so long become the current coin of the realm, that the very taste of peace and the flavour of human affection, are conscience, long

1. *Shakespeare's History Plays*, pp. 200-1.

forgiveness, meekness—order, 'degree', legitimacy, unity—these too have derided and suppressed, has almost lost its function. Charity, pity, suffered gross betrayal or damage. The way of egotism and pride, sin and crime, can show the way only to this winter of approximate death. The sterility and blight have ended at long last, and the waste land can be now cultivated again.

LECTURE III

I

Ever since Heminge and Condell grouped Shakespeare's 36 plays under Comedies, Histories and Tragedies in the Folio edition of 1623, superficial readers have been apt to assume that these terms are clear-cut and were so understood in Elizabethan and Jacobean times. But plays were not so succinctly or emphatically described in the Stationers' Register or on the title-pages of the Quarto editions. Under 2nd May, 1595, the S. R. refers to "a booke intituled A plesant Conceyted historie called 'the Tayminge of a Shrowe'". *Titus Andronicus* is entered on 6th February, 1594 as "a booke intituled a Noble Roman Historye of Tytus Andronicus". What we now call the Third Part of *Henry VI* is referred to in the first Quarto of 1595 as "The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke", while the Second Part is described in the S. R. as "a booke intituled, the firste parte of the Contention of the twoo famous houses of York and Lancaster with the deathe of the good Duke Humfrey, etc." Likewise *Richard II* is entered in the S. R. as a "Tragedie", and *Richard III* as "The tragedie of kinge Richard the Third with the death of the Duke of Clarence". *Hamlet* is entered on 26th July, 1602 as "A booke called 'the Revenge of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke'", while *King Lear* is described under the date 26th November, 1607 as a 'historye'. It is clear therefore that Shakespeare and his contemporaries had less rigid ideas about comedy, history, and tragedy than a look at the 'Catalogue' prefixed to the First Folio would seem to warrant. It is certainly convenient to separate the 10 historical plays from *King John* to *Henry VIII* from the Comedies and the Tragedies, but this should not foster the supposition that Shakespeare cultivated the tragic muse only in the Tragedies and humour and frivolity only in the Comedies. We have seen

that several of the Histories embody the stuff of tragedy, and indeed the entire sequence of 8 plays from *Richard II* to *Richard III* may be described as the tragedy of England and the English people, conveying a cumulative sense of suffering, horror and futility but also of stern endeavour, nobility, humanity and reawakening strength. No doubt, as with great literature, by sleight of the artist's hand, England and the English people achieve a connotation that embraces all lands, all times, all peoples. But the starting-point is England and English history. If an epic could be defined as a significant evocation of events and characters that are of paramount interest to a particular nation and also of general interest to all mankind, then Shakespeare's history plays have certainly an epic sweep and intention. England's trials, her search for unity, legitimacy and stability, and her attempts to fuse in practical action the contradictory principles of order and impulse are the real theme of the Histories. But England's history is also human history and that is why these plays still so profoundly move us.

In the Comedies and the Tragedies—as distinct from the 10 historical plays—the theme is seized from the human end. Macbeth belongs to the history of Scotland, Cymbeline and Lear to early British history; Julius Caesar, Antony and Octavius, Coriolanus, and Titus Andronicus are Roman historical characters, and Timon has some sort of niche in Athenian history. Perhaps there was a Prince of Denmark corresponding to Hamlet and a Moorish General of the Venetian army named Othello. But from the beginning these characters are seized inwardly and presented, not as so many national heroes or types, but as sparks of primordial humanity, creatures of infinity who have survived all changes in a changing world. No doubt, characters in fiction, poetry or drama, however the writer may have seized them inwardly, need to be clothed and given a set of habits before they are let loose among us. It is a question of the relative emphasis arising from the initial movement. In the English historical plays, Shakespeare sought to present certain political situations and characters, and incidentally also brought out what was of primary human interest in them. The 'Histories' are literature without question, but literature reasonably subordinated to hard facts; the play of invention and imagination has but a restricted scope

in such works. In the Comedies and the Tragedies, on the contrary, Shakespeare started from certain primary human situations, worked his way to the human core, and touched everything with universality. The problems of crime and punishment, injury and revenge, figure in several of the Comedies and Tragedies as well,—only here Shakespeare has a far freer hand than in the Histories. It will be a gross perversion of the dynamics of creative writing to maintain that Shakespeare commenced his dramatic career with a definite plan of campaign. The creative writer is ruled by the categorical imperatives of his imagination, rather than by masses of facts, theories, or ethical formulas. Experience comes to him from various sources: books, observation, personal involvement, intellectual formulation. But not till the experience is transformed by the imagination can it turn into great art. This is so with each of Shakespeare's plays. It can, if we like, be related to his studies, his entanglements at the moment, his reigning idiosyncracies, or his pet preferences or prejudices; but in the final valuation, it is really the child of his imagination. All this admitted, it is still open to us to infer the broad outlines of a general ethical pattern behind the plays. It is natural that we should see each individual play as a small unique segment of life; but it is by no means illegitimate to see the plays also as a series, or to see in them an underlying movement groping towards a goal, like a river obscurely forging its way to the ocean.

Our concern in these lectures is only with Shakespeare's treatment of the problem of Crime and Punishment. Now what are the different ways in which this problem could be presented in conformity with the facts of our experience? The intention to kill is not the same thing as killing, though the very intention taints the soul. *First*, then, we have a situation in which an intended criminal act is prevented in time; or circumstances intervene that render impossible the accomplishment of the crime. As there is no actual crime, there is no call for punishment either. Punishment in such a context would be mere vindictiveness. *Second*, an intended crime or injury is prevented no doubt, but the means employed to achieve this end are dubious or leave an unpleasant odour behind. Again there is no call for punishment, and to brood on the horror that might have happened rather than accept with gratitude the reassuring actuality, is not the

way of wisdom. *Third*, a crime may be both intended and accomplished: what then? The normal—almost universal—reaction is revenge or reprisal, a process of action that may embrace, not merely the criminal, but also his friends, his relatives not even innocent women and children excepted. Unescapably such revenge or reprisal starts a series of alternating currents, crime being followed by punishment (which is but another and perhaps a worse crime), and in its turn provoking a third crime, and so on, horror piled on horror, till human sensibilities are deadened, crime and punishment become interchangeable or jumbled categories, and humanity becomes a determined mutual suicide club. If men's minds don't flirt with sin and crime, or if intended crimes are luckily prevented by chance or design, there is either no problem or the problem of punishment is fairly easy of solution. But crimes are not only planned, but are sometimes actually committed. The human family hasn't still outgrown the primitive stage of Cain answering unabashed: 'Am I my brother's keeper?' Cains do liquidate Abels: what then? We have seen that the way of reprisal and revenge leads but to the bleak equality of the grave. Is there no other way in which the challenge of evil can be met? 'Resist not evil!' Is it a counsel of perfection? Is it a vocation only for Messiahs and Mahatmas? Cannot crime be met by forgiveness, instead of by reprisal or punishment? A crime is committed, but the criminal is forgiven! This is the *fourth* possible way of dealing with the problem of crime and punishment. Shakespeare has explored *all* these four ways in his dramas.

II

In *The Merchant of Venice* (as in *Much Ado About Nothing*), an attempted crime is prevented just in time. What is the real issue between Shylock and Antonio? Is it racial antagonism between Jew and Gentile? Is it rivalry between the mere moneylender and the merchant with far-flung interests? The fact of hatred is unmistakable, but it is rather an one-sided affair. Shylock certainly hates Antonio, but Antonio's feeling is more one of contempt than hatred towards Shylock—which perhaps only infuriates the Jew all the more. In his first 'aside' Shylock says:

I hate him for he is a Christian;

But more for that in low simplicity
He lends out money gratis, and brings down
The rate of usance here with us in Venice.
If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.
He hates our sacred nation; and he rails,
Even there where merchants most do congregate,
On me, my bargains, and my well-won thrift,
Which he calls interest. Cursed be my tribe
If I forgive him!

(I, iii, 37-47)

Later, faced with the overwhelming fact of Shylock's hatred, Antonio offers this explanation to his friend Solanio:

He seeks my life; his reason well I know:
I oft deliver'd from his forfeitures
Many that have at times made moan to me;
Therefore he hates me.

(III, iii, 21-4)

Shylock is rather a comic figure to start with, an 'alien' with his strange ways and his hoarded wealth, the shabby man with a load of grievances, the bad man who is up to anything. His reticences and silences are characteristic of him as are his gesticulations and volubility. His 'merry sport' is readily acquiesced in by Antonio. 3,000 ducats in 3 months' time or a pound of Antonio's flesh: such is the 'merry sport'. The 3 months pass; Bassanio on whose behalf Antonio has borrowed the money wins Portia, the heiress of Belmont, but here in Venice the bond is forfeit and Shylock demands his 'pound of flesh'. To the general hatred of Antonio and the Christians is now added a new motive for revenge: the Christian, Lorenzo, has eloped with Shylock's daughter, Jessica, who has also taken away jewellery worth several thousand ducats. All the accumulated wrongs of the race, real or imaginary, are to be revenged on Antonio! In the celebrated 'Trial Scene', Shylock's mind works with fiendish excitement, he is like one transformed by the nervous frenzy of hatred, and all his thoughts of revenge are directed at Antonio's heart. The semi-comic figure of the

early scenes has become a colossus of evil, and Antonio, Bassanio and the Duke are all powerless in the face of Shylock's single-minded diabolical obduracy. Portia appears as the young lawyer from Padua, and makes her classic plea for mercy. But the Jew presents an adamant front to all appeals. He wouldn't even play the traditional Jew and take 3 times the owed money and cancel the bond. What has happened to him? The fact is he has become a giant force of malignant hate, a vast boil on the body politic. So Portia has perforce to use the surgeon's knife, and Shylock suddenly awakes from the nightmare in which he has gloried as Omnipotence to the crude realities of everyday life in Venice. The rest is an anticlimax for him. There is much in the judicial procedure followed in the 'Trial Scene' that may raise a laugh in the modern reader; this is, however, neatly balanced by the fantastic procedure followed at Belmont to choose a bridegroom for Portia. There is a truth in Shakespearian drama that exceeds the merely legal, formal or materialistic truth; it is the higher realism of romance, myth and poetry, and it satisfies the soul even when it gives a jolt to the mind. Whatever the impediments, however the Himalayas of evil obstruct the road to felicity, the guerdon is won, the evil is overcome; Bassanio wins his lady, and Antonio survives the threat to his life. Where the mind is free and without blemish, the impulse to love has enough potency to checkmate adverse circumstances and all the sinister operations of evil. Antonio hasn't loved Bassanio in vain, nor has Bassanio loved Portia in vain. In this sense, *The Merchant of Venice* is a joyous affirmation of faith in the efficacy of love and a demonstration of the ultimate futility of evil.

Shylock at least can catalogue his grievances with some show of conviction or even passion (III, i, 45-52). But what is Don John's grievance in *Much Ado About Nothing*? Shylock is an 'alien', and Don John is a 'bastard', even as Edmund in *King Lear* is a bastard. Aaron is a Moor; Richard III is the 'crookback'. Iago and Iachimo are 'aliens' too — 'yellow' Italian fiends. Uncle Claudius is a 'satyr' — 'a mildew's ear' and a 'moor'. Evil evidently struck Shakespeare as a perversion of nature, a deviation from normality. Don John himself is like a snake with a forked tongue that shows its fangs for a second, then hurriedly withdraws into the thicket or the nether world from which it had come out. He confesses to

being a man of few words, though of a morose temper. It is clear he is jealous of Claudio: "that young start-up hath all the glory of my overthrow. If I can cross him in any way, I bless myself every way" (I, iii, 57-9). It is clear too he hates his brother Don Pedro. But surely Hero has in no way harmed him, and his villainy is directed mainly against her. So we can only say that though, like Iago, Don John too can trot out reasons, his real reason is the irresistible desire to do mischief, to plume up his will (as Iago says) in 'double knavery'! The exercise of villainy is the enjoyment of a sense of power. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia plays Providence and prevents the actual commission of the intended crime of the 'ritual' killing of Antonio ... for to Shylock the pound of flesh nearest Antonio's heart was to be a 'ritual' offering to his injured Jewish pride. In *Much Ado*, the duties of Providence are shared evenly by the scintillating Beatrice and the brace of nincompoops, the 'watch', and the transcendental ass Dogberry.

Act IV, Scene i, is one of the most painful scenes in Shakespeare. Hero is shamed in the church, and falls down in a swoon. It is a revolting exhibition of hard-heartedness, like the outrage on Droupadi in Dhritarashtra's Durbar Hall. The darkness of ignorance, real no less than spiritual, ... and ignorance of whatever kind is but a form of evil,—overwhelms all the characters: all except Beatrice. She is aglow with fire, and she is the sole source for a while of light, life and hope; in her alone incarnated the promise of reviving sanity. 'Kill Claudio!' is no doubt the culminating atomic explosion, but the real Beatrice is revealed in the affirmation, 'O, on my soul, my cousin is belied!' (IV, i. 146). Her flame of living faith converts the friar, revives Hero, and transforms Benedick from the mere chatterer to the knight in shining armour charging against falsehood and injustice. At the crucial moment when Hero was disgraced by her lover and disowned by her father, Beatrice alone had the sense of the unclouded truth and the absolute courage that only clear conviction of truth gives to strike a blow on behalf of her injured cousin. Thus she alone infused Hero with the will to live and fight calumny, instead of succumbing at once to the impact of public slander. On the other hand, Dogberry and the Watch, as is the way of the world, muddled their passage through to the exposure of Don John and his tool,

Borachio. Hero's life has been saved, and her name has been cleared. Had she been a character in a Dostoevsky novel—had she been, for example, a Nastasia Filippovna—she might not have cared to be reunited with the wretched Claudio. But she is a sweet creature, she can make allowances for human stupidity, and feeling relieved that the nightmare-misunderstanding is over, she readily forgives her lover's trespasses and is content to be married to him. As for Don John, nobody bothers about the 'brave punishments' that are to be designed for him. We are well rid of him now, and that's all that matters.

III

As in *The Merchant of Venice* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, in *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure* too, intended crimes are frustrated in time. Providence takes a hand in the game, no doubt using suitable human instruments, and the crime is forestalled, the wrong is righted. Still there is an important difference. Portia perpetrated impersonation and casuistry, and Beatrice played the Fury and instigated murder: yet they struck these blows, not in mere self-interest, but on behalf of others. In *All's Well*, on the contrary, Helena is obliged to resort to certain means which many would term questionable to achieve her own personal aims. She is a masterful even more than a womanly woman: she is in this respect somewhat like the heroine of M. Mauriac's *Galigai* (1952). Like Madame Agathe's, like Leonora Dori's, Helena's power too is the "power of the strong-minded over the weak". The woman who pursues a man is generally supposed to be a less attractive (or more comical) character than the man who pursues a woman. For instance, we laugh at Surpanakha when she pursues Rama, but when Ravana abducts Sita he is no mere figure of fun. However, unlike Madame Agathe in M. Mauriac's novel, Helena is both young and beautiful, attractive in the eyes of all except the one person, Bertram, whom she wishes to marry. "She is young, wise, fair", says the King; the Countess, Bertram's mother, loves her as much as she loves her son, and refers to her as "the most virtuous gentlewoman that ever nature had

praise for creating" (IV, v, 7—2). And again, with pointed reference to Bertram's antipathy towards Helena, the Countess says:

There's nothing here that is too good for him
But only she; and she deserves a lord
That twenty such rude boys might tend upon,
And call her hourly mistress.

(III, ii, 78—81)

Lefeu, describing her in superlative terms, says that her beauty

did astonish the survey
Of richest eyes; whose words all ears took captive;
Whose dear perfection hearts that scorn'd to serve
Humbly call'd mistress.

(V, iii, 16—9)

If Portia appears first as a charming heiress and later as a dispenser of justice, if Beatrice is, in the beginning, all mirth and no matter, though presently she waxes as an incandescent Fury in the service outraged innocence, then Helena's first role is that of a *healer*. Not only the King—who was only sick in body—but Bertram also, who is sick in mind and heart, needs her healing touch. To be the soft womanly woman—a flower like Ophelia or Desdemona to be crushed by the hard and brutal world of man—is not woman's only destined role in life. The ideal of womanhood includes strength no less than beauty, a capacity to protect and sacrifice no less than the capacity to give and share the sweets of love. To make Bertram happy in spite of himself is her vocation in life, and if incidentally she cures the King, helps Diana to a good husband, and achieves her own happiness, these need not be taken in the reckoning against her.

But the detractors of the play interpose: How about the substituted mistress? Isn't such a trick too bad for bad report? And the same wretched ruse is resorted to in the companion play, *Measure for Measure*! Was Shakespeare suffering indeed from a temporary atrophy of his imaginative powers? And so *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure* are styled 'problem' plays, the 'dark' comedies, or in the Shavian terminology, 'Plays Unpleasant.'

In the historical plays, Shakespeare presented with strict veracity one form of human madness: war, of civil as well as the 'national' variety. In the 'problem' plays, *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure* (to which we may add *Troilus and Cressida*)¹, Shakespeare presented, with uncompromising candour, another form of human madness: lust. In *Troilus and Cressida*, both the lunacies — war and lust — coalesce to produce a tremendous nausea the like of which is to be seen nowhere else in Shakespeare. Courage, endurance, chivalry, heroism are among the virtues thrown up by war; or, rather, these virtues, which have their proper place in life, turn gross and bestial and destructive and inhuman under the stress of war. The spectacle of the son who has killed his father and of the father who has killed his son, which Shakespeare has juxtaposed in *Henry VI*, Part III (II, v), is an extreme instance of the criminal insanity that is war. The lust for blood blinds human sensibilities, and both the boy Rutland and the saint Henry are put to the sword. The lust for blood rages with such blinding fury that the father kills his son, the son kills his father, brother kills brother, kinsman kills kinsman, and it is only when the fitful fever is past that awakening comes to taunt and stupefy the survivors. So it is with lust. It is so maddening, so blinding a fever that one hardly even recognizes the object of one's lust. There is a story of Maupassant's which tells of a sailor who meets a girl in a brothel and discovers later that it is his own sister. In war killing is done for the sake of killing, and the soldier cannot stop to consider the features of the enemy who is advancing to kill him and will surely kill him, unless he is himself killed in the meantime. The military uniform further helps to obscure the human characteristics of the soldier. The father cannot recognize his son in his armour or uniform, and so kills him unaware of the horror of the deed. Likewise Bertram sleeps with Helena, and Angelo sleeps with Marina, wholly unaware of the cunning substitution of the partner. Lust is a fierce appetite fed by a lurid imagination that holds no

1. Dr. Tillyard describes *Hamlet* also as a 'problem' play: the description fits in so far as the play portrays the dark power of lust. But we needn't go the whole length of Dr. Tillyard's argument and say that *Hamlet* is not a tragedy.

commerce with sober reality. Angelo and Bertram are alike consumed by this sudden cancerous appetite, and they must satisfy it even under cover of darkness. As Helena, in the hour of her humiliating triumph, exclaims, speaking (shall we say) both for herself and Marina of *Measure for Measure*:

But, O strange men!
That can such sweet use make of what they hate,
When saucy trusting of the cozen'd thoughts
Defiles the pitchy night. So lust doth play
With what it loathes, for that which is away.

(IV, iii, 21—5)

And in Sonnet 129, Shakespeare describes in scalding language the soul-destroying power of lust:

Th' expense of spirit in a waste of shame
Is lust in action; and till action, lust
Is perjur'd, mur'rous, bloody, full of blame,
Savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust;
Enjoy'd no sooner but despised straight;
Past reason hunted, and, no sooner had,
Past reason hated, as a swallowed bait,
On purpose laid to make the taker mad—
Mad in pursuit, and in possession so:
Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme;
A bliss in proof, and prov'd, a very woe:
Before, a joy propos'd; behind, a dream.

All this the world well knows; yet none knows well
To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell.

The craving for sex, a native and fierce urge and a basic fact of vital consciousness, can be bound by the silken cord of love, permitted reasonable play within the safe limits of marriage, and so enabled to fulfil its evolutionary role as the means of much pure joy as also the central creative principle of life. But promiscuous love is but poor degrading bestial lust. It is swinish grovelling in the gutter, debasing the giver as well as the mad or

maddened purchaser, and it is a diseased nature that seeks such 'love'. Bertram admits as much when he begs Diana to give herself unto his "sick desires" and Angelo, reeling under the sudden eruption of lustful desire for Isabella, says :

What's this, what's this? Is this her fault or mine?
The tempter or the tempted, who sins most?
Ha!
Not she; nor doth she tempt; but it is I
That, lying by the violet in the sun,
Do as the carrion does, not as the flow'r,
Corrupt with virtuous season. (II, ii, 162—8)

Neither Bertram nor Angelo pretends that his passion is other than base, not the body alone, but the soul also, is diseased, and this is even more true of Angelo than of Bertram. We cannot charge Bertram, as we can charge Angelo, with playing the Puritan and the just God and actually enacting Belial and Moloch. Bertram is merely the simple sensual man, brainless and selfish as such men generally are. But Angelo desires to outrage a sanctuary even though he knows full well that it is a sanctuary; and when he gets, as he fondly imagines, what he has desired, he isn't even prepared to keep his part of the bargain. Measure for Measure, indeed! Substituted mistresses, and substituted heads!

Helena might have erred against propriety in openly asking the King for the hand of Bertram. But why should the masculine code of honour be raised to the level of Scripture? She loves Bertram with a pure unquenchable love, and there can be few affirmations of love more eloquent than hers to Bertram's mother :

I know I love in vain, strive against hope;
Yet in this captious and insensible sieve
I still pour in the waters of my love,
And lack not to lose still. Thus, Indian-like,
Religious in mine error, I adore
The sun that looks upon his worshipper
But knows of him no more. (I, iii, 192—8)

Viola in *Twelfth Night* is content to "let concealment, like worm in 'the' bud, feed on her damask cheek"; but Helena is more like a Hound of Love that pursues the fleeing man to seize and possess and reform and redeem him, even in spite of himself and his perversity. She is man's *Shakti*, the source of his reviving life and strength. It can therefore be said that Helena plays in *All's Well* the roles of both Isabella and the Duke in *Measure for Measure*. In the end Bertram is shamefaced in all conscience—he has lied and prevaricated and played the fool and the cad long enough — and so when Helena appears again before him and says

'Tis but the shadow of a wife you see,
The name and not the thing ...

(V, iii, 301—2) —

he eagerly affirms: "Both, both; O, pardon!" There is no point in questioning his sincerity here, nor in the promise that follows (albeit it is weakly hypothetical in form): "I'll love her dearly, ever, ever dearly".

In *Measure for Measure*, Isabella first appears, not as healer like Helena, but as an angel of mercy. Portia, Beatrice, Helena, Isabella: they are almost incarnations of Mahalakshmi, Mahakali, Mahasaraswati, and Maheshvari, bringing to their earth-play diverse aspects of the Mother, the creatrix, and redeeming the erring world of man. Isabella has left the cloister to plead for the life of her condemned brother. An air of sanctity envelops her, and holy, fair, and chaste is she! From the very moment of her stepping out of the cloister into the world, she is fated to prove a disturbing influence on others. Many lives suffer a 'sea-change' on account of her impact upon them. She reminds us of Browning's Pippa in this respect — only, unlike Pippa, who changes others while remaining untouched herself and even unaware of the redemptive power that flows from her, Isabella's is an active mission, she changes others and herself grows in wisdom and experience. As she comes straight from the cloister, the Christian plea for mercy becomes her, "The very incandescence of her compassion transcends the personal occasion", writes Miss Mary Lascelles, "carrying her to a height at which if she would plead for one man, she must plead for all." When Angelo says

that Claudio, her brother, "is a forfeit of the law", Isabella breaks out her first absolutely noble utterance in the play :

Alas! alas!

Why, all the souls that were were forfeit once;
And He that might the vantage best have took
Found out the remedy. (II, ii, 72-5)

There is no necessity to recapitulate the whole story here. There is in Isabella's whole aspect a radiant purity before which Angelo — although he is aptly described by Lucio as "a man whose blood is very snow-broth, one who never feels the wanton stings and motions of the sense" (I, iv, 57-60) — quails somewhat, and instead of rejecting her suit outright, asks her to meet him the next day. It is with some difficulty that he makes his meaning clear to her this time, and naturally she is aghast, and brings herself to say :

I know your virtue hath a license in't,
Which seems a little fouler than it is,
To pluck on others. (II, iv, 145-7)

But he is hardly himself, being blinded by lust, and he is determined to take every advantage over her. As she leaves him for the second time, she has no doubt in her mind as to her final decision: "More than our brother is our chastity" (II, iv, 185). She is quite genuinely repelled by unchastity in others. She doesn't *defend* Claudio's action, she only pleads that he may be *forgiven*. Repelled by unchastity in others, what Angelo suggests cannot but strike her as a horrible course of action, something that is not to be thought of even as a distant possibility. She is Christian enough to view the failings of others with charity, but she cannot with eyes open soil her own immortal soul. She finds herself in an intolerable situation, but there is an 'inner struggle' — for she sees her way quite clearly. Yet her path is strewn with thorns, whithersoever she may turn. Even as she has struck crude earth in Angelo, she now finds that her brother is no less weak, that he is abjectly afraid of death, and that in him love of life is rather stronger than horror of unchastity. Isabella is shocked. Although the words still rise from the depths of her compunction, she scalds him with burning reproaches, and leaves him dazed and crushed.

It is at this 'psychological moment' that the disguised Duke comes out with his "advisings", suggests "plausible obedience", and presently proposes to Isabella the substitution of the one-time rejected Marina for herself. Angelo, on his part, decides both to eat the cake and have it, to satisfy his lust and then order Claudio's execution. When Isabella comes to know of this from the Duke, she is furious: "O, I will to him and pluck out his eyes!" (IV, iii, 116) But this is only her first reaction, perfectly natural in a girl so circumstanced. When she makes her appeal to the newly returned Duke, she refers to Angelo openly as the Devil, "an adulterous thief, an hypocrite, a virgin-violator", and seeks redress of her wrongs. The Duke, however, prolongs her agony by first taking Angelo's side. Marina, when she makes her complaint about Angelo, fares no better. Of course it all comes out in the end: the Duke leaves the scene for a while to return almost immediately afterwards as Friar Lodowick, and when Lucio pulls off his friar's hood, Angelo knows that he cannot further brazen out his misdeeds. "O my dread lord", he says, addressing the Duke,

I should be guiltier than my guiltiness,
To think I can be undiscernible,
When I perceive your Grace, like pow'r divine,
Hath look'd upon my passes. Then, good Prince,
No longer session hold upon my shame,
But let my trial be mine own confession;
Immediate sentence then, and sequent death,
Is all the grace I beg. (V, i, 364-72)

The Duke has still not done with his practical jokes. He has Angelo married off, on the spot as it were, to Marina, only to condemn him to death the next instant. Now Marina supplicates in her husband's favour, and begs — once, a second time, and a third time — Isabella also to join her in her prayers to the Duke. Now at last her Christianity is sternly put to the test. But her novitiate with the votarists of St. Clare hasn't been in vain, and even though she is still under the impression that Angelo had brutally condemned her brother to death, Isabella says:

Look, if it please you, on this man condemn'd,
As if my brother liv'd. I partly think

A due sincerity govern'd his deeds
Till he did look on me; since it is so,
Let him not die. My brother had but justice,
In that he did the thing for which he died.

(V, i, 442-7)

It is her last speech, and fully in character. Her forgiveness is all the nobler because as yet she is unaware of the fact that her brother is not actually dead. She is the blessed feminine at its purest, the most unselfish, the most austere, snapped at the point where the human meets the divine.

The Duke's role in the play is less clear than Isabella's. Here is the pure radiant flame of feminine pity and Christian charity: she comes out of her cloister to the ways of ordinary men to fulfil, and not to destroy. The Duke, on the contrary, symbolizes masked Providence—and Providence is always masked; and although masked, Providence is present always; and like Providence, the Duke is seemingly whimsical, not easily understandable, playful in a heavy way, cruel too sometimes, loving a practical joke, yet settling things right in the end. As Friar Lodowick he says:

My business in this state
Made me a looker-on here in Vienna,
Where I have seen corruption boil and bubble
Till it 'oerrun the stew: laws for all faults,
But faults so countenanc'd that the strong statutes
Stand like the forfeits in a barber's shop,
As much in mock as mark.

(V, i, 314-20)

"Here in Vienna"! But Vienna is everywhere, and all the time; hence there is a masked Duke too everywhere, all the time. His ways appear to be strange, and at times even needlessly cruel or tortuously dilatory. But how shall we hope to understand fully the workings of Providence? God is not mocked, and Providence is perpetually vigilant. Yet, another Power too is needed to redeem the sad state of Man. The *grace* of God which is the feminine aspect of His power, His omnipotence, is also needed, lest erring men be merely destroyed, not reformed and redeemed. Power without the freedom to heal, to forgive and to redeem is but limited power, and as the power

of Providence is unlimited, it includes the rescuing and saving power of grace. It is Isabella's glorious destiny to remind Providence of this auspicious aspect of His Power. No one can have a greater horror of vice — especially that form of it which festers as unchastity — than Isabella; yet it is her prerogative to plead on behalf of her brother before Angelo and on behalf of Angelo before the Duke. It is thus fitting that on the human plane she will now wed the Duke, not masked Providence this time, but merely Duke Vincentio. Need we doubt that when pity and charity wed power and strength there will arise out of the ruins of the present diseased world a new heaven and a new earth?

IV

The Tragedies are a vast continent, jungle-like in their complexity and range, with royal oaks reaching up to the sky, seductive but deceptive pools here and there, forest fires raging in immitigable fury, wild beasts roaming, tigers and lambs thrown together into one incalculable scheme of life. The Tragedies resist easy generalizations, and refuse to fit into our neatly contrived systems. The surge and roar of evil is obvious enough, but in the long run the forest fires exhaust themselves and are extinguished or are effectively brought under control; evil is beaten back, and Truth, Goodness, Beauty, and Love prevail. In the Tragedies, crime is no diminutive measurable thing, like a stray revolver shot or a minute's machine-gun fire, but an atomic or an H-bomb explosion. Apart from the infernal violence of the initial explosion, there are the chain reactions, wave upon wave of widening destruction, till the whole earth itself and the atmospheric envelope are involved in the catastrophe. Claudius poisoning his brother in the orchard, Macbeth murdering Duncan, his kinsman, benefactor, guest and King, and Goneril and Regan driving their father out of their house to face the naked fury of the elements, let loose forces of evil that can be brought under control only when incommensurable damage has already been done. Even as under the conditions of modern total war, no distinction between military and non-military objectives could be maintained, so too once evil is unleashed, it sweeps avalanche-like over all, the innocent and the guilty alike suffer, and the calm that concludes the tragedy is rather like the calm

that follows a cyclone. Hamlet, intending to avenge a wrong, the killing of his father, perpetrates (however inadvertently) another wrong by killing Laertes' father, the meddling Polonius. And Hamlet insults and shames Ophelia and drives her to insanity and an early watery grave. Yet, in the end, the two avengers, Hamlet and Laertes, exchange forgiveness before the last breath of life leaves the body. In *King Lear*, the injured Cordelia, Kent and Lear strive for the good of the very people who have caused the injury; and the scene of reconciliation between Lear and Cordelia is doubtless among the ambrosial achievements of Shakespeare's dramatic art. In the Tragedies, the potency of Evil and its seeming irresistibility are in terrible contrast to the apparent powerlessness of Innocence and Goodness. It is not a crime here or a crime there that daunts us; it is rather the diabolical native force or sweep of evil that throws up crimes right and left; it is the camouflaging of evil in terms of good, it is the blocking up of all ways of retreat and safety. Not poetic *justice*, only *rough justice*, is possible in the end!

V

In Shakespeare's last plays — *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* — Shakespeare asks himself whether crime or injury, instead of being followed by punishment or retaliation, cannot be followed by repentance, forgiveness and reconciliation. Jesus exhorted his followers: 'Resist not Evil!' If your enemy deals a blow on your left-cheek show him your right-cheek as well! But such patient sufferance of evil is vocation for a saint: a saint like Henry VI who is prepared to pardon even his murderer, Richard Crookback. Isabella too, schooled in the Christian ethic during her novitiate, is prepared to plead for Angelo's life though her first reaction is to want to pluck out his eyes. Absolute love also can — as in *Desdemona*, Cordelia, even in Ophelia — forget the injury and forgive the person who has insulted and injured. But Shakespeare evidently felt, as we all feel, that for average humanity forgiveness at the very moment of the injury is impossible, being a counsel of perfection to a wretchedly imperfect world. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, is the more likely, the more normal, reaction. But suppose there intervenes a passage of time before the intention to retaliate has been able to mature into an act, what then? When two

people are exchanging blows, our first impulse is to separate them; we naturally hope that the mere separation will have a beneficial, a sobering effect. Likewise if the injurer and the injured could be separated and kept apart for some months or years, is it not possible that they may be able to view things in a less aggressive light? Time is the infallible healer of all wounds. But it is essential we should give Time a chance. In Kalidasa's *Abijnana Sakuntalam*, Dushyanta insults and injures his wife Sakuntala by rejecting her; then there is an interregnum; when they meet again, now at Marichashram, she is in a position to forgive him, and he is in a fit condition to receive the forgiveness. The pattern here is: crime (or injury, if you wish to be euphemistical) — an interval which facilitates repentance on the part of the injurer and makes it easy for the injured to view the injury with less bitterness — and eventual reconciliation and reunion. This is roughly the pattern followed in Shakespeare's three last plays¹. *Cymbeline* has injured Belarius, and Belarius has injured *Cymbeline*; *Posthumous* has injured Imogen, and has all but murdered her; there is a time-lag between the injuries and the final encounter; circumstances are now changed, and forgiveness, reunion and reconstruction are therefore possible.

In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes heaps on his own head guilt upon guilt, defames his friend, insults his wife, shocks his son into illness and an early death, and blasphemes against the gods. His wife, Hermione, is tried unjustly, her baby daughter is cast away, and her son, Mamillius, dies being cruelly separated from her. His loyal Antigonus is mangled and eaten by a bear. But the awakening surely comes, followed by the long years of silent sorrow and suffering and prayerful expiation of his wrongs. Cleomenes assures him:

Sir, you have done enough, and have perform'd
A saint-like sorrow. No fault could you make
Which you have not redeem'd; indeed, paid down
More penitence than done trespass. . . (V, i, 1-4)

1. cf. Tillyard: "Examining the bare plots rather than the total impression of the last three plays, we find in each the same general scheme of prosperity, destruction, and re-creation," (*Shakespeare's Last Plays*, 1938, p. 16).

He will not think of marrying again, having "kill'd" so good a wife as Hermione.

No more such wives; therefore, no wife. One worse,
And better us'd, would make her sainted spirit
Again possess her corpse, and on this stage,
Where we offend her now, appear soul-vex'd,
And begin 'Why to me'—

(V, i, 55-60)

And when the lost daughter returns, when the long-lost friend is back in Sicily as if "cliffs which had been rent asunder" could come together again, when even Hermione, long supposed to be dead, is new-endowed with life, the scene is set, not for a sham reconciliation, but for a reunion not unlike that of Dushyanta and Sakuntala in the presence of their son Bharata. As Mr. S. L. Bethell puts it beautifully, "In the resurrection the struggle is past; the spell is lawful and the actions shall be holy. This last scene most obviously expresses the future life in terms of the present; its rarefied unearthiness is a foretaste of heaven. The themes of redemption and regeneration, now explicit, are related to a poetic suggestion of fulfilment beyond life."¹ In *Sakuntalam*, the second Ashram where the lovers find each other is of the earth, yet not wholly of the earth, and in its power to redeem the lost and reunite the sundered, it too gives us with its "rarefied unearthiness ... a foretaste of heaven". So Goethe said that the play combines the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline, both earth's limitations and heaven's beatitudes; such too is the impression conveyed by *The Winter's Tale*, though, of course, Kalidasa's play is verily a Divine Comedy with an imaginative sweep and concord of parts that must place it far higher than *The Winter's Tale*, higher even than any pure Tragedy or Comedy. But if we are to seek affiliations for Shakespeare's last plays, we should seek them in Sanskrit drama, in *Abijnana Sakuntalam* above all.

If, then, the scheme of the drama is to include, not only the bleak deserts of crime and destruction and waste, but also the passage to a new

1. *The Winter's Tale — A Study* (1949), p. 104.

Eden with spring and its tender new leaves giving out the promise of approaching Plenty, a suitable time-lag is essential. But this time-lag is apt to destroy the structural unity of the play. Did Ben Jonson tell Shakespeare sharply that *Cymbeline* was loose in construction and that *The Winter's Tale* was really three plays carelessly thrown together? At any rate, in *The Tempest*, Shakespeare simplifies the pattern so ruthlessly that it is practically the Fifth Act of a *Winter's Tale* like dramatic sequence inflated into the prim proportions of a five-act play. The 'crime' is pushed into the past; the interval between the 'crime' and the 'forgiving' is taken for granted; and the whole play is devoted to the dynamics of forgiving, reconciliation and reconstruction. Evil still fights a rearguard action — in Caliban, in Antonio, in Sebastian. But it is seen to be what it is — "this thing of darkness", as Prospero describes Caliban.

No doubt, in Shakespeare's last plays, human credulity is stretched almost to breaking point. But it is the sovereign privilege and destiny of poetry to dare the impossible, invade the invisible, and to make the Lie the Truth. Evil undoubtedly exists in our woefully cabined Euclidean world: the soul is tainted by sin, and crimes of one or another sort mangle the beauty of the earth. But what is the remedy? The answer to Evil is not Evil but Good; the answer to hate is not more vitriolic hate but Love: the answer to ugliness is not more repellent ugliness but Beauty. A haystack has been consumed by fire. The answer is not to set fire to another haystack in the vicinity of the supposed culprit's house but to await the next autumn and its harvest of hay. Let the dead past bury the dead; let the sins of the fathers, instead of being visited upon the children, be expiated by suffering, and may the children inherit a less poisoned earth. Crime, above everything else, does not pay — not in the long run. In Christopher Fry's *Thor with Angels*, the impact of the Christian ethic on the primitive Anglo-Saxon is brilliantly rendered; in his recent play, *The Dark is Light Enough*, the categorical imperatives of humanity as against the vindictive claims of all of our yesterdays are persuasively presented. Shakespeare was a full-blooded renaissance man rather than a Christian saint or idealist. Yet in his last plays, by the sheer logic of his artistic development, he was led to

state the Christian ideal of repentance, forgiving and reconciliation in terms of everyday practicality. To take up the past is to lose the future :

Let us not burden our remembrances with
A heaviness that's gone.

(The Tempest, V, i, 199-200)

Here, then, we have the grand circuit of Shakespeare's drama—beginning from *Titus Andronicus*, where the crime-punishment equation equates ultimately with zero, and ending with *The Tempest*, where crime is isolated, put as it were in quarantine, and so the criminal loses his sting and even Caliban awakens into sanity.

AIMS OF TEACHING ENGLISH IN UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA ¹

By

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ANY formulation of aims for the teaching of English in Indian Universities is linked up with the place that English should occupy in our educational system. In too many minds English is associated with a domination that is now only a matter of history. No thinking student of our history can assert that our association with the English people has been an unmixed evil. Our democratic political organization, our thirst for scientific advancement, our socialistic planning, our fervour in social reform and social uplift, our very love of freedom and determination to maintain unity, have been stimulated by a thought and culture, a language and a civilization which have been nurtured in liberty and fostered by the spirit of adventure.

It would therefore be the task of Indian education to conserve what is good while recognising the need for change and reconstruction. In India today we are living in an age of revolution—of un-paralleled activity. The liberation of our country under the aegis of Mahatma Gandhi and the unrivalled architects of our freedom has brought to the forefront much more tremendous tasks—the preservation and maintenance of our hard-won liberty, the strengthening of the spirit of unity of a people politically fragmented for centuries, the abolition of poverty and unemployment, the winning for our country a place of respect and honour in the comity of nations. In this endeavour, as a nation, we have been engaged in gigantic plans of economic and industrial development under the inspiration of our far-sighted Prime Minister. What should be the target that Indian education should set before itself? What should be the contribution that English teachers should make towards achieving this national objective?

¹ A paper read at the All India English Teachers' Conference, Madras, December 1958.

These larger questions, it is not the scope of this paper to discuss. But I venture to think that in any scheme of educational reconstruction English should occupy an essential and important position. The prospect of English ceasing to be the medium of instruction in Universities need not appeal teachers of English. That consummation has necessarily to be a matter of time; and is also bound up with political and economic questions discussion of which has provoked a good deal of heat along with some quantum of light. The question of English studies can, however, be approached purely academically and, as far as possible, dispassionately.

There is no controversy over the fact that English should continue to be studied in India from Secondary School to University. In this connection it is necessary that English teachers should disabuse their minds of any regret that English has ceased to be the medium of instruction in the High School. It is good to recognise that the English medium has disappeared for good; and English teachers would do well not to attribute the undoubted fall in standards in English teaching and study to the disappearance of the English medium. The cause for such decline could rather be found in a state of mind that thinks that the love of a foreign language is detrimental to the progress of the mother tongue. This state of mind has to go. The truth seems to be that study of a language like English—as long as it is not imposed from above because of political considerations without due regard to the claims of the mother tongue—strengthens, widens and invigorates the mother tongue. The renaissance and efflorescence of Indian languages during the last half century is in no small measure due to the impact of English on them. This aspect of English studies is worth consideration, emphasis and expansion.

Another fallacy that threatens English teaching and study is the notion that poor little children should not be burdened with the learning of too many languages; and that the ideal state of things would be for the child to have only one language to study which will be at the same time his mother tongue, his regional language as well as his federal language. The consensus of educated opinion and the practice of civilized nations, not to speak of national and international needs, agree in discountenancing such a

view. To quote only one among the many great writers on the subject. Professor A. N. Whitehead says:—

“The three years from twelve to fifteen should be dominated by a mass attack upon language, so planned that a definite result, in itself worth having, is thereby achieved..... At the end of that period the children should have command of English, should be able to read fluently fairly simple French, and should have completed the elementary stage of Latin; I mean, a precise knowledge of the construction of Latin sentences, and the reading of some parts of appropriate Latin authors..... I conceive that such a measure of attainment in these three languages is well within the reach of the ordinary child.”

This is said with reference to the United States; but can apply to India, *mutatis mutandis*. Indian education can very well aim that a child should during the Secondary stage achieve a complete mastery of the mother tongue and a good knowledge of two other languages. My experience as a student and as a teacher of English at the University level for more than three decades tells me that such study is not felt difficult by pupils. In the case of gifted pupils even a fourth language—a classical language—can be added to the list. As a citizen of India and as a student of Indian and inter-national affairs for almost a half century I have no hesitation in saying that English should be a language for compulsory study for all students who proceed beyond the elementary stage.

That should be so because in this age of democracy, in this era of the common man when our nation is engaged in a herculean effort to raise itself to the standards that normal healthy and cultured life demands, no child should be consigned to a form of education which will land it in a *cul-de-sac* and shut it out of the highest levels of study and achievement if it finds opportunity and inclination as it proceeds in life. The demands of an age dominated by science and technology, the claims of a world whose dimensions have shrunk because of the developments in travel and communication, the imperative need to build up a world community which can rise above prejudices of race and climate, all these, require that every Indian should possess some degree of knowledge of

English which is not merely the key to science and technology but also to intellectual membership of a comity of people living in all the continents of the globe. Nearer home it has created in India, an intelligentsia which by its knowledge and determination secured the political unity and independence of India. If the soul-stirring ideas of the Father of the Nation, if the unrivalled sincerity and vision of Jawahar, penetrated the minds of people in every corner of India, it was in no small measure due to a common medium of expression which not only served to forge Indian unity but also served to stimulate their minds with the invigorating waters of freedom, equality and brotherhood. Nothing helped to shake off the iron hand of superstition and the tyranny of age-old custom which condemned large sections of our people to untold hardships more than contact with a language and a civilization which are so secular and humanistic in their outlook. These living waters must continue to flow in ; and people at all levels must have a chance to taste them.

It is sometimes contended that, at the school stage, English should be studied only as a tool, not as an instrument of culture of which we have enough. Every teacher knows that out of the four types of ability that a student of language should acquire – ability to read, ability to write, ability to speak and ability to understand when spoken to – no one can be acquired by itself ; that these abilities are not independent but interdependent. There can undoubtedly be grades in emphasis, and stages in the acquirement of the language. The advantages of the study of English as a means of widening our mental and emotional horizons have been proved by our past achievements. If the aim of education is to bring about a culture which will destroy the walls of the mind and widen its horizon, which will promote activity of thought and create receptiveness to beauty and humane feeling, English must continue to be taught in India for its cultural and aesthetic values in addition to its more pragmatic uses. Even to a mind steeped in Kambar and Kalidasa, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Sophocles' *OEdipus King* in translation can reveal a new vista of most valuable experience. I do not mean at all that all this should be attempted in the high school. What I say is that the school should keep the door open for the boy who wishes to do all this later.

Coming to the University stage the subject can be considered in relation to undergraduate studies and in regard to post-graduate study and research.

At the undergraduate level the aim of teaching English should be to secure for the student a thorough knowledge of idiom and usage in English. He must be able to express himself easily, fluently and correctly both in speech and writing. He must also learn thoroughly a few masterpieces in English drama, poetry and prose. This is far from the case now as the Public Service Commission has pointed out time and again. All through the course of English teaching and study it is well to remember that our task is no longer to manufacture efficient quill-drivers but to create an *elite* from whom can be drawn the future scientists, philosophers, writers, journalists, creative artists, soldiers, statesmen, engineers, doctors, captains of industry and organizers of commerce, legislators, teachers, ambassadors and statesmen. Universities are nurseries of national greatness and this greatness has to measure up to international—nay eternal—standards. In these nurseries the breeze of English study has to flow in freely. The days of freedom are more exacting than the days of dependence. The universities have to review their aims and methods of teaching and study in the light of this freedom and this unprecedented responsibility. 'All education is not for all'. Our education has to choose whom to teach and what to teach. This choice should not leave out a high degree of knowledge and study of English. In this connection I would plead for greater stress on speaking and debating in English and ability to sustain a conversation in English.

At the post-graduate level there should be a systematic study of English language and literature. This study should extend to the present day. Very often there is the tendency to regard language as a dry-as-dust study which could very well be cut out from the course, to the immense relief of the suffering student. Difficulty is inherent to all study. That which is too easy is not worth doing. The question to be asked is, is it worth doing? The answer is that the study of language is a part of the necessary discipline of the study of literature. The study of literature would be maimed and halting if it is not based on a thorough knowledge of the

significance, history, texture and nuances of the words of which it is composed and of their order which is so significant and memorable. Besides, the discipline of the study of the English language will gently take on the student to general linguistics and to Indian language study. The doyens of the linguistic society of India were nurtured on English studies which can always make an effective contribution to the historical and scientific study of the languages of India.

Again I would plead that the teachers of English at the post-graduate level encourage a comparative approach in the learning of English literature. Many streams derived from the literatures of the world have gone to swell up the current of English literature. In the same way English literature has touched many fine writers to fine issues. Modern Indian literature has repeatedly found model and inspiration in the masterpieces in English. A comparative criticism will serve to illuminate many aspects of literature, English and Indian, and lead on to a global approach to the study of man's creative mind.

In South Indian Universities the heresy dies hard that no research can be done by Indians in English. I am glad to find that this view is gradually receding. Research is not a dispensable luxury. It is the invariable concomitant of the best teaching at the highest level. The greatest claim that has been put forward on behalf of the University of Oxford is that century after century, throughout the long course of her existence, Oxford has produced scholars who have handed on the torch of learning from generation to generation.

T. S. ELIOT'S "THE WASTE LAND"

A STUDY

By

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THE poem was first published in the first number of *The Criterion* in October, 1922. The first English edition of the poem was published in 1923 by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press. It has since then been translated into French by P. Leyris, Paris, 1947 in *Poemes* 1910—1930, with additional notes by John Hayward.

"The era of the spiritual wasteland as an undertone of English literature, to which T. S. Eliot gave a legend and a signature, is generally considered to denote the decade from 1920 to 1930, and to characterise the psychological disillusion and despair which followed the first World War..... The premonition of a civilisation running down, of a nation exhausting itself into sterility, overshadows much of the poetry of the latter part of the Nineteenth century..... This poetic despair and disgust arose as much from a hatred and horror of the tasteless materialism of inflated industrial civilization as from the increasing isolation of the poet himself. His intellectual solitude, his sense of standing alone against the fraudulent and destructive values of a society geared to the mere acquisition of wealth, drove the poet back into the past, to the search for a more stable tradition, and the assertion of a purely aesthetic way of life." (Randall Swingler from an article in *The Times Poetry Review*, 1951, Vol. XLII, No. 3).

Stephen Spender, the English poet, in his book, *The Destructive Element*, which is mainly devoted to a criticism of the work of Henry James, considers Eliot among writers like James, Yeats, Joyce, and Pound, writers, who, according to Spender, owe more to an un-English (a Celtic and a

Continental) tradition than to the purely Anglo-Saxon tradition. These writers, in Spender's opinion, have all fortified their works by creating some legend, or by consciously turning back to a tradition that seemed to be dying. Spender points out how I. A. Richards (cf: *Science and Poetry*) quoting from Conrad, — "In the destructive element immerse. That is the way." — implies that Eliot has immersed himself in the destructive element.

According to Spender, the destructive element which these writers face is the Present, which is a world without belief. Richards considers the Waste Land as the expression of the predicament of a generation. Spender sees Eliot as an extremely isolated artist of great sensibility whose work in *The Waste Land* achieves a wide objectivity. Spender finds this objectivity in the most important art of our time, in works which are moral as well as political. The artist does not deal in purely aesthetic values, but communicates an experience of life which is outside his own personal experience. There can never be a kind of art which is not based on a political, religious or moral creed, according to Spender. The symbolists in France (Mallarmé, Laforgue and others) created a 'pure' art for art's sake which communicated an experience void of experience. But in order to do that, they had to destroy certain previous associations and sequences in our minds. They had to destroy to create; but without the destruction there could have been no creation.

Spender considers Eliot as a rebel against the English lack of a consistent literary tradition, and his poetry as really a sharp corrective to contemporary writing, rather than a powerful and originating force. This point of view is of special interest to readers of modern English poetry, when considered with special reference to English literary tradition. When Eliot entered the English literary scene with *Prufrock and Other Observations* in 1917, the prevailing poetic tradition was the Georgian tradition, which as D. E. S. Maxwell points out in his book on T. S. Eliot, was an attempt to revitalise the failing romantic tradition, without infusing into this process anything foreign to that tradition. The Georgians recognized the changing nature of civilisation; but instead of adapting their poetry as to make it a

fit medium for the expression of the changed circumstances, they continued to deal with subjects having a preconceived and rather facile emotional appeal. "It was purely a poetry of escape, concerned with the romance of far-off lands, the sea, and of a sentimentalised English country-side, fixed firmly at three o'clock on a sunny afternoon before the first World war." (Maxwell, *The Poetry of T. S. Eliot*: Ch. I.) "Love in country lanes, the song of birds, moonlight—these the poet, playing for safety, and the critic trying to find something safe to praise, will deem the sure cards in the poetic pack." (Ford Madox Hueffer: *Preface to the Collected Poems*).

Wordsworth's experiments at the end of the 18th Century eventually became a part of the English literary tradition. But with Tennyson and his contemporaries like Morris, Rossetti, Swinburne, and Arnold, there was a loss of vitality in the English poetic tradition. "As the 19th Century progressed, the most characteristic poets of the age, Tennyson, Morris, Rossetti, Swinburne, Arnold were chiefly occupied in the creation of a dream world, a poetical convention, to take the place of the real world which had become intolerable to them." (Philips Henderson: *The Poet And Society*; Ch. III, pp. 75). Swinburne's poetry was a playing with the music of words. He had genius, but his poetry could not provide a satisfactory model for a new generation. The test of a tradition is its relevance to contemporary circumstances. It is this relevance which will decide "what in the past is worth preserving, and what should be rejected." (Eliot: *After Strange Gods* 1934). Tradition involves the historical sense, which, in its turn, involves "a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence" (Eliot: *Tradition And The Individual Talent*, 1919.); it is "a sense of the timeless as well as of the temporal" (Ibid.); it is, above all, "what makes a writer most acutely conscious of his place in time, of his own contemporaneity." (Ibid.)

Swinburne's poetry, and the escapism of the Georgians were symptoms of the decadence of the tradition. The Georgian experiment indicated the extent to which the romantic tradition was unrelated to the artistic problems of the time,

There was a certain amount of debased romantic technique in the work of the Georgians which found expression in continual limited variation on restricted themes, expressed in stereotyped formal patterns. It was, as Edith Sitwell points out, "flat and thin, or shallow and shadowless ... an evasion like the phrase 'Not At Home' " (*Aspects of Modern Poetry*, pp. 73) The public liked it because the evasion was stereotyped and recognizable, and musically expressed.

The poetry of a Georgian poet like Rupert Brooke, for instance, remained unaffected by the changing relationship of man to his surroundings, by the faster and more complex rhythms of modern life. What was lacking in such poetry was a perception of these complex rhythms of life, and an assimilation of them into poetry. To be truly contemporary in character, modern poetry must show in its texture, the idiom and the rhythms of modern life. The poetry of Georgians like Brooke romanticised realism, and was merely decorative, unrelated to anything deep in contemporary life. In Eliot's poetry, particularly in *The Waste Land*, the surface characteristics of urban civilisation—like the fragmentary café conversation interrupted by spasmodic gramophone music, the talk in a pub, etc ... — are used to probe beneath the surface of life.

At this point, Mathiessen's comment in his discussion of the relation of a poet to his age, and the evaluation of any poem as a complete whole, is perhaps most relevant and illuminating:

"... paradoxically, part of what is meant by saying that a great poet gives expression to the life of his time depends on the way in which he reverses many of its popular maxims, on the way in which he cuts through the mass of conventional opinion and prejudice What must be remembered in any discussion of the relation of the poet to his age is the truth of the sentence 'Poetry is not a substitute for philosophy or theology or religion' (Eliot). It has a function of its own, a function 'not intellectual, but emotional', the nature of which can be apprehended only in terms of the effect produced by its combination of rhythmical movement

with the sound and sense of words For the important thing, as Richards has reaffirmed, is 'not what a poem says, but what it is'; and the only way of knowing what it does express is by a sustained awareness of all the formal elements of which it is composed. Only in this way, by experiencing the poem as a whole, "and then by evaluating it 'from the inside', so to speak, by trusting the evidence of your senses for its effect, can you determine whether or not the poem is alive; and thus, in turn, whether or not the poet has a sense of his age, whether what he believes and imagines about human destiny springs from a direct contact with life. A continuously original rhythm cannot be faked; it can arise only from the poet's own response to physical and emotional movement. False diction, words that are not wholly felt, words whose implications are not understood by the poet, artificial metaphors, manufactured symbols — all quickly betray themselves to an eye experienced in the texture of verse. A borrowed structure which has not been fully assimilated — either of thought or of form — will give itself away as baldly as an affected gesture or a secondhand emotion."

(F. O. Matthiessen; *The Achievement of T. S. Eliot*; pp. 110)

According to Maxwell, Eliot is probably the first poet of this century who sensed the dangers inherent in romantic literary doctrine which was based on the belief that a work of art was fundamentally an expression of the artist's personality, that the artist ought not to have allegiance to any external authority but only to his inner voice, and that the important thing in a work of art was not the object considered, but what the author felt about the object. Such a romantic fallacy resulted in a destruction of belief in a central authority which all men might obey, and above all, in the disappearance of objective standards by which men might agree to judge works of art.

This central source of authority to Eliot was tradition and the struggle of his time, according to Eliot, was to "re-establish a vital connexion between the individual and the race." The struggle in art, then,

was to make the poet aware of "the mind of Europe.....a mind which he learns in time to be much more important than his own private mind." (*Tradition And The Individual Talent: Selected Essays*, p. 16) The mind of Europe is a universal mind by virtue of its involving all the philosophy and all the art of the dead writers. Of this universal mind, tradition is the expression. The voice of the artist, therefore, is not so much the voice of his private self as of the mind of Europe. That is why, "the progress of the artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality." (*Tradition And The Individual Talent: Selected Essays*, p. 16.)

By submission to tradition, the poet gains a sense of community with his time, the "historical sense" as Eliot calls it. This "historical sense" will enable him to act as the spokesman of his time, to understand fully the particular problems and conditions of his time, to interpret and communicate them. Again, to provide himself with the larger, more complete poetic personality, there must be contact between his mind and the mind of Europe, which is mainly gained by acquiring a knowledge of the mind of Europe, involving wide reading. This will help him to see the pattern in tradition, and also to recognize those parts in the European tradition which have the greatest relevance to his own time. And finally, the poet must be aware of his functions, which are, firstly, to alter the pattern of tradition: secondly, to study the contemporary relations between poetry and the prose idiom—because any living language analyses into idiom—and lastly, to restore poetry by experiments in metre, rhythm and vocabulary from the artificiality and excess of musical elaboration into which it often falls when it loses contact with the language of life in a period of decadent writing. Georgian poetry has been rightly called "an art of the outworn pastoral" by Derek Stanford in an article in *The Poetry Review*. According to him, the regeneration of English verse (which Eliot undertook) demanded three significant changes, incorporation of the above mentioned functions of the poet: a change of subject-matter, a change of attitude to the complexity of life in the new age, and a change of style. That is why Eliot's poetry appears to us to be more important and more representative of our time than the shallow verse of the Georgians,

whose facile writing on prescribed poetic themes did nothing to revitalise the English poetic tradition when that tradition, after more than a century, needed revitalising.

A consideration of the change in style brings us to the subject of esotericism in Eliot's poetry, which has been widely discussed. Maxwell¹ finds two causes for the esotericism in Eliot's poetry. Firstly, Eliot realised the uselessness of wide appeal to an audience incapable of full appreciation. This incapacity of the highest artistic response was the result of universal elementary education and other social factors, and also the recognition by this audience of the shallow Georgian verse as the genuine article. Therefore Eliot used the method of appealing to a small public in the hope that by a process of diffusion his work would be appreciated fully by a larger part of society. The second cause according to Maxwell lies in the demands of a complex civilisation, infinitely more complex than in any previous era. The expression of these demands in art required the resurrection of lost, and the development of new artistic devices.

The new style, or the change in style (which Eliot and Pound did so much to introduce) and since then, sometimes known as the neo-classical, was—where form and subject-matter were concerned—essentially the application of classical canons—standards of precision, detachment and restraint—to the problems and subject-matter of the present. It involved the synthesis of classical and impressionistic traits, of regular and free-verse styles. Eliot used free verse along with the regular traditional metres with great skill and control. "Free verse, like impressionism in painting, was a technique aimed at conveying a greater degree of naturalness, a stronger feeling of immediacy, a sense of being-as it were—on the spot."

This method, which Eliot introduced and made so popular, can be analysed in terms of its characteristics, which are, first: the effective presentation of contrasts by a technique of skilful adaptation from other writers; and secondly, the use of a technique, sometimes called "free association" and by one later poet and critic, (Day Lewis) as "emotional sequence." Sir C. M. Bowra in his book *The Creative Experiment* discusses the first

characteristic in some detail. According to Professor Bowra, Eliot in *The Waste Land* judges the actual world by high standards which he conveys not only by explicit contrasts, but by a special use or adaptation of quotations from other authors. Bowra points out that the ancient Greek writers used a similar technique which consisted of the adaptation of one poet's line by another poet for a different use. This sometimes had an ironical effect. Bowra gives, as an example, Solon's line: "Pride begets surfeit when it has great wealth" which is altered by Theognis to, "Pride begets surfeit when the base have wealth". Eliot learned this device from Pound, who uses it to display his distaste for the present by contrasting it with the nobler past. Eliot adapts quotations from other poets to show "... the gap between the spiritual level at which man should live and the actual level at which he does live. They provide a contrast between the ideal and the actual and throw into a single phrase a complex emotion in which respect for high standards and consciousness of their absence are fused into a single ironical result." (C. M. Bowra: *The Creative Experiment*)

Cecil Day Lewis, the English poet and critic, devotes some space to a discussion of the second characteristic in Eliot's method, which he calls "emotional sequence." According to him, this is one of the two efficient causes of the 'obscurity' of post-war poetry. He traces it to the influence of the French Symbolist school, Rimbaud, Laforgue and Valery, whose influence Eliot has openly admitted in his work. A work which describes the Symbolist method, and which Eliot valued highly, was *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, by Arthur Symons, published in 1899. Symons's description of Laforgue's poetry might very well apply to Eliot's early work: "... subtle use of colloquialisms, slang, neologism, technical terms for their allusive, their reflected meanings, the vers libre which is at the same time correct verse, the acute consciousness of daily life, which cannot omit mentally a single hour of the day." Day Lewis also points out that this use of "emotional sequence" might have been influenced by twentieth-century film technique. It consists, according to him, in the employment of a series of superficially unconnected images. He cites a parallel to this in empirical psychology, in the method of "free association" by means of

which a string of associated ideas and images are drawn up from the poet's sub-conscious. Day Lewis considers T. S. Eliot the best known exponent of free association in verse; in prose, of course, it is James Joyce. "The substitution of emotional for logical sequence, in so far as it is prevalent in post-war verse, may finally be classed as one of the manifestations of that general distrust of logic and dethroning of reason brought about by the Great War, and formulated into a creed by D. H. Lawrence." (C. Day Lewis: *A Hope For Poetry*, Ch. IV.)

I cannot entirely agree with Day Lewis when he says that Eliot is the best known exponent of 'free association' in verse. Eliot certainly uses the method of association in his pictures of a waste land, drought-ridden, barren and sterile, but if Eliot's use of such "emotional sequence" is to be considered a manifestation of a distrust of logic and dethroning of reason, then, Eliot, along with Pound, cannot be considered a harbinger of that neo-classicism which sought to introduce standards of precision and detachment to the problems and subject-matter of the present. Perhaps the fragmentary character of Eliot's poem has been overstressed, especially by critics who were nevertheless able to perceive a certain underlying unity in the poem. Spender, in *The Destructive Element* says: "We are reminded of a ruined city in which the parts are all disintegrated, yet still together form a whole." (p. 145). Later, he adds: "The pervading weakness of Eliot's writing is a certain fragmentariness," (Ibid. p. 155) although earlier we find him admitting that "In *The Waste Land* he has made an artistic whole out of fragments." (Ibid. p. 144) We find another speaking of "its dream-like fluidity of irrational association," (Philip Henderson: *The Poet And Society*.) But both Mathiessen and Maxwell recognise in *The Waste Land* Eliot's great gift for compressing scenes; Helen Gardner speaks of "the symphonic richness" of the poem, and comments on the technical virtuosity employed by Eliot in his handling of the heroic line; and Derek Stanford comments that *The Waste Land* reveals a sort of "poly-morphic unity" found in Cubist painting. I believe that the fullest explanation of Eliot's poetic method is found in the phrase.

"The Auditory Imagination" taken from Eliot's essay, *The Use of Poetry And The Use of Criticism* (1933). Eliot explains the meaning of this phrase in a manner which dispels the reader's doubt regarding Eliot's use of "free" as well as "irrational" "association":

"What I call the 'auditory imagination' is the feeling for syllable and rhythm, penetrating far below the conscious levels of thought and feeling, invigorating every word, sinking to the most primitive and forgotten, returning to the origin and bringing something back, seeking the beginning and the end. It works through meanings, certainly, or not without meanings in the ordinary sense, and fuses the old and obliterated and the trite, the current, and the new and surprising, the most ancient and the most civilized mentality."

So much for Eliot's method in *The Waste Land*, to which we shall return when we take up the poem for analysis and comment. We come now to the conditions which influenced the writing of the poem, and the decay in the culture and civilization of Europe which the poem to a great extent seemed to depict. On the decay of European civilization at the end of the decade that marked the conclusion of the First World War, there are two writers, whose work influenced Eliot in the writing of the poem. They are, Oswald Spengler and Hermann Hesse. Spengler, in his epoch-making book, published in Germany between 1918 and 1922 under the title *Der Untergang des Abendlandes: Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte*, (in English known as *The Decline Of The West*) thought that in every civilization's history, a decline followed a period of maturity. Spengler outlines a few of the characteristics of such a decline: the prevalence of the world-city, the 'megapolis' (cf: Eliot's "unreal city") marked by the reign of its inhabitant, the intellectual nomad, and of its main power, money; physical sterility, and accompanying it, spiritual sterility, i. e., the disappearance of creativeness. "We go through all the exhibitions, the concerts, the theatres, and find only industrious cobblers and noisy fools, who delight to produce something for the market, something that will 'catch on' with a public for whom art and music and drama have long ceased to be spiritual necessities." (*Decline of The West*: Vol I. Ch. VIII, 9, p. 293.)

Of his debt to Hesse's work, *Blick ins Chaos*, Eliot makes mention in a note to lines 366—76 of the poem. I shall deal with it in a later section of this essay.

We note, that all the characteristics of the decay of civilization in the West, mentioned by Spengler and other historians have one thing in common: a loss of creative power. This decline in creativity is both physical and spiritual. This is what Eliot seems to have had in mind when he wrote *The Waste Land*.

Eliot himself considered the comment made by some critics about *The Waste Land* being the "poem of a generation" as nonsense. (cf. *After Strange Gods*.) Yet, according to Spender, there is a great deal of truth in that phrase, because in *The Waste Land*, Eliot seems, more than in any other poem of his, and more than any other writer, to describe the contemporary post-war situation of a certain very small class of intellectuals in Europe and America. In so far as he attempts this, points out Spender, he is an extremely moral writer; yet *The Waste Land* is a poem springing out of an isolated sensibility. Thus it is both objective and personal in its treatment, general and particular in the nature of the experience it seeks to communicate. Eliot's early poems, *Prufrock* (1917) and *Portrait of a Lady* were extremely subjective poems, but *Gerontion* (1920), expressing the disgust and horror of an old man empty of desire at symptoms of spiritual decay and barrenness were written in the belief that the decline of civilization was real, particularly European civilization. The late Elizabethan writers, Tournear and Webster, marked the decay of the vital Elizabethan tradition in their work so filled with cynicism, despair, and a strong moral indignation. "Eliot, feeling himself in a Europe of cultural decay, unbelief, mass-murder, torture, political intrigue, usury and faithlessness, made the discovery that the late Elizabethans were describing a world which had much in common with our own." (*The Destructive Element*: Stephen Spender.)

In America, the wasteland era was characterised by the fantastic accumulation of individual wealth which exaggerated the vulgarity and inhumanity of its standards of living. Even before 1914, there was a

widespread popular unrest all over Europe owing to rumours of war. Young American poets and artists fled to Europe, to seek refuge in its older and more refined cultural tradition, only to discover that the same economic mechanical pattern was destroying and disintegrating that tradition. Eliot, who had come from the New England to the old, expressed his disillusion and his conviction of the utter decay and sterility of society which the material and psychological devastation caused by war had confirmed. Eliot interpreted this post-war European situation in terms of the medieval myth of the Fisher-King, who was impotent and whose land was under a curse. One cannot say, with any degree of certainty, that *The Waste Land* was written under the influence of these myths which Eliot found in Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* and Jessie Weston's book, *From Ritual to Romance*. One can see from the poem however, that the myths made the greatest impression on Eliot's mind, that they were at the back of his mind when he wrote the poem, and, that, to a certain extent, they influenced and determined the imagery of the poem. The poet's own personal memories and associations are interwoven with the remembrance of the myths. "By a subtle and erudite interplay of echoes and evocations from the culture of the past with colloquial modern instances, the poet conveys ... an impression of the gradual devaluation of all values, of the widening chasm between belief and action, thought and behaviour." (Randall Swingler: *The Poetry Review*, 1951, Vol. XLII, No. 3.)

We come now to a consideration of the myths, both pagan and Christian, which Eliot has made use of in the poem. Eliot took the pagan myth from Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, especially the two volumes *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*. The extracts given below (from *The Golden Bough*) are quoted by E. M. Stephenson in an article in *The Poetry Review*, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, entitled *T. S. Eliot And The Lay Reader*.

"Osiris, the Egyptian God, in one of his aspects is the legendary God of corn. The story that his mangled remains were scattered up and down the land, buried in different places, may be a mythical way of expressing either the sowing or the winnowing of the grain. He is also connected with Isis (his sister and wife) in the rising of the Nile

waters. In the month of Khoiak the priests used to bury effigies of Osiris, made of mixed earth and corn. The corn-god produced the corn from himself; he gave his own body to feed the people; he died that they might be."

Miss. Jessie L. Weston's book on the Grail legend: *From Ritual to Romance* supplied Eliot with the story of the Fisher King's impotency and the cure effected by the Pure Knight, Parsifal. Eliot generously acknowledges his debt to Miss. Weston's book in the introduction to the notes to the poem, when he says: "Not only the title, but the plan and a good deal of this incidental symbolism of the poem were suggested by Miss. Jessie L. Weston's book on the Grail legend" The myth relates how potency is magically restored to the sick Fisher King and fertility brought back to the land over which he reigns, a land laid waste by a drought sympathetically connected with the sterility of the Fisher King. The curse can be removed only by the appearance of a knight who will ask the meanings of the various symbols which are shown to him in the castle. The knight who effects this cure and removes the curse is the Pure Knight, Parsifal, who fares forth from the Chapel Perilous in search of the Lance and the Grail, phallic symbols representing the renewal of life and fertility. Extracts from Miss. Weston's book (quoted by E. M. Stephenson in her article) are given below:

"There is a general consensus of evidence to the effect that the main object of the 'Quest' is the restoration to health and vigour of a king suffering from infirmity caused by wounds, sickness or old age, which infirmity for some reason reacts disastrously upon his kingdom, either depriving it of vegetation, or exposing it to the ravages of war. In three cases the misfortunes and 'wasting of the land' are the result of war."

It has been pointed out that there are certain recurring symbols and images in Eliot's poems which indicate that his poems are meditation on a single theme: the inability to love. This is true of the early poems of Eliot, like *Prufrock and Gerontion*, of *The Waste Land*, and *The Hollow Men*. We may go a step further and say that Eliot's poems, especially

Gerontion and *The Waste Land* are meditations on the need for love and belief in a materialistic world barren of spiritual potency and strength. According to Mathiessen, from *Prufrock* onwards, through *Gerontion* and *The Waste Land*, the "prevailing theme of Eliot's poems is the emptiness of life without belief, an emptiness that finally resounds with sickening fear and desperation in *The Hollow Men*" (*The Achievement of T. S. Eliot*: Ch. V, p. 99.)

In his book *The Poet and Society*, Philip Henderson, making a brave stand on behalf of the modern poet, says: "The best poetry of our time represents an attempt to return to the real world, an effort on the part of the poet to reintegrate himself with society. This is most true of Eliot's poetry, especially of *The Waste Land*, a poem much discussed and very widely misunderstood by readers ever since its appearance in 1922. In the original form, the poem was twice its present length; Eliot submitted the poem to Ezra Pound, who reduced it to its present form, an action which received the commendation of Eliot himself. Eliot dedicates *The Waste Land* to Ezra Pound in the very words used by Dante's poetical master, Guido Guinicelli, when referring to Arnaut Daniel, the Provencal poet, — 'Il miglior fabbro' — the better craftsman. Eliot's basic method in the poem is based on contrast, which he achieves by using adaptation, association and allusion, direct or indirect, the last-named depending almost entirely on quotation. The contrast is between two kinds of life and two kinds of death. The poem concerns itself with this paradox and introduces a number of variations upon it

The poem describes the relation between two kinds of frustration and two kinds of sterility or impotence: sexual frustration springing out of physical sterility on the one hand, and spiritual frustration springing out of spiritual sterility and barrenness on the other. The causes of such frustration and sterility are made clear during the course of the poem: the inability to love (give, sympathise, control) and to believe; and a secular attitude to life, the result of major wars and the decay of civilization. In one of his essays, Eliot states the matter quite clearly: "So far as we are human, what we do must be either evil or good; so far as we do evil or good, we are

human; and it is better, in a paradoxical way, to do evil than to do nothing: at least, we exist." (Baudelaire, 1930) This statement is important for an understanding of *The Waste Land*. The fact that men have lost the knowledge of good and evil, keeps them from being alive; so the modern waste land is a realm in which the inhabitants do not even exist.

This theme is stated in the quotation which forms the epigraph of the poem. It is taken from the *Satyricon* of Petronius, and its speaker is Trimalchio, a wealthy and vulgar freedman. A translation of the quotation reads:

"With my own eyes I saw the Sibyl suspended in a glass bottle at Cumae, and when the boys said to her: 'Sibyl, what is the matter?' she would always reply: 'I wish to die.'"

(The Sibyl had been given hundreds of years to live without the gift of perpetual youth.)

I

THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD

The first section of the poem, whose title echoes the myth Eliot borrowed from Frazer, develops in a series of contrasted scenes, the theme of the attractiveness of death, or of the difficulty of rousing people from the death-in-life condition in which they inhabit the waste land. Men are afraid to live in reality, because in the modern waste land,

"April is the cruellest month, breeding
Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing
Memory and desire, stirring
Dull roots with spring rain."

April, the month of rebirth, is not the joyful season but the cruellest. Winter at least kept the inhabitants of the waste land warm in forgetful snow. Eliot has stressed this idea in *Gerontion* and in *Murder In The Cathedral*. In *Gerontion* he says:

"The tiger springs in the new year. Us he devours." Later, in *Murder in The Cathedral*, he makes the chorus say:

"We do not wish anything to happen.
Seven years we have lived quietly,
Succeeded in avoiding notice,
Living and partly living."

And in another passage we find: "Now I fear disturbance of the quiet seasons." Men do not like to be aroused from this death-in-life condition.

The vegetation theme introduced in the first seven lines is now linked by association with the stirring of "memory and desire." There is a transition from April, the spring month (first contrasted with the winter-month of snow) to summer coming over the Starnbergersee with a "shower of rain....."; it is the recollection of a particular memory of an evening in the Hofgarten at Munich, where they drank coffee, and talked for an hour. Scraps of a conversation in German linger in the memory, and are thrown up by association. It is the Lithuanian girl, who walked beside the poet in the Starnbergersee, and accompanied him into the Munich Hofgarten, introducing herself in German: "Bin gar keine Russin, stamm' aus Litauen, echt deutsch." ("I am not Russian, I come from Lithuania, pure German.") Marie, the girl, who is probably speaking recalls the memory of a ride in a sled when they were children, a moment of terror. Following this moment of terror is a note of relief sounded in, "In the mountains, there you feel free," which is accompanied by a note of cosmopolitanism, of empty sophistication, in:

"I read, much of the night, and go south in the winter."

1. "Her desire for the mountains is mixed with a memory of fear."
(George Williamson: A Reader's Guide to T. S. Eliot).

There is a change of tone, and the Waste Land is evoked in a series of images, the roots that clutch, the branches that grow out of the stony rubbish, and the echoes of Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, and Ecclesiastes. The echoes from *Ezekiel* and *Ecclesiastes* indicate what men no longer know, a knowledge of Good and Evil; of the immemorial ways of life, of life rooted in the soil, the life of belief and fulfilment. *Ezekiel* II, i, pictures a world thoroughly secularized:

- "1. And he said unto me, Son of man, stand upon thy feet, and I will speak unto thee.
2. And the spirit entered into me when he spake unto me, and set me upon my feet, that I heard him that spake unto me.
3. And he said unto me, Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel, to a rebellious nation that hath rebelled against me: they and their fathers have transgressed against me, even unto this very day."

Chapter XXXVII of the book *Ezekiel* describes Ezekiel's waste land, where the prophet in his vision of the valley of dry bones, contemplates the "burial of the dead" and is asked: "Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest. Again he said unto me, Prophesy over these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord."

Ecclesiastes XII, v, supplies Eliot with a line which is echoed in line 23 of the poem:

".....the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail".

This may be compared with

".....the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water."

The fear which the inhabitants of the waste land expressed at the return of spring after winter, the fear expressed by Marie, when recalling the childhood memory of a sled-ride, is also present in this passage, a fear

of death and of the desolation of life in the waste land ; added to this fear is the sense of loss, of the innocence of childhood experiences, the experience of the Hofgarten which remains an exquisite memory, and a few lines later, the romantic experience containing the elusive figure of the Hyacinth girl. But the passage which follows seems to hint that even in the waste land, there is some hope of salvation from fear and futility.

" Only
There is shadow under this red rock,
And I will show you something different from either
Your shadow at morning striding behind you
Or your shadow at evening rising to meet you ;
I will show you fear in a handful of dust. " (24-30.)

The echoes from Isaiah are unmistakable² but I cannot agree with Helen Gardner when she says that the image is purposely vague and terrifying. The image, in fact, is neither vague nor terrifying. The rock there is used as a symbol of strength, security and refuge. "Come in under the shadow of this red rock" is clear enough as an invitation to seek refuge from the beating sun in the desolate waste land.³ The ambivalence of the symbol used, if any, comes from the other connotations balancing the Christian ones, found in the line—I will show you fear in a handful of dust.⁴ The Christian

2. Compare Isaiah XXXII, 2 : "And a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest ; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." This passage, as Elizabeth Drew has pointed out, foretells the blessings of Christ's kingdom. Also might be compared : "Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty. "

(Isaiah, II, 10.)

3. cf - " because its shadow is one of eternity." (E. M. Stephenson : The Poetry Review, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 5).

4. The pagan connotations which Prof. Wheelwright thinks are suggested by the phrase "fear in a handful of dust" are according to him contained in a latent reference to the ceremony of the Navaho Night Chant

connotations of the rock symbol are pointed out by Philip Wheelwright in his book *The Burning Fountain*, a study in the language of symbolism. The Psalmist speaks of the rock of salvation (*Psalms*. 89 : 26) ; Isaiah speaks of God as "the rock of thy strength" (*Isaiah*. XVII : 10) ; and Jesus points out Peter as the rock upon which the new religious fellowship of Christians is to be founded. The first four verses of *I Corinthians*, Chapter X contain two significant images—immersion in water (cf: Death By Water) and the drinking of spiritual water from the Rock which is Christ. According to Professor Wheelwright the Rock is red "because the saving grace of Christ's blood streams through all things even in the wasteland." (*The Burning Fountain* : pp 346—347)

Then comes the song from *Tristan und Isolde* Act I⁵, which, in Wagner's opera, is sung by a young sailor aboard the ship which is bringing Isolde to Cornwall. The song is merely one of happy and naive love. It brings to the mind of the protagonist an experience of romantic love — the vision of the hyacinth girl as she came back from the hyacinth garden —

(whose object was to restore health to a patient, as also to pray for abundant rains, good crops, long life, and happiness for all the people) whose working he describes in detail in his book, *The Burning Fountain*, pp. 347-350. They are, not, however, important for an understanding of the lines in Eliot's poem.

5. " Frisch weht der Wind	(Fresh blows the wind
Der Heimat zu	From my homeland,
Mein Irisch kind,	My Irish child
Wo weilest du ? "	Where are you lingering ?)

(" the scrap of song quoted from Wagner states the opposite half of the paradox which underlies the poem : namely, that life at its highest moments of meaning and intensity resembles death."—CLEANTH BROOKS, *Modern Poetry and The Tradition*.)

an experience which to him represents life at its most memorable and abundant moments. At that supreme moment of ecstasy in love, he says :

" my eyes failed, I was neither
Living nor dead, and I knew nothing,
Looking into the heart of light, the silence.⁶ "

(I, 11, 39—41.)

The line which follows is from *Tristan und Isolde*, Act III, 24, and it is the reply of the watcher who reports to the wounded Tristan that Isolde's ship is no where to be seen ; the sea is empty. " Oed 'und leer das Meer " (Empty and wide the sea). The Irish child in the first quotation is not Isolde, but the reader familiar with the opera will apply it to Isolde when he comes to " Empty and wide the sea. " The verse from Act I offers in contrast to the fear and the sense of loss expressed in the earlier lines, romantic love. " The hyacinth girl, we may say, represents ' memory and desire '. " (F. R. Leavis : *New Bearings in English Poetry*). The two passages from *Tristan und Isolde* are used in lesser contrast to each other. The first is a picture of fulfilled love, the boat rushing on with a fair wind behind it ; in the second, love is absent ; the sea is empty and wide. It is the contrast, as Leavis points out, of " romantic love with romantic desolation. " (Ibid.) And the second quotation from *Tristan* reminds us that even love cannot exist in the modern waste land.

A word about the figure of the protagonist. There is no definite person in the poem to whom this title can be applied, because the protagonist is never a character or a person in the strict sense. Often it is the poet, sometimes the Fisher King or Tiresias whose forms melt into the one-eyed merchant, seller of currants, or the Phoenician Sailor, or Ferdinand, Prince of Naples. Against the background of the unreal city and the desolation of the waste land, the figure of the protagonist changes identity

6. " the moment of ecstasy in love, when love passes beyond its object, and seems for a moment held in a silence that seems outside time. " (HELEN GARDNER : *The Art Of T. S. Eliot*, Ch. IV, p. 91)

to make clear the poet's meaning in some particular context involving a reference to or a contrast with the past.⁷

The next passage, which introduces the fortune-teller, Madame Sosostriis, has further reference to Miss. Weston's book. Miss. Weston in her book says that the Tarot cards were used originally to determine the events of highest importance to the people, the rise and fall of the waters.⁸

Eliot, in his note to this passage says that though he is not familiar with the exact constitution of the Tarot pack of cards, he has used it to suit his own convenience. Madame Sosostriis, the famous clairvoyante, is merely a vulgar fortune-teller, another characteristic of a decaying civilization. The symbols of the Tarot pack, however, are still unchanged. The various characters are still inscribed on the cards, and she is really reading the fortune of the protagonist, although she doesn't know it. She gives him his card, which is the drowned Phoenician sailor, and shows him the other different cards in the pack : Belladonna, literally " beautiful lady,"⁹ the lady of the Rocks, (symbolising women), the man with three staves¹⁰ (according to Eliot

7. " *The Waste Land* is a series of visions : it has neither plot nor hero. The protagonist, or poet, is not a person. Sometimes he is a silent listener, sometimes a voice that asks questions, but gives no answers or only cryptic ones. " (Ibid, p. 89)
8. Miss Weston mentions that its four suits are Cup, Lance, Sword and Dish, which correspond to the sexual symbolism of the Grail.
9. " The vision of the Madonna of the Rocks, with a grace-note reminder of Leonardo's painting by that name is ironically inverted.... Belladonna..... suggests the Madonna, perhaps also Beatrice ; while complementing this is the ironic allusion to the practice of courtesans a generation or two ago of using belladonna to artificially brighten their eyes. " (PHILIP WHEELWRIGHT : *The Burning Fountain*, Ch. XV, p. 346)
10. 5th Tarot. " An Egyptian relic having relation to the triple phallus which represents the recovery of Osiris. It corresponds to the Idea of life, of animation. " (H. T. Morley.)

associated arbitrarily with the Fisher King), the one-eyed merchant, the seller of currants, and the Wheel.¹¹ She cannot find the Hanged Man,¹² (who represents the hanged God of Frazer, and Christ, who was also hanged or 'crucified') whom Eliot associates with the hooded figure who appears later in the last section of the poem, *What the Thunder Said*. And there is one card which is blank, which Madame S—is forbidden to see. Incidentally, the drowned Phoenician Sailor was a type of fertility god whose image was thrown into the sea annually as a symbol of the death of summer.

With the description of the "Unreal City" the background of urban civilization becomes clear. To emphasize the sterility and unreality of the modern waste land, Eliot associates it with Baudelaire's "fourmillante cite" and with Dante's Limbo. The quotation from Baudelaire is given by Eliot in full in his notes to the poem:

"Fourmillante cité, cité pleine de rêves,
Ou le spectre en plein jour raccroche le passant."
(Crowded city filled with dreams,
Where the ghosts in broad daylight clutch the passers-by.)

In Baudelaire's city, dream and reality seem to mix, and elsewhere in *The Hollow Men*, Eliot again refers to "death's dream kingdom".

The modern London of the poem (any big city of today for that matter; London only stands for the modern city.) is an "unreal city" like

11. "The wheel represents the rise and fall of fortune. In mythology, the emblem which is one of the oldest, represents Osiris, the great Egyptian divinity judging the souls of the dead." (H. T. Morley.)
12. "The card expressed charity, courage, knowledge and prudence, as well as wisdom and fidelity." (H. T. Morley.)

(For the last three quotations, I am indebted to Ethel M. Stephenson's article in *The Poetry Review*, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, entitled *T. S. Eliot and The Lay Reader*. For more comments on the Tarot Pack of Cards, see the Appendix to section I, No. IV.)

Baudelaire's city of dreams and ghosts. It is unreal on a number of levels; as seen through "the brown fog of a winter dawn"; as the waste land of the medieval legends is unreal; and as Baudelaire's Paris and Dante's Limbo are unreal.

The reference to Dante is very important. The line "I had not thought death had undone so many" is taken from the III Canto of the *Inferno*, (11 55-57); the following line, (64 in the poem) is taken from the IV Canto (11 25-27). Mathiessen has pointed out that Dante's Third Canto deals with Dante's Limbo which is occupied by those who had "lived without praise or blame" on earth. They share this abode with the angels "who were not rebels, nor were faithful to God but were for themselves." Their grief is because they "have no hope of death; and their blind life is so debased, that they are envious of every other lot. Dante calls them "these wretches who were never alive". "They represent the secular attitude which dominates the modern world; a life without praise or blame, without death or hope of death. The people in the Fourth Canto are those who lived virtuously and who died before the gospel was proclaimed, the unbaptized. Thus the modern waste land is inhabited by two classes of people: one, those whose attitude to life is secular, and those who have no knowledge of the faith. Without a faith their life is in reality a death. Once more we remember Eliot's words in his essay on Baudelaire: "... .. and it is better, in a paradoxical way to do evil than to do nothing: at least, we exist."

The unreal city is filled with the dead-in-life, crowd which the poet describes as flowing over London bridge, flowing up the hill and down King William Street. The horror and the unreality of a nightmare hang over the city, which Eliot intensifies with echoes of Baudelaire's "crowded city" and Dante's Limbo. In the midst of this crowd appears Stetson, who is hailed by the protagonist, his friend. They fought together in the great World War, which has been partly responsible for the disintegration of civilization, for the frustration and doubt of the modern waste land,

The reference to Stetson stresses again the connection between the modern London of the poem and Dante's hell. In Dante's poem, the words "I could never have believed death had undone so many" are followed by "After I had distinguished some among them I saw and knew the shade of him, who made, through cowardice, the great refusal."¹³ (*Inferno*, Canto III). The protagonist, like Dante, sees among the inhabitants of the modern waste land one whom he recognizes. Mathiessen points out that Mylae is the name of a battle between the Romans and the Carthaginians in the Punic War. The point Eliot wants to make is that all wars are one war, one experience, which is universal,¹⁴ and so the protagonist addresses his friend as one who was with him in a recent war (the first World War probably, to which Eliot's poem is significantly related) though he calls it by the name of a battle in the Punic War.

Cf:

"The same things happen again and again".
(*Murder In The Cathedral*)

Leavis and Mathiessen infer that the line "The corpse you planted last year in your garden" is the attempt to bury a memory. Cleanth Brooks points out with certainty that the line certainly refers also to the buried god of the old fertility rites, and links it with the earlier passage: "What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow..... 'The burial of the dead is now a sterile planting—without hope. Whatever the interpretation of the line, its meaning with reference to the modern waste land is fairly clear. The corpse is the memory of guilt hidden away in the depths of sub-consciousness, (perhaps the guilt of having taken part in a destructive war) which is brought to the surface of consciousness by the Dog, standing for

13. Probably Celestine V who was elected Pope in 1294, at the age of eighty, and resigned five months later in favour of Boniface VIII.

14. cf: ".....That was before the war, of course."
'Which war was that?' said Winston.
'It's all wars,' said the old man vaguely."
(GEORGE ORWELL: *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, p. 90.)

conscience or spiritual awareness.¹⁵ The Dog forms part of Eliot's adaptation of Webster's lines in *The White Devil*. The original lines read:

"But keep the Wolf far thence, that's foe to men,
For with his nails he'll dig it up again."

Eliot's lines are:

"Oh keep the Dog far thence, that's friend to men,
Or with his nails he'll dig it up again."

Eliot turns the wolf into a dog, and makes the animal friendly to men in contrast to its hostility in Webster's passage.¹⁶

The last line of *The Burial of The Dead* is a quotation from Baudelaire:

"You! Hypocrite lecteur! — mon semblable, — mon frere"
(You! Hypocrite reader! — my fellowman, my brother)
(Baudelaire, *Preface to Fleurs De Mal*)

The quotation shows that Stetson is universal, standing for every man, the reader included.

Professor Bowra in his essay on *The Waste Land* in *The Creative Experiment* makes some very suggestive comments on this last passage in *The Burial Of The Dead*. "In the spectacle of crowded urban life Eliot

15. "The Psalmist's cry 'Deliver my soul from the word, my darling from the power of the Dog' blends with a familiar image of a dog in a back-garden digging up, and bringing with friendly eagerness, to lay at his master's feet, something he had hoped he had disposed of."

(HELEN GARDNER: *The Art of T. S. Eliot*, Ch. IV. p. 92.)

16. Cleanth Brooks gives the following interpretation of Eliot's lines which is interesting but rather far-fetched. The Dog stands for Humanitarianism and other related philosophies which destroy the supernatural—i.e., dig up the corpse of the buried god and prevent the rebirth of life.

sees the triumph of death, and his image of dead men crossing London Bridge shows the extent of this terrible flatness and staleness ... "

" And each man fixed his eyes before his feet.
Flowed up the hill and down King William Street,
To where Saint Mary Woolnoth kept the hours
With a dead sound on the final stroke of nine." ¹⁷

On the last line Prof. Bowra comments: "The sound of the clock reflects the deadness in human beings ... ", while Eliot's note at the end of the poem is even more interesting: "A phenomenon which I have often noticed." Eliot, like many other great poets, is often concerned with the theme of Time in his poems, of the ascendancy which Time has over the minds of men living in a time-haunted world.

APPENDIX (to Section I)

I, Lines 60—63:

" Unreal City,
Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,
A crowd flowed over London bridge, so many,
I had not thought death had undone so many. "

D. E. S. Maxwell, in his book *The Poetry of T. S. Eliot* explains very clearly the significance of Eliot's reference to Baudelaire's "Fourmillante cite" and Dante's Limbo. For Baudelaire, the city was usually enveloped in 'unre atmosphere obscure' (a dark atmosphere) and was peopled by creatures who 'n' ont jamais vecu (never lived); (Le Crepuscule du soir -- The dusk of Evening) and because of this death-like quality the city was unreal. Eliot's city is seen "under the brown fog of a winter dawn" and is peopled by creatures existing in a death-in-life condition, like the creatures in Dante's Limbo.

" ... who lived
Without praise or blame,"

17. cf: "And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. E (LUKE: Ch. XXIII, 44.)

who while on earth, "never lived". (*Inferno*: canto III, L1 34—35 and 60.) "Having established by reference to Baudelaire's city that the crowd flowing over London Bridge, has never truly lived, Eliot now indicates the reason. Because they have avoided spiritual decision during their time on earth, the people of the crowd are the same as the 'lunga tratta di gente' (long train of people) in the *Inferno*, who

"of death no hope can entertain."

(*Inferno*: Canto III, 44—45)

(Also of: M. C. Bradbrook *T. S. Eliot*: Ch. II, p. 16.)

"Eliot uses the words of the *Inferno* to describe the crowd that 'flowed up the hill and down King William Street' because only a Dante could define for him the depth of their desolation."

II, Lines 69—67:

" There I saw one I knew, and stopped him crying: 'Stetson'
You who were with me in the ships at Mylae!
That corpse you planted last year in your garden,
Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?
Or has the sudden frost disturbed its bed?
Oh keep the Dog far hence, that's friend to men,
Or with his nails he'll dig it up again!
You! hypocrite lecteur!—mon semblable,—mon frere! "

"Stetson's failure at Mylae typifies man's eternal spiritual failure, and he has tried to destroy his consciousness of it by burial in the mind." (Maxwell: *The Poetry of T. S. Eliot*: Ch. II, p. 39).

III, Lines 74—75:

Eliot's use of the Dog symbol is purely arbitrary; it may stand for spiritual awareness. ".....Eliot does not entirely repudiate the poet's right to create such symbols within limits." (Ibid: p. 40)

IV, Line 46:

" With a wicked pack of cards....."

Extracts from *The Tarot of The Bohemians* by Fapus, translated by A. P. Morton.

"The Gypsy pack of cards is a great book of tradition under the name of 'Tarot' which has formed the basis of the synthetic teachings of all the nations. Although it is an amusement, it is also the key to obscure tradition. Symbolism of the Tarot equals a symbol, a number, an idea. Kabbalah equals Trinity. The sacred word Yod-He-Vau-He. The Being who Is, who Was, and who Will Be, Yod, the active principle, pre-eminent, Creator; He, the passive principle, pre-eminent, Receiver; Vau, the medium letter, link which unites Transforms; He, the passage from one world to another, Transition."

(Quoted by E. M. Stephenson in her article, *T. S. Eliot And The Lay Reader*, *Poetry Review*, 1942 Vol. XXXIII.)

V, Line 62 :

"A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,"

".....the river as a symbol of humanity."

(Michael Roberts : *Critique of Poetry* : p. 184)

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME—A CASE FOR REVISION OF PRIORITIES¹

By

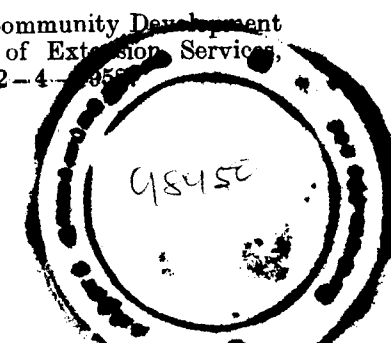
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Need for Revision of Priorities :

INAUGURATED in October 1952, the Community Development Programme is hardly six years old; yet it has the unique distinction of having been subject to as many as Five Evaluation Reports. Mr. M. L. Wilson, the Ford Foundation Consultant, has aptly remarked "I know of no other great projects of this kind in which the evaluation process is paralleling the administrative process". The first three reports by the Project Evaluation Organisation were objective enough to point out candidly all the deficiencies; yet it is the fourth report by the Project Evaluation Board under the Chairmanship of Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao in April 1957 and the fifth by a Study Team under the leadership of Sri Balwantray G. Mehta, quickly following in November 1957 which have offered such severe criticism of certain aspects of the programme as to provoke in the past twelve months a considerable rethinking even on the fundamentals of the Programme. In this period of one year, the Second Five Year Plan has been confronted by an unexpected and sharp depletion of our foreign exchange resources and a serious imbalance in the national food budget. In the wake of these strains and stresses came also this year the recommendation of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee stressing the necessity for importing 2½ to 3 million tons of foodgrains, which in terms of foreign exchange would spell more than Rs. 130 crores a year. In view of these significant developments, the need for an appraisal of the Community Development Programme and suitable revision of the priorities has become urgent.

1. Paper read at a Seminar on Education and Community Development conducted under the auspices of the Department of Extension Services, Faculty of Education, Annamalai University on 2-4-1958.



Purpose :

This appraisal, however, could not be attempted without some basic knowledge of the purpose, organization, methods and achievements of the Programme. The purpose of the Community Development Programme, according to the Planning Commission, is "to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life in the villages". Though recent in origin and new in nomenclature, the Community Development Programme is broadly speaking an elaboration and a refined version of the more familiar rural uplift movement and the Gandhian constructive programme. Labelled in the American style, it contains a liberal dose of the fruits of the 50 years United States experience in Agricultural Extension Services. Further the connotation of the term "community" has undergone a sea-change. Divorced from its traditional associations with race, creed and caste, it is identified with the whole village, the programme being specially designed to integrate and weld its diverse population into a homogeneous unit and make the villages hives of buzzing, productive workers, fired by a will to advance.

Objectives :

The scope of the Community Development Programme is indeed very comprehensive even to the point of being criticised as over-ambitious. It aims at a multipronged drive to help the rural population to do better in their business, life and enjoyment of leisure. In a word it seeks to usher in a "silent revolution" in rural India that had for centuries remained unchanged and immutable. Its innumerable objectives, running into a formidable list, need not be listed here as they are to-day well known and could be cited later whenever relevant. One point however deserves mention : the various schemes evolved to attain these objectives may be broadly grouped into economic and welfare schemes. The relative weightage accorded to them has proved to be a subject of acute criticism.

Organization and Progress :

The programme was initiated with the organization of two types of blocks : (1) the Community Development and (2) the National Extension Scheme. In the First Plan period the former, a more intensive type,

involved an expenditure of Rs. 15 lakhs and the latter, an outlay of Rs. 4.5 lakhs besides a provision of Rs. 3 lakhs for short term loans within a period of 3 or 4 years, these were later scaled down to Rs. 12 lakhs and Rs. 4 lakhs respectively in the Second Plan. Each block of either category covers about 100 villages and a population of 60,000 to 70,000 and an area of 150 to 170 sq. miles. At the end of the First Plan for which statistics are available, the number of blocks taken up was 1,200 of which 300 were Community Development and 900 National Extension Scheme, covering 1,22,957 villages and a population of 79.8 millions. The target of the Second Five Year Plan is to set up in the aggregate 5,000 blocks to cover all the 558,000 villages and the rural population of 310 and odd millions. A staggered programme for conversion of National Extension Scheme blocks into Community Development blocks has also been drawn up fixing a target of 1,120 for the latter by the end of the Second Plan. The estimated gross capital outlay on this programme is Rs. 200 crores in the Second Plan while it was Rs. 46.02 crores against a target of Rs. 100 crores in the First Plan period, this shortfall being mainly attributed to the difficulties incidental to the preliminary operations of organization and the training of the requisite technical personnel.

Personnel :

The staff requirements for this massive nation-wide programme are estimated to be nearly 3,50,000. The administrative staff would consist of 57,212 including 4,928 Block Development Officers or nearly one-sixth of the total. As for the technical personnel, the programme needs 4,928 Agricultural graduates, 4,928 Veterinary Doctors, 5,048 Stock men, 2,524 teams of 1 doctor, 1 Compounder, 1 Sanitary Inspector, 1 Lady Health Visitor each, 10,096 Mid-wives, 841 Engineers, 7,452 Overseers, 7,572 Mechanics, 5,048 Supervisors or Arts and Crafts, 4,928 Co-operative Inspectors, 1,56,488 School Teachers and 9,856 School Education Organizers. While the agricultural and veterinary, medical and engineering staff would be recruited from the open market or from Government Departments, 9 categories of technical personnel consisting of nearly 1 lakh persons have got to be trained in specially established 233 training centres. The estimated expenditure on Development Officers' training centres is about Rs. 42 lakhs of which Rs. 9.6

lakhs or nearly one-fourth comes in the shape of the Ford Foundation assistance. The staff of the National Extension Scheme block consists of a Block Development Officer, Extension Officers for agriculture, veterinary and co-operation, a minor irrigation overseer with orientation in public health, 2 Social Education Organizers and 10 village level workers in addition to clerical and fourth grade employees. The Community Development Block has a larger staff with more technical personnel. The programme of development in each block is carried out in three stages of extension service, intensive development and post intensive development, the first two phases being spread over a period of 4 to 5 years and the third extending indefinitely into the future. This kind of phasing has been evolved on the assumption that in the first two phases not only all developmental activities needed for the project area would have been completed but also that the population of the area would have been roused from their lethargy and fully inculcated in the arts of managing their development projects unaided and independently.

Methods :

In implementing its numerous and diverse schemes, the Community Development Programme has resorted to methods both conventional like administrative and technical staff providing financial and technical aid, publicising and helping the population to understand and adopt new methods and processes and new fangled modern methods like seminars, study groups, study tours, competition and award of prizes. Yet it is significant that both these methods are animated by the common purpose of spotting and fostering local leadership and instilling among the rural population a change in social and economic attitudes, courage to take fresh responsibilities and an eagerness to step up efficiency and productivity. It is all to effect a transition on the part of the rural population from a lethargic, despondent, ignorant, sceptic outlook to one of active, hopeful, informed optimism. This purpose with a flair of missionary spirit has been accorded a paramount importance in the Programme.

A Critique on a Hypothesis :

Besides the foregoing outline of the purpose, organization and methods adopted, it is necessary to comprehend the major hypothesis on

which the entire Programme rests and assess its validity. To quote the Minister in charge, Shri S. K. Dey, "the village people have been steeped in re-action, inertia and superstition for more than a thousand years" Will they ever awake? " Was the question that posed for an answer all round " (vide page i Foreword to *A Guide to Community Development*). The presumption is obviously that the rural population would offer a stout resistance to new ideas, processes and techniques, in short to a new although a richer way of life. This kind of opinion has gained wide currency in the post-war years. The United Nations Report on the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries was perhaps the first to propagate this notion when it laid a heavy stress on the change of psychological and social attitudes as an essential pre-requisite to economic progress. This idea finds further expression in W. Arthur Lewis when he argues that a social change should precede economic development (Vide his book " The Theory of Economic Growth"). Deriving inspiration from these eminent sources, the Community Development Programme not only in India but also in Pakistan and the Philippines has got deeply tinged with this bias. This hypothesis of a custom-soaked and hermetically-sealed mind to access of new ideas and practices is rather exaggerated, if not mistaken in respect of India.

A few instances from recent experience in support of this conclusion may be in order : (1) The notion that Indian ryots are insensitive to price factor has been proved to be erroneous in recent years. Between the years 1941-42 and 1952-53 there was a significant shift of cultivation from millets to groundnuts, the area under the latter rising from 2.78 to 4.35 million acres primarily due to the price incentive (vide *Food and Agriculture in Madras State* by Dr. B. Natarajan) (2) That the rural population is not affected by income-elasticity of demand is another variation of the main theme. It was also falsified when the Madras agriculturists came out with larger quantities of foodgrains in the period of intensive procurement no sooner than a bonus on voluntary offer before a specified date had been notified. (3) Another postulate of doubtful value is that our ryots are averse to the application of chemical fertilizers. But in recent years the problem has not been how to cajole and convert them to their use but how

to meet the sharply rising demand for them. The magnitude of the black market in chemical fertilizers would afford a rough index of the quickness with which our ryots take to new methods of manuring. (4) In certain citrus-growing regions of Madras State, the owners of the orchards were recently informed of the benefits of spraying copper-sulphate solution twice a year. Now there is a growing volume of complaint against short supply of both chemical and sprayers. (5) Demand for improved cotton, paddy, millets and sisbania seeds, casuarina saplings and coconut seedlings is to-day considerably in excess of available supply. (6) A common but mistaken notion is that Indian women, particularly those living in villages, are against methods of family planning and birth control. Recent socio-economic surveys conducted by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona and the Economic Survey of Madras City (covering recent women immigrants from villages) have clearly shown that they are indeed pretty anxious to avoid unwanted pregnancies. Instances of this kind may be multiplied to prove that so far as the rural population of India are concerned, despite their illiteracy and apparent prejudices, they keep an open mind and they are alert and sensitive to well-demonstrated new methods and techniques.

What they most need is not mere precept but example. Ocular demonstrations are the sine qua non not because of the existence of a mulish opposition to every thing that is new but because of a highly pronounced element of caution. For the majority of the rural population with precarious incomes, this caution is a natural defensive armour. They are small men, too weak and poor to take any risks with even a single harvest that would spell starvation for perhaps half a year or more. Thus they invariably err on the side of caution when they are asked to try a new brand of fertilizer or a new strain of seed. Their first reaction is one of scepticism as to its impact on the yield and worse still on the basic soil fertility. It is this psychological attitude that has to be won over. It can be done not by any amount of high pressure propaganda but only by concentrating upon actual demonstration of the quantum of good that is like to follow the adoption of a new method or idea. This conclusion has also been supported by the statement of the Minister for Community Development: "Within a

few months of the inauguration of the programme, however, the slumbering millions in the countryside proved in action beyond a shadow of doubt that their sleeping exterior was but a shield of self defence". If this conclusion is accepted and a quietus is given to the major hypothesis, vast resources in men and money could be released from needless propaganda and publicity to more fruitful constructive work.

Recent Criticism :

It is convenient to classify the criticisms contained in the last two evaluation reports into four groups relating to the four aspects of economic and welfare objectives, organisation, finance and future growth.

Economic and Welfare Schemes :

Dr. Rao's report has pronounced the execution of the agricultural schemes to be a partial failure and the Study Team has pointed out that the stress on the economic activities has been exceedingly weak. Even in respect of the three most important agricultural schemes namely (i) use of improved seed, (ii) use of manures and fertilizers and (iii) adoption of improved methods of cultivation, only 57% of the villages covered by the special enquiry had achieved some results. As for irrigation, land reclamation, soil conservation and consolidation of holdings, it is only 25% of the villages which have had any achievement to show. Statistics relating to the expenditure in the First Five Year Plan period, which are the latest available, also tend to confirm this unsatisfactory stress on the agricultural schemes. Of the total capital outlay of Rs. 46.02 crores on the Community Development Programme, expenditure on agriculture, animal husbandry and irrigation amounts to only Rs. 11.6 crores or 25.3%. Viewed from the standpoint of more than 70% of the population depending on agriculture and any achievement in this sector more than any other is likely to produce the greatest publicity for the Community Development Programme, this unsatisfactory weightage to agricultural schemes should be reckoned as a major tactical error.

Next in the order of importance in the economic schemes is the development of rural arts, crafts and industries. On this scheme the expenditure amounts to Rs. 1.78 crores or 3.9%. The fourth Evaluation Report has declared the production-cum-training centres in respect of Cottage Industries to be a total failure. The development of small scale and village industries of the Community Development Programme is a minor appendage to the larger Rs. 200 crores projects included in Second Plan. Both at the national and the community project levels these schemes are attempted to be implemented, with a furtive allegiance to non-economic ideologies rather than with any high sense of realism. In the agricultural sector at least new implements, new seeds, new methods afford concrete incentives to increase production. But in the rural industrial sector new labour saving implements are hardly introduced because of the bias of the Second Plan in favour of labour intensive methods. Nor is marketing efficiently organised to induce the craftsman and artisans to work harder. Again, more than half a century of decadence of rural industries has scared away even the hereditary and traditional workmen and craftsmen from pursuing them for love or profit. Their eyes are turned nowadays to larger factories and urban centres for more sustained and remunerative occupations. With such psychological resistance to continue in these vocations, it is small wonder that production-cum-training centres have not succeeded. Unless electric motors and improved machinery are made available for manufacturing the old utility goods in a new and an efficient way, as well as new articles capable of satisfying new demands and an efficient system of marketing to secure quick sales and remunerative, efforts in rehabilitating most of the rural arts and crafts are doomed to fail. On the other hand by stepping up agricultural productivity leading to a corresponding expansion of agro-industries holds out a better promise of expanding employment opportunities to the non-agricultural rural population.

Against such a low priority assigned to immediately productive and therefore really exhilarating agricultural and agro-industrial schemes considerable weightage appears to have been given to construction schemes mainly of an ostentatious character as also to welfare schemes, good in

themselves but intangible indirect and long-term in their effects upon material productivity. Building library rooms and stocking them with a variety of books without a commensurate development of literacy and love for reading would be like putting the cart before the horse. Organising village sports, bhajan parties, folksong groups and dramatic troupes and inducing the semi-starved rural population to take enthusiastically to them are all schemes imbued no doubt with idealism but unlikely to create any durable impression of the utility of the Community Development Programme on the minds of the people. A more constructive and positive approach would lie in the direction of increasing employment, productivity and income, the desideratum to a real desire for and enjoyment of cultural pursuits. Economically productive schemes should necessarily form the first deck and cultural and welfare activities the second deck of Community Development Programme. No emphasis on this point is too great in view of the grave deficits in food production, brought startlingly into view in the past twelve months. What has not yet come within the horizon is the future shortage of agricultural raw materials like fibres and oil seeds that is bound to emerge sooner than later consequent upon the growth in national income and development in the industrial sector. Hence it is of paramount importance that agricultural schemes should be given top priority in the Community Development Programme because their success is a pre-condition to the success in all other directions.

Need for Institutional Arrangements:

Apart from the administrative and technical staff employed in each block, the question of setting up institutional arrangements not only for aiding the Governmental agency upto the end of the intensive phase, but also for carrying on the responsibilities of development in the post intensive phase, has of late assumed considerable significance. There has been a great deal of criticism that whatever has been achieved in the blocks has been due to official finance, guidance, supervision, pressure and backing. With vast sums of money, material and technical skill flowing from above continuously for four or five years, the danger of the population in these blocks getting into the habit of looking upto extraneous agencies for every fresh move is indeed real. One of the most important objectives of the

Community Development Programme is to promote local leadership and create institutions that could easily and expertly initiate and manage development activities.

Ineligibility of Village Panchayats:

Since a directive principle has been inscribed in the Constitution for setting up village panchayats all over the country one school of thought considers them to be the proper institutions for this purpose. But experience of village panchayats in the past shows that they are the breeding grounds of feuds and factions, rivalries and jealousies, whereas institutions for co-ordinated developmental activities should be animated by mutual good will and co-operation. Moreover the functions of village panchayats are administrative and regulatory while those of the councils are constructive and developmental. Traditionally village panchayats, described as political nurseries are the training ground for politicians. They are least eligible to shoulder the responsibilities devolving on development councils. Yet the Study Team has recommended a democratic decentralization and the creation of a three-tier organisation of village panchayats at the base, panchayat Samitis, consisting of persons elected by the group of village panchayats within the area at the block level and Zila Parishad consisting of the presidents of the Samitis and the top officials at the district level. The team adds that the responsibility for the development of agriculture, village industries, primary schools etc, should be entrusted to this hierarchy. If the village panchayats, as shown earlier are ineligible, the Samitis and the Parishads are still move for similar reasons. The final verdict on the Study Team's recommendation cannot be better expressed than in the words of Dr. Daniel Thorner: "to approach the goal of rural economic development through the agency of the existing village panchayats would appear to be an exercise in frustration".

Nor could Cooperative Societies in any way be deemed competent either independently or jointly with village pachayats to undertake the burden of development work. In the past fifty years during which they have been in existence, they have not succeeded even in their own restricted legitimate sphere of activities. The Committee on

Rural Credit Survey has, declared them to be a failure. Thus it is inescapable that new ad hoc institutions charged with the task of development will have to be organised because development is an art and calls for expertise. It is only a recognition of this fact that has led to the appointment of expert personnel on the Board of Management of the river valley projects like Damodar Valley Corporation or the Tennessee Valley Administration. The same logic applies no less to smaller areas like a single village or a group of villages. The creation of such ad hoc councils should not be left to the blind chance of the ballot. The winners in elections atleast at the lower levels of the villages and taluks, would mostly be the misfits for the tasks and duties envisaged. Alternatively, development councils should be filled in by nomination atleast for five or ten years to come.

Before leaving this field of organisation and administration a word may be said about the manner in which technical skill in the Blocks is being utilised. There is an increasing awareness of the shortage of extension personnel in relation to growing demand. At present much of the time of the extension officers is being frittered away on non-technical subjects. Take for instance the agricultural extension officer. His legitimate function is to demonstrate the superiority of the new strains of seeds, implements, fertilizers and methods of cultivation. All this he should do in demonstration farms all over the Block area and not through speeches and film strips. Nor is it his business to sell implements and seeds; nor again is it his duty to arrange for spraying insecticides and fungicides. These two functions could well be discharged by an Upper Division Clerk and a Maistry respectively, or better still they could be left to private agencies. There is indeed an advantage in canalising the flow of agricultural requisites through licensed normal trade agencies, because the ryots will then more boldly complain against private traders for delay, high price etc. than against government employees. Complaints against the former could be dealt with more effectively than against the latter by cancelling licences or reducing quotas which would have a wholesome deterrent effect. Above all, shifting such non-technical jobs to suitable agencies would not only perceptibly step up the efficiency of the technical personnel but also partly deofficialise

development activities which is the crying need of the present as well as the future. Similarly it is essential to divest the other extension officers of the non-technical jobs with which they are saddled now in the blocks as well as in regular departmental service.

Finance :

Both the latest reports have made a pointed reference to the inadequacy of the financial allotments to the Community Development Programme. For the innumerable schemes which have been pressed into this nation-wide, omnibus Community Development Programme there has been a provision of only Rs. 242 crores for a period of about 8 years. This works out on an average to less than Rs. 30 crores a year. Intended to serve a population of over 310 millions of the rural population, the amount of per capita expenditure works out to about a rupee per annum. Indisputably this is too meagre a sum to generate a new outlook and a new spirit among the people.

Future Growth :

From the very outset the ultimate objective of the Community Development Programme has been declared to be rousing the rural population from the agelong torpor and making them actively participate in all the planning projects and fostering a sense of responsibility and initiative. The measure of its success lies in the quickness and facility with which a transition from a Government administered programme could be effected. Both Indian and foreign observers including evaluation teams have taken pains to understand first hand whether the movement is developing in the right direction. Conflicting opinions are held on this question, but the opinion of so eminent an authority as Mr. M. L. Wilson, who has been associated with the Extension Movement of the U. S. A. for a period of nearly 50 years, should be deemed to have clinched the issue. "I have said to myself over and over again, 'Is the total programme moving in the direction of an administrated programme or of a People's Programme?' I meditated this question many times and have come to the conclusion after weighing of the factors involved that it is going to be a People's Programme". Others have expressed less optimistic views.

Structure of Priorities :

From the foregoing discussion, certain conclusions emerge indicating in broad outline the directions in which priorities will have to be revised :

(1) The hypothesis that the Indian rural population will stoutly resist changes and new ideas is proved to be erroneous. Hence all the propaganda and publicity about new processes and methods will be a huge misdirected labour and resources. What is required is ocular proof. Demonstration farms in normal village conditions readily accessible to all villagers are the sine qua non for the success of the Programme.

(2) The great stress laid on welfare schemes is a major error of judgment. None of them would ever appeal to the illfed, indigent rural population. "Enter hunger, exit all the ten desires" is the famous Tamil saying the significance of which does not appear to have been duly appreciated in the formulation of the Programme. On the other hand concentration on economic and particularly immediately productive schemes will rouse, as none else can the enthusiasm of the people. Larger productivity, larger income, better living standards, better health and education and greater interest in sanitation, civic virtues, sports, songs, drama and the rest of the cultural pursuits - these appear to be the logical arrangement of the links of the developmental chain making for rural prosperity.

(3) Development of rural industries should follow the Scandinavian or Japanese pattern. Large scale industries should be split up into small cottage units and home industries for the manufacture of component, already in vogue in cycle and fountainpen industries. Adoption of modern technique, utilization of electricity and elimination of avoidable physical strain and drudgery are essential to evoke the enthusiasm of the workers who are already saturated with a knowledge of ideal working conditions of the advanced West through magazines, pictorial journals, cinema and community radio.

(4) The over-emphasis on construction of buildings seen in the present programme has led to a construction mania, "window-dressing" as it were of the project area without allowing development activities to soak down into and fertilise the economy by generating cumulative effects of growth,

(5) In respect of institutional arrangements, Village Panchayats are least eligible to carry on the heavy responsibilities of the Community Development Programme. It would be like depending on a lame horse, since Village Panchayats have not crossed the early phase of factions and feuds. Adhoc Committees with nominated members may have to function for five to ten years to implement Community Development Programme. The village level worker on whom so much reliance is placed for successful execution of the multitude of schemes as also discovering and developing local leadership is ill-equipped and ill-paid and suffering from lack of stature and status to function as dynamic agencies. Something will have to be done to improve the calibre of these 50,000 and odd grama sevaks.

(6) The past history and experience of the working of the Cooperative Societies render them least fit to discharge the task and duties associated with this Programme.

(7) For the massive gargauntuan programme of revolutionizing the ways of life and business of more than 300 millions of the rural population, the financial allotment of Rs. 242 crores for the First and Second Plan periods, working out to about a rupee per capital per annum is meagre and inadequate.

(8) Technical personnel being so scarce in this country, eternal vigilance is needed to put them to maximum use. This could be done by relieving them of all non-technical jobs.

Administration and Politics of the Ancient Tamils as reflected in Silappatikaram.

By

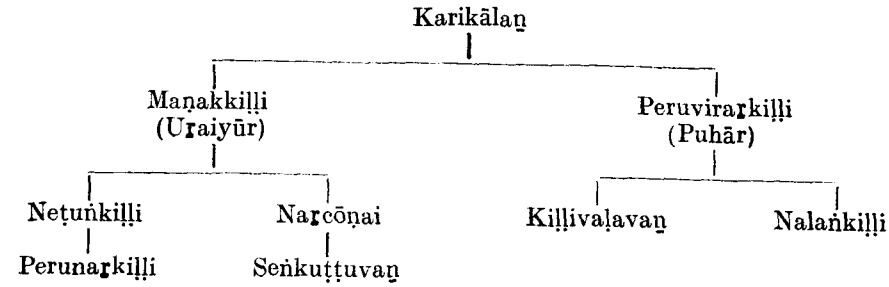
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(Continued from Vol. XXI p. 158)

Senkuṭṭuvan's Predecessors :

Thus it may be concluded that the Cera kings followed the makkaḷ tāyam and Senkuṭṭuvan was the son of Imayavarampaṇ Neṭuñcēralāṭaṇ. The great Senkuṭṭuvan ruled over the Cera country with Vañcimānakaṛ as his capital. There were several petty chieftains ruling over the Chola country. But they were all under the suzerainty of either the Puhār or Uṛaiyūr Cholas. There were two families of the Cholas, one having Uṛaiyūr as the capital and the other Puhār. Senkuṭṭuvan's uncle Neṭuñkiḷli, his mother's brother and the son of Maṇakkiḷli, was ruling over Uṛaiyūr. Puhār was under the rule of Kiḷḷivaḷavaṇ and his younger brother Nalañkiḷli. After the great Karikāla who ruled over the whole of the Chola country, the country seems to have been divided between Maṇakkiḷli and Peruviraṇkiḷli.¹ Maṇakkiḷli is supposed to be the son of Karikālaṇ and thus Karikālaṇ is the maternal great-grand-father of Senkuṭṭuvan. In the battle at Kāriyāru that ensued between these two Cholas, Senkuṭṭuvan's uncle Neṭuñkiḷli fell dead. When Neṭuñkiḷli was thus killed, he was succeeded by his son Perunaṇkiḷli who crowned himself king at Uṛaiyūr. Seeing that Perunaṇkiḷli was young, his relatives, who were ruling the various provinces as petty viceroys, revolted against him with the idea of usurping the throne. But Senkuṭṭuvan hastened to the Chola country with a strong army, put down the nine rebellious Cholas at Nērivāyil near Uṛaiyūr and installed his brother-in-law on the throne. It is this Perunaṇkiḷli, who, according to Thiru M. Raghava Iyengar, later on became a mighty monarch and assumed the title "Irājasūyam vēṭṭa Perunaṇkiḷli. This Chola king after the consecration of Kaṇṇaki at Vañcimānakaṛ erected a temple in memory of Kaṇṇaki at Uṛaiyūr, and conducted great festivals. The pedigree is given below :

1. Cēraṇ Senkuṭṭuvaṇ.



Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's contemporaries :

Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's contemporary Pandya kings were Ariyappaṭai Kaṭanta Neṭuñceliyaṇ, and his younger brother Verrivērceliyaṇ. Neṭuñceliyaṇ was responsible for the unjust murder of Kōvalaṇ. At the death of Neṭuñceliyaṇ his younger brother Verrivērceliyaṇ who was ruling over Koṛkai as the heir apparent came to Madurai and crowned himself king. He was succeeded by his son Neṭuñceliyaṇ, the famous hero of the battle of Talaiyālāṅkāṇam.

These are the Chola and the Pandya contemporaries of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ. The epic of Silappatikāram refers to Karikalan in three places (5 — 90-104; 6 — 159-160; 21 — 11). But never does it say that the debut of Mādhavi took place in the court of Karikalan. It is the interpretation of the commentators (1 — 60-68; 3 — 10-11; 5 — 212;—Commentaries) which misled people to consider that Karikalan was a contemporary of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ. As may be easily seen, this interpretation is quite wrong. Karikalan seems to be a contemporary of Iṃayavarampaṇ, Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's father, and not of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ.

His conquests :

The state emblem or the standard of the Cera is the "Bow", the Chola the "Tiger" and the Pandya the "Fish". Also they had distinguishing garlands or flowers such as the Palmyra, the Ātti and the Margosa respectively. Of the three the Cera king Senkuṭṭuvaṇ was the most powerful. In support of Silappatikāram, Patirruppattu also refers to several of his victories. His victories may be classified as follows :

(1) Senkuṭṭuvaṇ led an expedition to the north for a holy bath of his mother in the waters of the river Ganges. In this expedition he won a victory over the thousand Aryan kings who opposed him in the north.¹ Thiru M. Raghava Iyengar would suggest that it is for a holy bath for the image of his

1. Silappatikāram 25—160-165.

mother¹, which he erected for her after her suicide when her husband died in a battle with Peruvirakkilli², that Senkuṭṭuvaṇ undertook this expedition.

(2) He also won a victory at Koṅkar Senkaḷam (கொங்கர் செங்களம்) against the Cholas and the Pandyas and destroyed the city of Koṭukūr (கொடுகூர்)³. The Koṅkas are identified with the Gangas⁴ who were also known as Koṅkutēsa Rājākkaḷ.

(3) The victory that was greatly celebrated by Paraṇar repeatedly in the fifth ten of Patirruppattu is his sending the navy into the sea and the destruction of Paḷaiyaṇ.⁵ Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ in Silappatikāram refers to this naval victory, along with the conquest of Aryan kings.⁶ As a result of this naval victory, Senkuṭṭuvaṇ seems to have assumed the title Cēramāṇ Kaṭalōṭṭiya Vēlkelu Kuṭṭuvaṇ—சேரமான் கடலோட்டிய வேல்கெழுக்குட்டுவன் (புறம்—369); கடல் பிறக்கோட்டிய குட்டுவன் (பதிற்றுப்பத்து—பதிகம் 5).

(4) Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's victory over Paḷaiyaṇ was one of his greatest achievements. Paḷaiyaṇ is a chieftain of Mōkūr under the Pandya king. Senkuṭṭuvaṇ undertook this expedition against Paḷaiyaṇ to help his friend Arukai.⁷ Senkuṭṭuvaṇ cut to pieces the Kāvaṇmaram, the margosa tree of Paḷaiyaṇ and tied Paḷaiyaṇ's elephants to his cart with the help of the robes made of the hair of Paḷaiyaṇ's women. Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ also refers to this victory.⁸

(5) Silappatikāram refers to the victory of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ at Viyalūr (வியலூர்) the seashore, the destruction of the nine Chola kings at Nērivāyil (நேரிவாயில்) and his victory at Iṭumpavaṇam (இடும்பவனம்).⁹ Patirruppattu also refers to the victory of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ over the nine kings. "ஆரத்திருவிற் சோழர் குடிக்குரியோர் ஒன்பதின்மர் வீழ வாயிற்புறத் திறுத்து"—We have already discussed in detail this victory of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ.

1. Cēraṇ Senkuṭṭuvaṇ—pages 27, 28.

2. Puṇanānūru — stanza 62.

3. Silappatikāram 25—152-155.

4. Cēraṇ Senkuṭṭuvaṇ page 28.

5. Patirruppattu — stanzas 45, 46, 48.

6. Silappatikāram 28—119-121; இறுதிக்கட்டுரை.

7. Patirruppattu — 44.

8. Silappatikāram — 27—124-126.

9. do — 28—115-119.

(6) The last and the greatest of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's achievements is his expedition to the north to bring stones from the Himalayas to carve out an image for Kaṇṇaki. This expedition is not mentioned in the text of Paṭiṟruppattu. Only the paḍigam of the fifth ten refers to this victory. Because of this anamoly Thiru K. N. Sivaraja Pillai in his "Chronology of the Tamils" has tried to differentiate two Senkuṭṭuvaṇs. But it is probable that Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's northern expedition was the last of his victories, undertaken after Paranar had composed the fifth ten.

Thus Senkuṭṭuvaṇ was strong and powerful, his domain extending over the Pandya country, the Chola country and even over north India upto the Himalayas. No wonder that his standard consisted of all the three emblems of the Tamil kings, namely, the Bow, the Fish and the Tiger. His minister Villavaṇ Kōtai says, "Seal it (the letter announcing Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's northern expedition) with your seal bearing the designs of the Bow, the Fish and the Tiger, the emblems of the Tamil kings and send it to all the kings of the north". (25 — 170-172).

Training the heir apparent:

The kings were anxious that their successors should get proper training in administration before they take up the reigns of office. So the successors were crowned heirs apparent and made to rule over a certain portion of the country. Thus when Āriyappaṭai Kaṭanta Neṭuñceliyaṇ was ruling over the Pāṇḍya country with Madurai as the capital, his younger brother Verrivērceliyaṇ who was to succeed him, was ruling over Korkai. At the death of Neṭuñceliyaṇ, Verrivērceliyaṇ hastened to Madurai and duly crowned himself king of the Pandya country.

Form of Government:

The form of government then was monarchical. The kingship was hereditary (17 — 134). The king was the head of the state and the army. So he had immense prestige and power. Still he was never an autocrat or tyrant. He was very careful to look to the comforts of his subjects. There is no reference in the Caṅkam classics that the people ever revolted against a despotic ruler. But from the simile that is used, one has to understand that they knew what despotism meant. The autocratic king's reign is compared to the burning hot summer. The brāhmin of Maṅkāḍ said "You (Kōvalaṇ) have come in the hot summer when the jungles and mountains are burnt to deserts causing

deep distress, like a kingdom whose king deviated from the right path under the influence of unrighteous councillor" (11—60-67). Kōvalaṇ, Kaṇṇaki and Kavunti Aṭikaḷ, on their way to Madurai, 'having decided to walk in the night under the cool rays of the moon, anxiously waited for the sunset. The poet compares them to those who anxiously wait for the death of autocratic kings (13—15-16). Thus we see how the people hated despots and how anxiously they prayed for the despots' early death. Perhaps they never revolted against such kings and their political philosophy taught them more to retire to the wild forests than to live under such despots.¹

Divinity of kingship:

The people considered the king as their God. Divine attributes were given to the king. The word Iraivaṇ (இறைவன்) refers both to the king and to God. இறைமுறை பிழைத்தோன் வாயிலோயே (20—26); இறைமகன் செவ்வி யாங்கனும் பெருது (25—35); இறைமுறை பிழைத்தது (23—117). In all these places 'irai' refers to the king. இறைவனை ஆடல் கொண்டருளிய அணங்கு (20—37-38); நுதல் விழி நாட்டத் திறையோன் (14—7)—Here iravaṇ refers to God (Siva). Similarly, kōyil means both the palace of the kings and the temple of Gods. பிறவா யாக்கைப் பெரியோன் கோயிலும் (5—169) — the temple of the 'Never-Born'. Here the word kōyil refers to the temple of God Siva. In the line கோயில் புக்கு வாயில் மொழிய — 'Reached the palace and asked the gatekeeper', the word kōyil refers to the palace of the Pandya king.

Since kingship was considered divine, the unnatural disturbances in the world and the disturbances of the peace of the people were attributed to the failure of the king's rule. Senkuṭṭuvaṇ, when he heard how the Pandya king erred in his judgement and how he unjustly murdered Kōvalaṇ, said, "The king fears when the rain fails and fears more when his subjects are committed to any misdeed. To be born in the family of kings who fears to be an autocrat is not an enviable position, but is a misfortune to suffer" (25.....100-104).

We shall now discuss the origin of this divinity of kingship with the help of the references in Tamil Literature.

Human nature is so peculiar that it obeys the laws enacted by those who have own the respect and regard of the people. If there is no law prohibiting the killing of one person by another, I think our streets will be always filled with corpses.

1. கொடுங்கோல் மன்னன் வாழும் நாட்டில் கடும்புலி வாழும் காடு நன்றே.

Even where religion, literature and philosophy have failed, law has succeeded.

Our philosophers, poets, and religious heads have preached the prohibition of animal sacrifices in the name of Gods, and the immense benefits of giving up drinking. They have pointed out the evils and the injustice of untouchability and spoken eloquently in support of temple entry. All their attempts have failed even in the modern democratic world. But where these people have failed to achieve their aims by writing and preaching, the laws have succeeded. In the modern democratic society, they have failed to achieve their aims as effectively as the laws which have brought them up. But there was a time when these people, the poets and the philosophers were the acknowledged legislators and their words were the laws of the country.

The real meaning of freedom dawned upon man when he began to live and abide by the laws of society. Man who lived alone, learns to live with his wife, children, his people and with others. Each stage imposed on him new restrictions and his freedom grew more and more qualified until it became suitable for the growth of the society. He grew more and more civilized when new restrictions were imposed.

Who imposed first the restrictions on him? He who commanded his respect and regard must have first made laws for him. Unable to account for the changes in nature, and threatened at times by its awful majesty, he believed in an Almighty who commanded the universe and prayed to him to save him from difficulties. So the laws were first made for men in the name of God which men obeyed.

The three Caṅkams were blessed with either the presence of Gods and poets who were considered to be the avathars of Gods or who had in them the divine nature, so that people might respect them. The poets thus wielded immense power in society and were the legislators of the land. Their utterances were accepted as laws to be followed. The text of *Iraiyāṇār Kaḷaviyal* is said to be written by God *Sōmasundarar*. *Nakkirar*'s commentary on it was acknowledged to be the best and the judgment over it was given by *Uritiraṣaṇmaṇ*, an avathar of God *Murugaṇ*. *Akattiyar*, *Tolkāppiyar*, *Tiruvalluvar*, *Kampar* and a host of others were considered to be the avathars of Gods. Thus the people accepted the poets, who drew from their divinity their power to legislate, as their heads.

People then learned to live under a chieftain when the idea of kingship arose. If the people were to follow his commands, he should command their respect. He patronised the poets, the avathars of Gods, and they, in turn, celebrated him as God in their poetry, which the people readily accepted. The king now made laws for the country and drew his inspiration from the divine power vested in him by the poets. So we hear in literature the poets not differentiating the kings from the God. The similarities between God and king are many which the poets propagated among the people so that they may obey the king and accept his legislation. This is how, I think, the idea of divinity in kingship arose in the Tamil country and this belief is contained in the histories of most of the countries.¹

The Councils of ministers :

The king was helped in his administration by two councils of ministers, the *Aimperuṅkuḷu* and *Enpērāyam*. The administration of the country was carried on by the king in consultation with these councils. The *Aimperuṅkuḷu* consisted of the minister, the purohit, the commander-in-chief, the ambassador and the spy. *Aḷumpilvēl* was the minister in charge of the income of the State. He seems to be a chieftain of the country known as *Aḷumpil* in the *Pandya* country.² He was very shrewd and was fully acquainted with the situations in his country. When it was decided to undertake the northern expedition and that it should be announced to the northern kings well in advance, *Aḷumpilvēl* said that it was quite sufficient if the expedition was announced in the city of *Vañci* itself, because, he said, the spies of the northern kings who were present at *Vañcimā-nakar* would certainly carry the news to their kings (25—173—177). Thus *Aḷumpilvēl* knew well the presence of the spies of the northern kings in the city of *Vañci* and was keeping a vigilant watch over them. When *Seṅkuṭṭuvaṇ* got wild and said that he would lead his northern expedition against the kings in the north, who talked disgracefully of the Tamil kings, it was the purohit who calmed him down, saying, "Oh king! There is not a single monarch who can defy your anger. They really meant no insult to you. So you should bring down your wrath" (26—20—24). The purohit was also known as "āsān"³ *Seṅkuṭṭuvaṇ*'s commander-in-chief for the infantry was *Villavaṇ Kōtai* who led

1. For a detailed discussion of this theory, refer to my article "அரசன் கடவுளான வரலாறு" in *Kalaikadir*—1952.
2. சேரன் செங்குட்டுவன் — பக்கம் 126.
3. 26—24. —the commentary. இது புரோகிதன் வார்த்தை

the victorious expedition to the north (26—251-252). Cañcayan was the head of the ambassadors. They carried on the orders and requests to foreign countries and in times of war they stayed with the king and executed his orders. It was Cañcayan who carried on the news to Senkuṭṭuvan from Nūrruvar Kaṇṇar, that they were ready to bring a stone from the Himalayas after dipping it in the holy waters of the Ganges, to carve out the image of Kaṇṇaki, if the purpose of Senkuṭṭuvan's expedition to the north was only to bring such a stone. Senkuṭṭuvan sent Cañcayan to inform the Nūrruvar Kaṇṇar to make arrangements with them for the safe transport of the troops across the river Ganges. The ambassadors, since they had frequent access to the presence of the king, had a special uniform, a shirt and a head dress and so they were known as Kañchukamākkaḷ. The Kañchukamākkaḷ took tributes to their king Senkuṭṭuvan, from the Pandya king, and the king sent a sealed letter accepting the tributes (26-166-171). Cañcayan was the head of these Kañchukamākkaḷ, about a thousand in number (26-137-138). Next to Cañcayan was Nilan (28-109). The spies were the eyes of the kingdom who wandered in foreign lands unnoticed and sent news to their kings.

The Enpērāyam consisted of the Karaṇattiyalavar, Karumavitikaḷ, Kanakacurram, Kaṭaikāppāḷar, Nakaramāntar, Nalipāṭaittalaivar Yaṇaivirar and Ivuḷimaṇavar.

In addition to these, there were other administrative chiefs and officers like Karumavinaiñar, Kaṇakkiyalviñaiñar, Tarumaviñaiñar, Tantiraviñaiñar and Peruñkaṇi who helped the king in the administration (26-40-42).

The Council of ministers and the other bodies of administrative officers were known as mantira curram, which used to sit with the king and help him in the administration of justice. They also took part in the king's durbar known as Nālōlakkam. It was when Neṭuñceliyaṇ left the mantira curram and was proceeding to the palace of the queen that the goldsmith met and deceived him, saying that the thief who had stolen the anklet of the queen, was caught and kept in his house. If the mantira curram was present with the king, perhaps it would have properly advised him against any hasty judgment and there would have been perhaps no execution of Kōvalan at all.

The income of the State :

There were three sources of income to the State as stated by Tiruvalluvar.¹ They were the uruporuḷ — the hidden wealth. Uruporuḷ

1. உறுபொருளும் உல்கு பொருளும் தன் ஒன்றாகத் தெறுபொருளும் வேந்தன் பொருள்.

need not mean the treasure trove alone — i.e. the golden jewels and the pots of money that may be found hidden under the earth. Putaiyal (புதைபயல்) or uruporuḷ means anything hidden under the earth. So the mineral wealth of any kind, gold and diamonds, iron and coal, even in the form of ore that are found hidden under the earth were known as putaiyal and belonged to the State, as it is even today. Vārtikaṇ was imprisoned that he stole the treasure trove which belonged to the State. The second source of income was ulkupuṇḷ i.e. the duty that was imposed on imported and exported goods. It was the custom then to affix the seal of the king on the goods exported to foreign countries. The name of the goods, the quantity, and the addresses to which those bales were to be sent, were written on them (5-111-112). The king also took the wealth from the countries of the vanquished and the defeated kings paid him tribute. This was the third source of income to the State. Senkuṭṭuvan's vassals brought their tributes and waited in the early mornings before the palace when the drum was beaten (26-52-53; 166-171). In addition to all these, the people used to pay one sixth of their income as tax. This also enriched the coffers of the State.

On important occasions the king used to cancel off the payment of these taxes and duties. Once Vārtikaṇ was imprisoned on a false charge by the officers of the Pandya king without the king's knowledge. When the king came to know of this unjust act he begged of Vārtikaṇ his excuse when the gates of the temple of Kāḷi, which so long remained closed as a result of this injustice, suddenly broke open. The king in his joy in having found justice announced at once, "Break open the doors of the prison and leave the prisoners free. Exempt the people from the payment of tax. Both the ituporuḷ and paṭuporuḷ should go to those who find them out." (23-85-130). Senkuṭṭuvan when he consecrated Kaṇṇaki in the temple he built for her and celebrated the Nāṇmaṅkalam, ordered to let free all the prisoners and announced that the people were exempted from payment of the taxes and duties (28-203-204). Kulothunga I who ruled over the Chola country (1070 A. D.—1120 A.D.) also by a similar act of grace exempted the people from the payment of the taxes in memory of his accession to the throne and as a result won for him the immortal title "Cuñkantavirtta Cōḷaṇ."

Welfare of the subjects :

The king was very careful to look to the welfare of his subjects. He did many things to promote their comforts. In the city of Puhār the Chola king consecrated on the four directions the Gods of protection (காவற்றெய்வம்). One

of the two maṇṭapams of Puhār was Ilañcīmaṇṭapam which had a pond with cool water. If the people with hunchbacks or with rotten bodies as a result of diseases like leprosy etc., took their bath in that pond, they attained beautiful bodies. Many were the people who made use of this wonderful pond. Next to it there was another maṇṭapam which contained a stone shedding rays of light. When people came round this pillar, the rays relieved them of diseases like loss of senses, shivering as a result of taking poison and poisoning as a result of snake bite etc. (5 — 118-127). It is true that the existence of such a pond and a pillar is supernatural and may seem to be unreasonable to the modern scientific age. Yet we may take them to be symbolic representations of the hospitals and other institutions which the king had established for the benefit of his subjects. Does not the modern methods of treatment apply the X-rays and the ultra violet rays ?

Justice :

The king used to undertake nocturnal wanderings in his country to have a first hand information about the reactions of his subjects to his rule. Kirantai, a brahmin, when he left the Pandya country for Benares on a pilgrimage consoled his wife saying, "The benevolent rule of our king will protect you. Do not be afraid of being alone in my absence when I go on my pilgrimage to Benares". The king who overheard this, used to watch the house every night unnoticed by any one. Kirantai, after his return, was talking to his wife. The king when he heard a new voice inside the house, suspected whether any thief had entered and knocked at the door. Kirantai suspected the chastity of his wife. His wife got frightened and appealed to her husband, "What has happened to the justice of our king which you said, would protect me". The king realised his mistake and left the place at once. Next day Kirantai brought the case before the king and demanded that the hand of the person who knocked at the door should be chopped off. The king quietly cut his hand off. His people understood the actual events that had led to such an act by the king and made a gold hand for their king. He was thenceforward known as Poṛkai-p-pāṇṭiyaṇ (23 — 42-54).

It was because of such a benevolent and just rule of the Pandya king that Kōvalaṇ, as soon as he entered the Pandya country, said, "My wife is unable to bear this burning heat; in the Pandya country the bear will not dig the anthills; the tiger will not chase the deer; the reptiles, the crocodiles, the thunder and the spirits will not give any trouble. This is the result of the righteous rule of the

Pandya kings for which they are well known throughout the length and breadth of this world (13 — 2-10).

The court of justice was known as Araṅkūravaiyam where the major part of the discussion and the judgment became the responsibility Aimperuṅkuḷu. We also hear of instances where justice was demanded of the king in person. The people got direct audience with the king and demanded justice. The history of poṛkai-p-pāṇṭiyaṇ from whom Kirantai demanded protection and later on justice, and Neṭuñceliyaṇ from whom Kaṇṇaki demanded justice, are instances where the people demanded justice from the king by arguing their cases with him in person. When Neṭuñceliyaṇ realised that he was wrong in executing Kōvalaṇ he died that very moment.

These are instances where the kings are directly concerned with the cases. But in most cases, justice was dispensed by the Araṅkūravaiyattār. In the city of Puhar, there was a Bhūtam which used to tie the unfaithful sanyasins, the prostitutes, the unfaithful wives, the treacherous ministers who schemed against their own kings, the false witnesses and the backbiters, with its robe called pāsam, give them immense troubles and devour them.

If ever the king or the avai gave wrong judgments, there were ways by which it was announced to the king. Dakṣiṇāmūrti was given wealth by Parāsurāṇ. But the king's officers said that the father of Dakṣiṇāmūrti stole away the treasure-trove and imprisoned Dakṣiṇāmūrti's father Vārttikaṇ. At once the gates of the temple of Kālī remained closed and no one was able to open them. The king on enquiry, found that Vārttikaṇ was unjustly imprisoned by his officers. Vārttikaṇ was set free and the king begged of him his pardon (23 — 100-121). This incidentally proves how sometimes the king's officers misused their power without the knowledge of the king. There was an image in the Pāvaimaṇṇam of Puhār which used to shed tears if ever the king or the avai went wrong in dispensing justice (5 — 135-138). These are also supernatural. Yet these may be explained as symbolic of the various devices which were intended to give proper and impartial justice for the people. It also proves how anxious the kings were to give impartial judgment.

Religious catholicity :

There were only four main religions namely, Saivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism and Buddhism followed by the people of Tamilnad. The kings in most cases embraced Saivism. But there was no religious prejudice or animosity among the

adherents of the various religions. Members of the same family embraced different religions without any feeling of prejudice or hatred. Senkuṭṭuvaṇ was a Saivite while his brother Iṭaṅkō Aṭikaḷ was a Jain. Sāttanār who was respected and patronised by Senkuṭṭuvaṇ was a Buddhist by religion, but he had no prejudice towards any other religion. On the eve of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's departure to the north on his expedition, early in the morning after attending to his morning duties, he prayed to God Siva. Then he started on an elephant when the priest from the temple of Ātakamātam, where God Vishnu lay sleeping, brought prasātham and gave it to him. Senkuṭṭuvaṇ gladly receiving it, had it worn on his shoulders, since he had the feet of God Siva over his crowned head (26—55-57).

Since the kings were so catholic in their outlook on religion, the people adhering to various faiths lived as good neighbours. In the cities of Puhār and Madurai, the various temples and pallies belonging to the various religions were in close proximity with each other (10—9-25; 5—160-173; 14—7-12). It is because of this catholicity in the outlook of the people that Mādhari a Vaishnavite, readily accepted Kōvalaṇ and Kaṇpaki as her guests though they were Jains. Mādhari also paid homage to Kavunti Aṭikaḷ, a Jain Sanyāsin.

Army :

The king had the fourfold army, the Chariots, the Elephants, the Horses, and the Infantry. We hear from Silappatikāram about the size of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's army that left Vañci on his northern expedition (26—128-140). It consisted of the following :—Chariots - 100; Elephants - 500; Horses - 10,000; Carts and carriages - 20,000; Kañcukar - 1,000; Dancing girls - 102; Musicians - 208; Jesters - 100. The major item of expenditure for the king might have been the maintenance of such a huge army. When this huge army crossed the lands and mountains, the mountains became bent under its weight and permanent routes were carved out by the mere passing of the army.¹ Senkuṭṭuvaṇ had a well trained infantry with which he was able to subdue his enemies on land and had a mighty naval force with which he conquered his enemies on the seas.

1. தண்டத் தலைவரும் தலைத்தாரச் செனையும்
வெண்டலைப் புணரியின் விளிம்புகூழ் போத
மலைமுதுகு தெளிய நிலைநாட தர்ப்பட.

War :

Silappatikāram speaks of two expeditions to the north led by the Tamil kings. One was the famous expedition led by the Chola king Karikāḷaṇ prior to the days of Silappatikāram (5—90-92). The other was the expedition led by Senkuṭṭuvaṇ. If the king was unable to start at the appointed auspicious moment, he used to send his white umbrella—Venkorraṅkuṭai, sword and the murasu in advance at the appointed moment in the direction of his expedition, mounted on an elephant. This is known as Nāṭkōḷ or Kuṭaimaṅkalam (5—90-92; 26—33-45). This is what Karikāḷaṇ and Senkuṭṭuvaṇ did during their northern expeditions. Before the army left the capital, it was treated to a grand feast. Senkuṭṭuvaṇ conducted the war mostly as described in Tolkāppiyam. There are a few tīpāis in Silappatikāram which are not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam.

The defeated kings paid tribute to the victor. Senkuṭṭuvaṇ received Muttuppantar from the king of Vacciṇam, Paṭṭimaṇṭapam from the king of Magada and Tōraṇavāyil from the king of Avanti (28—86-87-commentary).

The king conferred titles and birudas upon the warriors who fought heroically in the battlefield. The names of the heroes who lost their lives in battles were perpetuated by the erection of Naṭukal or Virakkal. The heirs of these warriors received lands and other kinds of wealth from the kings. After the conquest over Kanaga and Vijaya, Senkuṭṭuvaṇ, encamped on the southern bank of the river Ganges, summoned to his presence the sons of those, who, while defeating the attempts of the enemy kings, went to heaven to be garlanded by its daughters; who with unbeaten courage had fought and lay dead with heads and shoulders chopped off; who, though hired soldiers, had fought with swords and fallen dead, who died with their swords when the goblins with sunken eyes danced Kuravaikkūttu celebrating the ancestry of the hero, and the sons of those who fell down dead with their fellow soldiers and wives of those who crowned themselves with the Vākai flowers after having killed the front rank of the enemy with their spears; those who stood with blood on their bodies after having destroyed the chariot and charioteers; those who had taken possession of the battlefields after having cut off the heads of their enemies so that even Yama was moved to pity; and those who came with their breast-plates pierced to their backs and presented them with golden flowers of Vākai (27—23-44).

The insubordinate defeated kings like Kanaga and Vijaya were imprisoned. But those who submitted realising their own weakness, were pardoned and treated as friends. Senkuṭṭuvaṇ brought the stones from the Himalayas on the heads of Kanaga and Vijaya. The defeated kings and others tried to escape from the battlefield in the guise of sanyasins with jaṭa, kāshāyam and with ashes smeared all over their body, in the guise of jain sanyasins with the feathers of peacock in their hands and in the guise of dancers and musicians (26—225-230). It was considered unmanly and disgraceful to imprison these people who tried to escape from the battlefield defeated. The Pandya kings spoke disgracefully of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ when he showed them the kings of north whom he imprisoned when they tried to escape from the battlefield disguised in the garb of ascetics (27—80-107).

Patronage of fine arts :

The kings in general patronised dance, music and literature. Senkuṭṭuvaṇ's love for, and the patronage he gave to Tamil are unparalleled. The composition of an epic like Silappatikāram — a muttamil kāviyam by Iṭāṅkō Aṭikaḷ and Maṇimēkalai by Sāttanār was largely due to his patronage. To the poet Paraṇar who composed the 5th ten of Patirruppattu with Senkuṭṭuvaṇ as the hero was granted the whole income of Umparkāṭu. Senkuṭṭuvaṇ also gave him his own son Kuṭṭuvaṇ Cēral.

During his expedition to the north innumerable dancers and songsters, kūttar and pāṇar followed his troops. He relaxed himself by seeing the dances and listening to the songsters. After his return from the north, seated with his wife on the moonlit portico, he saw the dance Koṭṭecētam performed by Cākkaikkūttar of Paraiyūr. This was the dance which Siva danced with his consort Uma as part of himself on his left, after burning the three castles. The anklet on his red feet jinkled; the drum in his hand sounded; his eyes expressed thousand different expressions; the locks of hair spread and waved in all the four directions. These were the expressions of Lord Siva on the right. On the left, as part of Lord Siva, there was Uma. Her pāṭakam did not throb; her waist band produced no sound; her breasts did not shake; the jewels on her head were not displaced; and the curls of her hair were not spoilt.

We also know how the debut of Mādhavi was held before the Chola king. The king presented her with the title Talaikōl Arivai, in addition to 1008 Kaḷañcu of gold and a garland of green leaves.

The Pattini cult :

Caṅkam literature refers to Naṭukal or Virakkal erected for the warriors. There is no reference to the erection of images for chaste ladies. Silappatikāram is the first epic which refers to the erection of an image for a chaste lady and the consecration of the Goddess of chastity. It is Senkuṭṭuvaṇ who first introduced the Pattini-cult. The kings then had great respect for chaste ladies and they very much honoured them. Kavunti Aṭikaḷ said of chaste ladies, "The rain will not fail; the wealth will not fail; and the kings will not go wrong in the lands where live chaste ladies". It is no wonder that Senkuṭṭuvaṇ built a temple for Kaṇṇaki and conducted festivals to celebrate her greatness.

Peace and Prosperity :

Because of such a benevolent and just rule the people lived happy without any fear. In the Velliṭaimaṇṇam of Puhār there were bales of goods heaped like mountains with the name and the quantity of the goods written over them. There was neither a gate, nor a lock, nor a watchman to protect them. There might be strangers from different lands who would be tempted to steal away those goods. If they wanted to dispose of those goods, they would have to come round and round, crushed under the weight of the goods upon their head with nobody to buy them. Their attempts to steal away the goods would thus be foiled (5 — 110-117). We hear of events very similar to this even now in the western countries in the sale of newspapers and magazines. The bundles of newspapers and magazines will be kept at the junctions with nobody to sell them away. Those who want them, will take the necessary dailies and magazines and put their coins in a dish kept there. There is said to be no malpractice or fraud. This practice is said to work most efficiently in the promotion of honesty among the people.

The love of the people for their king :

The people had great respect and regard for their kings. At the end of the festivals and dances which the people conducted for their Gods, they praised their kings and wished them long life, victory and prosperity (12 — 24; 17 — 38; 24 — 26). The Ācciyar compared the three great kings to Tirumāl. Even during the marriages at the end of the functions they prayed that their kings should be blessed with long life, prosperity and victory. "The royal tiger emblem, engraved on this side of the Himalayas, might remain for ever on the golden crest of that

mountain and the Chola king might spread his matchless victory all over the world." Thus the maidens referred to their Chola king at the end of the marriage between Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki (1.....64-68).

When Senkuṭṭuvaṇ went north on his expedition, the whole country was plunged into grief unable to bear the absence of their king. On hearing his return every one was happy and the ladies hastened to inform the return of Senkuṭṭuvaṇ to their queen. The kuṛava maidens of kuṛuñci waiting on the paraṇ - the raised loft, sang the kuṛiñci paṇ, saying, "Let the path of him who returns on the fleeting elephant, decked with the vākai and tumpai of the north be shortened". The ploughmen sang the ṭṭappaṇ saying, "The Lord of kuṭavar who pulled down the fortress of the kings of north and ploughed their lands with asses and sowed white millet is come; O bullocks! You need not drag the heavy ploughs tomorrow. Tomorrow is the birthday of our king. Go and rest." The cowherds of mullai played on their flute the song, kuḷalpaṇ. "The villavaṇ has come. You (cattle) will mix with the cattle he has brought from the Himalayas." The fisher girls who assembled under the puṇṇai tree on the seashore and played ammānai, sang, "Our king Vāṇavaṇ has returned victorious to fondle the shoulders of his young queen. Let us sing the vañci song praising his tumpai and palmyra (27-210-250). Thus the people living in the various parts of his kingdom welcomed him affectionately, overcome with joy and excitement at his victorious return. It is no wonder that such an affectionate king lived to rule over his country for fifty long years.

THE MADRAS FAIR RENT ACT OF 1956 - AN APPRAISAL

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IT is one of the directive principles of State policy as embodied in the Indian Constitution, that "the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as they may, social and economic justice". The Planning Commission has also recommended in their land policy that the rights of tenants require to be defined and that the rents should be fixed, 'taking into consideration, the expenses of cultivation and other risks of the cultivators'. The question of laying down the principles for the determination of fair rent has therefore been engaging the attention of the Madras Government for some time. In April 1955, a Cabinet Sub-Committee was appointed to examine this question, along with the other aspects of land reform; and the present Act that came into force on the 1st October, 1956, is a result of the deliberations of the Committee. Since there was no law regulating the rent payable by a cultivating tenant to his landlord, except in areas to which the Malabar Tenancy Act of 1929 and the Tanjore Tenants and Pannayals Protection Act of 1952 apply, the Madras Government had the Madras Cultivating Tenants (Payment of Fair Rent) Act XXIV of 1956 passed through the Legislature in 1956.

The preamble to the Act lays down that this measure is introduced to provide for the payment of fair rent by the cultivating tenant to his landlord. It is therefore clear that it seeks to give relief to the cultivating tenants. The Act then goes on to define and explain what Fair Rent is. Section 4 of this Act says that the Fair Rent shall be

(i) in the case of wet land, 40% of the normal gross produce or its value in money;

(ii) in the case of wet land where the irrigation is supplemented by lifting of water, 35% of the gross produce or its value in money;

(iii) in the case of any other class of land, $33\frac{1}{3}$ % of the normal gross produce or its value in money.

The Act also provides that the tenant shall bear all cultivating expenses and the landowner shall bear the charges for repairing of the pumpsets and in the case of lands in items (ii) and (iii) in which water is lifted by pumpsets installed at the cost of the landowner, the fair rent specified shall be increased to 40%. The installation of a pumpset shall be at the option of the landowner. Lastly the Act says that where the contract of tenancy provides for payment of a rent lower than the fair rent payable under the above provisions, the contract rent alone shall be payable during the contract period. Under this Act the landowner is also entitled to $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the straw or stalk of all the crops in every harvest.

In order to appreciate the problem in a critical way, it is necessary to take into consideration a few points bearing on the question. First let us see how this Act helps in general to promote the economic welfare of the State as such. It is necessary that an Act should contain provisions for safe-guarding the interests of tenants as well as the landowners in general and the small uneconomic holders in particular. But it appears that this Act seeks to enrich a section of the population viz., tenants who form only 5.7%* of all agricultural families and who are in possession of only 9.5%* of the holdings covering 10.6%* of the total area held by all agricultural families, and to impoverish the other section, viz., the landowners who form the backbone of the rural economy representing about 49.3%* of the rural families and who are in possession of 78%* of the holdings covering 82.6%* of the total area held by all agricultural families. Secondly an Act if it aims at social justice must try to be just to all land-holders. Under the Tanjore Tenants and Pannayals Protection Act of 1952, exemption has been granted to persons in possession of $6\frac{2}{3}$ acres of land. But the framers of this Act have not thought fit to provide in this Act any such exemption to uneconomic holders and to small land-owners in possession of a few acres of land. It is no doubt true that the present Act allows an individual in possession of $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land to recover from each of his tenants 50% of the lands cultivated by his tenants for his personal cultivation, subject to the maximum of 5 acres of land, including the acres of land cultivated already by him.

* Essential Statistics. All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry. Government of India, Ministry of Labour, page 92.

The facility has been extended, not to all persons but only to those who are not assessed to taxes, like profession tax, income-tax or sales-tax and who at the same time, are actually participating in the agricultural operations. It is obvious that the scope of this facility is of very restricted application. A distinction is made between the uneconomic holders who are assessed to taxes like profession tax, income-tax or sales-tax, and others who are not so assessed. The result of such a distinction may have far reaching consequences in a State where there are already various classes and divisions. Further small holders of land who are assessed to profession tax will be rather adversely affected, as they will not be in a position to recover the lands from their cultivating tenants just because they happen to be assessed to profession-tax irrespective of their income. It would have been fairer had the framers of this Act deleted the words "profession tax" from the limitation provided for, or, to make it simpler if they made this Act applicable only to those landowners who are paying profession tax for income exceeding a certain ceiling per year, say Rs. 2000 or Rs. 2500. Such an arrangement should have been welcome from the point of view of small holders of land. The Government cannot have any real objection to incorporate such a provision as was contained in the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1938¹.

In the matter of the provision regarding the right of recovery given to certain land-owners of recovering 50% of lands from each of their cultivating tenants under certain conditions it has to be stated that this may lead to further sub-division and fragmentation of holdings which are already hopelessly uneconomic in this State. In the Madras State, almost 84% of the holdings is found to be below 5 acres.²

¹ The Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1938 does not give relief to persons who have been assessed to profession tax on a half-yearly income of more than Rs. 300 or to property tax or house-tax in respect of buildings or lands of an annual rental value of Rs. 600 or more in a Municipality, Cantonment or ex-union Panchayat. (Sec. 3(ii) Prov.)

² Consolidation of Holdings-Reserve Bank of India Publication Page 13.

It will therefore be advisable to remodel this Act on the Tanjore Tenants and Pannayals Protection Act of 1952, making it applicable only to certain classes of persons, leaving all others outside the purview of this Act. In such a case, all those uneconomic holders, who do not come under the purview of the Act, and who wish to take their lands from their cultivating tenants for their personal cultivation may do so or may leave their lands to be cultivated by the tenants not under the provisions of this present Act, but on the basis and certain mutual understanding between them regarding the sharing of produce.

Then on the question of fixation of fair rent, it appears that the legislators have not adopted the recommendations of any one of the Committees* that had only very recently made a thorough and comprehensive enquiry into the subject and made recommendations thereon. But on the other hand they have incorporated in the Act, arbitrary estimates not justified by a serious study. It may be that the provisions go beyond the requirements of the present situation and this may eventually result in the virtual elimination of the small and middle class land-owners. It is true that the Planning Commission, in its final draft outline of the Second Five Year Plan, has recommended that rent on no account should exceed 20% or 25% of the gross produce. But the Madras Government has to take into consideration the peculiar conditions prevailing in the State. This is made amply clear by the fact that the other States, while bearing in mind, the suggestions of the Planning Commission, have made suitable provisions according to conditions prevailing in their own States.

It is also advisable to bear in mind one other aspect in fixing what may be called "a fair rent". The investing public will normally expect a return at least to the value of 6% on their capital. If the land-owner is also provided with such a facility, he will not feel dissatisfied. The land-lord's

* 45% of the gross produce has been recommended by Subramaniam Committee as rent payable by the tenant to the land-owner while the Agrarian Reforms Sub-Committee of T. N. C. C. has recommended 50% of the gross produce after deducting harvesting charges and customary village common expenses as rent.

share at 40% will not fetch him even a 5% interest per annum, if we consider his share as a return on invested capital. Evidently, the Act fixes fair rent only from the point of view of the tenant. But any fixation of rent if it is fair, should be fair to all parties concerned in the cultivation of the land. The share might be fixed after a scientific study of farm costs or on such independent research material as might be available.¹

If suitable steps are not taken to safeguard the interests of the land-owners also, a sense of distrust and frustration may creep in and that may

1 Mr. V. Ramamurti, former convener, T. N. C. C. Land Reforms Committee has provided the following figures in respect of cultivation expenses (Hindu 29th December, 1955.)

As far as wet lands under I class sources are concerned, the tenant's share recommended by the Committee is 50% of the gross produce after deducting harvesting charges and customary village common expenses in the case of all lands in which the prevailing *waram* rates are less than the suggested rate. Harvesting charges and village common expense works out, on an average, to anything up to 8% of the gross produce. The rate recommended by the Committee would be equivalent to 54% of the entire gross produce if harvesting expenses and village common expenses are the tenant's sole responsibility, while the owner's share would be 46%.

A break down of the tenant share of 50% of the gross produce (after deducting harvesting charges and customary village common expenses) of the lands under first class irrigation sources referred to above, is as follows :

Seeds and manures	16½
Cost of casual labour hired by tenant	6½
Cost of tenants own labour	16½
Additional margin for tenant	14
	54

N. B.—Cost of maintenance of and depreciation on ploughing cattle is covered by the value of straw going to the share of tenant. Depreciation on implements like plough, spade and sickle, is negligible; their annual repair cost is covered by the contributions made to village carpenter and blacksmith at harvest time.

adversely affect the fostering of healthy and cordial relations between the land-lord and tenant. Next, it will also check the flow of rural finance and thereby cause hardships to many who badly require credit for all purposes. The indebted agricultural labour families which are found to be 45% of the total Agricultural labour families in the Madras State, would be deprived of the financial help of the land-owners who contribute 21%¹ of the total debt of the agricultural families.

In fixing a very low percentage of the gross produce of the land as rent payable by the tenant to the land-owner, it looks as though the framers of this Act give too much emphasis on "Land to the tiller" slogan. Perhaps they proceed on the ground that the cultivating tenant who cultivates the land actually and so sweats on the land should be entitled to a lion's share of the yield for which he is solely responsible. But it should be remembered that the land-owner is one who has actually purchased land out of his hard-earned money and who has his own liabilities to discharge. Moreover, such a slogan "Land to the tiller" may lead to very dangerous results. A cook in a restaurant may say that since he prepares the food and serves it, he is entitled not only to wages but also to a share in the profits of the business. Similarly in the case of drivers who actually keep the buses on the move, they may assert that they are entitled not only to what they get as salary, but also to a greater percentage of the income of the business. So far, however, no such special legislation incorporating a special wage system in industries or business other than in agricultural industry seems to have been even contemplated. To attempt sectional legislation discriminating against one type of investment is to say the least "unfair" legislation.

One of the disturbing effects of this Act is that it tends to reduce a land-holder to a mere rent receiver without having any voice even to direct cultivating operations and to choose the kinds of crops to be raised on his holdings. Such an undue bias in favour of the tenants does not appear to be justifiable when we take into consideration the fact that they (tenants) form a very small proportion of the population. In the Madras State there

¹ Essential Statistics-All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry Government of India, Ministry of Labour—Page 44.

are only 4926 tenants as against 16704 land-owners¹. When there is a need to improve the lot of the tenants who form a minority, the interests of the majority should not be unduly belittled. If due attention is not given to this circumstance, it will have the effect of killing the incentive of the land-owners. He may not be inclined to plough back a portion of his slender income, either on the purchase of agricultural requisites or maintenance of his lands in a good condition, since he is entitled to get under the present Act, a smaller percentage of the yield of the land and likewise, the tenants also may not care to invest more capital for the purpose of effectively cultivating the piece of land since in any event, he is entitled to 60% of the gross produce, whatever it is. Therefore the income from the land and consequently the capital value of the land would have to fall, with the result that the agriculturists in general and agricultural debtors of the co-operative institutions in particular, would have to incur a heavy loss with consequent danger to the general economy. This Act must be modified so as not to affect the interests of the Co-operative institutions² whose success is so necessary for the State. The implementation of this measure would impose unreasonable restrictions on the effort of the Land Mortgage Banks to advance loans to the indebted agriculturists, and the

¹ Rural Man-power and Occupational Structure-Government of India Ministry of Labour Page 109.

² The total annual credit needs of agriculturists in the Madras State is about Rs. 70 crores and the Co-operative Societies advanced loans to the extent of nearly Rs. 6 crores during the co-operative year 1954-55. This works out to about 9% of the credit needs of the agriculturists.

"For providing long-term loans to agriculturists for discharge of prior debts, for land improvement etc. there are 73 primary land mortgage banks functioning at present all over the State. In the Scheme of Expansion, it is proposed to organise 25 new Primary Land Mortgage Banks in the course of five years. They will encourage the issue of loans for direct land improvement on the presumptive value of land. It is expected that during the last year of the plan period, the Land Mortgage Banks will be issuing at least one crore of rupees as loans". Development of Rural Credit through Co-operatives by Sri A. Palaniappa Mudaliar, M.A., Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, in the Madras Journal of Co-operation September, 1956—Pages 192 & 194.

Government's increasing efforts to start and run more co-operative institutions, to extend more financial accommodation to the small and middle class land-owners during the Second Five Year Plan period may all be jeopardised to a certain degree with the fall in the capital value of agricultural lands.

It may also be that the enforcement of the present Act, as it is now, may also affect the religious and charitable institutions adversely with the possible result that a day would come when these institutions would have to wind up their work—a scarcely pleasant prospect.

Section 8 of the Act contains provisions regarding the constitution of Rent Courts and Rent Tribunals, which the Government has power to set up. Provision is made for parties to apply to the court for the fixation of fair rent and for deciding any other dispute between the land-owner and the cultivating tenant. The right of appeal is granted as also a right of revision to the High Court, as these Rent Courts are deemed to be subordinate to the High Courts. There is, therefore, the possibility of a spiral of developing cases, appeals, revisions. The richer of the parties will take advantage of the various gradations of authorities and fight out their disputes to the bitter end. No doubt there must be some kind of arbiters to decide disputes but in view of some of the short comings of this piece of legislation already touched upon, resort to court may be more frequent than otherwise. This may open one more serious disturbance to the economy of the rural parts, where some sort of Panchayat raj should finalise local adjustments.

Section 18 of the Act contains a wholesome provision clothing the Government with powers to remove difficulties if any, in the working of the Act. This means that the Government will keep an open mind and it is this which emboldens the critic to point out some of the defects of the Act. In view of the Second Five Year plan and the targets to be immediately achieved in agricultural production, an atmosphere congenial to the furtherance of the plan should be created and maintained. This is not the time for disturbing the existing relationships between the land-owners and the cultivating tenants by deliberate legislative provocation. We will have to

guard against bringing about a situation in which mutual suspicion and distrust and a sense of frustration leading to lack of incentives to promote the welfare of the country will have full play. The land problem is a knotty question and piecemeal legislation for short periods on inadequate data may not solve it. Comprehensive legislation, after a thorough and scientific study of the matter in all its aspects, is what is needed. A "Land Commission" with independent expert members with specific references for a complete study of the land question to make recommendations for comprehensive land legislation may be set up. It may perhaps be remembered that when the late Mr. Bhulabhai Desai appeared on behalf of the tenants in the Bardoli Dispute before the Special Tribunal many years back he withdrew from the case because the court would not agree to an intensive study of farm costs as something basic to the imposition of an increase in land revenue. There is room for study, and legislation must not create trouble if it can be avoided. It may also be noted that the American Consultant Mr. Davies condemned the Debt Legislation in the country as premature and not based on scientific study. The same criticism might apply with greater force to the present legislation in the matter of land rents.

APPENDIX

Relevant Agricultural Statistics (Madras State)

Sources :—

1. Rural Man-power and occupational structure — Government of India, Ministry of Labour.
2. Essential Statistics — All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry, Government of India, Ministry of Labour.

I. AREA AND POPULATION :

Area	..	..	1,27,790 Sq. miles
Population	..	..	57 Millions
Rural Population	..	..	45.8 "
Percentage of Rural population to the total	..	..	79.7 "

All Families :

- (a) 15,712
(b) 73,985
(c) (4.70)

All agricultural families 79.7%		Non-agricultural families 20.3%	
(a) 12,527		(a) 3,185	
(b) 59,059		(b) 14,926	
(c) (4.71)		(c) (4.81)	
Land-owners 21%	Tenants 5.7%	Labour with land 28.3%	Labour without land 24.7%
(a) 3,299	(a) 896	(a) 4,453	(a) 3,879
(b) 16,704	(b) 4,926	(b) 22,058	(b) 15,371
(c) (5.07)	(c) (5.50)	(c) (4.95)	(c) (3.96)

II. AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES AND HOLDINGS :

Percentage of holdings held by

All agricultural families : 87.5 (area held 93.2%)		Non-agricultural families. 12.5% (area held 6.8%)
Land-owners 33%	Tenants 9.5%	Labour with land 45%
area held : 56%	area held 10.6%	area held : 26.6%

III. LAND UTILISATION AND CULTIVATED HOLDINGS :

Total area sown	31,058.469 Acres
Percentage of area sown to total	38.4
Percentage to area sown of area irrigated	31.3
Percentage to area sown of area double cropped	15.8

- N. B. (a) Total number of families.
(b) Total number of persons in families.
(c) Average size of family.

தொல்காப்பியம் — நன்னூல், எழுத்ததிகாரம்

புள்ளி மயங்கியல்

க. வெள்ளைவாரணன்,

விரிவுரையாளர், தமிழாராய்ச்சித்துறை.

இது, மெய்யீறு வன்கணத்தோடும் பிறகணத்தோடும் புணருமாறு கூறலின் புள்ளி மயங்கியல் எனப் பெயர்பெற்றது. மெய்கள் புள்ளி பெறுதலாற் புள்ளியென வழங்கப் பெறுவனவாயின. புள்ளியீறுகளுள் உகரம் பெறுவன, இறுதிக்கெட்டு வல்லெழுத்து மிகுவன, மெல்லெழுத்து மிகுவன, இறுதிக்கெடாது வல்லெழுத்து மிகுவன, மெல்லெழுத்து மிகுவன, இவ்விரண்டும் உறழ்ந்து முடிவன, இயல்பாய் வருவன, சாரியை பெறுவன, உருபியல் விதிகள், திரிந்து முடிவன பிறவாறு முடிவன ஆகியவற்றை இவ்வியலில் விரித்து உணர்த்துகின்றார்.

I. உகரம் பெறுவன

296. ஞகாரை யொற்றிய தொழிற்பெயர் முன்னர் அல்லது கிளப்பினும் வேற்றுமைக் கண்ணும் வல்லெழுத் தியையின் அவ்வெழுத்து மிகுமே உகரம் வருதல் ஆவயி னான.

297. ஞநமவ இயையினும் உகரம் நிலையும்.

இவ்விரு குத்திரத்தும் ஞகாரம் ஈற்றின்கண் ஒற்றாய் நின்ற தொழிற் பெயர் முன்னர் அவ்விழி, வேற்றுமை ஆகிய ஈரிடத்தும் வல்லெழுத்து முதன் மொழி வருமொழியாய் வருமிடத்து அவ்வல்லெழுத்து வருமொழிக்கண் மிகும்படி நிலைமொழியீறு உகரம் பெற்று முடியும் எனவும், வருமொழிக்கண் வன்கணமன்றி ஞநமவ முதலாய் வருமிடத்தும் நிலைமொழிக்கண் ஞகரஈறு உகரம் பெற்று முடியும் எனவும் கூறினார். இவ்விதிகளை

298. நகர விறுதியும் அதனோற்றே.

306. தொழிற் பெயரெல்லாந் தொழிற் பெயரியல.

327. தொழிற் பெயரெல்லாந் தொழிற் பெயரியல.

376. தொழிற் பெயரெல்லாந் தொழிற் பெயரியல.

401. தொழிற் பெயரெல்லாந் தொழிற் பெயரியல.

எனவரும் சூத்திரங்களால் முறையே ந, ண, ம, ல, ள என்னும் ஐவகைப் புள்ளியிற்றுத் தொழிற் பெயர்க்கண்ணும் மாட்டெறிந்து முடித்தார்.

299. வேற்றுமைக் குக்கெட அகரம் நிலையும்.

என்பதனால், நகர வீற்றுத் தொழிற்பெயர் வேற்றுமைக்கண் உகரம் பெறுது அகரம் நிலைபெற்று முடியும் என்றார்.

உதாரணம்.

அல்வழி:

உரினுக்கடிது,	ஞான்றது,	நீண்டது,	மாண்டது,	வலிது
பொருதுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
மண்ணுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
தும்முக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
புல்லுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
துள்ளுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"

வேற்றுமை:

உரினுக்கடுமை,	ஞாற்சி,	நீட்சி,	மாட்சி,	வன்மை
பொருநுக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
மண்ணுக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
தும்முக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
புல்லுக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
துள்ளுக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"

எனவரும்.

ஞணநமலுள என்னும் ஈற்றுத் தொழிற் பெயர்களுக்கு ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார் கூறிய இவ்விதிகளை இவற்றுடன் வகர நகர ஈற்றுத் தொழிற் பெயர்களுக்கும் இவ்விதிகளின் ஏவல் வினைகளுக்கும் இயைத்துரைப்பர் நன்னூலார்.

ஞண நமலவளன வொற்றிற்று தொழிற்பெயர்

ஏவல் வினை நனி யவ்வல் மெய்வரின்

உவ்வறும், ஏவல் உருசில சிலவழி. 207.

நவ்விறு தொழிற்பெயர்க் கவ்வமாம் வேற்றுமை 208.

எனவரும் நன்னூற் சூத்திரங்கள் இங்கு ஒப்புநோக்கத் தக்கனவாகும்.

328. ஈழுங் கம்மும் உருமென் கிளவியும்
ஆமுப் பெயரும் அவற்றே ரன்ன.

345. மின்னும் பின்னும் பன்னுங் கன்னும்
அந்நாற் சொல்லுந் தொழிற்பெய ரியல.

373. வல்லென் கிளவி தொழிற்பெய ரியற்றே.

382. ஏனை வகரந் தொழிற்பெய ரியற்றே.

403. புள்ளும் வள்ளுந் தொழிற்பெய ரியல.

எனவரும் தொல்காப்பியச் சூத்திரங்கள், ஈம், கம், உரும், மின், பின், பன், கன், வல், தெவ், புள், வள் எனவரும் மெய்யிற்றுச் சொற்கள் தொழிற் பெயர்போல அல்வழி வேற்றுமையாகிய இருவழியும் உகரம் பெற்று முடிவன என உணர்த்துகின்றன. இவற்றுள் கன் என்னுஞ் சொல் வேற்றுமைக்கண் வருமாயின் மரமல்லாத எகின் என்னுஞ் சொல் நிலைமொழிக்கண் அகரம் பெற்று வல்லெழுத்து மிக்கு முடிதல் போன்று அகரமும் வல்லெழுத்தும் பெற்று முடியும். இம்முடிபு,

337. ஏனை எகினை அகரம் வருமே
வல்லெழுத் தியற்கை மிகுதல் வேண்டும்.

346. வேற்றுமை யாயின் ஏனை யெகினை
தோற்ற மொக்கும் கன்னென் கிளவி.

எனவரும் சூத்திரங்களாற் குறிக்கப்பட்டது.

வல் என்ற சொல்லின்முன் நாய், பலகை என்பன வருமொழியாய் வரின் அவ்விடத்து விதிக்கப்பட்ட உகரம் கெடுதலும் உண்டு எனவும், அவ் வழி அகரம் வந்து நிலைபெறும் எனவும் கூறுவர் தொல்காப்பியர்.

374. நாயும் பலகையும் வருஉங் காலை
ஆவயின் உகரம் கெடுதலும் உரித்தே
உகரங் கெடுவழி அகர நிலையும்.

என்பது தொல்காப்பியம்.

உதாரணம்:—

ஈழுக்கடிது,	ஞான்றது,	நீண்டது,	மாண்டது,	வலிது.
கம்முக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
உருமுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"

மின்னுக்கடிது,	ஞான்றது,	நீண்டது,	மாண்டது,	வனிது.
பின்னுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
பன்னுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
கன்னுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
வல்லுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
தெவ்வுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
புள்ளுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
வள்ளுக்கடிது,	"	"	"	"
என அல்வழியினும்,				

ஈழுக்கடுமை,	ஞாற்சி,	நீட்சி,	மாட்சி,	வன்மை.
கம்முக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
உருமுக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
மின்னுக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
பின்னுக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
பன்னுக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
கன்னுக்கடுமை,	"	"	"	"
எகினக்கால்,	"	"	"	"
கன்னக்குடம்,	"	"	"	"
வல்லுக்கடுமை	"	"	"	"
வல்லப்பலகை				
வல்லநாய்				
தெவ்வுக்கடுமை	"	"	"	"
புள்ளுக்கடுமை	"	"	"	"
வள்ளுக்கடுமை	"	"	"	"

என வேற்றுமையிலும் வந்தன.

இங்ஙனம் உகரம் பெற்றும் சிலவிடத்து அகரம் பெற்றும் வரும் புள்ளியிற்றுப் பெயர்ச்சொற்களாகிய இவற்றை ஆசிரியர் பவணந்தியார்,

ஈழுங்
கம்மு முருமுந் தொழிற்பெயர் மானும்
முதலன வேற்றுமைக் கவ்வும் பெறுமே. 229.

மரமல் லெகின்மொழி யியல்பும் அகரம்
மருவ வலிமெனி மிகலு மாகும். 215.

மின்பின் பன்கன் தொழிற்பெய ரணைய
கன்னவ் வேற்று மென்மையோ டுறழும். 217.

வல்லே தொழிற்பெய ரற்றிரு வறியும்
பலகை நாய்வரினும் வேற்றுமைக் கவ்வுமாம். 231.

தெவ்வென் மொழியே தொழிற்பெய ரற்றே
மவ்வரின் வலிகான் மவ்வு மாகும். 236.

புள்ளும் வள்ளுந் தொழிற்பெயரு மானும். 234.
எனவரும் இச்சூத்திரங்களால் எடுத்தோதி முடித்துள்ளார்.

சுண்டு ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார் கருத்துப்படி ஈமக்குடம், கம்மக் குடம் என அக்குச்சாரியை பெற்றனவற்றைப் பவணந்தியார் தமது கொள்கைக்கேற்ப அகரச் சாரியை பெற்றனவாகக் கூறியதும், தெவ் என்னும் வகரவீற்றுச் சொல் மகரமுதன்மொழி வருமிடத்து,

‘தெம்முணையிடத்துச் சேயர்கொல்’

என மகரமாகத் திரிந்துவரும் இலக்கியம் சுண்டு ‘மவ்வரின் வலிகான் மவ்வுமாகும்’ (236) என இலக்கணம் விதித்ததும் கூர்ந்து நோக்கத்தக்கன வாகும்.

II. இறுதிகெட்டு முடிவன :

300. வெரிநெ னிறுதி முழுதுங் கெடுவழி
வருமிட னுடைத்தே மெல்லெழுத் தியற்கை.

301. ஆவயின் வல்லெழுத்து மிகுதலும் உரித்தே.

இவற்றின் பொருள் :— வெரிந் என்னும் சொல்லின் இறுதியாகிய நகரவொற்று, தான்முன்பெற்ற அகரத்தொடும் கெட, வல்லெழுத்து வருமிடத்து அதற்கேற்ற மெல்லெழுத்தாயினும் வல்லெழுத்தாயினும் மிக்கு முடியும் என்பதாம்.

உதாரணம் :

வெரிங்குறை, செய்கை, தலை, புறம்
வெரிக்குறை, " " " என வரும்.

310. மகர விறுதி வேற்றுமை யாயின்
துவரக் கெட்டு வல்லெழுத்து மிகுமே.

இதன் பொருள் :— மகரவீற்றுப் பெயர் வேற்றுமைக்கண் ஆயின் ஈற்று மகரம் முற்றக் கெட்டு வருமொழி வல்லெழுத்து மிக்குமுடியும் என்பதாம்.

உதாரணம் :

மரக்கோடு, செதிள், தோல், பூ என வரும்.

312. மெல்லழுத் துறழு மொழியுமா ருளவே
செல்வழி யறிதல் வழக்கத் தான.

இதன் பொருள் :— (நிலைமொழியிற்று மகரம் வேற்றுமைக்கண் கெட்ட விடத்து) வருமொழி வல்லெழுத்தோடு மெல்லெழுத்து உறழ்ந்து மிக்குமுடியும் மொழிகளும் உள என்பதாம்.

உதாரணம் :

குளங்கரை, சேறு, தாது, பூழி

குளக்கரை, " " " என வரும்.

'நும்' என்னும் விரவுப் பெயர் பொருட் புணர்ச்சிக்கண் மகரங்கெட மெல்லெழுத்து மிக்குமுடியும் என்பது,

325. நும்மெனொரு பெயர் மெல்லெழுத்து மிகுமே.
என்பதனாற் கூறப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

நுங்கை, செவி, தலை, புறம் என வரும்.

இவ்வாறு வேற்றுமைப் பொருட் புணர்ச்சிக்கண் நிலைமொழியிற்று மகரம் கெட்டுமுடிதலை,

வேற்றுமை மப்போய் வனிமெவி யுறழ்வும்

அல்வழி உயிர் இடைவரின் இயல்பும் உள. 220.

என வருஞ் சூத்திரத்தால் எடுத்துரைத்தார் நன்னூலார்.

'ஆயிரம்' என்னும் மகரவீற்று எண்ணுப்பெயர்முன் அளவுப் பெயரும் நிறைப்பெயரும் வந்து புணருமிடத்து, மகரவீற்று வேற்றுமையோடு ஒத்து இறுதி மகரம் கெட, வருமொழி வல்லெழுத்து மிக்குமுடியும் என்பது,

319. அளவும் நிறையும் வேற்றுமை யியல.
என வரும் சூத்திரத்தாற் குறிப்பிடப் பெற்றது.

உதாரணம் :

ஆயிரக் கலம், சாடி, தூதை, பாணை எனவும்,

ஆயிரக் கழஞ்சு, தொடி, பலம் எனவும் வரும்.

மேல் (தொல் - எழுத்து 310) 'துவர' என்ற இலேசினால் இயல்பு கணத்துக்கண் எய்திய மகரக்கேடு ஈண்டுங் கொள்ளப்படும் என்பர் இளம் பூரணர்.

உதாரணம் :

ஆயிரநாழி, வட்டி, அகல் என வரும்;

'பதினாயிரக்கலம்' என்றாற்போன்று ஆயிரம் என்ற சொல் அடையடுத்து வந்துழியும் மேற்கூறிய விதி கொள்ளப்படும் என்பர் உரையாசிரியர்.

தொல்காப்பியத்துள் மகர வீற்றுக்குச் சொல்லப்பட்ட இச் சிறப்பு விதிகளை,

மவ்வி ரெற்றழிந் துயிரீ ரெப்பவும்

வன்மைக் கினமாத் திரிபவு மாகும். 219.

என்ற பொது விதியால் தழுவினார் நன்னூலார்.

'இல்லம்' என்ற மரப்பெயர், ஈற்று மகரங்கெட்டு, 'விசை' என்னும் மரப்பெயர் போன்று வல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வரின் அதன் கிளையொற்றுகிய மெல்லெழுத்து மிக்கு முடியும் என்பது,

313. இல்ல மரப்பெயர் விசைமர வியற்றே.
என்பதனாற் கூறப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

இல்லங்கோடு, செதிள், தோல், பூ என வரும்.

இல்லம் - தேற்றாமரம்.

மகரவீற்றுச் சொல்முன் வகர முதன்மொழி வருமிடத்து வகரத்தின் மேல் நின்ற மகரம் அதன் தொடர்பால் தன் மாத்திரையிற் குறுகும் என்பது,

330. வகாரமிசையு மகாரங் குறுகும்.

என்ற சூத்திரத்தால் உணர்த்தப்பட்டது. 'அரையளவு குறுகல் மகர முடைத்தே' (நூன் மரபு. 13) என முன்னர்க் கூறப்பட்ட ஒரு மொழி மகரக் குறுக்கத்துள் 'போன்ம்' என ஈரொற்றுடனிலையாய் வகரம் நின்ற தொடர அதன் முன்னுள்ள மகரம் தன் மாத்திரையிற் குறுகிக் கால் மாத்திரை யாதலை, 'னகாரை முன்னர் மகாரங் குறுகும்' (மொழி மரபு 52) என்பதனாற் கூறினார். அதுவேயன்றிப் புணர்மொழிக்கண் வகரம் வந்து தொடர அதன் மேல் நின்ற மகரம் குறுகுதல் உண்டென்பார், 'வகாரமிசையும் மகாரங் குறுகும்' என ஈண்டுக் கூறினார்.

உதாரணம் :

தரும் வளவன் எனவும் 'போன்ம்' எனவும்

இவ்விருவகை மகரக் குறுக்கங்களையும்,

ணனமுன்னும் வகிகான் மிசையுமக் குறுகும். 98.

என வரும் சூத்திரத்தால் பவணந்தியார் தொகுத்துக் கூறியுள்ளார்,

இனி, னகர வீற்றுள் 'அழன்' என்ற சொல்லின் இறுதியிலுள்ள னகரம் கெட, வருமொழி வல்லெழுத்து மிக்கு முடியும் என்பது,

354. அழனெ னிறுதிகெட வல்லெழுத்து மிகுமே.
என்பதனாற் கூறப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

அழக்குடம், சாடி, தூதை, பாணை எனவரும். அழன் - பிணம்.

III. ஈறு கெடாது மிக்கு முடிவன :

வேற்றுமைப் பொருட்புணர்ச்சிக்கண் வரும் ய, ர, ழ மெய்யீற்றுப் பெயர்கள் வல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வருமிடத்து அவ்வல்லெழுத்து மிக்கு முடிவனவாம். இம்முடிபினை

357. யகர விறுதி வேற்றுமைப் பொருள்வயின்
வல்லெழுத் தியையின் அவ்வெழுத்து மிகுமே.

362. ரகார விறுதி யகார வியற்றே.

383. ழகார விறுதி ரகார வியற்றே.
எனவரும் குத்திரங்களால் தொல்காப்பியனார் மாட்டெறிந்து கூறியுள்ளார்.

உதாரணம் :

நாய்க்கால், செவி, தலை, புறம்
தேர்க்கால், செலவு ,, ,,
பூழ்க்கால், செவி ,, ,, எனவரும்.

மேற்குறித்த யகாரவீற்றுள் வருமொழி வல்லெழுத்துமிகாது இயல்பாய் முடியும் என விதந்துரைக்கப்பட்ட 'தாய்' என்னுஞ்சொல்முன் மகனது வினையைக் கிளந்துரைக்கும் வல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழிவரின் முற் கூறியபடி வல்லெழுத்து மிக்குமுடியும் என்பது,

359. மகன்வினை கிளப்பின் முதனிலை யியற்றே.
என்பதனாற் கூறப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

மகன்றய்க்கலாம், செரு, துறத்தல், பகைத்தல் எனவரும்.
மகன்றய்க்கலாம் - மகன் தாயொடு நிகழ்த்திய கலகம் எனப் பொருள் விரித்துரைக்க. மகன் வினை என்றது, ஈண்டுப் பகைமேற்று என்பர் நச்சினூர்க் கினியர்,

இனி, ரகாரவீற்றுள் ஆர், வெதிர், சார், பீர் என்ற சொற்களும், ழகாரவீற்றுள் மரப்பெயராகிய குமிழ் என்ற சொல்லும் வல்லெழுத்து வருவழி அவற்றின் கிளையெழுத்தாகிய மெல்லெழுத்து மிக்கு முடிவனவாம். இவற்றின் இயல்பினை,

363. ஆரும் வெதிருஞ் சாரும் பீரும்
மெல்லெழுத்து மிகுதல் மெய்ப்பெறத் தோன்றும்.

386. குமிழென் கிளவி மரப்பெய ராயிற்
பீரென் கிளவியோ டோரியற் றாகும்.

என வரும் குத்திரங்களால் உணர்த்துவர் தொல்காப்பியர்.

உதாரணம் :

ஆர்ங்கோடு, செதிள், தோல், பூ
வெதிர்ங்கோடு, ,, ,, ,,
சார்ங்கோடு, ,, ,, ,,
பீர்ங்கோடி, ,, ,, ,,
குமிழ்ங்கோடு, ,, ,, ,, என வரும்.

இனி, யகரவீற்றுள் வேற்றுமைக்கண் வருமொழி வல்லெழுத்தினோடு மெல்லெழுத்து உறழ்ந்து முடியும் மொழிகள் சில உள என்பதனை,

360. மெல்லெழுத் துறழு மொழியுமா ருளவே.
என்பதனால் உணர்த்தினார்.

உதாரணம் :

வேய்க்குறை செய்கை, தலை, புறம்
வேய்ங்குறை ,, ,, ,, என வரும்.

ரகரவீற்றுள் மெல்லெழுத்து மிகுமெனக் குறிப்பிட்ட மொழிகளுள் 'சார்' என்பது நிலைமொழியாய் நின்று 'காழ்' என்பதனோடு புணருமிடத்து முற்கூறிய வல்லெழுத்து மிக்கு முடியும் என்பது,

364. சாரென் கிளவி காழ்வயின் வலிக்கும்.
என்பதனால் உணர்த்தப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

சார்க் காழ் என வரும்.

ழகரவீற்றுள் 'பாழ்' என்னுஞ்சொல்முன் வல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வருமிடத்து வந்த வல்லெழுத்தினோடு அதன் கிளையொற்றாகிய மெல்லெழுத்தும் பெற்று உறழ்ந்து முடியும் என்பது,

387. பாழென் கிளவி மெல்லெழுத் துறழ்வே,
என்பதனாற் கூறப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

பாழ்க்கிணறு, சேரி, தோட்டம், பாடி
பாழங்கிணறு, ,, ,, என வரும்.
'கீழ்' என்னும் முகர வீற்றுச்சொல் வல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி
வருமிடத்து வல்லெழுத்துப் பெற்றும் பெருதும் உறழ்ந்து முடியும் என்பது,
395. கீழென் கிளவி யுறழத் தோன்றும்.
என்பதனால் விதந்து கூறப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம்.

கீழ்க்குளம், சேரி, தோட்டம், பாடி
கீழ்குளம், ,, ,, எனவரும்.
ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார் கூறிய யரழ வீற்று வேற்றுமை முடிபு
களாக மேற்காட்டிய அனைத்தையும் நன்னூலாசிரியராகிய பவணந்தி
முனிவர்,
யரழ முன்னர்க் கசுதப அல்வழி
இயல்பும் மிகலும் ஆகும்; வேற்றுமை
மிகலும் இனத்தோடுறழ்தலும் விதிமேல். 224.
கீழின்முன் வன்மை விகற்பமு மாகும். 226.
எனவரும் குத்திரங்களில் தொகுத்துக் கூறியுள்ளார்.

IV. இயல்பாய் வருவன

மூன்று திரிபும் பெறுதலின்றி இயல்பாய் முடியும் புள்ளி யீற்றுச்
சொற்களை ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியர் பதினாறு குத்திரங்களால் எடுத்த
துரைப்பர்.

மெய்ப்பிறிதாதற்கு ஏற்புடைய ணளனல என்னும் நான்கீற்றுச் சொற்
களுள், ணகர வீற்றுள் 'ஆண்' 'பேண்' எனவரும் விரவுப் பெயரும், ஓர்
இனத்தை யுணர நின்ற 'உமண்' முதலிய கிளைப் பெயர்களும், 'முரண்'
என்னும் தொழிற் பெயரும்; ணகர வீற்றுள் 'குயின்' என்பதும், ஓர்
இனத்தை யுணர நின்ற 'எயின்' முதலிய கிளைப் பெயர்களும்; 'தான்',
'பேன்', 'கோன்' எனவரும் இயற்பெயர்களும்; நெட்டெழுத்தின் பின்னர்
வரும் லகார ளகார ஈற்றுட் சிலவும் திரியாது இயல்பாவனவாம். இவை
இங்ஙனம் இயல்பாதலை,

303. ஆணும் பெண்ணும் அஃறிணை யியற்கை.

307. கிளைப்பெய ரெல்லாம் கொளத்திரி பிலவே.

309. முரணென் றெழுிற்பெயர் முதலியல் நிலையம்.

எனவும்,

335. குயினென் கிளவி இயற்கையாகும்.

338. கிளைப்பெய ரெல்லாங் கிளைப்பெய ரியல.

351. தானும் பேனும் கோனு மென்னும்
ஆமுறை இயற்பெயர் திரிபிடன் இலவே.

எனவும்,

370. நெடியதன் இறுதி இயல்புமா ருளவே.

400. நெடியதன் இறுதி இயல்பா குறவும்

... ..
போற்றல் வேண்டு மொழியுமா ருளவே.

எனவும் வரும் நூற்பாக்கள் முறையே உணர்த்திநின்றல் காணலாம்.

உதாரணம் :

ஆண்கை, செவி, தலை, புறம்

பெண்கை, ,, ,,

உமண்குடி, சேரி, தோட்டம், பாடி

முரண்கடிது, சிறிது, தீது. பெரிது,

எனவும்,

குயின்குழாம், செலவு, தோற்றம், பறைவு

எயின்குடி, சேரி, தோட்டம், பாடி

எனவும்,

தான்றந்தை, பேன்றந்தை, கோன்றந்தை

தான்கொற்றன், பேன்கொற்றன், கோன்கொற்றன்

எனவும்,

பால்கடிது, சிறிது, தீது, பெரிது

கோள்கடிது, ,, ,,

எனவும் வரும்.

ணகர, ணகர, லகர, ளகர மெய்கள் வேற்றுமைக்கண் வல்லெழுத்து
வருவழிச் சிலவிடங்களில் இங்ஙனம் திரியாது இயல்பாய் வருதலை,

‘சாதிசூழல் உப் பரண் கவண்பெய ரிறுதி
இயல்பாம் வேற்றுமைக்கு’ 211.

எனவும்,

குயினான் வேற்றுமைக் கண்ணும் இயல்பே. 216.

னஃகான் கிளைப்பெய ரியல்பும்

... .. ஆகும் வேற்றுமைப் பொருட்கே. 212.

தேன்மொழி மெய்வரின் இயல்பும், 214.

மரமல் எனின்மொழி இயல்பும், 215.

எனவும்,

குறில் செறியாலள அல்வழி

... .. வலிவரின்

இயல்பும் ஆவன வுளபிற. 229.

எனவும் வரும் குத்திரத் தொடர்களால் ஆசிரியர் பவணந்தி முனிவர்
உணர்த்தியுள்ளமை காணலாம்.

இனி, மிகும் எனப்பட்டவற்றுள் ‘தாய்’ என்னும் பெயரும், அல்வழி
யில் வரும் யகரவீற்றுப் பெயர்களும் மிகாது இயல்பாம் என்பது,

358. தாயென்கிளவி இயற்கை யாகும்.

361. அல்வழி யெல்லாம் இயல்பென மொழிப.

எனவரும் குத்திரங்களால் உணர்த்தப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

தாய்கை, செவி, தலை, புறம்

எனவும்,

நாய்கடிது, சிறிது, தீது, பெரிது

எனவும் வரும்.

அவ், இவ், உவ் என்னும் சுட்டுப் பெயர்களின் ஈற்று வகரம் இடைக்
கணமும் உயிர்க்கணமும் வந்து புணரின் இயல்பாம் என்பது,

381. ஏனவைபுணரின் இயல்பென மொழிப

என்பதனாற் புலனாம். உதாரணம்: அவ்யாழ், வட்டு, அடை. எனவரும்.

இனி, குறுகலுந் திரிதலும் பெறுதற்கு ஏற்புடையவற்றுள் அல்வழியில்
வரும் ‘எல்லாரும்’, ‘எல்லீரும்’, ‘தாம்’, ‘நாம்’, ‘யாம்’ எனவரும் மகர
வீற்றுச் சொற்களும்-, ‘தான்’, ‘யான்’ எனவரும் நகரவீற்றுச் சொற்
களும்-, நூறுயிரம் தாமரை வெள்ளம் ஆம்பல் என்பவற்றோடும் ஏனை உயி

ரீற்றுச் சொற்களோடும் புணரும் ‘ஏழ்’ என்னும் மகரவீற்று எண்ணுப்
பெயரும்-, உயிர் முதன்மொழிகளோடும் யகர வகர முதன்மொழிகளோடும்
புணரும் வகரவீற்றுச் சுட்டுப்பெயர்களும் எவ்வகைத் திரிபுமின்றி இயல்பாய்
முடிவன. இவை இயல்பாதலை,

321. அல்லது கிளப்பின் இயற்கை யாகும்.

353. வேற்றுமை யல்வழிக் குறுகலுந் திரிதலும்
தோற்றமில்லை யென்மனார் புலவர்.

எனவும்,

392. நூறுயிர்து வருஉம் ஆயிரக் கிளவிக்குக்
கூறிய நெடுமுதல் குறுக்க மின்றே.

393. ஐ அம் பல் என வருஉம் இறுதி
அல்பெய ரெண்ணினும் ஆயியல் நிலையும்.

394. உயிர்முன் வரின்னும் ஆயியல் திரியாது.

எனவும்,

381. ஏனவை புணரின் இயல்பென மொழிப.

எனவும் வரும் குத்திரங்கள் விரித்துரைப்பன.

உதாரணம் :

எல்லாருங்குறியர், சிறியர், தீயர், பெரியர்
(வந்தார், யாத்தார், அடைந்தார்)

எல்லீருங்குறியர், சிறியர், தீயர், பெரியர்
(வந்தீர், யாத்தீர், அடைந்தீர்)

தாங்குறியர், சிறியர், தீயர், பெரியர்
(வந்தார், யாத்தார், அடைந்தார்)

தாங்குறிய, சிறிய, தீய, பெரிய
(வந்த, யாத்த, அடைந்த)

நாங்குறியம், சிறியம் தீயம், பெரியம்

யாங்குறியேம், சிறியேம், தீயேம், பெரியேம்

தான்குறியன், சிறியன், தீயன், பெரியன்

யான்குறியேன், சிறியேன், தீயேன், பெரியேன்
எனவம்.

ஏழ்நூறுபிரம்,
ஏழ்தாமரை, ஏழ்வெள்ளம், ஏழாம்பல்,
ஏழகல், ஏழுழக்கு, ஏழொன்று, ஏழிரண்டு
எனவும் வரும்.

V. சாரியை பெறுவன :

304. ஆண்மரக் கிளவி அரைமர வியற்றே.
336. எகின்மர மாயின் ஆண்மர வியற்றே.
365. பிரென்கிளவி அம்மொடுஞ் சிவனும்.
375. பூல்வே லென்ற ஆலென் கிளவியோ
டாமுப் பெயர்க்கும் அம்மிடை வருமே.
386. குமிழென் கிளவி மரப்பெய ராயின்
பிரென் கிளவியோ டோரியற் றுகும்

என வரும் குத்திரங்களால் முறையே ஆண், எகின், பிரீ, பூல், வேல், ஆல்,
குமிழ் என வரும் பெயர்ச்சொற்கள் அம் சாரியை பெறும் என விதித்தார்.
இவற்றுள் பிரீ—பிரீக்கு என்னும் கொடி. பூல்—பூலா என வழங்கும் செடி.
ஏனையவை மரங்களாகும்.

உதாரணம் :

ஆணங்கோடு,	செதிள்.	தோல்,	பூ.
எகினங்கோடு,	"	"	"
பிரங்கோடி,	"	"	"
பூலங்கோடு,	"	"	"
வேலங்கோடு,	"	"	"
ஆலங்கோடு,	"	"	"
குமிழங்கோடு,	"	"	"

என வரும்.

வேற்றுமைக்கண் வரும் 'சம்', 'கம்' என்ற மகரவீற்றுச் சொற்கள்
இரண்டும், 'கோல்' என்பதனோடு புணரும் 'தாழ்' என்னும் சொல்லும்,
'தமிழ்' என்னுஞ் சொல்லும் ஆகிய மகரவீற்றுச் சொற்கள் இரண்டும்
அக்குச்சாரியை பெற்று முடிவன. இச்சாரியைப் பேற்றினை,

329. வேற்றுமை யாயின் ஏனை யிரண்டும்
தோற்றம் வேண்டும் அக்கென் சாரியை.

384. தாமென் கிளவி கோலொடு புணரின்
அக்கிடை வருதல் உரித்து மாறும்.

385. தமிழென் கிளவியும் அதனோ ரற்றே.
என வரும் குத்திரங்களால் விதிப்பர் தொல்காப்பியர்.

உதாரணம் :

சமக்குடம், சாடி, தூதை, பாளை
கம்மக்குடம், " " "
தாழக்கோல், " " "
தமிழக்கூத்து, சேரி, தோட்டம், பள்ளி என வரும்.

சம், கம், தமிழ், தாழ் என வரும் இச்சொற்கள் சாரியை பெற்று
முடிவதனை,

சமும்,
கம்மும் உருமும் தொழிற்பெயர் மானும்
முதலன வேற்றுமைக்கு அவ்வும் பெறுமே. 223.

எனவும்,

தமிழல் வுற்றும் பெறும் வேற்றுமைக்கே
தாமுங் கோல் வந்துறுமேல் அற்றே' 225.

எனவும் வருஞ் குத்திரங்களால் நன்னூலாசிரியர் விரித்துக் கூறியுள்ளார்.
தொல்காப்பியனார் கொண்ட 'அக்கு' என்னும் சாரியையைப் பவணந்தியார்
பின்னுள்ள ஒற்றும் உயிர்மெய்யும் கெடுத்து அகரச்சாரியையாகக் கொண்
டமை இங்கு நினைக்கத்தகுவதாம்.

வெயில், இருள் என்னும் லகர ளகரவீற்றுச் சொற்கள் இரண்டும்
அத்துச் சாரியையும் இன் சாரியையும் பெற்றுமுடியும். இச்சாரியைப்
பேற்றினை,

377. வெயிலென் கிளவி மழையியல் நிலையும்.

402. இருளென் கிளவி வெயிலியல் நிலையும்.

என வரும் மாட்டேற்றுச் குத்திரங்கள் விதித்தல் காணலாம்.

உதாரணம் :

வெயிலத்துக்கொண்டான், சென்றான், தந்தான், போயினான்
வெயிலிற்கொண்டான், " " "
இருளத்துக்கொண்டான், " " "
இருளிற்கொண்டான், " " "

என வரும்.

மகரவீற்று நாட்பெயர்க்கிளவி இறுதி மகரவொற்றுக் கெட்டு, இகர வீற்று நாட்பெயர் போன்று ஆன்சாரியையும் அவ் ஆன்சாரியைமேல் அத்துச் சாரியையும் பெற்றுமுடியும். இதனைக் கூறுவது,

331. நாட்பெயர்க் கிளவி மேற்கிளந் தன்ன
அத்தும் ஆன்மிசை வரைநிலை யின்றே
ஒற்றுமெய் கெடுதல் என்மனார் புலவர்.

என வரும் சூத்திரமாகும்.

உதாரணம் :

மகத்தாற்கொண்டான், சென்றான், தந்தான், போயினான் என வரும்.

இதன்கண் 'அத்தும்' என்பதில் உள்ள உம்மையை 'அத்து ஆன்மிசையும்தும் வரைநிலையின்று' என மாறிக்கூட்டி, "அத்துச்சாரியை மேலும் பிற சாரியை மேலும் வருதல் நீக்கும் நிலைமையின்று" எனப் பொருள் கூறி,

மகத்து ஞான்றுகொண்டான், சென்றான், தந்தான், போயினான் என உதாரணங்காட்டுவர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர்.

ஆகாயத்தை யுணர்த்தும் 'விண்' என்ற ணகர வீற்றுப் பெயர் செய்யுளில் வருங்கால் அதன்முன் வினைச்சொல் வருமொழியாக வருமிடத்தும், தனித்தும் அடையடுத்தும் வந்த ஆயிரம் என்னும் எண்ணுப் பெயர் பிற எண்களோடு புணருமிடத்தும் அத்துச்சாரியை பெற்று முடியும் என்பது,

305. விண்ணென வருஉங் காயப் பெயர்வயின்
உண்மையு முரித்தே அத்தென் சாரியை
செய்யுள் மருங்கிற் றெழில்வரு காலை.

317. அத்தொடு சிவனும் ஆயிரத் திறுதி
ஒத்த வெண்ணு முன்வரு காலை.

318. அடையொடு தோன்றினும் அதனோற்றே.
எனவரும் சூத்திரங்களாற் புலனாம்.

உதாரணம் :

"விண்ணத்துக் கொட்கும் வண்ணத்தமரர்" எனவும்,
ஆயிரத்தொன்று, பதினாயிரத்தொன்று, நூறாயிரத்தொன்று எனவும் வரும்.

VI. உருபியல் விதிகள் :

மகரவீற்றுள் 'எல்லாரும்' என்னும் படர்க்கைப் பெயரும், 'எல்லீரும்' என்னும் முன்னிலைப் பெயரும், கிளைத் தொடர்ச்சிப் பொருளை யுடையனவாய் நெடுமுதல் குறுகி முடியும் தாம், நாம், யாம் என்னும் பெயரும், சாரியை பெறுவன ஈறுகெட்டு இடையிலும் இறுதியிலும் சாரியை பெற்றும், நெடுமுதல் குறுகுவன நெடுமுதல் குறுகியும் உருபு புணர்ச்சிக்கண் முடிந்தவாறே முடியும் என்பதனை,

320. படர்க்கைப் பெயரும் முன்னிலைப் பெயரும்
தொடக்கங் குறுகும் பெயர்நிலைக் கிளவியும்
வேற்றுமை யாயின் உருபியல் நிலையும்
மெல்லெழுத்து மிகுதல் ஆவயினான்.

என்பதனால் மாட்டெறிந்து கூறினார்.

உதாரணம்.

எல்லார் தங்கையும்,	செவியும்,	தலையும்,	புறமும்
எல்லீர் நுங்கையும்,	"	"	"
எனவும், தங்கை ,	செவி	தலை	புறம்
நங்கை ,	"	"	"
எங்கை "	"	"	"

எனவும் வரும்.

'எல்லாம்' என்னும் விரவுப்பெயர், அல்வழியினும் வேற்றுமைப் பொருட் புணர்ச்சியினும் உருபு புணர்ச்சியின் இயல்பிலே நின்று வற்றுச் சாரியையும் இறுதி 'உம்' என்னும் சாரியையும் பெறும். அப்பெயர் வேற்றுமைப் பொருட் புணர்ச்சியல்லாதவிடத்துச் சாரியை பெறுதல் நிலலாததாய் முடியும். எல்லாம் என்பது அல்வழிக்கண் மெல்லெழுத்துமிக்கு முடியினும் குற்றமில்லை. இவ்விதிகளை,

322. அல்லது கிளப்பினும் வேற்றுமைக் கண்ணும்
எல்லா மெனும்பெயர் உருபியல் நிலையும்
வேற்றுமை யல்வழிச் சாரியை நிலையாது.

323. மெல்லெழுத்து மிகினும் மானமில்லை.
என்பவற்றால் ஆசிரியர் விதித்துள்ளார்.

"உருபியல் நிலையும்" என்ற மாட்டேறு, அல்வழிக்கண் உம்முப் பெற்று நின்றலும், பொருட் புணர்ச்சிக்கண் வற்றும் உம்முப் பெற்று நின்றலும் உணர்த்திற்று' என்பர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர்.

உதாரணம்.

எல்லாக்குறியவும், சிறியவும், தீயவும், பெரியவும்
எனவும்,

எல்லாவற்றுக்கோடும், செவியும், தலையும், புறமும் (ஈண்டுச் சாரியை
பெற்ற வழி, மகரம் வற்றின்மிசை ஒற்றுதலாற் கெட்டது)

எல்லாங் குறியவும், சிறியவும் தீயவும், பெரியவும் எனவும் வரும்.

‘எல்லாம்’ என்னும் பெயர், உயர்திணையாய் நிற்குமிடத்து இடையே
‘நம்’ என்னும் சாரியையும் இறுதியில் ‘உம்’ என்னும் சாரியையும் பெற்று
உருபு புணர்ச்சியின் இயல்பிற்குய் முடியும். இதனை,

324. உயர்திணையாயின் உருபியல் நிலையும்
எனவரும் சூத்திரத்தால் உணர்த்தினார்.

அவ், இவ், உவ் என்னும் வகரவீற்றுச் சுட்டுப் பெயர்கள் உருபு
புணர்ச்சியிற்போலப் பொருட் புணர்ச்சியிலும் வற்றுச்சாரியை பெற்று முடி
வன. இதனைக்கூறுவது,

378. சுட்டுமுத லாகிய வகர விறுதி
முற்படக் கிளந்த உருபியல் நிலையும்.

எனவரும் சூத்திரமாகும்.

உதாரணம்.

அவற்றுக்கோடு, செவி, தலை, புறம்
இவற்றுக்கோடு, „ „ „
உவற்றுக்கோடு, „ „ „

எனவரும்.

ஏழென்னும் எண்ணுப்பெயர், உருபோடு புணருமிடத்து அன்சாரியை
பெற்று முடிதல்போல, ஈண்டுப் பொருட் புணர்ச்சியினும் அன்சாரியை
பெற்று முடியும் என்பது,

388. ஏழென் கிளவி யுருபியல் நிலையும்.
என்பதனால் உணர்த்தப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

ஏழன்காயம், சுக்கு, தோரை, பயறு என வரும்.
ஏழன்காயம் - ஏழனாற் கொண்ட காயம் என விரியும்.

‘தான்’ என்னும் விரவுப் பெயரும், ‘யான்’ என்னும் உயர்திணைப்
பெயரும் உருபியலிற் கூறியபடி, தான் என்பது நெடுமுதல் குறுகித் ‘தன்’
என்றும், யான் என்பது ஆகாரம் எகரமாய் யகரங் கெட்டு ‘என்’ என்றும்
திரிந்து முடியும். இத்திரிபிணையுணர்த்துவது,

352. தான்யான் எனும்பெயர் உருபியல் நிலையும்.
என வரும் சூத்திரமாகும்.

உதாரணம் :

தன்கை, செவி, தலை, புறம்
என்கை, „ „ „ என வரும்.

இவ்வாறு வேற்றுமையுருபு புணர்த்தற்கண் சொல்லப்பட்ட விதிகள்
வேற்றுமைப் பொருட் புணர்ச்சிக் கண்ணும் ஒக்கும் என்பதனை,

உருபின் முடிபவை ஒக்கும்ப் பொருளினும். 238.
என வரும் சூத்திரத்தால் நன்னூலார் தழுவிக்கொண்டார்.

VII. திரிந்து முடியும் ஈறுகள்

ணகார ளகார வீற்றுப்பெயர்கள் வேற்றுமைப் பொருட்புணர்ச்சிக்கண்
வல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வருமிடத்து ஈற்றிலுள்ள ணகர ளகரங்கள்
டகரமாய்த் திரிந்து முடிவன. இத்திரிபிணை,

302. ணகார விறுதி வல்லெழுத் தியையின்
டகார மாகும் வேற்றுமைப் பொருட்கே.

396. ளகார விறுதி ணகார வியற்றே.
என வருஞ் சூத்திரங்களால் ஆசிரியர் குறித்துள்ளார்.

உதாரணம் :

மட்குடம், சாடி, தூதை, பாணை எனவும்,
முட்குறை, சிறை, தலை, புறம் எனவும் வரும்.

இனி, ளகர லகர வீற்றுப் பெயர்கள், வேற்றுமைப் பொருட்புணர்ச்சிக்
கண் வல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வருமொழியாய் வந்து இயையின் றகர
மாய்த் திரிந்து முடிவன. இத்திரிபிணை உணர்த்துவன,

332. ளகார விறுதி வல்லெழுத் தியையின்
றகார மாகும் வேற்றுமைப் பொருட்கே.

366. லகார விறுதி னகார வியற்றே.
என வரும் தூற்பாக்கள்.

உதாரணம் :

பொற்குடம், சாடி, தூதை, பாளை
எனவும்,

கற்குறை, சிறை, தலை, புறம்
எனவும் வரும். மேற்குறித்த னகர ளகர, னகர லகர வீற்றுத்திரிபினை
நன்னூலாசிரியர்,

‘ணனவல்லினம் வரட்டறவும்’ 209.
எனவும்,

‘லளவேற்றுமையிற் றடவும்’ 227.
எனவும் வரும் குத்திரத் தொடர்களால் நிரனிறையே குறித்துள்ளார்.

‘எண்’ எனவரும் பெயர், எண்ணுகிய வரையறைப் பொருண்மையினை
யுணர்த்தாது, ‘எள்’ என்னும் உணவுப் பொருளை யுணர்த்திய நிலையில்
அப்பெயரிறுதி னகரம் வல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வருமிடத்து அல்வழியிலும்
வேற்றுமையிற் போல டகரமாய்த் திரிதலும் உண்டு. இத்திரிபினை,

308. வேற்றுமை யல்வழி எண்ணெ னுணவுப்பெயர்
வேற்றுமை யியற்கை நிலையலு முரித்தே.
என்ற குத்திரத்தால் ஆசிரியர் குறித்துள்ளார்.

உதாரணம் :

எண்கடிது, சிறிது, தீது, பெரிது என இயல்பாய் வருதலேயன்றி,
எட்கடிது, சிறிது, தீது, பெரிது எனத் திரிந்தும் வந்தமை
காண்க. இவ்வுறழ்ச்சி முடிபினை, விளக்குவது,

“உணவெண்சாண்பிற
டவ்வாகலுமாம் அல்வழியும்மே” 211.
என்ற நன்னூற் குத்திரம்.

நெல், செல், கொல், சொல், என்னும் லகரவீற்றுச் சொற்கள் நான்கும்
வல்லெழுத்து வருவழி அல்வழியிலும் வேற்றுமைமுடிபின் இயல்பிற்குய்
லகரம் நகரமாய்த் திரிந்து முடிவன. இத்திரிபினை,

371. நெல்லுஞ் செல்லுங் கொல்லுஞ் சொல்லும்
அல்லது கிளப்பினும் வேற்றுமை யியல.
என்பதனூற் கூறினார்.

உதாரணம் :

நெற்காய்த்தது,	சிறிது,	தீது,	பெரிது
செற்கடிது,	”	”	”
கொற்கடிது,	”	”	”
சொற்கடிது,	”	”	”

என வரும். இத்திரிபினை,

‘நெல்லுஞ் செல்லுங் கொல்லுஞ் சொல்லும்
அல்வழி யானும் நகரமாகும்’ 232.

என்ற குத்திரத்தாற் குறித்தார் நன்னூலார்.

இனி, அல்வழிக்கண் வரும் லகர ளகார வீற்றுச் சொற்கள் இயல்பாயும்
ஒருகால் நகர டகரமாகத் திரிந்தும் வருதலாகிய உறழ்ச்சிமுடிபினைப்
பெறுவன என்பது,

368. அல்வழியெல்லாம் உறழென மொழிப.

398. அல்வழியெல்லாம் உறழென மொழிப.
என வரும் குத்திரங்களாற் புலனாம்.

உதாரணம் :

கல்குறிது, கற்குறிது	}	சிறிது,	தீது,	பெரிது,
முள்கடிது, முட்கடிது,				

என வரும். இவ்வுறழ்ச்சி முடிவினை நன்னூலார்,

‘லளவேற்றுமையிற்றடவும் அல்வழி
அவற்றோடுறழவும் வனிவரினும்’ 227.

என்ற தொடராற் குறித்தார்.

ளகரவீற்றுட் சில சொற்கள் இங்ஙனம் அல்வழியின் உறழாது
வேற்றுமையிற் போன்று திரிந்து முடிவன உள என்பது,

400. நெடியத னிறுதி இயல்பா குறவும்
வேற்றுமை யல்வழி வேற்றுமை நிலையலும்
போற்றல் வேண்டு மொழியுமாருளவே.

என்ற குத்திரத்தின் இரண்டாமடியிற் குறிக்கப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

‘புட்டேம்பப் புயன்மாறி’ (பட்டினப்பாலை—5)

என ளகரம் அல்வழியில் திரிந்தமை காண்க.

அவ், இவ், உவ் என்ற சுட்டுப் பெயர்களின் ஈற்றுவகரம் வருமொழி முதற்கண் மெல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வரின் வந்தமெல்லெழுத்தாய்த் திரிந்து முடியும்.

உதாரணம் :

அவ் + ஞாண் = அஞ்ஞாண்.

னகரவீற்றுள் வரும் மன், சின், ஆன், ஈன், பின், முன் என்ற சொற்களும், செயின் என்னும் வாய்பாட்டு வினையெச்சமும், அவ்வயின் இவ்வயின் உவ்வயின் எவ்வயின் என ஏழாம்வேற்றுமை யிடப்பொருளுணர்த்தி வரும் இடைச்சொற்களும் ஆகியவற்றின் இறுதி னகரம் றகரமாகத் திரியும் என்பது,

333. மன்னுஞ் சின்னும் ஆனும் ஈனும்
பின்னும் முன்னும் வினையெஞ்சு கிளவியும்
அன்ன இயல என்மனார் புலவர்.

334. சுட்டுமுதல் வயினும் எகரமுதல் வயினும்
அப்பண்பு நிலையும் இயற்கைய என்ப.

என வரும் சூத்திரங்களால் உணர்த்தப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

‘அதுமற் கொண்கன் நேர்’

‘காப்பும் பூண்டிசிற கடையும் போகல்’ (அகம்-7)

ஆற்கொண்டான்,	சென்றான்,	தந்தான்,	போயினான்
ஈற்கொண்டான்,	„	„	„
பிற்கொண்டான்,	„	„	„
முற்கொண்டான்,	„	„	„
வரிற்கொள்ளும்,	செல்லும்,	தரும்,	போம்
அவ்வயிற்கொண்டான்,	சென்றான்,	தந்தான்,	போயினான்
இவ்வயிற்	„	„	„
உவ்வயிற்	„	„	„
எவ்வயிற்	„	„	„

என வரும்.

‘மீன்’ என்னுஞ்சொல் திரிபு வல்லெழுத்தினோடு உறழ்ந்து முடியும் என்பது,

339. மீனென்கிளவி வல்லெழுத்துறழ்வே
என்பதனாற்புலனும்.

உதாரணம் :

மீன்கண் } சினை, தலை, புறம்
மீற்கண் } „ „ „

எனவரும். இவ்வுறழ்ச்சிமுடிபு வேற்றுமைப் புணர்ச்சிக்கண் நிகழ்வ தென்பது,

மீன்றவ்வொடு பொருஉம் வேற்றுமை வழியே 213.

எனவரும் நன்னூற்குத்திரத்தால் விளக்கப்பெற்றது.

இனி, லகர ளகர வீற்றுச்சொற்கள், தகரமுதன்மொழி வருமிடத்து ஈற்றிலுள்ள லகர ளகரங்கள் முறையே றகர டகரமாய்த் திரிதலையன்றி ஆய்தமாகவும் திரிந்து முடிவன, இத்திரிபு.

369. தகரம் வரும்வழி ஆய்தம் நிலையலும்
புகரின் நென்மனார் புலமை யோரே.

எனவும்,

399. ஆய்த நிலையலும் வரைநிலை யின்றே

தகரம் வருஉங் காலை யான.

எனவும் வரும் இவ்விரு சூத்திரங்களாலும் முறையே விரித்துரைக்கப் பெற்றமை காணலாம்.

உதாரணம் :

கல் + தீது = கஃறிது, கற்றீது

எனவும்,

முள் + தீது = முஃரிது, முட்டிது

எனவும் வரும். இங்ஙனம் ஆய்தமாகத் திரிதற்குரியவை தனிக்குறிலின் பின்னின்ற லகர ளகரங்கள் என்பதும், இத்திரிபு அல்வழிப்புணர்ச்சியில் தகர முதன்மொழிவருமிடத்து நிகழும் என்பதும்,

குறில்வழி லளத்தவ் வணையின் ஆய்தம்

ஆகவும் பெறுஉம் அல்வழியானே. 228.

எனவரும் நன்னூற் சூத்திரத்தால் நன்குணரப்படும்.

இனி, அல்வழிக்கண் வரும் மகரவீறு, வல்லெழுத்து வருமிடத்து அதற் கேற்ற மெல்லெழுத்தாய்த் திரியும் என்பது,

314. அல்வழி யெல்லாம் மெல்லெழுத் தாகும்.

என்ற சூத்திரத்தால் கூறப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

மரங்குறிது, சிறிது, தீது, பெரிது எனவரும்.

லகர ளகர வீற்றுச் சொற்கள், மெல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வருமிடத்து லகரம் ளகரமாகவும், ளகரம் ளகரமாகவும் திரிந்து முடிவன. இவற்றின் திரிபினை,

387. மெல்லெழுத்தியையின் ளகரமாகும்.

387. மெல்லெழுத்தியையின் ளகரமாகும்.

எனவரும் இவ்விரு குத்திரங்களாலும் நிரலே குறித்தார் தொல்காப்பியனார்.

உதாரணம் :

கல் + ஞெரி = கன்ஞெரி, நுனி, முரி

எனவும்,

முள் + ஞெரி = முண்ஞெரி, நுனி, முரி

எனவும் வரும். இத்திரிபுகளை இவ்விருகளின் வேற்றுமை யிறுதிக்கண் அல்வழியது தொடக்கத்திற் சிங்கநோக்காக ஆசிரியர் வைத்தலால் இம்முடிபு அல்வழிக்கும் கொள்ளப்படும் என்பர் இளம்பூரணரும் நச்சினுக்கினியரும்.

உதாரணம் :

கல் + ஞெரிந்தது = கன்ஞெரிந்தது, நீண்டது, மாண்டது

முள் + ஞெரிந்தது = முண்ஞெரிந்தது. „ „

எனவரும். வேற்றுமை, அல்வழியாகிய இருவழிகளிலும் வரும் இத்திரிபுகளை,

லள (வேற்றுமையிற்றடவும் அல்வழி

அவற்றோடு முழுவும் வலிவரினும்) மெலி

மேலி ள்ணவும் (இடைவரினியல்பும்)

ஆகும் இருவழியானுமென்ப. 227.

எனவரும் தொடரால் நன்னூலார் தொகுத்துக் கூறியுள்ளார்.

‘அகம்’ என்ற மகர வீற்றுச் சொல்லின்முன் ‘கை’ என்பது வருமொழியாய்வரின், நிலைமொழியில் முன்னின்ற அகரம் மட்டும் கெடாது நிற்ப, அதன்முன் உள்ள ககர உயிர்மெய்யும் இறுதிமகரமெய்யும் கெடுதல் நீக்கத் தக்கது அன்றெனவும், அவை அங்ஙனம் கெட்டவழி அவ்விடத்து வருமொழி மெல்லெழுத்திற்கு ஏற்ற மெல்லெழுத்து மிக்குமுடியும் எனவும் கூறுவர் தொல்காப்பியர்.

315. அகமென் ளிளவிக்குக் கைமுன் வரினே

முதனிலை யொழிய முன்னவை கெடுதலும்

வரைநிலை யின்றே ஆசிரியர்க்க

மெல்லெழுத்து மிகுதல் ஆவயி னான.

எனவரும் குத்திரம் இத்திரிபினைக் கூறுவதாகும்.

உதாரணம்.

அகம் + கை = அங்கை எனவரும்.

இச்சூத்திரத்தில் ‘கெடுதலும்’ என்ற உம்மையால், ககர வுயிர்மெய்யும் மகர வொற்றும் கெடாது நின்று, ஈற்றிலுள்ள அம் மகரம். “அல்வழி மெல்லாம் மெல்லெழுத்தாகும்” (தொல். எழுத். 314. என்ற விதிப்படி ளகரமாகத் திரிந்து ‘அகங்கை’ எனவும் வரும் என்பது, இளம்பூரணர், நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் உரைகளாற் புலனும்.

‘அகம்’ என்ற சொல்முன்னர்க் ‘கை’ என்ற சொல்லேயன்றிச் ‘செவி’ என்பது வரினும் நிலைமொழியிடையிலுள்ள ககர வுயிர்மெய்யும் மகர வொற்றும் கெடும் என்பர் பவணந்தியார்.

அகமுனர்ச் செவிகை வரின் இடையன கெடும். 222.

என்பது நன்னூல்.

உதாரணம்.

“அஞ்செவி நிறைய மந்திர மோதி” என்பது புறப்பொருள் வெண்பாமாலை.

அகம் + செவி = அஞ்செவி எனவரும்.

இவ்வாறே ‘அகம்’ என்பதன்முன் ‘சிறை’ என்பது வரினும் இடையன கெட்டு ‘அஞ்சிறைத் தும்பி’ (குறுந்தொகை - 2) என வருதலையும் இச்சூத்திர விதியால் தழுவிக்கொள்வர் சங்கரநமச்சிவாயர்.

‘நும்’ என்னும் மகரவீற்றுச் சொல், அல்வழிக்கண் கூறுங்கால், அச்சொல்லில் நகர ஒற்றின்மேல் நின்ற உகரங்கெட, அவ்வொற்றின்மேல் ஈகாரம் ஊர்ந்து நீம் என நின்று, அவற்றின் இடையிலே ஓர் இகரம் வந்து நிலைபெற்று நீயிம் என ஆகி இறுதியிலுள்ள மகர மெய் கெட அவ்விடத்து நகர மெய்யொன்று வந்து நீயிர் எனத்திரிந்து முடியும் என்பர் தொல்காப்பியர். இத்திரிபினை,

326. அல்லதன் மருங்கிற் சொல்லுங் காலை

உக்கெட நின்ற மெய்வயின் ஈவர

‘இ’ இடை நிலைஇ ஈறுகெட ரகரம்

நிற்றல் வேண்டும் புள்ளியொடு புணர்ந்தே

அப்பான் மொழிவயின் இயற்கையாகும்.

எனவரும் குத்திரத்தில் ஆசிரியர் தெளிவாகக் குறித்துள்ளார்.

உதாரணம் :

நீயிர் குறியிர், சிறியிர், தீயிர், பெரியிர்
எனவரும், 'நும்' என்ற சொல்லே நீயிர் எனத்திரிந்தது என்னுந் தொல்
காப்பியர் கருத்துக்கு மாறாக 'நீர்' என்ற சொல்லே 'நும்' எனத்திரிந்தது
எனப் பவணந்தியார் கூறியுள்ளமை (நன்னூல் 247-ஆம் சூத்திரம்) முன்னர்க்
குறிக்கப்பெற்றது.

மகர வீற்றின்முன் அகர முதன்மொழியும் ஆகார முதன்மொழியும்
வருமொழியாய் வருங்காலத்து மகர ஒற்றின்மேல் நின்ற அகரம் நீண்டு
முடிதலும் உரித்து, நீடாமையும் உரித்து என்பது.

311. அகர ஆகாரம் வருவங் காலே

யீற்றுமிசை அகரம் நீடலு முரித்தே
எனவரும் சூத்திரத்தால் உணர்த்தப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

மரம் + அடி = மராஅடி,

குளம் + ஆம்பல் = குளாஅம்பல் எனவரும்.

"மேல் (312-ல்) 'செல்வழியறிதல் வழக்கத்தான' என்பதனாற்
'குளாஅம்பல்' என்புழி ஆகாரத்தை அகர மாக்குக" என விதிப்பர்
நச்சினுர்க்கினியர்.

'தேன்' என்னுஞ் சொல், வல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வருமிடத்து
'மீன்' என்பதற்குக் கூறிய இயல்பும் திரிபுமாகிய உறழ்ச்சி நிலையையொத்து
முடிதலும், இறுதி னகரங் கெட்டு வருமொழி வல்லெழுத்து மிகுதலும் அதன்
இனமாகிய மெல்லெழுத்து மிகுதலும், மெல்லெழுத்து முதன்மொழி வரு
மிடத்து இறுதி னகர வொற்றுக் கெட்டும் கெடாதும் உறழ்ந்து முடிதலும்
உடையது என்பதனை,

340. தேனென் கிளவி வல்லெழுத் தியையின்
மேனினை யொத்தலும் வல்லெழுத்து மிகுதலும்
ஆமுறை யிரண்டும் உரிமையு மிடத்தே
வல்லெழுத்து மிகுவழி இறுதி யில்லை.

341. மெல்லெழுத்து மிகினு மான மில்லை.

342. மெல்லெழுத் தியையின் இறுதியோ டுறழும்.
எனவரும் சூத்திரங்களால் ஆசிரியர் உணர்த்தியுள்ளார்.

உதாரணம்.

தேன்குடம் } சாடி, தூதை, பாளை
தேற்குடம் }
தேக்குடம் " " "
தேங்குடம் " " "

எனவும்,

தேன்னெரி } நுனி, மொழி
தேனெரி }

எனவும் வரும். ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார் கூறிய இம்முடிபுகளை,
தேன்மொழி மெய்வரின் இயல்பும், மென்மை
மேவின் இறுதி யழிவும், வலிவரின்
ஈறுபோய் வலிமெலி மிகலுமாம் இருவழி. 214.

எனவரும் சூத்திரத்தால் பவணந்தியார் தொகுத்துக் கூறினார்.

இனி, 'தேன்' என்னும் இச்சொல் 'இரூல்' என்னும் வருமொழி
யோடு புணருமிடத்து, நிலைமொழியின் னகரம் கெடாது நின்று இயல்பாய்
முடிதலும், இறுதி னகரம் கெட்டவழி ஈரொற்றான தகரம் மிகப்பெறுதலும்
உண்டு. இம்முடிபு,

343. இரூஅற் றேற்றம் இயற்கையாகும்.

344. ஒற்றுமிகு தகரமொடு நின்றலும் உரித்தே.
எனவரும் சூத்திரங்களாற் கூறப்பெற்றுள்ளமை காணலாம்.

உதாரணம் :

தேன் + இரூல் = தேத்திரூல் எனவும்
தேனிரூல் எனவும் வரும்.

'ஒற்றுமிகு தகரம்' என்றதனால் தகரம் ஈரொற்றாய் மிகும் என்பது நன்கு
புலனாம்.

னகரவீற்று விரவுப் பெயராகிய சாத்தன், கொற்றன் முதலிய இயற்
பெயர் முன்னர்த் 'தந்தை' என்னும் முறைப்பெயர் வருமொழியாய் வரின்
தந்தை என்னும் பெயரின் முதற்கண் நின்ற தகரஒற்றுக்கெட அதன்மேல்
ஏறியின்ற அகரம் கெடாது நிற்கும். நிலைமொழியாய் நின்ற இயற்பெயர்
இறுதியாகிய 'அன்' என்பதன்கண் அகரம், தான் ஏறி நின்ற மெய்யை
யொழித்து னகரத்துடன் கெட்டு முடியும் என்பார் ஆசிரியர்.
இம்முடிபினை,

347. இயற்பெயர் முன்னர்த் தந்தை முறைவரின்
முதற்கண் மெய்கெட அகரம் நிலையும்,
மெய்யொழித் தன்கெடும் அவ்வியற் பெயரே.

என்ற குத்திரம் தெளிவாகக் குறித்தல் காலாலாம்.

உதாரணம் :

சாத்தன் + தந்தை = சாத்தந்தை

கொற்றன் + தந்தை = கொற்றந்தை

எனவரும். “ முதற்கண் மெய் ” என்றதனால், சாத்தன் தந்தை, கொற்றன் தந்தை, என்னும் இயல்பு முடிபுங் கொள்க ” என்பர் இளம்பூரணர்.

முற்கூறிய இயற்பெயர்களுள், ஆதன், பூதன் என்னும் இரண்டும் நிலை மொழியாய் நின்று வருமொழியாகிய ‘ தந்தை ’ என்னும் முறைப் பெயரொடு புணருங்கால், நிலைமொழி யீற்றிலுள்ள ‘ அன் ’ கெடுதலும், வருமொழிமுதலிலுள்ள தகரவொற்றுக் கெடுதலும் என முற்கூறிய செய்கைகளுடனே நிலை மொழிப் பெயரில் ‘ அன் ’ கெட நின்ற தகரவொற்றும் வருமொழி முதலில் தகரவொற்றுக் கெட நின்ற அகர வுயிரும் ஒருசேரக் கெடும் என்பது,

348. ஆதனும் பூதனும் கூறிய இயல்பொடு
பெயரொற் தகரத் துவரக் கெடுமே.

என்ற குத்திரத்தால் உணர்த்தப்பட்டது.

உதாரணம் :

ஆதன் + தந்தை = ஆந்தை

பூதன் + தந்தை = பூந்தை

எனவரும்.

மேற்கூறிய இயற்பெயர்கள், சிறப்புப் பண்பினை அடைமொழியாகப் பெற்று வருங்கால் மேற்கூறிய இருவகைச் செய்கையும் பெறுது இயல்பாய் முடிவனவாம். இங்ஙனம் இயல்பாதலை,

349. சிறப்பொடு வருவழி இயற்கையாகும்.

என்பதனாற் குறித்தார் ஆசிரியர்.

உதாரணம் :

பெருஞ்சாத்தன் + தந்தை = பெருஞ்சாத்தன் தந்தை

பெருங்கொற்றன் + தந்தை = பெருங்கொற்றன் தந்தை

எனவரும்.

மேற்கூறிய இயற்பெயர்களின் முன், இன்றோகு மகன் இன்னான் என மக்கள் முறைப்பெயர் வந்து கூடுமிடத்து, நிலைமொழியாகிய இயற்பெயரீற்றில் தான் ஏறிய மெய்யையொழித்து அன் கெடும் வழி ‘ அம் ’ சாரியை வந்து நின்றலும் உரியதாகும். இச்சாரியைப் பேற்றினை,

350. அப்பெயர் மெய்யொழித் தன்கெடு வழியும்

நின்றலும் உரித்தே அம்மென் சாரியை

மக்கள் முறைதொகூஉ மருங்கினான்.

என்ற குத்திரத்தால் ஆசிரியர் குறித்துள்ளார்.

உதாரணம் :

கொற்றன் + கொற்றன் = கொற்றங்கொற்றன்

சாத்தன் + கொற்றன் = சாத்தங்கொற்றன்

என நிலைமொழியீற்று ‘ அன் ’ கெட்டு ‘ அம் ’ சாரியை பெற்றன. கொற்றங் கொற்றன் - கொற்றனுக்கு மகனாகிய கொற்றன் எனப் பொருள்படும்.

‘ முன் ’ என்னுஞ்சொல் நிலைமொழியாய் நிற்கு அதன்முன் ‘ இல் ’ என்பது வருமொழியாய் வரின், அச் சொல்லின் மேலே தகரமெய் ஒன்று தோன்றி நின்று முடிதல், தொன்றுதொட்டு மருவிவந்த இலக்கண முடிபென்பர் ஆசிரியர்.

355. முன்னென் கிளவி முன்னர்த் தோன்றும்

இல்லென் கிளவிமிசை தகரம் ஒற்றல்

தொல்லியன் மருங்கின் மரீஇய மரபே.

எனவரும் குத்திரம் இம்மருஉ முடிபினைக் குறிப்பதாகும்.

உதாரணம் :

முன் + இல் = முன்றில்

எனவரும்.

‘ பொன் ’ என்னும் னகரவீற்றுச் சொல் செய்யுளிற் பயிலுங்கால், தன் இறுதியாகிய னகரம் கெடா நிற்க, அதன் முன்னர் லகர வுயிர்மெய்யும் மகர வொற்றும் முறையே வந்து ‘ பொலம் ’ எதை திரிந்து முடிதல் உண்டு.

356. பொன்னென் கிளவி யீறுகெட முறையின்

முன்னர்த் தோன்றும் லகர மகாரம்

செய்யுள் மருங்கிற் றொடரியலான.

என்ற குத்திரத்தால் இத்திரிபினைக் குறிப்பிடுவர் ஆசிரியர்.

உதாரணம் :

‘பொலஞ் சுடராழி பூண்டதேரே’
எனவரும்.

‘இல்’ என்னும் லகரவீற்றுச் சொல், இருப்பிடமாகிய மனையை யுணர்த்தாது ஒரு பொருளினது இல்லாமையை உணர்த்துமிடத்து, அதன் முன் இடையே ஐகாரம் வருதலும், அவ்வழி வல்லெழுத்து மிகுதலும் இரண்டும் வாராது இயல்பாய் முடிதலும், (முற்கூறிய வண்ணம் வல்லெழுத்து மிகும்படி) இடையே ஆகாரம் வந்து முடிதலும் ஆகிய இவற்றைத் தன் முடிபாக உடையதாகும். இம் முடிபுகளை,

372. இல்லென் கிளவி இன்மை செப்பின்
வல்லெழுத்து மிகுதலும் ஐயிடை வருதலும்
இயற்கை யாதலும் ஆகாரம் வருதலும்
கொளத்தகு மரபின் ஆகிட னுடைத்தே.

என்ற சூத்திரத்தில் ஆசிரியர் குறித்துள்ளமை காணலாம்.

உதாரணம் :

இல் + கல் = இல்லைக்கல், இல்லைக்கல், இல்கல்,
இல்லாக்கல் - சுனை, துடி, பறை எனவரும்.
இல்லாமையை உணர்த்துவதாகிய ‘இல்’ என்னுஞ் சொல்
முடிபுகளை,

இல்லெ னின்மைச் சொற்கை யடைய
வன்மை விகற்பமும், ஆகாரத்தொடு
வன்மை யாகலும், இயல்பும் ஆகும். 233.

என்ற சூத்திரத்தில் நன்னூலாசிரியர் தெளிவாகக் குறித்துள்ளார்.

பிறவாறு வருவன

‘ஏழ்’ என்னும் முகர வீற்று எண்ணுப் பெயர்முன் அளவுப் பெயரும் நிறைப் பெயரும் எண்ணுப் பெயரும் வருமொழியாய் வருமிடத்து அவ் வெண்ணுப் பெயரின் முன்னின்ற ஏகாரமாகிய நெட்டெழுத்து ஏகரமாகக் குறுகுதலும், நிலைமொழி யீற்று முகர மெய்யின்பின் உகரம் வருதலும் தொல்லாசிரியன் இருவகை வழக்கிலும் விலக்காது உடன்பட்ட திரிபுகளே யாகும். இதனை,

389. அளவு நிறையும் எண்ணும் வருவழி
நெடுமுதல் குறுகலும் உகரம் வருதலும்
க்டிநிலை யின்றே ஆசிரியற்க.

என்ற நூற்பாவில் ஆசிரியர் தெளிவாகக் குறித்துள்ளார்.

உதாரணம் :

ஏழ் + கலம் = எழுகலம், சாடி, தூதை, பாளை, நாழி, மண்டை வட்டி எனவும், எழுகழுஞ்சு, தொடி, பலம் எனவும், எழு மூன்று, எழு நான்கு எனவும் வரும்.

‘ஏழ்’ என்பதனோடு ‘பத்து’ என்பது வந்து புணருமிடத்து, ‘பத்து’ என்பதன் இடையிலுள்ள தகர மெய்கெட்டு அவ்விடத்து ஆய்தம் பெற்றுப் ‘பஃது’ என நின்றலும் உண்டு. இவ் வருமொழித் திரிபினை,

390. பத்தென் கிளவி யொற்றிடை கெடுவழி
நிற்றல் வேண்டும் ஆய்தப் புள்ளி.
என வரும் சூத்திரத்தாற் குறித்தார்.

உதாரணம் :

‘எழுபஃது’ என வரும்.
‘ஏழ்’ என்பதன் முன் ‘ஆயிரம்’ என்னும் எண்ணுப் பெயர் வரு மொழியாய் வருமிடத்து முற்கூறியபடி நெடுமுதல் குறுகிநின்று, உகரம் பெறுது முடியும் என்பதனை,

391. ஆயிரம் வருவழி யுகரங் கெடுமே.
என்பதனால் உணர்த்தினார்.

உதாரணம் :

ஏழ் + ஆயிரம் = எழாயிரம் என வரும்.
ஏழ் என்பதன் முன் நூறாயிரம் என்பது வருமொழியாய் வருமிடத்து முற்கூறியவாறு நெடுமுதல் குறுகி உகரம் பெறுதல் இல்லை. இவ்வியல்பு முடிபினை,

392. நூறார்ந்து வருஉம் ஆயிரக் கிளவிக்குக்
கூறிய நெடுமுதல் குறுக்க மின்றே.
என வரும் சூத்திரத்தால் உணரலாம்.

ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார் 'ஏழ்' என இதனை ஒற்றிற்று மொழியாகக் கொண்டு புணர்ச்சி விதி கூறியுள்ளார். நன்னூலாசிரியர் பவணந்தியார் இவ்வெண்ணினை 'ஏழு' என உயிரீற்று மொழியாகக் கொண்டுள்ளார். இந்நுட்பம், 'ஏழன் உயிரும் ஏகும் ஏற்புழி' (நன். உயிரீற்றுப்—38) என அவர் விதி கூறுமாற்றால் நன்கு விளங்கும். ஏழ் நெடுமுதல் குறுகும் என்னும் தொல்காப்பிய விதியை 'ஏழ் குறுகும்' என்ற தொடரிற் பவணந்தியார் உடன்பட்டுள்ளமை காரணமாகும்.

தெரியச் சொல்லப்பட்ட மெய்யீறு வருமொழியோடு புணரும் இயல்பின்கண், மேல் முடித்த முடிபுகளன்றி வழக்கினுட் கண்டு முடித்த கு உரியன பிறவும் உளவாயின் அவற்றையும் இங்குக் கூறப்பட்டவற்றுடன் கருதி நோக்கிச் சாரியை பெறுவனவற்றிற்குச் சாரியையும் எழுத்துப் பெறுவனவற்றிற்கு எழுத்தும் கொடுத்து ஏற்றவாறு முடித்துக்கொள்க என்பார்,

405. உணரக் கூடிய புணரியன் மருங்கிற்

கண்டு செயற்குரியவை கண்ணினர் கொளலே.

என இவ்வியலுக்குப் புறனடை கூறி முடித்தார் ஆசிரியர். இவ்வாறே பவணந்தியாரும் மெய்யீற்றுப் புணரியலின் இறுதியில்,

இடையுரி வடசொலின் இயம்பிய கொளாதவும்

போலியும் மருஉவும் பொருந்திய வாற்றிற்கு

இயையப் புணர்த்தல் யாவர்க்கும் நெறியே. 239.

எனப் புணரியல்களுக்குப் புறனடை கூறி முடித்துள்ளமை இங்கு ஒப்பு நோக்கியுணரத் தக்கதாகும்.

கல்வெட்டுக்களும் அரசியல் வரலாறும்—(தொடர்ச்சி)

Dr. M. இராசமாணிக்கனார், Ph. D., M.O.L.

(துணைத்தமிழ்ப் பேராசிரியர், சென்னைப் பல்கலைக்கழகம், சென்னை.)

III. கல்வெட்டுக்களும் சமுதாய வரலாறும்

நாட்டுப் பிரிவுகள் :

தமிழகத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியான தொண்டைமண்டலம் கோட்டம், நாடு ஊர் என்னும் பிரிவுகளைப் பெற்றிருந்தது. சோழமண்டலம் வளநாடு, ஊர் என்ற பிரிவுகளைப் பெற்றிருந்தது. பாண்டிமண்டலம் வளநாடு, நாடு அல்லது கூற்றம், ஊர் என்னும் பிரிவுகளைப் பெற்றிருந்தது. வளநாடு அல்லது கோட்டம் என்பது இக்கால மாவட்டம் போன்றது என்றும், நாடு அல்லது கூற்றம் என்பது இக்காலத்துத் தாலுகாவைப் போன்றது என்றும் மண்டலம் என்பது இக்கால மாகாணம் போன்றது என்றும் கொள்ளலாம்.

அரசமுறை :

தமிழரசர் பெரும்பாலும் தந்தை, மகன் என்ற முறையிலேயே ஆண்டு வந்தனர். பட்டத்திற்குரிய பிள்ளை இல்லாதபோது, இரண்டாம் நந்திவர்ம பல்லவன் பட்டம் பெற்றாற்போல, மாண்ட அரசனுக்குப் பங்காளிப் பிள்ளைகள் பட்டம் அடைதல் உண்டு. நேர் வழியில் பட்டம் பெறுவோர் இல்லை யாயின், இரண்டாம் இராசாதிராசன் பட்டம் பெற்றாற்போல, மகன் வயிற்றுப்பேரன் பட்டம் பெறுதலும் உண்டு.

அரசிறை :

தமிழ்க்குடிகள் நிலவரியாக விளையும் நெல்லின் ஒரு பகுதியை அல்லது அக்கால வழக்கிலிருந்த நாணயத்தைச் செலுத்திவந்தனர், பெரும்பாலும் நெல்லே செலுத்தப்பட்டு வந்தது. இத்தகைய பலவகை வரிகளை ஊர்ச் சபையார் குடிகளிடமிருந்து ஆண்டுதோறும் வாங்கி மன்னன் தலைநகரத்திலிருந்த அரசாங்கப் பொருள் நிலையத்திற்கு அனுப்பிவந்தனர். ஒவ்வொரு தொழிலாளரும் தட்டார்ப்பாட்டம் என்றாற்போலத் தொழிலுக்கு ஏற்ற பெயர்கொண்ட வரியைச் செலுத்திவந்தனர்.

அளவைகள் :

நீட்டலளவைகள் 'சுந்தரபாண்டியன்கோல்' என்றூற்போல அரசன் பெயரைப் பெற்றேனும், 'உலகளந்தகோல்' என்றூற்போல வேறு பெயர் பெற்றேனும் வழக்கில் இருந்து வந்தன. நிலங்களெல்லாம் குழி, மா, வேலி என்ற முறையில் அளக்கப்பட்டன.¹ முகத்தலளவைக் கருவிகள் அரசர், அரசியர் பெயர்களைத் தாங்கியும் பொதுப்படவும் வழக்கில் இருந்தன. செவிடு, ஆழாக்கு, உழக்கு, உரி, நாழி, குறுணி, கலம் முதலியன முகத்தலளவைப் பெயர்களாகும். பொன், வெள்ளி முதலான உயர்ந்த பொருள்கள் கழஞ்சு (10 காணம் ஒரு கழஞ்சு), மஞ்சாடி, காணம் (4 குன்றிமணி ஏடை) என்னும் நிறை கற்களாலும், பிற பொருள்கள் பலம், துலாம் என்னும் நிறை கற்களாலும் நிறுக்கப்பட்டு வந்தன.

நாணயங்கள் :

தமிழரசர் ஆட்சிக் காலங்களில் பலவகை நாணயங்கள் வழக்கிலிருந்தன. அவனிபசேகரன் கோளகை, சோணாடு கொண்டான் (முதல் மாறவர்மன் சுந்தரபாண்டியன் காலத்து நாணயம்), எல்லாந்தலையானான் என்ற நாணயம், (முதல் சடையவர்மன் சுந்தரபாண்டியன் காலத்து) என்றூற்போன்ற நாணயங்கள் பாண்டிய நாட்டில் வழக்கில் இருந்தன.² பொன் என்பது சிறு நாணயத்தின் பெயர்; காசு (10 பொன் கொண்டது ஒரு காசு) என்பது மற்றொரு நாணயத்தின் பெயர்.

இறையிலி :

தமிழரசர் ஆட்சிக் காலங்களில் நிலங்கள் கோயில்களுக்கும் மறைய வர்க்கும் பிறர்க்கும் வரியின்றித் தானமாக வழங்கப்பட்டன. அவற்றுள் கோயில்களுக்கு விடப்பட்டவை தேவதானம் எனவும், திருவிடையாட்டம் எனவும் பெயர் பெற்றன ; பௌத்த-சமணக் கோயில்களுக்கு விடப்பட்ட நில தானம் பள்ளிச்சந்தம் எனப்பட்டது ; மறையவர்க்கு உதவப்பெற்றது 'பிரமதேயம்', 'பட்டவிருத்தி' எனப்பட்டது ; மடங்களுக்கு விடப்பட்ட

1. S. I. I. Vol. 5, Nos. 446 ; 448 ; 321 ; 421 ; 432 and 440 ;
Ins. of Pudukottah State No. 305.

2. A. R. E. 1929-30, Part II, Para 4 ; IND. of Pudukottah State, Nos. 439,
440.

நிலம் 'மடப்புறம்' எனப் பெயர்பெற்றது ; புலவர்க்கு விடப்பட்டது 'புலவர் முற்றுட்டு' எனப் பெயர் பெற்றது. இதனைப் பல கல்வெட்டுக் களால் அறியலாம்.

ஊராட்சி :

ஒவ்வோர் ஊரிலும் அறிஞரவை இருந்து ஊராட்சியைக் கவனித்து வந்தது. ஊரவையுறுப்பினர் பொதுமக்களால் குடவோலை வாயிலாகத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பெற்றவர். சிற்றார்கள் சிலவற்றைச் சேர்த்து, அவையை அமைத்து ஆண்டமையும் உண்டு. உறுப்பினர்க்கு நிலமும், சொந்த மனையும், கல்வியறிவும், ஒழுக்கமும் தகுதிகளாக வரையறுக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன. ஊரவையில்—சில உட்கழகங்களும் இருந்தன. அவை சம்வத்சர வாரியம், தோட்ட வாரியம், ஏரி வாரியம், பொன் வாரியம், பஞ்சவார வாரியம் என்பன ; நியாயம் வழங்குவது, அறநிலையங்களைக் கண்காணிப்பது ஆகியவை சம்வத்சர வாரியரது கடமைகளாகும் ; நீர்நிலைகளைப் பாதுகாத்துப் பயன்படச் செய்தல் ஏரி வாரியர் கடமை ; நிலங்களைப்பற்றிய எல்லாவற்றையும் கவனிப்பது தோட்ட வாரியரது தொழில் ; நாணய ஆராய்ச்சி செய்தல் பொன் வாரியர் கடமை. இவ்வாறு ஒவ்வோர் உட்கழகமும் ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட பணியைக் குறைவறச் செய்து வந்தமையால் கிராம ஆட்சி செவ்வனே நடைபெற்று வந்தது. ஊரவையினரைத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கும் முறை தொண்டைநாட்டு உத்தரமேரூரிலுள்ள ஒரு கல்வெட்டில் காணலாம். அது முதற் பராந்தக சோழனது³ ஆணைப்படி கி. பி. 921-இல் பொறிக்கப்பட்டது.

ஆவணக்களரி முதலியன :

ஒவ்வோர் ஊரிலும் எழுதப்பட்ட ஆவணங்களைப் பதிவுசெய்ய ஆவணக்களரி இருந்தது என்பது பல கல்வெட்டுக்களால் தெரிகின்றது.³ தமிழ் வேந்தர்கள் நால்வகைப் படையிலும் சிறந்து இருந்தனர். இவையன்றிப் பெருநாட்டிற்கு உட்பட்ட மண்டலங்களில் தனித்தனியே 'நிலைப்படைகள்' வேறு இருந்தன.

சமுதாயம் :

சங்க காலத்தில் நம்மால் அறியப்படமுடியாத சாதிகள் பிற்காலக் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன. ஒவ்வொரு சாதியும் அதற்கு விதிக்கப்

3. S. I. I. Vol. 5, No. 303 ; IND. of Pudukottah State, 401, 408, 487 etc.

பட்ட கட்டுதிட்டங்களிலிருந்து மாறலாகாது என்ற பொதுக்கொள்கை இருந்தது. ஆயினும், நாளடைவில் பல்வேறு சூழ்நிலைகளால் இக்கட்டுப்பாடு தளர்ந்து வந்ததை வரலாற்றில் காண்கிறோம்.

கலப்புச் சாதிகளும், அச்சாதியினர்க்குரிய கடமைகளும் கல்வெட்டுக் களில் குறிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. அனுவோமர், பிரதிலோமர் என்ற கலப்புச் சாதியார் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் இடம் பெற்றுள்ளனர். அனுவோம வகுப்பாருள் ஒரு பகுதியினர் கட்டிடக்கலை, தேர்வேலை செய்தல், கோபுரங்கட்டல், மண்டபங்களிலும் கோபுரங்களிலும் சிற்பங்களை அமைத்தல் முதலிய பணிகளைச் செய்யலாம் என்று வடமொழிச் சாத்திரங்களைத் துணையாகக்கொண்டு கோவில்பட்டர்கள் முதற்குலோத்துங்கன் ஆட்சிக்காலத்தில் திட்டம் வகுத்தனர் என்று ஒரு கல்வெட்டுக் குறிக்கின்றது.⁴ மேற்கூறப்பெற்ற தொழில்களைச் செய்தவரும், இரும்புக்கொல்லரும், பொற்கொல்லரும், கல் தச்சரும், மரத்தச்சரும், 'இரதகாரர்' என்ற பிரிவினராவர் என்று மற்றொரு கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது. அரசகுலப் பெண்ணுக்கும் வைசியர்க்கும் பிறந்தவன் 'ஆயோகவன்' எனப்பட்டான் என்று ஒரு கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது. ஆயோகர் பிரதிலோம உறுப்பினரைச் சேர்ந்தவராவர், இவர்கள் ஆடைகளை நெய்து அரசர்க்கும் வேதியர்க்கும் கடவுளர்க்கும் கொடுத்து வந்தனர். இவருட்கிலர் திரிபுவனை போன்ற இடங்களில் இறையியியாக நிலங்கள் பெற்றுக் கொவிலுக்கும் மறையவர்க்கும் வேண்டிய ஆடைகளை நெய்துவந்தனர்.⁵

வெங்காலநாடு, தென்கொங்கு முதலிய பகுதிகளிலிருந்து கல் தச்சருக்கும், பொற்கொல்லருக்கும் சோழ அரசனால் சில புதிய உரிமைகள் வழங்கப் பட்டன என்று கருவூர், பேரூர்க் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. வீட்டில் நடைபெறும் நல்ல காரியங்களுக்கும், அல்லவற்றிற்கும் அவரவர் விருப்பப்படி இரண்டு சங்குகளை ஊதுதல், பறையடித்தல் அல்லது வாத்தியம் வாசித்தல், வீட்டைவிட்டு வெளிச் செல்லுகையில் மிதியடி அணிதல், தம் வீட்டுச் சுவர் களுக்குச் சுண்ணாம்பு பூசுதல். இரட்டைச் சன்னல்களை வைத்த இரண்டடுக்கு மாடி வீடுகளைக் கட்டிக் கொள்ளுதல், வீட்டின் முன்புறத்தை அல்லிமலர் மாலைகளால் அழகு செய்தல் என்பன போன்ற உரிமைகள் அக் கல்வெட்டுக் களில் குறிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.⁶

4. 479 of 1908.

5. 189 of 1925 ; 508 of 1922 ; 208 of 1919.

6. 66 of 1890, 562 of 1893 and 135 of 1905.

மேலே கூறப்பெற்றவை 'புதிய உரிமைகள்' என்பதை நோக்க, அக் காலப் பொற்கொல்லரும், கல் தச்சரும் சமுதாயத்தில் எத்தகைய நிலையில் இருந்தனர் என்பதை ஒருவாறு ஊகிக்கலாம். இவ்வாறே ஒவ்வொரு குறிப்பிட்ட வகுப்பினரும் பல கட்டுப்பாடுகளுக்குள் அகப்பட்டுத் தம்மனம்போன வாறு வாழவழியின்றித் தவித்தனர் என்பதை இக்கல்வெட்டுகள் நன்கு உணர்த்துகின்றன அல்லவா?

வலங்கை, இடங்கை வகுப்புகள் என்பன குறிப்பிடத்தக்கவை. இப் பிரிவுகள் எவ்வாறு உண்டாயின என்ற உண்மையைக் கூறக்கூடவில்லை. வலங்கையர் சோழப்படை வீரராக இருந்தனர். இடங்கையர் காசியப் முனிவரது வேள்வியைக் காக்கத் தீக்குழியிலிருந்து படைக்கப்பட்டனர். சோழமன்னன் அரிந்தமன் என்பான் வடநாட்டிலிருந்து மறையவரைத் தமிழகத்திற்குக் கொண்டந்தபோது, அவர் தம் மிதியடிகளையும் உடைகளையும் தாங்கிக்கொண்டு இடங்கையர் தென்னாடு வந்தனர் — இவ்வினத்தார்க்கு ஏதேனும் துன்பம் வருமாயின், இனத்தார் அனைவரும் ஒன்றுசேர்ந்து அவற்றைப்போக்க முயலவேண்டும்—கொக்கின் இறகு அணியப்பெற்ற முடிக்கப்பெறாத கூந்தலுடைமையே இவர்க்கு அடையாளம் — இவர்க்கு முன்பாகத் தாரைக் கொம்பும் சங்கும் ஊதப்படல் வேண்டும், இவ்விதிக்கு மாறுபட நடக்கும் இடங்கையர், இனத்தினின்றும் வெளியேற்றப்படுவர் — அவர்கள் 'சுருதிமான்கள்' என்று கருதப்படமாட்டார்கள். இவ்வினத்தாருள் 98 உட்பிரிவுகள் இருந்தன.⁷

இவ்விடங்கை, வலங்கை இனத்தவர்கள் பெரும்பாலும் வேறுபட்டே இருந்தனர். ஒருவர் தங்கி வழிபட்ட கோவில் மண்டபத்தில் மற்றொரு இனத்தார் தங்கி வழிபட விரும்பவில்லை. இத்தகைய வெறுப்புணர்ச்சி ஆடல் பாடல் மகளிருள்ளும் நிலை பெற்றிருந்தது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

பெண்டிர்நிலை :

தமிழகத்துப் பெண்டிர் கணவரைப்போலவே பெரும்பாலான செயல்களில் ஈடுபட்டிருந்தனர் என்பது தெரிகின்றது. கணவன் அறச்செயலைச் செய்தாற்போலவே அவன் மனைவியும் அறச்செயல்கள் செய்ததையும் கல் வெட்டால் அறிகிறோம். பெண்களுக்குத் தனிச் சொத்து இருந்தது. அதனை அவர்கள் விருப்பம்போலச் செலவு செய்தனர். சோழப்பேரரசன் மனைவியான செம்பியன் மாதேவியார் முதல், கோவிற்பணிப் பெண்ணான தேவரடி

7. 341 of 1907 ; 489 of 1907 and 34 of 1913 ; A. R. E. 1921, Para 47.

யார் ஈருகக் கோவிலுக்கும் பிற அற நிலையங்களுக்கும் தானம் செய்துள்ள விவரங்கள் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன. பெண்கள் மடங்களுக்குச் சென்று சமயக்கல்வி கற்று வந்தனர்.⁸ முடிமன்னரும் சிற்றரசரும் ஒருத்திக்கு மேற்பட்ட பலரை மனைவியராகப் பெற்றிருந்தனர். எனினும், ஒருவன் ஒருத்தியை மணந்து வாழும் முறையே சமுதாயத்தில் பெருவழக்குடையதாக இருந்தது.

உடன்கட்டை ஏறல் :

கணவன் இறந்தபின் அவன் மனைவி உடன்கட்டை ஏறுதல் என்பது பற்றிச் சில கல்வெட்டுக்கள் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன. சுந்தர சோழன் இறந்தவுடன் அவன் மனைவியும் முதல் இராசராச சோழனுக்குத் தாயுமான வானவன் மாதேவி உடன்கட்டை ஏறினாள் என்று திருவாலங்காட்டுச் செப்பேடுகள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. வீரசோழ இளங்கோவேளார் என்ற சிற்றரசன் இறந்தவுடன் அவன் மனைவியான கங்கமாதேவியார் உடன்கட்டை ஏறினாள். கன்னட நாட்டில் நுங்கநாட்டுத் தலைவன் மகள் தன் பெற்றோர் தடுத்தும் கணவனுடன் உடன்கட்டை ஏறிய சீரிய நங்கை—இச்செய்தியைக் கன்னட நாட்டுத் கல்வெட்டு விரிவாகக் கூறுகின்றது. கணவன் இறந்தவுடன் மனைவி உடன்கட்டை ஏறினாள். இவ்விருவர் நினைவையும் அக்கணவனது தந்தை பாராட்டுவதை ஒரு கல்வெட்டுத் தெரிவிக்கிறது.⁹

இறந்த அரசர்க்கு உருவச்சிலைகள் கோயில்களில் அமைத்தலும், பூசை முதலியன செய்தலும் சோழர்காலவழக்கில் இருந்தன. இவையன்றி, இறந்த அரசனுக்குக் கோயில் கட்டிப் பூசை விழா முதலியன நடைபெறச் செய்தலும் அக்கால வழக்கில் இருந்தது. சோழப் பேரரசை ஏற்படுத்திய ஆதித்தசோழனுக்குக் காளத்தியை அடுத்த தொண்டைமாளாடு என்ற இடத்தில் அவன் மகனான முதற் பராந்தகன் ஆதித்தேச்சரம் என்ற கோயிலைக் கட்டினான். முதல் இராசராசன் மேற்பாடியில் அரிஞ்சுனக ஈசுவரம் என்ற கோயிலை அரிஞ்சயன் நினைவாக எடுப்பித்தான். முதலாம் இராசேந்திரன் பஞ்சவன் மாதேவிச்சரம் என்ற கோயிலைப் பஞ்சவன் மாதேவியின் நினைவாகக் கட்டினான். இத்தகைய கோயில் 'பள்ளிப்படை' எனப் பெயர் பெற்றது.

8. 49 of 1911; A. R. E. 1909, P. 75.

9. V. V. 65-66; 366 of 1903; 141 of 1898; 499 of 1911.

தேவரடியார் :

கோயில்களிலிருந்து தொண்டாற்றிய பெண்டிருள் தேவரடியார் ஒரு வகையினர். இவர்கள் கோவிலில் திருவலகிடல், திருமெழுகிடல், கடவுள் படைப்புக்குரிய அரிசியைத் தூய்மை செய்தல், திருப்பதிகம் பாடுதல் முதலிய பணிகளைச் செய்துவந்தனர். மேலும் இவர்கள் விழாக்காலங்களில் திருநீற்றுத் தட்டையும், மலர்த்தட்டையும் ஏந்தியிருந்தனர். அம்மனை அணிசெய்து எழுந்தருளுவித்தபோது, அழ்மனுக்குக் கவரி வீசுதல் இவர்தம் தொழில். இத் தேவரடியார் ஒரு வகுப்பைச் சேர்ந்தவரல்லர்; எல்லா வகுப்புப் பெண்டிரும் இப்பணிகளில் ஈடுபட்டிருந்தனர் என்பது தெரிகின்றது. முதற் குலோத்துங்க சோழன் காலத்தில் 'ஆச்சப்பிடாரன் கணபதிம்பி' என்ற அழகிய பாண்டிய பல்லவரையன் ஒரு படைத்தலைவன். அப்பெருமகன் பாலாற்றங்கரையிலுள்ள திருவல்லம் கோவிலிற் பணிகள் செய்வதற்குத் தன் குடும்பப் பெண்களைத் தேவரடியாராக ஒப்புவித்தான்; அப்பெண்கள் சூலப்பொறி பொறிக்கப் பட்டுக் கோவிற்பணிகளில் ஈடுபடுத்தப்பட்டனர் என்று திருவல்லம் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது. தேவரடியாருள் சிலர் நடனமாடவும் அறிந்திருந்தனர்.¹⁰

தளியிலார் :

இவர்கள் ஆடல் பாடல்களில் வல்லவர். இவருள் சிவன் கோவிலில் பணி செய்தவர் ரிஷபத் தளியிலார் என்றும், வைணவக் கோவிலில் பணி செய்தவர் ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவ மாணிக்கம் என்றும் பெயர் பெற்றனர் என்று கருதக் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் இடந்தருகின்றன. இவர்கள் நாளடைவில் தேவரடியாரைப் போலக் கவரி வீசுதல் முதலிய பணிகளையும் மேற்கொண்டனர்.¹¹

இத்தகைய ஆடல் மகளிரும் தேவரடியாரும் செய்துள்ள அறச் செயல்கள் பல. எண்ணிறந்த கல்வெட்டுக்கள் இவ்வுண்மையைத் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. இத் தேவரடியார் விரும்பினால் ஒருவரை மணஞ்செய்துகொண்டு வாழ வசதியளிக்கப்பட்டது. நாகன் பெருங்காடன் என்ற ஒருவன், சதுரள் சதுரி என்ற தேவரடியாளை மணந்து கொண்டான் என்று திருவொற்றியூர்க் கல்வெட்டுத் தெரிவிக்கின்றது.¹²

10. 128 and 212 of 1912; A. R. E. 1922, P. 102; 212 of 1912.

11. 183 of 1923; 141 of 1895 and 212 of 1912 etc.

12. 147 of 1912 and 411 of 1925.

அடிமைகள் :

மக்களை அடிமைகளாகவைத்து வேலைவாங்கி வந்தமையை உணர்த்தும் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் சில உண்டு. அவருட் பெரும்பாலர் கோவில்களுக்கே தம்மை விற்றுக் கொண்டனர்; பிறரால் விற்கப்பட்டனர் சிலர். மாதிரிவார் தம்மையும் தம் உற்றார் உறவினரையும் ஒரு கோவிலுக்கு விற்றசெய்தி ஒரு கல்வெட்டில் காணப்படுகிறது. ஒருவன் 13 காசுகளுக்கு அறுவரைக் கோவிலுக்கு விற்றான். திருவிடந்தைப் பெருமான் கோவிலுக்கு 12 குடும்பங்களைச் சேர்ந்த மீன் பிடிப்பவர் தங்களை அடிமைகளாக அர்ப்பணித்துக் கொண்டார்கள். அரசன் முத்திரையிடப்பட்ட பெண்கள் அரண்மனையில் அலுவல் பார்த்தனர். 700 காசுகளுக்கு மாதர் நால்வர் திருவாலங்காட்டுக் கோவிலுக்கு விற்கப்பட்டனர். சிற்றரசர்களிடம் அடிமைகள் இருந்தனர். அவர்கள் மணந்துகொண்ட மனைவிமார் அடிமைகள் சிலரைச் சீதனமாகக் கணவர் வீட்டிற்குக் கொண்டுவருதல் அக்கால வழக்கமாக இருந்தது. அங்ஙனம் கொண்டுவரப்பெற்ற அடிமைகளைத் தம் மனைவியர் இசைவுபெற்று வைராதராயர் என்ற பெருமகன் ஒரு மடத்திற்கு விற்றுவிட்டான். உடனே அவ்வடிமைகளுக்குச் சூலப் பொறி பொறிக்கப்பட்டது. அவர்கள் தம் கடமைகளிலிருந்து தவறின் தண்டிக்கப்படுவர் என்றும் அறிவிக்கப்பட்டது.¹³

வேளாளர் மூவர் மாதர் இருவரையும் அவர் தம் பெண்களையும் திருவக்கரைக் கோயிலுக்கு விற்று விட்டனர். தஞ்சை மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள கீழையூர்க் கோயிலுக்கும் மடத்திற்கும் விடப்பட்ட அடிமைகள் பலராவர். இவ்வாறே ஒரு பெருமகன் மட அடிமைகள் பலரை விலைக்கு வாங்கித் திருவாலங்காட்டு மடம் ஒன்றுக்குத் தானமாகக் கொடுத்தான். கி. பி. 1201 ஆம் ஆண்டில் ஒரு வேளாளன் தன்னையும், தன் பெண்கள் இருவரையும் வறுமையின் காரணமாகத் திருப்பாம்புரம் கோயிலுக்கு விற்று விட்டான். அடிமைகள் பரம்பரையாகக் குறிப்பிட்ட சிலரிடம் இருந்துவந்தனர் என்பதையும் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் உணர்த்துகின்றன. ஒரு கல் தச்சன் தன்னையும் தன் மனைவியையும் தன்னுடைய புதல்வர் நால்வரையும் ஒரு கோவிலுக்கு விற்று விட்டான்.¹⁴

13. 218 of 1925; 217 of 1925; 141 of 1922; 80 of 1913; 94 of 1926; A. R. E. 1925, II 18.

14. 183 of 1904; 74, 76 of 1925; 91, 90 of 1926; 86 of 1911; 296 of 1911; 409 of 1925.

திருமணத் திருத்தம்

வடஆற்காடு மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள படைவீட்டைத் தலைநகராகக் கொண்டு சோழர்க்கு அடங்கிச் சாம்பூவராயர் என்ற சிற்றரசர் தொண்டை நாட்டின் ஒரு பகுதியை ஆண்டுவந்தனர். படைவீட்டு நகரத்தைச் சூழ்ந்த நிலப்பகுதியில் வேதியர் பலர் வாழ்ந்துவந்தனர். அவருள் கன்னடரும், தமிழரும், தெலுங்கரும், இலாளரும் எனப் பல வகையினர் இருந்தனர். ஒரு காலத்தில் அவரிடையே மணப்பெண்ணுக்காக மணமகள் வீட்டாரிடம் பொருள் பெறும் வழக்கம் தோன்றியது. பொன் கொடுத்துப் பெண் கொள்ளும் வாய்ப்பு இல்லாதவர் துன்பப்பட்டனர். இந்நிலை வளர்ந்து வந்ததைக் கண்ட அவ்வேதியருள் நல்லறிஞர் சாம்பூவராயனது ஆணைபெற்று நல்லதோர் திருமண ஏற்பாட்டைச் செய்துகொண்டனர்: “இற்றைநாள் முதலாக இந்தப் படைவீட்டு ராஜ்யத்துப் பிராமணரில் கன்னடியர், தமிழர், தெலுங்கர், இலாளர் முதலான அசேஷ கோத்தர்த்து அசேஷ குத்திரத்தில் அசேஷ சாகையிலவர்களும் விவாகம் பண்ணுமிடத்துக் கன்னியாதானமாக விவாகம் பண்ணக் கடவராகவும். கன்னியாதானம் பண்ணாமல் பொன் வாங்கிப் பெண் கொடுத்தால், பொன்கொடுத்து விவாகம் பண்ணினால், இராஜ தூஷணத்துக்கு உட்பட்டுப் பிராமணியத்துக்கும் புறம்பாகக் கடவர் என்று பண்ணின தர்மஸ்தாபன சமயபத்திரம்; இப்படிக்கு அசேஷ வித்வ மகா ஜனங்கள் எழுத்து.”¹⁵ இவ்வாறு ஒவ்வொரு இனத்தவர் அல்லது தொழில் செய்பவர் தம்மோடு செய்துகொண்ட பலவகை ஏற்பாடுகளைப் பல கல்வெட்டுக்கள் உணர்த்துகின்றன.

கோயிலில் கடன்பெறுதல் :

தஞ்சை மாவட்டத்து ஆலங்குடி என்னும் சிற்றூரில் கொடிய பஞ்சம் கி. பி. 1152-ல் ஏற்பட்டது. அதனால் அவ்வூரார் அக்கோயிற் பண்டாரத் திலிருந்து சுவாமிக்கும் அம்மனுக்கும் உரிய 1011 கழஞ்சு நிறையுள்ள பொன் நகைகளையும், 464 பலம் நிறையுள்ள வெள்ளிச் சாமான்களையும் கடனாகப் பெற்றனர். பஞ்சம் தீர்ந்த பிறகு இக்கடன் திருப்பித்தரவேண்டும் என்பது ஏற்பாடு.¹⁶

5. S. I. I. Vol. 1, No. 56.

16. 50 of 1890.

கல்வி நிலை

முன்னுரை :

நமது தமிழகம் ஒரு காலத்தில் தமிழ் ஒன்றையே பேசும் மக்களைக் கொண்ட சமுதாயத்தைப் பெற்றிருந்தது. ஆயின், நாளடைவில் வடமொழி வல்லாராகிய சமணரும், பெளத்தரும், வைதிகரும் தத்தம் சமய நூல்களுடன் இந்நாட்டில் குடியேறினர். அவர் தம் சமயக் கருத்துக்கள் நாளடைவில் தமிழ்ச் சமுதாயத்தில் இடம் பெற்றன. தமிழர் சிலர் பெளத்தத்தையும், சமணத்தையும் தழுவினர். வைதிகர் கொணர்ந்த சமயக் கருத்துக்களுள் கடவுளர் பற்றிய கருத்துக்களும் தமிழரிடம் முன்னரே இருந்த சமயக் கருத்துக்களோடு கலக்கலாயின. இங்ஙனம் ஏற்பட்ட வடநாட்டினர் கூட்டுறவால் தமிழகத்தில் பல சமயங்கள் பரவத் தொடங்கின; வழிபாட்டு முறைகளும் சமயக்கலைகள் பலவும் பரவலாயின. தமிழரசர், விருந்தினரை வரவேற்று உபசரித்தல்போல, இவ்வடவரை அன்போடு வரவேற்று ஆதரவு நல்கினர்; சமணப் பள்ளிகட்கும், பெளத்த விகாரங்கட்கும் நிலதானங்கள் அளித்தனர்; நான்மறையாளர்க்குப் பல சிற்றூர்களைத் தானமாக வழங்கினர். இங்ஙனம் தமிழகத்தில் குடியேறிய வடவர் நாளடைவில் தமிழைக் கற்றுத் தமிழ் மக்களோடு நெருங்கிப் பழகலாயினர். கபிலர், பரணர் போன்ற வைதிகச் சான்றோர் தமிழில் பெரும் புலவர்களாக விளங்கினர்; மன்னர்களால் நன்கு மதிக்கப் பெற்றனர். சமணர் கூட்டுறவால் 'சல்லே கனம்' (வடக்கிருத்தல்) போன்றவை தமிழ் வேந்தரால் கைக்கொள்ளப் பட்டன; வைதிகர் கூட்டுறவால் தமிழரசர் இராச குய யாகம் போன்ற வேள்விகளைச் செய்யலாயினர்; குறிஞ்சிலித் தெய்வமான முருகன் சுப்பிரமணியனுக்கப்பட்டான். பாலைலித் தெய்வமான கொற்றவை துர்க்கை எனப் பெயர் பெற்றாள்; சிவன் வேதகால உருத்திரனோடு இணைக்கப் பட்டான். இங்ஙனம் சமயத் துறையிலும் சமுதாயத் துறையிலும் வடவர் கூட்டுறவால் ஏற்பட்ட மாற்றங்கள் பலவாகும். இவற்றுள், தனித் தமிழ் மொழியில் வடசொற்கள் கலக்கத் தொடங்கியது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

பல்லவர் காலம் :

ஏறத்தாழக் கி. பி. 4-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் இடைப்பகுதியில் கதம்ப அரச மரபைத் தோற்றுவித்த மயூரசர்மன் என்ற பிராமணன் காஞ்சியிலிருந்த கடிகையில் கல்வி கற்கவந்தான் என்று தாளகுண்டா கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது. இக்காஞ்சி வடமொழிக் கல்லூரி பல்லவ அரசன் பார்வையில் இருந்தது.¹⁷ தென்னிந்தியாவில் பெளத்தத்திற்குப் பெயர் போன நகரமாகவும்,

17. EP. IND. Vol. 7. P. 24.

அவ்வாறே சமணத்திற்குச் சிறப்புற்ற நகரமாகவும், வடமொழிக் கல்விக்குப் புகழ் வாய்ந்த கோ நகரமாகவும் காஞ்சி விளக்கமுற்றிருந்தது என்பதைச் சமண, பெளத்த, வைதிக நூல்கள் கூறுகின்றன. இக்கல்விச் சிறப்புக் கி. பி. 7-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிலும் குறையாமல் இருந்ததாற்றான், திருநாவுக்கரசர்,

“கல்வியிற் கரையிலாத காஞ்சிமா நகர்”
எனப் பாராட்டினார் போலும்!

இரண்டாம் நந்திவர்மன் காலத்தில் சோழிங்கர் (சோழசிங்கபுரம்) மலைமீது இருந்த கடிகைக்கு மானியம் விடப்பட்டதாகத் திருவல்லம் கல்வெட்டுக் குறிக்கின்றது. இங்ஙனம் கடிகையிருந்த அசலம் (மலை) ஆதலால், சோழிங்கர் மலை 'கடிகாசலம்' எனப்பட்டது.

பாகூர் என்பது திருப்பாதிரிப் புலியூர்க்கும், புதுச்சேரிக்கும் இடையிலுள்ள பெரிய பாதையில் அமைந்துள்ள சிற்றூர் ஆகும். இங்குப் பல்லவர் காலத்தில் ஒரு வடமொழிக் கல்லூரி இருந்தது. அக் கல்லூரியில் பதினான்கு கலைகள் கற்பிக்கப்பட்டன; பதினெட்டுவகை வித்தைகளும் நான்கு வேதங்கள், ஆறு அங்கங்கள், மீமாம்சை, நியாயம், தர்ம சாஸ்திரம், புராணம், மருத்துவம், வில்வித்தை, இசை, பொருள் நூல்) பாங்குறக் கற்பிக்கப்பட்டன, இக்கல்லூரி நடப்பதற்கு மூன்று கிராமங்கள் தானமாக விடப்பட்டன.¹⁸ பேரூர்களிலும் நகரங்களிலும் பிராமணர் தங்கியிருந்த பகுதி 'பிரமபுரி' எனப்பட்டது.

பல்லவர் பேரரசர் தனிப்பட்ட மறையவர் கல்வியைப் பாராட்டி ஊர்களையும் நிலங்களையும் தானஞ் செய்தனர். இரண்டு வேதங்களிலும் ஆறு அங்கங்களிலும் வல்லவனான கோலசன்மன் என்ற பிராமணனுக்கு ஆந்திர நாட்டில் ஒங்கோடு என்ற சிற்றூர் தானமாகக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டது. அதனைக் குறிப்பதே ஒங்கோட்டுப் பட்டயம்.¹⁹

இரண்டாம் நந்திவர்மனால் சோமயாஜி என்ற மறையவனுக்குக் கொடு கொள்ளி என்ற சிற்றூர் தானமாக வழங்கப்பட்டது. அவன் நான்கு வேதங்களில் வல்லவன்; சாமவேதம் பாடுவதில் சமர்த்தன்; ஆறு அங்கங்களையும் பழுதற உணர்ந்தவன்; செய்யுள் நாடகம், கதைகள்,

18. EP. IND. Vol. 18. P. 11.

19. EP. IND. Vol. 15. P. 250.

இதிகாசங்கள் இவற்றில் சமர்த்தன்; நல்லொழுக்கம் மிக்கவன்; வேதவிதிப்படி நடப்பவன் என்று காசாக்குடிப் பட்டயம் அவன் சிறப்பினை விளக்குகிறது.²⁰

பொதுக் கல்வி :

வடமொழிக் கல்லூரிகளை வைத்து ஆதரித்தாற்போலப் பல்லவ மன்னர் தமிழ்க் கல்லூரிகளையும் வைத்து ஆதரித்தனர் என்று கூறுதற்குச் சான்றுகள் இல்லை. ஆயினும், பல்லவர் காலக் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் உரைநடையிலும் செய்யுள் நடையிலும் இருத்தலைக்கொண்டும், பல்லவர் காலத் தமிழ் நூல்களாகச் சைவத்திருமுறைகளும் ஆழ்வார் அருட் பாடல்களும், நந்திக் கலம்பகம், பாரத வெண்பா, திருக்கலாய ஞானவுலா முதலிய நூல்கள் இருத்தலைக் கொண்டும், பல்லவர் காலத்தில் தமிழ்க் கல்வி, நாட்டுமொழிக் கல்வி என்ற முறையில் நன்கு சிறந்திருந்தது என்று கொள்ளுதல் பொருத்தமாகும். செப்புப் பட்டயங்களில் எழுத்துக்களைச் செதுக்கும் கம்மியரும், கற்பாறைகளில் எழுத்துக்களைச் செதுக்கிய கல் தச்சரும் கற்றறிந்த மாந்தர் என்பதில் தடையில்லை யன்றோ?

இங்ஙனம் பொதுக் கல்வி இருந்ததோடு, கல்லாதவர்க்கும், கற்றவர்க்கும் பயன்படத் தக்கவகையில் கோவில்களில் பாரதம், இராமாயணம், போன்ற இதிகாச நிகழ்ச்சிகளும், புராணச் செய்திகளும் பொதுமக்களுக்குப் படித்து விளக்கப்பட்டன. இத்தகைய சமய பிரச்சாரத்தினால் பொதுமக்கள் இதிகாசங்கள் முதலியவற்றைப் படியாமலே நல்லறிவு பெறலாயினர்.

மடங்கள் :

சமயப் பெருமக்கள் தங்கியிருந்த இடங்கள் மடங்கள் எனப் பெயர் பெற்றன. அத்தலைவர்கள் சிறந்த கல்விமான்களாகவும் ஒழுக்க சீலர்களாகவும் விளங்கினர். அவர்கள் வாழ்ந்த மடங்கள் மாணவர்க்குக் கல்விபுகட்டும் கலைக்கூடங்களாகவும், யாத்திரிகர், திக்கற்றவர் முதலியோர்க்குப் புகலிடங்களாகவும், சமயவுண்மைகளை உணர்த்தும் அருள் நிலையங்களாகவும் விளங்கின. இவை அரசர், சிற்றரசர், செல்வர் முதலியவரால் அமைக்கப்பட்டவை.

சைவ மடங்களுள் காபாலிக மடம், பாசுபத மடம், காளாமுக மடம் எனப் பல திறப்பட்டவை இருந்தன. காபாலிகர் மடம், காஞ்சி ஏகாம்பர நாதர் கோயிலை அடுத்து இருந்தது என்பது மகேந்திரன் வரைந்த மத்த

20. S. I. I. Vol. 2. P. 346.

விலாசத்தைக் கொண்டு உணரப்படும். கொடும்பாளூர் முதலிய இடங்களில் காளாமுகச் சைவ மடங்கள் இருந்தன என்று கல்வெட்டுக்கள் கூறுகின்றன. திருக்கச்சி மேற்றளியைச் சார்ந்த மடமொன்று நந்திவர்மன் ஆட்சிக் காலத்தில் இருந்தது என்று கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது. காவிரிப் பாக்கத்து வரதராசப் பெருமாள் கோவில் கல்வெட்டில் 'மடத்துச் சத்த பெருமக்கள்' என்ற தொடர் காணப்படுகிறது. இத் தொடரால், மடத்தை மேற்பார்த்த அறிஞர் எழுவர் இருந்தனர் என்பது தெரிகின்ற தன்றோ?

இராசசிம்ம பல்லவன் சைவ சித்தாந்தத்தில் வல்லவன் என்று காஞ்சி கயிலாசநாதர் கோயிற் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுதலை நோக்க, பல்லவர் காலத்தில் சைவ சித்தாந்த சாத்திரங்கள் இருந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்பது பெறப்படும். எனவே, அச் சமயக்கல்வி சில மடங்களிலேனும் கற்பிக்கப்பட்டு வந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்பது தவறாகாது.

பல்லவர் காலத்தில் பாண்டியநாட்டை ஆண்ட பாண்டி மன்னர் ஆட்சியில் தோன்றிய வேள்விக்குடிப் பட்டயம், சின்னமனூர்ப் பட்டயம் போன்ற பட்டயங்களில் வரையப்பட்டுள்ள அகவற்பாக்களைக் காண, அவற்றை எழுதப் பாண்டிய மன்னரால் ஆதரிக்கப்பட்ட தமிழ்ப் புலவர்கள் இருந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்பது தெளிவாகும். பல்லவர் ஆட்சியிலும் பாண்டியர் ஆட்சியிலும் கிராம சபைகள் இருந்து பல துறைகளிலும் பணியாற்றியதையும், அரசாங்க அலுவலர் பலரிருந்து அரசுகாரியங்களை முறைபடக் கவனித்து வந்ததையும் நோக்க, அவர் அனைவரும் கல்விகற்ற பெருமக்கள் என்று கோடல் தவறாகாது.

சோழர் காலம் :

சோழர் காலத்தில் திண்ணைப் பள்ளிகள் மிக இருந்தன. அவற்றில், இருந்த ஆசிரியர் 'வாத்தி' எனப்பட்டார்.²¹ கோவில்களில் திருப்பதிகங்கள் பாடுதலும், இராமாயணம், பாரதம், புராணங்கள் இவற்றை விளங்க உரைத்தலும் இருந்தமையால், பொது மக்கட்கு இவற்றின் வாயிலாகக் கல்வி பரப்பப்பட்டு வந்ததென்று கொள்ளலாம். பல்லவர் காலத்தில் இருந்தவாறே சோழர் காலத்திலும் வேதபாடசாலைகள் இருந்தன; சமணப் பள்ளிகளில் கல்வி கற்பிக்கப்பட்டது. பெளத்த விகாரங்களும் கல்வித் தொண்டை மேற்கொண்டன. சோழப் பெருவேந்தர் வடமொழிக் கல்வியை நன்கு வளர்த்தவர். வியாகரணம் போன்ற தனித்துறைக் கல்விக்குப் பொருளுதவி

21. 323 of 1917 and 17 of 1920.

செய்யப்பட்டது.²² வடமொழியில் உயர்கல்வி பெறுதற்காக எண்ணூயிரம், திரிபுவணை, திருமுக்கூடல் முதலிய இடங்களில் பெரிய வடமொழிக் கல்லூரிகள் இருந்தன. எண்ணூயிரம் என்ற இடத்திலிருந்த வடமொழிக் கல்லூரியில் 270 முதல்நிலை மாணவரும் 70 மேல்நிலை மாணவரும் கற்க வசதி ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது. 14 ஆசிரியர்கள் இருந்தார்கள். முதல்நிலை மாணவருள் நார்பதினமர் இலக்கணம் படித்தனர். எஞ்சியோர் வேதங்களைக் கற்றனர். மேனிலை மாணவர் இலக்கணம், மீமாஞ்சை, வேதாந்தம் முதலிய பாடங்களைக் கற்றனர். புதுச்சேரிக்கு அண்மையில் உள்ள திரிபுவணையில் இருந்த வடமொழிக் கல்லூரியில் 270 மாணவரும் 12 ஆசிரியரும் இருந்தனர். அங்குப் பாரதம், இராமாயணம், மனுசாத்திரம் முதலியன கற்பிக்கப்பட்டன. ஆசிரியரும், மாணவரும் கவலையின்றி வாழ வசதி செய்யப்பட்டிருந்தது. திருமுக்கூடல் வடமொழிக் கல்லூரியில் இருக்கு, யஜுர் ஆகிய இரண்டு வேதங்களும், இலக்கணமும் கற்பிக்கப்பட்டன. மூன்று ஆசிரியர் பணியாற்றினர். ஒவ்வொரு வேதத்தையும் படிக்கப் பத்து மாணவர்க்கு இடமளிக்கப்பட்டது. இலக்கணம் கற்க 20 மாணவர் சேர்க்கப் பெற்றனர்.

விக்கிரம சோழன் ஆட்சியில் திருவாவடுதுறையில் மருத்துவக் கல்லூரி இருந்தது. திருவொற்றியூர்க் கோவிலில் வடமொழி இலக்கணம் கற்பிக்க ஒரு கல்லூரி இருந்தது. அது குறைவின்றி நடைபெற 65 வேலி நிலம் தானமாக விடப்பட்டிருந்தது.²³

மடங்கள் :

சோழர் காலத்தில் சமயச் சார்பான பலவகை மடங்கள் ஏற்பட்டுப் பொதுக் கல்வியையும் சமயக் கல்வியையும் மக்களிடையே நன்கு பரப்பின என்று கூறலாம். காளாமுகச் சைவர் கொடும்பாளூர் முதலிய இடங்களில் மடங்களை அமைத்துக் கொண்டு வாழலாயினர்.²⁴

திருவொற்றியூரில் காபாலிக மடம் இருந்தது. அதன் தலைவர் அனைவரும் 'சதுரானன பண்டிதர்' என்றே பெயர் பெற்றனர். அவர்கள் மடத்து ஆட்சியில் பங்குகொண்டனர்; காபாலிக சைவத்துக்குரிய 'சோம சித்தாந்தம்' என்ற நூலைப் பொதுமக்களுக்கு எடுத்து விளக்கினர்.²⁵

22. 233 of 1911 ; 333 of 1923 ; 18 of 1898 ; 202 of 1912.

23. 333 of 1917, 176 of 1919, 182 of 1915, 159 of 1925, 202 of 1912.

24. 129 of 1907; 352, 357 of 1911 and 192 of 1928.

25. 371 of 1912

கோளகி மடம் என்ற பெயரில் பல மடங்கள் பல ஊர்களில் இருந்தன. திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்டத்தில் அம்பாசமுத்திரத்தை அடுத்த வாலீஸ்வரம் என்னும் இடத்தில் ஒரு மடம் இருந்தது. அங்கு இரண்டு ஆசாரியர்கள் இருந்தனர். அவர்கள் 'திருஞானம்' என்னும் நூலைக் கோவிலிற்படித்து விளக்கினர். திருச்செந்தூர் தாலுகாவிலுள்ள ஆற்றூரில் கோளகி மடம் இருந்தது. அவ்வூர்க் கோவிலில் திருஞானத்தைப் பாடத் தென்னிந்திய மடங்கள் பலவற்றிலிருந்து 11 சீடர்கள் நியமனம் பெற்றிருந்தனர். அப்பல மடங்களின் தலைவர்கள் பல சந்தானங்களைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள். இவ்விரவங்களிலிருந்து கோளகி மடங்கள் பல சந்தானங்களையுடையவை என்பதும், திருவாரூர், மதுரை, திருநெல்வேலி முதலிய இடங்களில் கோளகி மடங்கள் இருந்தன என்பதும் அறியக்கிடக்கின்றன.²⁶ கோளகி மடத்தை முதன் முதலில் டெக்கானில் ஏற்படுத்தியவர் விஸ்வேஸ்வரசம்பு என்பவர். அம் மடத்தில் பொதுக் கல்வியும் சமயக் கல்வியும் கற்பிக்க ஆசிரியர்கள் இருந்து வேதங்கள், இலக்கியம், ஆகமங்கள் இவற்றைக் கற்பித்தனர்; இசை, நடனக் கலைகளை வளர்க்கப் பாடுமகளிரும் மருத்துவர் ஒருவரும் பலவகைப் பணியாளரும் இருந்தனர். ஆடுமகளிரும், வாத்தியக்காரரும் நியமனம் பெற்றனர்.²⁷ இந்த ஏற்பாட்டை நோக்கத் தமிழகத்துக் கோளகி மடங்களிலும் ஏறத்தாழ இந்த ஏற்பாடே நிலவியிருந்தது என்று கொள்ளுதல் பொருத்தமாகும்.

காசியைச் சேர்ந்த கொல்லா மடத்துக் கிளை மடங்கள் தெர்ண்டை நாட்டுத் திருப்பாகுர் முதலிய இடங்களில் இருந்தன. பாண்டிய நாட்டுப் பிரான் மலையில் ஒரு மடம் இருந்தது. மாறவர்மன் சுந்தரபாண்டியன் அந்த மடத்துக்கு நிலங்களை அளித்தான். திருவாணைக்காவிலும் ஒரு மடம் இருந்தது.²⁸

காசியைச் சேர்ந்த பிச்சா மடத்துக் கிளைகள் பந்தணைநல்லூர், பாண்டி நாட்டுத் திருப்புத்தூர், தேவிகாபுரம் (வடஆர்க்காடு மாவட்டம்), திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்டத்து மணப்படைவீடு முதலிய இடங்களில் இருந்தன. அவற்றைச் சேர்ந்த தலைவர்கள் சமயப் பிரசாரம் செய்து வந்தனர்.²⁹

26. 359 of 1916, 364 of 1916, A. R. E. 1929—30, P. 77.

27. A. R. E. 1917, P. 124.

28. 111 of 1930; 209, 211 of 1924 and A. R. E. 1929—30, P. 9.

29. 72 of 1930—31; 164 and 173 of 1935—36; 352 of 1912; 443 of 1909.

ஏறத்தாழக் கி. பி. 13-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் முற்பகுதியில் சில புதிய மடங்கள் தோன்றின. அவற்றுள் சிறந்தது திருச்சத்தி முற்றத்துத் திருஞானசம்பந்தன் திருமடம் என்பது. அம்மடத்தைச் சேர்ந்த ஆண்டார் பரிதிப்பெருமாள் என்பவரது சந்தானத்தில் வந்த ஒருவர் திருச்சத்தி முற்றத்து முதலியார். அவரது சந்தானத்தைச் சேர்ந்த கிளைமடங்கள் ஆணக்கா, உசாத்தானம், வீழிமிழலை, வலிவலம் முதலிய இடங்களில் தோன்றின.³⁰

திருவிடை மருதூரில் இருந்த மாளிகை மடத்து முதலியார் சந்தானத்தைச் சேர்ந்த தத்தனுடையார் ஈசான தேவர் என்பவர் நல்லூரில் இருந்தார். அவருடைய மாணவி அவருக்கு ஒரு மடம் கட்டித்தந்தான்; நிலங்களையும் உதவினார்.³¹ பெரும்பற்றப்புவியூர்நம்பி, தில்லையிலிருந்த மாளிகைமடத்துத் தலைவரான வெண்காடர்க்கு மாணவரான விநாயகன் என்பவர் தமக்கு ஞானாசிரியர் என்று கூறுகிறார். இதனால் நம்பியின் காலத்தில் தில்லையில் மாளிகை மடம் ஒன்று இருந்தது என்பது தெரிகிறது.³² இம் மாளிகை மடத்துத் தலைவர் ஒருவர் பிற்கால நூல்களாகிய வேதாரணிய புராணப் பாயிரத்திலும், திருக்கானப் பேர்ப் புராணப் பாயிரத்திலும் குறிக்கப் பெற்றுள்ளனர்.³³ இத்துதிகளால், மாளிகை மடத்து ஆசிரியர்கள் சிவஞான நூல்களில் வல்லவர்கள் என்பதும், அவர்களிடம் பெரும்பற்றப் புவியூர்நம்பி போன்றார் பலர் படித்துப் புலமையும் ஞானமும் பெற்றனர் என்பதும் தெளியலாம். இத்தகைய மாளிகைமடமே திருவிடைமருதூரில் இருந்தது என்று கோடலில் தவறில்லை.

சன்னைக்குடி முதலியார் சந்தானத்தைச் சேர்ந்த மடம் ஒன்று திருவாணக்காவலில் இருந்தது. முதல் மாறவர்மன் குலசேகரப் பாண்டியன் காலத்தில் (கி. பி. 1230) திருவாரூரில் ஆசாரம் அழகியான் திருமடம் என்று ஒன்று இருந்தது. அதன் கிளை பாண்டிநாட்டுத் திருப்புத்தூரில் திருஞான சம்பந்தன் திருமடம் என்ற பெயருடன் விளங்கியது. மூன்றாம் இராசேந்திரன் காலத்தில் கோவந்தப்புத்தூரில் திருத்தொண்டத் தொகையான்

30. 586 of 1908; 218 of 1908; 392 of 1908; 108 and 109 of 1911.

31. 49 of 1911; A. R. E. 1909, P. 75.

32. நம்பி திருவிளையாடல், பாயிரம்—செய்யுள் 23.

33. ஷே முகவுரை. பக். 20,

திருமடம் என ஒன்று திகழ்ந்தது. அதன் கிளை மடம் தில்லையில் இலங்கியது. பாண்டிநாட்டுத் திருப்புத்தூரில் சுமார் கி. பி. 1280-இல் இதே பெயர் கொண்ட மடம் ஒன்று இருந்தது.³⁴

ஆண்டார்—மருதப்பெருமாள் சந்தானத்தைச் சேர்ந்த நமசிவாயம் என்பவர் ஏறத்தாழக் கி. பி. 1230-இல் திருச்செங்காட்டங்குடியில் சிறுத் தொண்டன் திருமடத்தைக்கட்டினார். அதற்கு நிலம் தானம் செய்யப் பட்டது.³⁵

அரசகுருமார்:

சோழர் வழிவழிச் சைவராதலால், சிறந்த பக்திமான்களாக விளங்கினர். அவர்கள் தீட்சைபெற்ற சிவனடியாராக இருந்திருக்கலாம் என்று ஆராய்ச்சியாளர் கருதுகின்றனர். சிவபாத சேகரனான முதலாம் இராசராசனுக்கு ஈசானசிவபண்டிதர் அரசகுருவாக இருந்தார். அவர் சித்தாந்தசாரம் என்னும் நூலை எழுதியவர். முதலாம் இராசேந்திரனுக்குச் சர்வசிவபண்டிதர் அரச குருவாக விளங்கினார். முதற்குலோத்துங்கன் தன் குருதேவர் சொன்னபடி நூற்றெட்டுச் சதுர்வேதிபட்டர்களுக்கு ஒரு சிற்றூரைப் பிரமதேயமாக விட்டான். ஈசுவரசிவன் என்பவர் மூன்றாம் குலோத்துங்கனுடைய அரசகுரு. அவர் சிவதரிசனம் என்னும் நூலிலும் பிற வித்தைகளிலும் வல்லவர். அவர் சித்தாந்த ரத்னாகரம் என்னும் சைவ சமய நூலைச் செய்தார். திருலோசன சிவாசாரியார் என்பவர் சித்தாந்த சாராவளி என்பதன் ஆசிரியர்.³⁶

தாராகரத்து இராசராசேசுவரத்தில் நூற்றெட்டுச் சிவாசாரியருடைய திருஉருவங்கள் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. ஒவ்வொன்றன் கீழும் 'தத்புருஷ சிவா', 'அகோர சிவா', 'ஈசான சிவா', 'தர்மசிவா' என அவரவர் பெயர்கள் குறிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இத்தகைய சிவாசாரியர்களும் முற் சொல்லப்பட்ட அரச குருமாரும் சமய நூல்கள் சிலவற்றையேனும் எழுதி வெளியிட்டிருக்கலாம்; தமிழ் மக்களுக்குச் சமயப் பிரசாரம் செய்திருக்கலாம் என்று கோடலில் தவறில்லை.

34. 129 of 1908; 192 of 1929; 104 of 1908.

35. 76 of 1922.

36. S. I. I. Vol. 2, Nos. 20 & 90; 413 of 1902; 301 of 1907; 190 of 1907; 40 of 1906; A. R. E. 1908, P. 68.

குகைகள் :

குகைகள் என்பன ஒருவகை மடங்கள். இவற்றின் குருமார் திருமுறை களைப் பாதுகாத்தனர் ; பிறருக்குக் கற்பித்தனர் ; யாத்திரிகரை உண்பித்தனர். இத்தகைய குகைகள் திருத்துறைப்பூண்டி, குறுக்கை, சீகாழி, திருவிடைவாய், திருப்புகலூர், திருமாகாளம், திருமணஞ்சேரி, தில்லை, இராமநாதபுர மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள சதுர்வேதிமங்கலம் முதலிய இடங்களில் இருந்தன என்பது கல்வெட்டுக்களால் தெரிகின்றன.³⁷ இக் குகைகள் பெரும்பாலும் சிவன் கோவில்களுள் கட்டப்பட்டன ; பாதுகாப்பு மிகுந்தனவாக இருந்தன. திருமுறைகளில் வல்ல சைவத்துறவிகளைத் தலைவர்களாகப் பெற்றிருந்தன. இத்தலைவர்களிடம் பயிற்சி பெற்ற சீடர்கள், பல்வேறு குகைகளில் இருந்து திருமுறைத் தொண்டு செய்து வந்தனர் என்பது கல்வெட்டுக்களால் அறியப் படுகின்றது.

சரஸ்வதி பண்டாரம் :

கோவில்களிலும், மடங்களிலும், நூல் நிலையங்கள் இருந்தன என்பது சில கல்வெட்டுக்களால் தெரிகின்றன.³⁸ இத்தகைய நூல் நிலையங்கள் இருந் திராவிட்டால், இன்று நாம் காணும் பழந்தமிழ் நூல்கள் பாதுகாக்கப் பட்டிரா அன்றோ? தஞ்சையை ஆண்ட நாயக்கமன்னர்கள் பேணிவளர்த்த நூல் நிலையமே அவர்க்குப் பின்வந்த மகாராட்டிரரால் வளர்க்கப்பட்டது. அதுவே இன்று தஞ்சை அரண்மனையிலுள்ள சரஸ்வதிமகாலில் இருக்கும் பெரிய நூல் நிலையமாகும்.³⁹

பிற்காலம் :

மதுரையை ஆண்ட நாயக்க மன்னர் ஆட்சியில் மடங்கள் செழிப்புற்றி ருந்தன. அக்கிரகாரங்கள் பல ஏற்பட்டமையால் வடமொழிக் கல்வி நன்கு வளர்ச்சியுற்றது. வெள்ளையர் ஆட்சி ஏற்பட்ட மிகப் பிற்பட்ட காலத்திலும் அரசர்க்குப் பதிலாகப் பச்சையப்ப முதலியார் போன்ற வள்ளல்கள் கல்வி பரவத் தொண்டு செய்தனர். மதுரை மீனாட்சியம்மன் கோவிலிலுள்ள

37. 471 of 1912, 233 of 1917, 10 of 1918, 87 of 1927, 24 of 1917, 28 of 1914, 48 of 1935 and 311 of 1928.

38. 218 of 1901 etc.

39. The Nayaks of Tanjore

கல்வெட்டு இவ்வுண்மையை உணர்த்துகின்றது. இந்து மாணவர்க்குச் சட்டம் கற்பிக்கவும், ஆங்கிலம் கற்பிக்கவும் இரண்டு ஆசிரியர்கள் பச்சையப்பர் அறத்தைக்கொண்டு நியமிக்கப் பட்டனர்.⁴⁰

கல்வெட்டுக்களும், தமிழ்க் கல்வியும் :

சேர, சோழ பாண்டிய வேந்தரும், நாயக்க மன்னரும், பிறரும் வட மொழிக் கல்விக்கு ஆதரவு தந்ததுபோலத் தமிழ்க் கல்விக்குத் துணைபுரிந் தனர் என்று கூறத்தக்கநிலையில் தமிழ்க் கல்லூரிகள் இருந்தனவாகக் கூறு தற்குக் கல்வெட்டுச் சான்றுகள் இல்லை. ஆயினும், தமிழகத்தில் நாட்டு மருத்துவமோ, நாட்டுக் கல்வியோ வளராமலில்லை. எண்ணிறந்த தமிழ்ப் புலவர் பெயர்கள் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவர்கள் இயற்றிய நூல்களும் பாக்களும் பலவாகும்.

ஏறத்தாழக் கி. பி. 6 அல்லது 7-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் வாழ்ந்த பெரும்பிடுகு முத்தரையன் என்ற சிற்றரசனைப் புலவர் நால்வர் பாராட்டிப் பாடிய பாடல்கள் திருச்சிராப்பள்ளியை அடுத்த செந்தலை என்னும் ஊரி லுள்ள சிவன் கோவிலில் கல்வெட்டுக்களாகக் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவற்றைப் 'பாய்ச்சில் வேள்நம்பன்,' 'ஆசாரியர் அநிருந்தர்,' 'கோட்டாற்று இளம் பெருமானார்', 'குவாவங்காஞ்சன்' என்னும் நால்வரும் பாடியுள்ளனர்.

வேள்விக்குடிச் செப்பேடுகளில் காணப்படும் ஆசிரியப்பாவினைப் பாடியவர் கி. பி. 8-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் வாழ்ந்த—பாண்டிய நாட்டுப் புலவரான—ஏனாதி சாத்தன் சாத்தன் என்பவர். கி. பி. 9-ஆம் நூற் றாண்டின் இறுதியில் பல்லவ அரசனாக இருந்த அபராஜிதவர்மன் திருத் தணிகை வீரட்டானேசுவரர் கோவிலில் பாடிய வெண்பா இன்னும் கல்வெட்டாகக் காட்சியளிக்கின்றது.

ஏறத்தாழக் கி. பி. 10-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் வெட்டப்பட்டதாகக் கருதப்படும் கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று மதுரையை அடுத்துள்ள கீழ்மாதூர்ச் சிவன் கோவிலில் உள்ளது. அக்கோவிலைக் கட்டியவர் பல்லை விற்பன்னரும் பெரும் புலவருமாகிய தென்னவன் தமிழவேள் என்று அக்கல்வெட்டுக் கூறு கின்றது. புதுக்கோட்டைச்சீமையில் சித்தன்னவாசல் மலைக்குகையில் பாடல் வடிவில் அமைந்த கல்வெட்டு மதுரையாசிரியன் இளங்கௌதமனார் என்பவரால் பாடப்பட்டது. இவர் காலம் கி. பி. 9-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு. முதற்குலோத்துங்கன் காலத்தில் (கி. பி. 1070—1120) தமிழ்நாட்டுப் பெரும்

40. 289 of 1941—42.

புலவராக விளங்கியவருள் மருதத்தாருடையான் குன்றம் திருச்சிற்றம்பல முடையான், கவி குமுத சந்திரன் திரு நாராயண பட்டன், வீரைப்பரசமய கோளரி மாமுனி, நெற்குன்றங்கிழார் களப்பாள ராசர் என்பவர் குறிப்பிடத் தக்கவர். திருநாராயண பட்டர் (முதல்) 'குலோத்துங்க சோழன்' சரிதை பாடிய பெரும் புலவர். பரசமய கோளரி மாமுனி என்பவர் கன்னிவன புராணம், பூம்புலியூர் நாடகம் என்பவற்றைப் பாடியவர். இவருக்கு நில தானம் செய்யப்பட்டது.⁴¹ குன்றம் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பாடிய கவிக்குப் பரிசிலாகப்பெற்ற ஊர் குடிக்காடு இரும்பூதி என்பது.⁴² களப்பாள ராசர், திருப்புகலூர் அந்தாதி பாடியவர்.⁴³ மூன்றாம் குலோத்துங்கன் அவைப்புலவருள் ஒருவர் வீரரந்தப் பல்லவரையர் என்பவர். சொக்கசீயர் என்ற புலவர் கோப்பெருஞ்சிங்கனைப் புகழ்ந்து பாடிய பாடல்கள் பல கோவில்களில் கல்வெட்டுக்களாகக் காணப்படுகின்றன.⁴⁴ மாறவர்மன் சுந்தரபாண்டியனுடைய (கி. பி. 1216—38) அவைப்புலவராக இருந்தவர் காராண விழுப்பரையர் என்பவர்.⁴⁵ சிதம்பரம் தெற்குக்கோபுரத்து எதிரி லுள்ள நந்திமண்டபத்தில், வரையப்பட்ட கல்வெட்டு ஆறு பாடல்களைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. அவற்றுள் ஐந்தைப்பாடிய புலவர் புவனேகவீரத் தொண்டமானுள் தாயினல்ல பெருமாள் முனையதரையன் என்பவர். இவர் காலம் மாறவர்மன் விக்கிரமபாண்டியன் காலமாகும் (கி. பி. 13-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு). தென்காசிப் பாண்டியருள் ஒருவனுள் அரிகேசரி பராக்கிரம பாண்டியன் (கி. பி. 1422—62) தென்காசியில் பெரிய சிவன்கோவிலைக் கட்டி முடித்தான். அங்கு அவன் பாடியனவாகக் காணப்படும் பாடல்கள் சில காணப்படுகின்றன. அவை பக்தியும், உருக்கமும் வாய்ந்தவை. கி. பி. 15-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் முற்பகுதியில் வேணாட்டு அரசனாக இருந்த சேரமான் பெருமாள் வஞ்சி மார்த்தாண்டன் என்பவன் பாடிய பாடல்கள் மாயூரத்தை அடுத்த புவலூர் சிவன் கோவில் கோபுரவாயிலில் கல்வெட்டாகக் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன.⁴⁶

41. 114 of 1925 ; 626 of 1926 ; 198 of 1919, 128, 129 of 1902.

42. Pudukottah Inscription No. 129.

43. 96 of 1927-28.

44. S. I. I. Vol. 8, p.p. 39-41.

45. M. E. R. 1927-8, p. 47.

46. 329 of 1913 ; Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. 1 P. P. 95-101 செந்தமிழ் Vol. 4, P. 251.

கி. பி. 16-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் கிருஷ்ணதேவராயர் காலத்தில் ஆற்று வான் பாடி வித்வான்களின் திருவெங்கலநாதர் மகன் வடமலையார்க்கு நிலம் தானமாகக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டது என்று தேவிகாபுரத்துக் (வடஆற்காடு மாவட்டம்) கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று கூறுகிறது. இக்கல்வெட்டுப்பகுதியால் ஆற்று வான் பாடி வித்வான்கள் பலர் என்பதும், அவருள் திருவெங்கலநாதர் மகன் வடமலையார் ஒருவர் என்பதும் தெளிவாகின்றன அல்லவா? கி. பி. 16-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் தென்காசிப்பகுதியை ஆண்ட அதிவீரராம பாண்டியன், திருவண்ணாமலைப் புலவன் சிதம்பரநாதன் என்பானுக்கு நிலமளித்ததாக ஒரு கல்வெட்டுக் கூறும். அதிவீரராம பாண்டியனுக்குப் பின் வந்த வரதுங்கராம பாண்டியனுக்கு அவைப் புலவராக விளங்கியவர் காசிக் கலியன் கவிராயர் என்பவர். இவர் அப்பாண்டியனைப் புகழ்ந்து பாடிய பாடல்கள் தென்காசி விஸ்வநாதர் கோவில் கோபுரத்தில் வெட்டப்பட்டுள்ளன. திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்டம் நாங்குனேரி தாலுகாவில் இராமநாதபுரம் என்ற மறுபெயர் கொண்ட பூசன்குடியில் உள்ள பிள்ளையார் கோவில் கல்வெட்டு ஒன்றில் சில பாடல்கள் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவற்றைப் பாடிய புலவர் முத்துக் குமாரசுவாமி என்பவர். அவர்காலம் கி. பி. 18-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் இறுதியாகும்.⁴⁷ குடுமியான் மலைக் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் ஆதிநாதர் என்ற புலவர் பாடியதாக ஒரு வெண்பா காணப்படுகின்றது. திருக்கச்சூர் ஆலக் கோவிலில் உள்ள கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று பொய்யாமொழி மங்கலம் என்ற ஊர் பெருநம்பி என்ற முத்தமிழ் ஆசிரியர்க்கு உரியது என்று கூறுகின்றது. இதனால் இப் பெருநம்பி என்ற புலவர் தம் புலமைத் திறத்தால் பொய்யா மொழி என்ற ஊரைத் தானமாகப் பெற்றவர் என்பது தெரியலாம். தென்னாற்காடு மாவட்டத்தில் கடலூர்ச் சிவன்கோவில் கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று, புலவன் அகலங்கன் என்பவன் ஆயிரம்குழி நிலம் அக்கோவிலுக்குத் தானமாக விட்ட செய்தியைக் கூறுகின்றது. சோழ நாட்டுத் திருக்கடலூர்ச் சிவன் கோவில் கோபுரத்தில் உள்ள பாடல் காலகாலம் என்ற புலவரால் பாடப்பட்டது என்று அக்கோயிற் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது. புதுக்கோட்டைச் சீமை, திருமெய்யம் தாலுக்கா காரையூர் மாரியம்மன் கோவில் கல்வெட்டு ஒன்றில், தமிழ்ப் புலவர் பங்களராயர் என்பவர் பெயர் காணப்படுகிறது. வடஆற்காடு மாவட்டம் திருவல்லம் சிவன் கோவில் கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று திரு வல்லையந்தாதி பாடிய குறட்டி வரதையன் என்ற புலவருக்கு நிலதானம் செய்ததைக் குறிக்கின்றது.⁴⁸

இங்ஙனம் பெயர் தெரிந்த புலவர் பலர், கல்வெட்டுக்களில் காணப்படுகின்றனர். பெயர் தெரியாப் புலவர் பலருடைய பாடல்கள் கல்வெட்டுக் களிலும் செப்புப் பட்டயங்களிலும் காணப்படுகின்றன.

47. 365 of 1912, T. A. S. Vol. 1. Page 279, 80, T. A. S. Vol. 1. p. 84 ; 350, 359 of 1929-30.

48. 361 of 1929-30 ; 377 of 1906 ; 463 of 1921, 50 of 1906.

வழக்கு வீழ்ந்த நூல்களும் புலவர்களும்

வோம்பையர்கோன் நாராயணன் கி.பி. 9 அல்லது 10-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் வாழ்ந்தவர். இவர் 104 பாடல்களை அந்தாதியாகப் பாடியுள்ளார். அவை திருச்சிராப்பள்ளிக் குன்றின்மேல் பொறிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.⁴⁹

முதல் இராசராச சோழன் மேல் ஸ்ரீ இராசராசவிசயம் என்ற நூல் இயற்றப்பட்டது. இப் பேரரசனால் கட்டப்பட்ட இராசராசேசுவரம் கோவில்மீது நாடகம் ஒன்று அவன் காலத்தில் இயற்றப்பட்டது. அது இராசராசேசுவர நாடகம் எனப்பட்டது. முதலாம் இராசேந்திரன் காலத்தில் அவன் மகனான வீரராசேந்திரன் மீது வீர அணுக்க விஜயம் என்ற நூலைப் பூங்கோவிலநம்பி என்றவர் பாடினார்; பாடி, நிலங்கள் தானமாகப் பெற்றார். முதற் குலோத்துங்கனைப்பற்றிக் குலோத்துங்க சோழ சரிதை என்ற கவிதை திரு நாராயண பட்டர் என்றவரால் பாடப்பட்டது. முதற் குலோத்துங்கன் காலத்தில் அருணாலை விசாகர் என்ற புலவர் பாரதத்தைத் தமிழில் பாடினார் என்று திருவாலங்காட்டுக் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது. முதலாம் மாறவர்மன் சுந்தரபாண்டியன் (கி. பி. 1216—1235) காலத்தில் புதுக்கோட்டைச் சிமைத் திருவரண்குளத்துக் கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று, தேவன் திருவரண் குளமுடையான் என்ற புலவர் பாடிய பேர்வஞ்சி என்ற நூலை ஊரார் கேட்டு மகிழ்ந்து அவர்க்கு 'மறச் சக்கரவர்த்திப் பிள்ளை' என்ற பட்டமும், ஒரு சிற்றூரில் பாடியும் வழங்கிச் சிறப்பித்தனர் என்று கூறுகின்றது⁵⁰. மூன்றாம் இராச ராசசோழன் காலத்தில் காஞ்சி வரதராசப்பெருமாள் கோவிலில் வெட்டப் பட்ட கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று, திரு ஆழி பரப்பினான் கூத்தன் என்ற புலவர் சிந்துப் பிரபந்தம் ஒன்று பாடி, வள்ளுவப்பாக்கம் என்ற ஊரை முற்றுட் டாகப் பெற்றார் என்று குறிக்கின்றது, முதலாம் மாறவர்மன் சுந்தர பாண்டியன் ஆட்சிக்குட்பட்ட காங்கேயன் என்ற தலைவன் தன்மீது பிள்ளைக்கனி பிரபந்தம் பாடிய சிறுபெருச்சியூர்க் கொடிக்கொண்டான் பெரியான்—ஆதிச்சதேவன் என்ற புலவருக்குச் சாத்தனேரி என்ற ஊரில் நிலங்கள் அளித்ததாகப் பெருச்சியூர்ச் சிவன் கோவில் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறு கின்றது. கி. பி. 13-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் வாழ்ந்த பாண்டியன் ஒருவனுக்குப் பிரதிநிதியாக இருந்த கரியமாணிக்க ஆழ்வான் என்ற தலைவன்மீது பாடப் பட்டது கப்பற் கோவை. கி. பி. 16-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் அச்சுததேவ மகாராயரின் பிரதிநிதியாக வெங்கநாயக்கர் தென்னாட்டை ஆண்டுவந்தார்.

49. S. I. I. Vol. 4. No. 167.

50. M. E. R. 1930—31. p. 44; M. E. R. 1905, p. 98; 548 of 1904; 198 of 1919 482 of 1905; புதுக்கோட்டைக் கல்வெட்டுத் தொகுதி 278.

அந் நாயக்கரின் கீழ்த் தலைமை அதிகாரியாக இருந்த தீத்தாரியப்பப் பிள்ளை என்பவர், வீரமலை என்னும் நூலைப் பாடிய பாண்டிக் கவிராசரைச் சிறப்பித்தனர் என்று செட்டிநாட்டு ராங்கியம் என்ற ஊரில் உள்ள கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது. அதே நூற்றாண்டில் உத்தண்ட வேலாயுதக்கவி என்பவர், திருவதிகைச் சிவன்மீது கலம்பகம் ஒன்று பாடி, மனையும் நிலங்களும் பெற்றனர் என்று திருவதிகைக் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது.⁵¹

தமிழ்நூற் செய்திகளும் கல்வெட்டுக்களும் :

யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை, யாப்பருங்கலம் என்ற செய்யுள் இலக்கண நூல்கள் இரண்டையும் செய்தவர் அமிதசாகரர் என்ற சைன முனிவர் என்பதும், இவர் குணசாகரர் என்ற அறிஞரது மாணவர் என்பதும் யாப் பருங்கலப்பாயிரத்தால் அறியப்படும் செய்திகளாகும். இச் செய்திகள் உண்மை என்பதை நீடுச்சிவன் கோயிற் கல்வெட்டு உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றது. “காரிகைக் குளத்தூர் மன்னவன் அமிதசாகர முனிவரைக்கொண்டு காரிகை செய்வித்தவனுடைய வழித் தோன்றல்”. பாண்டிநாட்டுக் கழுகுமலைக் கல் வெட்டுக்கள் இரண்டால், குணசாகரர் என்ற சமண ஆசிரியர் தம் சமயக் கொள்கைகளைப் பரவச் செய்யச் சிலரை நியமித்தனர் என்ற செய்தி அறியப் படுகின்றது.⁵²

விக்கிரமசோழன், இரண்டாம் குலோத்துங்கன், இரண்டாம் இராச இராசன் என்ற மூவர்க்கும் ஆசிரியராக இருந்த ஓட்டக்கூத்தரைப்பற்றி அறியக் கீழ்வரும் கல்வெட்டுச்சான்றாதல் காண்க :—

“[ஸ்வஸ்தி] ஸ்ரீ ஸரஸ்வதிதேவியை எழுந்தருளுவித்தார். இவ்வூர் [தஞ்சை] 20-ம் காணி உடைய மலரி உடையார். இந்தக் கவிச்சக்கரவர்த்திகள் பேரனார் கவிப்பெருமாளான ஓவாத கூத்தர்”⁵³

இக் கல்வெட்டால், கூத்தனூரில் கலைமகளுக்குக் கோயில் எடுத்தவர் மலரி உடையாரான கவிச்சக்கரவர்த்தியின் பேரனார் ஓவாதகூத்தர் என்பது தெளிவாகும். மலரி உடைய கவிச்சக்கரவர்த்தி என்பது ஓட்டக்கூத்தரையே குறிக்கும் என்பது “மலரி வருங்கூத்தன் தன் வாக்கு” என்ற தண்டியலங்கார மேற்கொள் செய்யுளால் தெளிவாகும். ‘மலரி’ என்பது சோனுட்டுத் திரு

51. 522 of 1919; 75 of 1924 and 26 of 1926; புதுக்கோட்டைக் கல்வெட்டு 966; 376 of 1921.

52. 534 of 1921; S. I. I. VOL. 5 p 134; Ibid Nos. 310, 334.

53. 109 of 1927-28.

எறும்பியூரின் பழம்பெயர் என்பது கல்வெட்டால் தெரிகின்றது. பாண்டிய நாட்டுத் திருவாடானையைடுத்து மலரி என்ற ஊர் உண்டு. இவற்றுள் ஒன்றே கூத்தரது ஊர் என்று அறிஞர் சிலர்கருதுவர். நாமகள் கோயிலுள்ள இன்றைய பூந்தோட்டம் என்னும் ஊரே பண்டைக்காலத்தில் 'மலரி' எனப்பெயர் பெற்றிருந்தது என்று கருதுதல் தவறாகாது. இஃது அறிஞர் ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு உரியது.

ஞானமிர்தம் என்ற சைவசமயநூல் வாசேமுனிவர் இயற்றியது இந் நூலைக்கொண்டு, இவரது காலமும் வரலாறும் அறியப்படவில்லை. திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்டம் திருவாலீசுவரம் கோயிலிலுள்ள கல்வெட்டுக்களில், "கோளகி மடத்து ஞானமிர்த ஆச்சாரிய சந்தானத்தவரான அகோர தேவர் அச்சந்தானத்தைச் சார்ந்த புகழிப்பெருமாள்" ⁵⁴ என்ற தொடர்கள் காணப்படுகின்றன. இவற்றால், ஞானமிர்த ஆசிரியர் கோளகி மடத்தைச்சேர்ந்தவர் என்று தெரிகிறது. இச்சாசனங்கள் இரண்டும் கி. பி. 1254-ல் பொறிக்கப்பட்டவை யாதலால், இக்காலத்துக்கு முற்பட்டவர் ஞானமிர்த ஆசிரியர் என்பதும் வெளியாகின்றது அல்லவா!

சேனாவரையர் தமது தொல்காப்பிய உரையில் (தொல்காப்பியம், சொல்லதிகாரம், பெயரியல் சூத். 10) " புறத்துப்போய் விளையாடும் பேதைப் பருவத்துப் பெண்மகளை மாறேக்கத்தார் இக்காலத்தும் பெண்மகன் என்று வழங்குப" என்று பயிலுமிடம் குறிப்பிட்டுக் கூறியுள்ளார். மாறேக்கம் என்பது கொற்கைகுழந்த நாட்டுக்குப் பெயர். மாறேக்கத்தார் இக் காலத்தும் வழங்குப" என்று சேனாவரையர் கூறியுள்ளமையால், அவர் அந் நாட்டு நிலையை நேரில் அறிந்தவர் என்பதுபுலப்படும். கொற்கைப் பக்கத்துத் தாமிரபர்ணியின் அக்கரையில் உள்ள ஆற்றார்ச் சிவன் கோயில் கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று, ஆற்றார்ச் சேனாவரையன் என்பார், ஆசிரியர் மாணாக்கர் முறையில் தம் முன்னோரிடமிருந்து தமக்குக் கிடைத்த நிலம் முதலியவற்றை ஆற்றார்ச் சிவனுக்கு அளித்ததாகக் கூறுகிறது. ⁵⁵ இக் கல்வெட்டின் காலம் கி. பி. 1276. இது இரண்டாம் மாறவர்மன் குலசேகரப் பாண்டியன் காலத்தது. இக் கல்வெட்டுச் செய்தியையும் சேனாவரையர் உரை விளக்கத்தையும் ஊன்றி நோக்க, தொல்காப்பிய உரையாசிரியராகிய சேனாவரையரே கல்வெட்டில் குறிக்கப் பெற்றவர் என்று கொள்ளுதல் பொருந்துவதாகும். எனவே, சேனாவரையர் காலம் கி. பி. 13-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு என்று கொள்ளுதல் தகும்.

54. 359 of 1916; 361 of 1917.

55. 465 of 1929—30.

இங்ஙனமே பரிமேலழகர், காளமேகப் புலவர், அரிதாசர், காலிங்கராயர், உண்ணாமலை எல்லப்ப நயினார், சைவ எல்லப்ப நாவலர், குகை நமச்சிவாயர் ⁵⁶ முதலிய புலவர் பெருமக்களின் காலங்களைக் கணித்தறியக் கல்வெட்டுக்கள் பெருந்துணை புரிகின்றன.

இதுகாறும் கூறப்பெற்ற கல்வெட்டுச் செய்திகளால், பல்லவர்கால முதல் பிற்பட்ட காலம் வரை, தமிழகத்தில் எண்ணிறந்த புலவர்பெருமக்கள் இருந்து, தமிழ்ப்பணி செய்து வந்தனர் என்பதும், தமிழ்க் கல்லூரி என்பதை உணர்த்த கல்வெட்டுச் சான்று இல்லாவிடினும், தமிழ்க் கல்விக் கூடங்கள் மிகப் பலவாக இருந்திருந்தல் வேண்டும் என்று ஊகிக்கக் கல்வெட்டுக்களின் காணப்படும் புலவர் பெயர்களே தக்க சான்று என்பதும் நன்கு அறியப்படும்.

சிற்பக்கலை :

காஞ்சி வைகுந்தப் பெருமாள் கோயிலின் உட்புறச் சுவர்களில் பல்லவ அரசர் உருவங்களும் அவர்தம் செயல்களும் சிற்பங்களாகப் பொறிக்கப் பட்டுள்ளன. அவற்றின் அடியில் கல்வெட்டுக்களும் இருக்கின்றன. அக் கல்வெட்டுக்களைக் கொண்டே நாம் பல்லவர் வரலாற்றை நன்கு அறிகிறோம். பல்லவர் காலத்தில் இருந்த சிற்பக்கலை வளர்ச்சியைவிடச் சோழர்காலச் சிற்பக்கலை மிக்க வளர்ச்சியுற்றது என்பது தஞ்சைப் பெரிய கோவில், கங்கைகொண்ட சோழேச்சுவரம், தாராசுரத்திலுள்ள ஐராவதேசுவரர் கோயில், திரிபுவணீச் சிவன் கோவில் இவற்றிலுள்ள அரிய சிற்பங்களைக் கொண்டு நன்குணரலாம். இவ்வளர்ச்சி விசய நகர வேந்தர் காலத்தில் மேலும் நன்கு வளர்ச்சியுற்றது என்பதைத் திருவண்ணாமலை, மதுரை இராமேசுவரம் முதலிய இடங்களிலுள்ள சிவன் கோயில் சிற்பங்களைக் கொண்டு நன்கறியலாம். கங்கைகொண்ட சோழேச்சுரத்திலுள்ள சண்டீசப் பதமுணர்த்தும் சிற்பம் இன்றும் கண்டு மகிழ்த்தக்க பேரழகோடு விளங்குகின்றது. கோவையைடுத்த பேரூர்ச் சிற்பங்கள் மிக்க வேலைப்பாடுள்ளவை. சில கோவில்களில் கருவறையின் புறச்சுவர்களில் புரைகள் அமைக்கப்பெற்று அவற்றில் நாயன்மார் உருவச்சிற்பங்கள் வைக்கப்பெற்றன. புரைக்குக்கீழே

56. 41 of 1833; S. I. I. Vol. 4. p 145; S. I. I. Vol. 4. No. 199; 550 of 1919—B; 419 of 1928—29, p. 86; 117, 118 of 1891—2. p. 68; S. I. I. Vol. 1. No. 58.

அம்மூர்த்தத்தின் பெயர் பொறிக்கப்பட்டது. தில்லையை அடுத்த கீழைக் கடம்பூரில் இத்தகைய கல்வெழுத்துக்களைக் காணலாம். ஆனை உரித்த தேவர், விங்கபுராணத்தேவர், ஆனையாண்ட தேவர் (கணபதி), உலகாண்ட மூர்த்தி முருகாண்டார் (முருக நாயனார்), திருக்குறிப்புத் தொண்டர், தண்டிப் பெருமாள் என்பன. அவற்றுள் சிலவாகும். இவ்வாறே தாராசுரத்து ஐராவதேச்சுரர் கருவறையின் புறச்சுவர்களில் நாயன்மார் வரலாற்று நிகழ்ச்சிகள் சிற்பங்களாகக் காண்கின்றன. ஒவ்வொன்றன்மீதும் கல்வெட்டுக் காணப்படுகின்றது.

சிற்பக்கலையின் மற்றொரு பகுதி, செம்பு, பித்தளை முதலிய உலோகங்களைக் கொண்டு உருவங்களை அமைத்தல். இத்துறையிலும் தமிழ் மக்கள் சிறந்திருந்தனர் என்பது சோழர்காலக் கல்வெட்டுக்களைக்கொண்டும், பிற்காலக் கல்வெட்டுக்களைக்கொண்டும் நன்கறியலாம். தஞ்சைப் பெரிய கோயிற் கல்வெட்டுக்கள்⁵⁷ இவற்றை நன்குணர்த்தும். நாயன்மார் படிமங்களும் பல கோயில்களில் அமைத்து வழிபடப்பட்டன. அவற்றின் அடியில் “தத்தா! நமரே காண் என்ற மிலாடுடையார் படிமம்” என்பனபோன்ற விளக்கங்கள் பொறிக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன.

ஓவியக்கலை :

சித்தன்னவாசல் ஓவியங்கள், பல்லவர் கால ஓவியக்கலை வளர்ச்சியை நன்குணர்த்துகின்றன. தஞ்சைப் பெரிய கோயிற் கருவறையின் புறச்சுவர்களிலுள்ள ஓவியங்கள் சிவபெருமான் சுந்தரரைத் தடுத்தாட்கொண்ட வரலாறு, சிவபெருமான் கயிலையில் வீற்றிருக்கும் திருக்கோலம், அப்பெருமானை நோக்கிச் சுந்தரர் யானைமீதும், சேரமான் குதிரைமீதும் கயிலை செல்லும் காட்சி, சோழர்கால ஆடுமகளிர், பாடுமகளிர் இவர்களை உணர்த்தும் காட்சி முதலியவைகள் விழிகட்கு விருந்தளிப்பனவாகும். இச் சோழர்கால ஓவியங்கட்கு மேலே சாந்து பூசப்பெற்று, அச்சாந்தின்மீது தஞ்சையையாண்ட நாயக்கமன்னர்கால ஓவியங்கள் தீட்டப்பட்டன. அவை அக்கால அரசர் அரசியர் உடைச்சிறப்பு, கூந்தல் ஒப்பனை, அணிகலன்கள் முதலிய பல விபரங்களை நமக்குத் தெரிவிக்கின்றன. இவ்வாறே மதுரை மீனாட்சியம்மன் கோவிலில் சிவபெருமான் செய்த அறுபத்துநான்கு திருவிளையாடல்கள் மதுரை நாயக்க மன்னர் காலத்தில் ஓவியங்களாக வரையப்பெற்றன.

57. S. I. I. Vol. 2. Nos., 25, 30, 23 34, 39, 43, 48 and 50.

ஒவ்வொரு திருவிளையாடலுக்குறிக்கும் ஓவியத்தின் அடியில் விளக்கம் எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளதை இன்றும் காணலாம்.

இசைக்கலையும் நடனக்கலையும் :

குடுமியான் மலைக் கல்வெட்டிற்காணும் விவரங்களிலிருந்து, முதலாம் மகேந்திரவர்மன் சிறந்த இசைப்பயிற்சிப்புடையவன் என்பதை அறியலாம். கோவில்களில் குறிப்பிட்ட நாட்களிலும் விழாக்காலங்களிலும், ஊர்வலத்திலும், ஆடல்பாடல்கள் நடைபெற்றன. பல்லவர் காலத்திலும், சோழர் காலத்திலும் பெரும்பாலான கோவில்களில் ஆடலிலும், பாடலிலும் வல்ல மகளிர் இருந்தன ரென்பதைப் பல கல்வெட்டுக்கள் அறிவிக்கின்றன.⁵⁸ கோவில்களில் தமிழ்கூத்து ஆரியக்கூத்து, சாக்கைக்கூத்து, சாந்திக்கூத்து முதலியன ஆடப்பட்டன.⁵⁹ நடனக்கலை ஆசிரியன்மார் கூத்தரசர், நிருத்தப் பேரையர், நட்டுவ ஆசான் எனப்பலவாறு பெயர் பெற்றிருந்தனர். அவர்கள் பெற்றிருந்த காணி கூத்துக்காணி, நட்டுவக்காணி எனப்பட்டன.⁶⁰ திருவிடை மருதூரில் தளியிலார்க்கும் தேவரடியார்க்கும் பாட்டுக் கற்பிக்கப் பாணன் இருந்தான். அவன் பெற்றிருந்த மானியம் ‘பாணப்பேறு’ எனப்பட்டது.⁶¹ திருவொற்றியூர்க் கோயிலில் பதியிலார் இஷபத்தளியிலார் என்ற இருவகை நடனமகளிர் இருந்தனர். பதியிலார் சொக்கம், சந்திக்குனிப்பம் என்ற நடன வகைகளை நடிக்கும்போது, இஷபத்தளியிலார் வாய்ப்பாட்டுப் பாடினர். இப்பின்னவர் அகமார்க்கம், வரிக் கோலம் என்ற நடனவகைகளை ஆடினர். திருமுறைப் பதிகங்களின் உட்கருத்துக்களை நடித்துக் காட்டுதலும் இவர்களது தொழில்.

நாடகக்கலை :

தஞ்சைப் பெரிய கோவிலில் இராசராசேசுவர நாடகம் சோழர் காலத்தில் ஆண்டுதோறும் வைகாசி மாதத்தில் நடித்துக் காட்டப்பட்டது. அதனை நடித்துக் காட்டிய விசயராசேந்திர ஆசாரியனுக்கு ஆண்டுதோறும்

58. 166 of 1926 ; 617 of 1920; 272 of 1923, 141 of 1910 etc.

59. 120 of 1925 ; 250 of 1925 ; 154 of 1895 etc.

60. 23 of 1895 ; 255 of 1925 ; 206 of 1931 ; S. I. I. 2. 66.

61. 141 of 1895.

120 கலம் நெல் தரப்பட்டது. விக்கிரமதித்த ஆசாரியன் என்ற இராசராச நாடகப் பிரியன் என்பவன் பந்தனை நல்லூரில் 'நட்டுவப்பங்கு' பெற்றவனாக இருந்தான் என்று அவ்வூர்க் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகின்றது. இதனால் இராசராச நாடகம் என ஒன்றிருந்து நடிக்கப்பட்டது என்பது அறியக்கிடத்தல் காண்க.⁶²

முதற் குலோத்துங்கன் காலத்தில் பூம்புலியூர் நாடகம் என்ற ஒரு நூல் இயற்றப்பட்டது; இயற்றியவனுக்குப் பரிசு தரப்பட்டது. அந் நூல் திருப்பாதிரிப்புலியூரைப் பற்றியது.

NYĀYAPARISUDDHI

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तस्योपाधिर्यथा वह्नेराद्रैधोधूमसंगमे ।
श्रोत्रत्वयोगे नभसो यथा वा कर्णशङ्कुली ।
संसारयोगे जीवस्य कर्माविद्यादि वा यथा ।

साध्य^१व्यापकः साधनाव्यापक इति तं ^२ लक्षयन्ति । केचित् साधनाव्यापकः साध्यसमव्याप्तिरिति च — ' इत्यादिना स्वरूपं निदर्शितम् ।
' किमस्य ज्ञापकम् ? साधनस्य क्वचित् साध्यासंबन्धव्यापकम्,

तथा च यन्निष्ठकिंचित्संबन्धव्यापको यः स तस्योपाधिरित्युक्तं भवति । वह्नेरित्यादि । निरूपकतासंबन्धेन वह्निनिष्ठधूमसामानाधिकरण्यं प्रति संयोगसंबन्धेन आर्द्रेन्धनस्य व्यापकतया तस्योपाधित्वम् । तथा नभःप्रदेशस्य श्रोत्रत्वसंबन्धं प्रति कर्णशङ्कुली व्यापिका । तथा जीवस्य संसारसंबन्धं प्रति कर्माविद्यावासनादि व्यापकम् । ततः तस्य तस्य तत्र तत्रोपाधित्वमित्यर्थः । यद्वा अवच्छेदकत्वं - प्रयोजकत्वम् । तच्च यत्सत्त्वे यत्सत्त्वं यदभावे यदभावः इत्यन्वयव्यतिरेकशालित्वम् । अत्र श्रोत्रत्वयोग इत्युदाहरणं वैशेषिकमताभिप्रायेण । नन्वेवं सति धूमस्य वह्निसंबन्धेऽप्यार्द्रेन्धनस्योपाधित्वं स्यात् । अतश्च धूमेन वह्निसाधनेऽप्यार्द्रेन्धनस्य उपाधित्वप्रसंगः ; अत आह साध्यव्यापक इत्यादिना ॥

साधनाव्यापक इति । आर्द्रेन्धनस्य धूमव्यापकत्वात् न दोष इति भावः । तमुपलक्षयन्तीति । उपाधिलक्षणमाचक्षत इत्यर्थः । वह्निना धूमसाधने आर्द्रेन्धनस्य, नभःप्रदेशत्वेन श्रोत्रत्वसाधने कर्णशङ्कुल्याः, जीवत्वेन संसारित्वसाधने कर्मादेशोक्तलक्षणवत्तया उपाधित्वोपपत्तिः । मतान्तरमाह केचिदित्यादिना । साध्यसमव्याप्तिरिति । अत्र साध्येन समा व्याप्तिर्यस्येति बहुव्रीहिर्बोद्धव्यः । अत्र पक्षे आर्द्रेन्धनप्रभववह्निमत्वं वह्निसंयुक्तार्द्रेन्धनं वा उपाधिः । अतः समव्याप्तत्वोपपत्तिः । साधनस्येत्यादि । किञ्चिद्देशावच्छिन्नं यत्साध्यासामानाधिकरण्यं तद्वाहकमित्यर्थः । धूमवान् वह्नेरित्यादौ हि अयोगोलकाद्यवच्छेदेन वह्नौ धूमसामानाधिकरण्याभावग्राहकात् प्रत्यक्षादन्यत्र वह्निनिष्ठधूमसामानाधिकरण्यमौपाधिकमिति ज्ञायत इति भावः । ज्ञापकान्तरमाह संबन्धेत्यादि ।

१. साध्यव्याप्तः.
२. तमुपलक्षयन्ति.

संबन्धग्रहणवेला नुयायिस्वरूपवैकल्यं वा । असंबन्धव्यापकं च व्यभिचारदर्शनम् । तच्च साध्यविरुद्धधर्मकतया निश्चिते प्रमाणबाधिते पक्षे विपक्षे वा हेतोर्दर्शनम् । अग्नीषोमीयशास्त्रबाधिते पक्षे दृष्टं हि हिंसात्वं निषिद्धत्वमात्मन उपाधि कल्पयति । प्रमेयत्वं च नित्यात्मादिविपक्षे दृष्टमनित्यत्वसाधने कृतकत्वादिक-मुपाधीकरोति । सपक्षेषु च यावद्रूपविशिष्टतया साधनं साध्यसंबन्धित्वेन दृष्टम्, तदन्यतरूपविकलं चेत् पक्षे दृश्यते, तदा व्याप्तरूपाप्रत्यभिज्ञानात् सर्वरूपविशिष्टमेवोपाधयति ; यथा — भावितनयश्यामलिमनि अनुमेये मित्रा-पुत्रत्वं भूतपुत्रेषु दृष्टं शाकाद्याहारपरिणामविशेषम् । एवं जातीयके रूषवैकल्य-^१ कल्पितोपाधिके हेतावप्रयोजकत्वव्यपदेशः परीक्षकाणाम् ; व्यभिचारकल्पितो-पाधिकयोस्तु बाधितो विरुद्धोऽनैकान्तिक इति —' इत्यादिना उपाधेः प्रमाणावान्तरभेदादिकं प्रपञ्चितम् ।

यत् यद्रूपविशिष्टतया साधनं सपक्षेषु साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यग्रहणवेलासु सदा प्रतीतं यत्किञ्चित्द्रूपभाव इत्यर्थः । साध्यविरुद्धधर्मकतयेति । साध्याभावव्याप्यधर्म-वत्तयेत्यर्थः । प्रमाणबाधिते - प्रमाणेन साध्याभाववत्तया निश्चिते । अग्नीषोमीय-शास्त्रबाधित इति । अग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभेतेति शास्त्रेणाधर्मत्वरूपसाध्याभाववत्तया निश्चित इत्यर्थः । पक्षे - अग्नीषोमीययामान्तर्गतपशुसंज्ञपने । हिंसात्वं - प्राण-वियोगानुकूलव्यापारत्वरूपं साधनम् । प्रमेयत्वं चेत्यादि । प्रमेयत्वेनानित्यत्वसाधने अनित्यत्वाभाववत्तया निश्चिते । विपक्षे - आत्मादौ दृष्टस्य प्रमेयत्वस्य कृतकत्वमुपाधि-र्भवतीति ज्ञायत इत्यर्थः । साध्यसंबन्धित्वेन - साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यत्वेन । व्याप्-रूपेति । साध्याधिकरणवृत्तितावच्छेदकतया सपक्षेषु सर्वत्र गृहीतरूपेत्यर्थः । सर्वरूप-विशिष्टमेवेति । तादृशसर्वरूपं विशिष्टं यं कंचन धर्ममित्यर्थः । तादृशसर्वरूपात्मकं विशिष्टमिति वा । उपाधयतीति - उपाधीकरोतीत्यर्थः । उपाधित्वेन ज्ञापयतीति यावत् । शाकाद्याहारपरिणामविशेषमिति । तादृशाहारपरिणामजन्यत्वमित्यर्थः ।

1. विकल्पितोपाधिके.

एवं चोपसंहृतम् — 'तदेव' संक्षेपः — व्यभिचार एव हि प्रतिबन्धाभावः ; उपाधिरेव व्यभिचारनिदानम् । प्रमाणनिश्चित एवोपाधित्वेन शङ्कनीयः । साधने सोपाधिः साध्ये निरूपाधिरेवोपाधित्वेन निश्चयः । सर्वशङ्कातिप्रसङ्गपाटन-पटीयांश्च तर्कः ' इति । तदेवं निरूपाधिकसंबन्धं व्याप्यमिति सिद्धम् । व्याप्यं साधनं लिङ्गमित्यनर्थान्तरम् ॥

॥ साधनरूपनिरूपणम् ॥

तस्य द्वे रूपे अनुमित्यङ्गभूते — व्याप्तिः पक्षधर्मता चेति । तयोरेव

एवमुपाधिस्वरूपं, तत्प्रमाणं, उपाध्यवान्तरभेदश्च इत्येतत्त्रितयतद्दूषकताप्रकारं दर्शयितुमाह एवं चेति । प्रतिबन्धाभाव इति । संबन्धाभाव इत्यर्थः । व्याप्यभाव इति यावत् । हेतुहेतुमतोरभेदोपचारः । तथा च व्यभिचारो व्याप्यभावसंपादक इत्युक्तं भवति । व्याप्यभावसंपादकत्वं च व्याप्यभावानुमापकत्वं व्याप्तिनिश्चयाभावप्रयोजकं वा । उपाधिरेव व्यभिचारनिदानमिति । उपाधिरेव व्यभिचारनिश्चायक इत्यर्थः । तथा च व्यभिचारनिश्चायकतया उपाधेर्दूषकत्वमित्युक्तं भवति । नन्वेवं सति अतीन्द्रियोपाधि-शङ्कया सर्वत्र व्यभिचारोद्भावनप्रसङ्गः ; अत आह प्रमाणेति । शङ्कनीयः -- उद्भावननीयः । साधने सोपाधिरिति । साधनाव्यापक इत्यर्थः । साध्येनिरूपाधिरिति । साध्यव्यापक इत्यर्थः । ननु सर्वत्र अतीन्द्रियोपाधेः प्रमाणनिश्चितत्वाभावेऽपि सन्दिग्ध-त्वसंभवात् कथं व्यापकत्वनिश्चय इत्यत आह सर्वशङ्कातिप्रसङ्गेति । शङ्काविषयीभूत-सर्वातिप्रसङ्गेत्यर्थः । शंकारूपातिप्रसङ्गेति वा । निरूपाधिकसंबन्धमिति । निरूपाधिकः संबन्धो यस्मिन्निति बहुव्रीहिवशात् उपाध्यभावविशिष्टसामानाधिकरण्यवदित्यर्थः । अनर्थान्तरमिति । भिन्नार्थं न भवतीत्यर्थः । पर्यायमिति यावत् ।

साधनरूपनिरूपणम्—

तस्य - लिंगस्य । अनुमित्यङ्गभूते - अनुमितिजनकज्ञानविषयीभूते । ननु प्राचीनैः पञ्चानां रूपाणामनुमित्यङ्गत्वप्रतिपादनात् कथं द्वे रूपे इत्युक्तम् ; अत आह

1. तदेव बहुरूपः

प्रपञ्चनात् पञ्च रूपाणि — पक्षव्यापकत्वम्, सपक्षे सत्त्वम्, विपक्षवृत्तिरहितत्वम्, अबाधितविषयत्वम्, असत्प्रतिपक्षत्वं चेति । सिषाधयिषितधर्मविशिष्टो धर्मी पक्षः ; यथा — अग्निमत्त्वादिसाधने पर्वतादिः । तस्मिन्भिन्नप्रकारेण स्वायोगव्यवच्छेदेन सर्वत्र वर्तमानत्वं पक्षव्यापकत्वम् । सिषाधयिषितसजातीयधर्मवान्

तयोरेवेति । व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मतयोरेवेत्यर्थः । प्रपञ्चनादिति । सपक्षसत्त्वविपक्षवृत्तिरहितत्वयोः व्याप्तेः पक्षव्यापकत्वस्य पक्षधर्मतायाः अबाधितविषयत्वासत्प्रतिपक्षितत्वयोः व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मतोभयस्य च प्रपञ्चरूपत्वादिति भावः । सिषाधयिषितेति । अनुमितीच्छाविषयीभूतेत्यर्थः । सिषाधयिषाविरहेऽपि घनगर्जितेन मेघानुमानस्थले गगनादौ पक्षव्यवहारसत्त्वे अनुमित्युद्देश्यत्वमेव पक्षत्वं बोद्धव्यम् । पर्वतपक्षकवह्निसाध्यकानुमितिरित्यत्र पक्षशब्देन उद्देश्यताया एव बोधनात् । विशिष्टवाचकानां शब्दानां सति पृथग्विशेषणवाचकपदसमाभिव्याहारे विशेष्यमात्रपरत्वनियमेन अनुमितिवाचकपदसमाभिव्याहारे पक्षपदस्य उद्देश्यमात्रपरत्वेऽपि तदसमाभिव्याहारस्थले अनुमित्युद्देश्यपरत्वावश्यभावात् । तस्मिन् - पक्षे । अभावरूपायोगान्वय्याधेयध्वं सप्तम्यर्थः । अभिन्नप्रकारेणेति । हेतुतावच्छेदकात्मकैकरूपेणेत्यर्थः । अभेदस्तृतीयार्थः । अभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकधर्मरूपायोगव्यवच्छेदेऽन्वेति । अयोगव्यवच्छेदेनेत्यत्र तृतीयार्थोऽप्यभेद एव । स च सर्वत्र वर्तमानत्वमित्यत्रान्वेति । तथा च पक्षनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकहेतुतावच्छेदकवत्त्वं पक्षसत्त्वमिति फलितम् । तादृशानवच्छेदकद्रव्यत्वादिकमादाय घटादावतिप्रसङ्ग इति हेतुतावच्छेदकेत्युक्तम् । इदञ्च पक्षतावच्छेदकावच्छेदेन साध्यतास्थलाभिप्रायेण । तत्सामानाधिकरण्येन साध्यतायां तु पक्षवृत्तित्वमात्रमेव तदितिबोद्धव्यम् । सिषाधयिषितसजातीयेति । अत्र साजात्यं साध्यतावच्छेदकरूपेण । तथा च सिषाधयिषितभिन्नं यत्साध्यतावच्छेदकवत् तद्वत्त्वं सपक्षत्वमित्युक्तं भवति । अत्र सिषाधयिषितभिन्नमित्यनेन सिषाधयिषाभावप्रयोजकं

1. असत्प्रतिपक्षितत्वं चेति
2. सिषाधयिषितधर्मसजातीय.

सपक्षः ; यथा — महानसादिः । तस्मिन् सर्वत्र, कतिपयव्यक्तौ वा वृत्तिः सपक्षे सत्त्वम् ; सर्वसपक्षावृत्तिराहित्यमित्यर्थः । कृतकत्वादयः सपक्षव्यापकाः । धूमवत्त्वादयः सपक्षैकदेशवर्तिनः । तत्र सपक्ष एव हेतुधर्मेणापि समन्वितः साधर्म्यदृष्टान्तः । तस्य व्याप्तिदर्शनस्थानत्वादुभययोगापेक्षा । साध्यतज्जातीयशून्यो विपक्षः ; यथा — महाह्लादादिः । तत्र सर्वत्रावृत्तिः विपक्षवृत्तिरहितत्वम् । इदं च क्वचिद्विपक्षाभावात्, क्वचित् तत्संसर्गाभावादिति द्विविधम् । पूर्वं केवलान्वयिनि, द्वितीयमन्वयव्यतिरेकिणि चानन्तरं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

निश्चितत्वं विवक्षितं । निश्चये सति हि तदिच्छारूपा सिषाधयिषा न संभवति । तथा च निश्चितसाध्यवत्त्वं सपक्षत्वमिति फलितम् । सर्वत्र कतिपयव्यक्तौ वृत्तिरिति सपक्षे सर्वत्र वृत्तिर्नाम सपक्षनिष्ठाभावाप्रतियोगित्वम् ॥ कतिपयव्यक्तौ वृत्तिश्च सपक्षनिरूपिताधेयतावत्त्वे सति तन्निष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वम् । उभयविधधर्मवदनुगमकमाह सर्वेति । सर्वसपक्षावृत्तिराहित्यं सपक्षत्वव्यापकाभावाप्रतियोगित्वं सपक्षवृत्तित्वमात्रं वा । कृतकत्वादय इति । अनित्यत्वे साध्ये इत्यादिः । सपक्षैकदेशवर्तिन इति । अयोगोलकादावसत्त्वादिति भावः । ननु अयोगोलकादेः सपक्षत्वे दृष्टान्तत्वमपि स्यादत आह सपक्ष इति । हेतुधर्मेणापि - हेतुरूपधर्मेणापि । हेतुतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन वर्तमानत्वज्ञापनाय धर्मपदम् । उभययोगापेक्षा - साध्यहेतुभययोगापेक्षा । विपक्षलक्षणमाह साध्येति । साध्यमनुमितिविधेयं पर्वतीयवह्न्यादिकम् । तज्जातीयत्वं साध्यतावच्छेदकीभूतवह्नित्वादिना । तथा च साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभाववान् विपक्ष इत्यर्थः फलितः । तत्र सर्वत्रावृत्तिरिति । विपक्षवृत्तित्वसामान्याभाव इत्यर्थः । विपक्षाभावादिति । विपक्षाप्रसिद्धेरित्यर्थः । साध्यस्याभावाप्रतियोगित्वादिति यावत् । प्रयोज्यत्वं पञ्चम्यर्थः । तत्र तत्संसर्गाभावादिति - विपक्षे हेतुसंसर्गाभावादित्यर्थः । इहापि प्रयोज्यत्वं पञ्चम्यर्थः । पूर्वमिति । साध्यस्याभावाप्रतियोगित्वप्रयोज्यविपक्षवृत्तिराहित्यमित्यर्थः । केवलान्वयिनीति । अत्यन्ताभावाप्रतियोगिसाध्यकु इत्यर्थः ॥

अन्ये तु विपक्षाद्यावृत्तिरितीदं रूपमकल्पयित्वा केवलान्वयिनश्चतू-
रूपत्वमाहुः; तदसत्; विपक्षवृत्त्याख्यदोषस्याभाव एव ह्यत्र रूपत्वेन विवक्षितः
तावदेव चान्वयव्यतिरेकिण्यपि रूपम् । तच्च रूपं तुल्यं केवलान्वयिन्यपीति

विपक्षाद्यावृत्तिरिति । विपक्षत्वव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वमित्यर्थः । चतूरूप-
त्वमिति । साध्याभावप्रसिद्ध्या तद्व्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वस्य सुतरामप्रसिद्धेरिति
भावः । अभाव एव ह्यत्र रूपत्वेन विवक्षित इति । एवकारेण विपक्षाद्यावृत्तेर्व्यव-
च्छेदः । तुल्यं केवलान्वयिन्यपीति । ननु केवलान्वयिनि विपक्षवृत्तित्वरूपप्रति-
योग्यप्रसिद्ध्या कथं तदभावसंभव इति चेदुच्यते - व्यधिकरणधर्मस्यात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगि-
तायामिव तदवच्छेदकतादावपि अवच्छेदकत्वमस्तीत्यभिप्रायेणैदम् । तथा सति हि
केवलान्वयिनि साध्याभाववृत्तित्वं नास्तीति प्रतीतिसिद्धस्तादृशाभावः प्रसिद्धयत्येव ।
तत्र ह्यभावनिष्ठायां प्रतियोगितावच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टावच्छेदकतायां प्रतियोगितासंबन्धेन
साध्यस्य व्यधिकरणीभूयावच्छेदकत्वम् । एवंविधाभावानुपगमे अन्धः आकाशं न
पश्यति, ईश्वरं न पश्यति इत्यादिवाक्यस्य प्रामाण्यानुपपत्तिः । तत्र हि द्वितीयया
लौकिकविषयत्वं धातुना च चाक्षुषप्रत्यक्षविषयत्वं बोद्धव्यत इत्यविवादम् । अन्यथा
आकाशादिसंयुक्तोऽयं घट इत्याद्युपनीतमानमादाय आकाशं पश्यतीति वाक्यप्रामाण्यापत्तेः ।
ततश्च आकाशादिनिष्ठलौकिकविषयताशालिचाक्षुषाश्रयाप्रसिद्ध्या कथं नञा तदभाव-
प्रत्यायनसंभवः । उक्तविधाभावसत्त्वे तु तादृशवाक्यप्रामाण्यमुपपद्यते । तत्र हि अभाव-
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टलौकिकविषयतानिष्ठावच्छेदकतायां व्यधिकरणीभूयाधेय-
तासंबन्धेनाकाशस्यावच्छेदकतया तादृशाभावप्रसिद्ध्या नार्थबाधः । न च नञा
द्विधा भानमभ्युपगम्याकाशाद्यवृत्तिलौकिकविषयताशालिचाक्षुषाश्रयत्वाभावानन्ध इति
बोधाभ्युपगमात् न तस्य प्रामाण्यानुपपत्तिरिति वाच्यम्; तथा सत्युक्तवाक्यजन्यशाब्द-
बोधस्य “अन्ध आकाशं पश्यति वा न वा” “अन्ध आकाशं पश्यती”त्यादिसंशयविपर्यय-
निवर्तकत्वानुपपत्तेः । तद्धि आनुभाविर्कं सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नं च । न चैवमपि तादृशवाक्यस्य
कथं प्रामाण्योपपत्तिः; आकाशादेः विभक्त्यर्थविषयतायामेवाधेयतासंबन्धेनान्वयात् तेन

विपक्षसद्भावस्तु व्यतिरेकव्याप्तेरङ्गम्, विपक्षवृत्तिरूपदोषस्य च; न पुनस्तद-
भावस्य । विपक्ष एव हेतुना शून्यो व्यतिरेकदृष्टान्तो भवति । हेतुमानपि हि
विपक्षोऽस्त्येव; येन हेतोरनैकान्त्यादि वक्ष्यते । ततश्चानैकान्त्याद्यनुपदर्शित-
व्याप्तिकत्वादिपरिहाराय व्यतिरेकदृष्टान्तस्योभयनिवृत्त्यपेक्षा । व्याप्तिदर्शनस्थानं
हि दृष्टान्तभूतमाहुः ॥

प्रबलेन प्रमाणेन पक्षे निश्चितसाध्याभाववत्त्वं बाधितविषयत्वम्; यथा
महाह्नदो वह्निमानित्यादौ । तदभावस्त्वबाधितविषयत्वम्; यथा — पर्वतः
परभागेऽग्निमानित्यादौ । समबलतया प्रतीयमानप्रमाणोपरोधाभावः अ’सत्प्रति-
पक्षत्वम्; यथा — धूमानुमानादेः ॥

संबन्धेन तत्र तस्य बाधादिति वाच्यम् । शशशृङ्गं नास्तीति वाक्यस्य शशीयत्वावच्छिन्न-
शृङ्गनिष्ठ(ष्ठाभाव)प्रतियोगिताकाभाव इव उक्तवाक्यस्याकाशनिष्ठाधेयतासंबन्धावच्छि-
न्नावच्छेदकताकलौकिकविषयतानिष्ठनिरूपकतासम्बन्धावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकताक चाक्षुषनिष्ठ-
निरूपितत्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकताकाश्रयत्वनिष्ठप्रतियोगिताकाभावतात्पर्यात्; तस्य
चाबाधितत्वात् । “यत्परः शब्दः स शब्दार्थः” इति न्यायेन तात्पर्यविषयीभूतार्थाभावस्यैव
(रूप) बाधितत्वस्यैव (बाधितत्वाभावस्यैव) वाक्यप्रामाण्यनियामकताकत्वात् । अत एव
ह्यसदर्थवादानां मुख्यार्थबाधेऽपि तात्पर्यविषयीभूतप्राशस्त्याबाधादेव प्रामाण्यनिर्वाहः ।
अतश्च तद्वदेव तादृशवाक्यस्योक्ताभावे लक्षणाबोधे । तदेवं केवलान्वयिन्यपि विपक्षवृत्ति-
त्वाभावः प्रसिद्धयतीति सिद्धम् । अथवा - स्वाभाववृत्तित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यता-
वच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभाववत्वमेव विपक्षवृत्तिरहितत्वमित्यनेन विवक्षितम् ।
तच्च केवलान्वयिन्यप्यक्षतमेवेति न कश्चिद्दोषः । अङ्गं — प्रयोजकम् । उभय-
निवृत्त्यपेक्षा — साध्याभावहेत्वभावोभयवत्त्वापेक्षा ॥

प्रबलेनेति । निश्चितप्रामाण्यकेनेत्यर्थः । परभाग इति । पुरोभागस्थवहेः
प्रत्यक्षसंभवात् परभागस्थवह्नेवानुमानापेक्षेत्यभिप्रायेण इदम् । समबलतया प्रतीयमान
इति । कचिदपि प्रामाण्यस्याप्रामाण्यस्य वा निश्चयविरहादिति भावः । प्रमाणोप-
रोधाभावः — प्रमाणाधीनानुमितिप्रतिबन्धस्याभावः ॥

॥ हेतुविभागः ॥

^१द्वेधा च व्याप्यम् — अन्वयव्यतिरेकि, केवलान्वयि चेति । तत्र पूर्वोक्तपञ्चरूपोपपन्नं विपक्षवत् अन्वयव्यतिरेकि; यथा — पर्वतोऽग्निमान् धूमवत्त्वात्; यो धूमवान् सोऽग्निमान्; यथा — महानसः; योऽनग्निः सः निर्धूमः; यथा — महाहृद इति । यद्यपि स्वसाध्यसाधनेऽन्वयव्यतिरेकयो-
रन्यतरेणैवालमिति तावता व्यपदेशोऽपि युक्तः; तथाप्युभयसद्भावज्ञापनाय असाधारणकेवलान्वयिभ्यां व्यावृत्तिज्ञापनाय च व्याप्तिद्वयेन व्यपदेशः । तादृशमेव विपक्षरहितं केवलान्वयि — यथा — ब्रह्म शब्दवाच्यम्, वस्तुत्वात् द्रव्यत्वाद्वा, घटादिवत् । अनुभूतिरनुभाव्या, वस्तुत्वात्, घटादिवदित्यादि ।

हेतुविभागः

अन्वयव्यतिरेकिलक्षणमाह — पूर्वोक्तेति । इदञ्चनैकान्तिकादिवारणाय । केवलान्वयिवारणाय विपक्षवदिति । साध्यसाधन इति । साध्यानुमित्युत्पादन इत्यर्थः । अन्वयव्यतिरेकयोः — अन्वयव्याप्तिव्यतिरेकव्याप्तयोः । तावता व्यप-
देशोऽपीति । यत्रान्वयव्याप्तिर्गमकता तत्रान्वयित्वमात्रेण यत्र व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिस्तथात्वं तत्र व्यतिरेकित्वमात्रेण व्यवहारोऽपीत्यर्थः । उभयसद्भावज्ञापनाय — अन्वयव्याप्ति-
व्यतिरेकव्याप्त्युभयसद्भावज्ञापनाय । तथा सति हि यथाभिमतमुभयोर्गमकत्वाभिप्रायेण प्रयोगः संभवतीति भावः । असाधारणेत्यादि । शब्दो नित्यः शब्दत्वादिति सपक्ष-
विपक्षव्यावृत्तोऽसाधारणः । तद्व्यावृत्तिज्ञापनमन्वयव्याप्तिप्रतिपादनप्रयोजनम् । केवला-
न्वयव्यावृत्तिज्ञापनं व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिप्रतिपादनप्रयोजनमित्यर्थः । तादृशमेवेति । उक्त-
पञ्चरूपोपपन्नमेवेत्यर्थः । एवकारः प्रागुक्तचतुरूपत्वपक्षव्यवच्छेदाय । इदं च विशेषणं घटोऽभिधेयः घटत्वादित्यादेः प्राचीननैयायिकमतसिद्धस्यासाधारणस्य वारणाय सपक्षसत्त्वमात्राभिप्रायम् । तस्य सद्धेतुतायाः न वारणीयत्वमिति मते तु तत्रापि पञ्चरूपसद्भावज्ञापनमेव तत्प्रयोजनं बोध्यम् । विपक्षरहितमिति । अत्यन्ताभावाप्रति-

१. द्विधा, द्विविधं.

^१ न ह्यशब्दवाच्यमननुभाव्यं वा किञ्चिदस्ति, येन विपक्षः स्यात् । असदस्तीति चेन्न, व्याहृतवचनत्वात् निरुपाधिकनिषेधासंभवाच्च । सोपाधिकनिषेधे सत एवासच्छब्देनाप्याकारान्तरनिमित्तेन व्यपदेशः । तथा च यदि तत्र

योगिसाध्यकत्वपर्यवसितम् । व्याहृतवचनत्वादिति । स्वीयैकवाक्यघटकयोरेवासदस्ति-
पदयोः परस्परविरुद्धार्थकत्वादिति भावः । असदितिपदेन हि सत्तासामान्याभावो बोद्धव्यते । अस्तीतिपदेन च सत्ताश्रयत्वम् । निरुपाधिकनिषेधासंभवादिति । देशविशेषकालविशेषरूपविशेषान्यतरूपोपाध्यनवगाहिनः अभावप्रत्ययस्य काप्यसत्त्वा-
दित्यर्थः । एवमेव हि सर्वत्राभावप्रत्ययो दृश्यते । इहेदं कदापि केनापि रूपेण नास्तीति । यथा अश्वे गोत्वाद्यभावप्रत्ययः । अथवा इदानीं इदं कापि केनापि रूपेण नास्तीति यथाऽतीतवस्तुन इदानीमभावः । यद्वा इदमनेन रूपेण कापि कदापि नास्तीति । यथा घटत्वेन पटाभावप्रत्ययः । न तु इदं कदापि कापि केनापि रूपेण नास्तीत्येव-
मभावप्रत्ययो लोके दृश्यते । न च शशविषाणं कापि कदापि केनापि रूपेण नास्तीति प्रत्ययो दृश्यत एवेति वाच्यम्; शशविषाणात्मकप्रतियोगिन एवाप्रसिद्ध्या तादृशा-
भावप्रत्ययासंभवात् । न हि प्रतियोगिनमन्तरा अभाव इति कश्चित्पदार्थ उपपद्यते । शशीयत्वारोपविषयीभूतं विषाणमेव प्रतियोगीति चेत्, तर्हि गवादौ कथं तदभावसंभवः ? गवादावपि विषाणं शशीयत्वेन नास्त्येवेति चेत्; तर्हि सोपाधिक एव निषेधः । रूपविशेषात्मकोपाध्युल्लेखात् । तत्सिद्धं निरुपाधिकनिषेधो न संभवतीति । नन्वेवं सति शशविषाणमसौदिति व्यवहारानुपपत्तिः — कदापि कापि केनापि रूपेणाविद्यमानत्वं हि असत्त्वं । न हि शशविषाणशब्दबोधितस्य शशीयत्वारोपविषयीभूतस्य विषाणस्य तथात्वं संभवति । गवादिषु सत्त्वादेव । यदि च सर्वदेशकालवृत्त्यभावप्रतियोगित्व-
मेवासत्त्वम्; तच्च शशीयत्वारोपविषयीभूते विषाणेऽस्त्येव । शशीयत्वेन विषाणाभावस्य सर्वदेशकालवर्तित्वादित्युच्यते; तदा घटादिकमसदिति व्यवहारप्रसंगः । तादृशाभावीय-
पटत्वाद्यवच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वसत्त्वादित्यत आह सोपाधिकनिषेधं इति । निषेधस्य सोपाधिकत्वनिश्चय इत्यर्थः । आकारान्तरनिमित्तेनेति । कदापि कापि केनापि(रूपेण)

१. नह्यवाच्यमननुभाव्यं.

वस्तुत्ववाच्यत्वादिहेतुसाध्यव्यतिरेक उच्यते, तदा व्याघातः । अव्याहत-
स्थलेषु त्वन्वयव्यतिरेकत्वमेव स्यात् । न च तदतिरिक्तमसदिति किञ्चित्
प्रतीमः, येन तत्र व्यतिरेकमनुसंधीमहि । एतेन असतो व्यतिरेक-
दृष्टान्तत्वमिच्छन्तो निरस्ताः; तथासत्यभावरूपेषु साध्येष्वसतोऽन्वयदृष्टान्त-
त्वस्याप्यवर्जनीयत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च । हेतोश्चाप्रतीयमानत्वादेरभावात्मकस्य वा यस्य

अविद्यमानत्वरूपमवदभिमताकारव्यतिरिक्ताकारप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तकेनेत्यर्थः । अयं भावः—
प्रामाणिकव्यवहारानुरोधात् असच्छब्दस्य सर्वदेशकालवृत्त्यभावीयस्वसमभिव्याहृतपदार्थ-
तावच्छेदकीभूतधर्मावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वबोधकत्वमेव व्युत्पन्नम् । ततश्च शशविषाणमस-
दित्यनेन विषाणे तादृशाभावनिरूपितशशीयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वमेव बोध्यत इति
नानुपपत्तिः । घटादिकमसदिति व्यवहारप्रसंगस्तु न । तादृशाभावीयघटत्वाद्यवच्छिन्न-
प्रतियोगित्वस्यैव तेन बोधनीयत्वात् तस्य चाप्रसिद्धेरिति । अत्र च शशविषाणादि-
शब्देन शशीयत्वप्रकारकविषाणादिविशेष्यकार्हाय्यबोध एव जन्यत इत्येके । विषाणे
स्वप्रकारकाहारीपविशेष्यतासंबन्धेन शशीयत्वप्रकारको नाहारीबोध एवेत्यपरे । यत्तु
शशविषाणादिशब्दैः न पदार्थद्वयसंसर्गबोधः; किन्तु तत्तत्पदार्थोपस्थितिमात्रमेवेति; तन्न ।
तथा सति शशविषाणेति समासानुपपत्तिप्रसङ्गात् । एकार्थीभावलक्षणसामर्थ्याविरहात् ।
विशेषणविशेष्यभावापन्नार्थद्वयविषयकैकबोधजनकत्वं ह्येकार्थीभावः । व्याघात इति ।
सत्त्वेन साकं विरोध इत्यर्थः ॥

नन्वेवं व्यतिरेकव्याप्यसंभवे अन्वयव्यतिरेकत्वमेव कापि न स्यादत आह—
अव्याहतस्थलेष्विति । साध्याभावहेत्वभावयोः व्याहृतिविरहस्थलेष्वित्यर्थः । वहिमान्
धूमादित्यादिषु इति भावः । तत्र हि हेतुसाध्यव्यतिरेकौ हृदादिष्वव्याहतौ । ननु
सदतिरिक्ते असति हेतुसाध्यव्यतिरेकौ स्यातामत आह—न चेति । एतेनेति ।
असत्प्रतीतिनिरासेनेत्यर्थः । व्यतिरेकदृष्टान्तत्वमिति । वहिमान् धूमादित्यादावेवेति
भावः । इच्छन्त इति । कौमारिलादयः तदनुसारिणो मायावेदान्तिनश्चेति भावः ।
अभावरूपेष्विति । धूमाभावादिष्विति भावः । ननु भावरूपस्य हेतोरसत्यसंभवात्
कथं तस्यान्वयदृष्टान्तत्वसंभव इत्यत आह — हेतोश्चेति । अप्रतीयमानत्वादेरिति ।

कस्यचित् प्रयोक्तुं शक्यत्वात् । भाष्यादिषु तु क्वचित् शशविषाणाद्युदाहरणं
प्रतिबन्धभिप्रायेण परमतेन वेति द्रष्टव्यम्; 'पिशाचानां पिशाचभाषयैवोत्तरं
देयं' इतिन्यायात् स्वयमेव निरुपाधिकनिषेधासंभवस्य शून्यवा'दनिराकरणे
दर्शितत्वाच्चेति । तर्हि विपक्षरहितस्य केवलान्वयिनो विपक्षवृत्त्यभावः कथमिति
चेत्, हन्त ! किं तस्य विपक्षवृत्तित्वमस्ति? तदपि नास्तीति चेत्, तर्हि
तावदेवानुमानाङ्गमित्युक्तम्, तदभावेऽपि तद्वृत्तित्वलक्षणविशिष्टस्यासिद्धेरिति ।

धूमादिमत्तया प्रतीयमानत्वाभावादेरित्यर्थः । आदिना वह्यभावादिपरिग्रहः । अभा-
वात्मकस्य वा यस्य कस्यचिदिति । द्रव्यत्वाभावादेरिति भावः । ननु जिज्ञासाधि-
करणभाष्ये 'तथानुभूतेरननुभाव्यत्वेऽप्यननुभूतित्वप्रसङ्गो दुर्वारः । गगनकुसुमादेरननु-
भाव्यस्याननुभूतित्वा'दिति असदुदाहरणं कथमुपपद्येत्यत आह — भाष्यादिष्विति ।
प्रतिबन्धभिप्रायेणेति । उक्तभाष्यस्य प्रतिबन्धोत्तररूपत्वात् । तत्र च परमतरीत्यैवाभि-
धानस्य प्रायिकत्वादिति भावः । आदिना उक्तभाष्यव्याख्यानप्रवृत्तश्रुतप्रकाशिकादि-
संग्रहः । परमतेन वेति । परनिरसनसमये क्वचित्परमतानुसरणस्य कथकसंप्रदायसिद्ध-
त्वादिति भावः । तस्यौचित्यं दर्शयति तदपि नास्तीति । अपिना विपक्षसंग्रहः ।
विपक्षोऽपि नास्ति; विपक्षवृत्तित्वमपि नास्तीत्युक्तं भवति । अनया वाचोभंग्या प्रागु-
पदर्शितव्यधिकरणधर्मावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकताघटितावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकाभावः संमत
इति प्रतीयते । तावदेवेति । न तु विपक्षवृत्तित्वमप्यनुमानाङ्गमित्येवकारार्थः । ननु
वाच्यत्वादिरूपसाध्याभाववृत्तित्वात्मकविपक्षवृत्तित्वाभावस्य प्रतियोगिनि वृत्तित्वे निरु-
पितत्वसंबन्धेन विशेषणीभूतस्य विपक्षस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वं वाच्यम् । तच्च
नोपपद्यते । तस्यैवाप्रसिद्धेः । अतः कथं तत्र विपक्षवृत्तित्वाभावसंभवः । यद्यपि
सिद्धान्ते भावान्तरमेवाभावः । तथाप्यप्रसिद्धप्रतियोगिकाभावत्वं न भावेऽप्यङ्गीकर्तुं
शक्यमत आह — तदभावेऽपीति । विपक्षाप्रसिद्धावपीत्यर्थः । तद्वृत्तित्वलक्षण-
विशिष्टस्येति । वाच्यत्वाभाववृत्तित्वमित्याकारकाहारीज्ञानविषयीभूतस्य विशेषण-
विशेष्यभावापन्नपदार्थजातस्येत्यर्थः । असिद्धेरिति । अभावोपपत्तेरित्यर्थः । अयं

एतेन केवलान्वयि नानुमानं, विपक्षरहितत्वात्, सर्वमनित्यं सत्त्वादित्यादिवदिति हेतुकदुर्दुरुष्टदृष्टिदूषिता ॥

ननु यदि केवलान्वयि प्रमाणम्, अग्निरनुष्णः, पदार्थत्वात्, घटवदित्याद्यपि प्रसज्येतेति चेन्न, बाधितत्वात् । तर्हि धर्मादयः कस्यचिदिन्द्रियग्राह्याः, प्रमेयत्वात्, मीमांसकानामप्रत्यक्षत्वाद्वा, अस्मत्सुखादिवदित्यादि स्यादिति चेन्न,

भावः — यथा शशीयत्वविशिष्टशृंगरूपविशिष्टप्रतियोगिनोऽप्रसिद्धावपि शशशृङ्गं नास्तीति प्रतीत्या शृंगविशेषणतया भासमाने शशीयत्वे प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वमवगाह्यते, तथा वाच्यत्वाभाववद्वृत्तित्वं नास्तीति प्रतीत्या वाच्यत्वाभावाप्रसिद्धावपि अभावविशेषणतया भासमाने वाच्यत्वे अभावनिष्ठायां प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतावच्छेदकतायामवच्छेदकत्वभानमुपपद्यत एव । परन्तु शशशृङ्गं नास्तीति ज्ञानं शशीयत्वरूपप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकांशे, वाच्यत्वाभाववद्वृत्तित्वं नास्तीति ज्ञानं प्रतियोगितावच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टवाच्यत्वांशे च आहार्यरूपम् । अतो विशेषदर्शिनां तादृशप्रतीत्यविरोधः । व्यधिकरणधर्मस्य प्रतियोग्यादिविशेषणतानापन्नत्वेनैवावच्छेदकत्वमिति नियमस्तु मानाभावात् शशशृङ्गं नास्तीत्यादिप्रतीतिविरोधाच्च न संभवत्येव । अतः प्रतीतिबलात् प्रागुक्तयुक्तेश्च व्यधिकरणधर्मस्यात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगित्व इव तदवच्छेदकत्वादावप्यवच्छेदकत्वमवश्यमभ्युपगन्तव्यमिति । एतेनेति । केवलान्वयिन्यपि विपक्षवृत्तित्वाभावसमर्थनेनेत्यर्थः । सत्त्वादिति । सत्त्वं - प्रमाविषयत्वं, कालसंबन्धित्वं वा । ननु अनित्यत्वाभाववतः आत्मादेः विपक्षस्य सत्त्वात् कथं विपक्षरहित्यं इति चेन्न; निश्चितसाध्याभाववत् एव इह विपक्षशब्देन विवक्षितत्वात् सर्वस्यापि पक्षत्वेन तदभावात् । हेतुकदुर्दुरुष्टेति । दुर्दुरुष्टः - दुराक्षेपकः । दुर पूर्वात् दुल उत्क्षेप इति धातोरौणादिकः कूटप्रत्ययः । “बहुलमन्यत्रापी”ति णेर्लुक् । रलयोरेकत्वस्मरणात् लस्य र इत्याचक्षते ॥

प्रसज्येति । प्रमाणमित्यादिः । न चास्य कथं केवलान्वयित्वमत्यन्तभावाप्रतियोगिसाध्यकत्वविरहादिति वाच्यम्—निश्चितसाध्याभाववद्रूपविपक्षरहितस्यैव इह केवलान्वयिशब्देन विवक्षितत्वात्, तेजोमात्रस्यैव पक्षत्वेनाभिप्रेततया तदुपपत्तेः । स्यादिति ।

विपक्षे बाधकाभावादेरुक्तत्वात् । अनुभूतेः स्वयंप्रकाशाया अप्यननुभाव्यत्वे अनुभूतिपदप्रयोगस्यैव निरर्थकत्वप्रसङ्गात् । परस्यानुभूतिविषयानुभवासिद्धयर्थमेव हि तत्प्रयोगः । एवं वाच्यत्वविपर्ययेऽपि बाधः स्पष्टः । तस्मात् व्याहृतसाध्यविपर्ययं केवलान्वयि प्रमाणमिति संक्षेपः । अत एव महाविद्यादिरूपकेवलान्वयिनामप्यनवकाशः, अव्याहृतसाध्यविपर्ययत्वात्; अन्यथा तेषां सर्वसाधकत्वसामर्थ्याभ्युपगमभङ्गप्रसङ्गात् ॥

प्रमाणमित्यादिः । उक्तत्वादिति । प्रत्यक्षाध्याय इति भावः । ननु तर्हि अनुभूतिरनुभाव्या, प्रमेयत्वात्; घटो वाच्यः, वस्तुत्वादित्यादेरपि अप्रामाण्यं स्यात्; विपक्षे बाधकविरहादित्यतः तत्र विपक्षबाधकसद्भावमाह अनुभूतेरित्यादिना । बाधः स्पष्ट इति । पक्षवाचकपदप्रयोगस्यैवासंभवादिति भावः । व्याहृतसाध्यविपर्ययमिति । पक्षस्य साध्याभाववत्त्वे बाधकतर्कसहितमित्यर्थः । अत एवेति । विपक्षे बाधकरहितस्य केवलान्वयिनः प्रामाण्यानुपगमादेवेत्यर्थः । महाविद्यादिरूपेत्यादि । अयमर्थः — पक्षसाध्यातिरिक्तपक्षधर्मातिरिक्तधर्मवान् प्रमेयत्वादित्यादीनां अभिमतसर्वसाधकतया महाविद्येति परिभाषा । तत्र हि शब्दो नित्यत्वातिरिक्तशब्दधर्मातिरिक्तधर्मवान् प्रमेयत्वात् घटवदित्यनेन शब्दे नित्यत्वं सिद्धयति । तथैव अनित्यत्वातिरिक्तशब्दधर्मातिरिक्तधर्मसाधने अनित्यत्वमपि सिद्धयति । तत्र शब्दधर्मातिरिक्तधर्मस्य शब्दे असंभवात् अभिमतासिद्धेश्च अभिमतधर्मातिरिक्तत्वं शब्दधर्मे विशेषणम् । ततश्च नित्यत्वातिरिक्तो यः शब्दधर्मः आकाशवृत्तित्वादिः तदतिरिक्तो भूतलवृत्तित्वादिरूपो धर्मो घटादौ; शब्दे तु स नित्यत्वरूप एव भवितुमर्हति; तदतिरिक्तस्य शब्दवृत्तेः नित्यत्वातिरिक्तशब्दधर्मातिरिक्तत्वासंभवात् । अतो नित्यत्वमादायैव साध्यपर्यवसानं वाच्यमिति अभिमतसिद्धिः । नित्यत्वातिरिक्तधर्मातिरिक्त्युक्तौ स धर्मो नित्यत्वरूप एवेति तच्छून्ये घटादौ प्रमेयत्वसत्त्वात् व्यभिचारः स्यात् अतः शब्देति । तथा च नित्यत्वातिरिक्तो यः शब्दधर्मः तदतिरिक्तभूतलवृत्तित्वादेः घटादौ सत्त्वान्न व्यभिचारः । एवं यत्र यद्धर्मसाधनमभिमतं तं पक्षीकृत्य तत्र तद्धर्मातिरिक्ततादृशपक्षधर्मातिरिक्तधर्मस्य प्रमेयत्वेन साधने तत्र तादृशधर्मः सिद्धयति । इत्थं चोक्तानुमानस्य

॥ केवलव्यतिरेकिभङ्गः ॥

ननु न द्विविधं व्याप्यम्, केवलव्यतिरेकिणोऽपि भावात्; तथाहि — अनुभूतिरननुभाव्या, अनुभूतित्वात्; यदनुभाव्यम्, न सा अनुभूतिः; यथा घटः । न चान्वयव्याप्यभावादस्याव्याप्तिरिति भाव्यम्; ^१ व्यतिरेकव्याप्यभावात् केवलान्वयिनोऽप्यव्याप्तिप्रसङ्गात्, द्वयोरपि व्याप्योः प्रत्येकमन्वयव्यतिरेकिणि प्रदर्शनीयत्वाभ्युपगमाच्च । उक्तं च वरदविष्णुमिश्रैरपि — ‘तत् पुनरन्वयव्यतिरेकि, केवलान्वयि, केवलव्यतिरेकीति त्रिविधम् —’ इत्यादि । तत्त्वरत्नाकरेऽप्युक्तम् — ‘अक्षपादस्रैधमसूत्रयत् —’ इत्यादीति चेत्, न

साध्याभावं प्रत्यपि साधकतया पक्षस्य साध्याभाववत्त्वे बाधकतर्कासंभवात्, तत्संभवे च तस्य सर्वसाधकत्वाभ्युपगमव्याघातात् ईदृशानुमानानामप्रामाण्यमेव । तथा प्रमेयत्वादिना पक्षावृत्तिधर्मस्वाभिलषितधर्मान्यतरसाधने पक्षान्यत्वस्वाभिलषितधर्मान्यतरसाधने वा पक्षे पक्षावृत्तिधर्मादेरसंभवात् स्वस्वाभिलषितधर्मसिद्धिमादायैवानुमानपर्यवसानमिति ईदृशानुमानानामपि सर्वसाधकतया विपक्षे बाधकतर्कासंभवात् अप्रामाण्यमेवेति । महाविद्यादीत्यादिपदेन धर्मादयः कस्यचिच्छ्रुर्ग्राह्याः प्रमेयत्वात् घटवदित्यादेः संग्रहः ॥

॥ केवलव्यतिरेकिभङ्गः ॥

केवलव्यतिरेकिवादी शङ्कते नन्विति । भावात् — सद्भावात् । अव्याप्तिरिति । व्याप्यभाव इत्यर्थः । अव्याप्तिप्रसङ्गात् — व्याप्यभावप्रसङ्गात् । द्वयोरपीति । अन्वयव्यतिरेकरूपयोः उभयोरपीत्यर्थः । प्रदर्शनीयत्वाभ्युपगमाच्चेति । व्यतिरेकव्याप्तेरनुमित्यनङ्गत्वे अन्वयव्यतिरेकिणि तत्प्रदर्शनं निरर्थकमेव स्यादिति भावः । केवलव्यतिरेकिनिरसने संप्रदायविरोधमप्याह — उक्तञ्चेति । अक्षपादः — गौतमः । त्रैधं — त्रैविध्यम् । असूत्रयदिति । ‘अथ तत्पूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानं पूर्ववत् शेषवत् सामान्यतो दृष्टं चेति’ सूत्रेण प्रत्यपादयदित्यर्थः । इदं हि सूत्रमित्थं

1. वाच्यम्

तावदिह संप्रदायविरोधः, ‘केवलव्यतिरेकि तु साधनदशमेव नासादयति, सपक्षान्वयविरहात्, असाधारणवत् —’ इत्यादिना आत्मसिद्धौ भगवद्यामुन्युनिभिः प्रपञ्चितत्वात् । उक्तं च न्यायकुलिशे स्वप्रकाशवादे श्रीमद्रामानुजार्यैः — ‘न च सिद्धान्तिनोऽयं प्रसङ्गः ^१, केवलव्यतिरेकिप्रामाण्यानभ्युपगमात्’ इति । अतो वरदविष्णुमिश्रोक्तमेकदेशिमतम्, परमतानुसारेण वोक्तम् । तत्त्वरत्नाकरेऽपि ‘अक्षपादस्रैधमसूत्रयत्’ इत्युपक्रम्योक्तम्, न तु स्वमततया ॥

यत्तु तत्रैव हेत्वाभासनिरूपणेऽप्युक्तम् — ‘इयं ह्यनध्यवसितकेवलव्यतिरेकिणो

व्याख्यातं नैयायिकैः । ‘पूर्वमन्वयः, तद्वत् — केवलान्वयीत्यर्थः । यथा अभिधेयं प्रमेयत्वादित्यादि । शेषो व्यतिरेकः, तद्वत् — केवलव्यतिरेकीत्यर्थः; यथा पृथिवी इतरेभ्यो भिद्यते गन्धवत्त्वात् इत्यादि । सामान्यतोदृष्टं — अन्वयव्यतिरेकि; यथा वह्निमान् धूमादित्यादीति । अत्र केवलव्यतिरेकिणो गमकत्वं विस्तरेण निराकरिष्यन् सूचीकटाहन्यायेन प्रथमं संप्रदायविरोधं परिहरति न तावदित्यादिना । साधनदशां — अनुमापकदशां, अनुमापकत्वमिति यावत् । नासादयति — न प्राप्नोति । भगवद्यामुन्युनिभिः प्रपञ्चितत्वादिति । तथा च इदं परप्रवृत्तपरमाचार्यग्रन्थाविरोधेनैव इतरग्रन्था नेया इति भावः । प्रौढतमानां स्वाव्यवहिताचार्याणामुपदेशमप्यत्र प्रमाणयति उक्तं चेति । अत इति । एवं पूर्वाचार्यसंप्रदायसद्भावादित्यर्थः । एकदेशिमतमिति । सिद्धान्त्येकदेशिमतं, न तु मुख्यसिद्धान्तिमतमिति न तद्विरोधोऽस्माकं दोषावह इति भावः । पूर्वग्रन्थेष्वनुपलंभात् प्रत्युत तद्विरुद्धत्वाच्च नास्य सिद्धान्त्येकदेशिमतत्वसंभव इत्याशंक्याह परमतानुसारेण वेति । तत्त्वरत्नाकरग्रन्थविरोधं परिहरति तच्चेति । न तु स्वमततयेति । इदं च अक्षपाद इत्यादिना ज्ञायत इति भावः ॥

तत्त्वरत्नाकर एव प्रदेशान्तरस्थवाक्यविरोधं परिहर्तुं तदनुवदति यच्चिति । इयं ह्यनध्यवसितकेवलव्यतिरेकिणो भिदेति । वक्ष्यमाणो ह्यसाधारणकेवलव्यतिरेकिणोः

1. प्रयोगः

भिदा । विद्यमानसपक्षोऽपि पक्षमात्रवृत्तिः प्रथमः । अन्यस्त्वविद्यमानसपक्षो विपक्षाद्यावृत्त इति । तत्र दृष्टे साध्यवति सपक्षे साधनस्य ततो व्यावृत्ता-
वन्वयबाधाभासत्वं स्पष्टम् । अदृष्टे तु तस्मिन् साध्यान्वयाक्षेपपूर्वोक्तप्रमाणा-
वतारादनाभासत्वं सुवचम्' इति ।

परस्परभेद इत्यर्थः । हिर्हेतौ प्रसिद्धौ वा । साध्यसंशयकतया साध्यानिश्चयकतया
वा असाधारणे अनध्यवसितव्यवहारः प्राचां । शब्दो नित्यः शब्दत्वादित्यत्र हि
नित्यानित्यव्यावृत्तशब्दत्ववान् शब्द इति ज्ञानात् शब्दो नित्यो न वेति संशयो जायते
इति नैयायिकैः स्वीक्रियते । तत्रानध्यवसितलक्षणमाह विद्यमानेत्यादिना । विद्यमान-
सपक्षत्वं किञ्चिद्विशेष्यकनिश्चयपकारीभूतसाध्यकत्वम् । इदं च केवलव्यतिरेकिवारणाय ।
तत्र हि पृथिवी इतरेभ्यो भिद्यते गन्धवत्त्वादित्यादौ कचिदपि न साध्यनिश्चयोऽस्ति ।
पक्षमात्रवृत्तिरिति । इदं चान्वयव्यतिरेकिवारणाय । प्रथम इति । अनध्यवसित
इत्यर्थः ।

केवलव्यतिरेकिणो लक्षणमाह अन्य इति । केवलव्यतिरेकीत्यर्थः । अविद्य-
मानसपक्ष इति । किञ्चिद्विशेष्यकनिश्चयप्रकारताशून्यसाध्यक इत्यर्थः । इदञ्चा-
साधारणवारणाय । विपक्षाद्यावृत्त इति । साध्याभावप्रकारकनिश्चयविशेष्यनिष्ठाभाव-
प्रतियोगीत्यर्थः । इदं च सर्वमनित्यं प्रमेयत्वात् इत्याद्यनुपसंहारिवारणाय । नन्व-
साधारणे केवलव्यतिरेकिणि चान्वयव्याप्तिज्ञानाभावव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानयोः प्रौढ्ये
कथमेकस्याभासत्वमन्यस्य सद्धेतुत्वमित्यतस्तत्र नियामकमाह तत्रेत्यादिना । ततो
व्यावृत्तौ । सपक्षनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वे । अन्वयबाधादिति । सामानाधिकरण्या-
भावनिश्चयादित्यर्थः । सपक्षनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वमात्रेण सामानाधिकरण्याभावनिश्चयो
भवेदित्यभिमानेनेदम् । अदृष्टे तु तस्मिन्निति । सपक्षेऽदृष्टे सतीत्यर्थः । साध्या-
न्वयाक्षेपपूर्वोक्तप्रमाणावतारादिति । पक्षे साध्यसंबन्धानुमितिजनकाभ्यां व्यतिरेक-
व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मताज्ञानाभ्यां पक्षे साध्यसंबन्धानुमितिजननादित्यर्थः । सपक्षस्यैवाभावेन
सपक्षनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वासंभवेन तदधीनोक्तसामानाधिकरण्याभावग्रहरूपबाधकाभावा-
दिति भावः । अनाभासत्वं सुवचमिति । तथा च केवलव्यतिरेकिप्रामाण्यानुपगमे

तदप्यनादरभाषितमिति मन्यामहे ; अन्यथा सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तेरप्याभासत्वप्रसङ्गात्,
साध्यान्वयबाधस्य तावतापि सुवचत्वात्, लक्षणनिरूपणे चाभिप्रायव्यक्तेः,

तद्विरोधो दुष्परिहर एवेति शंकितुरभिप्रायः । परिहरति तदपीति । उक्तवाक्यमपीत्यर्थः ।
अनादरभाषितमिति । तत्र केवलव्यतिरेकिनिरूपणस्याप्रस्तुततया यथाकथञ्चित्तदभि-
धानमप्युपपद्यत इत्यभिप्रायेण अनास्थया परमताभिप्रायेण तथाभिधानमित्यर्थः । उक्त-
सपक्षव्यावृत्तिमात्रेण उक्तान्वयबाधासंभवादिति भावः । तथा अंगीकारे दोषमाह
अन्यथेति । सपक्षव्यावृत्तिमात्रेणान्वयबाधाङ्गीकार इत्यर्थः । सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तेरिति । किञ्चि-
त्सपक्षनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वे सति किञ्चित्सपक्षवृत्तेः बह्व्यादिसाध्यकधूमादिहेतोरित्यर्थः ।
स हि अयोगोलकादिव्यावृत्तः महानसादिवृत्तिरिति भावः । तावतापीति । सपक्षनिष्ठाभाव-
प्रतियोगित्वमात्रेणापीत्यर्थः । मात्रपदेन सपक्षत्वव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वापेक्षाव्यवच्छेदः ।
सुवचत्वादिति । भवद्रीत्या वक्तुं शक्यत्वादित्यर्थः । अतः सामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चया-
भाव एव दूषकताबीजम् । सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तौ च सामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयात् न तस्याभासत्व-
प्रसङ्गः । अनध्यवसिते च सामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयविरहात् आभासत्वोपपत्तिरिति वक्त-
व्यम् । इत्थं च केवलव्यतिरेकिण्यपि सामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयासंभवात् आभासत्वावश्य-
कत्वेन अनाभासत्ववचनमनादरभाषितमेवेत्याश्रयणीयमिति भावः । सामानाधिकरण्य-
निश्चयाभावस्यैव दूषकताबीजत्वाभिप्रायः न केवलमन्यथानुपपत्त्या स्वीकार्यः ; किन्तु
लक्षणनिरूपणे व्यज्यते चेत्याह लक्षणनिरूपणे चेति । चो भिन्नक्रमः । व्यक्तेरि-
त्यनन्तरं योज्यः । लक्षणनिरूपणे - विद्यमानसपक्षोऽपि पक्षमात्रवृत्तिरिति अनध्यवसित-
लक्षणाभिधाने । अभिप्रायव्यक्तेरिति । साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयाभाव एव
दूषकताबीजमित्यभिप्रायप्रतीतेरित्यर्थः । विद्यमानसपक्षोऽपि पक्षमात्रवृत्तिरित्यनेन हि हेतौ
साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयो न संभवतीति ख्याप्यत इति भावः । ननु केवलव्यतिरेकिणि
कथं साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयासंभवः । व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिपक्षधर्मताज्ञानाभ्यां पक्षे
साध्यसंबन्धनिश्चये सति पक्षान्तर्भावेण हेतौ साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयसंभवादित्यत

साध्यान्वयाक्षेपकाणां च सामान्यतोऽपि निराकरिष्यमाणत्वात् ॥

ननु सपक्षैकदेशवर्तिनः साध्यान्वयोऽप्यस्तीति कथं साध्यान्वयबाधशङ्का ? सपक्षे सत्यपि पक्षमात्रवर्तिनो वा पक्ष एव साध्यान्वयसंभवे कथं तद्बाधः ?

आह साध्यान्वयाक्षेपकाणामिति । पक्षान्तर्भावैव हेतौ साध्यसामानाधिकरण्य-निश्चयसंपादकतया भवदभिमतानां केवलव्यतिरेकिहेतूनामित्यर्थः । सामान्यतोऽपीति । सर्वकेवलव्यतिरेकिसाधारणैः तत्तत्केवलव्यतिरेक्यसाधारणैश्च दूषणैरित्यर्थः । स्पष्टं चेदमुपरिष्ठात् । निराकरिष्यमाणत्वादिति । तथा च केवलव्यतिरेकिणा पक्षे साध्यसिद्धेरेवासंभवात् कथं तदधीनसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयसंभव इति भावः । इदमुपलक्षणम् ; पक्षे साध्यनिश्चयः अनुमितिरूप एवेत्याश्रयणीयम् । अन्यविधस्य तत्रा-संभवात्, संभवे चानुमानवैयर्थ्यात् ; ततश्चानुमितौ हेतुधर्मिकसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्य-निश्चयस्य कारणतया तत्रानुमितेः हेतुत्वाभ्युपगमे अन्योन्याश्रयणं च वक्ष्यमाणं बोद्धव्यम् ॥

ननु साध्यवद्भूतित्वसामान्याभावनिश्चय एव दूषकताबीजमित्याश्रीयते ; सपक्षैकदेश-वृत्तौ च तदसंभवात् नाभासत्वप्रसङ्ग इत्यभिप्रायेण शङ्कते नन्विति । साध्यान्वयोऽपि । कुत्रचित्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयोऽपि । साध्यान्वयबाधः - साध्यसामानाधिकरण्य-सामान्याभावनिश्चयः । एवं सति अनध्यवसितस्याभासत्वानुपपत्तिरित्यभिप्रायेण दूषयति सपक्षे सत्यपीति । पक्ष एव साध्यान्वयसंभव इति । पक्षे साध्यसंशयाधीनसाध्य-सामानाधिकरण्यसंशय इत्यर्थः । कथं तद्बाध इति । कथं साध्यसामानाधिकरण्याभाव-निश्चय इत्यर्थः । संशयस्य तत्सामग्र्या वा निश्चयं प्रति प्रतिबन्धकत्वादिति भावः । तथा चानध्यवसितेऽपि साध्यसामानाधिकरण्याभावनिश्चयसंभवात् तस्याभासत्वानुपपत्ति-रित्युक्तं भवति । ननु हेतौ पक्षभिन्नसाध्यवद्भूतित्वनिश्चय एवानुमितिहेतुरिति

तथाप्यन्यत्र क्वचित् साध्यसंबन्धो न दृष्ट इति चेत्, तुल्यं केवलव्यतिरेकिण्यपि । साध्यमपि तस्य क्वचिन्न दृष्टमिति विशेष इति चेत्, हन्त ! दोष एव गुणी-भवत्यायुष्मतः ; साध्यादर्शने साध्यासंबन्धोऽपि न दृष्टः स्यादिति चेत्, तर्ह्यसंबन्धदर्शनं दोष इति सपक्षैकदेशवर्तिनोऽप्यसौ दुस्त्यजः । क्वचित्

स्वीकारान्न दोषः । सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तौ तत्संभवादनध्यवसिते च तदसंभवात् आभासत्वापे-पत्तिरित्यभिप्रायेण शङ्कते तथापीति । साध्यसामानाधिकरण्याभावनिश्चयसंभवेऽपीत्यर्थः । अन्यत्र क्वचित्साध्यसंबन्धो न दृष्ट इति । हेतौ पक्षभिन्नसाध्यवद्भूतित्वं न निश्चित-मित्यर्थः । तथाचोक्तकारणासंभव एवाध्यवसितस्याभासत्वप्रयोजक इति भावः । तुल्यमिति । हेतौ पक्षभिन्नसाध्यवद्भूतित्वनिश्चयरूपकारणासंभवस्तुल्य इत्यर्थः । केवलव्यतिरेकिण्यपीति । तथा च तस्याभासकत्वमेवावश्यकमिति भावः । ननु केवलव्यतिरेकिणि साध्यस्यैव क्वचिदप्यदर्शनात् पक्षभिन्नसाध्यवत् एवाप्रसिद्ध्या तद्भूति-त्वनिश्चयस्य तत्र कारणताया एवासंभवदुक्तिकतया कथं तदभावस्य आभासत्वप्रयो-जकत्वसंभव इत्यभिप्रायेण शङ्कते साध्यमपीति । तस्य - केवलव्यतिरेकिणः । विशेष इति । आभासत्वप्रयोजकस्य दुर्वचत्वरूपो विशेष इत्यर्थः । क्वचिदपि साध्यज्ञाना-भावे साध्याभावघटितव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानस्यैवासंभवेनानुमित्यसंभवादाभासत्वमेवावश्यक-मित्यभिप्रायेणोपालभते हन्तेति । ननु साध्यासंबन्धदर्शनमनुमितौ प्रतिबन्धकम् । तच्च न साध्यवद्भूतित्वसामान्याभावनिश्चयरूपम् ; उक्तरीत्याऽनध्यवसितस्याभासत्वानुपपत्तेः । किन्तु हेतौ निश्चितसाध्यवन्निष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वनिश्चयरूपमेव । तच्च न केवलव्यतिरेकिणीति न तस्याभासत्वं ; अनध्यवसिते च तत्संभवात् आभासत्वोपपत्तिः इत्यभिप्रायेण शङ्कते साध्यादर्शन इति । साध्यज्ञानाभाव इत्यर्थः । साध्यसंबन्धोऽपीति । निश्चित-साध्यवन्निष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वमपीत्यर्थः । न दृष्टः स्यादिति । तस्य साध्यघटितत्वादिति साध्यवन्निष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वमपीत्यर्थः । न दृष्टः स्यादिति । तस्य साध्यघटितत्वादिति भावः । दूषयति तर्हीति । असंबन्धदर्शनं - हेतौ निश्चितसाध्यवन्निष्ठाभावप्रतियोगि-त्वनिश्चयः । दोषः - प्रतिबन्धकः । इतीति । इति सिद्धेरित्यर्थः । असौ - उक्ता-संबन्धदर्शनरूपः प्रतिबन्धकः । दुस्त्यज इति । तथाच बह्व्यादिसाध्यकधूमादि-हेतोरप्याभासत्वप्रसंग इति भावः ।

संबन्धदर्शनात् तस्य दोषपरिहार इति चेत्, तर्हि कचिदपि संबन्धादर्शनात्

ननु हेतुधर्मिकसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयस्योत्तेजकत्वाभ्युपगमात् नोक्तदोषा-
वकाश इत्यभिप्रायेण शङ्कते कचिदिति । महानसादाविति भावः । संबन्धदर्शनात् -
हेतौ सामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयस्योत्तेजकत्वाभ्युपगमात् । तस्य - सपक्षैकदेशवर्तिनः ।
दोषपरिहार इति । अनुमित्यनुत्पादप्रयोजकं यदुक्तोत्तेजकाभावविशिष्टमुक्तप्रतिबन्धकं
तदभावसंपत्तिरित्यर्थः । तथाच न सपक्षैकदेशवर्तिन आभासत्वप्रसंगः । केवल-
व्यतिरेकिणि च सपक्षनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वनिश्चयरूपोक्तप्रतिबन्धकासंभवादेवानुमित्युप-
पत्त्याऽनाभासत्वोपपत्तिरिति न कोऽपि दोष इति भावः । ननु केवलव्यतिरेकिणि
सपक्षस्यैवाप्रसिद्ध्या तद्वदितोक्तप्रतिबन्धकस्यैवाप्रसिद्ध्या तदभावरूपकारणासंभवात्
कथमनुमित्युपपत्तिरिति चेदुच्यते — प्रतिबन्धकाभावस्य न कार्यं प्रति कारणता ।
किन्तु प्रतिबन्धकस्य कार्यानुत्पत्तिप्रयोजकत्वमात्रम् । तत एव प्रतिबन्धकसमवधानदशायां
कार्यापत्तिवारणसंभवे प्रतिबन्धकाभावस्य न कारणत्वकल्पनम्; गौरवादिति मताभिप्रायेणेद-
मिति न दोषः । वस्तुतस्तु कालान्तरीयपुरुषान्तरीयपक्षधर्मिकसाध्यनिश्चयमादाय
पक्षस्यैव निश्चितसाध्यवत्त्वोपपत्त्या तन्निष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वस्य हेतौ कस्यचित् कदाचित्
भ्रान्तिरूपनिर्णयसंभवात् न केवलव्यतिरेकिण्यपि प्रतिबन्धकाप्रसिद्धिरिति । अत्र
चानुमितौ तज्जनकज्ञाने वा ग्राह्याभावाद्यनवगाहिनः सपक्षनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्वनिश्चयस्य
न प्रतिबन्धकत्वसंभवः । मणिमन्त्रादिन्यायेन प्रतिबन्धकत्वं तु दूरतो निरस्तम् ।
हेतुधर्मिकसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयस्यानुमितिकारणत्वाभ्युपगमादेवानध्यवसितस्याभासत्वोप-
पत्तेः । सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तौ च तादृशनिश्चयसंभवादन्युमित्युपपत्तिः । ततश्च न केवल-
व्यतिरेकिणि अनुमितिसंभवः । उक्तनिश्चयस्याभावात् । न च केवलव्यतिरेकिणो
अनुपपत्त्युपपत्त्यर्थमेव मणिमन्त्रादिन्यायेन तस्य प्रतिबन्धकत्वमाश्रित्यैवानध्यवसितस्या-
भासत्वमुपपाद्यते । सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तानुमित्युपपत्तये च सामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयस्य उत्तेजकत्वं
स्वीक्रियत इति वाच्यम्; केवलव्यतिरेकिणि अनुमितेस्सविवादतया उक्तगुरुभूतकल्पनाया
असंभवादित्यभिप्रायेण दूषयति तर्हीति । हेतौ साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयस्य

केवलव्यतिरेकिणः साध्यसंबन्धप्रतीत्यनुत्पत्तिरेवेति किं बाधेन ? तेनैव

सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिसिद्धेतौ अनुमितिसंपादकत्वाभ्युपगम इत्यर्थः । अनेनोक्तनिश्चयस्या-
नुमितिहेतुत्वाभ्युपगमेनैवानध्यवसितस्याभासत्वोपपत्तौ उक्तगुरुभूतकल्पना अनुचितैवेति
ख्याप्यते । संबन्धादर्शनात् - उक्तसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयरूपकारणविरहात् ।
केवलव्यतिरेकिण इति पञ्चम्यन्तं । साध्यसंबन्धप्रतीत्यनुत्पत्तिरिति । पक्षे
साध्यानुमित्यसंभव एवेत्यर्थः । किं बाधेनेति । हेतौ सपक्षनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगित्व-
निश्चयस्य प्रतिबन्धकत्वाभ्युपगमेन न किमप्युभयवादिसंप्रतिपन्नं प्रयोजनमित्यर्थः ।
उक्तरीत्या केवलव्यतिरेकिणि अनुमितिसिद्धेः न प्रयोजनत्वसंभव इति भावः ॥

यत्तु व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानाधीनानुमितौ न हेतुधर्मिकसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयस्य
हेतुत्वं स्वीक्रियत इति ; तन्न ; तथा सति हेतौ साध्यसामानाधिकरण्याभावनिश्चयदशाया-
मपि तादृशानुमितिप्रसङ्गात् । न च हेतुनिष्ठसाध्यासामानाधिकरण्यस्य विरोधदोषरूपतया
न तन्निश्चयदशायामनुमितिसंभवः ; पक्षे तद्वत्ताज्ञानसहितस्य तद्धर्मिकसाध्यासामानाधि-
करण्यनिश्चयस्य साक्षादनुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वादिति वाच्यम् ; - तथापि हेतुनिष्ठसाध्या-
सामानाधिकरण्यव्याप्यस्य दोषत्वोपपत्तये व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानाधीनानुमितावपि हेतुधर्मिक-
साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयस्य कारणत्वावश्यभावात् । अन्यथा साक्षादनुमित्य-
विरोधितया हेत्वाभासत्वानुपपत्तेः । हेतुनिष्ठसाध्यासामानाधिकरण्यस्य हि बाधसत्प्रति-
पक्षभिन्नतया तत्र तद्व्याप्यस्यापि हेत्वाभासत्वं सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नम् । किंच तद्वेतुकानुमिति-
त्वावच्छिन्नं प्रति तद्वेतुधर्मिकसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयत्वेन कारणतायां लाघवम् ।
कार्यतावच्छेदककोटौ अन्वयव्याप्तिज्ञानाधीनत्वस्यापि निवेशे गौरवम् । ततश्च तद्वेतु-
कानुमितित्वाक्रान्तायां व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानाधीनानुमितावपि सामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चय-
हेतुत्वमावश्यकम् । अपि च व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानाधीनानुमितौ सामानाधिकरण्य-
निश्चयस्याहेतुत्वे अनध्यवसितस्याभासत्वानुपपत्तिः । व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानेन तत्रानुमिति-
संभवादित्यलम् । अतः सामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयासंभवात् अनध्यवसितवत् केवलव्यति-
रेकिणोऽप्याभासत्वमेव युक्तमिति शङ्कते तेनैवेति । केवलव्यतिरेकिणैवेत्यर्थः ।

पक्षे संबन्धः प्रतीयत इति चेन्न, सिद्धे संबन्धे व्याप्यात् व्यापकधीः, व्यापक-
प्रतीतौ च ^२ संबन्धधीरित्यन्योन्याश्रयणात् ॥

अथ साध्याभावः साधनाभावेन व्याप्तः; साधनाभावश्च निवर्तमानः
स्वव्याप्यं साध्याभावमपि निवर्तयन् साधनस्य साध्यव्याप्यतामुपादायैव विश्रा-
म्यतीति प्रतिबन्धसिद्धिः,

पक्षे संबन्धः प्रतीयत इति । पक्षान्तर्भावेण हेतौ साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं निश्चीयत
इत्यर्थः । अतो नानुमित्यनुपपत्तिरिति भावः । अत्र केवलव्यतिरेकिणः हेतौ
साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिर्णयं प्रति साक्षादेव हेतुत्वं, उत पक्षे साध्यानुमिति-
जननद्वारेति विकल्प्य आद्ये तादृशकार्यकारणभावे प्रमाणाभावः स्पष्ट इत्यभिप्रेत्य
द्वितीये दूषणमाह नेत्यादिना । सिद्धे संबन्धे इति । हेतौ साध्यसामानाधिकरण्ये
निश्चित एवेत्यर्थः । व्याप्याव्यापकधीरिति । हेतोस्साध्यानुमितिरित्यर्थः ।
व्यापकप्रतीताविति । साध्यानुमितावेवेत्यर्थः । संबन्धधीरिति । हेतौ पक्षावच्छेदेन
साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिर्णय इत्यर्थः ॥

अतः च पक्षे साध्यनिर्णयनैरपेक्ष्येणैव केवलव्यतिरेकिणि साध्यसामानाधिकरण्य-
निर्णयसंभवात् नान्योन्याश्रयप्रसंग इति केवलव्यतिरेकिप्रामाण्यं निर्बाधमेवेत्यभिप्रायेण
शङ्कते अथेति । साधनाभावेन व्याप्तः - साधनाभावनिरूपितव्याप्तिमान् । अतः
इति शेषः । निवर्तमानः - पक्षधर्मिकत्वाभावनिश्चयविषयभूतः । स्वं - साधनाभावः ।
निवर्तयन् - पक्षधर्मिकाभावनिश्चयं विषयीकुर्वन्; पक्षधर्मिकसाध्याभावाभावनिश्चयं
जनयन्निति यावत् । व्यापकाभावस्य व्याप्याभावव्याप्यत्वनियमादिति भावः । साधनस्य
व्याप्यतामुपादायैव - साधनधर्मिकसाध्यव्याप्यत्वनिश्चयं जनयित्वैव । विश्राम्यति -
निवृत्तव्यापारो भवति । अवश्यं व्याप्यतानिश्चयं जनयतीति यावत् । स च औत्तर-
कालिकमानसरूपः अनुमितिरूपो वेत्यन्यदेतत् । इति - अतः । प्रतिबन्धसिद्धिरिति । हेतौ
साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयसंपत्तिरित्यर्थः । व्याप्यतायाः सामानाधिकरण्यघटितत्वादिति

अभावव्याप्तिवैपरीत्येन भावव्याप्तेः सार्वत्रिकत्वात्, साध्यसाधनविरुद्धधर्मद्वया-
न्वयसमव्याप्तेः साध्यसाधनसमव्याप्यव्यभिचारित्वसिद्धेरिति चेत्, मैवम् —

भावः । ननु साधनाभावाभावज्ञानात् साध्याभावाभावनिश्चये सति साध्य-
साधनयोः सामानाधिकरण्यज्ञानस्य मानसस्य संभवेऽपि कथं साधने साध्यव्याप्यता-
निश्चयोपपत्तिः? व्यभिचारशङ्कया प्रतिबन्धसंभवादित्यत आह अभावेत्यादि । यत्र
यदभावव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वं तत्र तदभाववदवृत्तित्वविशिष्टतत्सामानाधिकरण्यरूपं
तद्व्याप्यत्वमिति नियमादित्यर्थः । अयं भावः - यदि साधने साध्यव्यभिचारि स्यात्
तर्हि साध्याभावव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगि न स्यादिति तर्केण व्यभिचारशङ्कानिवृत्तिः ।
अथवा यत्र यदभावव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वं तत्रोक्तं तद्व्याप्यत्वमिति नियमस्य
निर्विवादतया साध्यव्याप्यत्वव्याप्येन साध्याभावव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वेन साधने साध्य-
व्याप्यत्वानुमानमिति पृथिवी इतरेभ्यो भिद्यते गन्धवत्त्वादित्यादिसाध्यसमव्याप्तकेवल-
व्यतिरेकिहेतौ साध्याभावसमव्याप्ताभावप्रतियोगित्वेन साध्यसमव्याप्तत्वमप्यनुमातुं शक्य-
मित्याह साध्यसाधनविरुद्धधर्मद्वयान्वयसमव्याप्तेरिति । साध्याभावसाधनाभावद्वय-
संबन्धयोः परस्परसमव्याप्तेरित्यर्थः । भावान्तराभावपक्षे विरुद्धधर्मरूप एवाभाव इति
स्फोरणाय तथाभिधानम् । यद्वा समव्याप्तिर्हि द्विधा, अन्वयसमव्याप्तिः, व्यतिरेकसम-
व्याप्तिश्चेति । तत्र साध्यसाधनयोः परस्परं व्याप्यत्वव्यापकत्वोभयवत्त्वं साध्यसाधन-
योरन्वयसमव्याप्तिः । साध्याभावसाधनाभावयोः परस्परं व्याप्यत्वव्यापकत्वोभयवत्त्वं
साध्यसाधनयोः व्यतिरेकसमव्याप्तिः । तत्र प्राथमिकव्याप्यभिप्रायेण अन्वयसम-
व्याप्तेरित्युक्तम् । चो भिन्नक्रमः । सिद्धेरित्यनन्तरं संबद्धयते । अव्यभिचारित्व-
सिद्धेरिति । व्याप्यत्वसंप्रतिपत्तेरित्यर्थः । यत्राभावयोः समव्याप्तिः तत्र प्रतियोगिनोरपि
समव्याप्तिरित्येवंविधनियमे कस्यापि विवादाभावादिति भावः । अत्र चाभावव्याप्ति-
भावव्याप्योः समनैत्यं विवक्षितं वा, आहोस्वित् यत्राभावयोर्व्याप्तिः तत्र
तद्वैपरीत्येन भावयोर्व्याप्तिरित्येवमभावव्याप्तेः व्याप्यतामात्रमिति विकल्प्याद्यं दूषयति

व्याप्यानां व्यापकाभावव्यापकाभावयोगिता ।
 कथं नाम नियन्तव्या केवलान्वयिवादिनः ॥
 केवलान्वयिनि व्याप्ये न हि सर्वसपक्षगे ।
 तद्व्यापके वा क्वापि स्यादभावप्रतियोगिता ॥

अपि च, अनध्यवसितेऽपि तथा व्याप्तिः सुवचा । नित्यत्वा-
 भावो हि गन्धवत्त्वाभावेनावादिषु व्याप्तः । गन्धवत्त्वाभावश्च पृथिव्या
 निवर्तमानः स्वव्याप्यं नित्यत्वाभावमपि निवर्तयन् गन्धवत्त्वस्य नित्यत्व-
 व्याप्यतामुपादायैव विश्राम्यतीति । नन्वेवमनित्यत्वेनापि व्याप्तिस्तस्य

व्याप्यानामिति । व्यापकाभावव्यापकाभावयोगितेति । व्यापकप्रतियोगिको यः
 अभावः तद्व्यापकस्याभावस्य प्रतियोगितेत्यर्थः । कथं नियन्तव्येति । नियतत्वेन
 वक्तुमशक्येत्यर्थः । यत्र यद्व्याप्यत्वं तत्र तदभावव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वमिति व्याप्तिर्न
 संभवतीत्युक्तं भवति । केवलान्वयिवादिन इति । अत्यन्ताभावाप्रतियोगिधर्ममङ्गी-
 कुर्वत इत्यर्थः । तत्पक्षे हि तादृशे प्रमेयत्वादौ अभिधेयत्वादिव्याप्यत्वसत्त्वात्
 तत्राभिधेयत्वाभावव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वासत्त्वेन व्यभिचारः । निर्धर्मकब्रह्मवादिपक्ष
 एव च सर्वेषामपि धर्माणां ब्रह्मनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितया अत्यन्ताभावाप्रतियोगिधर्मविरहात्
 उक्तव्याप्युपपत्तिरिति भावः । केवलान्वयिनीत्यादि । अभिधेयः प्रमेयत्वादित्यादौ
 सर्वसपक्षवृत्तौ प्रमेयत्वादिरूपे व्याप्येऽभिधेयत्वादिरूपे व्यापके वाऽभावप्रतियोगित्वासत्त्वा-
 दित्यर्थः । अभिधेयो द्रव्यत्वादित्यादौ द्रव्यत्वेऽभावप्रतियोगित्वमस्तीति । सर्वेत्यादि ।
 तथा च तद्व्याप्यत्वतदभावव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वयोः समनैयत्वं न संभवतीति सिद्धम् ॥

द्वितीयं दूषयति अपि चेति । अनध्यवसितेति । पृथिवी नित्या गन्धवत्त्वात्
 इत्याद्यसाधारणेऽपि । तथा व्याप्तिः इति । उक्तरीत्या गन्धादौ नित्यत्वव्याप्तिग्रह
 इत्यर्थः । व्याप्तः - व्याप्यत्वेन गृहीतः । पक्षे पृथिव्यां नित्यत्वस्य सन्दिग्धतया तत्र
 व्यभिचारग्रहासंभवादिति भावः । विश्राम्यतीति । तथा च केवलव्यतिरेकिवदेव
 तत्रापि सामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयसंभवात् अनुमित्युपपत्त्या आभासत्वं न स्यादिति
 भावः । इदमुपलक्षणम् ; व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिग्रहस्थले सर्वत्रोक्तरीत्याऽन्यव्याप्तिग्रहावश्यंभावे

ग्रहीतुं शक्यत इति चेत्, तर्हि केवलव्यतिरेकिसाध्येन वस्त्वन्तरासाधारणस्वभाव-
 स्यापि व्याप्तिर्ग्रहीतुं शक्यत इति समो दोषः । तथा हि-घटः स्वयंप्रकाशः, घटत्वात्;
 न यदेवं न तदेवम् ; यथा—पट इति व्याप्तिः सुग्रहा । अनुभूतेरनुभाव्यत्वे घटादि-
 वदननुभूतित्वप्रसङ्ग इति केवलव्यतिरेकिणो विपक्षे बाधकमस्तीति विशेष इति
 चेन्न, घटस्यानुभाव्यत्वे पटवदघटत्वप्रसङ्ग इति सुवचत्वात् । किं च सपक्षवति
 असाधारणे साध्यं क्वचित् प्रसिद्धमिति तद्व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिर्ग्रहीतुं शक्या ; इह तु
 साध्यधर्मस्य पूर्वमप्रसिद्धतया तद्व्यतिरेकव्याप्तेस्तत्प्रतियोगिकत्वेन प्रवृत्ताया
 दुर्ग्रहत्वमेव । अथानुभाव्यत्वरूपतद्व्यतिरेकः सुग्रह इति चेन्न, तथापि यदनुभाव्यं
 न सा अनुभूतिरिति व्याप्तिग्रहणदशायामेव प्रतियोगिभूतानुभूत्यनुभाव्यत्वदर्शनेन

व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिग्रहस्यानुमितिहेतुत्वमेव भज्येत इत्यपि बोद्धव्यम् । ग्रहीतुं शक्यत इति ।
 उक्तरीत्येत्यादिः । तथा चानिष्टसाधकताप्रसंगात् महाविद्यानुमानवत् अनध्यवसितस्य
 आभासत्वमेव युक्तमिति भावः । केवलव्यतिरेकिण्यपि प्रकारान्तरेण सोऽस्तीत्यभिप्रायेणाह
 तर्हीति । अनिष्टसाधकताप्रसंगेनाभासत्व इत्यर्थः । केवलव्यतिरेकिसाध्येनेति ।
 केवलव्यतिरेकिहेतोर्यत्साध्यं अननुभाव्यत्वादि तेनेत्यर्थः । वस्त्वन्तरासाधारणस्वभावस्य ।
 घटत्वादिरूपस्य वस्त्वन्तरासाधारणधर्मस्य । समो दोषः अनिष्टसाधकताप्रसंगरूपो दोषः
 केवलव्यतिरेकिण्यपि तुल्य इत्यर्थः । घटः स्वयंप्रकाशः घटत्वादिति । नन्वत्र
 स्वयंप्रकाशत्वस्य परानधीनप्रकाशवत्त्वरूपस्य पराधीनप्रकाशशून्यत्वरूपस्य वा साध्यस्यानु-
 भूतौ सद्भावात् सपक्षसत्त्वेन कथं केवलव्यतिरेकित्वमिति चेन्न ; अनुभूतेरपि परप्रकाशत्व-
 मङ्गीकुर्वतां सिद्धान्तिनां मते परप्रकाशत्वाभावरूपाननुभाव्यत्वसाधने केवलव्यतिरेकित्वो-
 पपत्तेरिति अभिप्रायात् । अत एव घटस्यानुभाव्यत्वे पटवदघटत्वप्रसङ्ग इत्यनुपदमेवाभि-
 धीयते । केवलव्यतिरेकिणि विपक्षे बाधकतर्कसद्भावरूपं विशेषमाशङ्कते अनुभूतेरिति ।
 ईदृशस्तर्काभासः प्रकृतेऽपि सुलभ इत्यभिप्रायेण दूषयति । तमेव तर्काभासमाह घटस्ये-
 त्यादिना । दूषणान्तरमाह किञ्चेति । पूर्वमप्रसिद्धतयेति । अनुमितेः प्रागज्ञाततये-
 त्यर्थः । पक्षातिरिक्ते क्वाप्यननुभाव्यत्वासत्त्वादिति भावः । तत्प्रतियोगिकत्वेन प्रवृत्ताया
 इति । तत्प्रतियोगिकत्वेन ज्ञातव्याया इत्यर्थः । प्रतियोगिभूतानुभूत्यनुभाव्यत्व-
 दर्शनेनेति । न साऽनुभूतिरिति भेदप्रतियोगितयाऽनुभूतेरनुभाव्यत्वदर्शनेनेत्यर्थः ।

व्याघातात् । भावसाधककेवलव्यतिरेकिषु च यदि साध्यं पक्षे प्रसिद्धम्, तर्हि व्यर्थमनुमानम् । यद्यन्यत्र, तदा सपक्षे सति केवलव्यतिरेकित्वं न स्यात् । न चोभयातिरिक्तमस्ति, व्याघातात् । न हि भावाभावात्मना विकल्पेऽपि कौट्यन्तरसंभवः, “परस्परविरोधे तु न प्रकारान्तरस्थितिः” इति न्यायात् । तुल्यं चेदमभावसाध्यकत्वेऽपि; विशिष्टसाध्यादिव्यतिरेकमुखेन व्याप्तेर्गृहीतव्यत्वात्;

अनुभाव्यत्वानुभूतिभेदयोः व्याप्यव्यापकभावग्रहदशायामेवानुभूतेरनुभाव्यत्वज्ञानमावश्यकम् । ततः प्रागेव प्रतियोगिज्ञानमुद्रयाऽनुभूतिज्ञानस्यावश्यकत्वादिति भावः । व्याघातादिति । अनुमितिप्रतिबन्धादित्यर्थः । भावसाधककेवलव्यतिरेकि-
ष्विति । पृथिवी गन्धवती पृथिवीत्वादित्यादिष्वित्यर्थः । व्यर्थमनुमानमिति ।
पक्षे साध्यनिश्चयस्यैव तत्फलत्वादिति भावः । ननु पृथिवीत्वावच्छेदेन गन्धवत्त्व-
साधने तत्सामानाधिकरण्येन घटादौ गन्धवत्त्वनिश्चयेऽपि न सिद्धसाधनं, न
वाऽनुमानवैयर्थ्यमिति चेन्न । तथा सति घटादेरेवान्वयदृष्टान्तत्वसंभवेन केवलव्यतिरेकि-
त्वासंभवात् । यदन्यत्रेति । शब्दो नित्यः शब्दत्वादित्यादिषु आत्मादौ नित्यत्व-
प्रसिद्धेरिति भावः । केवलव्यतिरेकित्वं न स्यादिति । सपक्षरहितस्यैव तत्त्वादिति
भावः । व्याघातादिति । पक्षभिन्नत्वपक्षभिन्नभिन्नत्वयोः परस्परविरोधादिति भावः । तथा
च कापि साध्यज्ञानासंभवात् तद्वटितव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानमेव न संभवतीति कथं केवल-
व्यतिरेकिप्रामाण्यमित्युक्तं भवति । इदमिति । भावसाधककेवलव्यतिरेकिण्युक्तं दूषण-
मित्यर्थः । ननु अननुभाव्यत्वादिरूपाभावसाधककेवलव्यतिरेकिषु साध्यज्ञानविरहेऽपि
अनुभाव्यत्वरूपसाध्याभावज्ञानसंभवात् तद्व्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वरूपव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञान-
मुपपद्यत एवेति कथं दोषतौल्यमित्यत आह विशिष्टसाध्यादिव्यतिरेकमुखेनेति ।
साध्यतावच्छेदकविशिष्टसाध्याद्यभावत्वेनेत्यर्थः । आदिना हेतुपरिग्रहः । ग्रहीतव्य-
त्वादिति । भावसाध्यकस्थले साध्याभावत्वेन साध्याभावघटितव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानादेव
अनुमितिर्जायते ; न त्वभावत्वादिना साध्याभावघटितव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानात् । न हि
वह्न्यभावव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगी धूम इति ज्ञानादिव अभावव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगी

1. साधकत्वेऽपि.

अन्यथा कस्य केनैषा व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिः ?

धूम इति ज्ञानाद्वह्यनुमितिः कस्यचित्संमता । न च तादृशज्ञानस्य भ्रमरूपत्वात् नानुमितिरिति अमितव्यम् ; घटाभावव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगी धूम इत्यादिभ्रमात् घटाद्यनुमितेः सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नत्वात् ; विषयाबाधे प्रमात्वस्याप्युपपत्तेः । तद्व्यक्तित्वेन बह्व्यभावावगाहितादृशप्रमया बह्व्यनुमितिप्रसंगस्य दुर्वारत्वाच्च । अतः तद्वदेवाभावसाध्यकस्थलेऽपि साध्याभावत्वेन साध्याभावाघटितव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानस्य नानुमितिहेतुत्वसंभव इति भावः । इममेव भावं विशदयति अन्यथेति । साध्याभावत्वहेत्वभावप्रकारकव्याप्तिग्रहाभाव इत्यर्थः । कस्य केनेति । कस्य हेतुविशेषस्य केन साध्यविशेषेण । तथा च व्याप्तिज्ञानस्य साध्यहेतुविशेषानवगाहित्वे पक्षे हेतुविशेषवत्ताज्ञानात् साध्यविशेषविषयकानुमितिरिति नियमानुपपत्तिप्रसंग इति भावः । न च यस्य यद्धर्मावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावरूपत्वं तद्व्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगित्वज्ञानं तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नानुमितिहेतुरित्यङ्गीकारात् अनुभाव्यत्वाभावत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावरूपानुभाव्यत्वव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगित्वज्ञानादनुभाव्यत्वाभावत्वावच्छिन्नविषयकानुमित्युपपत्तिरिति वाच्यम् ; तथा सति धूमाभाववान् बह्व्यभावादित्यत्र धूमव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगित्वज्ञानात् द्रव्याभावानुमितिप्रसङ्गात् ; धूमस्यापि द्रव्याभावाभावरूपत्वात् । न च तथापि तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नाभावत्वव्यापकधर्मावच्छिन्नव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिताज्ञानं तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नानुमितिहेतुरित्यङ्गीकारान्न दोषः । धूमत्वस्य द्रव्याभावत्वावच्छिन्नाभावत्वाव्यापकत्वात् ; घटादेरपि द्रव्याभावत्वावच्छिन्नाभावरूपत्वादिति वाच्यम् ; एवमपि प्रमेयव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगिताज्ञानात् द्रव्याभावानुमितिप्रसङ्गस्य दुर्वारत्वात् । तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नाभावत्वसमनियतत्वनिवेशेऽपि बहिमान् धूमादित्यादौ तद्व्यक्तित्वेन बह्व्यभावावगाहितव्यक्तित्वव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वज्ञानात् बह्व्यनुमितिप्रसङ्गस्य दुर्वारत्वाच्च । न च तथापि तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिताज्ञानं तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नाभावानुमितिहेतुरित्यङ्गीकारात् अनुभाव्यत्वत्वावच्छिन्नव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगिताज्ञानात् अनुभाव्यत्वत्वावच्छिन्नाभावानुमित्युपपत्तिरिति वाच्यम् ; तादृशातिरिक्तकार्यकारणभावे मानाभावात् । बहिमान् धूमादित्यादौ व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानाधीनानुमितेः नियमेन बह्व्यभावाभावत्वेन

स्वरूपतः प्रवृत्तापि हि व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिः । सा प्रकृतव्यतिरेकत्वपरामर्शाभावे कथं प्रकृतस्योपकरिष्यति । न च सामान्यतः क्वचिदिति विदितं साध्यं केवल-व्यतिरेकिणा पक्षरूपविशेषे व्यवस्थाप्यमिति वाच्यम् ; तथाविधसामान्योप-स्थापकप्रमाणाभावात् । वेद्यत्वं किञ्चिन्निष्ठात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगि, धर्मत्वात्, घटत्ववदित्याद्यस्तीति चेन्न, स्वयचनविरोधात्,

वह्न्यवगाहिताप्रसङ्गाच्च । न ह्यलेष्टापत्तिसंभवः ; अनुभवविरोधात् धूमाभाववान् वह्न्यभावा-दित्यत्र धूमव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगी वह्न्यभाव इति ज्ञानात् धूमाभावानुमितिस्त्व-सिद्धैव । अतः साध्याभावत्वेन साध्याभावघटितव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानमेवानुमितिहेतुतया वाच्यमिति साध्याप्रसिद्धौ नानुमितिहेतुभूतव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानसंभव इति सिद्धम् । तदेतत्सर्वमभिप्रेत्याह स्वरूपतः प्रवृत्तापीति । तद्व्यक्तिव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगितात्व-धूमाभावव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगितात्वादिरूपस्वासाधारणधर्मप्रकारकज्ञानविषयीभूतापी-त्यर्थः । प्रकृतव्यतिरेकत्वपरामर्शाभावे — प्रकृतसाध्याभावत्वप्रकारकज्ञाना-विषयत्वे । प्रकृतस्योपकरिष्यतीति - प्रकृतसाध्यानुमिति जनयिष्यतीत्यर्थः । साध्याभावत्वेन साध्याभावघटितव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानादेव वह्निमान् धूमादित्याद्यन्वय-व्यतिरेकिस्थले अनुमितिदर्शनादन्यविधव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानात् तददर्शनादिति भावः । सामान्यतः क्वचिदिति । विदितमिति । सामान्यधर्मविशेषितयत्किञ्चिद्वृत्तित्वनिश्चय-विषयीभूतमित्यर्थः । तथा च साध्याप्रसिद्धिनिबन्धनो दोषो न प्रसरतीति भावः । पक्षरूपविशेषे व्यवस्थाप्यमिति । पक्षतावच्छेदकरूपविशेषधर्मावच्छिन्नविशेष्यकनिश्चय-प्रकारीकर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । पक्षतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नविशेष्यकसाध्यप्रकारकनिश्चयो जननीय इति यावत् । साध्याभावत्वेन साध्याभावघटितव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानसंभवादिति (विवादा-दिति) भावः । तथाविधसामान्योपस्थापकेति । सामान्यधर्मपुरस्कारेण यत्किञ्चिद्वृत्ति-साध्यमिति निश्चयजनकेत्यर्थः । तादृशनिश्चयजनकप्रमाणमनुमानरूपमस्तीति शङ्कते वेद्यत्वं किञ्चिन्निष्ठात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगीति । एवंविधानुमितौ तुल्यवित्तिवेद्यतया औत्तरकालिकमानसेन वा वेद्यत्वाभावरूपविशिष्टसाध्यनिश्चयात् व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानोप-पत्तिरिति भावः । न चैवं सति सपक्षवत्त्वात् केवलव्यतिरेकित्वहानिरिति शङ्क्यम् ; यतः

किञ्चिदिति निर्दिश्यमानस्य वेद्यत्वे तदभावाधिकरणत्वविरोधात्, अवेद्यत्वे तत्र किञ्चिच्छब्दप्रयोगस्यैवानुपपत्तेः, यत्किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावलक्षणधर्मेण चानैका-न्यात् । तस्य च सर्वत्र वृत्त्यनभ्युपगमे पुनर्व्याघातः । तथा सति हि कस्यचित् सर्वधर्मविशिष्टत्वमेष्टव्यम् । तथा च तत्र तद्वत्त्वतदभाववत्त्वयोः समुच्चयः स्यात् । संविदोऽपि यत्किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावविरहे तन्निष्ठात्यन्ताभाव-साधनविरोधः, तद्विरहेण पुनस्तत्सिद्धेश्च, यत्र यदत्यन्ताभावविरहस्तत्र तस्य सत्त्वावश्यंभावात् ।

साध्यप्रकारकनिश्चयीयपक्षावृत्तिधर्मावच्छिन्नविशेष्यताश्रयस्यैव सपक्षरूपत्वम् । ततश्च पक्षावृत्तिधर्मावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितनिश्चयीयप्रकारताशून्यसाध्यकत्वं सपक्षराहित्यमिति सामान्यतः साध्यप्रसिद्धिं शङ्कमानस्याभिप्रायः । किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावेति । पटादौ घटत्वात्यन्ताभावः घटादौ पटत्वात्यन्ताभावः इत्येवं किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावस्य सार्वत्रिकतया किञ्चिन्निष्ठात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगित्वासंभवादिति भावः । यद्यपि प्रमेयत्वा-दिभिरेवानैकान्त्यं वक्तुं शक्यम् ; तथाप्यनुभूतौ परैर्भावरूपधर्मानुपगमात् भावरूपेषु सर्वेष्वपि धर्मेषु तन्मते अनुभूतिनिष्ठात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगित्वसत्त्वात् न तैरनैकान्त्यमित्यभि-प्रायेण तथाभिधानम् । एवं संयोगादिव्यधिकरणसंबन्धेन रूपाद्यभावेवपि व्यभिचारो बोद्धव्यः । तस्य - किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावस्य । परस्परविरुद्धधर्मद्वयाभ्युगमलक्षणं व्याघातमेवो-पपादयति तथा सति हीति । किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावस्य सार्वत्रिकत्वानभ्युपगमे सति हीत्यर्थः । कस्यचित्सर्वधर्मविशिष्टत्वमेष्टव्यमिति । यत् किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावो नास्तीत्युच्यते तस्य सर्वधर्मवत्त्वमंगीकार्यमित्यर्थः । अन्यथा यादृशधर्मस्तत्र न स्वीक्रियते तादृशधर्मरूपकिञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावस्य तत्रावश्यकत्वादिति भावः । तद्वत्त्वतदभाववत्त्वयोः समुच्चयः स्यादिति । उभयोरपि धर्मरूपत्वादिति भावः । तन्निष्ठात्यन्ताभावसाधन-विरोध इति । तत्रानुभाव्यत्वात्यन्ताभावसाधने बाध इत्यर्थः । तद्विरहेण पुनस्त-त्सिद्धेरिति । किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावविरहेण पुनरपि किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावसिद्धेरित्यर्थः । किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावस्यापि धर्मरूपत्वादिति भावः । चो भिन्नक्रमः । अवश्यंभावा-दित्यनन्तरं योज्यः । संविदि यत्किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावानुपगमे तस्याः सधर्मकत्वप्रसंगादपि तत्र किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभाव आवश्यक इत्याह यत्रेति । तत्र तस्य सत्त्वावश्यंभावादिति ।

न च स्वरूपमेवात्र तद्विरहः, तदारोपसहे तदयोगात् । एवं किञ्चिच्छब्दवाच्यत्व-
लक्षणधर्मेणाप्यनेकान्तो वाच्यः । यदि क्वचित् किञ्चित् न स्यात्, अलीकतैव
स्यात् । कथं च क्वचिदिति निर्दिष्टे किञ्चित् न स्यादित्युच्येत ?

अभावाभावस्य प्रतियोगिरूपत्वादिति भावः । स्वरूपमेव तद्विरह इति । संविन्निष्ठः
किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावविरहः संविस्वरूपात्मक एवेत्यर्थः । तथा च न तस्य किञ्चिद्धर्म-
रूपत्वसंभवः । अभावाभावस्य धर्म्यतिरिक्तस्यैव प्रतियोगिरूपत्वादिति भावः । दूषयति
तदारोपेति । तदारोपविषये तद्विरहरूपत्वायोगादित्यर्थः । अन्यथा तद्विरहज्ञानस्य
तदारोपप्रतिबन्धकतया धर्मिणि तदारोपे धर्मिरूपतद्विरहज्ञानस्यावश्यकतया तदारोपस्यै-
वासंभवादिति भावः । अथ तद्धर्मिकतत्प्रकारकारोपे तद्धर्मिकतदभावप्रकारकनिर्णयत्वेनैव
प्रतिबन्धकता; नतु तद्विषयकारोपे तदभावविषयकज्ञानत्वेन । ह्रदो वह्निमानित्यारोपे वह्न्य-
भावः प्रमेयः घटो वह्न्यभाववानित्यादिनिर्णयस्य प्रतिबन्धकतापत्तेः । ततश्च संविदि किञ्चि-
द्धर्मात्यन्ताभावविरहस्य संविस्वरूपत्वेऽपि तत्र किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावारोपे संवित् किञ्चि-
द्धर्मात्यन्ताभावाभाववतीत्येव निर्णयो विरोधी भवितुमर्हति; नतु किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभाव-
विरहरूपाया अपि संविदः स्वरूपज्ञानमात्रम् । अतः किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावविरहस्य संवि-
द्रूपत्वेऽपि किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावविरहवती संविदिति निर्णयविरहदशायां तत्र किञ्चिद्धर्मा-
त्यन्ताभावारोपाविरोधात् तस्यास्तद्विरहरूपत्वमुपपद्यत एवेति चेन्न; अभेदे आधाराधेय-
भावासंभवेन विशेषदर्शनां संवित् किञ्चिद्धर्मात्यन्ताभावविरहवतीति निर्णयस्यैवासंभवात् ।
अतः तस्य किञ्चिद्धर्मरूपत्वमेव स्वीकार्यम्; नतु संविद्रूपत्वमित्यभिप्रायः । किञ्चिच्छब्द-
वाच्यत्वेति । किञ्चिदिति शब्दवाच्यत्वेत्यर्थः । किञ्चिच्छब्दवाच्यत्वस्य सार्वत्रिकत्वो-
पपत्तये तत्प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तस्य सार्वत्रिकत्वमुपपादयति यदीति । एतावता अनुभूतिरनु-
भाव्या अनुभूतित्वादिति केवलव्यतिरेकिणि साध्याप्रसिद्ध्या अप्रामाण्यमुपवर्णितम् ।
नन्वेवमपि पृथिवी इतरेभ्यो भिद्यते गन्धवत्त्वादिति केवलव्यतिरेकिणः प्रामाण्य-
मुपपद्यत एव । तत्र हि पृथिवीतरत्वं किञ्चिन्निष्ठभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं भेदत्वात्
घटभेदवदित्यनुमानेन पृथिवीतरभेदवत् किञ्चिदस्त्येवेति उक्तीत्या निर्णये सति
केवलव्यतिरेकिणा पृथिवीरूपविशेषे व्यवस्थापनमुपपद्यते । यदि च घटपटोभयादिभेदे

एवं इच्छादयोऽष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रिताः, अष्टद्रव्याश्रितत्वायोगे सति गुणत्वादि-
त्यत्राष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्यसिद्धौ व्यतिरेकिवैयर्थ्यम् । असिद्धौ स एव दोषः ।
गुणत्वेन द्रव्याश्रितत्वेऽनुमिते अतिरेकानतिरेकविप्रतिपत्त्या च संशये अष्टद्रव्या-
श्रितत्वकोटावनिष्टप्रसङ्गेनाभिमतकोटिपक्षपातिनी शङ्का जायते,

भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वविरहात् व्यभिचार इत्युच्यते, तदा व्यासज्यवृत्तिधर्मावच्छिन्न-
प्रतियोगिताकान्यभेदत्वमेव हेतुकरणीयमिति न दोषः । एवं जलादिभेदानां प्रत्येकं
प्रसिद्धानां समुदायस्य साध्यतायां न साध्याप्रसिद्धिरिति चेन्न; हेतौ साध्यसामानाधि-
करण्यनिर्णयविरहेणानुमित्यसंभवात् । तस्यानुमितिहेतुतायाः प्रागेव व्यवस्थापितत्वात् ।
अयं च दोषः सर्वकेवलव्यतिरेकिसाधारण इति प्रागेवोक्तम् । इत्थमद्वैत्य-
भिमतं केवलव्यतिरेकिणं निरस्य नैयायिकाभिमतं तं निरस्यति एव-
मिति । इच्छादय इति । इदमात्मसाधकमित्यभिप्रायः । अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तेति -
पृथिव्यप्तेजोवाय्वाकाशकालदिङ्मनोरूपाष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तेत्यर्थः । पृथिवीत्वाद्यवच्छिन्नप्रति-
योगिताकभेदाष्टकविशिष्टेति यावत् । अष्टद्रव्याश्रितत्वायोगे सतीति । पृथिव्यादि-
वत्तत्वाभावाष्टकविशिष्टत्वे सतीत्यर्थः । व्यतिरेकिवैयर्थ्यमिति । पृथिव्याद्यष्टद्रव्या-
तिरिक्तात्मसिद्धेरेवोद्देश्यत्वादिति । स एव दोष इति । साध्याप्रसिद्धिरेव दोष इत्यर्थः ।
'शैत्यं हि यत्सा प्रकृतिर्जलस्य' इत्यादौ स्त्रीलिङ्गत्ववत् विधेयप्राधान्यविवक्षया
पुल्लिङ्गत्वम् । साध्यप्रसिद्धिं शङ्कते गुणत्वेनेति । द्रव्याश्रितत्वेऽनुमित इति ।
द्रव्यवृत्तित्वेन निश्चिते सतीत्यर्थः । इच्छादाविति शेषः । अतिरेकानतिरेकविप्रति-
पत्त्येति । इच्छाद्याश्रयद्रव्यं पृथिव्याद्यतिरिक्तं न वेति विप्रतिपत्तिवाक्येनेत्यर्थः ।
संशय इति । अनेन विप्रतिपत्तिवाक्यवत् साक्षादेव संशयात्मकः शाब्दबोधो जन्यत
इत्यभिप्रायो व्यञ्जितः । उक्तं हि दीधितिकृता 'आहत्यैव विप्रतिपत्तिजन्मानं संशय-
मामनन्ति' इति । आहत्यैव साक्षादेव । अनिष्टप्रसङ्गेनेति । इच्छादिर्यदि पृथिव्यादि-
विशेषगुणः स्यात् तर्हि बाह्यप्रत्यक्षविषयः स्यात् रूपादिवत् । इच्छादिर्यदि मनोगुणः
स्यात् तर्हि प्रत्यक्षो न स्यात्, मनसोऽणुत्वात् । विशेषगुणश्च न स्यात्; मनसि
तदभावात् । एवं दिक्कालगुणत्वेऽपि विशेषगुणत्वं न स्यात्; तयोरपि तदभावात्
इत्यादितर्क्येत्यर्थः । अभिमतकोटिपक्षपातिनीति । अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रितत्व-

तद्वलेन तदेककोटिगोचरस्मृतिसंततिर्वा । इदमेव च संभावितत्वं वस्तुनः । अतः संभावनासिद्धत्वेनाप्रसिद्धविशेषणत्वव्यतिरेकासिद्धयोरसिद्धेरिति चेन्न, संभावनायाः प्रमाणत्वे पूर्ववत् प्रमाणान्तरानपेक्षणात्, अप्रमाणत्वेऽनुपयोगित्वात् ।

निष्ठौत्कट्याख्यविषयताशालिनीत्यर्थः । ननु तद्वत्ताबुद्धिं प्रति तदापादककापत्तेः प्रतिबन्धकतया अष्टद्रव्याश्रितत्वकोटावनिष्टप्रसङ्गे सति तत्कोटिमानस्यैवासंभवात् कथं कोटिद्रव्यावगाहिज्ञानात्मकशङ्कासंभव इति चेन्न; एककोटावनिष्टसंशयस्य कोट्यन्तरौत्कट्यमात्रप्रयोजकत्वम्; न तु तत्कोटिमानविरोधित्वमित्यभिप्रायेण इत्थमभिधानात् । यद्वा अनिष्टप्रसङ्गेनेत्यस्येच्छादेः पृथिव्याद्याश्रितत्वे बाह्यप्रत्यक्षविषयत्वं भवेदित्यादिरूपानिष्टसंभावनयेत्यर्थः । तस्याश्च कोट्यन्तरौत्कट्यप्रयोजकत्वं सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नमेव । अथवा अनिष्टप्रसङ्गशब्देनानिष्टापत्तिरेव विवक्षिता । तस्याश्चानभिमतकोटिमानप्रतिबन्धकतया शङ्का न संभवतीत्यतः कल्पान्तरानुसरणम् । तद्वलेनेति । उक्तानिष्टप्रसङ्गबलेनेत्यर्थः । तदेककोटिगोचरेति । अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रितत्वकोटिमात्रविषयकेत्यर्थः । स्मृतिसन्ततिर्वेति । अयं भावः — संशयादपि संस्कार आवश्यकः । संशयानन्तरं कालान्तरे स्मृतिरूपसंशयस्यानुभाविकत्वात् । ततश्चैककोटावनिष्टप्रसङ्गेन तत्कोटिमानप्रतिबन्धे सति कोट्यन्तरमात्रविषयकस्मृतिर्जायते । ततस्तदाहितसंस्कारादेककोटिमात्रविषयिण्येव स्मृतिपरंपरेति । संभावनासिद्धत्वेनेति । उक्तरूपसंभावनया विषयीकृतत्वेनेत्यर्थः । अप्रसिद्धविशेषणत्वं — साध्याप्रसिद्धिः । व्यतिरेकासिद्धिः — व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानासंभवः । असिद्धिरिति । अभाव इत्यर्थः । अनुपयोगित्वादिति । साध्यनिर्णयाभावादिति भावः । न च संभावनायाः संशयरूपत्वेनानुपयोगेऽपि एककोटिमात्रगोचरस्मृतेः निर्णयरूपतया कथमनुपयुक्तत्वमिति वाच्यम्; तथा सति व्यतिरेकवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः । इच्छादौ अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रितत्वनिर्णयार्थं हि व्यतिरेक्यनुसरणम् । यदि च एककोटिमात्रगोचरमपि ज्ञानं द्विविधं आपातप्रतीतिरूपमवधारणरूपं चेति । तत्राद्यं संशयविपर्ययोरविरोधित्वात् संशयसमानयोगक्षेममेव । द्वितीयं तु प्रमाणाधीनं संशयादिविरोधि । तत्रावधारणत्वं निश्चितप्रामाण्यकप्रमाणप्रयोज्यविषयताविशेषनिरूपकत्वं

साध्यमानस्य पक्षमात्रे हि शङ्का गुणाय, न तु सार्वत्रिकी । यद्विपर्ययेऽनिष्टप्रसक्तिः, तत् प्रमाणयोग्यमिति निश्चिते विप्रतिपत्तिवाक्यजनितसंशयाधीनसंभावनापदमिदं च तथेति सामान्यतः प्रमाणविषयत्वे सिद्धे, विशेषापेक्षायां व्यतिरेकिसाफल्यमिति चेन्न; इदं च तथेत्युपनयस्य निराश्रयत्वात्, सिषाधयिषितानुमानेन तत्सिद्धावन्योन्याश्रयणात्, प्रमाणयोग्यमित्यनेनैव प्रामाणिकत्वमिद्वौ

तदनिरूपकत्वं तदन्यविषयतानिरूपकत्वं वा आपातरूपत्वम् । तथा चावधारणात्मकज्ञानसंपत्तये व्यतिरेक्यनुसरणमावश्यकमित्युच्यते, तदा संशयदशायामिवापातप्रतीतिदशायामपि व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिनिर्णयासंभवात् न तादृशज्ञानस्य प्रकृतोपयोगित्वम् । प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकविशिष्टप्रतियोगिसंशय इव तदापातप्रतीतावपि अभावप्रत्ययस्यानुभवविरुद्धत्वात् । ननु साध्यसंशयस्यानुमित्यङ्गतया कथं तस्यानुपयुक्तत्वाभिधानमत आह साध्यमानस्येति । न तु सार्वत्रिकीति । तथा सति व्याप्तिनिश्चयस्यैवासंभवात् इति भावः । शङ्कते यद्विपर्ययेति । इति निश्चित इति । यत्र यत्रानिष्टप्रसङ्गकाभावप्रतियोगित्वं तत्र तत्र प्रमाणयोग्यत्वमिति व्याप्तौ निश्चितायामित्यर्थः । प्रमाणयोग्यत्वं — प्रमाणजन्यनिश्चयविषयत्वं, प्रमाविषयत्वमेव वा । संभावनापदमिति । उत्कटैकतरकोटिकसंशयविषयीभूतं प्रागुक्तापातप्रत्ययरूपस्मृतिविषयीभूतं वेत्यर्थः । इदं च विशेषणं पक्षज्ञानसद्भावप्रदर्शनाय । इदं च तथेति । इच्छादिनिष्ठमष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रितत्वं चानिष्टप्रसङ्गकविपर्ययप्रतियोगित्यर्थः । इति सामान्यतः प्रमाणविषयत्वे सिद्ध इति । एवंविधपक्षधर्मताज्ञानबलात् प्रमाविषयत्वेऽनुमित इत्यर्थः । विशेषापेक्षायामिति । प्रमा प्रत्यक्षरूपा अनुमितिरूपा शब्दरूपा वेति विशेषाकांक्षायामित्यर्थः । व्यतिरेकिसाफल्यमिति । व्यतिरेकिलिंगकानुमितिरूपविशेषसमर्पकत्वादिति भावः । उपनयस्येति । पक्षे हेतुबोधकवाक्यस्येत्यर्थः । पक्षे हेतुमत्ताज्ञानस्येति वा । निराश्रयत्वात् — पक्षविषयकत्वासंभवात्, पूर्वं तन्निर्णयाभावादिति भावः । सिषाधयिषितानुमानेनेति । प्रकृते व्यवस्थापनीयतयाऽभिमेतेन केवलव्यतिरेक्यनुमानेनेत्यर्थः । अन्योन्याश्रयणादिति । व्यतिरेकिणः सामान्यानुमानप्रवृत्त्यधीनतायाः प्रागेव दर्शितत्वादिति भावः ।

प्रमाणविशेषचिन्तायाश्च निष्प्रयोजनत्वात् । यच्च—गुणत्वादिति सामान्यतोदृष्टेन द्रव्याश्रितत्वे सिद्धे तत्र चान्वयव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिनिरूपणे अष्टद्रव्याश्रितत्वानुपपत्ति-साचिव्यात् तत एव हेतोरतिरिक्ताश्रितत्वं सिद्धयतीति; तदपि न; तत्राप्यतिरिक्तविशेषाकारस्य कचिदप्यसिद्धेः ।

निष्प्रयोजनत्वादिति । तावतैव संशयाद्यनुदयप्रवृत्त्याद्युपपत्तेरिति भावः । द्रव्याश्रितत्वे सिद्ध इति । द्रव्याश्रितत्वे सिषाधयिषित इत्यर्थः । द्रव्याश्रितत्वसिद्धेः प्रागिति फलितम् । तत्रेति । गुणत्वादिरूपहेनावित्यर्थः । अन्वयव्यतिरेकव्याप्ति-निरूपण इति । अन्वयव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिनिर्णयदशायामित्यर्थः । अष्टद्रव्याश्रितत्वानुप-पत्तिसाचिव्यादिति । अष्टद्रव्याश्रितत्वाभावनिश्चयसहकारादित्यर्थः । तत एव हेतो-रिति । द्रव्याश्रितत्वमात्रव्याप्यत्वेन गृहीतात् गुणत्वादिरूपहेतोरेवेत्यर्थः । एवकारेणाष्ट-द्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रितत्वव्याप्यत्वेन गृहीतहेत्वन्तरापेक्षा व्यवच्छिद्यते । अति-रिक्ताश्रितत्वं — अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रितत्वम् । सिद्धयतीति । एवं साध्य-प्रसिद्धौ सत्यां अनन्तरं व्यतिरेकव्याप्त्यादिज्ञानसंभवात् केवलव्यतिरेकिप्रवृत्तेः न कश्चिद्विधात इति भावः । अतिरिक्तविशेषाकारस्येति । अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तत्वविशिष्ट-द्रव्यस्येत्यर्थः । कचिदपि ज्ञानाभावादित्यर्थः । तथा च साध्यज्ञानाभावात् न तद्विशिष्टानुमितिसंभव इति भावः । धूमे केवलवाहिव्याप्तिनिर्णयदशायां महानसीय-वह्न्यभावनिर्णयसहकृतात्पक्षधर्मताज्ञानात् महानसीयेतरवह्न्यनुमितिरपि अन्यत्र महानसी-येतरत्वविशिष्टवह्निज्ञानदशायामेवेत्यभिप्रायः ॥

अथ विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यावगाह्यनुमितौ च ईदृशविशिष्टसाध्यनिर्णयापेक्षा; तत्रैव विशेषणतावच्छेदकप्रकारकविशेषणविशेष्यकनिर्णयस्य हेतुत्वात् । विशेष्ये विशेषणम् तत्रापि विशेषणान्तरमिति ज्ञाने तु न तदपेक्षा; विशकलितज्ञानादेव तदुपपत्तेः । तथा च विशिष्टसाध्यज्ञानविरहे विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यावगाह्यनुमित्यसंभवेऽपि विशेष्ये विशेषणमिति रीत्या अनुमितिरुपपद्यत एव । तदनन्तरं च विशिष्टसाध्यज्ञानाधीनव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञान-संभवात् विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यावगाह्यनुमितिसंपत्तिः । इत्थं च विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यावगाह्यनुमिति-सिद्धयर्थमेव व्यतिरेक्यनुसरणमिति चेन्न; विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यावगाह्यनुमितेरेवानावश्यकत्वात् ।

अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्यसिद्धिर्बुद्ध्यया । सा च विशेष्ये विशेषणमिति रीत्या जायमानानु-मित्यैव निर्वहतीति किं विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यावगाह्यनुमित्या । किं चेच्छायामुक्तीत्या विशेष्ये विशेषणमिति रीत्याऽनुमितौ जातायां तामेव सपक्षीकृत्य ज्ञानादावष्टद्रव्याना-श्रितत्वे सति गुणत्वहेतुना अन्वयिनैवाष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रितत्वावगाहिनी विशिष्टस्य वैशिष्ट्यमिति रीत्या अनुमितिर्भविष्यतीति किं व्यतिरेकिणा । ननु इच्छादयः अष्टद्रव्या-तिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रिताः अष्टद्रव्यानाश्रितत्वे सति द्रव्याश्रितत्वात्, यत् यदतिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रित-त्वाभावः तत्र तदनाश्रितत्वे सति द्रव्याश्रितत्वाभावः । यथा गन्धे पृथिव्यतिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रित-त्वाभाववति पृथिव्यनाश्रितत्वे सति द्रव्याश्रितत्वाभाव इति सामान्यमुखव्यतिरेकव्याप्त्या इच्छादिषु अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रितत्वं सिद्धयतीति तत्र केवलव्यतिरेकिणः प्रामाण्यं निर्वाधमेव । सामान्यमुखव्याप्तिस्थले हि उपस्थितेषु सर्वेषु प्रकृतहेतुसदृशहेतुषु प्रकृत-साध्यसदृशसाध्यनिरूपितव्याप्तिज्ञानसहितं प्रकृतहेतोः पक्षधर्मताज्ञानमेवाश्रितम् (पेक्षितम्); न तु प्रकृतहेतौ प्रकृतसाध्यनिरूपितव्याप्तिज्ञानमपि । परन्तु प्रकृतहेतुसदृशे कुत्रचिद्धेतौ-प्रकृतसाध्यसदृशसाध्यनिरूपितव्यभिचारज्ञानदशायां उपस्थितेषु तत्तत्साध्यसाधनेषु व्याप्ति-ज्ञानविरहदशायां वा प्रकृतसाध्यानुमितिवारणाय तत्तत्साधनधर्मिकतत्तत्साध्यनिरूपित-व्याप्तिग्रहाभावविशिष्टतत्तत्साध्यसाधनोभयोपस्थितेः प्रतिबन्धकत्वमास्थेयम् । तत्र तादृश-साध्योपस्थितिमात्रस्य प्रतिबन्धकत्वे द्रव्यत्वं पृथिवीत्वव्यापकं; पृथिवीत्वाधिकदेशवृत्तित्वात्; यत् यदधिकदेशवृत्ति तत्तद्व्यापकम् । यथा द्रव्यत्वाधिकदेशवृत्ति प्रमेयत्वं द्रव्यत्वव्यापकमिति; सामान्यमुखव्याप्तिस्थले प्रमेयत्वाधिकदेशवृत्तिस्वरूपहेत्वप्रसिद्ध्या तद्धर्मिकप्रमेयत्वव्याप-कत्वरूपसाध्यव्याप्तिज्ञानाभावेऽपि प्रमेयत्वव्यापकत्वरूपसाध्योपस्थितिसत्त्वेन तत्रानुमित्य-नुपपत्तिप्रसंगः । अतो हेतूपस्थित्यन्तर्भावः । तादृशहेतूपस्थितिमात्रस्य तथात्वे गन्धवत्त्वं पृथिवीत्वावच्छिन्नेतरभेदानुमापकं पृथिवीत्वसमनियतव्यतिरेकिधर्मत्वात्; यत्र यद्धर्मसम-नियतव्यतिरेकिधर्मत्वं तत्र तदवच्छिन्नेतरभेदानुमापकत्वमिति सामान्यव्याप्तिस्थले पृथिवी-त्वावच्छिन्नेतरभेदानुमापकत्वरूपप्रकृतसाध्यस्यानुमितेः पूर्वं कचिदप्यसिद्धत्वेन पृथिवी-त्वसमनियतत्वरूपप्रकृतहेतौ प्रकृतसाध्यनिरूपितव्याप्तिज्ञानासत्त्वेऽपि प्रकृतहेतूपस्थिति-सत्त्वात् अनुमित्यनुपपत्तिः । अतः साध्योपस्थित्यन्तर्भावः । एवं साधनज्ञानसहित-साध्याप्रसिद्धिनिर्णयोऽपि तादृशानुमितिविरोधीत्याश्रणीयम् । अन्यथा पृथिवीत्वसम-नियतत्वमात्रेणापि पृथिवीत्वावच्छिन्नेतरभेदानुमापकत्वसिद्धिप्रसंगः । तत्र हि यत्र

इच्छादयोनूपपन्नस्थलव्यतिरिक्ताश्रिता इति सामान्यसाधने तु, यो यद्द्रव्याश्रितत्वानुपपत्तौ सत्यां द्रव्याश्रितः, स ततोऽतिरिक्तद्रव्याश्रितः; यथा गन्धादिः; इच्छादयश्च तथा—इत्यन्वयस्यापि सिद्धौ^१ न केवलव्यतिरेकिता । अस्त्वेवम्, तथापि पश्चात् केवलव्यतिरेकिणापि जीवितुं शक्यमिति चेन्न;

यद्धर्मसमनियतत्वं तत्र तदवच्छिन्नेतरभेदानुमापकत्वमिति व्याप्तिर्न संभवति । पदार्थत्वसमनियतेऽभिधेयत्वे पदार्थत्वावच्छिन्नेतरभेदानुमापकत्वासंभवात् । तथाप्युक्तप्रतिबन्धकत्वं नास्त्येव; साध्योपस्थितिविरहात् । उक्तसाध्याप्रसिद्धिनिश्चयस्य विरोधित्वे तु न तत्रानुमितिप्रसंगः । पृथिवीत्वसमनियतव्यतिरेकिधर्मत्वस्य हेतुत्वेऽपि पदार्थत्वावच्छिन्नेतरभेदानुमापकत्वरूपसाध्याप्रसिद्धिनिश्चयस्य विरोधित्वप्रसंगः । अतः साधनज्ञानसहितत्वनिवेशः । तन्निवेशे च पदार्थत्वसमनियतव्यतिरेकिधर्मत्वरूपसाधनाप्रसिद्ध्या तदज्ञानविरहात् नानुमित्यनुपपत्तिः । इत्थं च अनुमितेः पूर्वं साध्यनिश्चयविरहेऽपि सामान्यमुख्यव्यतिरेकव्याप्त्या अनुमितिसंभवात् केवलव्यतिरेकिप्रामाण्यमुपपद्यत एवेत्याशङ्क्याह इच्छादय इति । अनुपपन्नस्थलव्यतिरिक्ताश्रिता इति । यदाश्रितत्वेऽनुपपत्तिः तद्व्यतिरिक्ताश्रिता इत्यर्थः । पृथिव्याद्यतिरिक्ताश्रिता इति यावत् । अथवा इच्छादौ यदाश्रितत्वाभावनिश्चयः तदातिरिक्ताश्रिता इत्यर्थः । सामान्यसाधन इति । सामान्यमुख्यव्याप्त्या साधन इत्यर्थः । यद्द्रव्याश्रितत्वानुपपत्तौ सत्यामिति । यद्द्रव्याश्रितत्वाभावे सतीत्यर्थः । अन्वयस्यापि — अन्वयव्याप्तेरपि । शङ्कते अस्त्वेवमिति । उक्तप्रकारेणान्वयव्याप्तिरप्यस्त्वित्यर्थः । जीवितुमिति । जीवनं — अनुमितिजननम् । शक्यमिति । साध्यज्ञानसत्त्वेन व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानसंभवात् तेनापि अनुमित्यन्तरोप-

‘संदिग्धे न्यायः प्रवर्तते’ इति न्यायेनाशक्यत्वात् ॥

अथ सामान्यतः सिद्धेच्छाद्याश्रयपक्षीकारेण विगीतोऽष्टद्रव्यव्यतिरिक्तः, इच्छाद्याश्रयत्वादिति साध्यते, तदा गुणादौ सपक्षे तिष्ठति त्वयैवाभासतेष्यते^१ । गुणादिनिष्ठ^२हेत्वन्तरप्रयोगे तु अन्वयित्वमेव । तत्र गुणादेरपि पक्षीकरणे अंशतः सिद्धसाध्यत्वम् ।

पक्षेरिति भावः । सन्दिग्ध इत्यादि । न्यायः — अनुमानम् । प्रवृत्तिः — अनुमित्युत्पादनम् । अशक्यत्वादिति । जीवितुमित्यनुषज्यते । सिद्धसाधनस्य दोषतोपपत्तये साध्यसन्देहस्यानुमितिसमानविषयकनिश्चयरूपसिद्धयभावस्य वा अनुमितिहेतुत्वावश्यंभावात् अन्वयव्याप्त्यधीनसाध्यनिश्चये साध्यसन्देहस्य सिद्धयभावस्य वा असंभवादिति भावः ।

सामान्यतस्सिद्धेति । इच्छादयः किञ्चिदाश्रिताः गुणत्वात् रूपादिवदित्यनुमानेन इच्छाद्याश्रयत्वरूपसामान्यधर्मप्रकारेण निश्चितेत्यर्थः । उक्तानुमानेन इच्छादिषु किञ्चिदाश्रितत्वनिश्चये सति तुल्यवित्तिवेद्यतया औत्तरकालिकमानसेन वा इच्छाद्याश्रयः कश्चिदस्त्येवेति निर्णयसंभवादिति भावः । विगीत इति । साध्यकोटिकसंशयविषयीभूत इत्यर्थः । इच्छाद्याश्रयत्वादिति साध्यत इति । तथा च तत्र व्यतिरेकव्याप्तेरेव वक्तव्यतया केवलव्यतिरेकिसिद्धिरिति भावः । गुणादौ सपक्ष इति । तत्राष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तत्वरूपसाध्यनिश्चयसद्भावादिति भावः । त्वयैवाभासतेष्यत इति सपक्षरहितस्यैव केवलव्यतिरेकित्वेनाङ्गीकारादिति भावः । गुणादिनिष्ठहेत्वन्तरेति । गन्धाद्याश्रयत्वरूपेत्यभिप्रायः । गुणादेरपि पक्षीकरण इति । अनित्ये वाङ्मनसे इतिवत् विगीतगुणादी अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तौ इति साधन इत्यर्थः । तथा च गुणादेः सपक्षत्वाभावात् न केवलव्यतिरिक्त(रेकि ?)त्वहानिरिति भावः । अंशतः सिद्धसाध्यत्वमिति । गुणादौ अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तत्वरूपसाध्यस्य सिद्धत्वादिति भावः । इदमुपलक्षणम्; गुणादिरूपे पक्षे इच्छाद्याश्रयत्वरूपहेतुविरहात् भागासिद्धिरित्यपि बोध्यम् ।

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न्यायपरिशुद्धौ

तदसिद्धौ पुनरप्रसिद्धविशेषणता । यच्च — इच्छादेः कार्यत्वादिना सामान्यतः समवायिकारणासिद्धौ, शरीरमिच्छासमवायिकारणवत् प्राणादिमत्त्वात् ; न यदेवं न तदेवमिति सर्वदोषपरिहारः — इति ; तदपि न ; संबन्धमात्रसाधने घटादेः सपक्षत्वापातात्, शरीरत्वादिलक्षणसंबन्धविशेषसाधने त्वप्रसिद्धविशेषणत्वात् । अन्यथा घटः इच्छासमवायिकारणवान्, घटत्वात् ; न यदेवं न तदेवमित्यपि प्रसङ्गात् । अन्यतो विशेषनिर्णयेऽस्य निरवकाशत्वात् ।

तदसिद्धाविति । गुणादावपि साध्यानिश्चय इत्यर्थः । अष्टद्रव्यातिरिक्तद्रव्यत्वस्यैव साध्यत्वा-
ङ्गीकाराभिप्रायेणेदम् । पुनरप्रसिद्धविशेषणतेति । पूर्वोक्ता साध्याप्रसिद्धिरित्यर्थः । तथा
च व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानासंभवात् न केवलव्यतिरेकित्वसंभव इति भावः । न चाष्टद्रव्याति-
रिक्तत्वद्रव्यत्वोभयस्य साध्यतायां नाप्रसिद्धिरिति वाच्यम् ; तथापि हेतौ साध्यसामानाधि-
करण्यनिश्चयासंभवेनानुमित्यसंभवरूपस्य सर्वकेवलव्यतिरेकिसाधारणदूषणस्य जागरूक-
त्वात् । विशिष्य दूषणान्तरं नास्तीति चेत्, मास्तु ; नैतावता केवलव्यतिरेकिणः
प्रामाण्यं सिद्धयेत् । विशिष्य दूषणाभिधानं ह्यभ्युच्चयमात्रम् । इच्छादेरिति ।
आदिना सुखादिपरिग्रहः । कार्यत्वादिनेति । कार्यत्वे सति भावत्वेनेत्यर्थः । नित्ये
व्यभिचारवारणाय सत्यन्तम् । ध्वंसे तद्वारणाय विशेष्यम् । सामान्यतः — इच्छादि-
समवायिकारणत्वरूपसामान्यरूपेण । न तदेवमिति । यथा घटादीति शेषः ।
सर्वदोषपरिहार इति । साध्याप्रसिद्ध्यादेरत्राप्रसक्तेरिति भावः । संबन्धमात्रसाधन
इति । सर्वसंबन्धसाधारणसंबन्धत्वेन रूपेण संबन्धसाधन इत्यर्थः । घटादेः सपक्षत्वा-
पातादिति । घटादावपि इच्छासमवायिकारणप्रतियोगिकैकज्ञानविषयत्वादिरूपसंबन्धस्य
निश्चितत्वादिति भावः । तथा च तत्र प्राणादिमत्त्वरूपहेतुविरहादसाधारणत्वमेव
स्यादिति फलितम् । अप्रसिद्धविशेषणत्वादिति । साध्याप्रसिद्धेरित्यर्थः । अन्यथेति ।
केवलव्यतिरेकिणः प्रामाण्य इत्यर्थः । इत्यपि प्रसङ्गादिति । इदं च प्रागेवोक्तम्
सर्वकेवलव्यतिरेकिसाधारणं दूषणमिह स्मारितम् । इदं चाभाससाम्ये पर्यवसितम् ।
अन्यतो विशेषनिर्णय इति । प्रमाणान्तरात्पक्षे साध्यनिर्णय इत्यर्थः । अस्य —
केवलव्यतिरेकिणः । निरवकाशत्वादिति । सन्दिग्ध एव न्यायप्रवृत्तेरिति भावः ।

न च वद्व्यादिसंबन्धसाधनेऽप्येवं संबन्धविकल्पप्रसङ्गः, वह्निसंयोगित्वस्य स्वरूपतः
सिद्धस्य पक्षधर्मताबलेन पर्वतनिष्ठत्वमात्रविशेषलाभात् । अत्र त्विच्छासमवायि-
कारणसंबन्धविशेषस्यैव साध्यधर्मस्य स्वरूपतः कचिदप्यसिद्धत्वेन तस्य शरीरनिष्ठ-
त्वसाधनायोगादिति ॥

यत्तु सर्वं कार्यं सर्ववित्कर्तृपूर्वकम्, कादाचित्कत्वात् ; वेदाः सर्वज्ञप्रणीताः,
वेदत्वादित्याद्युदाहरणम् ; तत्रापि सर्ववित्कर्तृपूर्वकत्वादेः कचिदप्यग्रहणात्
तद्व्यतिरेकस्य साधनव्यतिरेकेण व्याप्यत्वग्रहणमनुपपन्नम् । यदि प्रत्येक-
व्युत्पन्नसर्वविदादिपदसमुदायसमभिव्याहारमात्रेण साध्यसिद्धिरिति मन्यसे,
तदा शशविषाणादिवदयोग्यपदसमभिव्याहारमात्रेण भ्रान्तिसिद्धं साध्यमिति

एवं संबन्धविकल्पप्रसङ्ग इति । वह्निसंबन्धमात्रसाधने सिद्धसाधनप्रसङ्गः । एकज्ञान-
विषयत्वैककालिकत्वादिरूपसंबन्धस्य सिद्धत्वात् । पर्वतादिनिष्ठवह्न्यादिसंयोगसाधने
चानुमितेः प्राक् साध्यज्ञानासंभवात् व्याप्तिज्ञानानुपपत्त्या अनुमित्यसंभव इति विकल्पा-
धीनदूषणप्रसङ्ग इत्यर्थः । उक्तदोषाभावे हेतुमाह वह्निसंयोगित्वस्येत्यादिना । स्वरूपत
इति । पर्वतवृत्तित्वाविशेषितरूपेणेत्यर्थः । पक्षधर्मताबलेन — व्याप्यत्वेन गृहीतस्य
धूमादिरूपहेतोः पक्षसंबन्धज्ञानेन । पर्वतनिष्ठत्वमात्रविशेषलाभादिति । पर्वतनिष्ठत्व-
मात्रस्य पूर्वमगृहीतस्यानुमिति विधेयत्वादित्यर्थः । तथा च साध्यज्ञानादेरनुमितेः पूर्वमेव
सत्त्वात् न व्याप्तिज्ञानाद्यनुपपत्तिरिति भावः । यद्यपि पक्षे साध्यस्यैवानुमिति विधेयत्वम् ;
तथापि विपक्ष(क्षे?) साध्यवैशिष्ट्यस्य पूर्वमगृहीतत्वादेव साध्यस्य पक्षे विधेयत्वमिति
स्फोरयितुं तथाभिधानम् । प्रकृते साध्यस्वरूपज्ञानमेव नास्तीति न व्याप्तिज्ञानादिसंभव
इति वैषम्यामित्याह अत्र त्विति । संबन्धविशेषस्येति । शरीरत्वरूपस्येति भावः ॥

कर्तृपूर्वकं — कर्तृजन्यम् । कादाचित्कत्वात् — किञ्चित्कालावृत्तित्वात् ।
सर्वस्यापि कार्यस्य पक्षतया अन्वयात् अन्वयव्याप्त्यसंभवात्, यन्नैवं तन्नैवं यथा
नित्यमिति केवलतिरेकित्वमेवाङ्गीकार्यमित्यभिप्रायः । एवं वेदा इत्यादावपि बोद्धव्यम् ।
साध्यसिद्धिः — साध्यज्ञानम् । अयोग्येति — परस्परान्वयानर्हार्थकैत्यर्थः । परस्परा-
सम्बन्धर्थकेति यावत् । भ्रान्तिसिद्धमिति । आहार्यभ्रमविषयीभूतमित्यर्थः । शाब्द-

नास्तीति शक्यं वक्तुम्; प्रयत्नवदात्मसंयोगे सत्यपि केशादिषु चेष्टानुत्पत्त्या तस्य तथात्वावश्यंभावात् । असमवायिकारणत्वं हि समवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नकार्यतानिरूपित-समवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नकारणत्वमेवेति भवद्विरभिधीयते । अतस्तस्यासमवायिकारणत्वं नास्तीत्यपि न शक्यं वक्तुम् । न च चेष्टायाः असमवायिकारणत्वं प्राणशरीरसंयोगान्यत्वे सति चेष्टानिष्ठसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नकार्यतानिरूपितसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नकारणत्वमेव तदिति न दोष इति वाच्यम्; तथा सति साध्याप्रसिद्धेः । तथा हि—चेष्टा सासमवायिकारणिका, भावकार्यत्वात् घटवादित्यनुमानेनैवासमवायिकारणसिद्धिर्वाच्या । तत्र सासमवायिकारणकत्वं किञ्चिन्निष्ठसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नकारणतानिरूपितसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नकार्यत्वरूपमेव; न तु प्राणशरीरसंयोगान्यसंयोगनिष्ठतादृशकारणताकत्वम् । न वा प्रयत्नवदात्मसंयोगकारणकत्वम्; प्रयत्नानधीने रोगविशेषजनिते प्राणशरीरसंयोगमात्रहेतुके शरीरस्पन्दविशेषे व्यभिचारात् । अतो न भवदभिमतसाध्यस्योक्तव्यतिरेक्यनुमानात्प्रागसिद्ध्या न व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिनिर्णयसंभव इति । किञ्च घटादौ चेष्टाविरहस्य प्रत्यक्षसिद्धत्वेऽपि न तेनासमवायिकारणसंयोगविरहो गृहीतुं शक्यः । तादृशसंयोगसत्त्वेऽपि प्रतिबन्धकविशेषवशेन चेष्टानुत्पत्तेरानुभाविकत्वात् । न हि तादृशप्रतिबन्धकविरहोऽपि घटादौ गृहीतुं [शक्यम्] अपि च कचिदपि साध्यनिश्चयविरहेण हेतौ साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यनिश्चयासंभवात् अनुमित्यनुपपत्तिरिति सर्वकेवलव्यतिरेकिसाधारणं प्रागुपदर्शितं दूषणं अत्रापि जागर्त्येव । इत्येवं सर्वत्र ज्ञातव्यमिति ॥

यत्तु अन्वयव्याप्त्यनुपस्थितिदशायां वह्निमान् धूमादित्यादावपि व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानमात्रेणानुमित्युत्पत्तेः सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नतया तदा तस्यैव केवलव्यतिरेकित्वमुपपद्यत इति; तत्र; तथा सत्यनुमानस्य त्रेधा विभागासंभवात् । अन्वयव्यतिरेकिमात्रस्यैवोक्तरीत्या केवलव्यतिरेकित्वोपपत्तेः । अनुभूतिरननुभाव्या अनुभूतित्वात्, पृथिवी इतरेभ्यो मिद्यते गन्धवत्त्वात् इत्याद्यनुमानासंभवस्यैवासदभिमतत्वात्, हेतौ साध्यसामाधिकरण्यनिर्णयासहकृतव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिज्ञानस्य अनुमितिजनकत्वाभावस्यैवास्माभिः सिषाधयिषितत्वात् वह्निमान् धूमादित्यादावपि तत्सहकृतस्यैव तस्य तथात्वाच्चेति दिक् ॥

सर्वत्र च केवलव्यतिरेकिणि सत्त्वादिभिः केवलान्वयिभिः सार्वत्रिकसाध्यदर्शनलब्धजीवितैः प्रतिरोधो बाधो वा ग्राह्यः । एवं केवलव्यतिरेकिणि साध्याप्रसिद्धेस्तद्व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिर्दुर्ग्रहा । अन्वयव्यतिरेकिण्यपि अन्वयव्याप्तिरेव प्रधानभूता । व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिरप्यन्वयसिद्धप्रतियोगिलाभात् समीची । तत्रान्यतरव्याप्त्युदाहरणमात्रेणापि परार्थप्रयोगोऽपि चरितार्थ इति ॥

सर्वकेवलव्यतिरेकिसाधारणं दूषणान्तरमाह सर्वत्रेति । सत्त्वादिभिरिति । सत्त्वं — प्रमाविषयत्वम्, कालसंबन्धित्वं वा । सार्वत्रिकसाध्यदर्शनेति । सत्त्वादिहेतोः साध्यतयाऽभिमतं प्रकृतकेवलव्यतिरेकिसाध्यस्याननुभाव्यत्वादेः प्रतियोगिभूतानुभाव्यत्वादिरूपम्; तच्च केवलव्यतिरेकिस्थले पक्षव्यतिरेकेषु सर्वत्र निश्चितमिति सत्त्वादिषु तद्व्याप्तिग्रहोपपत्तिः । लब्धजीवितैः — गृहीतव्याप्तिकैः । प्रतिरोधः — समबलेन प्रतिबन्धः । बाधः — अधिकबलेन प्रतिबन्धः । अनुभाव्यत्वादिसाधकस्य सत्त्वादिहेतोः विपक्षे बाधकतर्कसहकारेणाधिकबलत्त्वमित्यभिप्रायः । तत्र ह्यनुभूतेर्यदनुभाव्यत्वं न स्यात् तर्हि अनुभूत(ति)पदप्रयोग एव निरर्थकः स्यादिति विपक्षे बाधकतर्को जागर्ति । तत्र समबलेन प्रतिबन्धस्थले उभयोरपि साध्ययोर्नानुमितिः । अधिकबलेन प्रतिबन्धस्थले च दुर्बलहेतुसाध्यस्यैव नानुमितिः । अधिकबलहेतुसाध्यस्य त्वनुमितिर्भवत्येवेति बोद्धव्यम् । सर्वकेवलव्यतिरेकिसाधारणं व्यतिरेकव्याप्तेः दुर्ग्रहत्वरूपं प्रागुक्तं दूषणमपि सारयति एवमिति । साध्याप्रसिद्धेरिति । साध्यनिश्चयाभावादित्यर्थः । नन्वेवं सति अन्वयव्यतिरेकिण्यपि व्यतिरेकव्याप्तेः दुर्ग्रहत्वमेव स्यादित्याशङ्क्य सपक्षे साध्यनिश्चयसद्भावात् न सर्वथा दुर्ग्रहत्वम् । किन्तु विलंबितप्रतीतिकत्वेनाप्राधान्यमेवेत्याह अन्वयेति । प्रधानभूतेति । व्यतिरेकव्याप्त्यपेक्षया शीघ्रप्रतीतिकत्वादिति भावः । अन्वयसिद्धेति । अन्वयदृष्टान्तरूपसपक्षे निश्चितेत्यर्थः । प्रतियोगिलाभात् साध्यात्मकप्रतियोगिज्ञानात् । समीची — सुग्रहा । नन्वेवं सति अन्वयव्यतिरेकिणि व्याप्तिद्वयोदाहरणं निरर्थकं स्यात् । एकव्याप्तिप्रदर्शनमात्रेणैव परार्थप्रयोगसमीचीन्यसंभवादित्यत्रेष्टापत्तिमाह तत्रेति । परार्थप्रयोगोऽपि चरितार्थ इति । तथा च कचित्त्क्रियमाणं व्याप्तिद्वयोदाहरणं प्रागुक्तरीत्या दाढ्यार्थमेवेति भावः ॥

॥ लक्षणनिरूपणम् ॥

ननु यदि केवलव्यतिरेकि न प्रमाणम्, लक्षणमिति किमपि न स्यात्, तस्य तदात्मकत्वात् । तदभावे च कथं परस्परव्यावृत्तवस्तुव्यवस्था? ततश्च विलीनं लौकिकपरीक्षकवैदिकव्यवहारैरिति; तन्न, लक्षणस्य केवलव्यतिरेकित्वाभावात् । उक्तं हि तत्त्वरत्नाकरे—

‘अर्थासाधारणाकारप्रतिपत्तिनिबन्धनम् ।
सजातीयविजातीयव्यवच्छेदेन लक्षणम् ॥’

॥ लक्षणनिरूपणम् ॥

इत्थं केवलव्यतिरेकिणं निरस्य तदनभ्युपगमे बाधकं शङ्कते नन्विति । तस्य—लक्षणस्य । तदात्मकत्वात् — इतरभेदसाधककेवलव्यतिरेकरूपत्वात् परस्परव्यावृत्तवस्तुव्यवस्था - परस्परभिन्नवस्तुनिश्चयः । लौकिकेत्यादि । लौकिकपरीक्षकव्यवहाराः - ऐहिकेष्टानिष्टतत्साधनभेदनिर्णयपूर्वकप्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तयः । वैदिकव्यवहाराः — आमुष्मिकेष्टानिष्टतत्साधनभेदनिर्णयपूर्वकप्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तयः । असाधारणाकारप्रतिपत्तिनिबन्धनमिति । असाधारणधर्मज्ञानस्य निबन्धनं जनकमित्यर्थः । सजातीयविजातीयव्यवच्छेदेनेति । सजातीयविजातीयव्यवच्छेदकतयेत्यर्थः । लक्षणं - लक्षणपदवाच्यम् । अयं भावः - लक्ष्यतावच्छेदकसमनियतधर्मप्रतिपादकं वाक्यं लक्षणमित्युच्यते । तत्र लक्षणपदप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं सजातीयविजातीयव्यवच्छेदकत्वम् । तच्च सजातीयादिप्रतियोगिकभेदज्ञापकत्वम्; यथा पृथिवी गन्धवतीत्यादिवाक्यं लक्षणमित्युच्यते । तत्र भावान्तरस्यैवाभावरूपतया पृथिव्यां विद्यमानस्य सजातीयेभ्यो जलादिद्रव्येभ्यो विजातीयेभ्यः शब्दाद्यद्रव्येभ्यश्च भेदस्य गन्धात्मकत्वात् तत्प्रतिपादकस्य वाक्यस्य तादृशभेदज्ञापकत्वम् । यद्यपि तादृशवाक्यात् न गन्धादेः तादृशभेदत्वेन बोधः; तथापि वस्तुगत्या तादृशभेदरूपस्य गन्धादेर्बोधकतया तथात्वमक्षतम् । अथवा तदवृत्तिधर्मत्वमेव तद्वेदत्वम्; तादात्म्यज्ञानविरोधिज्ञानविषयस्यैव भेदत्वात् । घटाद्यवृत्तिधर्मवत्ताज्ञाने सति हि न घटादितादात्म्यज्ञानं जायत इति सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नम् । ततश्च पृथिवी गन्धवतीति

इत्युक्त्वा ‘सचायं जात्यादिराकारः प्रमेयं निष्कृष्य लक्ष्यतः प्रमाणस्य सजातीयविजातीयव्यवच्छेदांशे सहकारीति लक्षणमुच्यते’ इति । एतेन तत्तत्प्रतिपादकं प्रमाणं तत्त्वनिष्कर्षे शरणमित्युक्तं भवति । एतेन लक्षणानिरुक्तिमात्रेण

वाक्यात् पृथिवीत्वावच्छेदेन गन्धवत्त्वस्य गन्धवत्त्वावच्छेदेन पृथिवीत्वस्य च बोधस्य सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नतया गन्धवत्त्वे पृथिवीत्वसमनैयत्यलाभात् तत्र पृथिवीत्वव्याप्यतायाः पृथिवीतरावृत्तिरूपतया गन्धवत्त्वे पृथिवीतरभेदत्वं सिद्धयतीति तादृशभेदबोधकत्वं लक्षणवाक्यस्याक्षतम् । यद्वा सजातीयविजातीयव्यवच्छेदेन सजातीयविजातीयेतरतादात्म्यज्ञाननिवर्तकतया गन्धवत्त्वे उक्तरीत्या पृथिवीतरावृत्तिरिति निश्चये गन्धवत्ताज्ञानात् पृथिवीतरतादात्म्यज्ञाननिवृत्तिरिति तज्जनकवाक्यस्य तथात्वमुपपन्नमिति । नन्वेवं सति असाधारणधर्मो लक्षणमित्यभियुक्तवादोऽनुपपन्नः स्यादत आह स चायं जात्यादिराकार इति । उक्तलक्षणवाक्यप्रतिपाद्यासाधारणधर्मोऽपीत्यर्थः । निष्कृष्य लक्ष्यत इति । असाधारणत्वाविशेषिततत्तद्धर्मवत्त्वेन ज्ञापयत इत्यर्थः । सजातीयविजातीयव्यवच्छेदांश इति । सजातीयविजातीयतादात्म्यज्ञानप्रतिबन्धविषय इत्यर्थः । सहकारीति । प्रयोजक इत्यर्थः । इतिहेतौ । उक्तप्रतिबन्धप्रयोजकत्वादित्यर्थः । लक्षणमुच्यत इति । अयं भावः — प्रत्यक्षेण पृथिव्यां गन्ध एव ज्ञायते; न तु तस्य पृथिवीत्वसमनैयत्यमपि । ततश्च गन्धवत्त्वेन निश्चितायामपि पृथिव्यां जलादितादात्म्यसंशयो जायेतैव । स च गन्धवत्त्वे पृथिवीत्वसमनियतत्वरूपलक्षणत्वज्ञानात् निवर्तते । उक्तरीत्या पृथिवीतरावृत्तिरिति गृहीतगन्धवत्ताज्ञानस्य पृथिवीतरतादात्म्यज्ञानविरोधित्वत् । ततश्च सजातीयविजातीयेतरतादात्म्यज्ञाननिवर्तकत्वं लक्षणत्वम् । तच्च तादृशज्ञानानुत्पादप्रयोजकज्ञानस्य जनकत्वं विषयत्वम् । (च?) आद्यं वाक्ये; द्वितीयं धर्म इति तत्तद्विवक्षानुरोधादुभयत्र लक्षणव्यवहार इति । एतेनेति । लक्षणस्येतरतादात्म्यज्ञाननिवृत्तिमात्रोपयोगित्वकथनेनेत्यर्थः । प्रतिपादकम् - ज्ञानजनकम् । तत्त्वनिष्कर्षे - अनारोपितवस्तुनिश्चये । शरणं - कारणम् । एतेनेति । तत्त्वनिश्चये प्रमाणस्यैव कारणत्वाभिमानेनेत्यर्थः । लक्षणानिरुक्तिमात्रेणेति ।

लक्ष्यमपलपन्तो निराकृताः । न हि 'प्रतीतमिति सर्वं निर्देष्टुं' शक्यम् ; सर्वलौकिकपरीक्षकव्यवहृतस्य घटस्यापि पृथुबुध्नादिमच्चाङ्गुलिनिर्देशविषयत्वादेः साधारणत्वात्, तद्विशेषस्य तु दुर्वचत्वात् । उक्तं च दण्डिना—

‘इक्षुक्षीरगुडादीनां माधुर्यस्यान्तरं महत् ।

तथापि न तदाख्यातुं सरस्वत्यापि शक्यते ॥’ इति ॥

असाधारणधर्मोपस्थापनेन व्यवहारव्यवस्थापकमाप्तवाक्यादिकमेव वा^३ लक्षणम् ; यथा—गन्धवती पृथिवीति । यत् गन्धवत् तत् सर्वं पृथिवीशब्देन

लक्षणस्य वक्तुमशक्यतामात्रेणेत्यर्थः । ननु लक्षणस्य प्रमाणविषयत्वव्यापकतया कथं प्रमाणविषये लक्षणानिरुक्तिसंभव इत्यत आह न हीति । निर्देष्टुमिति । असाधारण-धर्मरूपलक्षणवत्तया प्रतिपादयितुमित्यर्थः । सर्वलौकिकपरीक्षकव्यवहृतस्येति । अनेन प्रमाणसिद्धत्वमुक्तं भवति । पृथुबुध्नेति । बुध्नो - मूलम् । आदिना कंबुग्रीवादि-परिग्रहः । दुर्वचत्वादिति । अनेन लक्षणानिरुक्तिर्दर्शिता । तथा च लक्षणवत्त्वस्य न प्रमाणविषयताव्यापकतेति दर्शितम् । उक्तार्थे प्राचीनसंमतिमाह उक्तं चेति । अन्तरं - भेदः । आख्यातुं - परस्परव्यावृत्तलक्षणवत्तया प्रतिपादयितुम् । उक्ततत्त्वरत्नाकर-ग्रन्थफलितार्थमाह असाधारणेति । लक्ष्यताच्छेदकसमनियतेत्यर्थः । उपस्थापनं - बोधनम् । व्यवहारव्यवस्थापकं - इतरव्यावृत्तव्यवहारनिश्चायकम् । आप्तवाक्यादी-त्यादिना यतो वा इमानीत्यादिश्रुत्यादिकं गृह्यते ।

तत्सर्वं पृथिवीशब्देन व्यवहर्तव्यमिति । गन्धवती पृथिवीत्यत्र पृथिवी-शब्दस्तेन व्यवहर्तव्यपरः । पृथिवीशब्देन व्यवहर्तव्यत्वं - पृथिवीशब्दवाच्यत्वं, तादृशव्यवहारप्रयोजकधर्मवत्त्वं वा । तत्र च गन्धवत्त्वावच्छेदेन पृथिवीशब्दव्यवहर्तव्यत्वं बोद्धव्यत इत्यभिप्रायः । उद्देश्यविधेयभावस्थले हि उद्देश्यतावच्छेदकावच्छेदेन विधेया-

1. प्रतीतमपि

2. निर्देष्टुमपि शक्यम्

3. मेव लक्षणम्

व्यवहर्तव्यम्, नेतरदिति हि तदर्थः । प्रमाविषयः प्रमेयमित्यादिषु च लक्षणतया संमतेषु विपक्षशून्यत्वेन केवलव्यतिरेकित्वमङ्गप्रसङ्गः । यद्वा अन्वयव्यतिरेकिविशेष

न्वयबोध औत्सर्गिकः । लक्षणवाक्ये च लक्ष्यतावच्छेदकलक्षणयोः परस्परं उद्देश्यतावच्छे-दकविधेयभावः सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नः । यद्यप्येवं सति विधेयभेदाद्वाक्यभेदः स्यात् ; तथापि प्रयोजनानुरोधेन या गन्धवती सा पृथिवी, या पृथिवी सा गन्धवती इत्येवमावृत्तिलक्षणो वाक्यभेदो गत्यन्तरविरहादङ्गीकार्य एव । इत्थं च पृथिवीशब्दवाच्यतायां गन्धवत्त्व-व्यापकत्वं गन्धवत्त्वे च पृथिवीशब्दवाच्यताव्यापकत्वं सिद्धयतीति गन्धवतः सर्वस्यापि पृथिवीशब्देन व्यवहर्तव्यत्वं, गन्धवत्त्वरहितस्य च पृथिवीशब्देन व्यवहर्तव्यताभावः सिद्धयतीति । व्यापकाभावे व्याप्याभाववश्यंभावात् । तदेतदभिप्रेत्याभिहितं नेतरदिति । गन्धवदितरत् न पृथिवीशब्देन व्यवहर्तव्यमित्यर्थः तथा च लक्षणप्रयोजन-भूतव्यवहारव्यवस्थायाः उक्तरीत्यैव सिद्धेः तत्र केवलव्यतिरेक्यनुमानकृतस्य कस्याप्य-भावात् न गन्धवत्त्वादेः केवलव्यतिरेकित्वमाश्रयणीयमिति भावः ॥

एवं लक्षणस्य केवलव्यतिरेकित्वाभावेऽप्यभिमतसिद्धिमभिधाय तस्य केवलव्यति-रेकित्वनियमे दोषमाह प्रमाविषय इति । लक्षणतया - प्रमेयलक्षणतया । केवल-व्यतिरेकित्वप्रसङ्गे इष्टापत्तिवारणायाह विपक्षशून्यत्वेनेति । तस्यैव व्यतिरेकदृष्टान्तत्वस्य वाच्यतया तदभावे व्यतिरेकित्वासंभवात् नेष्टापत्तिसंभव इति भावः । शून्यत्वेनेति । तृतीयार्थः प्रयोज्यत्वं प्रसङ्गे अन्वेति । विपक्षशून्यत्वज्ञानस्य केवलव्यतिरेकित्वाभाव-निश्चयहेतुतया तस्य चापाद्यव्यतिरेकनिश्चयविधया आपत्तौ हेतुतया प्रसङ्गस्योक्तप्रयोज्य-त्वोपपत्तिः । नन्वेवमपि लक्षणस्य व्यवहारप्रयोजनकत्वोपपत्तावपि न व्यावृत्तिप्रयोजकत्व-मुपपद्यते । उक्तं हि ‘व्यावृत्तिर्व्यवहारो वा लक्षणस्य प्रयोजनम्’ इति । व्यतिरेकिलक्षणस्य व्यावृत्तिव्यवहारोभयं प्रयोजनम् ; केवलान्वयिरूपप्रमाविषयत्वादिलक्षणस्य तु व्यवहार एव प्रयोजनमिति हि तदर्थः । ततश्च गन्धवत्त्वादिरूपस्य व्यतिरेकिधर्मात्मकस्य लक्षणस्य केवलव्यतिरेकित्वमन्तरा इतरभेदानुमितिरूपव्यावृत्तिप्रयोजनकत्वं न संभवत्येवेत्यत आह यद्वेति । अन्वयव्यतिरेकिविशेष एवेति । अन्वयव्यतिरेकिव्याप्तिभ्यां व्यावृत्त्यादि-

एव लक्षणम् । स च समव्याप्तः । असाधारणो व्यापको धर्मो लक्षणमिति वा लक्षणम् । तत एवेतरप्रतिक्षेपस्तत्त्वं च सिद्ध्यति^१ ; यथा — शरीरादेः पार्थिवत्वादिसंदेहे, शरीरं पार्थिवम्, गन्धवत्त्वात्, ^२घटवत् । शरीरमाप्यादिकं न भवति, गन्धवत्त्वात्, ^३घटादित्यादि । तदेवं तत्त्वतदितरप्रतिक्षेपयोः साधनाल्लक्षणत्वं गन्धवत्त्वस्येति ॥

साधकधर्मविशेष एवेत्यर्थः । एवकारेण केवलव्यतिरेकिव्यवच्छेदः । स चेति । तादृशधर्मविशेषश्चेत्यर्थः । समव्याप्त इति । व्यावृत्त्यादिसाध्यसमनियत इत्यर्थः । ननु व्यावृत्तिसाधककेवलव्यतिरेकित्वमेव हि लक्षणलक्षणम् । तत्कथमन्वयव्यतिरेकिविशेषस्य तथात्वमुच्यत इत्यतः लक्षणस्यान्यथा लक्षणमाह असाधारण इति । लक्ष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नेतरावृत्तिरित्यर्थः । व्यापक इति । लक्ष्यतावच्छेदकसमानाधिकरणात्यन्ताभावाप्रतियोगीत्यर्थः । गोलक्षणत्वेनाभिहितस्य शृङ्गित्वादेरतिव्याप्तिग्रस्तस्य वारणाय असाधारण इति । अव्याप्तिग्रस्तस्य कपिलरूपत्वादेर्वारणाय व्यापक इति । अत्रेदं बोद्धव्यम् - अतिव्याप्त्यव्याप्त्यसंभवाच्चेति त्रयो लक्षणदोषाः । तत्रालक्ष्यवृत्तित्वमतिव्याप्तिः । तच्च लक्ष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदवन्निरूपितलक्षणतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधेयस्वरूपम् । लक्ष्यैकदेशावृत्तित्वमव्याप्तिः । तच्च लक्ष्यतावच्छेदकसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगित्वे सति लक्ष्यतावच्छेदकसमानाधिकरकरण्यम् । गोः सास्त्रादिमत्त्वादिसल्लक्षणवारणाय सत्यन्तम् । एकशफत्वादिरूपासंभवग्रस्तवारणाय विशेष्यम् । लक्ष्यमात्रावर्तनमसंभवः । तच्च लक्ष्यवृत्तित्वसामान्याभाववत्त्वम् । लक्ष्यतावच्छेदकव्यापकाभावप्रतियोगित्वं वा । एतद्दोषत्रयरहितो धर्मो लक्षणमिति । लक्षणमिति । लक्षणलक्षणमित्यर्थः । तत एवेति । उक्तलक्षणलक्षितात् पृथिव्यादिलक्षणादेवेत्यर्थः । एवकारेण केवलव्यतिरेकिव्यवच्छेदः । इतरप्रतिक्षेपः — पृथिव्यादीतरभेदः । तत्त्वम् - पृथिवीत्वादिकम् । तत्त्वतदितरप्रतिक्षेपयोः साधनात् लक्षणत्वं गन्धवत्त्वस्येति । यदप्येवं सति नीलरूपवत्त्वादिकमपि पृथिवीलक्षणं स्यात् ;

१. सिद्ध्येदिति

२. घटादिवत्

३. घटादिवदित्यादि

UNIVERSITY NOTES

FOUNDER'S DAY

The Thirtieth Founder's Day was celebrated on the 13th of September 1959 when Sri R. Venkataraman, Minister for Industries and Labour, Government of Madras, delivered the Commemoration Address.

THE CONVOCATION

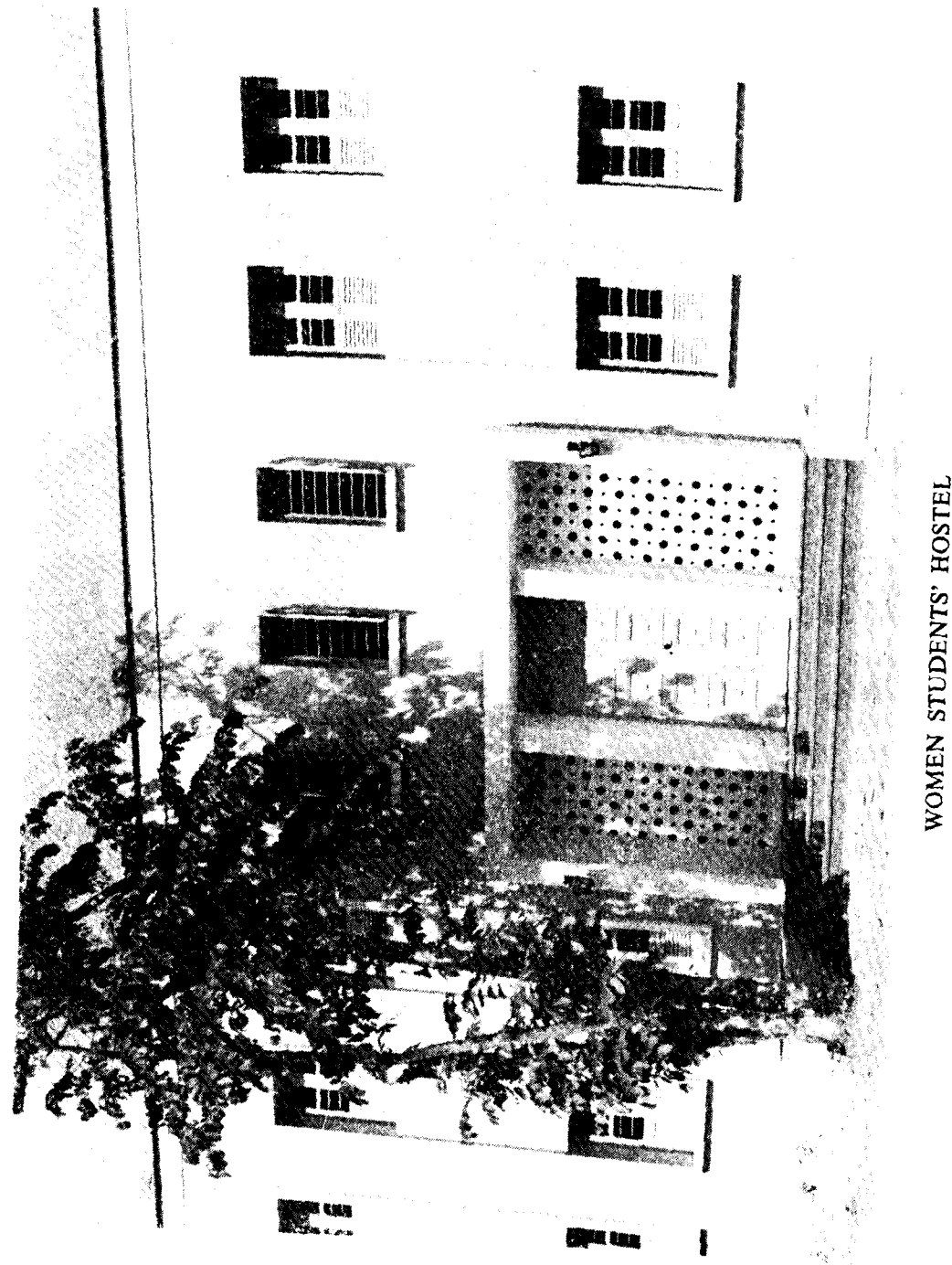
The Twentyninth Annual Convocation of the University was held on Wednesday, the 21st of October 1959. His Excellency Shri Bishnuram Medhi, Governor of Madras and Chancellor of the University, presided. On this occasion the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters (D. Litt.) was conferred on Professor Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi. Professor Humayun Kabir delivered the Address to the Graduates.

ADDITIONAL HOSTEL BUILDINGS FOR WOMEN STUDENTS

Srimathi Bishnuram Medhi declared open the newly built Hostel Buildings for Women Students on the 22nd October 1959.

DR. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR LIBRARY BUILDING

On the 22nd of October 1959, His Excellency Shri Bishnuram Medhi, Chancellor, declared open the Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Library Building which was newly constructed. Dr. Rajah Sir Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad presided at the function.



THE TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The twenty-fifth Annual Session of the Academy was held at Annamalainagar from the 26th to the 28th of 1959. Several distinguished scientists, Fellows of the Academy and Delegates from various parts of India attended. There were on rolls nearly eighty sessional members from the staff of this University and over 100 student members, mainly post-graduates of the University. Sri T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, M.A., B.L., Vice-Chancellor, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. G. Rangaswami, Professor and Head of the Department of Agriculture and Dr. J. Jacob, Senior Research Officer, Marine Biological Station, Portonovo, Annamalai University, were the Local Secretaries.

The Session was inaugurated on the evening of the 26th of December 1959 by Dr. Rajah Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad, Kt., B.A., D. Litt., M.L.A., Founder, Pro-Chancellor of Annamalai University. In his inaugural address Dr. Muthiah Chettiar referred to the role of Science in the modern world and stressed the importance of retaining English as a medium of instruction in colleges and universities. Sri T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered the welcome address, wherein he showed how the aims and objects of this educational foundation included among others the synthesis of modern science with oriental learning. Sir C. V. Raman, Nobel Laureate, and President of the Academy delivered the presidential address. He expounded an entirely new theory explaining many of the problems of light, colour and vision.

The second day of the session opened with a symposium on "Tectonics in Relation to India" under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Bhagavantam, Director, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. Dr. M. S. Krishnan, Dr. C. Mahadevan, Dr. S. Balakrishnan and Sri N. A. Vemban presented papers. A number of papers on Physical Science were presented and discussed in the afternoon. A symposium on "Chemical and Biological Control of Insect pests" under the Chairmanship of Dr. K. Ramiah, F.A.O., Expert on Rice, was held on the 29th. Drs. M. Putturudriah, K. V. Joseph.

Sardar Singh and G. Rangaswami took part in the discussions. In the afternoon session, Dr. M. K. Subramanian presented a paper on "The yeast nucleus", Dr. G. Rangaswami two papers on "Microbial Spoilage of Canned Food, I and II", and Dr. J. V. Bath on "the Taxonomy of *Vibrio extorouens*".

Dr. G. Rangaswami, Local Secretary, thanked Sir C. V. Raman and the officials of the Academy for accepting the invitation and holding the session at the Annamalai University and the distinguished scientists who participated in the session. He thanked the Founder Pro-Chancellor for inaugurating the session and the Vice-Chancellor, members of the Syndicate and various officials, staff and students who contributed to the success of the session.

There were two public lectures on the evenings of the 27th and the 28th. The first was on "Supersonic Flight" by Dr. P. Nilakantan and the second on "Radio Astronomy" by Dr. S. Bhagavantam.

Two excursions were arranged on the 29th, one to the Neyveli Lignite Corporation and the other to the Marine Biological Station at Portonovo.

FORTY SECOND SESSION OF THE ALL INDIA ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The Forty-Second Session of the All-India Economic Conference was held under the auspices of the Annamalai University on 30th and 31st December 1959 and 1st January 1960. The Vice-Chancellor was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Professor of Economics was the Honorary Local Secretary. The Conference was attended by more than two hundred delegates and members of the Indian Economic Association. The Founder-Pro-Chancellor, Dr. Rajah Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar, Kt., B.A., D. Litt., M.L.A. graciously inaugurated the Conference. Prof. J. J. Anjaria, Chief Economic Adviser, Ministry of Finance, Government of India presided. It is after 25 years that our University has been the venue of the Conference of the Indian Economic Association. The success of the Conference was due in no small measure to the hearty co-operation and support of the Chambers of Commerce, Co-operative Institutions, Industrial magnates, land-holders and Colleges in the Madras State. The elaborate arrangements made by our University evoked the appreciation and warm praise of all the delegates, Indian and Foreign. In proposing the vote of thanks to the University, Dr. S. K. Muranjan, Member, Tariff Commission said that the Forty Second Session of the All India Economic Conference should rank with two memorable sessions in the past 40 years. Prof. J. J. Anjaria, President, in his letter to the Vice-Chancellor expressed his appreciation as follows :—

“ I cannot leave this place without writing a line to you to request you to convey the warmest thanks of all those who attended the Conference to Prof. K. S. Sonachalam and his colleagues for the tremendous personal trouble they took to make everyone of us comfortable.

I should mention in particular the excellent work done by the volunteers. They were always ready to help : they were eager, responsive and disciplined. Please convey my personal thanks to them also. These qualities the volunteers displayed will, I am sure, prove valuable assets to them in life.

I will not embarrass you by thanking you, but, I realise that you are the guiding spirit behind all this. ”

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